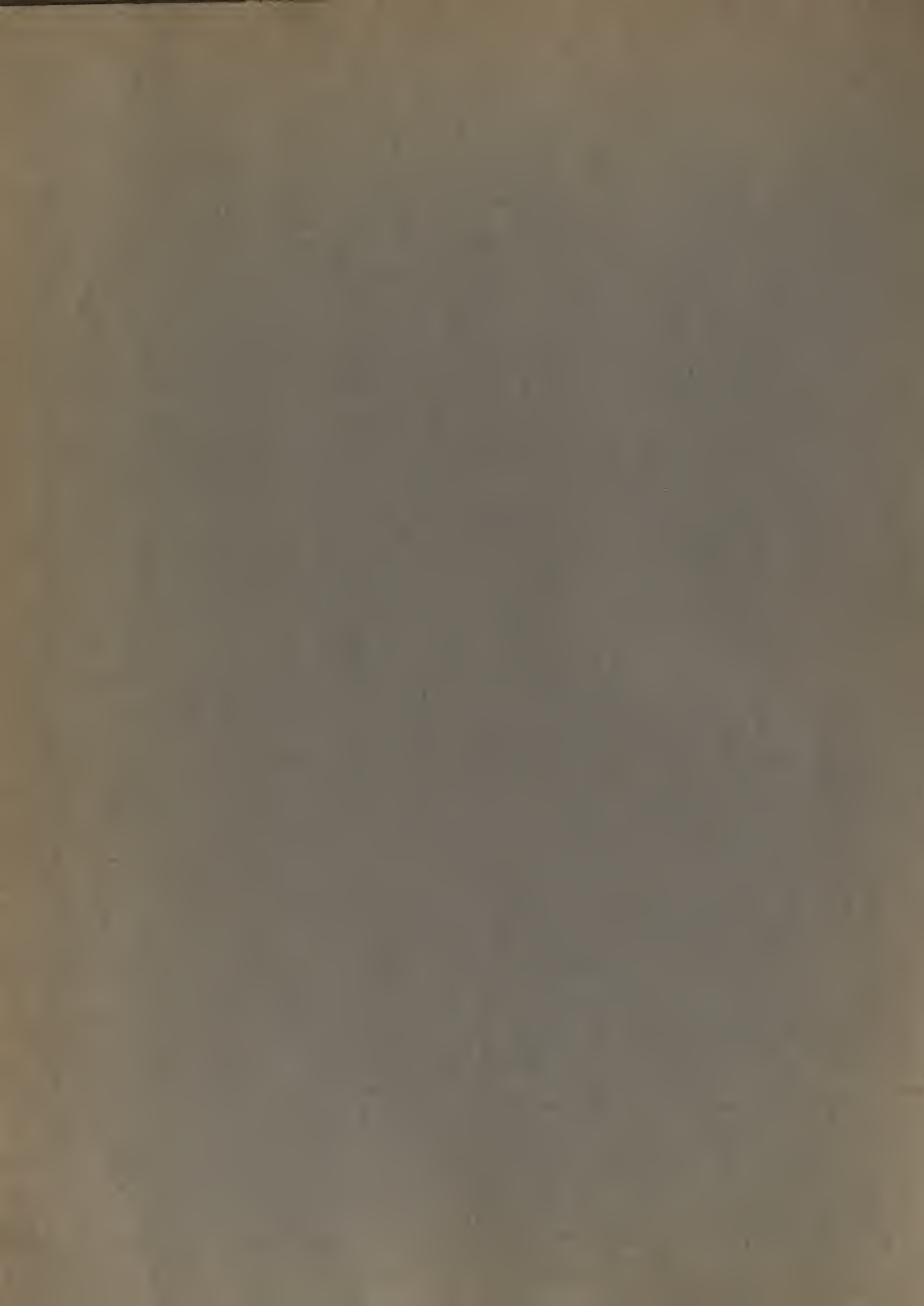


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5.

Brown

VOLUME V.



EDINBURGH:

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Anniversary Address on the State of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, from 1831 to 1860.</i> By DAVID LAING, Vice-President and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence. (Plates I.—III.)	1
II.— <i>An Account of St Columba's Abbey, Inchcolm, accompanied with Plans, &c.</i> By THOMAS ARNOLD, Architect, M.R.I.B.A. Lond. (Plates IV.—VI.)	45
III.— <i>Notice of the Brochs or Large Round Towers of Orkney, with Plans, Sections, and Drawings, and Tables of Measurements of Orkney and Shetland Brochs.</i> By GEORGE PETRIE, Kirkwall, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., F.R.S.N.A., &c. (Plates VII.—X.)	71
IV.— <i>The Brochs or "Pictish Towers" of Cinn-Trolla, Carn-Liath, and Craig-Carril, in Sutherland, with Notes on other Northern Brochs.</i> By the Rev. J. MAXWELL JOASS, Golspie, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. <i>With Report upon the Crania found in and about them.</i> By T. AITKEN, M.D., F.A.S.L., Inverness. (Plates XI.—XVI.)	95
V.— <i>Notice of the Excavation of the Brochs of Yarhouse, Brounaben, Bowermadden, Old Stirkoke, and Dunbeath, in Caithness, with Remarks on the Period of the</i>	

	PAGE
<i>Brochs; and an Appendix, containing a Collected List of the Brochs of Scotland, and Early Notices of many of them.</i> By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., and now Keeper of the Museum	131
VI.— <i>Notes of the Brochs or "Pictish Towers" of Mousa, Clickemin, &c., in Shetland, illustrative of part of the Series of Plans and Sections deposited in the Library of the Society.</i> By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot. (Plates XVII.—XXII.)	199
VII.— <i>Notes on Ancient Shields and Highland Targets, one of the latter having embossed upon it the Cognisance of the Lord of the Isles.</i> By JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland. (Plates XXIII.—XXVII.*)	213
VIII.— <i>Notices of Three Churches in North Uist, Benbecula, and Grimsay, said to have been built in the Fourteenth Century.</i> By F. W. L. THOMAS, Capt. R.N., F.S.A. Scot. <i>With Descriptions and Plans of Primitive Chapels in Rona and Sula Sgeir.</i> By T. S. MUIR. (Plates XXVII., XXVIII.)	225
IX.— <i>On a Runic Door from Iceland.</i> By GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Copenhagen. (Plate XXIX.)	249
X.— <i>An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St Patrick.</i> By J. H. TURNER, M.A.	261
XI.— <i>On the Early History of the Priory of Restennet.</i> By JOHN STUART, LL.D., Secretary. (Plates XXX.—XXXV.)	285

	PAGE
XII.— <i>Notice of the Chapel dedicated to St Blane at Kingarth, in Bute.</i> By WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Architect, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. (Plates XXXVI.—XLI.)	317
XIII.— <i>Notice of a Carved Ivory Ciborium, the Property of James T. Gibson-Craig, F.S.A. Scot.</i> By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Assistant-Secretary and Keeper of the Museum. (Plate XLII.)	336
XIV.— <i>The Quigrich or Crosier of St Fillan.</i> (Plates XLIII., XLIV.)	339
XV.— <i>Results of Excavations at the Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, during the Summers of 1870 and 1871.</i> By WILLIAM TRAILL, M.D., of Woodwick, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. (Plates XLV., XLVI.)	341
XVI.— <i>On the Duns of the Outer Hebrides.</i> By the late Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot. (Plates XLVII.—LIII.)	365
XVII.— <i>On the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College, Aberdeen.</i> By NORMAN MACPHERSON, LL.D., Sheriff of Dumfries and Galloway, F.S.A. Scot. (Plates LIV.—LXX.)	416
INDEX to the Volume	453
APPENDIX.— <i>List of Donations presented to the Society, 1830–1851, continued from the Appendix to Vol. III. p. 148.</i>	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

*Those marked thus * are on separate plates.*

	PAGE
*Portrait of David Laing, Vice-President and Foreign Secretary,	1
*Portrait of David, Earl of Buchan, Founder and First President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Plate I.	2
*Portrait of James Cummyng, the First Secretary of the Society. Plate II.	8
*Portrait of William Smellie, Second Secretary of the Society. Plate III.	10
*Ground Plan of Inchcolm Abbey. Plate IV.	60
*View of Inchcolm Abbey, and Plan and Elevation of Sedilia in the Chapter- House. Plate V.	62
*Plan and Elevation of Doorway in Chapter-House, Mouldings of Capitals, Piscina, &c., of Inchcolm Abbey. Plate VI.	64
*East Wall of Tower, Inchcolm Abbey	65
Ground Plan and Section of East Broch, Burray, Orkney. Plate VII.	73
Entrance to Chamber, Ledge, and Entrance to Gallery in East Broch, Burray	75
Section across the Mound of Okstrow, Orkney, showing Cists overlying the Ruins of the Broch	76
Ground Plan and Section of Okstrow Broch. Plate VIII.	77
Ground Plan of Broch at Manse of Harray, Orkney. Plate IX.	78
Holed Stone and Recess in the Broch at Manse of Harray	80
Ground Plan of Well in the Broch at Manse of Harray	80
Section of Well in the Broch at Manse of Harray	81
Ground Plan and Section of the Broch of Borrowston, Shapinsay, Orkney. Plate X.	83
Section of Broch of Borrowston, showing Well in Area	84
Dressed Stone from a Broch	90
Objects of Bronze and Bone found in East Broch, Burray, presented to the Museum by James Farrar, M.P., Honorary Member S.A. Scot.	91

	PAGE
*General View of the Broch of Cinn-Trolla, Sutherlandshire, and View of the Interior of the Structure. Plate XI.	95
Section of Chamber in Cinn-Trolla Broch, Sutherlandshire	96
*Ground Plan of the Broch of Cinn-Trolla, Sutherlandshire. Plate XII.	98
*Sections of the Broch of Cinn-Trolla, Sutherlandshire. Plate XIII.	98
*Ground Plan of Carn-Liath Broch, Sutherlandshire. Plate XIV.	104
*Section of Carn-Liath Broch. Plate XV.	104
*Relics found in the Broch of Carn-Liath, Sutherlandshire. Plate XVI.	106
View of the Castle of Oldwick, Caithness	111
Incised Figures of the Marks of two Human Feet on a Slab at Clickemin, Shetland	113, 203
Portions of Reindeer Antlers found in the Broch of Yarhouse, Caithness	138
Crogan from the Island of Lewis	139
Inscribed Bronze Brooch found with Human Bones at the Broch of Yarhouse	141
Bronze Pin found in the Broch of Bowermadden, Caithness	144
View of the Broch of Mousa, Shetland	147
View of the Nuraghe of Goni, Sardinia	148
Section of a Nuraghe, showing form of Chambers and Spiral Stair	149
Interior View of Doorway and Masonry of the Broch of Yarhouse, Caithness	170
Teampull Rona, interior west end Elevation	171
Teampull Sula Sgeir, south side	172
Interior View of Entrance to Stair and Galleries, Broch of Yarhouse, Caithness	173
Bronze Tweezers from Kettleburn Broch, Caithness, in the Museum	198
*Map of the Northern Part of Scotland, showing Sites of Brochs approximately	198
*Broch in the Loch of Clickemin, near Lerwick, Shetland, general plan. Plate XVII.	202
*Broch in the Loch of Clickemin, near Lerwick, Shetland, plan on ground. Plate XVIII.	206
*Broch in the Loch of Clickemin, plan half-way up, plan on top, and section. Plate XIX.	206
*Broch in the Loch of Clickemin, sections. Plate XX.	206
*Broch of Mousa, View, general plan, plan on ground, plan seventeen feet up, and plan on top. Plate XXI.	210
*Broch of Mousa, sections and panorama. Plate XXII.	210
*Highland Target, having embossed upon it the Cognisance of the Lord of the Isles. Plate XXIII.	213
Elongated Plate of Brass, Circular Plate, and Boss found at Benibreac	214
Handle and Studs of Bronze Shield found at Yetholm	215

	PAGE
Shields from the Dull Cross, from a Sarcophagus at St Andrews, and from a Tombstone in the West Highlands	216
Wooden Shield found in Blair-Drummond Moss	217
Section of Wooden Shield	218
Bosses of Shields	219
*Highland Targets in the Society's Museum. Plate XXIV.	220
*Highland Targets. Plate XXV.	220
Handles and Arm-Straps of Highland Targets	224
Scottish and Irish Bronze Shields. Plate XXVI.	224
Sculptured Roman Legionary Tablet, discovered at Carriden, Linlithgowshire, 1869. Plate XXVII.	224
Teampull na Trionade, Carinish, North Uist, ground plan	226
*View of Teampull na Trionade and Teampull MacVicar, Carinish, North Uist, from the eastward. Plate XXVII.	226
*Views of West Wall and of the South and North Doors of Porch of Teampull MacVicar, Carinish, North Uist. Plate XXVIII.	228
Teampull Chalumchille, or Church of St Columba, Benbecula, ground plan	239
Teampull Mhichael, Grimsay, ground plan	244
Teampull Rona, North Rona, ground plan	245
Teampull Rona, Interior, looking west	246
Cross at West End of Teampull Rona	247
Teampull Sula Sgeir, ground plan	248
*Carved Church Door, with Runic Inscription, from Valthjófstad, Iceland. Plate XXIX.	254
Inscription on the Door from Valthjófstad	257
*Restennet Priory, ground plans and general view. Plate XXX.	286
*Restennet Priory, View of the Tower from the Interior of the Church. Plate XXXI.	296
*Restennet Priory, External Elevation of Doorway in South Side of Tower. Plate XXXII.	297
*Restennet Priory, Interior Elevation of Doorway in South Side of Tower. Plate XXXIII.	298
*Restennet Priory, Sections through Doorway, South Side of Tower. Plate XXXIV.	299
*Restennet Priory, Windows and Masonry of Tower. Plate XXXV.	306
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, ground plans. Plate XXXVI.	318
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, Exterior and Interior Elevations of Eastern Gable. Plate XXXVII.	320
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, Interior and Exterior Elevations of South Wall of Chancel. Plate XXXVIII.	321

	PAGE
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, Interior and Exterior Elevations of North Wall of Chancel. Plate XXXIX.	322
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, Gable between Nave and Chancel. Plate XL.	323
*St Blane's Chapel, Bute, Section and Elevation of Chancel Arch. Plate XLI.	329
*Carved Ivory Ciborium, the Property of James T. Gibson-Craig, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. Plate XLII.	336
*The Quigrich, or Crosier of St Fillan. Plate XLIII.	340
*The Older Crosier of St Fillan. Plate XLIV.	340
*Ground Plan and Section of the Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, Plate XLV.	342
*Slab with Incised Figures and Ogham Inscription, from Broch of Burrian. Plate XLVI.	350
Stone with incised Figures of Crossed Triangles, from Broch of Burrian	352
Bone Pins from Broch of Burrian	353
Bone Pins with Ornamental Heads, from Broch of Burrian	354
One of a set of playing Dice, made of the Leg-bone of a Sheep, from Broch of Burrian	355
Bone Tools from Broch of Burrian	356
Bone Comb from Broch of Burrian	357
Bone Comb from Broch of Burrian	358
Long-handled Comb from Broch of Burrian	359
Bone with Incised Crescent-shaped Ornament (similar to that of the Sculptured Stones) from the Broch of Burrian	360
Bone with Incised Figure, from Broch of Burrian ; and Sculptured Stone, from Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire	361
Iron Bell from Broch of Burrian ; and Iron Bell from Kilmichael-Glassary	362
*Dun Bhragair, Barvas, Lewis ; View, Plan, and Section. Plate XLVII.	374
*Dun Loch an Duin, in the Aird, and Dun Bharavat, Berneray, Lewis. Plate XLVIII.	378
*Dun Ban, Cromore, Lewis ; View, Plan, and Sections. Plate XLIX.	380
*Dun Carloway, Uig, Lewis ; East and West Views. Plate L.	382
*Dun Carloway, Uig, Lewis ; Plan and Sections. Plate LI.	384
*Donald Cam's Stack, Dun More, South Uist, and Dun Ban, Loch Horneray ; Plans. Plate LII.	394
*Dun Loch an Duin, Taransay, Harris. Plate LIII.	396
*The Crown of King's College, Aberdeen, as restored after destruction in 1633. Plate LIV.	416
*Gordon's Sketch of King's College, West Elevation of Chapel, Addition to West Elevation 1825, and Section of Chapel and Bishop Stewart's Classroom with Library above. Plate LV.	418

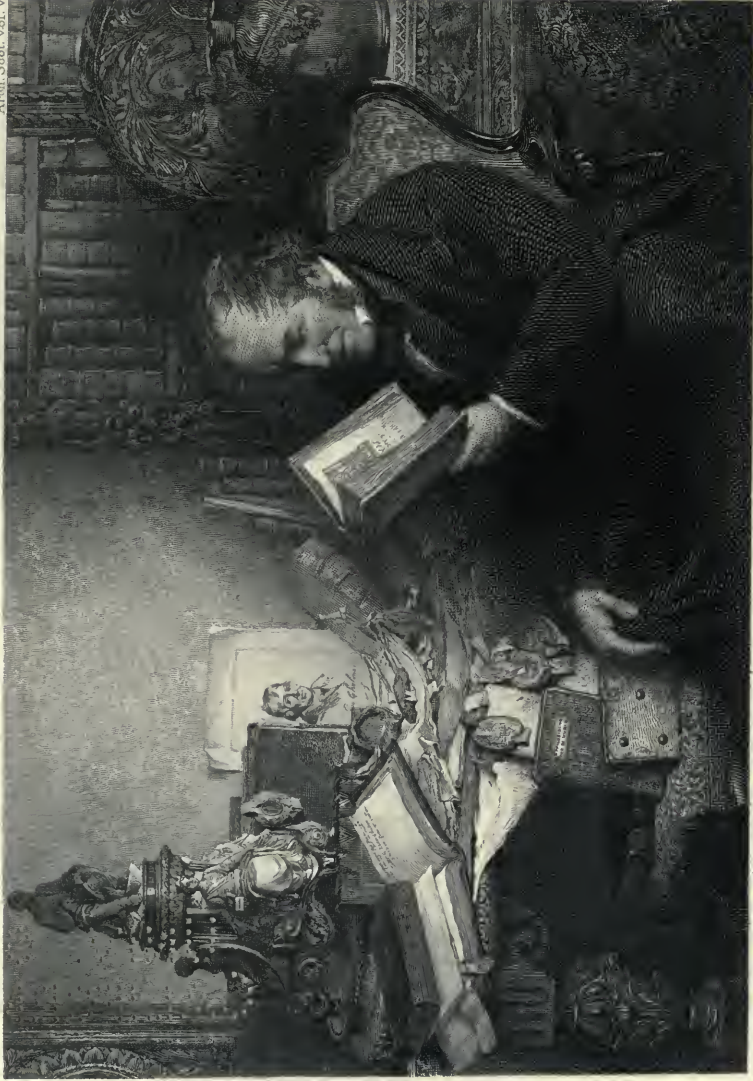
	PAGE
*Chapel and Tower, King's College, Aberdeen University. Plate LVI.	420
*Nave of King's College Chapel, showing conjectured Arrangement in 1542. Plate LVII.	422
*Rood Screens of Exeter, Glasgow, St Pierre, Louvain, Troyes. Plate LVIII.	424
*East Side of centre part of Screen, and Canopies of Stalls. Plate LIX.	426
*Choir of King's College Chapel before the Reformation. Plate LX.	428
*Interior of Choir, King's College Chapel, from east, 1542. Plate LXI.	430
*Bishop Patrick Forbes' Desk, Bishop Stewart's Pulpit, Pulpit of St Duthac, Tain. Plate LXII.	432
*Nave of King's College Chapel, fitted up as Library, 1770. Plate LXIII.	434
*King's College, Old Aberdeen, and South Elevation. Plate LXIV.	436
*King's College of Old Aberdeen, from a Picture preserved in the College, sup- posed to have been painted by Jamieson. Plate LXV.	438
*University Buildings, Old Aberdeen, from south-west, 1889, and King's College from south-west, 1850. Plate LXVI.	440
*Ambo on Choir Screen, King's College Chapel; High Altar, Arras; Altar, Notre Dame, Paris; Window in Cathedral, Liege; Carved Panel removed from Cathedral to King's College. Plate LXVII.	442
*Roodscreen, Croscombe Church, near Wells. Plate LXVIII.	444
*Block Plan of Buildings, King's College, Aberdeen. Plate LXIX.	446
*Shield Over Apse, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen; Carvings on the Roof; and Shield of Bishop Elphinston, removed from hall in 1823. Plate LXX.	448

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
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66
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70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
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86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

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THE
MUSEUM OF
ART AND HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK

Arch. Scot. Vol. V.



Engraved by R. Anderson. From a Painting by W. Fettes Douglas. B. S. B.

DAVID LAING Aetat. 70.

I.—*Anniversary Address on the State of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, from 1831 to 1860.*

[*Monday, 9th December 1861.*]

By DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

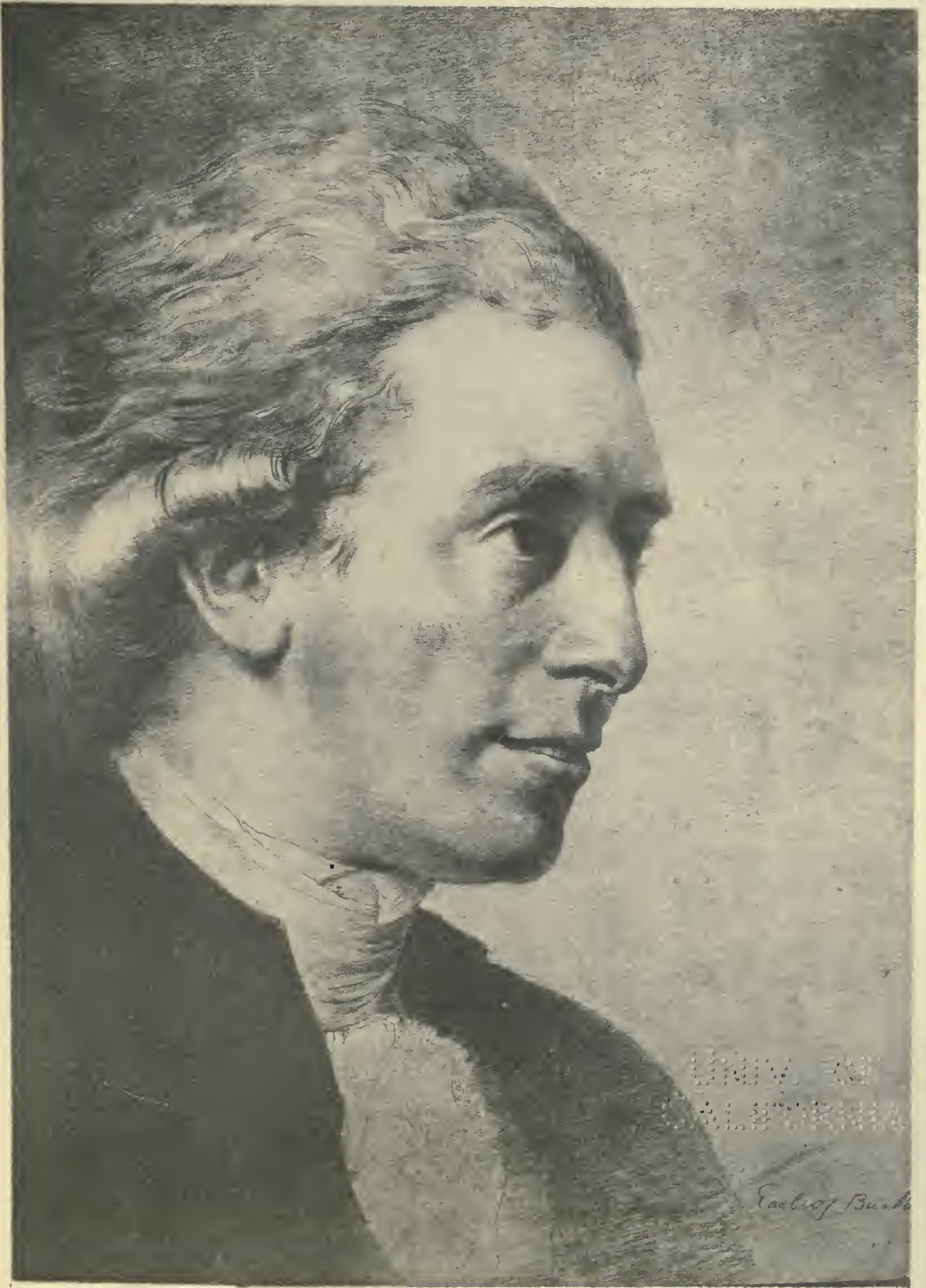
Of late years, it has become customary in this and other Societies for the retiring Vice-President to give an Address at the opening of a new session. This duty has accordingly now devolved upon me.

The History of the Society has, on more than one occasion, been the subject of such an address, but usually confined to its bright side—the increasing number of new members, the value and importance of the communications read, the interesting articles collected in the Museum, and so on. I propose rather to exhibit the dark side of the picture, by calling your attention to the reverses the Society has had to experience during no inconsiderable part of its existence.

In 1782, Mr William Smellie published a detailed “Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.” This was followed, in 1784, by Part Second of the same Account. After an interval of nearly half a century, there appeared in the Appendix to *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. III., a continuation of this “Account of the Society,” as Part Third, from 1784 to 1830. It was the joint-production of the late Dr Hibbert-Ware and myself, founded upon a careful examination of the Society’s Minute Books; and was ordered to be printed, by a resolution of the Council, 14th March 1831. To serve as Part Fourth of these “Accounts,” I now beg to take a brief retrospect of the state of the Society during the last thirty years, having some reference also to the earlier period of its history. Nor do I imagine it will be deemed unbecoming on this, the EIGHTIETH of its Anniversary Meetings, to present some brief memorials of former associates who gave their honorary and efficient services in the successive management of the Society’s affairs.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded by DAVID, EARL OF BUCHAN, on the 14th of November 1780. The earlier meetings were held in his Lordship's house in St Andrew Square; and the Society commenced, and was carried on for a time, with such signal success, that it was resolved, in the month of May 1782, to apply to the Crown for a Royal Charter of Incorporation. A formidable opposition to such a grant was made by two public bodies in Edinburgh, as recorded in the various letters and memorials which fill nearly the whole of Part Second of Smellie's History in 1784. The Lord Advocate (the Right Hon. Henry Dundas) refused to entertain the selfish arguments that were employed to defeat the application of the Society, and on the 29th of March 1783, the Royal Warrant passed the Privy Seal, and the Charter was extended under the Great Seal on the 5th of May thereafter, the officers of Chancery refusing all fees. By this deed the reigning Sovereign is declared to be PATRON OF THE SOCIETY OF THE ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

The annual addresses of the Earl of Buchan furnish the surest indications of the actual state of the Society. Smellie's Account in 1782 held out the prospect of continued success; yet within a few years, after the novelty of the Institution had ceased to be an attraction, a great change took place, owing chiefly to the want of funds to complete the purchase of a house for the Society, from the increasing unpaid subscriptions of many of the Fellows. These arrears in 1787 had accumulated to L.247, 16s., yet Lord Buchan, in November following, still said, "I cannot think that a country growing in wealth and elegance will suffer a Society to languish for support whose institution has a direct tendency to illustrate that country, and to do honour to those who advance its prosperity." Matters, however, did not improve, the evil being increased by a protracted discussion on the subject of an alleged promise by the Founder of an annual donation of L.20. It would have been more becoming for the Fellows to have left such a claim to his Lordship's own convenience or liberality, and to have bestirred themselves in the common cause, without resorting to the extraordinary step of virtually excluding the Earl of Buchan from a Society of which he was the founder, and had been the chief support. But so it was. At a meeting held on the 14th of December 1790, by a bare majority, which consisted of the votes of only six members, this actually took place. The Account of the Society, published in 1831, contains all that is necessary to be stated re-



THE EARL OF BUXTON

specting this most ungracious and unfortunate proceeding. But a short notice of his Lordship, as the Founder of the Society, may now be given.

DAVID STEUART ERSKINE, EARL OF BUCHAN, was the eldest surviving son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, by the daughter of Sir James Steuart, of Goodtrees, Solicitor-General for Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne. He was born June 1st 1742, O.S. As Lord Cardross, he was educated at the University of Glasgow, and having attended the Drawing Academy within the walls of the College, he acquired a knowledge and taste for the Fine Arts, along with some skill in drawing, which formed a distinctive feature in his character. On leaving College he entered the army, but never rose higher than the rank of a lieutenant, and in virtue of this commission he continued to draw half-pay for nearly sixty years. Lord Cardross succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, 1st December 1767. By prudent management and economical habits, he was enabled to retrieve the fortunes of the family¹ he represented, and to assist in the liberal education of his younger brothers, the Hon. Henry Erskine and the Hon. Thomas Erskine, both of whom raised themselves to distinction in the legal profession, the latter becoming Lord High Chancellor of England. The effect of the privations to which Lord Buchan thus submitted, was to induce parsimonious habits which stuck to him through life; and these, joined with his extraordinary personal vanity, and his pretensions to be a leading patron of the Fine Arts and of Science, laid him open to much undeserved ridicule. This he treated very lightly. His self-deception, indeed, was so complete and unconscious, that, as an American traveller shrewdly remarked, Lord Buchan had a fancy to attribute to himself whatever had been said or done by any of his ancestors.

One of his favourite schemes in connexion with this Society was to establish a gallery of original portraits of illustrious and learned Scotsmen, under the high-sounding title of THE TEMPLE OF CALEDONIAN FAME; but the process of selecting those thought worthy of admission, and the successive ballotings, had such a scheme been practicable, were simply ridiculous. At the bank of the River Tweed, on his own property of Dryburgh, he erected a

¹ In one of his Addresses (1781) to the Society he did not hesitate to speak of himself as one of the poorest Peers in Scotland."

huge colossal figure, as a statue of the patriot Chieftain, Sir William Wallace.¹ He devoted a large hall within the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey (destroyed, along with Kelso, Melrose, and other religious houses and castles, not by John Knox and the Reformers in 1559, but by the English forces in 1545), to serve as a "Temple of Glory," consisting of fragmentary stones piled against the walls, ornamented by interlacing circular arches, and a series of brackets, bearing a number of plaster busts and casts of eminent men. For many years at Ednam, the poet's birth-place, he held an annual festival on the birth-day of the author of "The Seasons," to which we are indebted for the beautiful ode by Burns to Thomson's memory. In short, all his schemes were of a patriotic cast; and his own works displayed greater ambition in their design than happiness in the execution, as exemplified in his biographies of Napier of Merchiston, Fletcher of Salton, and of James Thomson. In 1818, he published the first volume of his "Anonymous and Fugitive Pieces," chiefly contributed to "The Bee," a periodical edited by Dr. James Anderson. No second volume appeared, as the first proved a losing concern to the publisher. He was in the habit of transmitting, from time to time, portions of his correspondence to one or two well-known literary friends to form a *depôt*,² as he called it, of literary correspondence, to be materials, as he fancied, for a great national work on "The Earl of Buchan and his Times;" but he forgot the necessity of leaving instructions, or of providing funds to defray the expenses of such a publication, and thus it happened, in the course of time, that these *depôts* were broken up, and the letters unfortunately dispersed.³

The Society of Antiquaries was indebted to its founder for an interesting set of portraits of many of the original members drawn in black lead, the size of life, by an ingenious artist, John Brown, a native of Edinburgh, who died 5th September 1787, at the early age of thirty-five. The names

¹ See Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 308.

² His old friend, Dr Robert Anderson, editor of "The British Poets," was the chief custodian of the Earl's Correspondence. In a note to the preface of the Bannatyne Club volume of Clerk of Eldin's Etchings, 1855 (p. xi.), I took notice of the fate of Lord Buchan's proposed *Commercium Epistolicum*, which certainly deserved to have been preserved in a Public Library.

³ See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 257.

of the portraits were not marked on the drawings, but most of them were identified about half a century ago.¹

I have perhaps dwelt too long on the Founder, but with all his fantastic notions and harmless failings he was a kind-hearted, loveable person. You never heard him speak ill of any one; and I cannot but think that his memory ought to be always cherished with respect by this Society. Having paid a short visit to Dryburgh towards the close of his life, I found him as cheerful as ever, fond of his little jokes, and his own importance (in his own eyes) not a whit lessened. I merely add, that the Earl of Buchan died at his beautiful seat of Dryburgh Abbey, on the 19th of April 1829, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Within less than three years and a half (on the 26th of September 1832) the portals of the Abbey were again opened to receive the mortal remains of a more illustrious man, the Author of "Waverley," within the burial aisle of his ancestors, the Haliburtons of Newmains. At the Public Meeting held at Edinburgh, in honour of Sir Walter Scott, October 5th, 1832, it was eloquently said, "At the time when the people of England proudly hoped that his remains might be interred in one of their great minsters or abbeys—they hoped that his bones might lie in St Paul's or Westminster—and, if such a funeral had been, truly might it have been said that never

"To these chambers, where the mighty rest,
Since their foundation, came a nobler guest."

But it was right that his dust should be mingled with the sacred soil of his fatherland—it was fitting he should die among those scenes which he had ennobled—it was natural that the shadow of his own woods should mingle with the gloom that fell over his dying couch—and more affecting to my mind, as I am sure to yours, than any public funeral, celebrated with whatever pomp, was his funeral within the sacred shades of Dryburgh."²

Reverting to the History of the Society, the effects of the ungracious proceedings towards its founder soon became very apparent. Having lost its mainspring or chief motive power, there was no one of sufficient en-

¹ As a specimen of these heads, that of the first two Secretaries, JAMES CUMMYNG and WILLIAM SMELLIE, somewhat reduced, will be given in the present volume.

² Speech of Professor Wilson: Edinburgh Newspapers, October 6, 1832.

thusiasm or influence to take his place, and it continued to drag on a useless, or at most a merely nominal existence. Were we, indeed, left to judge alone from that useful record the Edinburgh Almanack, we might conclude otherwise. There, for instance, one year after another, sixty years ago, we find, what may be called a solemn and imposing array of Office-Bearers,—a noble duke as “president,” five “vice-presidents,” the stated number of “councillors,” “curators,” a “cashier, a “treasurer,” “four censors,” and various “secretaries.” Yet all this time the Society was virtually dead!

Before advertng further to this sad state of affairs, I shall give a list of the chief Office-Bearers, with occasional biographical notices or recollections.

I.—THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY.

JOHN EARL OF BUTE, K.G., from the institution of the Society in 1780 till his death in March 1792.

JAMES DUKE OF MONTROSE, from 1792 till the remodelling of the Society in 1813. His Grace survived till 1836.

LAWRENCE LORD DUNDAS, from 1813 till 1818. His Lordship, who was created Earl of Zetland in 1838, died the year following.

FRANCIS LORD GRAY, of Gray and Kinfauns, from 1819 to 1822. His Lordship survived till 1842.

THOMAS EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE; elected in 1823.

The election of his Lordship as PRESIDENT was a compliment no less honourable to the Society than it was to a nobleman to whom Archæology and the study of the Fine Arts owed no common obligation. On his appointment in 1799 as Ambassador Extraordinary in Turkey, he set out with the intention of employing artists to make drawings and accurate measurements of the chief Grecian architectural monuments, with casts of works of sculpture. It was only upon finding how open these remains of art were to destruction by the barbarity of the Turks, that, upon obtaining full power to that effect, he resolved to remove many of the original sculptures, thus anticipating what, there is every reason to believe, the French would without scruple have done on the first favourable opportunity. Under ordinary circumstances, and in peaceful times, in a country not subjected to the dominion of barbarians, the spoliation of such a building as the Parthenon at Athens, even in its state of ruin from the bombardment of the Venetians in 1687, would have

deserved all the abuse that was heaped upon Lord Elgin at the time ; but his exertions proved the means of preserving the more precious remains, and of enriching this country with relics of Grecian art in its highest state of perfection. It was not until 1816 that his Lordship's collections were permanently secured to the British nation by a Parliamentary grant of £35,000, in remuneration for actual expenses incurred by his Lordship, as such works could not be estimated by mere money value ; and being deposited in the British Museum as "The Elgin Marbles," they form the basis of one of the noblest collections of Ancient Sculpture in the world.

The state of his Lordship's health, and his frequent residence abroad, prevented him giving his personal attendance at ordinary meetings, but he continued till the last to take a cordial interest in the Society. He died at Paris, 14th November 1841, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

JAMES EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE, K.T., the present Earl, was chosen President, 30th November 1841, and continued for three years. That another change was then made, was owing to the circumstance that Lord Elgin having devoted himself to diplomatic and political life, his unavoidable absence from Scotland as Governor-General of Jamaica, deprived the Society of his influence at a time when such would have been of the greatest importance. I need not tell the present meeting of the high and important situations which his Lordship has since occupied, and of the success which has followed his footsteps in both the western and eastern hemispheres.¹

JOHN, the present MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE, was elected President in 1844. He still holds the office to the signal benefit of the Society,² and has enriched the Museum by many important donations.

II.—THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

A full list of the members who successively filled the office of Vice-Presidents, or Chairmen of the ordinary meetings, from the year 1780 to 1830, and also from 1830 to 1850, may be found in the *Archæologia*, Vols. III. and IV. This list is here continued from 1851 to 1860. According to the

¹ The Earl of Elgin, K.T., died in India, 20th November 1863.

² The Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T., died at Lausanne, 8th September 1867.

Rules, the senior retires at the end of the third year at the anniversary meeting, on the 30th of November.

HENRY HOME DRUMMOND, of Blair-Drummond, Esq., 1851.

HON. LORD MURRAY, 1851, 1852.

WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D., 1851, 1852, 1835.

WILLIAM FORBES SKENE, Esq., 1852, 1853, 1854.

PATRICK CHALMERS, of Aldbar, Esq., 1853 (having died in 1854, in his room was elected).

WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D., 1854, 1855.

ARCHIBALD T. BOYLE, Esq., 1854, 1855, 1856.

HON. LORD MURRAY, 1855, 1856, 1857.

COSMO INNES, Esq., 1856, 1857, 1858.

HON. LORD NEAVES, 1857, 1858, 1859.

Professor JAMES Y. SIMPSON, M.D., 1858, 1859, 1860.

DAVID LAING, Esq., 1859, 1860.

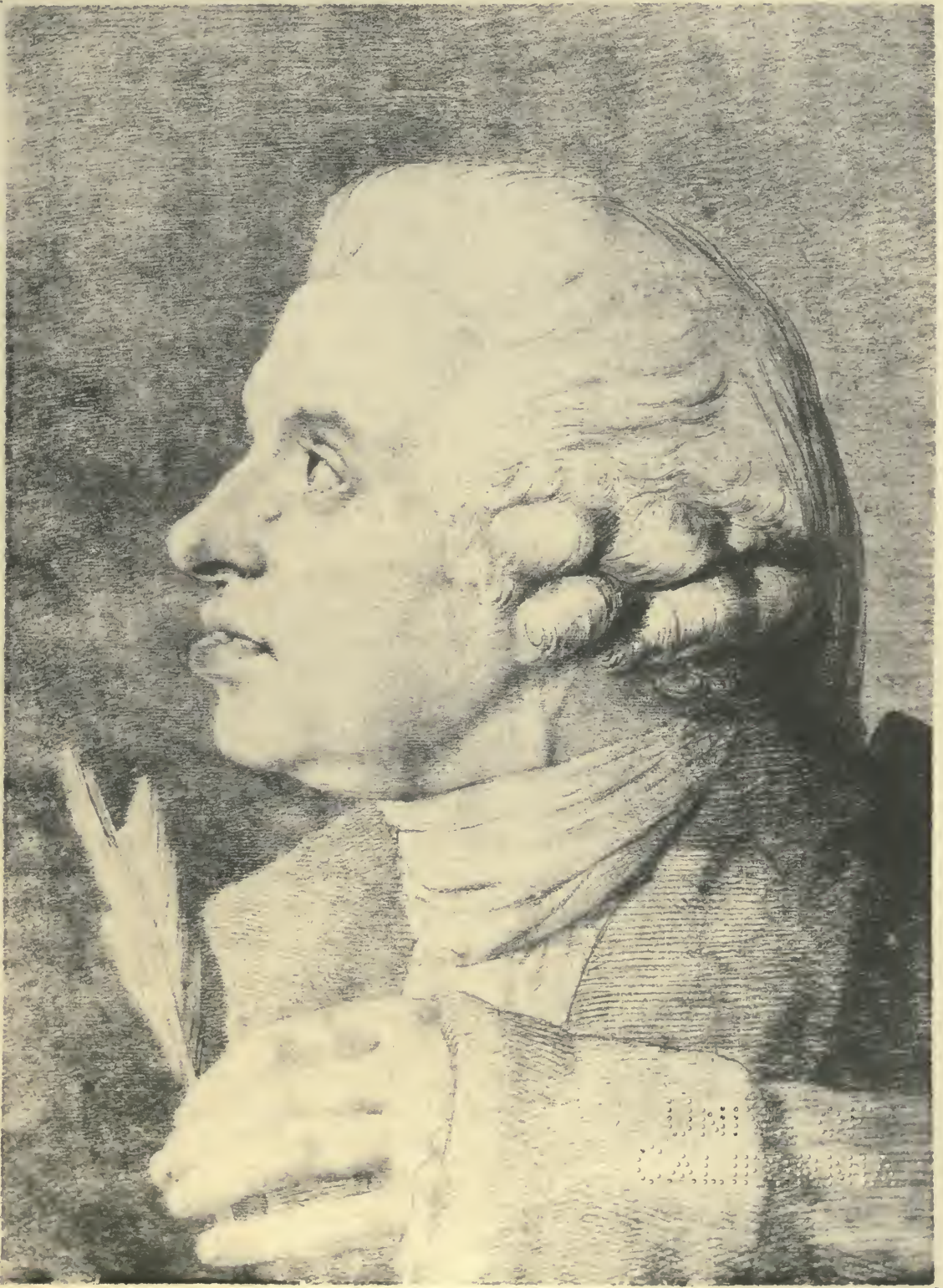
JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., 1860.

It may be mentioned in this place, that two volumes of the original correspondence connected with the Society for the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, carefully arranged by the Secretary, James Cummyng, were recovered a few years ago, from which some interesting illustrations of its earlier proceedings might be gleaned. This work, however, I shall leave to others, having no intention at present to enter minutely into the history of the Society. My design, as already stated, being rather to collect and preserve detached notices of those Office-Bearers who, during the fourscore years of its existence, have had the chief share in managing the affairs of the Society. In 1830, when the Account of the Society to that date was prepared, the members alluded to, with a very few exceptions, were still alive, and any personal sketches would therefore have been unsuitable.

Great changes have since occurred, and I shall now proceed to notice the deceased members who have in succession filled respectively the office of Secretaries, Treasurers, and Curators.

III.—THE SECRETARIES.

Mr JAMES CUMMYNG, the first Secretary, was Herald Painter and Keeper of Records in the Lyon Court, Edinburgh. From his own private letters and



JAMES CUMMYNG.

papers it appears that he was connected with a branch of the Cummyngs of Altyr; and that his grandfather having joined Montrose and the Royalists, materially injured his fortunes. James Cummyng was born 20th July 1732. He served an apprenticeship with Mr Norie, house painter, a freeman of the Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel, who was much employed in painting and decorating the interiors of houses with landscapes and arabesque ornaments. A fellow-apprentice was Alexander Runciman, the historical painter. Cummyng's peculiar bent lay in heraldic painting, and in or before 1771 he was appointed Clerk and Keeper of the Register of the Lyon Court. This office he continued to hold during the rest of his life. Cummyng died in Chessell's Buildings, at the head of Canongate, on the 22d January 1793. He was intimate with Sir Alexander Dick, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir Robert Douglas, Runciman the painter, Fergusson the poet, David Herd, and most of the Edinburgh worthies of the time, more especially with those who belonged to a social club known as the "Knights of the Cape."¹

Mr WILLIAM SMELLIE, printer in Edinburgh, one of the original Fellows, was elected Secretary, in February following 1793. He was an ingenious and able man, who had distinguished himself as the translator of Buffon's "Natural History, with Notes and Observations," Edinb. 1781-1785, 9 vols. 8vo, and the author of the "Philosophy of Natural History," 2 vols. 4to. His chief care was to excite the members to form a museum of Natural History; but this class of objects, originally included as part of the Society's Museum, was, by subsequent changes, excluded, as not harmonising with archaeological collections and pursuits. He died at Edinburgh, the 24th of June 1795, aged 54 years, and was interred in Greyfriars Churchyard, with a Latin inscription commemorating his learning.² *Memoirs of his Life, Writings, and Correspondence*, by Robert Kerr, in 2 vols., afterwards appeared in 1811.³

Mr ALEXANDER SMELLIE, who had acted for a short time as Assistant, became his father's successor as Secretary in July 1795, and was thus entitled to retain the use of the Society's house in the Castle Hill, as will

¹ See a further notice of Cummyng and of his private papers in Appendix No. I.

² Brown's "Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions," p. 193. Edinb. 1867.

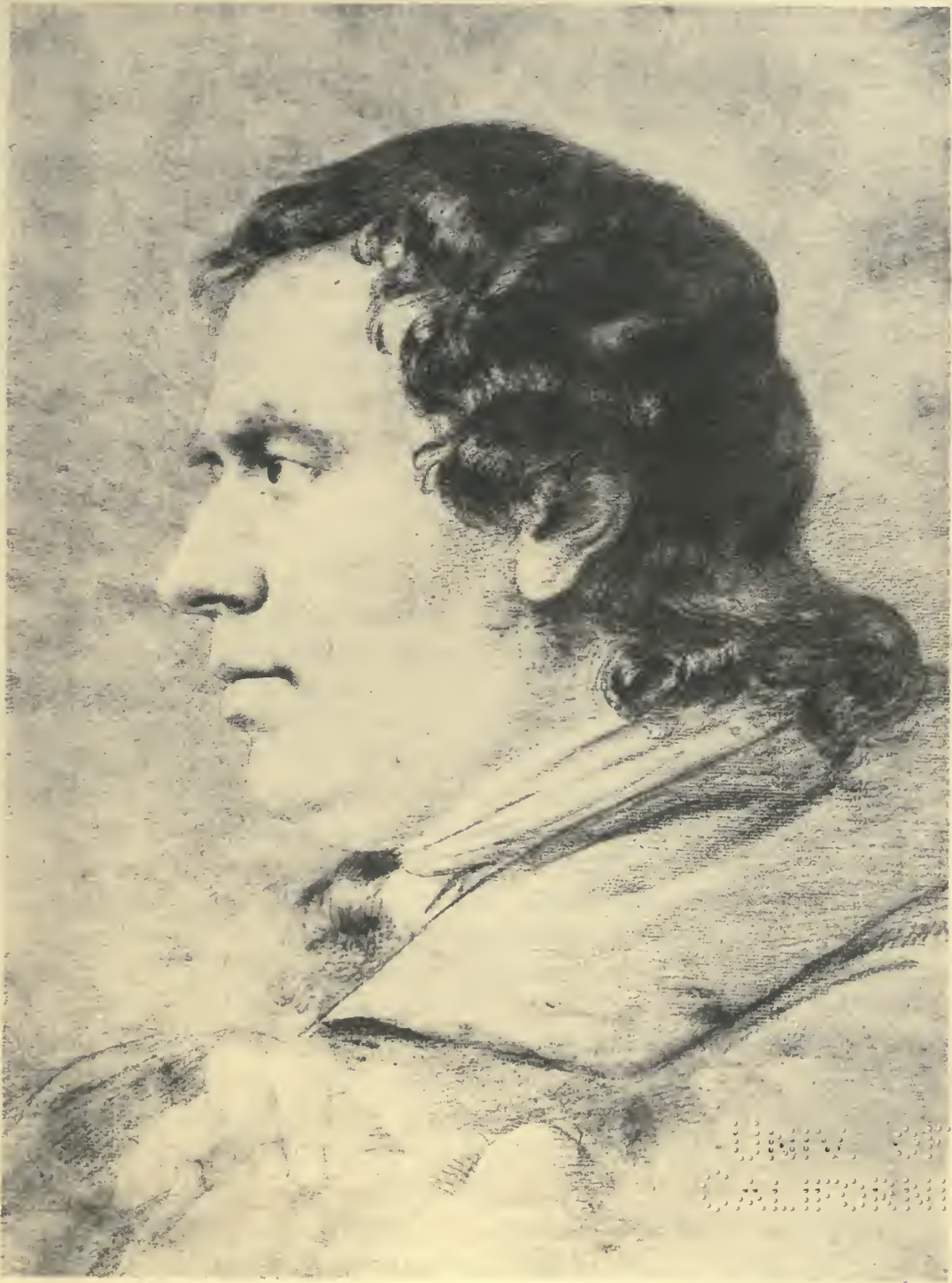
³ See Appendix, No. II.

be noticed under the head of Curators of the Museum. He also carried on business as a printer; but during the long time he held the office of Secretary, the Society fell into a most lamentable state of inefficiency, as may be seen from Part III. of the Account of the Society in 1830. From the Society's Minutes, for instance, we find that between March 20, 1804, and December 12, 1807, or upwards of three years, only one solitary communication recorded. In 1805, nothing appeared; and in 1806, the paper referred to, entitled "Observations on the History and Language of the Pehts," was read at meetings held January 21, continued February 11, July 8, and concluded September 2. We might have thought the subject would be exhausted, as it is held that only *three words* of the Pictish language have reached our days; but it served also for the session of 1807, as "An Appendix" to the same paper.¹

In the Society's library there is a printed address by the Earl of Buchan to the Americans in Edinburgh on the return of the birthday of Washington (with whom his lordship claimed kindred), February 22d, 1811. On the fly-leaf is written, "TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF THE ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND FROM ITS ORIGINAL FOUNDER, WITH WISHES FOR ITS EFFICACIOUS REVIVAL." The revival did take place a few years later when the Rev. Dr Jamieson was appointed Joint-Secretary, in December 1813. This at least was the first step to rouse the Society to new activity. His name is so well known that a very brief notice of him only is required.

JOHN JAMIESON, D.D., was born at Glasgow on the 3d of May 1759, where his father was one of the early Secession ministers. He himself was educated at that University with a view to the ministry in the branch of the Presbyterian Secession Church known as Antiburghers. He was licensed by the Associate Synod in July 1779, and was first settled at Forfar. On receiving a call from the congregation of Nicolson Street, he came to Edinburgh in 1797, where he continued to officiate till near the close of his life. His predilection for literary and antiquarian pursuits early manifested itself, without however allowing these to interfere with his ministerial

¹ Transactions of the Society, vol. ii. p. 134. Ten years later, in 1817, another learned Etymologist, devoted two meetings to "Remarks on these Observations." *Ib.* p. 251. Also, vol. iii. Appendix, pp. 168, 170.



WILLIAM SMELLIE.

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duties. It is here sufficient to mention that the work by which he is best known, his "Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language," was completed in 1810, to which were added two supplementary volumes in 1825. His "Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona," 1811, is another work displaying considerable research and erudition. Some of his theories may be and have been controverted. I rather prefer to say that his labours, while acting as Secretary of this Society between 1813 and 1819, were of great service in contributing to its revival. Dr Jamieson died at Edinburgh on the 12th of July 1838, and was interred in the burial-ground of St Cuthbert's. Those who were personally acquainted with him could not but esteem him for his learning, sincere piety, and his social and other estimable qualities.

Mr JOHN DILLON became Secretary upon Dr Jamieson's resignation in November 1819. He was the son of a tradesman in Glasgow, and born in 1756; but came to Edinburgh in early life, where he practised as a solicitor; and was selected to act as the prisoner's agent in the important trial of David Downie, who was tried and condemned for high treason in September 1794. When the "Society of Solicitors in Supreme Courts" was incorporated in 1797, Mr Dillon was one of the original members. When the Record commissioners directed their attention to the existing Records of Scotland, Mr Dillon was engaged in preparing and completing, as sub-editor, the very useful abridgment of the "Retours," or Services of Heirs, prior to the Union with England in 1707, printed at Edinburgh 1811-1816, in 3 vols. folio. At the end of two years he resigned the secretaryship of this Society upon his appointment as one of the Sheriff-substitutes of Glasgow. In the duties of this most laborious office he gave great satisfaction, but the state of his health compelled him to retire in the course of a few years.¹ He died at Glasgow in 1831; his wife, who was the grand-daughter of George Crawford, the genealogist, surviving him only three days. Mr Dillon was acute, accurate in research, a good classical scholar, and familiar with old writings. He contributed in 1819 to the Society's Transactions,

¹ I remember one evening calling on Mr Dillon at Glasgow, and found him half buried among a mass of Sheriff-Court processes which he had to examine, and which he said was enough to drive any one distracted. I heartily condoled with him, as such occupation was by no means to be envied.

among other papers, a valuable dissertation on the Norwegian Expedition, or Battle of Largs, in the year 1263.

Mr THOMAS KINNEAR, the eldest son of one of the wealthy families of bankers of that name in Edinburgh, next supplied the vacant office in 1822. He required, however, other aid than that of a merely nominal colleague, and such a new arrangement was made in the following year. He himself was intelligent, and of a liberal mind, and distinguishing himself by his skill in banking transactions he was induced to settle in London, in 1826, as a wider field of enterprise. He died there in the prime of life in the year 1830.

Dr SAMUEL HIBBERT, who undertook, in 1823, the task of providing communications to the ordinary meetings, was descended from one of the old Manchester families, and was born in 1782. He entered the First Royal Lancashire Militia, in which he held a lieutenant's commission for six or seven years. His natural taste for scientific inquiries brought him to Edinburgh to study medicine at the University, where he took his degree of M.D. in 1817. He became a Fellow of most of the learned Societies in this city, to which he always entertained the greatest partiality, looking upon it as his home. His most important work was "A Description of the Shetland Islands," published in 1822. The obligations the Society of Antiquaries was under to him for his enthusiastic and devoted labours cannot be sufficiently acknowledged. Having resolved to spend a few years on the Continent, partly in the pursuit of his scientific studies, and the education of his family, he resigned the secretaryship in May 1827. After returning to England, he cherished the hope of making Edinburgh his permanent residence; and in many letters to myself he never failed in expressing the deep interest he felt in the Society, and his earnest desire to resume his labours, more especially when he saw it had fallen upon evil days. At a late period of life he assumed the name of Ware, as nearest male representative of Sir James Ware, the distinguished Irish antiquary. Dr Hibbert died at his seat in Cheshire, 30th December 1849, in the 67th year of his age.¹

¹ See Appendix, No. III.

Mr JOHN ANDERSON was joined with Dr Hibbert as Assistant Secretary in 1826, and with Mr Drummond Hay in 1827. He was the eldest son of Mr Peter Anderson, solicitor, Inverness, and was born in August 1798; and being educated under his maternal uncle, Dr Robert Thomson, Kensington, after passing through the Literary and Law Classes at the University of Edinburgh, he was admitted Writer to the Signet in 1821. Four years later he published an interesting volume, entitled "Historical Account of the Family of Frisel or Fraser, particularly Fraser of Lovat, with original correspondence of Simon Lord Lovat." Edinburgh, 1825, 4to. He was afterwards employed on the Lovat peerage and other cases connected with Highland genealogies and the restoration of attainted Scottish titles. In 1835 he left Edinburgh, on his appointment as a stipendiary magistrate in St Vincent, West Indies, where he died in consequence of a fall from his horse, 21st September 1839.

Mr EDWARD WILLIAM AURIOL DRUMMOND HAY, soon after taking up his residence in Edinburgh, joined the Society on 8th March 1824. His father, the Rev. Dr E. Auriol Hay Drummond, Dean of Bocking, and Rector of Hadleigh, was the fifth son of Robert Drummond, Archbishop of York, the brother of Thomas, seventh Earl of Kinnoull. Mr Drummond Hay was born the 4th of April 1785, and was educated at Christ's Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of B.A. 4th June 1806. On leaving the University he entered the army, and in 1808 held a commission as lieutenant, and in 1812 as captain in the 61st and 73d Regiments. He served in the Peninsula, in France, and in the Low Countries, was on the staff as *aide-de-camp* to Major-General Robertson of Lude, and was present at the battle of Waterloo. By means of his classical education and his residence abroad, he acquired a complete mastery over several modern European languages, and was in every sense a most accomplished scholar. In 1822 he published a Dissertation, in the form of a letter to the Committee of the Essex and Colchester General Hospital, on a remarkable piece of Roman sculpture, representing the Theban Sphynx, discovered in excavating the foundation of that hospital at Colchester. The immediate cause of his taking up his residence in Edinburgh was an appointment by his cousin, the present Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Lyon (to whom at one period he was presumptive heir), to be Principal Keeper of Records in the Lyon Court. He then became a Fellow of this Society, and consented to act as interim

Secretary in May 1827, until the annual meeting in November following, when he was formally installed as General Secretary in the room of Dr Hibbert.

It is pleasing to call to remembrance the Society meetings during the two years in which Mr Drummond Hay acted as Secretary. The rooms were crowded with visitors, attracted by his enthusiasm, varied acquirements, and personal influence. The only regret felt was his own departure to another and distant quarter of the globe, and here I may quote part of the newspapers' report of his address (at the close of the meeting on the 8th May 1829), when he intimated his resignation of the secretaryship, in consequence of his appointment to be Consul-General to the Barbary States:—

“ MR DRUMMOND HAY now craved permission to be indulged, as he had already been at the end of the two preceding Sessions, during which he had held the office of Secretary, in saying a few parting words on the close of the present. He congratulated the Society on its flourishing condition, on its steady yet rapid progress, and on its reputation. He noticed not merely the valuable addition to the number of its Fellows during the last year, but the peculiar lustre it could not fail to derive from the eminent names which had been recently added to the roll of its Honorary and Corresponding Members. The Society had not only extended itself at home, but would appear to have been raised very materially in character among the learned in various parts of Europe. He was going to the Pillars of Hercules, the *ne plus ultra*, looking from the East, of ancient times; but they all knew now that there was no *ne plus ultra* for science; and assuredly there could be no limit so distant, as to cause him to forget that he was a Fellow of this Society, whose interest it would ever be one of his warmest wishes to promote, and that he could never look back with so much pleasure nor with so much pride to any office he had ever filled, since he entered public life, as to that of Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

“ SIR HENRY JARDINE, V.-P., was certain that the retirement of Mr Hay from the office which he had filled in a manner so honourable to himself, and so useful to the Society, would be felt by the Society as a great—almost an irreparable loss. His efforts and exertions, during the two years in which he had held the office of Secretary, had been unceasing to promote its interests on every occasion. The good wishes of every member of the Society would, he was sure, follow Mr Hay to his new situation, which

there was no doubt he would fill satisfactorily both to himself and to his country. He had left a bright example to those who were to come behind him, which Sir Henry trusted would be followed by every member as far as lay in his power. Sir Henry Jardine concluded by announcing, that it was proposed by a number of the Fellows, and the proposal met with his hearty concurrence, that the Society should testify their sense of Mr Hay's valuable services by giving him a public dinner—and that, after communicating with Mr Hay, the dinner had been fixed to take place on Monday the 25th current, in Barry's Hotel, at six o'clock; and a committee was then appointed to make the necessary arrangements."

The dinner accordingly took place in Barry's Hotel, on the 25th of that month; and, notwithstanding the short interval, there was a large and enthusiastic assemblage, Sir Henry Jardine in the chair, Mr Skene of Rubislaw, croupier; and among the members present, were Sir Walter Scott, Lord Meadowbank, Mr Thomas Thomson, D.C.R., and Mr P. F. Tytler.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that Mr Drummond Hay entered upon the duties of his new situation with all his usual energy; but it was remarked, that the great mental excitement and physical exertion in such a climate during the protracted negotiations for the settlement of political differences between France and the Barbary States, hastened the termination of his life. He died at Tangiers on the 1st of March 1845, in the 60th year of his age. His letters to his Edinburgh friends contained frequent expressions of the interest he felt in the Society; in proof of this, it is gratifying to record the bequest Mr Drummond Hay made to the Society of his extensive and valuable cabinet of ancient coins and medals, chiefly Roman, consisting of 13 gold, 500 imperial silver, 90 consular, and upwards of 2000 brass, besides a great number of gold and silver coins of other nations.

Mr DONALD GREGORY, elected a Fellow in 1825, was, upon Mr Drummond Hay's resignation, made General Secretary, having for two previous years been Assistant. He was a younger son of Dr James Gregory, one of the distinguished medical professors in our University, the representative of a family eminent for hereditary talent, and was born at Edinburgh 25th December 1803. Mr Gregory, in conducting the affairs of the Society, was

active and indefatigable, still continuing to be a most diligent and accurate investigator of the early history of Scotland. His communications to the *Archæologia Scotica*, especially his "Inquiry into the Earlier History of the Clan Gregor" in 1830, and his "History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625," published in 1836, will remain as permanent memorials of his research and impartiality, being founded upon original documents, and a thorough examination of public records. Mr Gregory was unfortunately cut off in the prime of life in October 1836, at a time when it was understood he had an immediate prospect of obtaining a somewhat lucrative appointment as a reward of his labours.

Mr WILLIAM FORBES SKENE, to whom the Society still looks up for important historical contributions, had been for a short time Mr Gregory's colleague, and became his successor as Secretary, holding the office about three years (1836 to 1838), having part of the time the advantage of Mr Joseph Robertson's aid as assistant.—It may not be out of place to add that, through the united exertions of Mr Skene and Mr Gregory, a society was instituted under the name of THE IONA CLUB, for illustrating the history of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland; and I am happy to say that, by a private arrangement, Mr Gregory's MS. collections, as a memorial of his antiquarian pursuits, will soon be deposited in the Society's Library. The publication from these papers of an additional volume of the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* was announced a few years ago, but laid aside for want of sufficient encouragement. A new scheme for accomplishing this object by reviving the Club for a limited period, was also unfortunately frustrated by the death of Sir John Archibald Murray, one of our Vice-Presidents, about two years ago.¹

It happened that no previous arrangements had been matured for supplying the vacancy occasioned by Mr Skene's resignation as Secretary. At the anniversary meeting for the election of office-bearers, on the 30th November 1838, there was but a small attendance, and one of the older members who

¹ One of the Lords of Session, and for several years M.P. when holding the office of Lord Advocate. He succeeded to the family estate of Henderland in 1854, on the death of his elder brother. Lord Murray died in 1859.

filled the chair, to the general surprise, moved that Mr ALEXANDER SMELLIE be again appointed, and no other candidate being proposed, it was held as approved. I have no wish to say anything on the subject, but truth compels me to add, that at a time when redoubled zeal and activity on the part of a new Secretary were essential, a greater misfortune could scarcely have occurred than by such an appointment. Was it indeed at all likely, that the Secretary in his old age, after a lapse of so many years, would be found any more capable than before of maintaining the reputation and usefulness of the Society.¹

Mr JOSEPH ROBERTSON, who had acted as Assistant Secretary in 1837, still continued for the session 1838. Leaving Edinburgh as his place of residence, a heavy share of the burden, in this nearly hopeless condition, devolved upon myself (in addition to my other duties), for the two Sessions 1839 and 1840, in order to keep the Society from becoming quite dormant.

In the following sessions 1841 and 1842, JOHN ROSE CORMACK, M.D., undertook the office of Assistant Secretary, to the evident advantage of the Society.

At the close of the session 1842, Dr Cormack leaving Edinburgh to follow his professional career in London, Mr WILLIAM B. D. D. TURNBULL, Advocate, became Acting Secretary. He entered upon his official duties with all his wonted enthusiasm, and was the medium of carrying out the arrangements when the Society was under the necessity of removing from the Royal Institution Building in 1844. The Society having begun to recover something like vitality, it was found that Mr Turnbull, with all his energetic zeal, required to have the aid of a colleague qualified to undertake a share of the duties. For this purpose the General Secretary was persuaded finally to retire (with the title of *Emeritus*) in 1847; and Mr DANIEL WILSON, who had recently joined the Society, took charge of the meetings, while Mr Turnbull remained as Secretary for Correspondence.

It would be quite inexcusable were I to pass over in silence the varied services of DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., as Acting Secretary, having by his devoted zeal and activity contributed greatly to the prosperity of the Society. His

¹ Alexander Smellie, Esq., died at his house Bruntsfield Place, Edinburgh, 28th October 1849. He had been elected in the class of Associated Artists so early as the year 1791.

exertions in negotiating with the Board of Manufactures for the arrangements which afterwards were happily completed, and his securing the goodwill and aid of Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., on behalf of an institution of a national character, were very important. Nor should we forget the excellent Synopsis of the Museum, which was published in 1849; and his maturing the plan and commencing the series of Proceedings from 30th November 1851, and since carried on, if I may be permitted to say so, to the lasting benefit of the Society.¹ Dr Wilson having obtained the appointment of Professor of English Literature in University College, Toronto, before sailing for Canada, his friends in the Society, and others, Mr Sheriff Gordon presiding, entertained him at dinner in Barry's Hotel, Granton, 19th August 1853; and this occasion was taken to present him with a piece of plate as a testimony of their respect. In further acknowledgment of his services, on the first vacancy, 30th November 1853, he was elected one of the Society's Twenty-five Honorary Members.

The subsequent changes in this office may be stated in a few words. Upon Mr Turnbull's leaving Edinburgh,² on going to the English Bar, in May 1851, JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., in November following was elected Secretary for Correspondence, and still continues in that office. Another change was rendered necessary, when, in room of Dr Daniel Wilson, Mr ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, A.R.S.A., and Director of the Department of Ornament in the School of Art, Edinburgh, officiated as Acting Secretary for the session 1854. His other duties necessarily prevented him from giving full attention to the affairs of the Society.³

Mr JOHN STUART, of Aberdeen, Secretary of the Spalding Club, having come to reside in Edinburgh, and joined the Society in 1853, accepted the office of General Secretary in November 1855, its duties being quite congenial to his own pursuits. I need not say to this meeting how much the Society have been indebted to him for its continued prosperity.

¹ The labour of editing, &c., the subsequent Annual parts of the "Proceedings" has since devolved on Dr John Alexander Smith and myself.

² See a brief notice of Mr Turnbull, Appendix No. IV.

³ Mr Christie was born at Edinburgh in 1807; and died on the 5th of May 1860.

IV.—SECRETARIES FOR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

This office falls next to be noticed, but will not detain us long. The original scheme of the Society provided not only a Foreign Secretary, but a Latin Secretary, a French Secretary, and a Gaelic Secretary. In 1815, these, the Censors, and some other offices being superseded, the Rev. ALEXANDER BRUNTON, D.D., was appointed sole Secretary for Foreign Correspondence. It involved no serious duties, nor required any assistant, although Mr Turnbull nominally was Assistant from 1838 to 1842.

Dr Brunton, a native of Edinburgh, was ordained minister of the parish of Bolton in 1797. He was translated to Edinburgh, first in 1803 to the church of New Greyfriars, and in 1809 to the Tron Church. Without resigning his parochial charge, in 1813 he was elected Professor of Oriental Languages, holding at the same time in conjunction the office of Principal Librarian to the University; and received the degree of D.D. 17th December 1813. In the latter part of his life (in 1847) he resigned his Professorship, residing mostly out of Edinburgh, until his death on 9th February 1854, aged 82.

In November 1852, when relieved of the onerous duties connected with the Society's financial matters, I was elected Joint Foreign Secretary; and two years later, on Dr Brunton's death, I became Foreign Secretary in November following, having for a colleague the Belgian Consul, my friend Mr JOHN M. MITCHELL.¹ We have to acknowledge that neither of us are greatly oppressed with the work, yet it is by no means unimportant, in forming new relations and keeping up the interchange of Transactions and other works with foreign libraries and societies.

V.—THE TREASURERS.

On the retirement of Mr SCOTT MONCRIEFF, who held this office from 1808 to 1825, his successor was THOMAS ALLAN, Esq., banker. Mr Moncrieff, at a later period of life, assumed the name of Welwood on succeeding as heir of entail to the valuable estates of Garvock and Pitliver, in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, where he died in 1854, at an advanced age.

¹ A short notice of Mr Mitchell will be given in Appendix No. V.

Mr Allan was a member of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, and was known in the scientific world by a useful work on Mineralogical Nomenclature, published in 1814. As proprietor of the *Caledonian Mercury* newspaper, he also carried on the business of a printer. He acquired by purchase from Count Law de Lauriston, at Paris, the beautiful estate of Lauriston, near Edinburgh.¹

After Mr Allan's decease in 1833, the Secretary and Assistant Curator acted for two years, in 1834 and 1835, as Interim Treasurers.

In an evil hour for myself, in the winter of 1836, I was in some measure forced to accept the vacant office of Treasurer. The labours and anxieties attendant upon it I have no wish to keep in remembrance, although, when I come to mention the subsequent negotiations, the subject cannot be altogether passed over in silence.

After discharging its duties for fifteen years, I was happily released in November 1852 from an office for which I had no predilection, on finding a most efficient successor in Mr THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, and I trust the Society will long continue to enjoy the benefit of his services.

VI.—THE CURATORS OF THE MUSEUM.

Before proceeding to mention the names of those Fellows who for the last forty years have filled the office of Curators, it may be well to bring into one point of view the several localities of the Society's Museum where the ordinary meetings were held, from the year 1781 to the present time.

(1.) HOUSE IN THE COWGATE, 1781-1787.

The flourishing prospects of the Society, and the liberal donations at the outset began to accumulate rapidly, and made the Founder think himself justified in concluding a bargain for a house, evidently well suited at the time, for the purpose. It was situated in the Cowgate, between the Meal-market and the Old Fishmarket Close, to the south of the Royal Bank, and

¹ Thomas Allan, Esq. of Lauriston, banker, died at Linden Hall, near Morpeth, on the 12th September 1833. In the newspaper notices of his death it is said,—“Mr Allan was one of those active and public-spirited citizens whose loss will be deeply felt by the community, being a zealous and disinterested promoter of all undertakings or institutions which were calculated to promote the general good.” Mr Allan was born at Edinburgh, 17th July 1777.

entered from the Cowgate. It had originally been the Post-Office ; and in Kincaid's large Plan of Edinburgh, dated 1784, it is distinctly marked "The Antiquarian Society Hall," standing by itself in an open piece of ground on each side. In the "History of Edinburgh," by Alexander Kincaid, p. 117, Edin. 1787, 12mo, the account of the Society and its objects ends with this paragraph,—“The hall wherein they deposit their antiquities is in the Cowgate, upon the west side of the Fishmarket, and shown to strangers by Mr James Cummyng, the Secretary.” The price was L.1000 ; but after two years, of that sum only L.425 had actually been paid.

The state of the Society's funds, instead, therefore, of improving, unfortunately compelled the members to dispose of the property to disadvantage, having been resold in January 1787 for L.765.

(2). HOUSE IN CHESSEL'S BUILDINGS, 1788-1793.

A lease of a flat or part of a house, entering from a common stair, the windows looking out on the Canongate, was taken for three years at the annual rent of L.31, 10s. Here the Secretary, James Cummyng, lived, and from want of sufficient accommodation, we are informed that the Society's collections had got mixed with his own, and at his death in January 1793, many of the Society's articles, it is alleged, were lost or claimed as private property by his widow and her relations. At this time there were nominally at least four Curators, and immediately upon the Secretary's death, no time was lost by Mr Smellie, who became his successor, and others, in carrying off for safety the collection of coins and other articles of value that belonged to the Society. In justice to Cummyng's memory, I would add, that the expression used in Part III. p. xi., "*the loss of no inconsiderable part of the Museum,*" after his death, was used unadvisedly. I can discover no precise evidence that such was the case. He himself, I am persuaded, was thoroughly honest, and deserved well of the Society, although the Founder occasionally complained of his negligence, while his widow and her friends endeavoured to establish a heavy claim against the Society for unremunerated services. That various articles may have been lost or abstracted is probable enough, the wonder rather is that any such losses should have been inconsiderable in the frequent fittings or removals ; while the articles at a later period are described "as heaped together, rendering them utterly useless as a museum, either to members or the public."

(3.) HOUSE IN GOSFORD'S CLOSE, 1793-1795.

A lease of a house belonging to Mr Home Rigg at the foot of Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket, was taken in February 1793, and occupied by the new Secretary. The rent was L.55. In the "Travellers' Companion to Edinburgh, 1794," we accordingly find the above statement thus altered, "The hall of the Antiquarian Society wherein they deposit their antiquities is in Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket, and shown to strangers by Mr William Smellie, the Secretary." The Secretary having thus a personal interest in the accommodation afforded, took an early occasion to make an advantageous bargain for better premises elsewhere; but which he himself was not destined long to occupy, as he died in June 1795.

(4.) HOUSE ON THE CASTLE HILL, 1795-1814.

This house, situated on the south side of the Castle Hill (nearly opposite the present Reservoir), had formerly belonged to Dr Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. It was bought from the trustees of the deceased Mr James Rae, surgeon. The price was L.630, including the benefit of a share in the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance. The Antiquarian Society having no tangible funds for the purchase-money, and for extinguishing other debts, was enabled to borrow the sum of L.800 from the Company, upon a personal bond, signed by Sir James Stirling, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir William Millar of Glenlee, and six other members, 20th November 1794. Thus, along with an excellent house occupied by the Secretary, a local habitation for the Museum and Library was secured for the next twenty years.

According to the Society's Minutes, July 4th, 1795, the younger Smellie was elected his father's successor, and he continued to retain possession of this house, "with the same allowance which the late Secretary had, viz., the use of the Society's house and Ten pounds *per annum* for coals and candles." Again, on the 5th December of that year, "the meetings resolved that, as soon as the effects of the Society were properly arranged, the Museum shall be opened for three hours one day in the week, when any member of the Society shall have it in his power to bring any friends he pleases to view the antiquities belonging to the Society."

Whether any such arrangements took place, or to what extent, I cannot say. In the "History of Edinburgh, 1804," and "Stark's Picture of Edin-

burgh, 1806," the Society and its Museum are passed over in silence ; and practically, instead of to the Castle Hill, they might as well have been transported to the *Ultima Thule* of ancient writers, wherever that place may chance to be situated. Each successive year at this time apparently left the Society in a still more hopeless state.

The abstract of the Society's affairs, laid before the anniversary meeting on the 19th December 1810, showed " the sum due amounted to L.916, 19s. 9d. The Preses stated, that the Society had no means of paying the interest on the above-mentioned sums, and the public burdens on the house, except the annual sum of L.1, 1s. each, *paid by a few ordinary members*, and L.4 per annum, received from the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance. No wonder, therefore, that it was found necessary to sell the house ; and in moving to another quarter, it was thought that apartments in the New Town would be at once more convenient for the members, without recognising the necessity of providing house accommodation for the Secretary.

(5.) HOUSE, No. 42 GEORGE STREET, 1813-1825.

For this purpose, an agreement was made with the Royal Society, 20th March 1813, to take a lease of the upper flat of No. 42 George Street, at the annual rent of L.40. The access by a common stair, not well lighted, was no recommendation ; but if the Royal Society were content to occupy the flat above the shop of Urquhart the perfumer, the inference would seem to be that the one Society was not much more flourishing than the other. In regard to the Antiquaries, the removal to a new locality led to some internal changes, which proved ere long very beneficial. The articles belonging to the Society, when carried to the new apartments, were stowed away for a time as a confused mass. One of the rooms had glass-cases, probably brought from the Castle Hill, and Mr SKENE of Rubislaw, who had joined the Society in May 1818, accepted the curatorship of the Museum in 1819. He accordingly set himself to this important task, while another member, Mr John Dillon, undertook to arrange the books and manuscripts, and by daily labour for a period of six months, the various articles were at length classified and arranged, bringing order out of confusion, and thus rendering the Museum and Library accessible at least to members. This I state from personal recollections ; as before I had the honour to be elected a Fellow, I obtained, not without some difficulty, the privilege of examining the unbound and unar-

ranged mass of Hawthornden papers, and, under certain restrictions, of transcribing portions for an object which after all came to nothing.

(6.) IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, 1826–1844.

The arrangements by which the Society in 1826 secured a hall or gallery and apartments in the Royal Institution building, have already been noticed, or stated at greater length in the printed Account, Part III. At the time of removal, Mr Skene, with the aid of Mr A. Macdonald, superintended all the re-arrangements in a most successful manner. In 1844 the Society, as an acknowledgment of Mr Skene's long and important services (1819–1837), elected him as one of the twenty-five Honorary Members. This gentleman still survives at the patriarchal age of 86.¹

(7.) HOUSE, NO. 24 GEORGE STREET.

Mr Skene having resigned the curatorship in 1837, MR ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who had long been assistant, and Mr ROBERT FRAZER, were elected Joint-Curators. The great zeal and assiduity which both of them displayed in the arrangement and conservation of the Museum, when its late removal to No. 24 George Street became necessary, cannot but be fresh in the recollection of the members. Mr Macdonald, who had previously for many years been employed, under Mr Thomas Thomson, Depute-Clerk-Register, on the Public Records of Scotland printed by authority of the Record Commissioners, was appointed Principal Keeper of the Register of Deeds and Probative Writs in 1836. His failing health had for some time been only too obvious to his friends. He was advised to seek the benefit of a change of scene, and for that purpose he repaired to the south of England, but with so little advantage, that he soon hurried back, and, a day or two after his return to his native city, he expired on the 23d of December 1850, aged about 59.

Mr Frazer, who came to Edinburgh from Fife about the year 1795, was first employed as clerk to Alexander Gardner, goldsmith, in Parliament Close, and afterwards commenced business on his own account as a working jeweller. To gratify his personal tastes, he formed a small museum, arranged

¹ James Skene, Esq., of Rubislaw, passed advocate in 1797. He was an early and intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott. His latter years were spent at Oxford, where, at Frewen Hall, he died in the 90th year of his age, 27th March 1864.

with neatness, and visited by strangers. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1828; and having retired from business as a jeweller, lapidary, and seal engraver, in 1844, he devoted most of his time in looking after the Society's Museum, anticipating its speedy removal to the present building; but after a short illness, he died at his residence, No. 1 Brighton Crescent, Portobello, 9th December 1858, aged 76.

Nor ought we to overlook the similar services of their successors who have acted as Joint-Curators, namely,—

Mr JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., 1851–1853.

Mr ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, A.R.S.A., 1854.

Mr BARRON GRAHAME of Morphie, 1855–1860.

Mr JAMES JOHNSTON, 1858–1860.

About this time also the services of an extra Curator became requisite to take the responsible charge of the Society's Numismatic collections. Mr William Ferguson, writer to the Signet, whose knowledge especially of Scottish coinage was extensively known, had previously devoted much time to arrange the Society's collections. Mr Lindsay of Cork, in his important work on the Coinage of Scotland, 1845, acknowledged that to Mr Ferguson he was "in the highest degree indebted for a great extent of most valuable information, &c., and that his numerous contributions added most materially to the efficiency and interest of this work."¹

Another Fellow of the Society, and one of the Vice-Presidents, William Waring Hay Newton, of Newton, Esq., also materially assisted in such arrangements;² but the first special appointment in this department was that of WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT, a native of Edinburgh, elected in 1851. He took his degree of M.D. in 1853, and was no less distinguished for his great skill as a numismatist, than for his extraordinary knowledge of Oriental

¹ At this time Mr Ferguson had not joined the Society; he only became a Fellow in 1844, and died 15th March 1849, aged 62.

² Mr Waring Hay had been a Fellow since 1814. At a later period, on succeeding to the estate, he assumed the name of Newton. He died in 1860, and bequeathed, with other relics, several rare gold and silver coins, selected from his own cabinet, which he ascertained were not in the Society's collections. (See Proceedings, 2d July 1860, vol. iii. p. 480.)

and other languages. The Society and his friends had to deplore his loss in 1855 at the early age of twenty-four.¹

After these notices of the Curators and earlier localities of the Museum, I shall briefly advert to the subsequent state of the Society. The first meeting in the new apartments in the Royal Institution buildings was held on the 11th December 1826, when an excellent report on the state of the Society was read by Mr Skene, the Curator. It was printed at the time, and published in the *Archæologia*. The accommodation provided for the Society consisted of the upper suite of rooms on the western side of the present building, immediately above the Royal Society's apartments, and had the advantage of a hall or gallery lighted from the roof. The rent paid was L.100. The taxes, chiefly local, averaged nearly L.20.

So long as the Society continued to flourish, no difficulty was experienced in paying rent, taxes, and the ordinary expenses of attendants required chiefly in connexion with the Museum, which was open to the public, free of charge, by tickets of admission signed by a Fellow. At this time, the Society's funds enabled the Council, in 1828, to resume the publication of the *Transactions*, by the issue of Vol. III. Part. 1; and in February 1831, while continuing the series, it was resolved to prepare an annual part for the members. The suggestion was also adopted to change the title of "*Transactions*" (following the example of the London Society of Antiquaries) to that of "*ARCHÆOLOGIA SCOTICA*," when Part 2, with its large Appendix, completed that volume. Vol. IV. Part 1, was issued in the same year, and Part 2 in 1833. An interval of no less than twenty-four years had to elapse before the Society was enabled to complete that volume.

It so happened in the course of a few years, partly occasioned by the frequent changes in the management, that a gradual but most perceptible alteration for the worse began to creep on. The printing of the *Archæologia* had to be abandoned; the ordinary meetings were not so regularly held and but poorly attended; several of the Fellows resigned or had their names struck off the roll on account of arrears; and so few candidates for admission were coming forward that, from 1834 to 1839, only six new members were elected, notwithstanding the admission fees and annual payments had been

¹ The members have reason to congratulate the Society in having had, since 1864, such an excellent successor to Dr W. H. Scott as Mr GEORGE SIM, the present Curator of Coins.

reduced, and exemptions from any further demands were authorised, after a definite period of payment. Neither were applications neglected to the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, for a reduction of rent, and memorials to the Lords of H. M. Treasury, craving a small annual grant for the purpose of maintaining the Museum for the public benefit. It was all in vain. The Lords of the Treasury replied, they could not recommend Her Majesty to propose any annual grant to Parliament; and the Honourable the Board intimated, that it was not in their power to give any reduction of rent, as the amount formed a necessary part of their estimated expenditure. To make matters still more unpropitious, the Board strictly prohibited the Society from the benefit of sub-letting their hall for occasional meetings of some scientific societies, which had averaged from L.30 to L.40 per annum. The consequence was that, as Treasurer, I was left with scarcely any available funds to pay the half-yearly rent.

I have no desire to exaggerate the difficult position in which the Society was placed in the years 1839 to 1844 with heavy debts, and no sufficient income to meet the ordinary expenses, and no active Secretary to render assistance even in his own department. A reference to the Treasurer's accounts and the Society's Minutes would at least fully warrant all I have stated. It is not an agreeable subject to dwell upon, but it is proper to have the facts recorded to make us more sensible of the advantages resulting from subsequent arrangements, which happily secured the favourable position which the Society now occupies.

At the time to which I have referred, it was necessary to look matters boldly in the face, and to consider whether any means could be devised to avert the threatened calamity. In February 1843 the first step taken was, with constrained humility, to look out for premises at a rent more commensurate with the Society's crippled resources, and to crave time for paying up the arrears. To render matters still more desperate, in consequence of that old established Company, the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance, coming to a close, intimation was received that the balance of L.200 still due on the bond granted by the Society in 1794, on which interest had for this lengthened period been regularly paid, now required to be cancelled. In this emergency, it happened that Mr Turnbull, who had become acting Secretary, submitted to the Council a proposal on the part of the Life Assurance Company, then rebuilding their premises in George Street,

that their upper apartments, with a large hall lighted from the roof, would be altered and fitted up to suit the Society's Museum, if a lease of the same were taken for twenty years. The rent proposed was L.60 per annum for the first ten years, to be increased to L.65 during the ten years following. These terms, in a kind of desperation, were accepted, although our lease of the Royal Institution buildings had still some years to run. The sanction of the Honourable Board of Manufactures was therefore required, and in preferring this request, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, the secretary, in reply, on the 9th of March 1843, stated that the Board was quite willing to cancel the existing lease at Whitsunday, provided the full arrears were paid, or the amplest security given for payment.

In July 1844, when the new premises in George Street were about ready for the Society, the Council, on craving permission from the Board to have the articles in the Museum removed, were told most distinctly, if not in such precise words, that the property of the Society would be arrested and sold off, if necessary, in order to pay the accumulating arrears. Had the Society stood out, and quietly left the Board to take the responsible charge of the Museum, it is very possible that exemption might have been allowed in their desire to be rid of unprofitable tenants, and in order to obtain possession of the apartments for their drawing school. I am glad, however, to be able, for the credit of the Society, to state that we retired with honour, and paid the last shilling that was due.

It may naturally be asked, how was this accomplished? The plan devised may be stated in a very few words. The Life Assurance Company were willing, if the Society accepted the proposed lease, to grant a loan of L.400 upon sufficient security, this sum to be repaid, including calculated interest, in half-yearly instalments for the period of eight years, on the principle of a self-redeeming annuity. About the same time I was, by an accidental circumstance, able to establish a claim for arrears against the executors of a wealthy member in connexion with the purchase of the Society's house in the Castle Hill, including the share of the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance attached to it. I have also to state that the venerable judge, Sir William Millar, of Glenlee, the last survivor, and the representative of another of the eight members who had become security for the bond,¹

¹ The father of Lord Glenlee, Thomas Miller, was promoted, in 1766, to be Lord Justice-

handsomely offered to contribute their proportion of the balance, provided the said bond should be cancelled. Hitherto the Treasurer had to advance the funds necessary for ordinary purposes out of his own pocket, and as this was not always convenient and tended to confuse the Society's accounts, it seemed more advisable to have from one of the banks a cash credit account for a limited amount. This I obtained from the Commercial Bank upon my own personal security. Another negotiation, which proved successful, was to claim exemption from local taxation, in terms of a recent Act of Parliament for the benefit of learned Societies. By personal applications also to a few noblemen and others, urging the duty of contributing towards the support of a National Institution, several new members were induced to come forward, till at length, by the united exertions of active office-bearers, as already stated, many of the difficulties which had pressed so heavily for some years on the progress of the Society were overcome, the obligations incurred were gradually extinguished, and available means secured for commencing a new series of "Proceedings" for 1851: in short, the Society once more rose to fresh life and activity.

The Museum and apartments in No. 24 George Street eventually proved, however, less commodious than had been anticipated, and the access by a long staircase was not very convenient. Yet the public gladly availed themselves of free access, and the liberality of throwing the Museum open two or three days each week to the public had no small effect in increasing a kindly feeling towards the Society.

During the period of upwards of thirty years, between 1826 and 1858, whether the Society was in a prosperous state or the reverse, it had been felt and acknowledged, (notwithstanding the honorary services of the Curators and other Office-Bearers), to be a grievous burden to incur the whole expense of maintaining a Museum of Archæology for the public benefit,

Clerk; in January 1788 succeeded as Lord President, and was created a Baronet 19th February that year; but did not long enjoy this honour, as he died on the 27th September 1789. His son, William, who then succeeded to the title, was born 12th August 1755, passed Advocate in 1777, and was raised to the Bench, as Lord Glenlee, in May 1795. When styled William Miller, junior, of Glenlee, Esq., advocate, he became a Fellow of the Society, June 5th, 1781. He resigned his seat on the Bench in 1840, and died 9th May 1845, having continued a Fellow of the Society for 64 years.

² See Account of the Society, Part Third, p. xv.

while in London and Dublin these were liberally supported by Government. Any such aid at this time, after our previous experience, seemed to be utterly hopeless. At length, however, some circumstances connected with the establishment of a National Picture Gallery opened up a prospect that a beneficial arrangement might yet be effected in that quarter.

(8.) THE ROYAL INSTITUTION BUILDINGS, 1859.

It would be quite unnecessary to give any detailed statement of the negotiations already alluded to, which were renewed with the Honourable The Board of Manufactures and the Treasury. The result was, in the Society obtaining power to transfer its Museum to the central hall or galleries of the present building. The basis of this arrangement was, that the Society of Antiquaries should make over to Government all their collections, to be maintained as a National Collection of Antiquities in Edinburgh, under the exclusive charge and direction of the Society as formerly, the Treasury on their part undertaking to provide, in one of the public buildings, sufficient and free accommodation for the Museum, with rooms for the Society holding its ordinary meetings. This arrangement was completed, after personal inspection and conferences with the Council, by JAMES WILSON, Esq., Secretary of the Treasury. The Treasury Minute prepared by that gentleman, dated 25th February 1858, approved of the estimated expense for repairing and adapting the portion of the Institution building set apart for this purpose, which included handsome glass-cases, &c., for classifying and exhibiting the articles in the Museum and Library, amounting to L.2032, 7s. 10d. This was accordingly submitted to Parliament, and the sum voted, with an additional annual grant of L.300 to be paid by the Board, in order to provide "a proper staff of officers to manage and take charge of this Museum."

The first meeting in the new premises was held on the 14th June 1859, and it was truly gratifying to find ourselves again located within these walls under such propitious circumstances, although the Museum and Library had then been only partially removed and not arranged. The Society was no less fortunate in sub-letting to suitable tenants, without loss, the old premises in No. 24 George Street, as the lease does not expire till May 1864.

The advantages gained by these arrangements soon became apparent. The Fellows could never regard the Museum in the light of private property which they might dispose off to their personal benefit ; but being established and held by the Society, as it were, in trust for the public, the actual deed of conveyance has virtually made no difference in other respects ; and the Society is now enabled to expend its increased resources on the proper objects of the Institution. The late Lord Murray, as Vice-President, on the 30th November 1852, in an eloquent address,¹ after mentioning the resumption of the printed Proceedings of the Society, in annual parts, says :

“ I feel assured that a Society conducted with the liberal research and generous public spirit which characterizes the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, cannot fail to be of use to Scotland. In the exertions to establish a National Museum of Antiquities, and to preserve a record of discoveries, valuable from the light they are calculated to throw on our ancient history, it is successfully aiming at a great public good.

“ In all these respects, I feel assured that this Society is destined to render important services, both directly and indirectly ; directly, by its own labours, researches, and preservation of antiquities illustrative of the various departments of archæological science ; and indirectly, by the influence of its example, and the spirit of intelligent research it is calculated to incite and to keep alive.”

The Society now happily realizes those expectations, and exhibits a new and brighter phase in its career, having gentlemen as Office-Bearers fully qualified and disposed for carrying on its affairs in a liberal spirit, its funds relieved from former burdens, the printing of the “ Proceedings ” steadily continuing, and an active share taken when necessary for encouraging and aiding explorations in various parts of the country, and also in using its influence to ensure the preservation of ancient remains throughout the land. As a National Museum of Antiquities it secures from the Exchequer valuable articles of *Treasure Trove*, and occasional purchases are made of articles of special interest to increase the value and importance of the Collection ; all these being matters the Society could not possibly have achieved when struggling, as it were, for its own existence. Nor ought I on this occasion to omit the name of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr

¹ See Proceedings, vol. I. p. 98.

William M'Culloch,¹ when I add, that the manner in which the various articles have been grouped and arranged, is highly creditable alike to the Keeper and to the Curators.

The introductory and other addresses of the Earl of Buchan, as I have already said, show the actual state and progress of the Society at its commencement, and evince his clear, sagacious, and comprehensive views of what should be the leading objects of such an Institution. His Lordship was convinced that the acquisition of what is called a self-contained house, where all the effects of the Society might be preserved and exhibited, was indispensable. Encouraged by a donation of L.100 from the Marquess of Bute, L.50 from the Earl of Fife, L.50 from the Duke of Montrose, and other gentlemen, Lord Buchan authorised the purchase for L.1000 of a house from Colonel Campbell, which had lately been occupied as the General Post-Office. He cherished the idea "that some opulent lovers of their country, and such commendable pursuits" would have secured "a house for the use of the Society, wherein the Secretary would reside gratuitously, and where he would have the care of such books, records, and antiquities as would accrue to the undertaking." We have already seen what the results were in consequence of the Society being unable to retain possession of this large and commodious building, so well suited at that time for the formation of a National Museum of Antiquities.

It may be interesting to notice a little more in detail, some of the works which the Earl of Buchan enumerated as requiring the attention of members; most of which, however, have since been taken up and completed by other associations or individuals.

Statistical Reports on the various Parishes of Scotland, more especially in regard to remains of antiquity. Although only a secondary object in the noble undertaking accomplished by Sir John Sinclair, 1791-1799, and also in the new Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845, these were not overlooked, yet much still remains to be done. This perhaps might now be accomplished in the form of a Handbook, pointing out the objects of

¹ In the Appendix to Proceedings, (vol. vii. p. 535,) is a brief notice of Mr. M'Culloch, who died at Edinburgh May 22d, 1869, aged 54, as introductory to his valuable communication on the History of "The Maiden," in the Society's Museum.

antiquity that are known to exist in the several parishes throughout Scotland.

Chartularies of the Religious Houses in Scotland prior to the Reformation.—Of these important Registers, nearly all the principal ones that are preserved have since been printed for the members of the Bannatyne, Maitland, Spalding, or Abbotsford Clubs, in a style of elegance and accuracy, and at an expense which the Society of Antiquaries in all probability could never have attempted.

The Biography and Portraits of distinguished Scotsmen was another favourite scheme of Lord Buchan.—Various attempts have been made, to supply a collected series of engraved portraits, but the *Iconographia's* of Pinkerton, Smith, and others do not supply a work of this kind that is at all satisfactory. The expenses, however, of such an undertaking would be so great, as will likely preclude any attempt of the kind being made.—In the class of biography the most notable work is that by a much esteemed Fellow of the Society, Mr Robert Chambers, in the “Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen, from the Earliest Period to the present Time, arranged in Alphabetical Order, and forming a Scottish Biographical Dictionary.” Glasgow, 1834. 4 vols. 8vo.¹ A Supplement by the Rev. Thomas Thomson was added to a re-issue of these volumes in 1855: the book itself, which is known as having been written by different hands, would require much careful revision. Dr Irving’s “Lives of Scottish Writers,” 2 vols., 1839, also deserves special notice, as exhibiting the minute and scrupulous accuracy for which the learned author was remarkable. “Of the thirty-seven lives contained in this work (he says), twenty-seven had appeared in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.” He adds, “It is almost superfluous to mention, that the present work has no claim to be considered as a general collection of the literary biography of Scotland.”

Of the Coins of Scotland.—The “View of the Coinage of Scotland,” by

¹ The publishers, Messrs Blackie & Son, of Glasgow, changed this title on the completion of the work in 1837 to the simpler form, “A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen.”

Mr Lindsay, of Cork,¹ in 1845, dedicated to the Society, is in most respects very complete and satisfactory when compared with the posthumous work of Snelling in 1774, or the *Numismata Scotiæ* of Cardonnel in 1786.

The Sculptured Stones of Scotland.—The late Mr Chalmers of Aldbar, a liberal and accomplished member of this Society, in his splendid volume on the Sculptured Stones of the County of Angus, contributed to the Bannatyne Club in 1848, may be considered as first having set the example of devoting a separate work to this very interesting class of ancient remains. At an earlier date, in May 1831, Charles C. Petley, Esq., communicated to the Society “A short Account of some Carved Stones in Ross-shire,” with a series of outline sketches. These only appeared in the *Archæologia Scotica*, (vol. iv. p. 345), in 1857. The drawings of Sculptured Stones, intended for publication by Dr Hibbert, about 1832, unfortunately never appeared.² A more extended and complete work was undertaken for the Spalding Club, by the Secretary, John Stuart, Esq., in 1857, which deserves the highest praise for research and valuable illustrations.³ The series of Crosses and Monumental sculptured stones peculiar to the West coast and the adjacent Islands would require a supplemental volume, or rather a separate publication.

Of works in other branches of Antiquarian research, the following are deserving of notice:—

The Roman Antiquities of Scotland.—The best work of the kind is that founded upon the labours of Alexander Gordon, Horsley, and others of less note, by Robert Stuart, an intelligent bookseller of Glasgow, who died in 1848, at the early age of thirty-seven. Of this work, entitled, “*Caledonia Romana: a Descriptive Account of the Roman Antiquities of Scotland*,” a second edition, revised by Professor David Thomson, of King’s College, Aberdeen, appeared in 1852, 4to.

¹ John Lindsay, Esq., barrister-at-law, Cork, author of various Numismatic works, was deservedly elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1845. He died at Cork, on the 31st December 1870.

² See his Letter on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland, in 1845, printed in *Arch. Scot.*, Vol. IV. p. 415. Also, Appendix No. III. p. 41, of the present Address.

³ A Second Volume, completing this important work, appeared in 1867.

The Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals, by Henry Laing, Seal Engraver, 1850, 4to. It is to be regretted, he has found but small encouragement to proceed with a second volume.¹

The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, by R. W. Billings, in 4 vols., 1845–1852. This well known work, so much esteemed for accurate and trustworthy delineations of picturesque buildings throughout Scotland, is accompanied with suitable letterpress descriptions. Occasionally, it is true, obtrusive walls are not represented, while carved stones, out of proportion to the buildings (for the purpose of architectural details), figure in the fore-ground, where they never happened to be visible.

Of the same class, but rather pictorial than antiquarian, are *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, 1817, and more especially *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, 1826; of Sir Walter Scott, illustrated with engravings in a first-rate style from paintings or drawings by several eminent artists.

Abundance of work, however, still remains to be undertaken, and were this a suitable occasion, it might be suggested, since most of our Book or Literary Clubs have terminated, whether a new scheme might not assume the name of THE SCOTTISH ANTIQUARIAN CLUB, and be advantageously engrafted on this Society. If such a scheme were taken up, it would be advisable that it should be under the management of a select committee of working members; the subscribers paying a fixed subscription; and as it ought not to be restricted to Fellows of the Society, the number of copies of the works issued should be regulated by the list of subscribers, and none printed for ordinary sale.

1. One of the first objects to be undertaken, perhaps, should be the minor *Chartularies*, or Collections of detached Charters of Religious Houses in Scotland, of which no Chartulary exists.²

2. The *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland*, prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

¹ Mr Henry Laing was afterwards enabled to publish, by subscription, in a very handsome form, a "Supplemental Volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals, Royal, Baronial, Ecclesiastical, and Municipal." Edinburgh, 1866. 4to.

² The volume of Charters of the Isle of May, edited by Dr John Stuart, is the commencement of such a scheme, undertaken by the Society.

3. The *Records of the Royal Boroughs* of Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and other towns in Scotland.¹

4. A series of our older *Historical Writers*, collated with the best MSS., and printed separately, in a uniform size.²

5. The *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*; and also a continuous chronological series of *Royal Letters and other State Papers* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

6. *Geographical Illustrations of Scotland*, founded upon David Macpherson's work, but greatly enlarged. Had Mr George Chalmers completed his gigantic work, "Caledonia," he purposed to have included a complete Topographical Dictionary. His MS. collections were bought for the Advocates' Library.

These or similar works, it is evident, would require a number of labourers, willing and able, for carrying on such publications, which it might not be very easy to obtain. To conclude,—

In the Account of the Society, 1830 (p. 9), it was remarked, in reference to the early proceedings, "The events connected with the decline of a public institution are not always calculated for general exposure; but on the present occasion there exists no reason whatever for exercising a delicacy directed to their suppression. Prudence suggests nothing more than to avoid entering into details." This I have endeavoured to keep in view; although it was impossible to give a correct account of the Society without furnishing some details respecting the low state to which it was at more than one period reduced; while the difficulties it had to encounter should at least prove a warning for the future. It may also serve to vindicate the members from any charge of leaving unaccomplished objects that were to be expected had such an institution remained in a highly flourishing state.

It now only remains for me to express my grateful thanks for the honour done me at this time, and for the uniform kindness I have experienced in my humble endeavours to aid in the promotion of Archæological Science in one or other of its widely varied departments, during the long course of years I have been a Fellow of the Society.

¹ We are indebted to James D. Marwick, Esq., City Clerk, for the publication of some of these interesting Records, connected with Edinburgh, and other Royal Burghs.

² Such a series of the old Histories of Scotland is now in progress for subscribers.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—Mr JAMES CUMMYNG, *Secretary*.

The following unpublished verses by Robert Fergusson, the Scottish poet (who died in 1774), were evidently written for the Cape Club, and give a humorous description of Cummyng, who might well be called a singular character. The MS. is in the handwriting of David Herd, who became Sovereign of the Knights of the Cape,¹ having the designation of *Sir Scrape*. The Poet himself was styled *Sir Precentor*.

Just now in fair Edina lives,
That famous antient town,
At a known place hight Black Fry's Wynd
A Knight of old renown.

A Druid's sacred form he bears
With saucer eyes of fire ;
An antique hat on's head he wears,
Like Ramsay's the town cryer.

Down in the Wynd his mansion stands,
All gloomy dark within ;
Here mangled books like blood and bones
Strew'd in a giant's den ;

Crude, indigested, half devour'd,
On groaning shelves they'r thrown ;
Such manuscripts no eye can read,
No hand write but his own.

No prophet he like Sydrophe's
Can future times explore,
But what has happened he can tell
Five hundred years and more.

A walking Alm'nack he appears,
Step't from some mouldy wall ;

Worn out of use thro' dust and years,
Like scutcheons in his hall.

By rusty coins old kings he'll trace,
And know their air and mein ;
King Fergus he knows well by face,
'Tho' George he ne'er has seen.

This wight th' outsides of Churches lov'd
Almost unto a sin,
Spires Gothic of more use he proved
Than pulpits are within.

Ye Jackdaws that are us'd to talk
Like us of human race,
When nigh you see J[ames] C[ummyng] walk,
Loud chatter forth his praise.

When e'er the fatal day shall come,
For come, alas ! it must,
When this good Knight must stay at home
And turn to antique dust,

The solemn Dirge ye Owls prepare,
Ye bats more hoarsly skreak ;
Croak all ye ravens round the bier,
And all ye church mice squeak.

In the "Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, by John Nichols, F.S.A.," vol iii. pp. 775, &c., are some letters of Joseph Ritson, the eminent antiquary, addressed to my father, Mr William Laing,

¹ The best account of the Cape Club will be found in Dr Daniel Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 17.

bookseller, Canongate, Edinburgh. From these it appears that he had communicated an account of the death of James Cummyng, who resided in the Antiquarian Society's house, then in Chessels' Buildings, immediately adjoining his place of business. In reply, Ritson says—"Your narrative of the dying moments and last advice of poor Cumming is really so ludicrous, and so lamentable, that one does not know whether to laugh or cry. I hope you will take care that a piece of eloquence so interesting and important to society do not perish with its author. Suppose you were to draw it up as a communication for the next volume of 'Transactions of the Antiquaries of Scotland,' under the title of 'Cumming's Legacy, or a Dissertation &c. . . .' I was, however, really sorry to lose so worthy and respectable an acquaintance, whom I hoped to render a valuable correspondent. Apropos, are my ancient spurs, &c., deposited in the archives of the Society? But you have not told me, I observe, whether he ever got the parcel. I have no great expectations from his Library," &c.¹

In another letter, dated Gray's Inn, July 30th, 1793, he says:—"I wish very much to know, too, what is become of my King Charles's Spurs, &c., which I sent to Master Cumming for your Antiquarian Society, as I am apprehensive they have been knocked off with the rest of his old iron. Do be so good as give yourself the trouble to inquire into this matter, and tell me who is Jemmy's successor in the Secretaryship of the Society."

At the sale of Cummyng's effects in 1793, a large lot of his manuscript letters and papers had been bought by my father, upon commission, for Mr George Chalmers, London. Singularly enough, nearly half a century later (in November 1842), at the sale of Mr Chalmers' library, it happened that, without knowing their contents, I sent a commission and obtained for no extravagant sum the chief portion if not the whole of these papers, tied up in the old blackened paper wrappers as if they had scarcely ever been examined. They were thus described in the sale catalogue:—

¹ There is clearly a mistake in the date of this letter which I cannot explain. In the original January 19th is distinctly enough written, and yet the date of Cummyng's decease beyond doubt was the 22d of that month:—"Died here, on Tuesday last (January 22d, 1793), Mr. James Cummyng, Keeper of the Lyon Records, and Secretary to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, whose character for ingenuity and erudition, is well known. His numerous acquaintance and correspondents will please accept this notification of his death."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, Tuesday, January 29th, 1793.

- No. 1796. Autograph Letter of D. Herd, and various Letters and Papers from J. Cumming's collection.
- 1849. Various Poetical Pieces from J. Cumming's collection.
- 1851. Letters and Papers from J. Cumming's collection.
- 1852. Letters and Papers from J. Cumming's collection.

These lots proved to be of a very miscellaneous description, but several of the Letters were very interesting, and they furnished the particulars regarding his own connexions mentioned above at p. 7. There were also various letters addressed to his sister, Henrietta Cummyng, who was a kind of lady-governess to Lady Anne Lindsay (afterwards Barnard) and her younger sisters. In one of these letters, quoted in "Lives of the Lindsays," (1849), she entreats her brother James to furnish her with a detailed genealogical tree to show the gentility of their ancestors. Most of the letters that related to the Balcarres family I had the pleasure of giving to Lord Lindsay. His Lordship, I presume to think, has done Miss Henrietta scrimp justice, when he mentions her as "Miss C——," in terms that suggest her having continued as a dependent, hanging on the family to some indefinite period (vol. ii. p. 315); evidently not aware of her marriage, by special license, with Dr James Fordyce, an eminent dissenting minister in London, 2d May 1771. They finally took up their residence in Bath, where he died in 1796, aged 76, while his widow survived till the 10th of February 1823, having attained the advanced age of 89 years. (See Edinburgh Magazine, p. 256). This obituary notice probably first appeared in one of the English journals of the day, may be quoted.

"At Bath, 10th Feb. 1823, at the advanced age of 89 years, Mrs Henrietta Cummyng, relict of the late Dr James Fordyce, (author of the celebrated 'Sermons to Young Women'), and sister of the late Mr James Cummyng, secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. Distinguished in her early years for rare and splendid talents, genius, and brilliancy of wit, together with a piety, rectitude of thought, and simplicity of mind and manners seldom equalled, she engaged and secured the esteem and best affections of Dr Fordyce; and during a period of thirty years which they passed in mutual felicity, he found her the bright pattern of all he wished her sex to be."

I cannot imagine any one who could have pronounced such a high-

flown eulogy on Miss Henrietta, unless it were her old pupil, the authoress of “Auld Robin Gray,” from the recollections of more than half-a-century. Lady Anne Barnard, born 1750, died at London, 6th May 1825, in her 74th year.

No. II.—MR WILLIAM SMELLIE, *Secretary.*

The inscription on his monument, erected by his son, which is mentioned at p. 9, taken from Brown’s *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 193, Edinb. 1867, reads as follows :—

“*Infra sepultæ sunt reliquiæ GULIELMI SMELLIE, S. S. Reg. et Antiq. Soc., qui doctrinæ gloria principatum inter sui sæculi Typographos tenebat. Librum illum eximium, cui titulus ‘The Philosophy of Natural History,’ conscripsit protulitque in lucem; et Gallico in Anglicum sermonem cel. Buffonii opera vertit. Annos natus LIV. e vita excessit, die xxiv. Junij M.DCC.XCV.*”

In the “*Proceedings*,” vol. v. p. 120, will be found a Memorandum respecting the existing portion of Mr Smellie’s Correspondence, now in the possession of the Society, on which the two volumes of his *Memoirs* by Kerr were founded.

No. III.—DR HIBBERT WARE, *Secretary.*

[*To the brief mention of my old and much valued friend Dr Hibbert, given above at p. 11, I beg to subjoin the following Obituary notice, which was written and communicated, at the request of his family, to one of our local newspapers.*]

“SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., an eminent antiquary and geologist, long connected with Edinburgh, died at Hale Barns, near Altringham, Cheshire, on the 30th December, in the 67th year of his age. He was the eldest son of Samuel Hibbert, Esq., of Clarendon House, Chorlton, in Lancashire, and was born in Manchester, 21st April 1782. His original destination, we believe, like that of two younger brothers, was the army; and he held for some time a commission in a militia regiment. Succeeding to an independent fortune, his natural inclination to scientific pursuits induced him

to pass through a regular course of medical study. He took his degree of M.D. at the University of Edinburgh in 1817; the subject of his thesis was *De Vita Humana*. In the same year he made a voyage to Shetland, his attention having been directed to this quarter by the early mineralogical publications of Professor Jameson. He remained during that autumn no idle visitor, but, carefully exploring this interesting group of islands, now rendered by means of steam navigation so easily accessible to the summer tourist, Dr Hibbert produced as the fruits of this excursion the chromate of iron, which he had found in such masses, as to become an important discovery. He made, as he informs us, a second voyage to Shetland in the following summer, chiefly at Professor Jameson's instigation, in the view both of rendering his discovery of public benefit, and of completing his geological survey of the country. For this discovery the Society of Arts in London awarded to him, in 1820, the smaller or Isis gold medal. Two years later he published in a large volume in quarto, his "Description of the Shetland Islands, comprising an Account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions." Having taken up his residence in this city, he became, in 1820, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of other literary and scientific associations. Among the papers read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh was an Essay on Spectral Illusions. This gave rise to his volume containing "Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to Trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes," published in 1824, and of which a second edition, corrected, appeared in 1825. As a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (elected the 23d January 1821), he undertook the office of Secretary; and during the period from 1823 to 1827, he was eminently successful in contributing to revive the Society to a state of active usefulness. In acknowledgment of such services, the Society afterwards elected him an Honorary Member. Among various important archæological contributions, which might be specified, we may particularly refer to his papers on the Vitrified Forts, a subject of great difficulty, and on which the most conflicting sentiments had been entertained. The cause of his relinquishing his official connection with this Society, was an intention of visiting the Continent, and he spent two or three years chiefly in examining the volcanic districts of France and Italy, and the northern parts of Germany. On his return to Edinburgh, he embodied a portion of his observations in his "History of the Extinct Volcanos of the Basin of Neuwied, on

the Lower Rhine," 1832, 8vo. Another important contribution to geology was submitted to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1833, and appeared in their Transactions, "On the Freshwater Limestone of Burdiehouse, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, belonging to the Carboniferous Group of Rocks." His attention was also directed to illustrating matters connected with his native city and county, more especially in his large and valuable History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, in 1830. Also a curious volume, printed in 1845, for the Chetham Society, "Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion in 1715." After his return from the Continent, Dr Hibbert made an extensive and protracted tour through Scotland, accompanied by Mrs Hibbert (his second wife), who executed a series of elaborate and beautiful drawings of the sculptured stones and Runic inscriptions that exist in Forfarshire, Ross-shire, and other parts of the kingdom. Had his health permitted, he proposed to have had these drawings engraved, accompanied with descriptions; but after a continued residence, first in the neighbourhood of York, and latterly at his seat near Altringhame, when he returned to Edinburgh three years ago to devote himself anew to Archæology, all his plans were frustrated by severe illness, and the complaint (bronchitis) of which he died, precluded him from being able to resume his labours. Dr Hibbert, by royal license dated 28th March 1837, assumed the surname and arms of Ware, as being the representative of the oldest branch of the family of Sir James Ware, the historian of Ireland. The ardour, success, and the very disinterested manner in which Dr Hibbert devoted the chief portion of his life to such pursuits, merit a more copious Memoir than is suited to the columns of this paper.—L."

NÓ. IV.—MR WILLIAM B. D. D. TURNBULL, *Secretary.*

WALTER TURNBULL, connected with a Roxburghshire family of that name, had in early life settled as a planter in Jamaica. On returning to this country, he married Robina Barclay, who survived her husband many years, he dying in 1819. Their only child, William, was born at Edinburgh, 6th February 1811. After completing the usual course of study, and passing the ordinary trials, he was admitted a Member of the Faculty

of Advocates in 1832. He never laid himself out for practice at the Bar, but devoted himself to literary, antiquarian, and genealogical investigations.

The success attending the Bannatyne Club in 1823 led to the formation of other literary associations, one of which was the Abbotsford Club, instituted in 1833. It was so named in honour of Sir Walter Scott, who himself, be it understood, would not listen to any such proposal in 1823, at the time he gave its name to the Bannatyne Club. When the latter Club came to a termination, there was printed a separate tract, entitled—

“ABBOTSFORD CLUB.—A List of the Members ; the Rules ; and a Catalogue of Books printed for the Abbotsford Club, since its institution in 1833. Edinburgh, 1866.” 4to, pp. 23. It contains the following notice :—

“The Abbotsford Club was instituted on the 20th of March 1833. The chief promoter of this scheme was the late Mr Turnbull, advocate. At the General Meeting for the election of office-bearers, on the 23d November 1833, John Hope, Esquire, Dean of Faculty (afterwards Right Hon. the Lord Justice-Clerk), was nominated as Vice-president, and in the following year elected President of the Club. Mr Turnbull was at that time appointed Secretary, and it was mainly owing to his enthusiastic zeal and unwearied exertions that the Club owed much of its success. It is unnecessary to give any minute details of its proceedings ; but from some private motives, the Secretary resigned his office on 9th November 1841, still remaining as a member.”

Had the works issued for the Abbotsford Club been more restricted to old poetical literature, in a convenient form, and greater labour bestowed in editing, the series might have proved a great success. There can, however, be no doubt that the Club has been the means of publishing several works, both historical and poetical, of no small importance.

One of Mr Turnbull's magnificent and favourite projects was a *Monasticon* for Scotland, to have been published by subscription. It was a scheme too great for any individual to undertake single-handed.

In 1852 Mr Turnbull removed to London in order to study for the English Bar, to which he was called as a member of Lincoln's Inn, on the 26th January 1856. He died at London on the 22d April 1863. See a biographical notice, including an account of Mr Turnbull's various publications and literary projects, in the “*Herald and Genealogist*,” by Mr Gough Nichols, for January 1864.

No. V.—MR JOHN M. MITCHELL, *Foreign Secretary.*

“JOHN M. MITCHELL, Esquire, Knight of the Order of Leopold, and Belgian Consul-General for Scotland, died at his residence, Mayville, Trinity, on the 24th April 1865.” He was the son of John Mitchell, Esq., Craigend, Stirlingshire, and was born at Grangemouth 26th September 1796.

Being intended for a merchant, he came to Leith in 1809, and served his apprenticeship to a corn-merchant. He had distinguished himself sufficiently in 1832 to be appointed Belgian Consul at Leith. For many years he was the head of the highly respected firm of Mitchell, Somerville, and Company, merchants, Leith; and, in 1859, in proof of the satisfactory manner in which he executed his consulate duties, he received the Knightly Order of Leopold from the King of the Belgians; and also a large gold medal a few years later.

Mr Mitchell became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1840, and continued to take a lively interest in its proceedings. As mentioned above at page 19, he was appointed Joint Foreign Secretary, for which, by his knowledge of modern languages, he was well suited. Among his communications to the Society, the most important was that on Runic Inscriptions, which he published in a separate form, with the title “MAESHOWE: Illustrations of Runic Literature of Scandinavia; Translations in Danish and English of the Inscriptions in Meschowe; Visits of the Northern Sovereigns to Orkney; Notes, Vocabulary,” &c. By J. M. Mitchell, &c. He was also the author of a volume of considerable research, entitled “The Herring; its Natural History and National Importance.” Edinburgh, 1864, 8vo.

Mr Mitchell was interred at Rosebank Cemetery, near Edinburgh. An elder brother, Thomas, was in the army, and served in the Peninsular War. He was afterwards appointed Surveyor-General of New South Wales, and his name is associated with discoveries in the interior of the Australian continent. Of these Expeditions there are separate works which he published (1838, 1848), and for which he received the honour of knighthood.—Lieut.-Col. Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell died at his residence, near Sydney, New South Wales, in October 1855.

II.—*An Account of St Columba's Abbey, Inchcolm. Accompanied with Plans, &c.*¹ (Plates IV.-VI.)

By THOMAS ARNOLD, Esq., Architect, M.R.I.B.A. Lond.

[*Communicated January 11, 1869, with an Introductory Note.*]

NEAR the northern shores of the Firth of Forth, and within sight of Edinburgh, lies the island anciently known as Emona, and in later times as Inchcolm, the island of St Columba. It is of very small extent, scarcely over half a mile in length, and 400 feet in width at its broadest part. The tide of commerce and busy life which ebbs and flows around has left the little inch in a solitude as profound as if it gemmed the bosom of some Highland loch, a solitude which impresses itself deeply on the stranger who comes to gaze on its ruined, deserted, and forgotten Abbey. Few even of those who visit the island from the beautiful village of Aberdour, close to it, know anything of its history, and as few out of sight of the island know of its existence at all.

But although now little known beyond the shores of the Forth, Inchcolm formerly held a high place in the veneration of the Scottish people as the cradle of the religious life of the surrounding districts, and was second only to Iona as a holy isle in whose sacred soil it was the desire of many generations to be buried. It numbered amongst its abbots men of high position and learning. Noble benefactors enriched it with broad lands and rich gifts, and its history and remains, like the strata of some old mountain, bear the marks of every great wave of life which has passed over our country.

Picts, Scots, Danes, and English have all been associated with the chequered history of the lonely island, where lie the bones of saints and nobles, monks and soldiers, the patrons, the brethren, and the spoilers of its ancient church, mingled together in this Iona of the east.

Apart from the interest arising from such associations, this venerable monastery, notwithstanding that tempest, wars, and ruthless vandalism

¹ See Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries. Vol. VIII. p. 46.

have laid much of it in ruins, still preserves more of its original plan than any abbey in Scotland, presenting many peculiarities of arrangement to be found in no other building of the kind in Britain.

From the position of Inchcolm in the centre of the mediæval as of the modern life of Scotland, it maintained its ancient importance long after many of the famous houses of the primitive Scottish Church had fallen into decay, but for the same reason it suffered much from the hostile fleets which made piratical expeditions to the Forth, or were employed in conjunction with an invading force on shore. To the notices of such events, and incidental references in the early Chronicles, we are chiefly indebted for what we are able to gather of the history of this Abbey.

In the prosecution of their pious labours in Scotland, the first missionaries generally planted their stations on islands, as offering protection against the sudden attacks of men and beasts, and in many instances they chose such islands as had already a certain odour of sanctity, from having been the worshipping places of the pagan priesthood whom they supplanted. In the west, St Columba established himself at Iona, which became the centre of a group of "holy isles," the residence of hermits who sought to emulate the austerities and pious works of their leader. But the labours of that great apostle were not confined to one province; his object was personally, or by his followers, to evangelise the whole country. Having no doubt in view the importance of the districts around the Firth of Forth, he came hither in person to preach to the Picts and Scots, and we are told in "The Book of Cupar"¹ that he then occupied the island of *Æmonia*,² "*Saint Colmes Inch vulgariter nuncupatur.*" It was here, then, and by the hands of St Columba himself, that the light of the gospel was first kindled in the east of Scotland.

¹ A name given to one of the MSS. of the *Scotichronicon*: "*Quam quondam incoluit, dum Pictis et Scotis fidem prædicavit, Sanctus Columba, Abbas.*"—See "*Scotichronicon*," edited by Walter Goodall, 1759, lib. i. cap. 6, (foot note).

² The fine old name *Emona* is compounded of *I*, *Y*, or *E*, an island, and *mon*, Latinised to *mona*, an isolated situation, an island. The first syllable is found in *I-ona*, *I-colum-kill*, or, as it was more commonly called, *I* or *Y*, the island, par excellence. *Mon* occurs in *Man* (the Isle of), *Mona* (Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids), *Pomona*, *Cramond*, &c.; possibly also in a contracted form in *I-ona*, though this is generally understood as *I-thona*, the island of the waves. If it is as we have suggested, the name *Emona* may have been given by St Columba or his followers in honour of their chief seat in the west, which they desired to emulate in the east of Scotland. Probably the Celtic missionaries added the generic name *I* to the older name

There can be no doubt that on his departure the Saint left behind him some of his disciples to carry on the good work, and that, as Christianity increased, many labourers were found willing to assist. We know that not long afterwards the other islands in the Forth were occupied by holy men. In Inchkeith, St Adamnan, the biographer of St Columba, and Abbot of Iona, was a monk, and here he received St Servanus and his companions on their arrival in this part of Scotland. The Bass was for some time the abode of St Baldred, the "apostle of the Lothians;" and the Isle of May was hallowed by the martyrdom of St Adrian and his brethren.

We have no further reference to Inchcolm from the first establishment of a Culdean mission station, about the end of the sixth century, till the middle of the ninth century, when the Scots were frequently called on to repel the Danish invaders, who were a source of constant annoyance, till the battle of Largs freed the country for ever from the unwelcome strangers.

Holinshed relates how, after a victory over the Danes, the people made procession to all places of the realm, returning thanks to God; but whilst thus engaged word was brought that another fleet had arrived at Kinghorn, sent by Canute, king of England, to revenge his brother Sweno's overthrow. To resist this invasion, Macbeth and Banquo were sent with the king's authority, who having with them a sufficient force, encountered the enemy, slew part of them, and chased the others to their ships.

"They that escaped and got once to their ships obtained of Macbeth, for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering might be buried in Saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch there to be seen graven with the

mona, thus repeating the idea of an island, much in the same way as we say the island of Inch-corm, the river Avon, &c., or as it was reiterated in the phrase, the island of E-mona. The more modern name Inchcolm, from the Gaelic, *Inch*, an island, and *Colm*, or Columba, answers to the name by which Iona is now generally known—I-corm-kill, the island of Columba of the cells, or the island of the cell or church of Columba. It might be suggested that Emona is but a monkish form of the Gaelic *E-monaugh*, high or hilly, but the etymology given above is more probably the true one. A note in Chambers's Gazetteer of Scotland says, "A Gaelic antiquary will detect in this euphonius Latin name, 'the isle of the Druids,' which shows that, like many other Catholic institutions, the monastery of Inchcolm must have been planted on a place of heathen worship."

armes of the Danes as the maner of burieng noble men still is and heretofore hath been used."

Shakespeare, following the narrative of Holinshed, in his tragedy of "Macbeth," refers to the incident, and has perpetuated the memory of the venerable isle by recording its name in his immortal pages. In Act I. Scene II., Rosse, after giving an account of the victory over the Norwegians (Danes), concludes,—

" *Rosse.*—That now
Sweno, the Norways' King, craves composition ;
Nor would we deign him burial of his men
Till he disbursed, at Saint Colme's Inch,
Ten thousand dollars to our general use."

It is evident that the island had been long revered as consecrated ground, as the Iona of the east, where the right of burial was a privilege worth purchasing for a great sum. Perhaps it shared with its sister isle in the prophecy, which foretold that seven years before the great day of doom a deluge should cover Ireland and the countries round, but that Columba's happy isle would still lift its head above the flood. Though in earlier times the Danes had repeatedly burnt down the monastery of Iona, and even at this time were not clear of the charge of pillaging it when opportunity offered, they seem, nevertheless, to have had a high veneration for St Columba. Saints were not common in their own country ; and this one was so much after their own mind, and had such miraculous power over the winds and waves,¹ with which they were daily contending, that it is not to be wondered at, that of all saints they should show most respect for one so highly renowned, and who might at the same time be useful in their way of life.

Most probably the original buildings of wood-framing, filled in between with wicker-work, covered with the skins of animals, and roofed with thatch, such as were usually constructed by the early Celtic missionaries, had, some time before the events we have just referred to, been replaced by larger buildings of rough rubble masonry and lime. It is true the "Roman manner" of building had been long previously introduced, but building in

¹ The Monks of the West, vol. iii. ch. 6.

that style, of hewn stone, must have been very rare before the days of St Margaret. The church of Whitherne was in all probability built for St Ninian by workmen from France, assisted by the Christianised Roman soldiers then occupying Valentia, and engaged in constructing the wall between the Forth and Clyde, while the importance given by Bede to the fact of the introduction of builders from Jarrow to erect a church at Abernethy, implies that such works were very uncommon, and that the Scots and Picts were not able of themselves to construct them.

We now come to the account of the foundation of the Abbey by Alexander I., as given by Fordun in his "Scotichronicon," lib. v. ch. 37. "De fundatione monasterii canonicorum de Scona, et Sancti Columbæ de Æmonia :"—

"About the year of our Lord 1123, not less miraculously than wonderfully, was founded the monastery of St Columba, of the island of Æmona, near Inverkeithin.

"When the noble and most Christian king, Lord Alexander, first of that name, upon certain business of state, was crossing the Queen's Ferry, he was overtaken by a fierce tempest, blowing from the south, so that the sailors were compelled to make for the island of Æmonia, where there lived a solitary hermit, who devoted himself to the service or rule of St Columba, living in a cell, and supporting himself on the milk of a cow, and the shellfish which he collected on the shore. On these things the king and his companions subsisted for three days, during which they were detained by the storm.

"But when in the greatest peril of the sea and the raging tempest, when fearing and despairing for their lives, the king made a vow to the saint, that if he would bring them safe to that island, he would there found a monastery to his honour, which would become an asylum and refuge for sailors and shipwrecked persons.

"Thus it came to pass that he there founded a monastery of monks, such as exists at present ; both because he had always from his youth venerated St Columba with special honour, and also because his parents were long deprived of the comfort of a child, until by devoutly supplicating this saint, they gloriously obtained what they had so long earnestly desired. Whence the verses—

‘ M. C. ter, I. bis, et X. literis à tempore Christi,
Æmon, tunc ab Alexandro fundata fuisti
Scotòrum primo. Structorem canonicorum
Transferat ex imo Deus hunc ad alta polorum.’ ”

Whatever truth there may be in the romantic yet not altogether improbable story, there is no doubt but that a body of Augustinians was settled here by Alexander, in pursuance of the policy carried out by all the sons of St Margaret, of gradually displacing the early Scottish or Culdean clergy in favour of the Romish orders. The monks were brought to Inchcolm from the Abbey of Scone, founded in 1114 by the same king, who settled there a colony of Austin canons from St Oswalds at Nostell, near Pontefract. These canons were amongst the first Romish monks brought into the country ; and the selection of the order displayed some shrewdness on the part of the king, for of all others, their rule most nearly resembled that followed by the disciples of St Columba.¹ When the Canons Regular were sent to a Culdee house, the old clergy were warned that they must either live on good terms with the new comers, or leave. Of course, though many reconciled themselves to the new faith, a large number either left the new foundations, or remained, as at St Andrews', to wage a long and unsuccessful battle with the usurpers and their new creed.

Alexander, we are further told, richly endowed his foundation. Probably the monastery was begun soon after ; and the massive buildings on three sides of the cloister court may be portions of the works then carried out ; but these parts are so devoid of architectural details, that we cannot from the work itself confirm the probability, though there is nothing to militate against it.

In the reign of Alexander III., Allan de Mortuo Mari, or Mortimer, lord of the manor of Aberdour, purchased the right of interment in the church of Inchcolm Abbey by a grant of the western half of his lands. The Register of the Abbey says, that “ Alanus de Mortuo Mari, miles, Dominus de Abir-

¹ The Augustinian monks, called Canons Regular, or Austin Canons, were less strict in their rule than ordinary monks ; in this respect they occupied a place between monks and secular canons. They were often called Black Canons, in contradistinction to the Premonstratensians, a reformed branch of Augustinians called White Canons. Their habit was a long black cassock, with a white rochet above it, with a black cloak and hood over all. They wore beards and caps, which further distinguished them from ordinary monks.

daur dedit omnes et totas dimidietates Terrarum Villæ suæ de Abirdaur, Deo et Monachis de Insulâ Sancti Columbi, pro sepulturâ sibi et posteris suis in Ecclesia dicti Monasterii." The family of the Mortimers had acquired the lordship of Aberdour by the marriage of one of their ancestors in 1216, during the reign of David I., with Anicca, only daughter and sole heiress of "Dominus Joannes de Vetere Ponte or Vypont," to whom it anciently belonged.¹

The munificent benefactor of the Abbey (spoken of in the records of the monastery as its founder) does not appear to have secured the privilege of burial on the island, for which he had paid so generously. The legend, as given by Sibbald, tells that "the founder, Allan Mortimer, being dead, the monks, carrying his corpse in a coffin of lead, by barge, in the night time, to be interred within their church, some wicked monks did throw the same in a great deep betwixt the land and the monastery, which to this day, by the neighbouring fishermen and salters, is called Mortimer's deep."

Let us hope, for the credit of the brethren of St Columba, that the danger of crossing a rough sea with such a load proved too much for their frail bark, and that when they threw the dead body of their benefactor overboard, their honour was saved by the imminence of the danger to the living.

In the year 1265, according to the "Scotichronicon," "Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, built the new choir in St Columba of Emonia at his own expense, whose soul, therefore, God bless. Amen." This Richard was Chamberlain of Scotland from 1255 to 1257; and on his death, in 1272, his body was interred in Dunkeld, and his heart was laid in the north wall of the choir of Inchcolm, which he had built.²

¹ Sir R. Sibbald's "History of Fife," &c. This moiety of the lands of Aberdour, with its ancient castle and church, afterwards passed to the Douglas family; and William, Lord of Liddesdale, "The Flower of Chivalry," conveyed it by charter, in the reign of David II., to James Douglas, ancestor of the present house of Morton. William, Eighth Earl, who died 1648, was Lord High Treasurer, and by his influence the town of Aberdour was made a Burgh of Royalty. The title, Lord Aberdour, is borne by the eldest sons of the Earls of Morton.

² Scotia Sacra of Father Augustine Hay, M.S. "Scotichronicon," lib. x. cap. 20 and 30. The "Scotichronicon" contains many brief references to Bishops of Dunkeld buried at Inchcolm, lib. viii. cap. 75; ix. cap. 27; x. cap. 21; x. cap. 30. Dunkeld, it will be remembered, received the body of St Columba after its removal from Iona, and it is therefore not easy to find a reason for this preference of Inchcolm over Dunkeld, unless we venture to suppose that the relics of the great apostle of the Scots had been subsequently transferred to "St Columba's Emona."

The original church, built by Alexander, had probably been found too mean for the increased wealth and importance of the Abbey, and the new church was no doubt a contribution to the works of reconstruction then being carried out. The chapterhouse, the offices to the north, and the tower, must have been erected about this time, for the successive spoliations of the monastery which we have now to record would so impoverish and dishearten the community, that further building operations would not be undertaken, at least till a period later than that indicated by the style of the parts we have named.¹

The Abbey, as it now stood fresh from the builder's hands, must have been very beautiful; and when we bear in mind its reputed wealth, drawn from lands on both sides of the Forth, and its exposed situation, we cannot wonder that the English fleets which scoured the Scottish coast during the wars of independence should soon find their way to Inchcolm. The account of the first spoliation in 1335 is very fully recorded in the pages of Fordun and other chronicles. We quote a portion of the metrical version of the history of Hector Boece,² written about 1531-35:—

¹ On the chapter seal of Inchcolm "is engraved a view of the ancient church, and on the counter side a lymphad, or one-masted galley, the means of communication between the brotherhood and the outer world. The church is represented as consisting of a nave and choir, with a central tower surmounted by a spire, and with plain round headed windows in the choir. All the impressions are very imperfect, but no doubt represent the original structure of the twelfth century."—*Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals,"* vol. ii. p. 372. The description of this seal, and that of an Abbot of Inchcolm, is thus given in Laing's (Henry) "Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals" (Edin. 1850):—"Incholme, Abbot of—A very pretty design of two figures in a galley with the sails furled; one of the figures appears to be St Columba, and the other a monk, each holding a crozier, and engaged in prayer. 'S'ABBATIS DE INSULA SANCTI COLUMB.' Detached seal, Chapter House, Westminster Incholme, Monastery of—A much damaged seal; a building probably intended for the monastery; above the roof appears to have been a crescent and mullet. Counter seal of the east. A galley of one mast without sails; in the upper part a mullet. The inscriptions on both these seals are illegible. Appended to a Tack by James, Commendator of the monastery, to James Millar, of the teinds of the sister lands of Aberdour, A.D. 1577. Morton Charters."

² The Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland; or, a Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece. By William Stewart, &c., 1858. Vol. iii. p. 326. Published by the Master of the Rolls.

“ Ane hundreth schippis and aughtie, to conclude,
That samin tyme he furneist to the flude
Quhilk into Forth, as my author did sa,
Arryuit all besyde Emonia,
Sanct Colmis Insche is callit now to name.
That halie place quhilk wes ay of greit fame,
And of religioun haldin ay the rois,
As the charbokill of all stonis the chois,
Thir pagane pepill without fidelitie,
In thair shippis war liand on the se,
Into that place, tha landit on ane da,
And spulzeit it, as my author did sa,
Of chaleis, crowat, and censuris also
Corsis, chandillaris, and mony relictis mo,
Of siluer fyne nane better on the mold,
And vestimentis of birneist silk and gold,
And buikis, bellis, and nane better mycht be,
Syne with that spulzie passit to the sea,
Quhat wes the end quha lykis for to speir
Tak tent to me and I sall tell zou heir.”

The chronicler goes on to say that, a short while after, as they were leaving, arose a great storm, which damaged the ships and drowned all who were engaged in the robbery. The rest, understanding that this was sent by the vengeance of Heaven,

“ At the requeist of this ilk halie man
That aucht the place, quhilk tha haid spulzeit than,”

fell on their knees and prayed to St Columba, vowing that if preserved out of this peril they would return all the spoil. “ Incontinent with that the stour did ceis,” upon which they fulfilled their vow. Another account¹ says, they had taken, amongst other statues and images, a famous one of St Columba, which was kept in the church—that the ship was driven on the rocks at Inchkeith, and that the repentant sailors landed the saint at Kinghorn, whereupon a favourable wind sprang up, which carried them safely out of the Forth.

The terror inspired by such a warning that the mighty Saint was not to

¹ Given in Grose's “Antiquities of Scotland.”

be offended with impunity, soon passed away ; and again, in the following year, 1336, we have the sacrilege repeated. One of the ships of an English fleet then ravaging the Fife coast came to

“ Sanct Colmis Kirk, within the se that stude,
And spulzeit all that pleasand fair Abba.”

The plunder is described as very large, and particular reference is made to a beautiful carved wainscot, probably a reredos, with which the choir was adorned. The gentle robbers carefully removed this, so that it could be refitted to adorn some southern church. But the vengeance of the outraged St Columba awaited them. They had just cleared off from the island, when suddenly the vessel sank like lead, and all were lost. This second and more terrible judgment made the name of the Scottish saint a name of fear amongst these English invaders ; “ their countrymen said that he should be called, not St Columba, but St Quhalme—that is to say, the Saint of Sudden Death.”¹

The impression thus produced was, however, not more lasting than the effect of previous warnings, and for the third time we have to record an attack on the monastery, more fierce and wanton than the foregoing, to be followed by a still more signal display of the power of the patron to protect his church and votaries. The fleet of Richard Second, in 1384, sailed up the Forth and landed at Inchcolm, plundered the Abbey, and distributed to the soldiers the riches of gold and silver, and “ other geir,” which they took. This being done, they proceeded to fire the building, and

“ Except the kirk, brynt all the laif on fyre.”

The chroniclers tell that a son of Belial attempted to set the church on fire three times, but that the flames ever went out of themselves ; or, as another account has it, the guardian saint changed the winds and blew back the flames. Seeing this, the would-be incendiary went suddenly mad, and tore himself, rending the flesh from his bones. The booty being carried to the ship, the spoilers set sail and landed at Queensferry, where they began to “ rive ” the cattle, when they were attacked by “ Thomas and

¹ Monks of the West, vol. iii. chap. 8.

Nicholas Erskine and Alexander de Lyndesay, with fifty horse from the east, and William Conyngham of Kilmaurs with thirty from the west." The robbers were routed, many slain, and the rest driven back to their ships, leaving the mad ringleader in the attempt to fire the church a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, who slew him, and buried his corpse "in a crossway near the town of Dunipace." Those who escaped made such haste to reach the ship, that forty of them caught hold of the rope which held it, and tried to clamber on board, but the Scots being close behind, wishing to prevent the escape of the ships, secured the end of the cable, upon which those on board cut the rope, and let all that clung to it into the sea, where they were drowned, or returning to land were killed. We are informed that the men who thus lost their lives at the very moment when they appeared to have escaped, were such as had been foremost in plundering and firing the Abbey of St Columba. After this signal act of retribution, the community enjoyed the peaceful occupation of their monastery till its dissolution at the Reformation.

These accounts enable us to form some idea of the wealth and grandeur of this little Abbey, and the comparative poverty to which it must have been suddenly reduced. The effects of fire on such structures as were built in the middle ages, with floor, walls, and ceiling of stone, would be to destroy all fittings and furniture of a perishable kind, and to leave the main fabric of the buildings comparatively uninjured, except the outer roofs over the vaulting, which, catching the fire bursting from the windows, would be very soon consumed. The chapter house must have escaped scathless, as such apartments would scarcely have furniture in them sufficient to make a fire that would seriously damage it. We read of no rebuilding after this time, and, as we have already noticed, the present remains undoubtedly belong to a period anterior to these assaults.

In 1402 was founded the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, adjoining the south side of the choir of the church, by Richard of Aberdeen, Prior, and Thomas Crawford, Canon of Inchcolm.¹ Portions of the walls, and a fragment of the vaulting of this lady chapel, still remain, showing that the work has been rude when compared with the older buildings.

¹ Fordun, by Bower, lib. xv. chap. 13.

WALTER BOWER, one of the most industrious and reliable historians of the middle ages, was elected Abbot of St Columba, in Emonia, in 1418. At the request of Sir David Stewart, of Rossyth, he undertook to edit and complete the fragmentary chronicle of John of Fordun, written towards the end of the fourteenth century, and to continue the history to his own times. The invaluable chronicle, the result of his labours, has furnished much of the material which forms the groundwork of all the later histories of Scotland. Of the sixteen books which formed the "Scotichronicon," five only were the original work of Fordun, and to these Abbot Bower made many additions, while the remaining eleven books were wholly written by him.

In addition to the labour involved in such an undertaking, we owe to the same industrious scholar the preservation of one of the most complete series of monastic muniments extant, extending from the earlier part of the thirteenth century, many of which he transcribed with his own hand.¹

The English pirates having ceased their assaults, there could be no more appropriate or delightful retreat for a literary student than the Abbey of Inchcolm, and no life more congenial than the monastic.

It is highly probable that the muniment room over the chapter house was built by Bower for the more careful preservation of the conventual records on which he set so high and just a value, and at the same time to serve as a scriptorium or study, where, shut off even from his monkish brethren, he could give himself up wholly to the study of the obscure manuscripts from which he gathered his accounts of the stirring events of Scottish history. No traces are now to be seen of a black letter inscription which, in Grose's time, might be traced on the walls of this literary lighthouse, but of which nothing could be deciphered except the ominous word "stultus."

Bower would appear also to have been considered an able and highly important person in his own times, as we find him appointed along with the Bishop of Dunblane as commissioner to collect the sum demanded for the ransom of James I., then a prisoner in England, released in 1422.²

¹ Billings's "Antiquities of Scotland, 'Inchcolm.'"

² Fordun, by Bower, lib. xvi. cap. 9.

But the monastic system, which in earlier times had been the nursery of all arts, science, religion, and literature, without which such men as Bower, and such works as the "Scotichronicon" could have had no existence, had outlived the state of society which had at the first made such a system a necessity. In the higher culture, which had now extended beyond the cloister, and in the keen ambition for scholastic honours amongst a class that had formerly held literature in contempt, there existed a spirit which, while it ensured the protection of learning, opened out for it a freer and nobler path than that prescribed by the conservative influence of the monasteries. In 1543 Abbot Henry surrendered his office; the brotherhood of St Columba, after existing for upwards of four hundred years, was dissolved, and the Abbey was deserted for ever.

Desecration soon followed. For after the disastrous battle of Pinkey, 1547, the Duke of Somerset occupied the island as a post commanding the river Forth. Patin, the historian of the expedition, says that "S. Coomes Ins" is "but a mile about, and hath in it a pretty abbey (but the monks were gone), fresh water enough, and also coonyes, and is so naturally strong, as but one way it can be entered." The old chronicler then grows humorous:—"Sir John Luttrell, Knight, having bene, by my Lord's Grace and the Counsell, elect abbot, by God's suffraunce, of the monastery of Sainct Coomes Ins, afore remembred in the afternoon of this day departed towardes the island to be stalled in his see thear accordyngly, and had with him a coovent of C hakbutteris and L pioners to kepe his house and land thear, and ii row barkes well furnished with municion, and lxx mariners for them to keep his waters, whereby it is thought he shall soon becum a prelate of great power."

James Stewart, afterwards Sir James Stewart of the family of Ochiltree, and uncle of the Admirable Crichton, having "acquired" from the Abbot Nicholas the lands of West Aberdour and Beith, on the surrender of Abbot Henry at the Reformation, became Commendator of Inchcolm, and sat in that capacity in the Assembly which ratified the Confession of Faith in 1560.

His second son, James Stewart, Lord Doune, was in 1611, by special favour of James VI., created a peer by the title of Lord St Colm. Having married the daughter of the Regent Murray, the lands and titles were united to those of the Earls of Moray, who are the proprietors of the island, and

whose seat of Donibristle House stands near the shore, a few miles to the west.

As to the history of the island subsequent to the Reformation, we cannot do better than quote the passage from General Hutton's work, written in 1822, given in the admirable historical notice of the Abbey in Billings's "Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities of Scotland:"—"In the middle of the Forth, about 100 yards to the east of Inchcolm, there is a small black rock which is called the Prison Island, and which it is said was used by the convent as a place of punishment and penance. The island of Inchcolm was occupied about twenty-five years ago as an hospital by the Russians when their fleet lay in the Forth, which may account for the surprising quantity of human bones which are to be found all over the island, heaped together with the utmost confusion, according to the Russian mode of burial. It had always been said that the church of the convent had fallen in upon a Sabbath day during worship. About fifteen years ago, some workmen sent to repair the battery" (erected in 1794) "were collecting a few stones from the north-east corner of that space marked in the plan 'the south wing of the church,' they came to a human skeleton standing upright in the ruins, on which they desisted, and no search has since been made."

In fine weather the visitor to Inchcolm may easily row himself across the two miles from Aberdour harbour, but if the sea is rough the easiest way is to pull along the shore to "the cave," about a mile to the west, from which the island is little over a mile distant. This "cave" is a well-built vaulted chamber, erected on the extreme edge of a rocky promontory. An examination of the ruins shows that this is only the lower story of what may have been a tower of some height, and the round-headed door and small windows facing the sea are so well formed of ashlar work, as to suggest that it has been the work of the builders who were engaged on the Abbey. In all probability it was built as a ferry-house for the use of the monks in their journeys between the island and mainland.

On approaching the island, we find it consists of two parts connected by a low narrow neck of land, over which the waves are said to dash in stormy weather. The eastern half is a bluff rocky eminence of considerable height, with the ruins of a fort on the top, from which a fine view of the monastery may be had. The western and larger half, on which the Abbey stands, rises in a gentle slope, increasing in height and width towards the west,—an

example of the "crag and tail" formation observable in all elevations in the valley of the Forth and Clyde, and which indicates the existence at one time of a sea flowing with a strong current from the Atlantic. At the north side of the little isthmus is the landing-place, from which by a short ascending path we reach the ruins, grouped like fallen masses of rock about the square military looking tower. But as we enter a kind of entrance court, surrounded on three sides by the monastic buildings, we find that, though much dilapidated, they are really in a less ruinous condition than appeared at first sight.

The choir of the church, however, from its unfortunate proximity to the landing-place, has been used as a quarry by some Vandals, who have pulled it down, carrying away whatever they required, and leaving a mass of *débris* which has raised the level of the ground on its site about eight feet above the floor of the adjoining chapter-house. The venerable appearance of the ruins has been also much destroyed by a former proprietor, who, by additions and alterations, has formed a dwelling-house out of the old refectory and offices on the south and west sides of the cloister, to which an entrance has been made by unsightly breaches in the intervening buildings. The dwelling had some pretensions to comfort when first built, but has fallen into decay, and is now abandoned to the use of a poor under-tenant who is permitted to occupy it only because it is, we believe, a condition of the tenure that the island should never be uninhabited; so that here storm-pressed pilots and seamen may still find shelter, though the board would not be much better than that supplied in the olden time by the hermit of *Æmonia* to good king Alexander. The only other inhabitants of the island are the pigs, who occupy the nave of the church.

Having completed our notices of the history and present condition of the monastery, we will now endeavour to explain the general arrangements of the various buildings, as these may be gathered from what remains, and the analogy of similar architectural works.

The accompanying sketch-plan (Plate IV.), although it has no pretensions to minute accuracy of measurement, will assist the description which follows.

The older portions (tinted black on the plan) are the cloisters or ambulatories, and the buildings over them on the east, south, and west sides of the *Cloister Court*. This court, including the covered way now destroyed, next the church, is about 34 feet square. The ambulatories, which surround it on three sides, are 11 feet 6 inches wide, enclosed towards the open court or

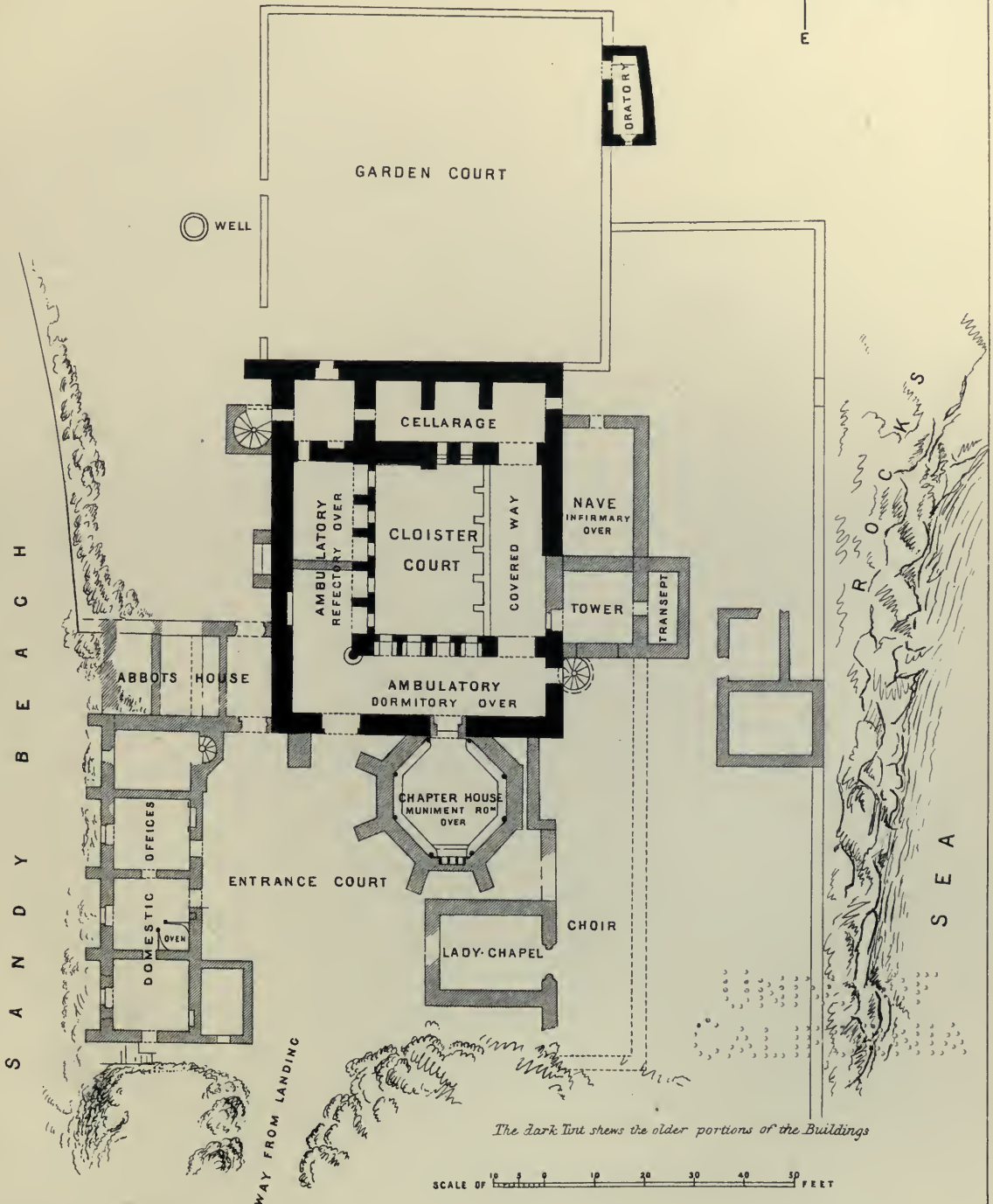
“ garth ” by walls, 4 feet 8 inches thick, having plain, round-headed windows, of moderate size, on the east and south sides. These windows, of which there are five on the south and four on the east side, have stone seats on each side in the thickness of the wall. On the east side next the tower is a round-headed archway, 7 feet 8 inches wide, corresponding to a similar archway on the west side of the court. Between these was a covered way, 11 feet 3 inches wide, divided into seven bays in the length, as is indicated by the sills or bases which remain. The roof of this passage was certainly of wood, and in all probability the pillars or posts which carried it were of the same material. It is worthy of note, that even in such magnificent structures as Melrose Abbey, St Andrews' Cathedral, &c., the cloister passages have been merely of wood; that even the splendid cathedral of Glasgow has no cloisters; and that in all probability Scotland was without a single specimen of a cloister walk enclosed and roofed with stone,—a feature which in other countries is always one of the most beautiful parts of cathedral and conventual buildings,—unless we include the passages we have here described as ambulatories, which, however,—differ materially from the true piazza-like cloister walk.¹

The eastern ambulatory has a door at the north end, next the archway referred to, communicating by a circular stone stair with the dormitory above, and also with the choir of the church. In the back wall, which is 4 feet 10 inches thick, are two doorways; one in the middle enters directly on the chapter-house, the other at the south end opens out on the entrance court, and was, no doubt, the principal entrance to the monastery. Near

¹ The seclusion provided by the cloisters for the monks while taking exercise, or studying in the open air, was here sufficiently secured by the insular position of the monastery. The whole island would, therefore, be free for the brethren, though we may presume that the garden court and the open area to the south of the refectory would be the favourite resorts, on account of their sheltered position, sunny aspect, and proximity to the church and refectory. The enclosed ambulatories would be chiefly used in cold and stormy weather. The open court to the south is shown in the drawing of the Abbey, in Pennant's work, as enclosed by a wall, having a postern at the south-west angle. The buttressed projection at the south-east end of the refectory, a comparatively recent addition, probably served as a recess for the Abbot's triclinium, or for the reader to sit in during dinner. Next the court, the space between the piers or buttresses would serve for the “ carols,” where the senior monks taught the noviciates and junior brethren. The communication between this court and the cloister was probably near the entrance to the present house.

Nº 1

GROUND PLAN



The dark tint shows the older portions of the Buildings

SCALE OF 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

THE
MUSEUM
OF
THE
CITY OF
BOSTON

this, in the south ambulatory, are some remains of a lavatory. On the west side of the cloister court are traces of a staircase, which probably led to the refectory. The large archway already noticed is the principal feature on this side, communicating with the garden court to the west of the monastery and the churchyard on the higher ground beyond.

The *Dormitory* is here built immediately over the eastern ambulatory or cloister, to which it forms a second storey. It is lighted by five windows, looking into the court, and has two doors at the north end,—one in connection with the circular stair from cloisters, the other leading by a flight of steps from the choir. A small opening or hagioscope near this latter door commands a view of the altar, for the convenience of those monks who were unable to be present in the church, and wished to join as far as possible in the worship. A narrow door in the east or back wall of the dormitory gives access to the *Muniment Room*, Scriptorium, or Library, for to all of these uses it was probably turned. This low, octagonal chamber, awkwardly roofed by a plain barrel vault, is lighted by small windows in the south and south-east sides, and has a fire-place in the north wall. This wall, like many of the other small apartments throughout the Abbey, has been plastered inside,—in this case, no doubt, with a view to protect the manuscripts from the damp. As this upper storey is evidently a later addition to the chapter-house below, we may conjecture that it was built by the famous Abbot Bower as a study; and here, no doubt, he laboured at his “*Scotichronicon*.”

The *Refectory*, which usually adjoins the cloisters on the south, is, like the dormitory, built over the ambulatory. Unfortunately, though much of the old walls remain, the buildings on the south and west sides of the court have been considerably altered in adapting them as a farm-house, and in consequence the details of the arrangements of the refectory and contiguous apartments are lost. According to the usual order, the kitchen and store-rooms would be placed on the west side of the cloister.

The portions of the monastery we have now described (except the muniment room) are the only parts which could safely be referred to a period earlier than the close of the twelfth century. In the absence of any mouldings or distinctive architectural feature it would be impossible to fix the date more definitely.

Those parts which remain to be noticed, comprising the greater part of the Abbey, are, for the most part, of the middle of the thirteenth century,—

a period during which Gothic architecture attained to its highest perfection in Scotland.

The *Chapter-House*, though probably the smallest in Britain, being only 22 feet 8 inches between the opposite sides, is, nevertheless, a well-proportioned and beautiful structure. It is octagonal on plan, having a stone bench, 16 inches broad, round six sides, the remaining bays being occupied by the doorway from cloister, and the sedilia in the opposite bay. The doorway, 4 feet 1 inch wide and 6 feet 4 inches high to top of arch, is richly moulded on the side next the chapter-house; but very plain towards the cloister. The mouldings are arranged in two orders,—the inner being continued round the arch and down the jambs to within $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches of the step, where they are splayed off; the outer order or congeries of mouldings rests on single shafts, having moulded caps, but without bases. The triple sedilia for the abbot, prior, and sub-prior, on the side opposite the entrance, is elevated on a platform two steps higher than the general floor; the seats, which are all of the same height, are 12 inches above the stone benches. The centre niche, for the abbot, is somewhat loftier than those at the sides, and all are recessed to a depth of 12 inches from the general face of the wall. The arches are ornamented by a simple moulding, which is continued down to form the sides and divisions. In the angles of the chapter-house are shafts, with bases resting on the stone benches, and having moulded caps, from which the ribs of the groining spring. The rib mouldings are very simple and effective, and the groin arches acute and graceful. The boss or carved keystone at the apex is the only piece of carving to be met with in the Abbey. The only objectionable feature is the lighting; the windows being various in size and design, and placed only towards the south and east, there is a sad want of symmetry, so essential in a building constructed on a geometric figure such as the octagon, and an inequality in the distribution of the light, which is not only inartistic, but must have been a serious inconvenience to the monks of St Columba in chapter assembled. (Plates IV. and VI.)

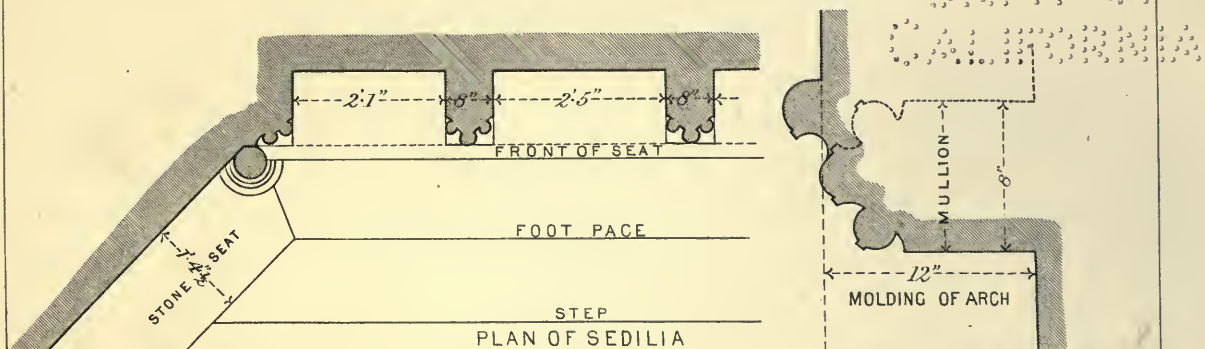
The mediæval architect, religiously following established rules, which required the chapter-house to be placed on the east side of the cloister, has, from the very limited size of the court, been literally driven into a corner, which admits of only a small building, and that so closely environed by the choir on the north side, that it was impossible for him



VIEW OF THE ABBEY FROM THE ROCK ON THE S. E.



ELEVATION OF SEDILIA IN CHAPTER-HOUSE



to get such a symmetrical and well-lighted apartment as he must have desired.

The buttresses are set on all the external angles except those next the choir, and have boldly moulded bases and gabled terminations finishing under a rudely corbelled projecting stage or story, which forms the munitment room. This upper story, which we have already noticed as entering from the dormitory, is no doubt an addition of later date, and certainly is in itself clumsily contrived, and spoils the external appearance of the chapter-house.

On the south side of the entrance court stands a rectangular block of buildings, about 20 feet in breadth, in rather a ruinous condition, especially at the west end, where the vaulted roofs have fallen. This wing or block shows one storey in height towards the court, but, being built on the slope towards the beach, is really in two storeys, with a double range of windows looking seaward. It is divided into chambers by cross walls, 11 feet 6 inches apart; these divisions being marked externally by buttresses, which, with the pointed windows between them, give a certain amount of architectural effect to the buildings as seen from the sea. The uses to which this wing was appropriated are indicated by large fire-places, ovens, and flues in the upper as well as in the lower storeys. *The Kitchen, Bakehouse, Wine and Beer Cellars, and General Store-rooms*, were of so much importance to monks as a class, and more especially would be so where, from the situation, supplies could often only be had at long intervals and with some risk, that we may allow for the somewhat undue size of these offices as compared with the whole area of the monastery. The various apartments communicate with each other: two of those in the upper floor open out on the entrance court. There is a door at the east end of the building; and a flight of steps outside leads to another door, which is the only access to the lower storey. (Plate IV.)

The ruinous continuation of this block to the west appears to have comprised a set of apartments, probably *the residence of the Abbot* and other chief officers, though it is quite possible, as we shall afterwards see, that this may have been the *Guest House*. A projection in the angle of the entrance court contains a circular stone stair connecting these apartments with a range of chambers in two storeys 16 feet wide, adjoining the buildings around the cloister court. A passage way to the modern dwelling-house has been formed

through the ground floor of this wing, and the rest of the buildings are much destroyed. In one of the cells or chambers in this quarter a human skeleton was discovered built into an angle of the wall, not the only one which has been found in a similar position amongst the ruins.

The Abbey Church.—We have previously referred to the wanton destruction of the choir, and the mass of *débris* which now covers its site. At little expense this might be removed, so as to discover the foundations, and enable us to form correct ideas of the plan. *The Choir* must have been of considerable length, as the remains of a door or window jamb are to be seen near the east wall of the lady chapel, a distance of about 70 feet from the east side of tower. Presuming, as we may safely do, that the width of this part of the church did not exceed that of the tower and nave, which are only 20 ft. 6 in. over walls, and about 16 feet inside, the length would be about five times the width. When we compare with this the length of the nave, which is only $1\frac{2}{3}$ its width, we are at first astonished at the very unusual proportions. Still more so when we remember that the Canons Regular of St Augustine were, like the Culdees whom they supplanted, a community of parish priests under rule, who usually built their churches on quite opposite principles, providing for large congregations in naves of great length, as at Jedburgh and St Andrews. But at Inchcolm they could have no congregation of the people whatever, and consequently no use for a nave; a choir sufficiently large to accommodate all the brethren was all the church necessary. It is not improbable that the choir has had a north aisle of four bays in length. Narrow proportions are characteristic of Scottish churches, even of those erected in the best periods of church building, as Kirkwall, Glasgow, and St Andrews' Cathedrals.

The difficulties and great expense which would have to be encountered in constructing large stone roofs at such a distance from the mainland, and the greater simplicity and strength of the narrow span adopted throughout the Abbey (nowhere exceeding 16 feet), are no doubt the true reasons for the very small width given to the choir and other parts of the church. That it arose from no want of skill is sufficiently proved by the beautiful design and workmanship of the groined chapter-house. From indications on the east wall of the tower, the roof of the choir appears to have been of the very plainest description of pointed vaulting, and of considerable height, equal to the two storeys of the other buildings. A high pitched roof rose over this at

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such a height as to admit of a passage between the stone ceiling and the roof proper. This form of simple pointed vaulting is very common in Scotland, especially amongst the collegiate churches, as Bothwell, Roslin, and Seton. But in most cases we have the ceiling relieved by ribs, sometimes arranged in imitation of groined vaulting, or by sculptured rosettes, &c.

At Bothwell and Seton the roof covering is of large stone slabs laid on the back of the stone vaulting, while at Roslin the vault itself forms the only and true roof. The former mode of construction has been adopted in the roofs of the block of offices to the south of the entrance court, while the small "oratory" in the garden court and the muniment room have had the outer covering of smaller and less carefully dressed blocks of stone.



East Wall of Tower.

That the church of Inchcolm was formerly richly adorned with statues of the saints, carved woodwork, sacred vessels, ornaments of gold and silver, and costly vestments, we are assured in the accounts already given by the chroniclers of the sacrilegious plundering of the English "pirates." All that now remains to indicate the style of the building erected by Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1265, is the sill of a double piscina, a broken slab containing two basins carved with different designs of fluting, and now lying in the archway between the entrance court and the farm house. (Plate VI.)

A wide opening with half pillars on the jambs, on the south side of the choir, marks the entrance to the *Lady Chapel*, built in 1402. It has been covered by a semicircular stone vault, the greater part of which has fallen, leaving the remainder hanging together by the strength of the cement which binds it, forming a very striking feature in the view of the ruins from the east and south. It is rather singular that this chapel has been built at right angles to the church, requiring the altar to be placed at the east side instead of at the end. Possibly this was done because it would be easier to unite the vaulting at right angles than longitudinally, and at the same time would avoid cutting into the main walls of the church.

We have already, when speaking of the dormitory, referred to the steps

from it to the choir for the use of the monks attending on the services at early morning and midnight, and have noticed the squint or hagioscope enabling those who remained in the dormitory to follow the officiating priest. In the south angle next the tower is the circular stone stair, which conducted from the cloister to the dormitory and the apartments in the upper part of tower and nave.

The Tower, 20 feet 6 inches square, though of no great height, forms a somewhat conspicuous object in the view of the monastery from the sea. It is of four storeys in height, and is finished at top by a plain corbelled parapet. In the upper storey, on three sides, are two coupled windows, under a simple round label, and underneath is a string course equally plain. The apex of the external roof over choir has reached to this moulding, so that the tower has been only one storey above the adjoining roofs of the church. This is quite in conformity with the usual practice in churches built for this order, where we find the towers are seldom made of great height or importance. No doubt a peal of bells formerly hung here, as bells are mentioned among the spoils carried away by the English. Passing in the meantime the room below,—in the ground floor of the tower is a door from the cloisters, with shafted jambs and simple semicircular moulded arch. The ceiling is a plain barrel vault in continuation of that over the nave, having a large circular opening in the centre, probably intended for communication with the floors above or for the admission of light.

The small adjunct, or *Transept*, on the north side of the tower, is covered with a lean-to roof, but probably had a high-pitched gabled roof of same height as those over the choir and nave, and consists of two small chambers, one over the other, communicating with the other apartments in the tower. It is evidently a later addition, and its principal use seems to have been to give a more church-like appearance to the north view of the Abbey. As a rule, the transepts of Scottish cathedrals and churches are very shallow, in no case exceeding two bays in projection from the intersection, and in some instances, as Glasgow Cathedral, the transepts are mere breaks in the general line of the walls, introduced, as it would seem, solely to relieve the external elevation, and mark by a varied treatment the division between the choir and nave.

The Nave is, as we have already noticed, unusually short in comparison with the choir. Perhaps the only other case in which we find a similar

arrangement is that of Kelso Abbey Church, where the nave is of one bay about 23 feet square, while the choir has side aisles, and was at least three bays in length, exclusive of the apse. The nave of Inchcolm Church is about 26 feet by 15 feet 6 inches, and is a plain vaulted chamber, which could never have been sufficiently lighted to admit of its use as part of the church. It is quite possible that the tower and nave were, as now, built off from the choir, and formed part of the domestic offices of the monastery.

The Upper Rooms over the Nave, Tower, and Transept formed a suite of apartments used in all probability as the infirmary of the Abbey, or additional dormitories. The room over the nave has a fire-place in the west-end wall, and windows on the north and south sides. It was not roofed in stone like all the other buildings in the monastery, but had a simple wooden roof, long since destroyed. The addition of this upper storey to the nave may, like the transept and muniment room, have been made at some later time to meet the increased requirements of the Abbey. Such an arrangement is probably unique as far as regards Scotland and England, but examples are to be met with in Ireland, of rooms not only over the nave, but even over the choir in small churches.

That the nave would never be required for the ordinary use of a congregation makes the arrangement less objectionable in the present instance, a fact of which the architect, no doubt, availed himself in his endeavours to economise space and expense. In the adjoining chamber in the tower there is a window on the south side, overlooking the cloisters, having stone seats in the thickness of the wall. The small "turnpike stair" from the cloisters in the south-east corner formed the communication to these upper rooms; another leads from the south-west angle of this chamber to the rooms in the tower above.¹ The small apartment which adjoins and forms the upper floor of the transept is provided with a fire-place and aumbry.

Another very feasible mode of disposing of these upper rooms, and one in some respects more in accordance with the usual plan of conventual

¹ It is not improbable that a portion of the triple arcade shown in the small sketch (page 65), was open, so that invalid monks from this chamber could follow the offices of the Church without leaving their dormitory.

establishments, so far as the exceptional circumstances will admit of comparison, is to consider them as the Abbot's house. What we have described as the Abbot's house at the entrance court would then become the guest house, and the infirmary would be over the south side of the cloister, at right angles to the refectory.

On the north side of the choir and transept are some remains of buildings, but from what is left it would be impossible to conjecture their purpose. No doubt some of these walls are of comparatively modern erection.

A large portion of the enclosing wall of the Abbey still remains parallel with the church on the north. It extends along the rocky margin of the island for a distance equal to the length of the church; it then probably joined the wall of the garden court at the west end, and at its eastern extremity turned at right angles to join the east wall of the choir, having a large gateway in front of the entrance court. The range of buildings built up to the sandy beach on the north side would complete the enclosure of the Abbey.

It only remains for us now to notice one or two objects of considerable interest that have been associated by some eminent antiquaries with the early history of Inchcolm.¹

On the south side of the island, about 20 yards west of the dwelling-house, is "*The Well*," constructed of carefully wrought masonry, 4 feet 6 inches external diameter, and about 50 feet deep. That this was built and used by the monks of St Columba there can be no doubt, as it is the only one on the island; and for the same reason we cannot doubt that, when it bubbled up from the ground, and ran a little rill to the sea, it was the "holy well" whose waters supplied the simple but wholesome drink of the royal founder and his saintly companion.

Still more interesting is the small building at the north-west angle of the wall, enclosing what we have called the garden court, for it has been conjectured to be the veritable cell or chapel which sheltered the shipwrecked king, and may even have been built by St Columba himself as the

¹ D. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, vol. ii. See also Sir J. Y. Simpson "On an Old Stone-Roofed Cell or Oratory in the Island of Inchcolm." *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 489. This paper came under the writer's notice after these pages were in the printer's hands. It contains much valuable matter regarding the earlier history of the Island, and detailed notices of its minor antiquities.

first Christian church in this part of the east of Scotland. It is a very small, irregular structure, measuring internally 15 feet 9 inches in length, by a width increasing from 4 feet 8 inches at west end, to 5 feet 10 inches at east end. The entrance is by a low lintelled door, 4 feet wide at the west end of the south wall, and it is lighted by a small slit in east wall, externally 2 feet 8 inches by 10 inches wide, but splayed out inside to a width of two feet.

A bole or aumbry, 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot, and 1 foot 3 inches deep, in the south wall, and a modern seat along the west end, complete the few points observable inside. The roof is of stone—a rude specimen of pointed vaulting, having an outer covering of stones dressed and laid so as to throw off the rain, while at the same time it gives stability to the vaulting.

Many suggestions might be given as to the probable use made of this cell. Its proximity to the burial-ground suggests a charnel-house or chapel of St Martin, frequently attached to monastic cemeteries; or, if taken in connection with the garden court or herbary, it may have served as a store-house for implements of husbandry, or fruits, or for some purposes connected with the religious life of the community, as a place for retirement, study, or penance. To whatever use it was afterwards applied, the probability appears to be that this represents the original Culdee chapel or clachan, and that the canons of St Columba, anxious to preserve a relic and testimony to the truth of the legend of the foundation of their Abbey, had long preserved it in its primitive condition; and when, through the inevitable effects of time, it began to fall into ruin, workmen were employed to “restore” it, preserving as well as they could the original walls, and adding a roof of stone to protect it from further decay.

There seems no reason to doubt that we have here a relic of the primitive Scottish Church, one of the earliest ecclesiastical buildings existing in Scotland, or in Britain, a memorial of the mission of the great and good apostle St Columba, whose name has made this Island sacred ground for 1300 years, and to whom, more than any other, we owe the first impulses of that deep religious feeling which has ever been one of the most marked characteristics of the Scottish people, and the glory which has exalted them as a nation.

That no epoch of the history of this Island may be without some remains to which we can link its varied story, there is lying in the chapter-house a sculptured stone, a fragment of what may have been a memorial cross, intended to be built against a wall, or laid horizontally over a grave.

What remains is evidently part of the lower limb of the cross, and is covered on one of the broader faces, the sides, and end, with the interlacing ornaments characteristic of Scandinavian art. Though this style of ornament is to be seen in Celtic manuscripts and tombs of presumable Celtic workmanship, it was essentially the art of those northern nations who from time to time made descents on the Scottish coast leaving colonies to settle there, or, as we have seen them in the early history of Inchcolm, defeated and driven back, purchasing for their dead comrades a grave in the land they could not conquer.

To the same age we may refer the "Danish monument," drawn in Sir R. Sibbald's "History of Fife." The rude sketch there shows a strange form with a human head at either end, the body covered with some sort of reticulated ornament. This is laid horizontally on what appears to be four short piers of stone, with panels between, the centre one having a figure holding a spear carved on it. Grose having consulted this drawing, compared it with the monument it was intended to illustrate, but could distinguish nothing like a human head at either end, though he says that "something like a man with a spear is seen (by sharp-sighted antiquaries) on the north side, and on the south the figure of a cross."

Before closing our account of Inchcolm we may notice the fine echo, which in early and superstitious times must have greatly added to the mysterious sanctity always connected with the island. He who would experience the full effect of this phenomenon should choose a quiet autumn evening, when darkness or a thin mist has almost shut out the view of the shore, and bring his boat to about one hundred yards from the north-west corner of the Inch. Then let him call aloud to the spirits that sleep in the Holy Isle—a deathlike silence follows; but soon, with appalling distinctness, comes forth the echo. The sound is caught up by the wooded crags of the old lordship of Aberdour; from shore to island, from Abbey to castle, the genii call, till their voices mingle, fade, and are lost in the eternal murmur of the sea. Fit emblem and appropriate memorial of scenes and times whose glories have departed, and left but the fading voices of history and legend to speak their fame. We have tried in the present sketch to revive these echoes, and to build up again in imagination the ruined and waste places, "the desolations of many generations."

III.—*Notice of the Brochs or Large Round Towers of Orkney. With Plans, Sections, and Drawings, and Tables of Measurements of Orkney and Shetland Brochs. (Plates VII.—X.)*

By GEORGE PETRIE, Kirkwall, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., F.R.S.N.A., &c.

[*Read before the Society, June 11th, 1866.*]

There are in the northern counties of Scotland many ruinous buildings, apparently belonging to an early period of the country's history. They are locally known by the name—"Picts' houses;" but as that includes buildings differing greatly from each other apparently in design as well as in construction, no definite information is conveyed by the announcement that a Pict's house has been discovered. As it would however be difficult, and perhaps not desirable, wholly to discard the name, I have, in endeavouring to classify the ancient buildings in Orkney, restricted its application to a class of structures generally of a conical form, of which one on Wideford Hill, near Kirkwall, opened by me in 1849, and described by Dr Daniel Wilson in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," may be taken as a type. They are either wholly or mostly above ground, and are totally distinct from the subterranean buildings, which are also found in considerable numbers in Orkney. But there is a third class of structures very numerous in Orkney and Shetland, and of a very different construction from either of those already mentioned. I refer to the "burgs" or "brochs;" and as the ruins of several of those in Orkney have lately been excavated and examined, my object at present is to endeavour, from notes and measurements taken on the spot, to give a description of them, and of the relics found during the excavations.

As a preliminary, and tending to prove the very considerable antiquity of the brochs, I may call attention to the opinion expressed by the late Professor Munch, that the Scandinavians, on their arrival in Orkney, gave the name of Burgar-ey (Burg-island) to an island where are still to be seen the ruins of two brochs near the sea-shore, within a few hundred yards of each other, and, at no great distance from them, a large mound, supposed to be the ruins of a third broch. Another fact corroborative of the antiquity claimed for these buildings, is the great number of farms in Orkney bearing the name of

“Broch.” There is always a mound in their vicinity; and where the mound has been opened, the ruins of the old “*burg*” have been found. Lately, the names “Over or Upper Broch,” and a “Nether Broch,” in the parish of Harray, led me to suppose that there must have formerly been brochs in the locality. I have since ascertained that there is a large broch in the *township* of Over-Broch, and a similar one in Nether-Broch. The term “broch” was probably at first limited to the old round tower, and afterwards gradually extended to the surrounding lands, until it embraced a district large enough to form a town (the old Norse “*Tún.*”)

The burgs or brochs in Orkney are all so much dilapidated, that probably none of those now remaining exceeds one-third of the height of the original structure, as is shown not only by the extent of the ruins, but also by an examination of the broch of Mousa in Shetland, which, although incomplete, is yet about forty-four feet high. They were massive round towers, varying considerably in size, and occasionally in form. The outer face of the wall of the Orkney brochs is either nearly perpendicular, or, as at Ingas-howe, in the parish of Firth, gradually curves inward from the base, till, at its present height of 9 feet, the outer edge of the wall is 2 feet within the line of the outer edge of the base. At Burian, in Harray, the batter of the wall is about 10 inches in 5 feet. The only opening externally is the door or entrance. Generally, there are various outworks, such as earthen or stone ramparts, fosses, and encircling walls; but these are apparently of a later date than the tower. Additions and alterations have also been made in the interior of most of the brochs, which makes it often difficult to distinguish between the original structure and the later additions.

THE BROCHS IN BURRAY.

Both the brochs near the shore in the island of Burray, already mentioned, have been excavated by Mr Farrer. The first was opened about fifteen years ago, and cost much labour and expense. The mound formed by the ruins was about 20 feet high, and was covered, as usual in such cases, by a beautiful green sward, through which stones cropped out here and there. It is surrounded by an embankment which has not been cut into, but appears to be constructed of earth and stones. The embankment starts from the sea-beach or cliff on the east side, sweeps round the broch to landward, and returns to and terminates at the beach on the

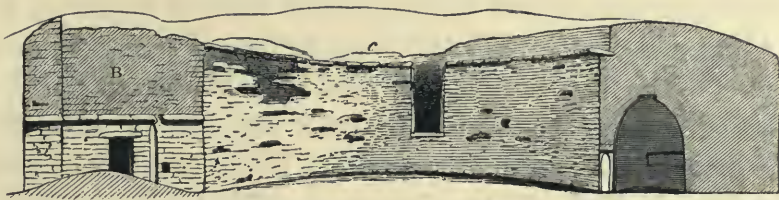


Fig. 2.—East Broch, Burray. Section on a line C to H.

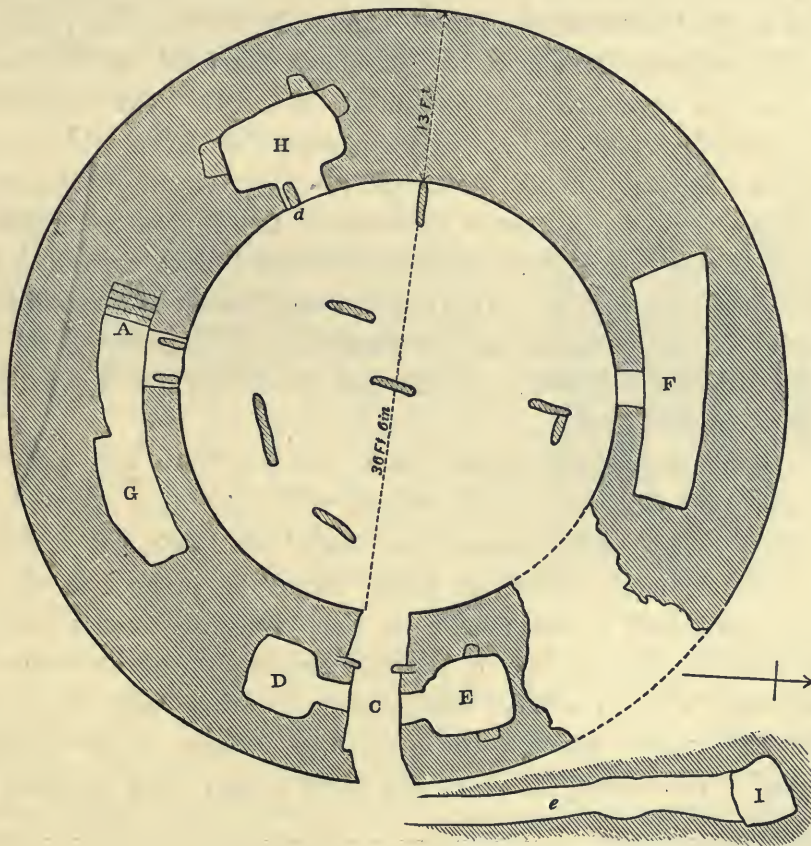


Fig. 1.—East Broch, Burray. Ground Plan.

[Scale one-sixteenth inch to one foot.]

west side of the building. The door or entrance passage is close to the point where the embankment approaches the curve of the broch, on the east side. About mid-way through the passage there is a low narrow opening on the level of the floor, on the right hand side, leading to the chamber E, and a similar opening on the left into the chamber D. (See the accompanying ground-plan, Plate VII., fig. 1). These chambers have no other aperture of any kind. The entire length of the entrance passage C is 15 feet, which is the thickness of the wall of the broch. The inner end of the passage opens into the interior of the building or enclosed area, which is about $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. Nearly opposite the inner end of the passage is the low entrance to the chamber H, while on the right and left hand sides respectively, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the level of the floor of the broch, are the entrances to the chambers F and G. The chambers D, G, and H, have their roofs entire. The appearance of the chamber G, which is filled with stones and rubbish at the outer end opposite to its entrance, leads me to think that it has been a chamber at the foot of a staircase. The staircases of two other brochs in Orkney which I have examined are constructed in the same way.¹ Over the entrance passage is a recess (B, fig. 2) of nearly the same width as the passage, extending across the wall to within 3 feet of the outside. As the roof is wanting, the original height of the recess is not known.

A remarkable feature in this broch, which I have seen also in others, is a projecting ledge of stones around the inner face of the wall, at a height of about 12 feet above the floor of the broch. (See Plate VII., fig. 2). Immediately above the stone ledge the inner face of the wall recedes about half a foot; and as the projecting stones also extend half a foot beyond the face of the wall beneath them, the entire breadth of the ledge is about a foot. On a level with this ledge is an entrance or doorway, which appears to lead to a gallery in the thickness of the wall.² This arrangement is still more clearly seen in other Orkney

¹ Since the above was written I have ascertained that my conjecture was correct; for, having employed some men in July 1866 to dig into the ruins at the point mentioned, a roomy and tolerably well constructed staircase, having twenty stone steps, was found at the spot I had indicated. (See A in plan).

² The entrance has been found by the clearing out of the rubbish from the staircase to open into the gallery, to which the stairs give access from the lower part of the tower.

brochs. I have now ascertained, by an examination of the brochs of Mousa and Clickamin in Shetland, that it is only the lower storey of the Orkney brochs which remains, and that there has been a gallery running round the building, as at Mousa, but that it only commenced at a height of about 12 feet from the ground, while below that level the wall was, with two exceptions, a solid mass, with an occasional chamber here and there in its thickness. The upper part of the broch, consisting of two concentric walls, with a considerable space or gallery between them, could be more readily thrown down than the lower portion, which was almost entirely a solid mass of building.

The lintel over the entrance to the chamber H presented an interesting proof of the long time that the building had been occupied before it became wholly ruinous and entombed. The under side of the lintel, especially at one end, had been so rubbed and worn that it had broken across, and had then been propped up by a stone, *d*, which still remains to support it. (See fig. 3). Returning to the doorway or entrance passage, we find on each side of it, and about 5 feet from the inner extremity, a large flagstone set on end, reaching from the floor to the roof, and projecting edgewise a few inches into the passage from the wall on each side. Behind and supported by these projections, a door of wood, or more probably of stone, was no doubt placed; for a little

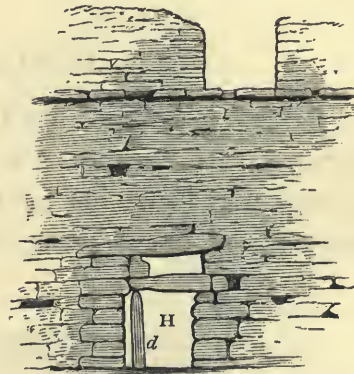


Fig. 3.—Entrance to Chamber, Ledge, and Entrance to Gallery in East Broch, Burray.

behind the jambs or projecting flagstones are holes in the wall which have evidently been made to receive the ends of the bars by which the door was secured on the inside, while just *outside* the jambs are the entrances to the guard chambers, already mentioned, on either side of the doorway. The large stone lintels which form the roof of the entrance passage, also serve for the floor of the recess above it. There is generally sufficient space between the lintels for a spear or other similar weapon to be thrust down from the recess into the passage. This perhaps afforded another means of harassing or killing any one who attempted to force the doorway.

In clearing away the rubbish on the sea-side of the building, the accidental lifting of a large stone led to the discovery of a well (I, fig. 1), the

lower part of which has been dug out of the rock. Rudely formed steps lead down to it. The stairs terminate at the top in a passage (*e*, fig. 1), which leads in the direction of the door of the broch, and probably had a concealed entrance or sort of trap-door within the doorway, by which access to the well was at all times secured.

A little to the westward of the broch now described, the ruins of another were partially examined a few years ago by Mr Farrer. I measured and made plans and sections of the portion that was opened. The wall was about $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and the enclosed space 31 feet in diameter. A chamber was found in the thickness of the wall, opening on one side into the enclosed space, and on another into a gallery (also in the thickness of the wall), which was traced nearly half way round the broch. Near the farther end, the gallery communicated by a wide doorway with the interior.

OKSTROW BROCH, BIRSAY.

Several years ago, Mr Leask of Boardhouse, in the parish of Birsay, employed men to remove a large accumulation of stones (*a*, fig. 4) which covered a knoll on his farm. This led to the discovery that underneath those stones was a great number of short cists or graves (*b b*, fig. 4)

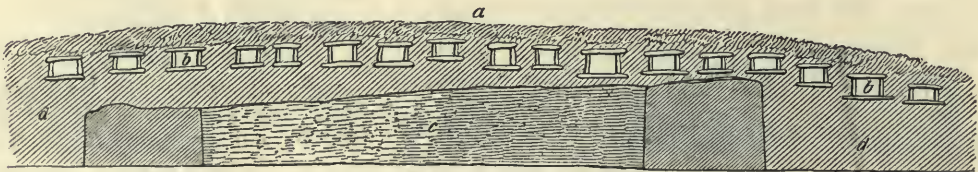
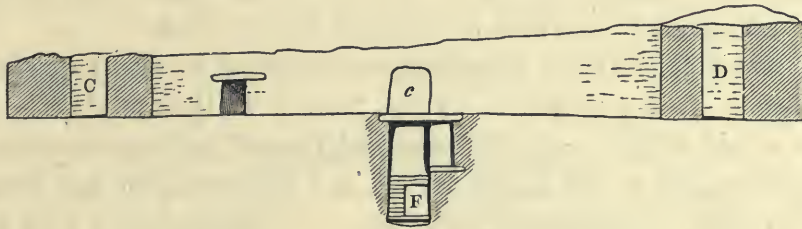


Fig. 4.—Section across the Mound of Okstrow, showing the short cists overlying the ruins of the Broch.

from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet in length, and a foot and a-half in width and depth, formed in the usual way by flags set on edge with stone bottoms and covers. The cists contained burned bones and ashes. A large bowl-shaped stone urn containing ashes and fragments of bones was found in one of the cists; and at the bottom of another which had been opened before I saw it I picked up the half of a small bronze ring. I was informed by Mr Leask, on whose testimony I can thoroughly rely, that the figure of an *eagle* was boldly cut on the covering stone of one of the cists. He kindly promised to hand it over to me if it could be found, but unfortunately it had been left



Okstrow Broch, Section on the line *d, e*.

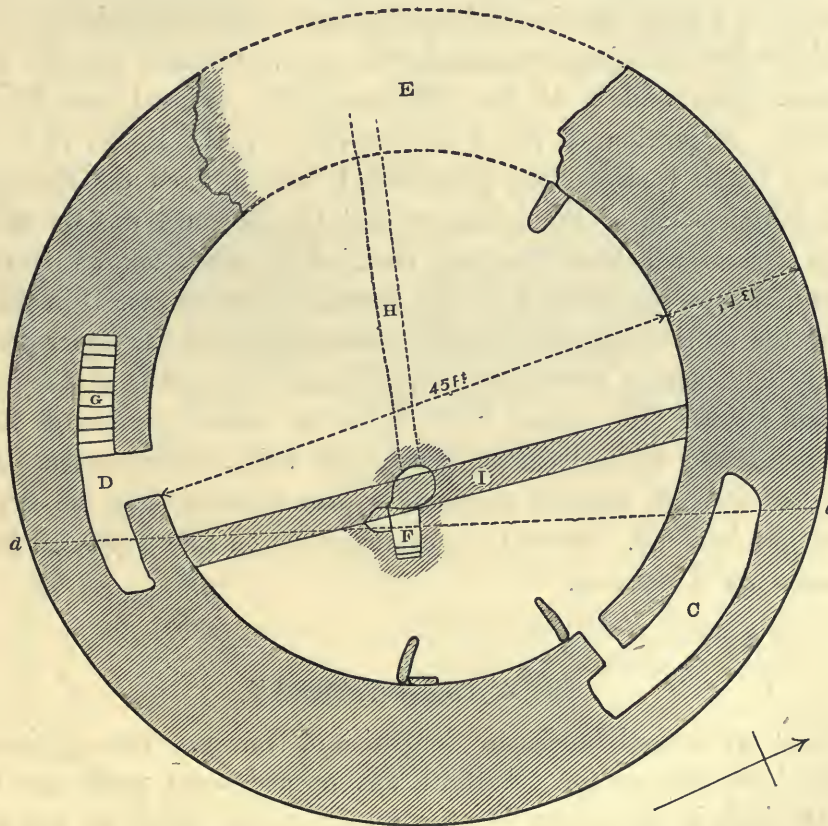


Fig. 5.—Ground Plan of Okstrow Broch.

[Scale one-sixteenth inch to one foot.]

amid a heap of other stones; and Mr Leask found to his chagrin that some masons then working at Boardhouse had built the stone into a wall of one of his farm offices, from which it could not be recovered.

On removing the cists, a large mass of building (*c*, fig. 4) was found beneath them. It is now known as the "Broch of Okstrow." The circumstances in which this broch was discovered; *beneath* so large an accumulation of cists belonging to the Pagan period, and apparently to the Bronze age, prove its claim to considerable antiquity. We must allow a long period to have elapsed before so massive a building could have been so greatly dilapidated as to leave only a few feet in height of the wall, and to have been thereafter buried beneath an accumulation of earth sufficient for the formation of a large cemetery belonging to the cremation period.

Of the brochs I have examined, the one at Okstrow has the greatest diameter. The wall is 12 feet thick, and the enclosed area 45 feet in diameter. A portion of the wall (see Plate VIII., E, fig. 5) had been removed before I visited the place, but I believe, from the description I received from some of the labourers, that the entrance was on that side. On the opposite side there is a long chamber C which follows the curve of the wall, and nearly facing it is the entrance to a staircase D in the thickness of the wall, which doubtless led to the galleries in the upper portion of the broch. There is also a well (?) F beneath the floor of the enclosed area, and a drain (H) leading from it to the broken portion of the wall. I was told that a wall (I) extended over the well across the area. If so, it must have been an addition made at a date subsequent to the erection of the original building. Several large stones set on edge projected from the circumference of the area.

BROCHS IN HARRAY.

There are several brochs in the parish of Harray. Two of them have already been referred to. A third was opened some years ago by the Rev. Dr Trail, in the course of some improvements which he was making near his manse. The large mound beneath which the ruins lay did not appear to have been disturbed for long centuries. The wall of the broch is about 12 feet thick, and the enclosed area about 33 feet in diameter. The outer end of the doorway (see Plate IX., B, fig. 6) was about $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide. The same width continued for about 6 feet. At that distance from the outside

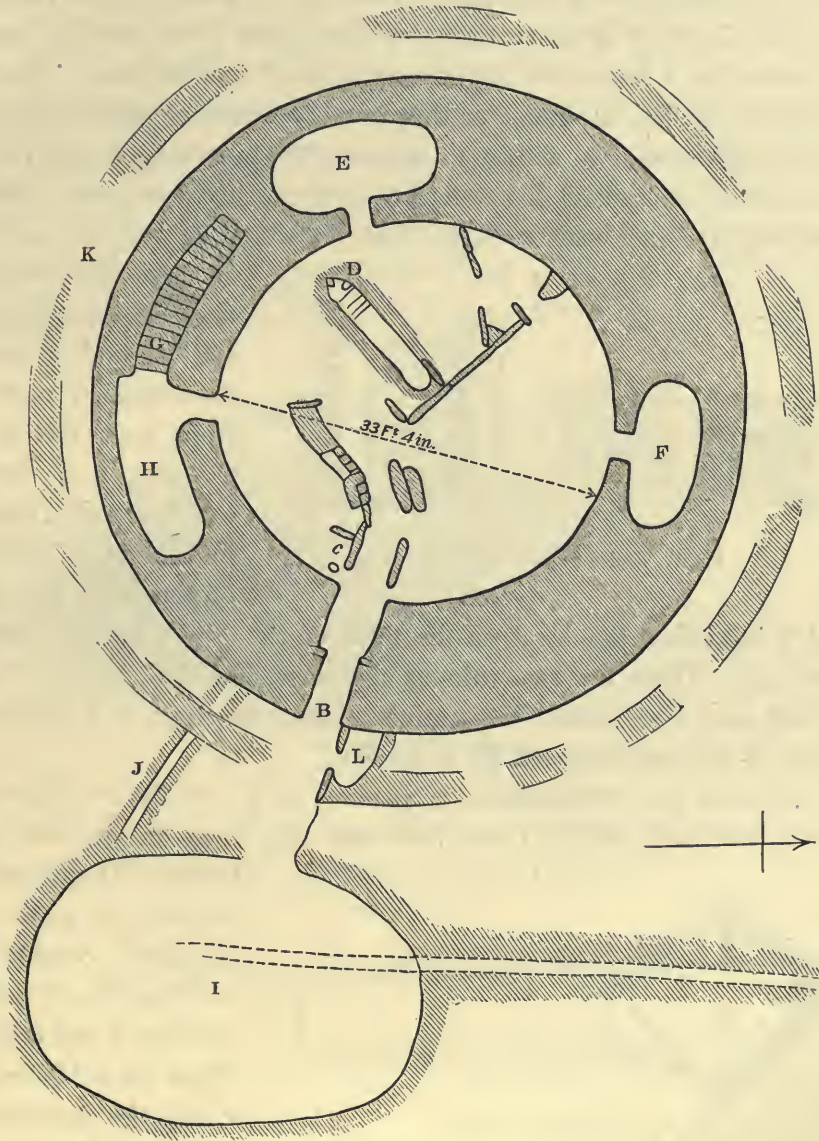


Fig. 6.—Ground Plan of Broch at Manse of Harray.

[Scale, one-sixteenth inch to one foot.]

a stone set on end and let into the wall on each side of the passage served as jambs. The passage throughout the other six feet between those jambs and its inner extremity was 4 feet wide. On a line with and close to the left-hand side of the doorway in the interior of the broch there stood a large stone, *c*, about 4 feet 9 inches in height, and 4 feet 6 inches broad. There was a hole about 2 inches in diameter through this stone, about midway between the top and bottom, and within 14 inches of the inner edge (see fig. 7). Close to the wall at the back of this stone (*c*) a human skull was found. Fragments of walls and stones set on edge were discovered in various parts of the

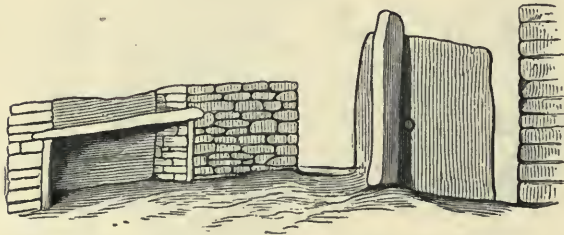


Fig. 7.—Holed Stone and Recess.

enclosed area, but none of them appeared to belong to the original structure. A subterranean passage and steps near the middle of the area lead down to a cavity or well, *D*, excavated in the rock. The bottom of the well (*d*, fig. 8) is about 9 feet below the level of the floor of the broch, and I always found water in it. There are two ruinous chambers, *E* and *F*, in the thickness of the wall, also a staircase, *G*, containing nineteen steps, and apparently the remains of another chamber, *H*, at its foot.

The broch was surrounded at a distance of 3 feet by a rough stone wall about 3 feet thick, which, I was told, was only faced on the side next the broch. There was also a

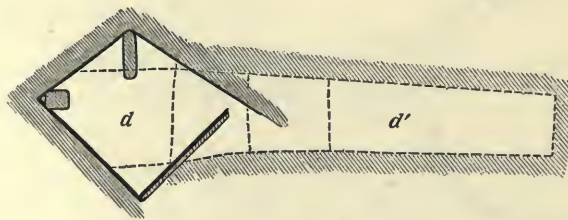


Fig. 8.—Ground Plan of Well.

number of small cells or chambers outside of the building, chiefly on the east side, but I saw only one (*L*, Plate IX.) When I first visited the place a space had been cleared directly in front of the door of the broch. I noticed that two walls, at a considerable distance from each other, had been cut through in making the clearing. Their ends were seen on each side, but I had not time then to measure the distance between them. I have since been told by the Rev. Dr Trail that they formed an oval enclosure, *I*, as shown on the plan. There was also a deep

well, having a number of steps leading down to it, at one side of the space which had been cleared in front of the doorway. It has since been covered up; but my recollection of it, and a note which I took of its distance from the entrance to the broch, leads me to think that it was within the elliptical enclosure; and Dr Trail is of the same opinion. The small conduit, J, which extends from a burn on the upper side of the broch through the enclosure, is supposed to have terminated in the well. At one place (marked K) two large rude fire-baked clay urns containing some fragments of burnt bones were found. They had carefully cut triangular stone covers, which were nearly on a level with the original floor of the broch. I regret that other interesting features presented by this broch and its adjuncts were destroyed

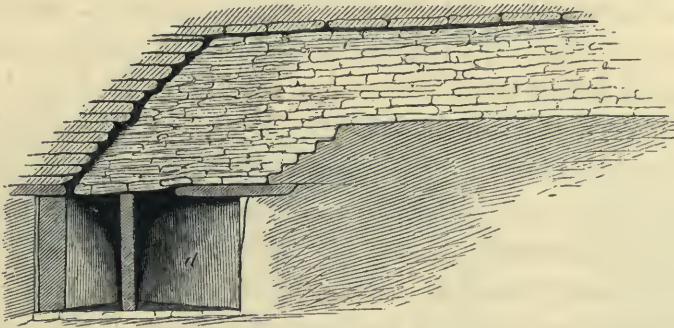


Fig. 9.—Section of the Well.

before I could examine and record them; and experience has taught me that I can trust implicitly only to notes taken on the spot.

BORROWSTON BROCH, SHAPINSHAY.

Shortly after the discovery of Maeshowe, Mr Balfour of Balfour and Trenabie employed some men to open a large mound at a place called Borrowston, near the sea-shore in the island of Shapinshay. On the invitation of Mr Balfour I repeatedly visited the place, and took careful measurements and notes, from which the plans and sections now sent were prepared. The ruins have since been also carefully planned by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.

The wall, A, A (see Plate X. fig. 10), of the Borrowston broch is about 13 feet thick at the entrance, and 14 feet opposite to it, while at other points it is only 10 feet or rather less in thickness. It is now only from 13 to 14 feet

high, and encloses a circular space, B, about 35 feet in diameter. The original doorway or entrance, C, fronts the sea, from which it is about 32 yards distant, and is about 13 feet long, about 4 feet wide, and 6 feet high. An addition, D, of 12 feet or thereby to its outer end connects it with an oblong enclosure or building, E, about 42 feet in length, and about 15 feet in width, from which there was apparently an outlet or passage in the direction of other outworks.

On the south side of the entrance is the doorway of a chamber, H, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 5 feet wide next the entrance, and follows the curve of the wall of the broch for about 12 feet, when its inner extremity, which is there both very low and narrow, was found to be choked with rubbish. There is, as usual, a stone jamb on each side of the main passage, but the one is nearer to the inner end of the doorway than the other. A wall, I, occupying a considerable portion of the enclosed area opposite to the doorway, and leaving a space of 6 feet in width between it and the wall of the broch, is evidently of a later date than the latter. The intervening space, K, between these walls was probably all roofed over with flagstones, forming a gallery or series of chambers, of which the roof and ruined chamber at the south side appear to be the remains.

As in the Burray broch a ledge, generally about 18 inches broad, runs round the inner face of the broch at Borrowston, 10 or 11 feet above the floor (see fig. 12); and nearly on a level with the ledge, there are two openings in the inner face of the wall, one opposite to the entrance to the broch, and the other on the south side. The one is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the other about 2 feet 9 inches long, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Both open into a gallery 2 feet 8 or 9 inches wide. There are two ascending steps remaining in the gallery at one point, and three at another. In the area, opposite the doorway, and within two feet of the wall, I, there is a hole, L (fig. 12), of an irregular figure about 4 feet in diameter one way, and 2 feet the other, and 10 feet deep. The lower part has been dug out of the rock, and the upper portion built with undressed stones in the rudest manner. This may have been merely a place of concealment for stowing away treasures in time of danger, but as the rock, in almost all the examples that I have seen, has been reached and more or less dug into, it seems not improbable that such holes were wells.

The Borrowston broch appears to have been surrounded at a distance of 9 feet by a stone wall, M, of which a portion remains, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick (figs. 10, 11). Outside this wall is a fosse, S S, from 16 to 18 feet wide at bottom, and the

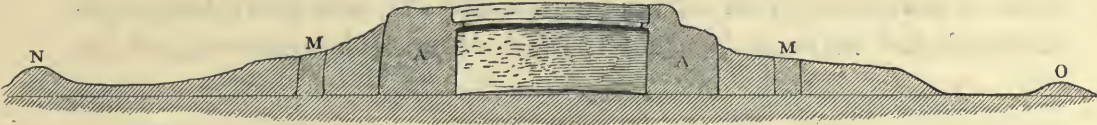


Fig. 11.—Broch of Borrowston. Section on the line N. O.

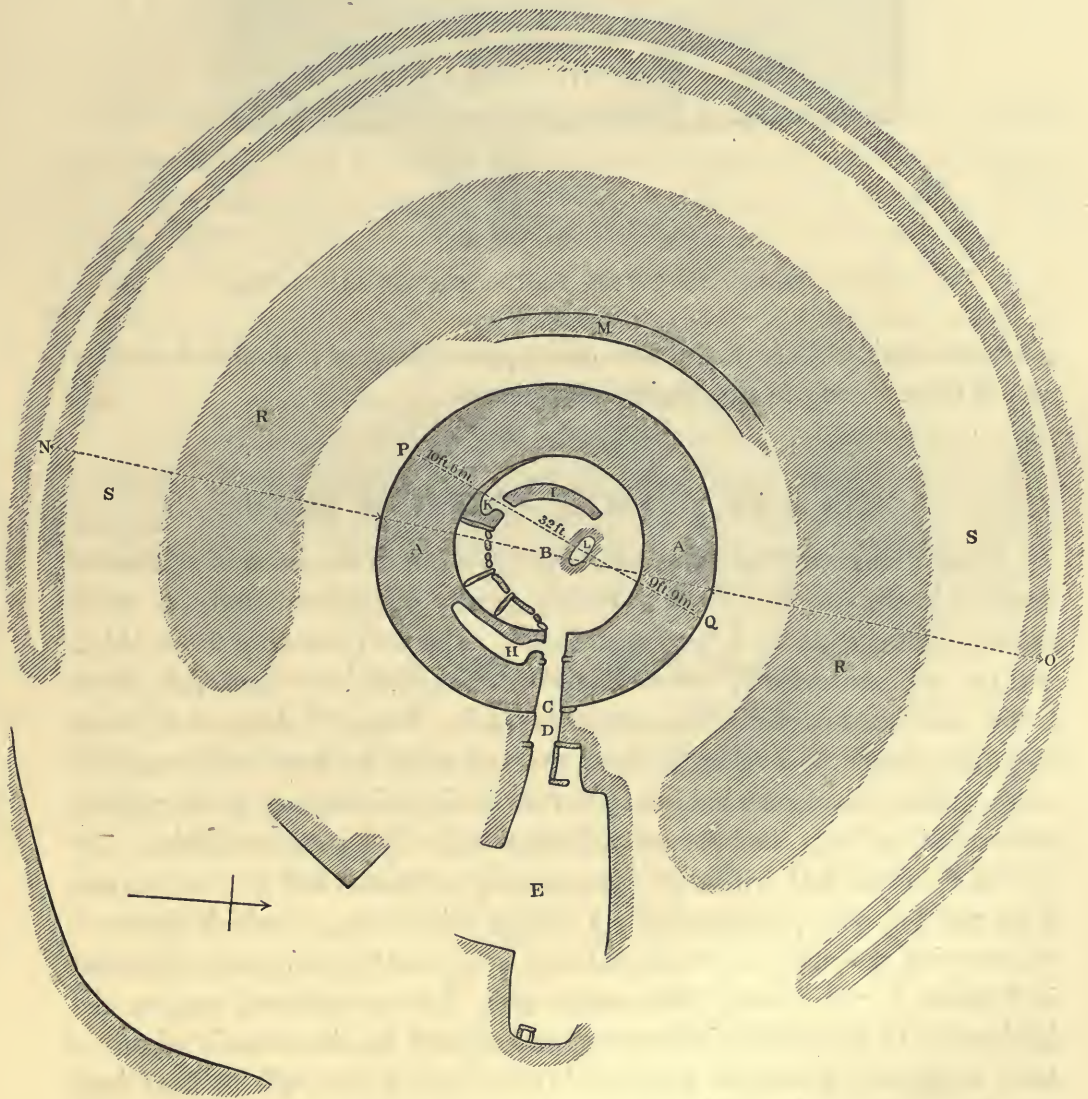


Fig. 10.—Ground Plan and Section of the Broch of Borrowston, Shapinsay.

[Scale, one-sixteenth inch to one foot.]

whole is surrounded by an earthen embankment, N. The entire diameter of the Broch and outworks is about 170 feet. The whole appearance of the

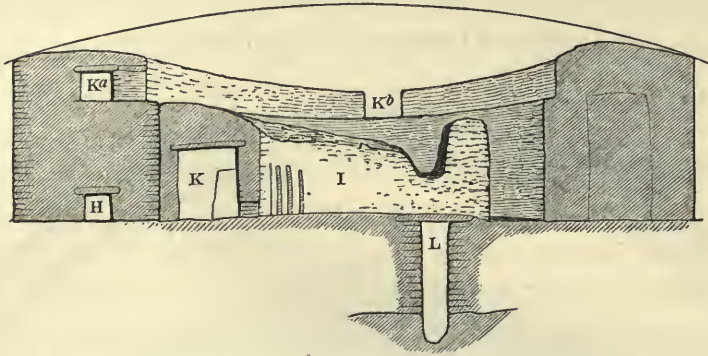


Fig. 12.—Section of Broch of Borrowston, showing Well (L) in the Area.

outworks, both at Borrowston and other places, renders it doubtful whether any of them belong to the original structures.

BROCH AT REDLAND, PARISH OF FIRTH.

Excavations were made by Mr Farrer in 1858 in the ruins of a broch at Redland in the parish of Firth. It was greatly dilapidated, and was much smaller than the others I have mentioned. The wall was only 9 feet thick, and the enclosed space 27 feet in diameter. Nearly in the centre of the broch a well was found partially dug out of the rock. Steps led down to it, but as they were above the level of the floor, the well could not have been concealed, unless the stair had been hidden from view in the thickness of a wall running across the interior of the broch as at Borrowston, which seems probable. The wall of the broch had evidently begun to bulge outwards and give way on one side, and had been propped up by a rudely built facing, in which the stone with a spiral or volute cut on one end, and lately sent to the Society's Museum in Edinburgh, was found. The stone with the crescent and sceptre, also lately sent to the Society's Museum, and figured in the second volume of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Plate CIV.), was said to have been found near the broch, and built by the finder into the wall of his house. I also picked up at the same place a piece of undressed freestone with a mark having a rude resemblance to the "broad arrow," rudely made, and about 5 inches in length, cut on it. A similar figure appears among those cut on

the walls of the so-called Piet's house in Papa Westray, and about three years ago I observed on a stone found on the cover of one of a group of cists in a barrow in the parish of Deerness a rude three-pointed figure, which I sketched on the spot. In the same barrow another block of freestone had three cavities cut slightly on its surface.

BROCHS OF BURGAR AND HOXA.

The brochs of Burgar and Hoxa having been described by Captain Thomas, R.N., in his "Celtic Antiquities of Orkney,"¹ it is unnecessary to give their dimensions here. I may, however, remark that the plan of the Burgar broch shows, that it had probably resembled the West Broch of Burray, in which a gallery was traced round the wall as far as the excavations were made. The walls dividing the gallery into cells were in all likelihood afterwards added—indeed after the broch had become a mound of ruins, and had been appropriated as a place of sepulture.

I can enumerate between forty and fifty mounds in various parts of Orkney, including those already referred to, which are certainly the ruins of brochs. The greater number are close to the sea-shore, and only a few are inland—and even these are chiefly near the margin of a lake.

CONTENTS OF THE BROCHS.

I have reserved until now an enumeration of the principal relics found during the excavations of the brochs which have been lately examined in Orkney, as they can thus be more readily compared with each other.

East Broch, Burray.—The following articles,² which are deposited in the Museum of the Society, were found during the excavations, viz. :—

Several stone vessels of various sizes—generally very rudely fashioned—one of them apparently a lamp.

A broken circular plate of mica-schist polished.

A flat circular perforated stone, like a miniature quern. I have seen several of this kind. Similar stones are used in Iceland at this day to crush or pound dried fish.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 88–186.

² See woodcuts on p. 91.

Several small circular stones, and bones like beads, each with a hole through the centre.

A bone scoop and a large bone cup made of a vertebra of a whale (fig. 3).

Four long-handled and two double-edged bone combs more or less broken, one of them having iron rivets in it (figs. 2, p. 91).

Two bone pins, one $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; and several pointed bones with and without heads (fig. 4 and 5, p. 91).

Part of a wheel (?) made of a portion of a bone of a whale.

A large piece of deer's horn, with a longitudinal slit in it, apparently for the insertion of a thong.

A small fragment of red "Samian ware."

A bronze pin (fig. 6, p. 91), and an iron knife and chisel.

The last two articles may have been accidentally dropped in the ruins long after the other relics had been buried beneath them, or they may have belonged to the later occupants of the broch.

A quantity of charred bere or barley lay at the bottom of the enclosed area, and the bed of clay on which it rested bore strong traces of fire.

It was observed by Mr Farrer when making the excavations, that there were in the debris large quantities of bones of horses, sheep, and cattle, with deer's horns, tusks of boars, together with masses of the more common sea-shells, in which the limpet predominated, that the deer's horns were all at a considerable depth, and principally among the rubbish on the outside of the main wall, and mingled with ashes and portions of burnt stone, having apparently been thrown outside the wall from some of the upper chambers. Some of the deer's horns had evidently been cut with a sharp instrument.

When on a visit to the broch two years ago, I found that I could get admittance to the chamber on the south side which had previously been blocked up, and on entering it, I found a great number of fragments of bones of cattle stuck into holes in the walls. I pulled out several, and invariably found that the bones had been broken and split as if to get at the marrow. The cell had not been previously entered since the mound was opened, for I had to enlarge the opening, which had been made by the falling of a portion of the wall, and even then it was with difficulty and at some risk that I could squeeze through into the chamber. This cell has since fallen in.

Broch of Okstrow, Birsay.—In the ruins of this building were found great

quantities of fragments of rude clay vessels, but these appeared to have come from the cemetery above the ruins, or at all events to have been deposited in the mound after the broch became a ruin.

The following articles were also discovered :—

Several bone combs and other bone implements of rude form.

Pieces of deer's horns, some pointed, but almost all bearing marks of cutting on them. One piece of horn appears to have been a rude whistle. (?)

A large vertebra of a whale, very light and porous when found.

A fragment of red "Samian ware." Holes remain to show where it had at one time been mended.

Three stone cups or lamps, one with a perforated short handle, and several stone vessels very rude and of various sizes.

A small bronze ring brooch or fibula, and a bronze pin.

Stone and bone beads of various sizes, and part of a bone ring.

I was told lately by a person who had been working in the neighbourhood of the broch, that he went down into the well, and while groping through the mud at the bottom, he found a plain cylindrical piece of silver like the head of a walking-stick, with a hole or cavity extending about a quarter of an inch up through one end. It was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. I was sorry to hear that it had been sold to a watchmaker in Kirkwall, and melted down.

Broch of Borrowston, Shapinshay.—The articles found here were not numerous. They consisted chiefly of fragments of deer's horns, a great number of bones of the ox, sheep, &c., and several rude stone vessels, of different sizes. The stones are generally water-worn, and have been converted into rude vessels by cutting a cavity in one of the sides. The form of the hole or cavity is generally adapted to the outline of the stone.

At one side of the enclosed area a large mass of limpet shells was found, and a considerable quantity of fish-bones lay in another place amongst the rubbish, mixed with fragments of shells.

Broch of Stirlingo, Firth.—Besides the incised stones already mentioned, portions of a stone quern and a stone vessel were found in this broch. The cavity of the stone vessel was 10 inches long, 8 inches wide, and 2 inches deep. The earth, which was heaped above the floor of the broch near the wall, contained a great number of small lumps of what appeared to be a bright blue pigment or dyè. During excavations, which have lately been made in another ancient building, a piece of apparently a

red-coloured stone shaped like a small brick was found. On cleaning it, the finder was surprised to discover that it was "red keel," or a red pigment made up into its present shape, and that on wetting it and then rubbing it on the hand it produced a bright red colour. A smaller piece of the same substance had been previously found in the same ruins; and I have since seen a small stone vessel with a lump in it, of a whitish-looking pigment, bearing the marks of having been kneaded—it was also found in the same place where the red substance was discovered. The pigment adhered firmly to the bottom of the box. A red pigment was also found in the ruins at Saverock, near Kirkwall, in 1849.¹

Broch near Manse of Harray.—I have not yet seen all the relics found in this building, but they include stone vessels of the usual rude form, remains of stone querns and stone and bone implements.

Broch of Dingis-how, parish of St Andrews.—In the ruins of this broch, which stands on the top of a sandy knoll, and was opened by Mr Farrer, several fragments of pottery, much harder and better formed than is usually the case, were found. The vessels had bulged out considerably in the middle, and had a lip or rim around the mouth. I found between a stone set on edge and the wall of the broch several water-worn stones lying together in a heap. They very nearly approached the common form of stone celt; and I lately saw at Skail in Sandwick a stone similar to them in shape, but half formed into a celt. I have no doubt those I found had been selected as approaching nearest to the desired shape, and therefore requiring

¹ Since the foregoing was written, I found a fragment of iron ore in the ruins of the broch of Burrian in Harray, and examined a similar piece of mineral in the possession of Mr William Watt, which he had discovered in the same ruins in which the red pigment just referred to was found. On dipping the piece of ore in water and then rubbing it on the skin, a red mark was made similar to that made by the pigment; and on scraping the ore with a knife a red powder was easily produced, apparently identical with the pigment. Having directed the attention of General Lefroy to it during his visit to Orkney in the autumn of 1867, he took a specimen to London to get it analysed, and shortly afterwards I received from him the following note addressed to him by Mr Abel of the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. "The specimen of iron ore is Silicious Hæmatite, which does not contain any manganese—a trace of cobalt is present in it." General Lefroy remarks in his letter which accompanied Mr Abel's note:—"Hæmatite = anhydrous sesquioxide of iron, sometimes contains as much as 70 per cent. of iron, and always produces a red streak when drawn across a rough surface, such as unglazed pottery. This, I suppose, may have recommended it to the artless dames of Skail." It was at Skail where the pigment was found.

little labour to manufacture them into celts. One of them is still in my possession.

Broch of Burgar, Evie.—In 1825 this broch was partially explored, when a human skeleton, a long-handled bone comb, and part of a deer's horn were found. Fifteen or twenty years afterwards the ruins were re-opened by the late proprietor Mr Gordon. Dr Daniel Wilson states in his "Prehistoric Annals" that two fine gold armillæ, with other valuable relics, now in Lord Zetland's possession, were then discovered. The later find has been described to me by two intelligent gentlemen, by both of whom the relics were seen. Neither of them recollected the gold armillæ; and they could not tell me whether the relics had been preserved, as they had repeatedly heard that Mr Gordon threw the whole into the sea rather than surrender them to the Crown, for whom they had been claimed. The description I received referred to a highly ornate silver vase or beaker, which would contain about half a gallon of liquid, and to beads, chains, &c., with which it was nearly filled. One of the gentlemen referred to told me that the vase or beaker bulged out about the middle, the mouth and bottom being considerably narrower. Round the middle were many projecting knobs, and various ornamental figures or designs were stamped or incised on its surface. It was nearly filled with the following articles, viz., a great number of amber beads, from 3 to 4 inches in diameter down to the size of a pea, including many of the size of half-crowns; several silver combs of various sizes, some 6 inches long, with long teeth, the back or upper part being rounded and perforated by numerous holes; five or six silver pins, some silver buckles or fibulæ, and several pieces of silver chains, consisting of three links interwoven, and resembling modern watch chains. It is to be hoped that those valuable relics have not been destroyed, as has been supposed; but that Mr Gordon carried out his intention of sending them to Lord Zetland, and that they are safe in his Lordship's possession.

From the circumstances in which the relics were found at Burgar, it would appear that they had been deposited there as well as the human skeleton, *after* the building had become a heap of ruins.

I have obtained from some of the ruins of the brochs, such as at Birstane, Deerness, Redland, and Orphir, a stone of the accompanying figure (see fig. 13). A similar stone was found at the broch of Hoxa in South Ronaldsay.¹

¹ In most of the brochs "knocking stones," or stone mortars for bruising grain with,
VOL. V. M

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Owing to the greatly dilapidated state of the brochs, and the imperfect manner in which the ruins have hitherto been explored, very little progress

has yet been made in tracing their history; but I think it may be safely assumed that they existed in Orkney long before the arrival of the Norsemen; that they were probably occupied over a long period by successive invaders; that while a few were still tolerably entire when the Norsemen invaded the islands, and were thereafter occupied by them, as we learn from the Sagas, many, if not most, of the brochs were heaps of ruins, and had been used as burial mounds even by invaders who preceded the Norsemen. At least it would seem that some of the brochs



Fig. 13.—Dressed Stone from a Broch.
(13 inches in length).

had been suddenly deserted, and that their inhabitants had in their hurried departure left many of their rude weapons and domestic utensils behind them; for not only were such found in the enclosed area, but not a few have been discovered in the rubbish surrounding the outside of the building, evidently the debris of portions of the upper chambers and galleries that had fallen outwards.

I take the liberty to suggest that every means practicable be taken, with a view to ascertain the geographical distribution of the brochs, as that would help, I believe, more than anything else to throw light upon their origin and history. There are no traces of similar buildings in any part of Scandinavia; but it is suggestive that “Edin’s Hall,” near Dunse, which has

beach stones for pestles or crushers, and quantities of charcoal are found, while limpet, oyster, whelk, and other shells are abundant. Remains of rude clay pottery are also found in the debris; and not unfrequently fire-baked clay vessels are discovered deposited in the ruins, and sometimes in the soil immediately outside the wall. Circular covers of clay slate of various sizes, which have been used to cover the rude clay vessels, are often picked up. Some of them bear marks of fire around their margin where they have projected beyond the mouth of the vessel.

doubtless been a building of the same class as the northern brochs, and in the arrangement of the cells in the thickness of the wall, has closely resembled the broch of Burgar, stood on Cockburn Law, which is reputed to have been the last place where the Picts made a determined stand in Scotland.

A great deal of valuable information relating to the brochs on the west coast has been collected by Captain Thomas, R.N., while several in Shetland have been examined by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., and Mr Irvine of Bath. It remains for those antiquaries connected with the other districts in which these interesting buildings are found, to perform a similar service. Were that done, I believe we would know much more of their history than we do at present.

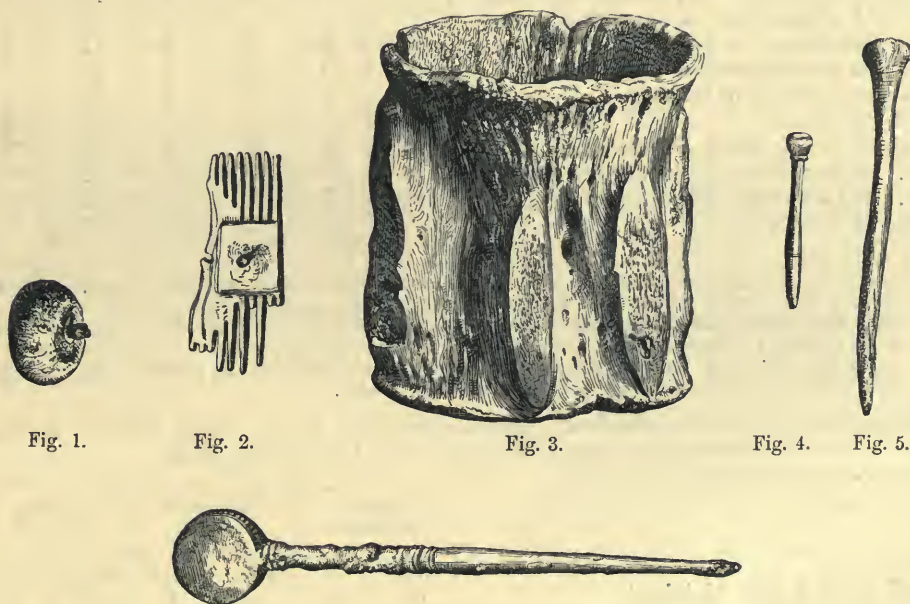


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Objects found in East Broch, Burray.

(Presented to the Museum by James Farrer, Esq., Hon. Mem. S. A., Scot., 1855.)

Fig. 1. Bone Button with iron shank. Fig. 2. Portion of Bone Comb with iron rivet. Fig. 3. Bone Cup (4½ inches high) made of the vertebra of a whale. Figs. 4 and 5. Bone Pins. Fig. 6. Bronze Pin, with flat head, 3 inches in length.

[APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. No. I.

Dimensions of Brochs or Round Towers in Orkney, from Measurements (with the exception of that of Burgar) taken by George Petrie, Kirkwall.

	Exterior Diameter.		Interior Diameter.		Thickness of Wall.	
	Feet.	In.	Feet.	In.	Feet.	In.
Broch of Burgar, Evie, Mainland,	60	0	26	0	17	
Okstro Broch, Birsay, do.,	69	0	45	0	12	
Broch near Manse of Harray, do.,	57	0	33	0	12	0
Do. at Stirlingow, Redland, Firth, do.,	45	0	27	0	9	0
Do. of Ingis-how, Firth, do.,	60	0	33	0	13	6
Do. at Oyce, near Finstown, do. do.	Indistinct.				16	0
<i>Note.</i> —The wall of this broch had been increased in thickness to 31 feet 9 inches on the west side by another wall 15 feet 9 inches thick, of much smaller stones, built on the outside; but this outer wall was evidently a later addition.						
Broch at Birstane, St Ola Parish, Mainland,	60	0	33	0	13	6
Do. of Dingis-how, Parish of St Andrews, Mainland,	57	0	33	0	12	0
Do. on top of Mound at Langskaill, do. do.	40	0	20	0	10	0
East Broch, Island of Burray,	66	6	36	6	15	0
West Broch, do.,	56	0	31	0	12	6
Broch of Hoxay, South Ronaldsay,	58	0	30	0	14	0
Do. of Borrowston, Island of Shapinshay,	55	6	31	6	12	0
Do. at Lamb-head, Island of Stronsay,	69	0	45	0	12	0
Do. at Hunton, do.,	0	0	0	0	13	6

Note.—The broch at Hunton is entirely concealed beneath a cultivated field, and was only accidentally discovered by a plough turning over a stone and exposing an opening, which extended down to the door or entrance, the floor of which was about 10 feet below the surface. Mr Farrer and I went down through the opening, when I measured the entrance passage, which I found entire, and only a few loose stones in it; but all access to the interior of the broch was prevented by the stones which were heaped up in front of the inner end of the passage.

Dimensions of Brochs in Shetland, from Measurements by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart. of Canons Ashby, and J. T. Irvine, Esq., Coom Down, Bath.

	Exterior Diameter.		Interior Diameter.		Thickness of Wall.	
	Feet.	In.	Feet.	In.	Feet.	In.
Broch of Clickamin, Mainland,	66	4	26	0	20	2
Do. of Brindister, do.,	68	0	17	0	12	6
Do. of Levenswick, do.,	54	6	28	6	13	0
Do. of Burreland, do.,	55	0	37	0	9	0
Do. in Island of Mousa,	49	0	20	0	14	6
Do. of Howbie, Island of Fetlar,	58	0	33	0	12	6
Do. of Snawbroch, Unst,	63	6	27	6	18	0
Do. of Undahool, do.,	55	9	25	9	15	0
Do. of Broch, do.,	50	0	26	0	12	0
Do. of Burreness,	57	0	27	0	15	0
Do. of Culswick, Mainland,	50	8	24	8	13	0

Note.—I had an opportunity last summer of visiting and measuring the brochs of Mousa, Brindister, and Clickamin in Shetland, and of comparing them with those in Orkney.

APPENDIX No. II.

List of Brouchs in the Orkneys of which Ruins are known to Exist.

Name of Brough and Locality where Ruins Exist.	Remarks and References.
SOUTH ISLES.	
1. "Brough," near Burwick, South Parish, South Ronaldsay.	Measured in 1871 by Geo. Petrie. Described in Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals," and in "Celtic Antiquities of Orkney," by Captain Thomas.
2. How of Hoxay, North Parish, South Ronaldsay,	
3. Small Brough (?) near How of Hoxay, South Ronaldsay.	
4. East Brough, Island of Burray, }	Excavated by Jas. Farrer, Esq. Both measured and planned by Geo. Petrie. Löwe's Tour.
5. West Brough, Island of Burray, }	
6. Brough in Island of Hunday, }	
7. Brough, Borrowston, in Parish of Walls.	
8. Brough, Smiddybanks, South Ronaldsay, }	Ruins known by name of "Ontaft."
MAINLAND.	
9. Castle Howie, near Church of Holm, }	Lowe's Tour.
10. Roseness, Holm, }	Lowe's Tour.
11. Mound near Grameshall, Holm. }	At Loch near Manse, Lowe's Tour. Excavated by Mr Farrer, planned by Geo. Petrie.
12. Mound near Manse, Parish of St Andrews, }	
13. Langskaill, Parish of St Andrews, }	
14. Dingishow, Parish of St Andrews, }	
15. Brebuster, Deerness. }	Excavated by Tenant of Birstane. Planned by Geo. Petrie.
16. East Side, Deerness. }	
17. Birstane or Briston, Parish of St Ola, }	Excavated by Geo. Petrie, from funds supplied by Mr Grame, yr. of Grameshall, the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and Mr Young of Kelly. Measured and planned by Geo. Petrie.
18. Lingrow, Parish of St Ola, }	
19. Saverock, Parish of St Ola, }	Excavated by Captain Thomas, assisted by Geo. Petrie.
20. Ingi's-How, Parish of Firth, }	Excavated by Mr Farrer. Planned by Geo. Petrie.
21. Redland, Parish of Firth, }	Cut through in making new road. Some measurements made by G. Petrie.
22. Remains at Oyce, Finstown, Firth, }	
23. Mound near Hall of Rendall. }	"Statistical Account." Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals." Geo. Petrie's Paper. Part of Gallery visible.
24. Burgar, Parish of Evie, }	
25. How of Stenso, Parish of Evie, }	Excavated by Mr Henry Leask. Geo. Petrie's Paper.
26. Aikerness, Parish of Evie. }	
27. Okstrow, Parish of Birsay, }	Geo. Petrie's Paper. Geo. Petrie's Paper.
28. Skogar, Parish of Birsay. }	
29. Overbrough, Parish of Harray, }	
30. Netherbrough, Parish of Harray, }	
31. Brough at Church, Parish of Harray. }	Geo. Petrie's Paper.
32. Brough at foot of hill north of Church, near Harray Road, Parish of Harray. }	

Name of Brough and Locality where Ruins Exist.	Remarks and References.
<i>MAINLAND Continued.</i>	
33. Burrian, Rusland, Parish of Harray, . . .	Excavated by Mr Farrer. G. Petrie's Paper.
34. Brough, near Manse, Parish of Harray, . . .	Excavated by Professor Trail. Geo. Petrie's Paper.
35. Brough in Corston, Parish of Harray.	
36. Yeskinabie, Parish of Sandwick, . . .	"Statistical Account."
37. Burwick, Parish of Sandwick.	
38. Tenston, Parish of Sandwick.	
39. Brough of Clumlie, Parish of Sandwick.	
40. How, Parish of Stromness.	
41. Brough near Churchyard, Stromness.	
42. Arion, Parish of Stromness.	
43. Breckness, Parish of Stromness, . . .	Half of Ruins carried away by Sea. Measured and planned by G. Petrie.
<i>NORTH ISLES.</i>	
44. Brough (opposite Burgar), Island of Rousay.	
45. Brough (opposite Stenso), Island of Rousay.	
46. Brough (opposite Aikerness), Island of Rousay.	
47. Brough in Island of Gairsay.	Geo. Petrie's Paper.
48. Burrowston, Island of Shapinsay, . . .	Remains measured by Geo. Petrie.
49. Lambhead, Island of Stronsay, . . .	"Statistical Account."
50. Hunton, Island of Stronsay, . . .	Partial Excavation by Mr Farrer and entrance measured by Geo. Petrie.
51. Rothiesholm, Island of Stronsay.	
52. Ruins of Brough (?) near U. P. Church, Island of Eday, . . .	Sculptured Stone found in Ruins by Mr Hebden.
53. Wass-how, Tressness, Island of Sanday, . . .	Partially excavated by Mr Farrer. "Statistical Account." Measured by Geo. Petrie.
54. Quoyness, near Elsness, Island of Sanday, . . .	Excavated by Mr Farrer. Planned and measured by Geo. Petrie.
55. Small Brough near Elsness, Island of Sanday.	
56. Newark, Island of Sanday, . . .	Said by writer of "Statis. Account" to be like Mousa. "Statis. Account."
57. Ivar's Knowe, Island of Sanday, . . .	
58. Coliness, Island of Sanday, . . .	Largest Brough in Sanday. "Statistical Account."
59. Isgarth, Island of Sanday.	
60. "Brough," Island of Sanday.	
61. Brough, near Skar, Island of Sanday.	
62. Brough, Island of Westray, . . .	
63. Noup, Hoorness (probably from <i>Haugr-ness</i>).	
64. Remains at seashore of Gill, Island of Westray.	
65. Hodgelie, at seashore of Garth, Westray.	
66. Mound at Skelwick, Island of Westray.	
67. At Loch of Tredwell near Burlin, Papa Westray.	
68. Howan or Hooan, Island of Papa Westray.	
69. Burrian, Island of North Ronaldsay, . . .	Excavated by Dr Traill.
70. Mound near Lighthouse, North Ronaldsay.	

The whole of the mounds and remains mentioned in the foregoing List have been visited by me, with the exception of those numbered 6, 7, 10, 35, 42, 56, 61, 66, and 70, and I was present at excavations in eighteen broughs included in the above List.

GEO. PETRIE.

30th May 1872.



CINN TROLLA BROCH, GENERAL VIEW.



CINN TROLLA BROCH, SUTHERLANDSHIRE, -INTERIOR.

W. & A. K. Johnston, Lithof.

IV.—*The Brochs or “Pictish Towers” of Cinn-Trolla, Carn-Liath, and Craig-Carril, in Sutherland, with Notes on other Northern Brochs.*
(Plates XI.—XVI.)

By the Rev. J. MAXWELL JOASS, Golspie, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

With Report upon the Crania found in and about them.

By T. AITKEN, M.D., F.A.S.L., Inverness.

[Read before the Society, 9th January 1871.]

CINN-TROLLA, KINTRADWELL.

Kintradwell, one of the oldest manor-houses in Sutherland, occupies a commanding position on a natural terrace near the east coast road, about three miles north of the ancient burgh of Brora. It is known among Celtic natives of the district as Cinn-Trölla¹—Trolla's height or headland—and was probably so named from St Trölla or Tröllhacna, known in the Calendar as St Triduana and St Tredwell, whose story is given at length in the “Aberdeen Breviary,” Pars Æstiva, fol. cxxii.²

Throughout the neighbourhood occur many hut-circles, with their associated sepulchral tumuli, indicating an early and populous settlement. In the south bank of the burn close to Kintradwell, there is a good specimen of the Eirde-house, and near this a group of ruined and rude buildings, whose small chambers and narrow passages, along with the stone and bone implements found there, suggest a considerable antiquity.

About half a mile to the eastward, on a lower terrace close by the sea, occurs the dun or fastness now under notice (Plate XI.)

Not long ago this presented merely the appearance of a green mound, from which projected the edges of a few slabs. On the accidental removal of one of these on the west side, a small cell was discovered, whose dry-built walls converged upwards till covered by the flag referred to. This chamber was cleared out to the depth of a few feet, and another similar

¹ Occasionally Cill-Trölla and Clen-Trölla.

² See also “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” vol. ii., Notices of Plates, p. 39; “Two Ancient Charters of Caithness,” Misc. of Bannatyne Club; and Martin's “Western Islands,” p. 366.

cell was found on the north-west, and partially explored. Both were almost filled with earth and food refuse; the bones of most frequent occurrence being those of the deer, ox, sheep, and pig; and among shells the limpet and periwinkle.¹

Further search showed that the mound required, and would probably repay, thorough examination, and this was accomplished by a grant from the "Sibster fund," at the instance of Dr John Stuart, with the following results:—

Structure of the Tower.—The entrance to the dun or broch, which this mound was found to cover, opens from the west. It is heavily linteled, and rather wider below than above; the dimensions being 7 feet high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide below, and 3 above (Plate XI.) At 6 feet from the entrance the passage is slightly contracted by a doorway, whose jambs face inwards, with a corresponding flag on edge, projecting 4 inches from the floor. Eight feet farther in there is another similar doorway, also to be closed from within (Plates XI., XII. and XIII.) Between this and the outer set of jambs an opening in the wall on the right, 2 feet from the flagged floor, 4 feet high by 2 wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ long, leads to a circular apartment 7 feet in diameter and 11 high (Plates XII. and XIII., section on EF). This chamber was empty. Its roof, which was entire, is a fine specimen of the early horizontal arch, and it may be noticed that in this and other examined specimens of the un-



Section of Chamber in Cinn-Trölla Broch.

disturbed Cyclopean roof, the ascending tiers, which overlap inwards, seem not to have been laid level, but with a slope backwards and downwards from the concave face; *i.e.*, the wall-fast end of the slab is lower than that which projects into the chamber (see the annexed woodcut).

Four feet within the second doorway the interior court is reached at a threshold slab (Plates XI. and XII.), the whole length of the passage or thickness of the wall at this point being 18 feet. The lintels covering this passage are about 8 inches apart. The inner court is a circle, 31 feet in

¹ Proc. Soc. of Ant. of Scot., vol. v. part 2, p. 242.

diameter at the floor level (Plates XII. and XIII.) The surrounding wall varies in present height from 10 to 15 feet; but the amount of debris within and around the tower would suggest a former height very much greater, not less perhaps than 60 feet, if the proportions of the still almost entire broch of Mousa in Shetland be taken as a test. The inner wall is faced to an average height of 8 feet by a scarcement 1 foot thick, which, although occasionally bonded with the main wall at door corners, is not so throughout (Plates XI. and XIII.) In Clickamin broch in Shetland, the partial fall of a similar scarcement exposed a doorway, which seemed the original entrance to one of the wall chambers.

Six feet along the inner wall, to the left of the main doorway, and 3 feet from the floor, an opening $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 3 wide, leads into a chamber in the wall 11 feet long and 10 high (Plate XI.) This was the cell, the top of which was formerly discovered by accident, and explored to a depth of about 4 feet. Its roof-slab being now replaced, the arch is entire (Plates XII. and XIII., sec. E F). Immediately beyond the entrance to this chamber there is an irregularly shaped cavity, partly *in* the floor, 8 feet long, 5 broad at its widest part, and 3 deep. Its walls are puddled with clay, and its bottom rudely flagged. Three steps lead down into it at its south-west end (Plates XI. and XIII., sec. C D). Close to this, at a height of 4 feet from the floor, a passage, 3 feet wide (Plates XI. and XIII.), opens at 6 feet into a chamber 2 feet lower on the left, 10 feet long and 9 high; part only of the roof remains. Ground was broken here also on the occasion already noticed. In line with this chamber, and on the right of the six-foot passage, is a flight of thirteen steps, leading up to what is now the top of the wall, here 12 feet high and 14 wide—the staircase occupying 2 feet of breadth in the middle (Plates XII. and XIII., sec. E F). Close to the court wall on the south-east is a neatly built shaft or well in the floor, 7 feet deep, 4 wide above, and 2 below (Plates XI. and XIII., sec. A B). Five steps lead downwards to a point 3 feet from the flagged bottom. At this height water could have stood before the draining of a pool which once occupied a hollow in the sandy soil outside of the tower on the north. A stone cup was found near the top step. These steps, and the three leading down into the floor-chamber already noticed, are arranged like a ladder, the flags being separated by intervening end blocks, so that with a very steep pitch there is yet sufficient foothold. In the centre of the circle lay a large slab, fire-

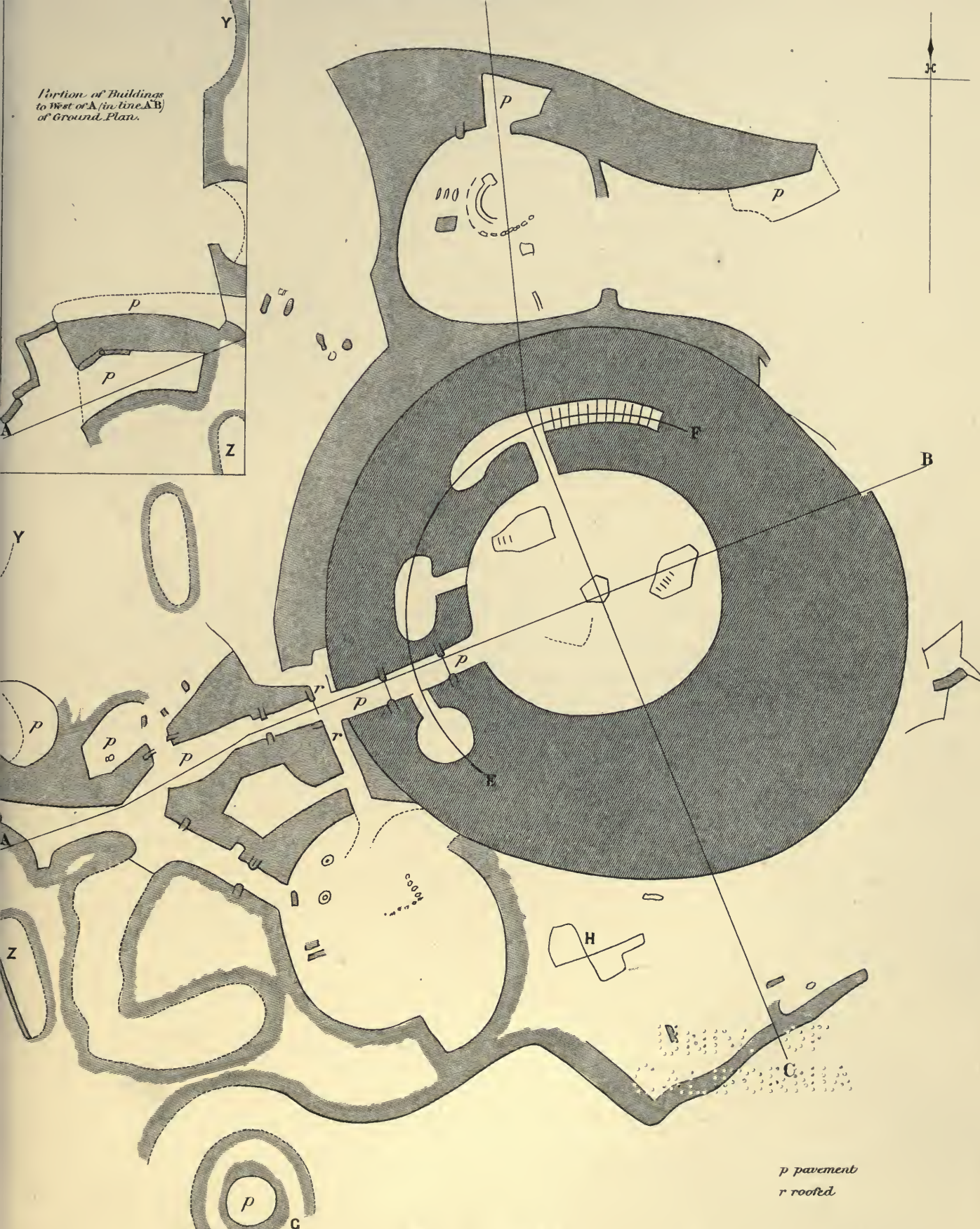
marked and blackened, and near it sixteen selected beach stones, about 1 foot long and four inches thick, were set in the floor on end and in contact, forming a right angle—nine stones in one side and seven in the other.¹ In the angle lay a heap of ashes and splintered bones (Plate I.) Between this and the south wall the floor was laid with a double pavement, 10 feet long and 4 broad, the joints of the flags being packed with yellowish clay. Nearly one-third of the outer face of the tower wall on the south had apparently been pulled down, and rebuilt in a ruder style than the original. The true curve is lost, the tower wall much thickened, and the junction with the original building very imperfectly effected on the north-east.

Outworks.—The flagging of the entrance-passage was traced outwards and westwards to a distance of 65 feet from the tower. It was found to be bounded on each side by a low wall, from which doorways, about 4 feet high, and flagged passages led into small enclosures, whose walls varied in height from 3 to 5 feet. Within these were occasional detached pillars, the highest being now about 4 feet long, as if to support a low roof (Plates I. and XI, XII.) On the south side of these structures, and *in* the edge of the terrace facing the sea, was an almost circular chamber about 6 feet in diameter. Its landward side was 7 feet deep, and the south side 3. It had apparently been dome-roofed, and was flagged at bottom (Plate XII., G). In a partially circular enclosure, in contact with the tower on the south-west, and about 35 feet across, twelve long beach stones stood, forming a right angle like those in the tower. Near them were two stone mortars sunk in the floor, and two small slabs on edge, about 2 feet apart. Close to the tower on the south and south-east were very small irregular enclosures formed by flags on edge (Plate XIII., sec. H I). On the north occurred two cist-like structures in the earth. They contained ashes, charcoal, and splintered brute bones. Near them twelve long beach stones, similar in size and character to those already described, were ranged in a curve, ending northward in a small drain, partly flagged over and filled with unctuous earth.

The oval structure on the north-west of Plate XII. was a shallow cavity bounded by flags on edge. It contained fragments of a human skeleton and an iron dagger blade. The marks on the same plate to the north indicate

¹ These stones are quartzite and gneiss, selected apparently for their hardness, and are not numerous on the neighbouring beach.

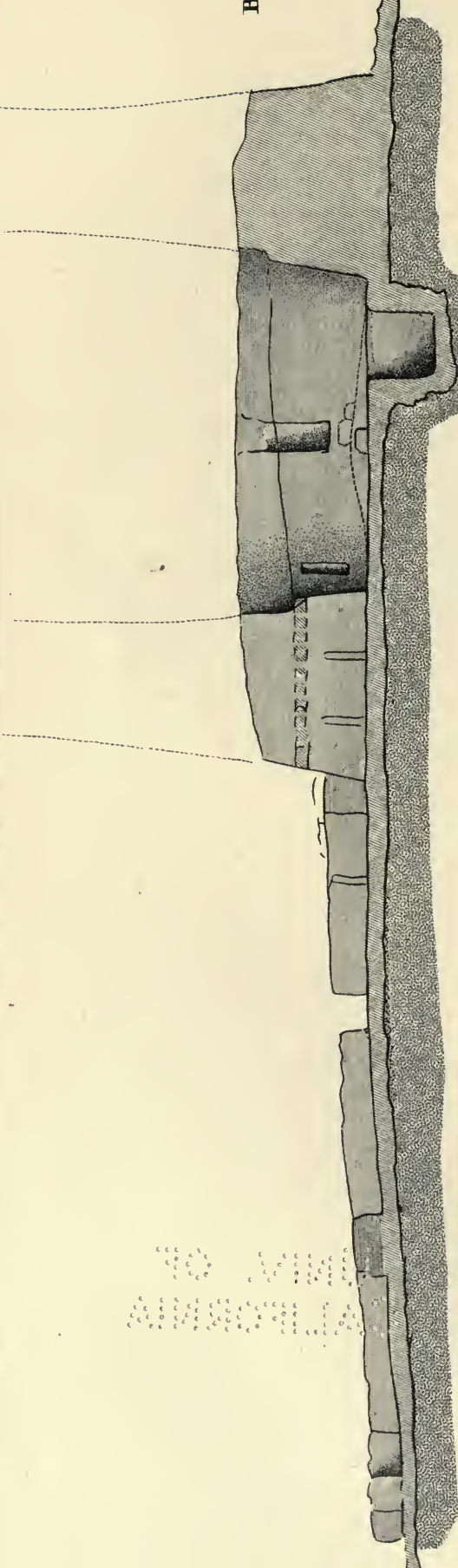
Portion of Buildings
to West of A (in line AB)
of Ground Plan.



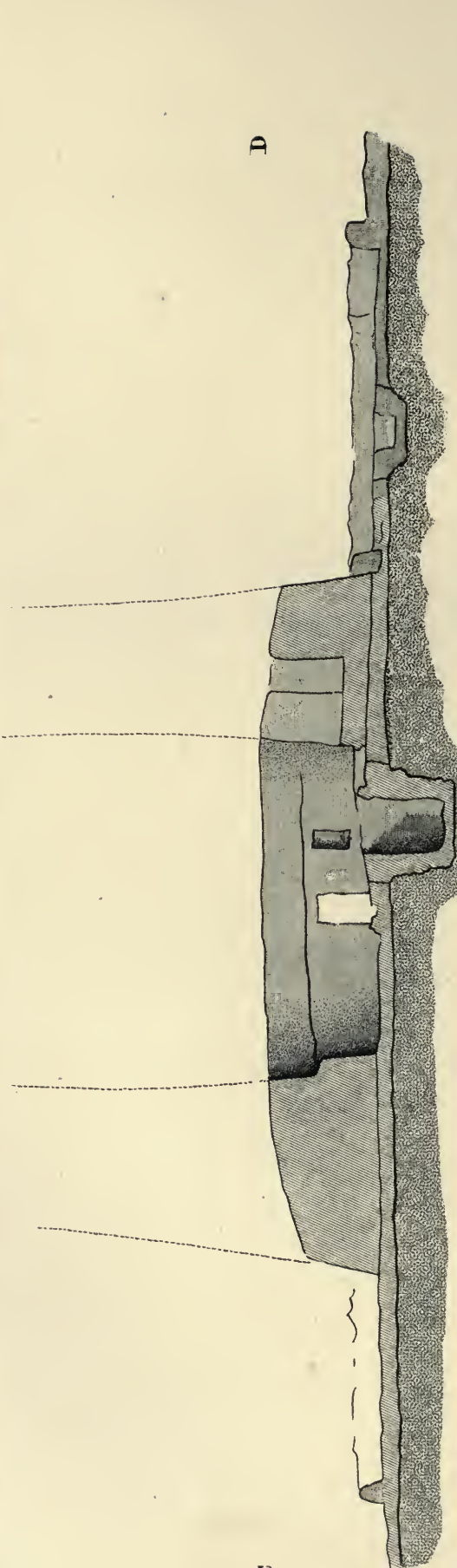
p pavement
r roofed

GROUND PLAN
1 16th inch to 1 foot

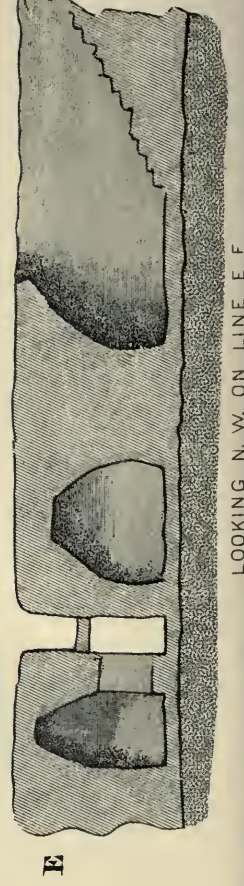
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LOOKING N. W. & N. IN LINE A B OF GROUND PLAN



LOOKING S. W. & W. IN LINE C D OF GROUND PLAN



LOOKING N. W. ON LINE E F

S E C T I O N S
 1-16th inch to 1 foot

flags on edge. The line-shaded parts attached to the tower from south-west round by north to north-east represent a low wall facing outward, and backed by stone detritus, which, after examination, was replaced and turfed over to preserve the wall.

It has been suggested by an experienced antiquary¹ that all the outside structures may be secondary. A careful examination of specimens from Sutherland northward to Shetland strengthens my belief in the correctness of this opinion. Their style of building is strikingly inferior. Unlike the massive and dry-built walls of the broch proper, those of the outer huts are built of small stones, bedded and packed with unctuous earth, throughout which, and not merely at the surface of the wall, occur bones and shells,—the food-refuse, apparently, of an earlier time. That time was perhaps sufficiently remote to account, by the partial ruin of the tower, for the accumulation of broken and inferior building material of which a later and less skilful people seem to have availed themselves. It is also important to note that while the only whole-roofed chamber was empty, those whose roofs were found damaged had been almost filled with food refuse, introduced doubtless from the top, after the tower wall had been reduced to its present height.

Contents of the Tower.—The upper portion of the broch was found to be filled to a depth of about 6 feet under the turf with stony debris. Below this, at various levels till the bottom was reached, traces of occupancy were found in strata of ashes and hardened earth, never extending over the entire area until near the true floor, and generally fenced in by a rude arrangement of stones.

◆ *Human Remains, numbered with reference to Appended Report
by Dr T. Aitken.*

Two feet under the turf, on the top of the mound, near the east side, lay a human skull (No. 1) with the humeri, and several brute bones, such as those of oxen and deer. About the same level another skeleton (No. 2) was found, a few feet to the westward. It lay on the left side, partially contracted, and was packed round with small slabs and roundish stones. The left side of the skull was much decayed. Two feet lower, and close to the

¹ The Rev. G. Gordon, LL.D., of Birnie.

south wall, lay a headless skeleton. The skull (No. 3) was afterwards found 6 feet off, at the inner end of the entrance passage, laid upon a flat stone, and protected by two sloping slabs. Under the flat stone lay the skull of a horse. The human cranium was in good preservation, and probably belonged to a muscular man in the prime of life. Near the outer end of entrance, and about 2 feet below the surface, were found the fragments of another skull and portions of the skeleton. This (No. 4) seemed to have been slashed across the crown, and also through the left lower jaw, by a sharp and heavy weapon, judging from the manner in which the jaw bone and three teeth were obliquely cut clean through. Close under the roof of the stair foot chamber lay portions of another skull (No. 5) and some limb bones. The lower jaw was unusually thick, owing, perhaps, to dental irritation, as the permanent canines had forced their way through the outer wall of the bone in their progress upward. On the stair were found two more skeletons (Nos. 6 and 7). The bones were much decayed, and one of the skulls was almost destroyed. In the round chamber opening from the entrance passage were found the fragments of a child's skull (No. 8); and on the flagged floor, close to the entrance of the passage, lay some portions of a skeleton and the vault of a skull (No. 9).

The skull (No. 10) was not found at the broch, but in a shallow grave on the neighbouring links, exposed by the blowing away of the sand. Many such interments occur there at a depth of from three to four feet. The body generally lies on the side, the limbs partly bent, and the whole set round and packed with small slabs and stones. Occasionally there is a covering of slabs, and generally a paved circular space, about four feet in diameter, a few inches under the turf over each interment. Cases of burial in short cists occur in the same sandy terrace. In one instance a neat bone bodkin was found with the bones, and in another a flint flake and the dog tyne of a large red deer. On this terrace was found the stone figured in vol. ii. "*Sculp. Stones of Scotland*," pl. civ.

The following crania were found outside the tower after the first series had been reported upon. They are referred to in the Appended Report as Nos. 1, 2, &c., second series.

In the small outer chamber, nearest on the left looking from the broch doorway, there was found a skeleton in fair preservation (No. 1, 2d ser.) In this chamber were also discovered an iron spear-head and a small thick leaden ring. Portions of two more skulls (Nos. 3 and 4, 2d ser.) were found in the large circular enclosure south-west of the tower, near the mortars marked

on the plan (Plate I.) In the shallow oval enclosure north-west of the tower another skeleton was found (No. 4, 2d ser.), part only of the skull being preserved. Near this, close to the surface, lay an iron dagger blade. At the foot of the tower wall, on the south-east, some skull plates and other fragments were found (No. 5, 2d ser.). These were apparently of great age, from their lightness. The portions of cranium remaining are about twice the usual thickness.

Except in the case of Nos. 2 and 3, and No. 4, 2d ser., no arrangement of stones was detected in connection with the skeletons found in and about the broch. There were, however, many traces of former disturbance of the mound to within a few feet of the floor, brute bones of various kinds being mixed up with human remains, charcoal and shale ash, querns and horns, slabs and shells. One cannot presume to guess as to which of those interments, if any, belonged to the period of the broch builders, but there need be no hesitation in believing that some of them, at least, were as much later as was required to reduce the tower to a ruined heap and cover it over with turf, when, perhaps, from its ascertained traces of structure, it came to be regarded with a sanctity which is often associated with the mysterious, and was used as a grave mound after all tradition of its original purpose had perished. That that purpose was its use as a dwelling-place, perhaps by the chief or patriarch of a small sept, and possibly as a retreat for his dependants in time of danger, may be held as indicated by the character of its contents.

Food Refuse and Implements.

Among the bones found were those of the reindeer ("Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.," vol. viii. part i. p. 191), also those of the red deer, roe, ox, sheep, goat, pig, fox, wild cat, and wolf (?)¹ or large dog.² Many of the deer's horns were notched as if by a chisel-shaped tool of narrow edge, and some of the bones were cut by some sharp instrument. The fish bones were those of the whale, bottlehead, porpoise, dog-fish, cod, and haddock. The shells were the oyster (rare), mussel, cockle, limpet, and periwinkle, the two last being the most numerous, and filling up nearly to the roof the wall-chamber first explored.

STONE.—A flint scraper and a chert flake. Hammers or mullers formed of ovoid beach stones, and worn at the ends. Pestles, such as

¹ As to the comparatively recent occurrence of the wolf in this country, the following extract from the MS. "Accompt Book" of Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland, may be interesting:—"Item, sex poundis threttein shillings four pennies given this yeir 1621 to thomas gordonne for the killing of ane wolf, and that conforme to the acts of the country."

² The bones found in these brochs were sent by Dr J. A. Smith to Dr Albert Günther of the British Museum, and were returned named by him.

described, set on end in and outside of the tower. Mortars, one with its pounding-stone inside. Querns and rubbing-stones, about fifty, including fragments. (The foregoing, except the flint and chert, were common to both broch and outworks.) A cup (steatite). Small smoothed disc (mica schist). Black polished stone (burnisher?). Small flattish ovoid stone, with rubbed sulci on opposite sides ("Cat. Mus. Royal Irish Academy," p. 75). Fragments of shale rings, well finished. Spindle whorls. Also a block of sandstone, 14 inches square and 8 thick, cup-marked on one side, found face downward near the supposed well. A stone with similarly connected cups was found near the Balvraid broch, Glenelg ("Brit. Archaic. Sculp.," by Sir J. Y. Simpson, pl. xiv. fig. 2).

BONE.—Small blade smoothed and pointed. Two small implements of deer's antler, with socket at the broad end, and transverse perforation; like a tool handle or whistle (Jewett's "Grave Mounds," p. 177, figs. 179, 180). Bow tip, made of deer's horn. Two small spatulæ (potter's tools?)—the larger of these was found in the earthen packing of an outwork wall. Articulating plate of vertebra of the bottlehead, with central hole (such said to be used in Norway as krochés). Basin formed from the body of the vertebra of whale. The above, with the exceptions noted, were found on or near the floor of the broch.

IRON.—Spear head. Dagger blade. Part of smaller blade. Chisel-shaped tool, with socket. Found in the outworks.

POTTERY.—Many fragments burned brown red and yellow. Fragments, greenish glazed, like portions of crucible. Piece showing finger and thumb marks of maker on opposite sides.

LEAD.—One small thick ring.

[The objects above mentioned are preserved in the Society's Museum.]

CARN-LIATH, DUNROBIN.

The broch of Carn-liath, recently explored by His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, stands about a mile to the eastward of Dunrobin, on the same coast terrace as that of Kintradwell, from which it is about seven miles distant. From the outcropping of lichen-covered stones through the earth and turf

under which the broch was buried, the mound was known by the name of Carn-liath, the Grey Cairn. The general design is similar to that of Cinn-Trölla tower.

Structure of Tower.—A doorway, 7 feet high and 3 wide, facing eastward, leads by a flagged passage, 18 feet long, to the interior court, which is 30 feet in diameter. At 8 feet from the entrance, jambs facing inwards occur, inside which the passage widens slightly, and opens through a low doorway on the right to an irregularly formed chamber in the wall, 10 feet long, 5 broad, and 8 high, flatly arched with flags (Plates XIV. and XV., sec. EF). At quarter distance round the inner court wall to the left, a door 3 feet wide leads through a passage, 6 feet long and 5 high, to a flight of 21 steps on the right, which gives access to the top of the tower, now only 13 feet high at this point (Plates XIV. and XV., sec. CD). There is no stair-foot chamber. In the middle of the floor is a sunk chamber 11 feet long, 7 wide, and 8 deep, connected at the east end with a smaller structure 3 feet deep, the entrance probably to the former, which seems to have been arched over on the horizontal principle (sec. A B and C D). The walls of this chamber are formed of large upright flags, to the height of about 5 feet, above which occurs neatly built masonry. Close to the tower wall, in the north side of the court, a similar sunk chamber occurs, 8 feet long, 6 at greatest breadth, and 6 deep. On its north side stands a narrow flag on end, 8 feet high, with its edge to the interior. This seems to have been a roof support (sec. C D). The lower half of this chamber wall is formed, as in the other, by flags facing inward, and reminding one of the structure of the crypts in the horned-cairns of Caithness ("Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.," vol. vii. p. 480).

Outworks.—Outside the entrance, and close to it on the left, is a mass of masonry, through which a covered and flagged passage 12 feet long, 3 wide, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ high, leads into the entrance passage (sec. A B). To the right, at their junction, are the jambs of a doorway across the line of main entrance, and inside these, on the north side, a well-built niche capable of holding such a slab as might be used for a door. On the lintel of this outer cross passage, at its south end, are three cup marks.¹ A low spur of what seems secondary

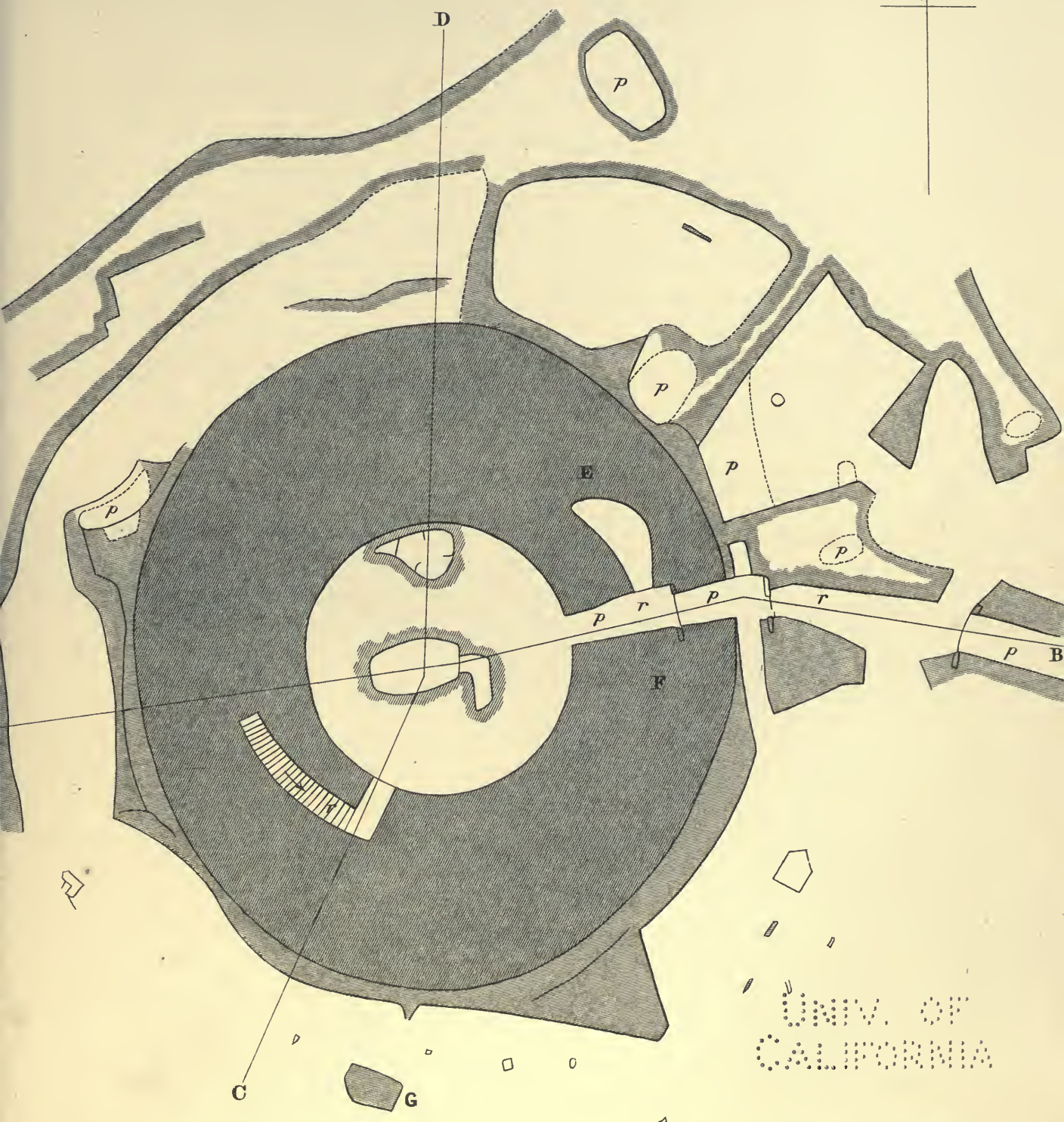
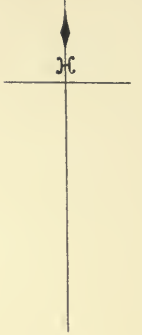
¹ These are of the ordinary type, and occur on the upper surface of the stone, which was therefore probably intended for a different purpose.

masonry projects from the tower on the south side, and continues to flank the wall round by south-west to north-west, faced occasionally with flags, and forming a bench, found to consist only of stony rubbish and now turfed over. West and north-west of this, at distances varying from 5 to 18 feet, a low wall faces towards the tower. Traces of almost parallel lines of stonework occur a few feet to the north-west, that marked E, Plate XIV., facing outwards.

A short distance north of the tower is a sunk chamber 14 feet long, 8 broad, and 5 deep (F). Its floor is flagged, and its walls were built with small stones, similar in size to those used in the upper part of the interior floor-chambers. Between this and the tower is an enclosure of irregular form, its wall being now about 3 feet high. In the north-west angle of this enclosure lay a considerable quantity of ferruginous detritus, which is highly magnetic, and throughout which occur small pieces of charcoal, and blackened grains of a cereal resembling barley. Between this and the tower at the south-east are two small paved spaces, at a higher level, like secondary floors. Separated from the last-mentioned enclosure by a low wall there is another of nearly the same size to the south-east, from which a short narrow passage leads to a space only partially enclosed. On each side of this open space, marked on the plan (Plate IV.) as flagged ovals, were shallow cists outlined by small slabs, but without covers. Fragments of human bone were found in both. In a square cist on the original surface to the south (G) were found pieces of charcoal and splinters of burnt brute bone, apparently those of an ox. The marks on plan south and west of this indicate small flags on edge. The dark-coloured oblong on the south-west is a low bench of rude masonry, explored and now turfed. Three mortars were found and left *in situ* on the north-east and south-east.

The remarks made as to the style of the outer buildings at Kintradwell Tower seem also applicable here, and to include the chambers in the floor both here and there, excepting perhaps the so-called well.

Contents of the Tower.—Under about 10 feet of stony detritus, overlaid with turf, the floor was covered about 3 feet deep with unctuous earth, containing strata of ashes, above which level the wall seemed much affected by fire all round and almost to its present height, which averages 12 feet. There were but few traces of secondary occupancy in the interior of the tower.



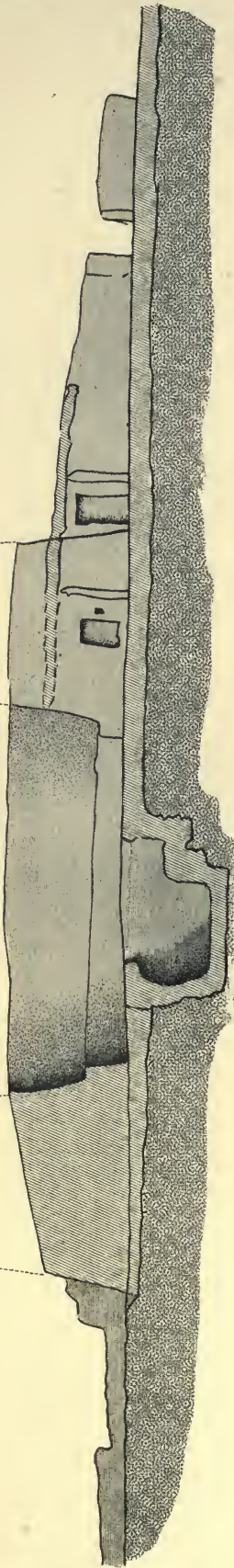
UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

p pavement
r roofed

1-16th inch to 1 foot

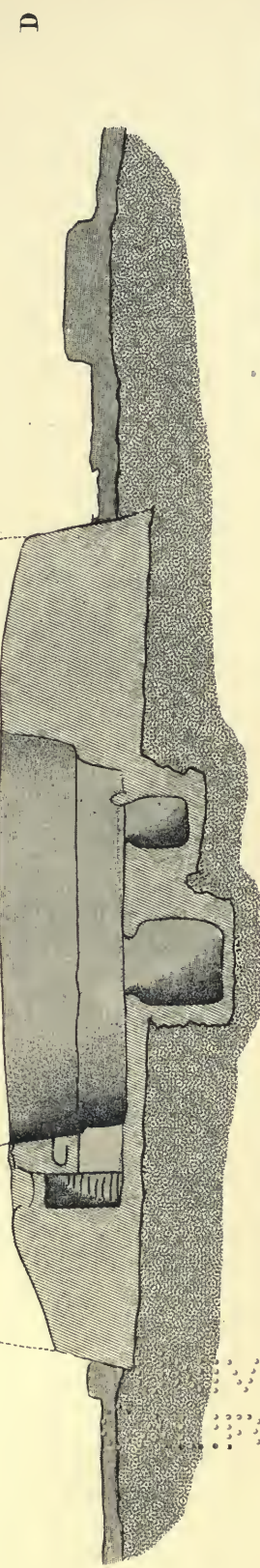
CARN-LIATH BROCH

A



LOOKING N. ON LINE A B OF GROUND PLAN

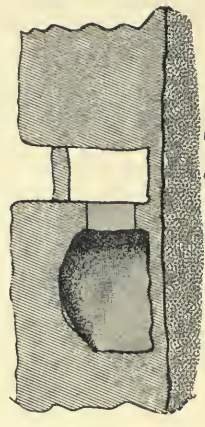
C



LOOKING W. ON LINE C D OF GROUND PLAN

D

E



LOOKING E

S E C T I O N S
1-16th inch to 1 foot

One human skeleton was discovered on the top of the usual scarcement, here about 5 feet high, at the north-west corner of the inner doorway near H, Plate XIV. The upper part only of the skull was entire. It seemed to have been wounded during life, judging from the exfoliation both within and without around a small orifice on the left side. (Appendix.)

Comparatively few deer's horns were found in this broch. The bones of most common occurrence were those of the ox and sheep (a small horned variety). Those of the deer and pig were also present. Some fish bones occurred, too fragmentary to be identified. The shells were those of the cockle, *Mya arenaria* (rare), *Buccinum undatum*, limpet, and periwinkle. For the following (which are preserved in the Museum at Dunrobin) see Plate XVI. :—

STONE.—A few chips of yellow flint (inside of the tower and out).

- a. Hammers or mullers of the usual type (do.).
- b. Two pestles or long stones (inside).
- c. Three mortars (outside).
- d. About a dozen querns (inside and outside), some more modern in form than those of Kintradwell.
- e. Whorls in sandstone and steatite (inside and outside).
- f. Discs in sandstone and shale, from 3 inches in diameter downwards, with small central hole (inside).
- g. Nodule of hematite, rubbed smooth on one side (inside).
- h. Many shale rings from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter to 3 inches open, and in all stages of finish (inside and out).
- i. and j. Two small steatite cups, one with handle } (inside).
- k. A supposed scoop or baling-dish of same material }
- l. A rounded piece of soft Oolitic sandstone, 8 inches high and 4 broad, flat below, and perforated at top as if to be used for a weight.
- m. An ovoid piece of same material $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with longitudinal groove between two small circular depressions on each side of the stone. Both these found outside the tower on the original surface, under about 5 feet of rubbish.
- n. Also found in the original floor of the broch a sandstone slab 13 inches across its widest end, and 20 long, with concentric rings rudely punctured out, and apparently unfinished, resembling in design that described as found at Torwood, Stirling-

shire, in a building which seems to be very like that at Carn-liath.—(Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. vi. part 1, p. 259.)

BONE.—*o.* Two long-handled combs—one long-toothed, the other seems broken (inside).

p. Bone of whale, club, 14 inches long (inside).

BRONZE.—*q.* Two plates, $\frac{1}{10}$ th of an inch thick, found near the floor of the broch. One, which is oblong, measures 11 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$; the other is semicircular, and about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches radius. Both are marked in lines with the pin-end of a hammer on both faces (inside).

This, perhaps, was one of the forms in which bronze was imported for manufacture. Bronze palstaves and celts occur in Sutherland, and stone moulds for such implements in Ross-shire. Cæsar mentions the importation of bronze into Britain (“*De Bello Gallico*,” lib. iv. c. 22), but long before his date the Phœnicians had probably instituted the traffic. The ancient bronze is said to have consisted of 88 or 90 per cent. of copper to 12 or 10 per cent. of tin (“*Brit. Archaic Sculp.*,” by Sir J. Y. Simpson, p. 98, note 2). The composition of the Carn-liath plates, as analysed by John Ross, F.R.S.A.E., is—copper, 84 per cent. ; tin, 16 per cent.

SILVER.—*r.* One supposed fibula, said to be of Roman type.

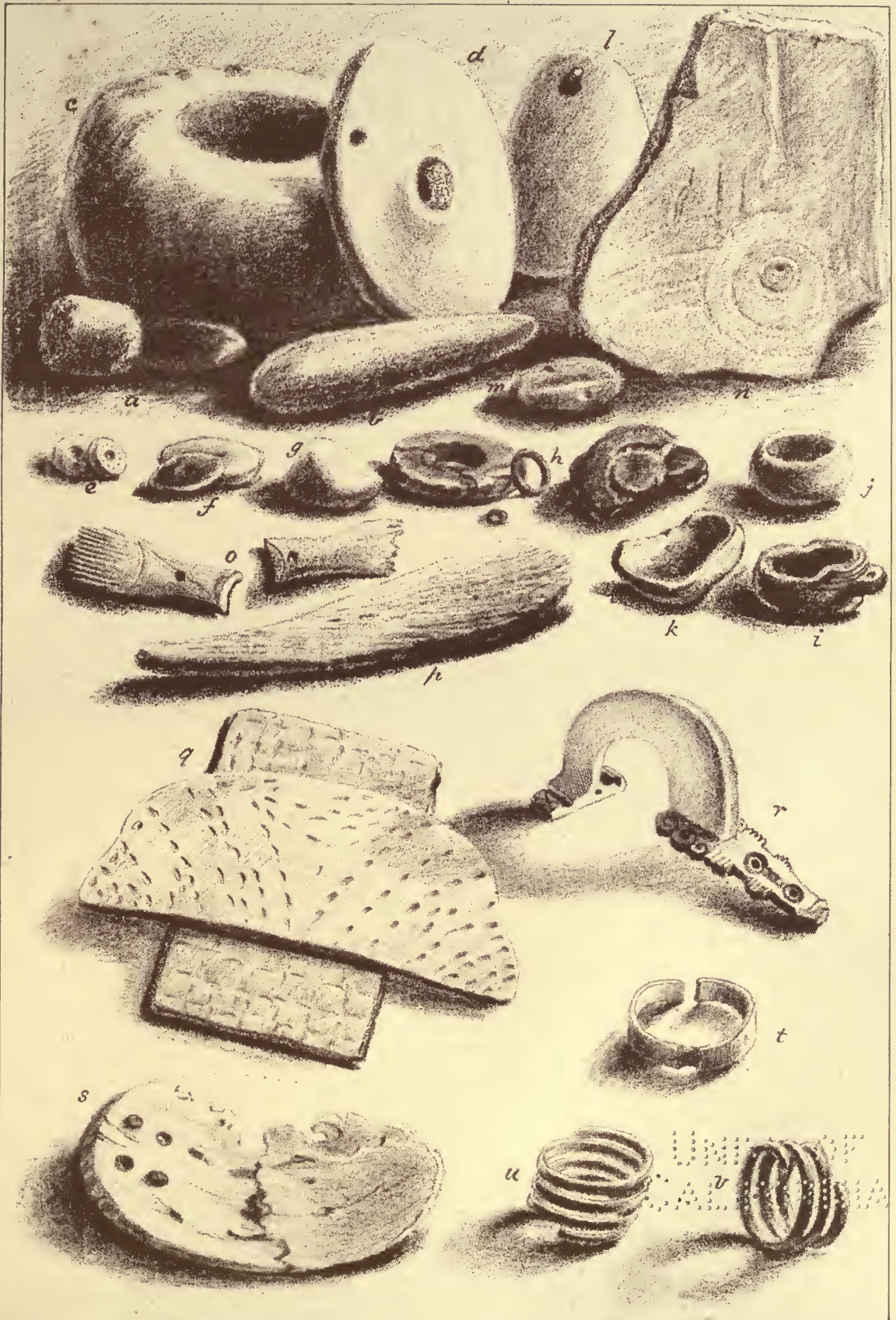
IRON.—Blade like that of modern dirk, much rusted. Heap of granular oxidised iron (magnetic).

POTTERY.—Fragments, fire-baked ; no glazed specimens. The silver and iron were found outside, and the pottery inside and out.

In some parts of Greenland, where rats abound, the natives store their provisions on hanging shelves, along the supporting cords of which are strung at intervals small discs of stone and bone like those of stone and shale found in Carn-liath. Although it was recorded in 1630 that “there is not a ratt in Sutherland ; and if they doe come thither in shippes from other parts (which often happeneth) they die presentlie, how soone they doe smell of the aire of that cuntrey,” it is just possible that, in their distant day, the Picts of Carn-liath may have had a different experience.

Another curious resemblance between their condition and that of some modern Greenlanders is suggested by the occurrence in the broch of the long-handled combs. Such implements, worn suspended from the girdle, are now used by Esquimaux women to disentangle the lower end of a sheaflet of sinews which are being plaited into rope. In the broch of Burray, in Orkney, five such combs occurred.

A mile to the west of Carn-liath, on the high wooded ground above Dunrobin, stands another ruined broch. On still higher ground at Backies, a mile farther inland, there is



J.M. Joass. del.

W & A.K. Johnston. Litho.

RELICS FOUND IN THE BROCH OF CARN LIATH, SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

(See p. 105)

Scale: to a inclusive 1^o r 2^o s 1 t u y true size

NO. 1000
ALBANY, N. Y.

another. The latter was partially explored many years ago, and yielded the usual potsherds and shale fragments, and a steatite cup of the common type. From the first-mentioned of these brochs, those of Backies and Carn-liath, when at their original height, might probably both be seen.

CRAIG-CARRIL, STRATH BRORA.

Another building of this class has just been explored by the Duke of Sutherland during the visit at Dunrobin of a distinguished lady associate of the Soc. Antiq. of Scotland. This tower stands in the opening of Strath Brora, on the south side, about six miles from the sea, and five from Kintradwell, from which it was probably visible when entire. It occupies a commanding position on a terrace flanked by a sweep of rocky hills in the deer-forest of Carril, near the lofty and picturesque cliff of that name.

Structure of Tower.—In general plan this broch resembles those described. Its interior diameter is 30 feet. The wall now averages 15 feet in height, and is 17 feet thick at the floor. A double doorway, as usual, protects the entrance, which faces eastward. Between the first and second set of jambs is a chamber in the wall on the right, similar in size and shape to the corresponding crypt in Carn-liath. Inside the court, and close to the wall on the left, is a space 7 feet long and 3 wide, enclosed by flags on end varying from 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. In the floor between this and the centre is a small cavity lined with flags like the mouth of a drain. It contained black earth and bits of deer's horn. On the south side, as at Carn-liath, but 4 feet from the floor, a door 3 feet wide leads through a short passage in the wall to a flagged landing. To the left are three descending steps leading to a narrow wall chamber 12 feet long and 11 feet high. Half of its arched roof remains. From this chamber, at 3 feet from the floor, an orifice 8 inches square and 3 feet long extends to the entrance passage, on the opposite side of which there is a corresponding short socket. These are 6 inches within the inner jambs. Such bar-holes, although not found in the brochs of Cinn-Trölla and Carn-liath, occur in those of Morvich, Backies, Cill-Pheadar, and several others in Sutherland and elsewhere; but their connection, as in this instance, with a wall-chamber is believed to be rare.¹ In line with the entrance of

¹ Perhaps the "peep-hole" at the How of Hoxay is another example.—"Prehistoric Antiquities," p. 427. I have just seen a similar connexion of bar-hole with guard-room at Kenilworth.

said chamber, a flight of eight steps in the middle of the wall to the right of the wall door, leads to the top.

Outworks.—Outside the tower, at the distance of 12 feet, is a well-built surrounding wall, with entrance in line with that of the broch, and a smaller door on the south side. This rampart is 4 feet thick, still averages 5 feet high, and is faced by a broad ditch.¹ There is no appearance of such outworks as those at Cinn-Trölla and Carn-liath. A hut circle of the ordinary size, about 33 feet in diameter, with a small addition at the north-east side, like some observed in Ross, occurs on the moor about 40 yards north of the tower. About 80 yards to the south-east, a shallow, weem-like structure, 8 feet in diameter at top, and with well-built wall, occurs in the face of the terrace, and from this a deep trench runs northwards for about 30 yards. Some brute bones were found here, and two chert scrapers.

Contents of Tower.—Two human skeletons were found in the broch. One lay extended on the floor to the right of the entrance, and near it was found a copper finger-ring plated with bronze. The other lay on the landing at the foot of the stair. Both were much decayed, but the whole of one skull and the vault of the other are preserved. The former is broad and short, the latter long and rather low. (See Appended Report.) The floor was covered about 3 feet deep with unctuous earth and ashes, above which the tower was filled with stony *debris*. There were few traces of secondary occupancy.

A few specimens of deer's horn were found, and bones of deer, ox, sheep, and pig. Some shells of the *Unio* (*Alasmodonta margaritifera* pearl mussel, common in Loch Brora) were also found, and those of periwinkle and limpet.

STONE.—Two flint flakes and one of chert (inside). A few hammers or mullers. Two mortars. Fragments of querns. A steatite cup with handle.² A 7-inch disc of sandstone flag. A rude shale ring, 2½ inches open (outside).

BONE.—Deer's horn handle with pin-hole.

OX HORN.—A concave oval plate of ox horn, like bowl of large spoon, 6

¹ Similar ditches occur at Brindister burg in Shetland, and Cill-Pheadar broch in Sutherland.

² The interior of the cup was coated half way up with a whitish incrustation, which proves to be phosphate of lime.

inches long, and apparently 4 broad at the middle, when entire, with four rivet holes at one end, and two iron rivets *in situ*. (Plate XVI. s.)

COPPER.—*t*. A finger-ring, bronze plated (penannular).

IRON.—Two pieces of slag (outside, near entrance).

POTTERY.—Many fragments, some hard and thin; also a broken bead of amber or vitreous paste.

A lamp-like vessel of impure pot-stone has just been found on the beach near a broch at Stoer in the north-west of Sutherland; and in another at Eriboll on the west coast, two spiral finger-rings of bronze (*u* and *v*). In this latter broch, which is being explored by Captain Clarke, Meddat, Ross, bones of the seal, deer, ox, and pig occur, and some rude scrapers of quartzite.

NOTES ON OTHER NORTHERN BROCHS, &c.

Opposite the broch of Craig-Carril stands another on the north side of Strath Brora, on a high plateau, commanding a wide view. There are two more on the south side, farther inland, and three more on the north; the last of the chain, so far as noticed, being Caisteal-Coille, the castle in the wood, about twenty miles from the sea. All these seem to have been so placed, that from most of them two others could be seen, one on either side, looking along the valley,—an arrangement which suggests their occasional use as beacon towers to signal inland from the coast.

The question of the geographical distribution, or range of the brochs, is one of much importance, but the evidence is as yet far from complete. They are known to occur throughout the northern counties of Scotland and the adjacent islands, but seem to be especially numerous in the north-eastern division of the mainland, since sixty are known to exist in Sutherland. Their southern range is not yet defined, but one has recently been explored in Perthshire, another at Cockburn Law, on the Lammermoors, (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. viii. pt. 1. p. 41), while the structure at Torwood in Stirlingshire, already referred to, is probably also a broch.

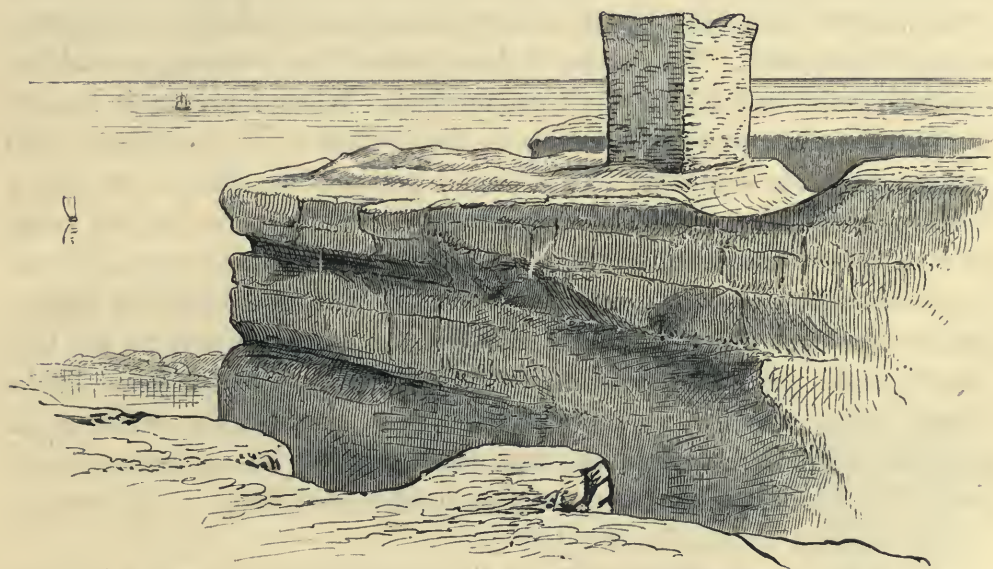
Pennant, in his "Introduction to the Arctic Zoology," supposes that Coningsburgh Castle in Yorkshire may belong to this class on the authority of a description by Edward King, Esq., in the "Archæologia," vol. vi. p. 234. At that date these towers were generally believed to be of Scandinavian origin, but Worsaae, whose authority is unquestionably of the highest

value, says that no such buildings occur in the Scandinavian North. He states, however, that they are to be found in Ireland.

Their general plan is the same, although there are differences in the number and arrangement of the lower wall chambers, and the size of the brochs occasionally varies. That at Cockburn Law is over 50 feet in interior diameter. Another at Sandness in Shetland is nearly of the same size, while Mousa, on the opposite side of a narrow strait, is only 21 feet wide, and Caisteal-Coille but 20. Their general interior diameter seems to be about 30 feet, and it is a curious coincidence, if it be not an illustration of the characteristic persistence of a leading idea in archaic times, that this also is the normal diameter of the hut circles, so numerous on our northern moors. These, indeed, may for a time have been contemporaneous with the brochs, and mark, perhaps, the ordinary wigwam homes of those to whom the tower afforded an occasional refuge. In Sutherland they are often associated in locality.]

Viewed from without, the broch presented the appearance of a round tower, whose height was probably equal to twice its interior diameter. It was wider below than above, the vertical contour being slightly convex for the lower half of its height, and gradually approaching the perpendicular as it neared the top. The inner face of the wall, bounding the interior court, sloped slightly outwards towards the top, so that a thickness of perhaps 18 feet at the base is reduced to about 8 at the summit. An outside overhanging at the top of Mousa has often been regarded as an ingenious architectural device to prevent the scaling of the wall. It was first suggested by Captain Thomas, R.N., that this was probably a natural result of weathering. This idea seems confirmed by an examination of the top of the tower, where the overfall, which is greatest on the most exposed side, is found to be only 8 inches outside the perpendicular, a small proportion in a dry-built wall of over 40 feet in height, and which has seen so many Shetland winters. The deflection is also almost as great at the top of the inner face of the wall, overhanging the interior court, where it could have answered no fortifying purpose, and in both cases the slabs dip towards the centre of the curve,—the natural result, indeed, of decay, but opposed to the principle on which the Cyclopean arch was apparently constructed. In Oldwick Castle, a comparatively modern building, which stands on a high bluff at the south head of the bay of Wick, a similar result of weathering is clearly seen at

its eastern angle. A common feature of the brochs is the so-called guard-room or small chamber in the wall opening generally on the right from the entrance passage. Sometimes there is a similar chamber on the opposite side. There are generally several oval chambers on the ground level in the thickness of the wall, and entered from the inner court, which was roofless. Above these there is an open space in the middle of the wall, reaching to



Castle of Oldwick, Caithness.

the top and narrowing upwards.¹ Throughout this, at distances varying from 6 to 3 feet in different specimens, and at different altitudes in the same specimen, are tiers of cross flags fastened in the wall and forming level galleries to which easy access is had at one end by a stair which winds within the wall to the top. The other end of the galleries is closed by the

¹ Even in the small broch of Mousa this opening is about 2 feet wide at top. Where it seems absent in other instances may have been caused by the falling inwards of the wall. Its existence seems necessary to the construction of the building, and to give access to the top of the tower.

floor of the stair. At Clickamin there are two stairs, one on each side of the tower. Above the doorway are rectangular apertures in the wall looking towards the interior court. They sometimes extend in a straight line to near the top of the tower, and serve to relieve the underlying lintels, and to light the galleries, as, except the main door, there are no openings to the outside. It is, perhaps, not necessary to suppose that these galleries were planned for dormitories, or indeed to be occupied in any way, inasmuch as, although the tower could, with immense labour, have been built without them, their presence along with the stair makes its construction comparatively easy. They seem to have formed the necessary scaffolding rising with the wall till the work was finished. When, however, it became needful for the people to assemble in the nearest broch for safety, these galleries might be available; and it would, perhaps, be difficult to plan a building of the same strength, size, and simplicity of structure, which could afford a greater amount of temporary accommodation, including ground room in the court for a limited number of cattle. If built, as is likely, for defence against maritime invaders, who, if they did not carry the fort at the first assault, could probably not afford to invest and besiege it, these brochs would protect for the necessary time a very considerable number. In populous districts several in the same locality might be required,—hence, probably, the occurrence of three near each other at Glenelg in the west of Inverness-shire.

As to the scarcement or facing-wall, about 1 foot thick and 8 high, of such frequent occurrence in the brochs, it has been suggested by one of the most distinguished of living antiquaries, that it may have formed the resting-ledge for a conical wooden roof covering the central area, such as were probably used in the hut circles. Others have supposed that it formed the support of a narrow roof, sloping downwards like that of a shed or series of lean-to booths surrounding the wall. It may be noted that it seems rarely of such massive structure as the wall proper, with which it appears to be bonded only at door corners. This, with the fact that it was found covering what was almost certainly an original doorway to a wall chamber at Clickamin, suggests the possibility of the scarcement being sometimes, if not generally, a secondary structure.

Although in the present state of our knowledge in this department of archæology, the question of date can only be dealt with as one of comparison,

it may be permitted briefly to refer to a few of the facts which are supposed to bear upon that subject.

¶In the brochs of Cinn-Trölla and Carn-liath, and also in the supposed specimen at Torwood, in Stirlingshire, occurred stones bearing archaic cup and ring marks. A late distinguished and clear-sighted student of antiquities, after long research, referred such sculptures to a very early period (see "Brit. Archaic Sculpt." by Sir J. Y. Simpson). If those stones belonged to the broch period, the many and conclusive arguments for their antiquity are good also for that of these buildings. The Carn-liath ring-marked stone lay upon the floor, and is apparently in an unfinished state. That of Torwood resembles it in design. The Cinn-Trölla specimen also lay on the true floor. The similar one at Carn-liath was used as a lintel in an outer and perhaps secondary building. *They may all, however, have been removed from earlier sites, and this possibility seriously affects their value as evidence of the age of the brochs.* ¶

At Clickamin, in Shetland, on one of the slabs forming a causeway through the loch by which the broch of that name is reached, there occur two incised figures of human feet (see woodcut). They are right and left, about 1 inch apart, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The great toes are indicated separately, and the figures are depressed about $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch. Such sculptures "occur in Brittany on the stones belonging to chambered sepulchres and cromlechs;" also on rocks in Scandinavia and Ireland, and in the Scottish counties of Forfar and Perth ("Brit. Archaic Sculp.," by Sir J. Y. Simpson, p. 83).



Incised Figures on
Slab, Clickamin,
Shetland.

¶In the Ordnance Survey of the county of Londonderry, vol. i. p. 233, the late Dr Petrie has described and figured the so-called stone of St Columba, exhibiting the sculptured impressions of two feet (right and left), of the length of 10 inches each. This monument, he says, is held in great veneration, and he believes it to have been one of the inauguration stones of the Irish kings or chiefs of the district (Id. p. 183). (See also "Sculpt. Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. app. to pref. p. l.) It is just possible that the Clickamin stone may have formerly occupied a different position, unconnected with the tower; but its occurrence in the doorway of a thick wall which crosses the causeway, and forms the outer barrier of the broch, would

suggest a purpose associated with that building—the marking, perhaps, of the place where an oath of fidelity was taken, either by the chief as to *his* trust, or by the sentinel who guarded the gate. On the supposition that these sculpturings belong to the broch period, and knowing that they occur elsewhere in connection with very early monuments, a presumption is afforded in favour of the antiquity of the Pictish towers.

Whatever the value of these footmarks, however, in this respect, they are certainly worthy of preservation; and one cannot refrain from expressing a hope that something may have been done towards this object by protecting them with a light iron grating, otherwise, lying as they do in the only path to the broch, they must soon be destroyed.

In an interesting paper published in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 56, the author, Mr S. Laing, attaches importance to the rudeness of the implements found in the Orkney brochs, and the character of the food refuse, as evidence of the great antiquity of these buildings. This argument is well illustrated, and seems worthy of great weight. Another proof is offered in the partial destruction by the sea of the broch of Breckness, a section of which now occupies the edge of a coast-cliff of “hard and homogeneous sandstone” of Devonian age. One does not feel certain that the sea was here the sole or principal agent of destruction to the cliff, while geology suggests the suspicion that the more “homogeneous” the rock the deeper go those more or less vertical joints which introduce the great disruptive force of freezing water. So many and various are the circumstances which may modify this action that the local rate of waste of a rock escarpment is almost as uncertain a criterion of time as that afforded by the forces which deposit, rearrange, and remove the deltal detritus of an alpine burn. A very striking fact, however, is recorded in connection with the broch of Birsay. After it had become a ruinous cairn, covered 3 feet deep with mould and turf, “pagans of the bronze period buried in this green mound sepulchral urns containing the ashes of their dead.” Since this discovery by Mr Petrie, of Kirkwall, nothing has come to light of equal importance as bearing upon the age of the brochs. In the absence, indeed, of evidence to the contrary in the style of the bronze relics of Birsay, the interments with which they were connected may have been of Scandinavian origin. This might somewhat affect our conclusions as to their comparative age, since it is allowed that the bronze period of Scandinavia was probably contemporaneous with that of

iron in Scotland. The occurrence of bronze plates at Carn-liath, in circumstances suggesting their use by the Picts of the broch period, introduces another element of uncertainty. If it be admitted, however, that the Phœnicians founded a trading settlement in the South of Europe as early as 1100 B.C., and also that their greatest supplies of tin were probably derived from Cornwall (Dr G. Smith on Cassiterides, p. 45), bronze may have reached Pictland in the way of barter at a very early date. Yet even could we fix that date, it would not decide that of the origin of the brochs, nor are we better able to tell when these buildings ceased to be regularly occupied. We find, indeed, from Egil's Saga, ch. 32, that about A.D. 900, "Bjorn Hairld of Aurland in Sogn, who had fled from the fiords with Thora Hladhönd, sister of Thoror Herse, was wrecked near Moseyjarborg" (Mousa), and took shelter there till his ship was repaired, and he could continue his voyage to Iceland. Again, in 1154, Erlend Junge, a chief from Hjaltland, fled with Earl Harald's mother, Margaret, widow of Madadh of Atholl, and shut himself up in Mousa, where he stood a siege ("Orkneyinga Saga," p. 342). Neither of these notices, however, necessarily implies that the broch was at these dates owned or occupied by any one, but rather the reverse.

It may, perhaps, be charitably believed that, setting aside the question of commissariat, the hospitality of those primitive times was equal to such emergencies, but even this is not quite borne out by the testimony of Low's MS. journey, 1474, quoted by Hibbert. The author states, whether of his own experience or not does not appear, that in his day the Koningsburgers, inhabiting a walled hamlet a few miles north of Mousa, were wont to use the following formula :—"Myrkt ljora, ljost i lijngi, timi at gestrinn se genginn." "Dark is the chimney, light is the heath.—Time for guest to go."

Let me, in justice to the present inhabitants, record that when, after lingering among the ruins of Brindister-Burg, I found myself about midnight within the wall of their township, dragging a pony and groping for the *grind* or gate on the side next my homeward road, their kindness and courtesy to the belated stranger were worthy of all gratitude.

The discovery of reindeer's horns among the earlier deposits in Cill Trölla Broch, while of special interest to the naturalist, may seem of some importance to the antiquary in connection with our present question. The learned author of the paper on "Remains of the Reindeer in Scotland" (Proc. vol. viii. p. 206), does not, however, attach much importance to the discovery in this connection, although he acknowledges the interest and value of the statement by Torfæus that Jarls Ronald and Harold of Orkney

hunted the hart and the reindeer in Caithness about 1159. This, however, decides neither the date of origin of the brochs, nor the duration of their regular occupancy; for since the reindeer ranges in time from the Pleistocene period, and the notice by Torfæus is only the latest known *record* of its appearance among the fauna of Scotland, we cannot tell how much earlier or later than the middle of the 12th century it was hunted in the hills of Sutherland.

That the brochs were dry-built, or constructed without the use of mortar, may be supposed to imply a considerable antiquity. The church of "Candida Casa" or Whithorn in Galloway, built by St Ninian in the 4th century, was perhaps the first building in Scotland in the construction of which mortar was used. In the chapel of St Medan, however, in the same county, which was probably of a later date, the rock-walls were supplemented by dry stone building. In Henry's "Hist. of Britain," vol. ii. p. 391, lime building is said to have been introduced as late as 674 A.D., in the Monastery of Weremouth, and the Cathedral of Hexham.

Dr D. Wilson suggests that the troublous times immediately preceding the conquest of the Orkneys by Harold Harfager (about 880 A.D.) might have originated such strongholds as the brochs. He admits, however, that this northern invasion in the ninth century "marks the close of a period which is still involved in almost total darkness. How long before this the natives had learned to watch the horizon for the dreaded fleets of the Northmen, or in what form the earliest migration of the Cruithne to the north took place, we have yet to learn" ("Prehist. An.," p. 429). Since this was written in the first edition of his valuable work, very little light has been thrown upon that dark period, so far at least as affects the history of the brochs; certainly not enough to guide us back even to the period of the Roman occupation, far less to enable us to follow the train of thought suggested by the possible state of civilisation of the Picts when they displaced the Allophylian aborigines in the north, and raised, perhaps, monuments of their architectural skill as superior to the recent huts of the West Highlanders as were the ancient edifices of Central and South-western America to the wigwams of the modern Indian.

Let me conclude with a very brief summary of the evidence afforded by the Sutherland specimens as to the position and construction of the brochs and the duration of their occupancy.

These towers were skilfully and strongly built with undressed stones, and without mortar.

They seem to have been so placed, that along each of the main valleys, as far as 20 miles inland or more, signals could be transmitted through a chain of brochs from one at or near the opening of the strath on the coast. Through change of circumstances in the condition of the country they became disused, and gradually fell into ruin, during which time, however, there were left traces of their occasional occupancy by wandering hunters, perhaps, or predatory bands. Their decay was hastened by their being pillaged for building purposes, a fate which Mousa, probably from its situation on a small island surrounded by a stormy sea, seems to have escaped; and this, along with perhaps its partial restoration by Jarl Erlend, in 1154, may account for its present state of preservation.

It seems probable, for reasons already assigned, that, at this stage of partial ruin, the fallen materials of the towers were used to construct the rude huts occasionally found associated with them, the so-called outworks at Cill-Trölla, Carn-liath, and elsewhere. These seem to have been occupied by an abject population, whose chief food was shell-fish; and it may perhaps hereafter be found that such outbuildings are more or less restricted to brochs not far from the sea. This supposed secondary occupancy seems to have extended to a period when the central tower, once probably over 60 feet high, had been reduced to from 10 to 15, exposing the roofs of the ground-floor chambers in the wall. Several of the Cill-Trölla skeletons probably belong to this date, and apparently the first traces of iron implements. A long interval must then be supposed to have occurred, sufficient for the accumulation of earth and turf over both the broch and its small outbuildings, so as to give to the whole the appearance of a green hillock. Thereafter this was employed as a grave-mound by a people who surrounded the partially extended body with small slabs, as at Cill-Trölla and on the neighbouring links, or used short cists, as at Birsay, where, in at least one instance, they buried bronze ornaments with the *ashes* of the dead. Then follows a time marked by traces of disturbance of the contents of the mound to a considerable depth, and probably far removed in time as in custom from the age of cairn or mound-burials. Later still, but after what length of interval who can tell, we emerge upon a scene, dimly lighted indeed, but lively withal, and almost noisy with the antiquarian specula-

tions of the close of the 18th century, whose echoes, perhaps some will say, are not yet silent. In our day, however, we can in support of our theories plead some honest digging, and may appeal to the testimony of photography.

Sympathising with the wish of a late distinguished antiquary, we long for "the light which might be thrown upon our ancient history, if by any strange chance the Journal of Pytheas, who about 350 B.C. travelled all over Britain on foot, should ever turn up in the yet unexplored parts of Pompeii or elsewhere." Meantime we employ at home pickaxe and spade, and record with pencil and camera, hoping much, while we think of the many and zealous labourers in the field, but still remembering that our motto must be

"WORK AND WAIT."

REPORT UPON THE HUMAN CRANIA FOUND IN THE BROCHS.

By T. AITKEN, M.D.

Cinn-Trolla.—The five more perfect crania, and the fragments of crania described below, were found in the broch or Picts castle lately opened at Kintradwell, Sutherland; and as it is believed the period has scarcely arrived for drawing any satisfactory conclusion regarding such remains, an attempt has only been made to note their peculiarities, and to furnish measurements so precise that an exact idea may be formed regarding them.

Cranium No. 1, found with "the humeri and a lot of brute bones and shells about 2 feet under the turf, and 10 feet above the floor," is of a roundish oval form, with well-marked parietal eminences, the right being more developed than the left. Looked at sideways, the supra-orbital ridges and glabella are distinctly marked. The forehead rises almost perpendicularly upwards until on a level with the frontal eminences, whence the contour is flattened, almost level, with the exception of a distinct ridge, where it meets the coronal suture, as far back as the parietal eminences. It then takes a descending curve for a short distance, slopes down towards the apex of the lambdoidal suture, and turns boldly round to the superior curved line of the occipital bone. Between this and the inferior curved line

there is a concavity, and from this point it passes with a gentle slope to the foramen magnum. Looked at from behind, the contour is globular, the left side more developed than the right, and the outline is not at all broken in upon by the prominence of the mastoids. Seen in front, the malar bones are not unusually massive, but the nasal bones project at a considerable angle. The foramen magnum is not of the usual distinct oval form, but exhibits a quadrilateral tendency. In the supra-maxillary bone the canine fossa is of considerable depth, and the palate is normal, but the process of the right side possesses the greatest development, and the alveolar process is so well marked that the individual had probably a somewhat prognathous aspect. All the teeth have been developed, but the first incisor and second molar of the right side, and the two incisors, canine and second bicuspid, of the left, are wanting. They are in good preservation, and present no peculiarity except the marked distinctness of one of the cusps of the third molar of the left side. The inferior maxillary bone is fragmentary, having been broken through the body on the left side, between the second bicuspid and first molar, and neither of the condyles and only the coronoid process of the right side is present, so that no idea can be obtained of the sigmoid notch. Judging from the angle of the jaw, it must have belonged to a person not far advanced in life. On the right side all the teeth are *in situ*, but the second molar and the two bicuspids and incisors remaining on the left side are well preserved and exhibit no abnormality. The mental process is prominent. The only feature of the occipital bone requiring remark is the distinctness of the superior curved line. The sutures are in their normal condition, but on each side of the posterior part of the sagittal suture there is a marked flattening, on which the skull can almost be supported.

No. 2. This cranium, attached to the skeleton around which stones had been placed, was discovered on the same level as No. 1. It is, however, less complete. The whole of the left temporal bone and part of the parietal and occipital bones of the same side are absent, apparently from violence, possibly post-mortem, for lines of fracture are seen passing into the parietal bone at these different points, and between the two posterior of these, an irregular fragment has been so loosened as to be capable of removal by slight force. The cranium is of the same type as No. 1, but more ovoid, of larger capacity, and equally distinct parietal eminences. The contour is the

same seen sideways, but the glabella is not so full, though the supraciliary ridges and frontal eminences are markedly so, and the forehead rises almost perpendicularly, whilst the region of the occipital bone corresponding to the fossa for the reception of the left posterior cerebral lobe is more pronounced than in No. 1. Posteriorly the aspect corresponds closely to that of the cranium described, but the foramen magnum is normal in form and position. Seen in front there is a lightness in the bones of the face, and the superior maxillary bones are of considerable height, and the canine fossa unusually deep. The palate is normal. All the teeth have been developed, but the two first molars and second bicusps of left side and three molars and first bicusps of right side alone remain and are in good preservation. The lower jaw is imperfect and fractured below the sigmoid notch on the right side, and on a level with the inferior dental foramen on the left. It is somewhat massive, but with the exception of the mylohyoid ridge the attachments for the muscles are not strongly developed, and the chin has not been prominent. The teeth are irregular, and the second incisor of the right side has been forced out of its place and occupies a position completely behind the rest. The first molar of the right side alone is wanting, and tartar surrounds the necks of these as well as the teeth in the upper jaw. The sutures are normal, but along the line originally occupied by the frontal one, from the eminences to where it meets the coronal, there is a very distinct elevation, and a similar flattening to that already described in No. 1 is observed on each side of the posterior part of the sagittal suture.

No. 3. This skull, discovered placed on a slab, and covered by two others, is evidently more modern than those already described, to judge from its weight and excellent preservation. From the development of its different parts, it is evidently that of a male, and from the prominence of the frontal sinuses, if the views now held be correct, the individual must have possessed great muscular strength. When looked at from above, the cranium is of a roundish oval form, the occipital extremity being somewhat more prolonged than in Nos. 1 and 2, and the right side is most developed, though the parietal eminences are not so prominent as in these crania, whilst the right zygoma, the only one remaining, is distinctly seen. Viewed laterally, the head is seen to be altogether thrown backwards, the frontal sinuses and glabella are very distinct, and from this, until on a

level with the frontal eminences, the forehead rises almost erect, whence, until it meets the coronal suture, the outline mounts in a gradually receding curve. At this point there is a slight elevation; it then continues in a comparatively straight line as far back as the parietal eminences, when it curves round and descends almost perpendicularly to the apex of the lambdoidal suture. As far as the superior curved line of the occipital bone, the contour bulges out, and then shelves gradually down to the foramen magnum. Looked at in front, the size of the nasal and massiveness of the malar bones indicate strongly marked features. Viewed from behind, the outline is somewhat globular, and the mastoids, though well developed, scarcely acquire the prominence they occasionally have in well-marked crania like this. The supra-maxillary bones are high, their palate processes normal in breadth and form, but in the left there are two large orifices, probably congenital, for the teeth, though worn, are in a healthy state, and no evidence is found in the cranium of bone disease. There are also to be observed in this part traces of the premaxillary suture. The three molar teeth of the left side, and the two first molars, two bicusps, and canine tooth of the right side remain, and are worn in a slanting direction from without inwards. The lower jaw corresponds in massiveness to the other parts, is well developed, and at the angle the attachment of the muscles is strongly marked. The condyles are large, but the sigmoid notch is to all appearance somewhat shallow, from the coronoid process not being so high as usual. The three molars of the right side, the first bicusps, canine, and second incisor are present, and on the left the three molars, first bicusps, and first incisor. They are considerably worn and slope from without inwards, but this is more particularly remarked in the two first molars. In the occipital bone there is a well-marked distinct globosity above the superior curved line, and below this the attachments of the muscles are very distinct. None of the sutures have been obliterated, and in the lambdoidal, immediately above the posterior inferior angle of the parietal bone of the right side, an *os triquetrum* is seen.

No. 4. Of this cranium there only remains the left half of the frontal bone, the half of the left parietal bone, part of the left temporal bone, a fragment of the left supra-maxillary bone, with a portion of the lower part of the external pterygoid process, and the left half of the lower jaw, which has been broken obliquely outwards from between the incisor teeth to a

point in the body of the bone immediately below the mental foramen. From the massiveness of the fragments, and the well-marked attachment for the muscles, the skull in all probability belonged to a male. In the upper jaw the three molars and two bicuspids remain, and are in excellent preservation. They have a fine ivory-like appearance, and are surrounded by tartar at the necks. The lower jaw is massive, and the ramus is more than ordinarily broad. The condyle is large, and though, on account of the coronoid process having been broken away, it is impossible to speak positively, the sigmoid notch appears small, and the angle of the ramus is slanted, not rounded off. The two first molars remain, and the fang of the second bicuspid. In the crown of the second molar there exists a somewhat deep pit, but the teeth present no other abnormality. The frontal bone has evidently been divided by some sharp instrument, and a fracture extends into it on a level with the frontal eminence, but whether the injury is ante or post mortem, it is impossible to decide. There appears also evidence on the inner border of the alveolar process of the lower jaw of the bones having been cut, for the portion between the canine and front of the second bicuspid is quite smooth. The coronal suture is in its normal state.

No. 5. Of this cranium there remain the lower angle of the left side of the occipital bone, two fragments of the left parietal bone, the mastoid, and the greater part of the petrous and squamous portions of the temporal bone. There are, besides, considerable fragments of the frontal bone and parietal bone of the left side, the suture between which is partly ossified. The greater part of the body of the lower jaw remains, but it has been fractured obliquely towards the angles at both sides behind the third molars. It is distinguished by great massiveness and solidity, and it seems questionable whether it really forms part of the cranium marked No. 5. The ridges for the attachment of the muscles want sharpness, and are rounded off; but the depressions for the insertions of the digastric tendons are more than ordinarily deep, and they are separated by a distinct ridge. The genial tubercles have apparently been injured. The mental process is prominent, and the mental foramen of the left side is very large. To judge from the freshness of the teeth, the individual was not far advanced in life, and the second dentition had not been entirely accomplished, for the permanent canine teeth are still seen in the long cavities in which they are developed, and it is not improbable that the massiveness of the jaw may to some extent be

influenced by their non-projection. The temporary canine teeth and second incisor of the right side are wanting, and it ought to be remarked that these are of small size. The bicuspids are much worn, but neither these nor the molars show any deviation from the usual type.

Nos. 6 and 9. Of much greater age than those already described, little remain of these crania save the vaults, and, of No. 9, the right temporal bone, right superior maxillary, inferior maxillary bone, left side of basilar process of the occipital bone, to which a small portion of the sphenoid is attached, and the right malar bone. Both crania are platycephalic, but the greater capacity of the different regions of note renders it probable No. 6 belonged to a male, whilst the more exaggerated platycephalism of No. 9, and nearer approach to the oval form, would refer this to a female. Viewed posteriorly, No. 6 is largely developed and round in contour. In No. 9 the contour approaches more nearly to an oval form, and in both the occipital protuberance is well marked. In the two crania the forehead is low and perpendicular, and the outline is extremely flat between this point and the vertex. It then rounds down towards the superior angle of the occipital bone, and at the crown there is an absence of the distinct flattening noted in Nos. 1 and 2. In No. 9 the frontal suture has never closed, and the other sutures, with the exception of the occipital, are obliterated, and in No. 6 the sagittal and coronal sutures are nearly so. In No. 9 the superior maxillary bone is of normal proportions and appearance, but only the first molar and bicuspid remain, these being slightly worn from without inwards. The lower jaw of the same cranium is much injured, and only the canine tooth of the right side and the two first molars are left, the third not having apparently been developed. These teeth are much worn, especially the first molar.

No. 7. Of this cranium only part of the temporal bone remains. It presents no peculiarity.

No. 8. Fragments of the cranium of a child, consisting of the right half of the frontal bone, with a portion of the orbital plate, two fragments of parietal bones, and probably a piece of the occipital bone.

No. 10. Not from the Tower, but found by the blowing away of the sand covering a shallow grave on the neighbouring links. The skeleton lay on the left side, packed with round stones, and no cover. The tibia, femur, part of the pelvis, frontal and inferior maxillary bones remain. The external table of the frontal bone is much weathered, and, from the rapidity with

which it rises towards the coronal region, the person must have had a high form of head. The right frontal eminence is more distinctly marked than the left, and the supraciliary ridges are prominent. From the weight and consistency of the bone, it probably belonged to an old person, but the frontal suture has never been perfectly ossified, and is only distinctly visible in the external table. If the lower jaw belongs to the same cranium, there is farther evidence of advanced age from the oblique angle formed by the ramus with the body, which is extremely contracted on both sides below the site of the molars, but especially on the left, where very considerable absorption of bone has taken place at the alveolar margins. The mental prominence is much everted, and in life must have given the individual an extremely gibbous aspect. The teeth are much worn, and only three remain,—the second bicuspid and first molar of the left side, and first molar of the right. The two bones of the lower extremity, the tibia and femur of the left side, indicate an individual above the middle height; but, from the fragmentary state of the pelvis, the sex of the individual cannot be decided with any certainty.

The following Crania were found outside Cinn-Trolla.—No. 1. This cranium, looked at from above, presents the rounded oval form of those already described, and, like them, has the right parietal eminence more developed than the left. Looked at sideways, the supraciliary ridges are very distinctly marked; the forehead rises perpendicularly as high as the frontal eminences, then turns in a well-rounded curve, and arches flatly backwards, with the exception of a slight elevation at the sagittal suture, until it reaches a point corresponding with the posterior margin of the parietal eminences. From this it slopes down to the apex of the lambdoidal suture, and then to the superior curved line of the occipital bone. The contour has a globose form, whence it descends in a very flat curve to the foramen magnum. Looked at in front, the bones do not appear more than ordinarily massive, and the nasal bones project at an acute angle, so that the nose was probably a well-marked feature. Behind, the contour is globular, the left side being most developed, and the outline is not much affected by the mastoids, though the posterior borders of these pass forward at a more than usual acute angle. The foramen magnum is normal in form and position. The maxillary bone is above the usual height, the canine fossa very marked, and also the alveolar process, in the right half of

which the canine, two bicusps, and three molar teeth remain, and on the left the lateral incisor, canine, and two bicusps, and two molars, but none of these present abnormalities or are much worn, except the two first molars on each side. The lower jaw is massive, is of more than usual depth at the symphysis, and the depth of the bone corresponding with the position of the posterior molars is greater on the left side than the right, on account of the lower border of the body arching more distinctly towards the angle. In the inner surface the mylo-hyoidean ridge is highly developed, and on the right side, corresponding in the position of the two bicusps, there is an exostoid-like enlargement, which is less marked on the opposite side, but so much so as to form a distinct arch extending from the inner margin of the external bicusps of the left side to the canine tooth of the right. On account of this, the alveolar margin is extremely broad from the first bicusps to the third molar, and especially at the last-mentioned point, both of these teeth sloping decidedly inwards. The sigmoid notch is normal, the coronoid process of the usual height, but the condyle is very horizontally placed. The occipital bone presents no peculiarity, with the exception of extremely well-marked depressions for the muscles immediately above the posterior margin of the foramen magnum. The sutures are all in greater part ossified, with the exception of the squamous of both sides.

No. 2. This cranium was, in all probability, of the same type as that just described, but fragments only of the frontal parietal and occipital bones remain, though these are united. It has been unequally developed, with the left half thrown backwards, but its most distinguishing feature is a well-marked enlargement, corresponding with the fossa in the occipital bone, for the reception of the posterior lobes of the cerebrum. Looked at in front, as in No. 1, the right parietal eminence is most marked, and, as in No. 1, when viewed from behind, it has a somewhat flattened globular form, and is most developed in the left side. The sutures are all ossified, and the grooves for the reception of the middle meningeal artery and its branches are unusually deep on the left parietal bone.

No. 3. The occipital, parietal, and right temporal bone of a more recent cranium. The sutures have all been ossified, and the only peculiarity requiring remark is an exostosis in the border of the squamous portion of the temporal bone immediately above the external opening of the ear.

No. 4. Part of the vault of a cranium composed of almost the entire

frontal bone, a small portion of the left parietal bone, and a large one of the right. The cranium appears to have been of the same form as No. 1, and there was in all probability the same contrast, as in it, between the breadth at the forehead and the parietal eminences. The outer table of the frontal bone has been fractured internal to the right frontal eminence, the line of fracture extending from this slightly outwards, nearly as far back as the coronal suture. It is more than probable, however, this was post mortem. The glabella and supraorbital ridges are well marked. The forehead rises almost perpendicularly as high as the frontal eminences, and then curves more decidedly up towards the vertex than No. 1.

No. 5. It is possible that the fragments, so numbered, formed part of one cranium, but so many of these are wanting that no definite opinion can be expressed on this point. All the bones, however, possess the same degree of friability, and have an unusual degree of thickness throughout, attaining to fully $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch at the right parietal eminence. If, therefore, they do not belong to the same cranium, they are evidently of one age, and have been exposed to the same influences. Of the anterior part of the cranium, the greater part of the frontal bone and parietal bone of the right side remain, and a small portion of the left parietal; and so far as an opinion can be formed, it was of the same type as cranium No. 1, and presented the same characteristics, though the forehead scarcely arises so perpendicularly. Of the fragments belonging to the posterior region of the cranium, if they do belong to the same, as many have been joined together as to show that, viewed from behind, it had the same flattened globose character; and the posterior border of the mastoid of the right side, the only one remaining, passes forward at the same acute angle, noted in No. 1, second series.

Dimensions of cranium No. 1, second series.

Circumference,	.	.	.	.	20 inches.
Length,	.	.	.	.	$7\frac{1}{8}$ "
Breadth at forehead,	.	.	.	.	$3\frac{5}{8}$ "
" at parietal eminences,	.	.	.	.	$5\frac{1}{2}$ "
Height from centre of meatus auditorius ex-					
ternus to highest point of vertex,	.	.	.	.	$4\frac{1}{4}$ "
Length of face,	.	.	.	.	$5\frac{3}{8}$ "
Breadth of face,	.	.	.	.	$4\frac{1}{8}$ "

The following conclusions may be drawn from these observations:—

1st, That the age of the individuals to which these remains belong varied from extreme youth to advanced age.

2d, That the remains belong to very different periods, 6 and 9, first series, and 5 of second series being evidently of great age; Nos. 1 and 2, first series, and No. 1 second series, with the portions 2, 3, and 4, are more recent; whilst No. 3, first series, looks altogether a more modern skull, and if of very distant date is in remarkable preservation.

3d, That the crania, with the exception of No. 3, first series, are all of one type, their most distinguishing peculiarities being—

a. Their roundish oval form.

b. Their breadth at the parietal eminences in comparison with the same measurement at the forehead.

c. That viewed in front in all cases, the right parietal eminence is most markedly developed, whilst looked at from behind the left posterior region is most distinct.

4th, That whilst there are irregularities in the development of the teeth, they appear of the usual type.

5th, No evidence exists in the crania of any lowness of type, and the gibbosity in No. 10 is accounted for by the age of the individual to which the lower jaw belonged.

Carn-Liath Broch.—Of this skull only a part of the vault remains. The temporal bones are absent, and, in the left side, a part of the lower margin of the frontal bone, articulating with the wings of the sphenoid, and the greater part of the lower portion of the parietal bone, has been destroyed, as well as the occipital bone below the superior occipital ridge. The cranium is therefore very imperfect, but sufficient remains to indicate it as of the same type as the crania formerly forwarded. There is the same contrast between the breadth in the frontal regions and at the parietal eminences, the same flattening at the crown, the greater development of the right parietal region when looked at from above, and, so far as an opinion can be formed from the incompleteness of this region, of the left occipital behind. Looked at from above, the cranium presents a rounded oval form, and viewed sideways, the glabella, superciliary ridges and frontal eminence are well marked. The frontal outline at first rises perpen-

dicularly, but soon bends in a well-rounded curve, and then arches flatly backwards until on a line with the parietal eminences. It then takes a rounded curve, and descends almost perpendicularly towards the apex of the lambdoidal suture, when the curve takes a bolder form, and ends at the superior ridge of the occipital bone. None of the sutures are ossified, and an os triquetrum is found in each lambdoidal suture, that in the left being the largest, and nearly the size of a shilling. The cranium has been considerably exposed, and the left half more than the right, the bone coming away in scales, whilst here and there there are patches where the outer table has been removed down to the diploë. In the left parietal bone, at the centre of its anterior margin, there exists a round hole of $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, apparently made by some sharp pointed instrument in a line drawn from the point already mentioned to the external angular process of the right orbit, and the inner table of the skull, round the orifice, has scaled away for a considerable extent.

Broch of Craig-Carril.—Of the more imperfect cranium found at the foot of the stair, nearly the whole vault has been preserved, and also a fragment of the superior part of the greater wing of the sphenoid of the right side. Nearly the whole of the greater wing of the same bone in the left side, and a great portion of the temporal bone, the zygoma, the apices of the petrous and mastoid portions having, however, been destroyed. Looked at from above, there is not the same striking contrast between the breadth at the forehead and the parietal eminences as in some of the crania formerly described; but as in these the right parietal eminence is rather more prominent when looked at from the front and the left when viewed from behind; though the former is so rounded and full as to give the right half of the cranium a greater development, and to make it therefore unsymmetrical. The cranium is of a rounded oval form, viewed from the same position, the posterior part of the oval being somewhat flattened from the lateral sweep of the occipital bone. Viewed sideways, the glabella is full rather than prominent, and the contour inclines almost imperceptibly backwards, until it attains the level of the frontal eminence, when it sweeps in an even though somewhat flat curve until it reaches a point corresponding to the posterior limits of the parietal eminences, whence it slopes down towards the apex of the occipital bone. From this it bulges outwards, descending at the same time perpendicularly until it reaches the superior curved line of the occipital, when it turns

almost horizontally inwards, until it reaches a point apparently corresponding to the occipital protuberance. The posterior part of the contour is, however, imperfect, on account of the lower portion of the occipital bone being wanting. None of the sutures are ossified, and on each side of the sagittal suture, at about a third of its length from its junction with the lambdoidal suture, are ten nutritive foramina, that on the right being largest. Immediately above the superior border of the fragment of the great wing of the sphenoid, the right side, the skull has been perforated, the perforation being about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in size, and above this point the outer table of the bone has scaled away to some extent. Towards the posterior part of the squamous articulation, the edge of the parietal bone has also been injured, apparently, as in the former case, in digging out the cranium.

Of the more perfect cranium, all the parts are present, with the exception of the right zygomatic arch and the apices of the styloid processes; and there has been weathering to a considerable extent of the condyles of the occipital bone, of the molar eminence of the right malar bone, and of the right zygomatic arch at the junction of its malar and temporal portion. In this cranium there is the well-marked contrast between the breadth at the forehead and the parietal eminences as in the other crania already described, but, unlike those when looked at either from in front or behind, the left parietal eminence is more pronouncedly developed. Looked at from above, the cranium has a rounded oval form; but the outline is wanting in symmetry, from the additional fulness of the left parietal eminence. Viewed sideways, the nasal bones are prominent, as also the superciliary ridges and the glabella. From the upper border of the latter the forehead curves somewhat boldly upwards towards the coronal suture, where there is a pretty distinct ridge. It then descends in a flat slope, rather than in a curve, to a point as far as a line drawn from centre to centre of the parietal eminences, and curving boldly round, then descends almost perpendicularly to the apex of the lambdoidal suture. That part of the occipital bone between the apex and the superior ridge bulges out, and the occipital protuberance is more than usually well marked, and appears pointed. Here the outline between the superior and inferior occipital ridge is reversed, the curve becoming concave, and then again becoming convex, it sweeps flatly down to the occipital foramen. Looked at from behind, the cranium has an imperfect globular form, and the mastoid processes stand boldly out and are deeply grooved

for the tendons of the digastric muscles. The foramen magnum is normal, but the condyles are more than usually inclined towards the centre.

In the malar bones, the malar eminences are well marked. In the supermaxillary bones, the infra-orbital foramen on each side is large, the canine fossa deep, and the alveolar margin is raised into well-marked ridges, indicating the position of the sockets of the teeth. All the teeth are present, but the first incisor of right side and the last molar of left side is still contained in its bony cavity in the jaw.

The lower jaw is imperfect, the coronoid processes and condyles being wanting. It is massive, with well-marked surfaces for the attachment of the muscles, and the angles are very prominent and turned outwards. The mental process is distinct, and the genial tubercles are conspicuous and pointed. All the teeth are present, except the 2d incisor and 2d and 3d molar of left side. The incisors are crowded, and the grinding surfaces of the teeth are much worn. The nasal bones are imperfect, and have apparently suffered from injury, implicating to a greater extent the left bone, which has been fractured and displaced.

The sutures are not ossified, except at the lower portions of the coronal sutures on each side, and a small portion of the sagittal posterior to the vertex, and on each side of this there is a well-marked vascular orifice. In the lambdoidal suture there are several Wormian bones of large size, and on each side two unusually large orifices for vessels are seen where the mastoid process articulates with the occipital bone.

In addition to the injury already indicated of the nasal bones, there exists evidence of violence on the frontal bone at the left side. In two places the external table of the skull has been depressed, but no fracture has existed at these spots. The depression existing about an inch above the supra-orbital ridge is linear, and about half an inch long, and slopes outwards and upwards. The other injury is about an inch and a half above that just described, and is a hollow irregularly crescentic depression.

Besides the two crania, there are nine teeth, all more or less injured, except one—two of these are incisors, four bicuspides, three molars.

V.—*Notice of the Excavation of the Brochs of Yarhouse, Brounaben, Bowermadden, Old Stirkoke, and Dunbeath, in Caithness, with Remarks on the Period of the Brochs; and an Appendix, containing a Collected List of the Brochs of Scotland, and Early Notices of many of them.*

By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot., and now
Keeper of the Museum.

[*Read before the Society, 9th June 1871.*]

THE BROCH OF YARHOUSE.

The broch of Yarhouse is situated in the southern edge of the loch of that name, on the estate of Thrumster, and about five miles south of Wick, Caithness. Before we commenced its excavation (for the Rhind Committee, by whom the funds were supplied from the Rhind Bequest,) it was a grass-covered mound, about 200 paces in circumference, and 18 to 20 feet high in the centre. It stood on a flat triangular projection of the shore of the loch, and was cut off from the land by a ditch now silted up, and varying from 25 to 30 feet wide.

This mound had been noticed by the late Mr Rhind¹ as a cairn of great size, surrounded by a wet ditch. It appears also, he says, to have been surrounded by standing stones, and he was of the opinion that it was chambered. Its excavation has disclosed the fact that it is a true broch, surrounded by outbuildings of a very remarkable character.

Secondary Interments.—In the progress of the excavations the first circumstance worthy of notice was the finding of the skull and other remains of a human skeleton, from 2½ to 3 feet under the green turf near the top of the mound on the side next the loch. On the other side, and at about the same level, we found another deposit of human remains, but, singular to say,

¹ See "Report to the Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, appointed to arrange for the application of a fund left by the late Mr A. Henry Rhind for excavating early remains. By John Stuart, LL.D., Secretary."—Proceedings, vol. vii. page 289.

not a vestige of any of the bones could we find, beyond an imperfectly preserved skull. Down near the base of the mound, in a cavity between two stones on edge, with a covering stone but no end stones, we found remains of another skeleton. Again, in the upper part of the chamber E. [see ground plan, p. 134], about 3 feet under the turf, we found human bones, including the piece of skull now exhibited, and close by them the inscribed bronze brooch (fig. 5), figured on page 141. Once more, within the chamber G, and nearly on a level with the base of the broch wall, at about the same distance under the turf, we found the remains of another human skeleton, among the ashes and refuse of the chamber floor, consisting of bones of the common domestic animals, broken and split, and sometimes half burned, mingled with potsherds of coarse hand-made and badly burned pottery. The inference from these facts seemed to be that at some period, possibly not extremely remote, but long after the broch and its surroundings had become a grass-covered heap of ruins, the green mound had been used as a place of interment.

The practice of burying in the green mounds covering the ruins of similar "pre-historic structures" (which is of ancient origin),¹ is not yet extinct. As to its ancient origin, Mr Petrie records having found a cemetery of short cists, overlying the ruined broch of Okstrow,² in Orkney. Mr Farrer records a similar instance at Saverough.³ Single graves have often been disclosed in the mould overlying the ruins of Caithness brochs when levelled or partially dug into for agricultural purposes. At Thrumster House (not more than half a mile from this broch of Yarhouse), where a mound,⁴ covering the ruins of a broch, was partially dug into, a skeleton was found in a full-length cist of flagstones set on edge. A similar burial in the earthy rubbish overlying a broch at Dunbeath was reported to me as enclosed in a long stone cist, and part of the cranium is preserved in the late Dr Sinclair's Museum at Wick. A long grave was found by us at the side of the door of the broch of Brounaben, explored subsequently to the broch of Yarhouse. In none of these instances was there any tradition even of the mound having ever been used as a place of interment.

¹ See page 154 *post*.

² See Mr Petrie's paper, *antea*.

³ See Proceedings, vol. v. p. 10.

⁴ The interior area of this broch is now laid out as a flower garden.

Then, as to the modern practice,—continued, no doubt, down from ancient times in places where burial-grounds, connected with ecclesiastical sites, were far distant, and roads were neither so common nor so good as they are now,—there is a notable instance at Camster, where a green mound, bearing all the external appearance of covering the ruins of a broch, is still used as a place of interment by the people of the district. It is not connected by tradition with any ecclesiastical site; but, even if it were, the next instance which I adduce will show that an ecclesiastical site has been superposed upon a ruined broch.¹ Having long suspected that the church of Canisbay (close to the Pentland Firth, and within sight of John O'Groats) was built on a green mound covering the ruins of a broch, I visited the churchyard in company with the Rev. Mr Macpherson, minister of the parish, and found that one side of the mound on which the church is built showed unequivocal traces of the refuse-heap usually attached to a broch. Mingled with the human remains of recently opened graves was a large proportion of more ancient remains of a totally different character, consisting of the bones of the ox, the sheep, deer, horse, swine, and seal (?), the bones of birds and fish, and the shells of the common shore shell-fish—principally buckies and limpets. The long bones of the animals were broken and split, and often half charred; the deer horns cut, sawn, and sometimes split. Pestles or pounding stones occurred here and there; and, on questioning the grave-digger, we also learned that he had been in the habit of exposing dry-built walling, and at certain places of digging up ashes, deer horns, shells, bones of what he called whales, and which probably were so, and occasionally quern stones. A very good specimen of a pot quern, which he unearthed subsequently to my visit, is now preserved at the manse.

It seems, therefore, that many of these green mounds or "Tullochs," as they are called in the north of Scotland, had been used as places of interment in the early ages of Christianity,² and that the skeletons we found overlying the brochs of Yarhouse and Brounaben were those of persons who had been

¹ Barry, in his "History of the Orkneys," mentions that St Triduana's Chapel, in Papa Westray, had been built on the ruins of a Pict's house.

² A curious instance of Christian burial in a Pagan tumulus is recorded in the Annals of Loch Cé, under the date A.D. 1581:—"Brian Caech O'Coinnegain, an eminent cleric, died, and the place of sepulture which he selected for himself was, *i.e.*, to be buried at the mound of Baile-an-tobair," &c., &c. (Annals of Loch Cé, vol. ii. p. 437.)

buried there long after the ruined structures had become grass-covered mounds.¹

Structure.—The broch of Yarhouse (to the description of which we now return) was found, when excavated, to be of the common form (see the

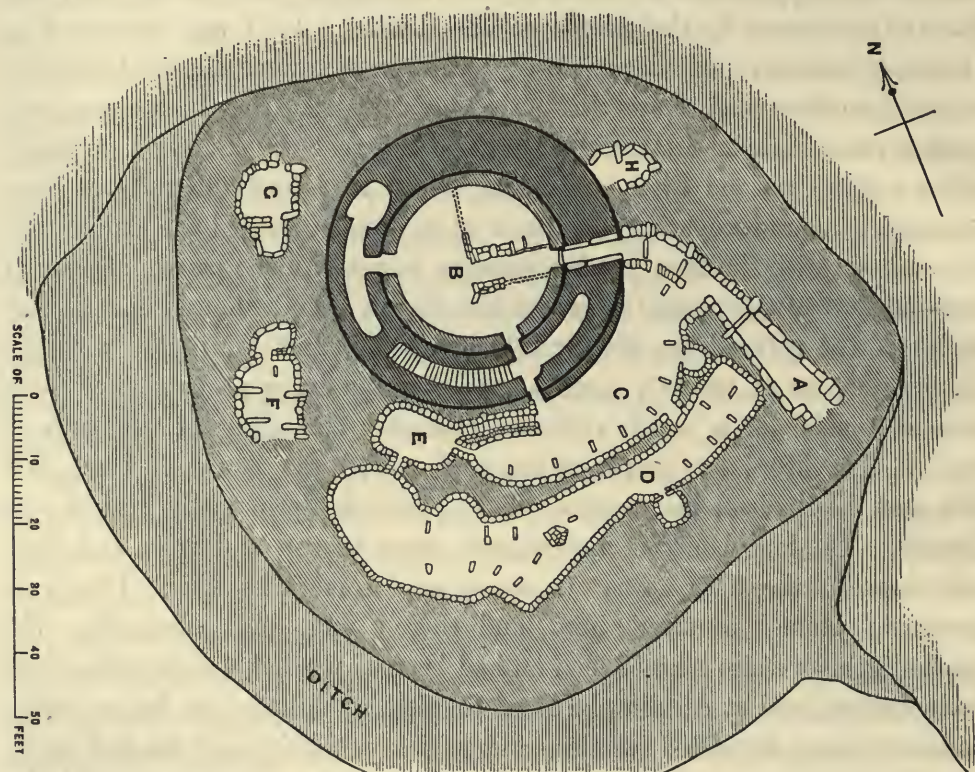


Fig. 1.—Ground Plan of Broch of Yarhouse and its Outbuildings.

annexed ground-plan). The circular wall is 12 to 13 feet thick, and at the highest point about 15 feet high. The area enclosed, B, is approximately circular, and about 30 feet diameter. The chambers, in the thickness of the

¹ Layard found that the mounds covering the ruins of the palatial edifices of Assyria, notably those of Nimroud, Kalah Shergat, and Baasheika, had been used as burial-places both by the ancient and the modern successors of the people who built them. The graves of the modern nomadic tribes were met with immediately under the surface, and below them the sepulchral deposits of a much earlier race, accompanied with vases of pottery having a close resemblance to early Egyptian forms. These, he says, undoubtedly prove that at a very early period the ruins were completely buried and the contents of the mounds unknown.

wall, are about 6 feet high and 3 feet wide, and, with the exception of the squarish one on the side opposite the doorway, they have their roofs remaining entire. They are roofed by flat covering stones, till near the ends, where the roofing is formed by overlapping the stones of the ends and of the side walls to form a kind of rude arching. One of these chambers, as usual, is at the foot of the stair. The stair is 3 feet wide, and extends upwards for 21 feet of sloping height. Sixteen steps up there is a landing, with a light-hole looking into the interior of the broch. Above the doorway, opening from the interior into the staircase, there are three openings in the wall to lessen the weight upon the lintel, as well as to admit light to the bottom part of the stair. (See woodcut, p. 173).

Secondary Structures.—Round the inside of the broch wall an interior wall, nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, is built against the main wall, and at the doorways is partially bonded into it. This inner wall rises to a height of 8 feet, and forms a level ledge or scarcement all round at that height. The main wall still stands, 7 feet higher. It seems to me that this interior wall belongs to a secondary occupation of the broch, from the following considerations:—Its foundation does not go down to the foundation of the main wall; it terminates exactly at the height to which the partition walls that cross the interior area appear to have risen, as shown by the height of the long stones on end that were found built into them; that these partitions are really later constructions is established by the fact of fully a foot deep of ashes and refuse being found beneath their foundations. One other fact speaks strongly in favour of the later construction of this inner wall. In the floor of the central area of the broch we found a granite rubbing stone nearly 2 feet long; its flat face was well worn. Noticing another granite stone built into the inner wall, about half-way up, we pulled it out, and found it to be also a rubbing stone, which had been used as a building stone. There was also a small square bink or bole in the inner wall, and, though this is a common feature of the later outbuildings round the brochs, I have never seen or heard of it in the wall of a broch itself.

The partition walls, which divided the central area into a passage and several compartments, were partly built and partly formed of long slabs set on end across the wall. Other slabs, set on edge in the direction of the wall, formed a substitute for built walling for part of the length of two of the partitions. Such of these long stones as were unbroken rose to a height

of about 8 feet, which was also the height of the scarcement, and it seemed probable that the whole of the interior walls were parts of one structural plan, designed at some later period of the broch's existence (most likely after the ruin of the upper galleries), to form supports for a roof that would convert into a place of shelter the central area, which in the original structure must have been open to the sky.

Outbuildings.—The outside buildings connected directly with the broch are the two curious, long, and irregularly shaped enclosures C and D with the oval cell E. (See fig. 1, p. 134). C and D have each a small cell off the side furthest from the broch. The walls of all these still stand to a height of from 3 to 10 feet, and the passage, leading from the broch stair into the oval chamber, had the roof on it throughout its entire length, the only instance I know of a roof remaining on any part of the outbuildings of a broch. This passage was less than 3 feet high, and only 16 inches wide at the narrowest part. The whole length of the outer enclosure is nearly 100 feet, and it varies in width from 6 to 20 feet. The length of the other enclosure is 70 feet, and its width about 12 feet.

These places are chiefly remarkable for the way in which standing stones are set round them, and in them, at varying distances from the walls (see ground plan of enclosures C and D in fig. 1, p. 134). One or two of these standing stones appear to have been dressed to shape by blows applied alternately to the opposite sides of the stone along the edge, so as to make it roughly straight. Some of them are slabs, others are long stones as thick as they are broad. The little cells off the outside of each enclosure have slabs contracting the door-way. The outer wall of the outer enclosure seems pieced together in different styles of building. There is an irregularly shaped pillar of masonry in the centre of the floor, rising to the same height as the walls.

The use of long narrow slabs set up across the thickness of the walls, and of broader, thicker slabs set with their broad faces forming part of the face of the wall, which is built over the top of them, is entirely confined to the outbuildings and inside partitions of all the brochs I have seen. Ortholithic masonry, as it is called, is also a striking feature of the chambered cairns, but they are all much more carefully built than these cells and enclosures surrounding the brochs.

The presumption that both the inside partitioning and the outside

buildings were later adaptations of the original structure, is strengthened by the fact that the foundations of other partition walls, dividing the interior of the broch on different plans, were found at three different levels in the course of the excavations, the last sub-division of the area having taken place at a period when upwards of 8 feet of rubbish, derived from the dilapidation of the structure, had accumulated over its original floor. Up to the height of the scarcement, also, the stones which formed its inner face were reddened and rent into small cubical fragments by the action of fire, and the crevices were full of ashes of peat and wood, and refuse of bones. This burned appearance, which is as noticeable as in an old limekiln, is the first thing that strikes a visitor, and is usually accounted for by supposing the broch to have been destroyed by fire. I have seen the roofless walls of an evicted crofter's house in the hills as completely burned all round to a height of three or four feet by the herds and peat-cutters of the district resorting to it as a shelter in bad weather. By kindling their peat fires against that portion of the wall which at the time best suited the direction of the wind, they gradually burned the stones all round.

The little cells, F, G, and H, (fig. 1, p. 134), unconnected with the broch bear a close resemblance to the structures described by Captain Thomas as Bothan,¹ and may be of comparatively recent origin. In the little one H, and the larger one F, no manufactured relics were found, the floors, which are roughly paved, being but slightly covered with peat ashes. In the other one G, some fragments of pottery, a piece of a stone vessel, apparently of steatite, and the human bones, probably from an interment, as I have previously noticed (p. 132), were found.

CONTENTS OF THE BROCH.

Animal Remains.—The animal remains in the broch of Yarhouse were mostly destroyed by the damming back of the water of the loch many years ago, so that, as we found after we had cleared out the area B, the floor was submerged every winter to the depth of 3 or 4 feet. This will account for the absence of implements of bone in the collection. The bones met with were those commonly found in other brochs, indicating

¹ Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 153.

the ox, the horse, the swine, the sheep or goat, the dog, and one or two species of birds, and fish. The shell-fish were the limpet, periwinkle, whelk,



Figs. 2 and 3.—Portions of Reindeer Antlers found in the Broch of Yarhouse.

trochus, buccinum, cockle, and mussel. The horns of the red deer were very abundant, often split and cut into short lengths of 3 or 4 inches. The most interesting discovery in connection with this broch was the occurrence of portions of the antlers of the reindeer in the outer enclosure D, as described in Dr J. A. Smith's paper on the occurrence of the reindeer in Scotland.¹ Two of these fragments of reindeer horns are here figured. They were submitted to Professor Owen, and by him pronounced to be portions of the antlers of *Cervus Tarandus*.

The relics found in the broch and its enclosures were chiefly obtained from the layer of ashes which covered the whole of the floors. The only difference observable between the character of the relics found within the broch, and those found in the outside enclosures, was that several objects of metal—iron and bronze—were found in the larger outbuildings, and none in the broch itself. The ash-bed was of considerable thickness, and seemed to have accumulated along with the rubbish to a height, in some places inside the broch, of several feet.

Pottery.—The pottery was of the usual coarse hand-made kind, some fragments indicating vessels of a globularly bulging shape with everted rims, bearing in their form and texture a close resemblance to the hand-made vessels described by Martin as manufactured in Lewis at the date of his visit (1703) by the females of the island, "some for boiling meat and others for preserving their ale, for which they are much better than barrels of wood." A set of this coarse hand-made pottery, which has continued to be made and used in Harris until within the last few years, is exhibited in the Museum, and one of its commoner forms is shown in the accompanying woodcut (fig. 4).² In these Lewis crogans, as they are called, we have an

¹ Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 200.

² For the use of this cut, which is taken from "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland," (Edinburgh: Edmonston

interesting example of the survival to the present time of the form and fashion of the domestic pottery characteristic of the broch period. One or two pieces marked with the peculiar pattern made by pushing the finger-



Fig. 4.—Crogan from Island of Lewis.

tip obliquely into the soft clay, occurred in the interior area of the broch. This pattern is the prevailing style of ornament on the pottery of the neighbouring sepulchral chambered cairns.¹

Stone Implements.—The only flint object found in the broch was a small conical core about an inch in length, from which facets had been struck longitudinally all round. One very similar, but scarcely half the size, was found in the chamber of the long sepulchral cairn on the top of the hill. These points of resemblance, though suggestive of a connection between the brochs and the chambered cairns, may possibly be accidental.

Stone pestles or pounders were very numerous. They are simply oblong water-rolled pebbles of all sizes that can be conveniently grasped in the hand. Some of these are abraded by use at one end only, others at both ends.

and Douglas, 4to, 1861.) I am indebted to the author, Mr Thomas S. Muir. See also p. 172, note.

¹ It is also the common ornamentation of the pottery of the Swiss lake dwellers, and has been found in the Long Barrows of the South of England.

Of rude mortars and rubbing-stones we found nearly a dozen. Typical specimens of these are among the objects exhibited.

Allied to the pestles or pounders are the stone balls so commonly found in the brochs. There are specimens from the brochs of Yarhouse, Brounaben, Old Stirkoke, and Bowermadden. These stone balls, which are usually about 3 inches in diameter, have often smooth flattened spaces on one or more sides, and one from the Yarhouse broch presents three flattened faces formed by striking off three segmental flakes of equal size contiguously from the globular surface.

Of whetstones, as they are called, we got a few. The smallest of these are more like what are termed touchstones. The largest one I rescued from the window of the farmer's kitchen, in which it had done duty again as a whetstone for several weeks after it had been found in the broch of Old Stirkoke. The thin flattish one from Yarhouse bears a remarkable resemblance to one in the Museum, which was picked up on the Birkle Hill, Keiss, by Dr Arthur Mitchell.

A large number of thin circular discs of slaty sandstone, roughly chipped to a round form,¹ and varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 14 or 15 inches in diameter, were found. These discs, which are found in all the Caithness and Orkney brochs, seem to have served the same purpose for the domestic pottery which was served for the sepulchral pottery by the precisely similar discs which are occasionally found as urn covers, and still more frequently with the urn inverted on them. They are presumably jar covers or pot lids.

A small roundish water-worn pebble of quartz, about an inch and a half in diameter, with a hole not quite a quarter of an inch wide drilled through it, is precisely similar to one found in Kettleburn broch by the late Mr A. Henry Rhind. They were probably worn as amulets.

The round flattish water-worn pebbles which occurred in considerable numbers, having short scratched markings in all directions over their flat

¹ Within the memory of persons now living, it was customary in Orkney to use thin slate stones, roughly chipped to a circular or square form, for parching corn to make 'burstan.' The stone was surrounded with a border of soft clay to prevent the corn from falling off into the fire when it was stirred. The name for this curious cooking utensil was "hellio," corrupted from the old Norse "hella"—a flat stone. When the corn had been parched, it was roughly ground by a quern, and eaten with milk or cream. "They'll hae burstan and buttermilk every day," was a proverb expressive of luxurious living.

surfaces, puzzled me much, till one evening, when returning from the broch, I passed by a fisherman's house, at the gable of which sat the fisherman endeavouring to sew a piece of tarry sailcloth with a rusty sail needle. I should have passed without noticing what he was about, had it not been that his vexation, very audibly and forcibly expressed, at the non-success of his efforts, led me to observe him more closely. Then I noticed that he was using just such a stone as this in the palm of his hand, instead of the usual sailor's thimble, and that the needle head was slipping and ripping the surface of the stone, just as this, which I procured as a characteristic specimen on my next visit to the broch, is scratched and ripped. I will not say that these are "thimbles," at least until we get needles of metal from the brochs. There are two bronze needles in the Museum from the shell mounds at Reay, where they are associated with very modern looking pins, but I never saw needles of the period in the brochs, except once when I got from the Old Stirkoke broch a fine bone needle, about 3 inches in length, with a circular eye, bevelled on both sides. It was sent to Sir John Lubbock.

Bronze.—The bronze relics from the broch of Yarhouse, which were all got in the outer enclosures, are—

A ring of bronze of unknown use, half an inch in diameter.

An armlet of yellow bronze, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is made of wire, about $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch in thickness, made square for half of its length, and twisted so that the corners form a spiral pattern, the other half of the circumference being the plain round wire. The ends seem to have been soldered together.

A flat circular bronze brooch (fig. 5), found with human bones in the upper part of the chamber E outside the broch. It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and is inscribed on the upper surface, in rude Roman characters, with the formula ISVS NAZAR(?). This inscription, in full, IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDÆORVM, occurs on some flat circular silver brooches of mediæval workmanship in the



Fig. 5.—Bronze Brooch found with Human Bones at Broch of Yarhouse. (Actual size.)

Museum. A flat copper or bronze brooch, of the same pattern, and bearing the last-mentioned inscription in full, was dug¹ up on the north side of the Little Ferry, in Sutherlandshire.

Iron.—It is difficult to say what the iron relics may have been. Some of those from Yarhouse appear like knives, and one from Old Stirkoke is not unlike the hilt end of an iron sword.

THE BROCH OF BROUNABEN.

I need not describe in detail the excavation of the Brounaben broch, which is situated about three-fourths of a mile from that at Yarhouse, and close by the cromlech described by Mr Rhind.² It is of the usual size and form, but has a stair on both sides, one of which had the entrance built up. In the chamber at the foot of the other stair were found the remains of a human skeleton, and close by the side of the door there was a long grave, shaped like a modern coffin, and constructed partly of stones on edge, and partly built. The skeleton was almost completely decayed. Some human bones were also found in the excavation outside the broch wall, where two standing stones appear. There seemed to have been some kind of enclosure similar to those at Yarhouse, round this broch. It differed from that at Yarhouse in having the interior area paved, and without any partition walls. There was a considerable depth of ashes, however, under the pavement. The site was very wet, and there was a good square drain underneath the pavement, round what had been a hollow fireplace near the centre. Kettleburn, explored by Mr Rhind, had also a drain. The Old Stirkoke broch had a fireplace.

THE BROCH OF OLD STIRKOKE.

This broch, which was cut into by the farmer as a convenient quarry to furnish stones for drains, was a grass-covered mound, 120 paces in circumference at the base, about 12 feet high, and nearly 40 feet in diameter

¹ New Statistical Account, Sutherlandshire, p. 33.

² Report on the Rhind Excavation Fund. By John Stuart, LL.D., Sec. S.A. Scot. Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 294.

across the somewhat level summit. Owing to the way in which the operations were conducted, no plan of the building could be obtained, but the farmer gave every facility for the preservation of such relics as happened to be noticed during the progress of the work, and collected most of them himself. The broch wall was about 13 feet thick, and the space enclosed about 30 feet diameter. A square drain ran underneath the floor. One long oval-ended chamber in the thickness of the wall was made out. It was 11 feet long, and 4 feet wide. Near the centre of the circular internal area was a cist-like construction, formed of four slabs, with a slab in the bottom. It was slightly wider at one end than the other, and was 4 feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad in the middle, and 20 inches deep. It was completely full of ashes, with scarcely any intermixture of earth or stones, and nearly a foot of almost pure ashes lay over the top of it, which had no covering stone. We considered it a fireplace.

At the north-east side of the mound there was a pretty extensive refuse heap or kitchen midden, consisting principally of turf or peat ashes, mingled with charred wood, and containing a large admixture of broken and split bones of the usual animals, among which were also portions of a human skull. Fish-bones occurred sparingly, and the common shore shell-fish were abundant. The manufactured relics found were a polished bone needle, 3 inches in length, with a round bevelled eye; the half of a thin polished disc of mica schist, with garnets in it, similar to one in the Museum obtained by Mr Farrer from the broch of Burray, Orkney; a block of red sandstone, having two intersecting hollows in its upper surface similar to one found in the broch of Kettleburn by Mr Rhind; two very rude spindle whorls of sandstone simply chipped to shape, several whetstones, rude stone discs or pot lids, stone pestles, pottery of the usual plain and rudely made kind, a bone bodkin about 8 inches long, several cut and sawn deer's horns, a fragment of bronze, and a piece of iron like the hilt portion of an iron sword.

THE BROCH OF BOWERMADDEN.

This broch was trenched over by the farmer after it had been for many years used as a quarry. No plan of the structure could be made out. The central area was roughly estimated as about 30 feet diameter, and near the centre there was a well with twelve or fourteen steps leading down to it.

This the farmer filled up. A similar well was discovered in the Kettleburn broch by Mr Rhind. It was left open, and is to this day a serviceable well, supplying the cottars who live close by in cottages built out of the material of the broch. A well, in which the water was beautifully clear, was also



Figs. 6 and 7.—Bronze pin from
Broch of Bowermadden.
(Actual size.)

found in clearing away the ruins of a broch at Harpsdale, near Thurso, in 1841. Like the Kettleburn and Bowermadden examples it had steps leading down to it. A broch at Skinnet, opened nearly fifty years ago, had a well in it dug in the rock. The Bowermadden broch had, like the others, a considerable refuse heap, from which, however, no collection was made. I obtained from the farmer a number of deer horns, cut and sawn; some stone balls, a small mortar, a neatly shaped oval vessel of red sandstone, the hollow measuring 4 inches by 3, and 3 inches deep,—the sides are worked round at the lip, are about an inch and a half thick, and the vessel is blackened externally by fire and split lengthwise; a disc of red sandstone, 7 inches diameter, and 2 inches thick, with a hole of about an inch and a half through the centre; two spindle whorls of stone, well finished, and rubbed smooth, one having a false boring in the middle; a very small and neatly fashioned comb of bone, with an open semicircular handle; a bead of vitreous paste, enamelled with a spiral ornament on three

sides; and a very neatly fashioned bronze pin, 3 inches long, having an open circular head, with ribbed ornamentation on the upper part (figs. 6 and 7); several large stone vessels, or vats, one of which was 3 feet deep, were also found.

THE BROCH OF DUNBEATH.

I have been favoured by W. S. T. Sinclair, Esq., yr. of Dunbeath, with an account of a very interesting broch at Dunbeath, opened by him at the

time we were employed in the excavations above detailed. This broch was a green mound, situated on the apex of a small rising ground in the angle formed by the confluence of the Burn of Houstry and the water of Dunbeath.

I am sorry I have no plan of this broch, which presents some peculiar features. In the main, the plan is the same as that of all the brochs, but the chambers, in the thickness of the walls, are larger than usual—one measuring, according to Mr Sinclair's account, 12 feet 6 inches long, 6 feet 6 inches wide, and about 13 feet to the highest part of the converging sides. This chamber is situated to the east of the entrance to the broch, which is 3 feet wide. On the north side of the building there is another chamber, squarish in form, and having recesses on three sides. It has the roof formed by overlapping the stones of the side walls inwards, and covered at the top by a single flat slab. On the south side of the broch was a pit-like structure resembling a well 4 or 5 feet in diameter. Similar well-like pits, of a conical form, having their sides partly built, and partly faced with long slabs, occur in the interior area of the Carn Liath broch at Dunrobin, opened by the Rev. Mr Joass.

The relics found at the broch of Dunbeath consist of deer's horns; the horny portion of two of the right hoofs of a deer pared down upon the upper edge; a section of an antler about an inch long, ground at both ends; and bones of the ox, a large dog, or possibly wolf (?), sheep, and swine. Fish bones, presumably of the cod and haddock, also occurred in considerable numbers, and there was a pretty large shell-heap, consisting chiefly of buckies and limpets. A piece of freestone was found thickly covered with indentations, that looked as if they had been produced by rubbing or grinding some kind of metal instrument edgeways upon it. One of these "cuts" passed completely through the stone. As in most of the other brochs, the effect of intense heat was discernible on the interior walls, chiefly towards the east side. Mr Sinclair saw reason to believe that some of this might probably have been due to the smelting of iron ore, several nodules of which were found mixed up with the animal remains. We found a nodule of iron ore as large as a man's fist in the floor of the sepulchral cairn at Camster, in which were also found a finely finished flint knife, and on the top of the bed of ashes in which these were imbedded an iron knife, both of which are now in the Museum. It is but recently that the discovery of hæmatite iron ore in considerable quantities has been made in the west of Caithness, but from

many indications which I have observed, I am of opinion that the ancient inhabitants not only knew of the existence of iron ore in the district, but actually smelted it and worked the metal. The most interesting part of Mr Sinclair's discovery was an iron "spear-head" five inches long, and a quantity of burnt grain, bere and oats, which was found close to the wall and on the clay bottom.

THE PERIOD OF THE BROCHS.

Some years ago, in offering a few objections¹ to the sufficiency of the data on which an extremely high antiquity was assigned to the brochs of Caithness and Orkney by Mr Samuel Laing,² F.S.A. Scot., I expressed my conviction that we ought rather to look for the "broch period" among the early centuries of the Christian era than among the undefined and misty periods of primeval times. The evidence in support of this view is twofold, consisting partly of the testimony of the structures themselves and of their contents, and partly of the testimony of our earliest historic records.

If the indications afforded by the investigation of the ruins are to be relied on as sufficiently conclusive, when taken in connection with the scanty notices of the early records, they seem to me to point to the following deductions:—

- 1st. That the brochs were the work of the people who possessed the soil—a people numerous, energetic, and organised for mutual defence.
- 2d. That the most peculiar feature of the brochs—viz., their persistent uniformity of plan and structure—while implying the pressure of necessity rather than the poverty of architectural invention, proves them to have been the product of peculiar circumstances in the history of the people that built them, marking a period of general turbulence and insecurity.
- 3d. That their geographical range implies the possession of almost the whole of Scotland by the broch-builders.
- 4th. That the period of the brochs dates probably not earlier than the fifth, and not later than the ninth centuries.

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society of London, vol. iv. p. 155.

² Prehistoric Remains of Caithness, p. 57. Proceedings of the Society, vol. vii. p. 56.

The first thing that strikes an observer attentively examining the broch structure is, that it is wholly unique. It resembles no other building, ancient or modern. All round towers, of course, have a certain external similarity, but the internal plan and the structural effect of the broch proper is not paralleled in any other known structure.¹

Nuraghes of Sardinia.—The nuraghes, a class of round towers of unknown origin and antiquity, of which it is estimated that 3000 remain in the Island of Sardinia, do in some cases present a striking likeness externally



Fig. 8.—Broch of Mousa, Shetland.

to the brochs of Scotland, but the resemblance goes no further. The nuraghes are all built of uncemented stones, but of stones that are hammer-dressed.² Hammers of bronze have been found in them. It is only the simplest class of the nuraghes that at all resemble the brochs, and a comparison of the views of the broch of Mousa in Shetland (fig. 8), and the nuraghe of Goni in Sardinia³ (fig. 9), will show at a glance how striking that resemblance is.

¹ For the internal plan and details of the structure of the Broch of Mousa, see the plates to Sir Henry Dryden's paper in a subsequent part of this volume.

² Notice sur les Nuraghes de la Sardaigne, par M. L. C. F. Petit Radet. Paris, 1826.

³ For the use of these two cuts, which are from an excellent little treatise on Archæology, entitled, "Monuments of Unrecorded Ages," forming part of their "Miscellany," I am indebted to the Messrs Chambers, through the good offices of Dr Findlater.

But for the most part the nuraghes present a much more complex external structure, consisting of a central tower, conically domed, rising

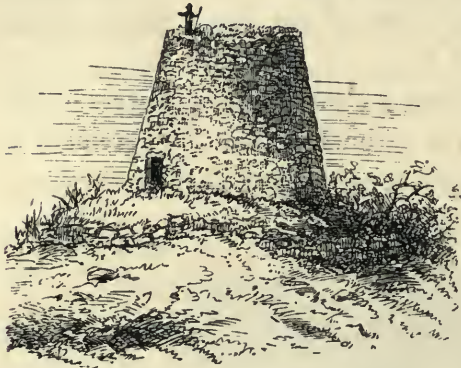


Fig. 9.—Nuraghe of Goni, Sardinia.

from a square base or plinth, flanked at the four corners by four smaller conically-domed turrets. Each of these turrets contains a dome-roofed chamber, and the central tower has three such chambers disposed vertically above each other. The access to the upper chambers is by a winding stair which traverses the thickness of the wall completely round the central chambers (fig. 10). This, taken in conjunction with the low doorway,

and the general absence of external openings for light, are features suggestive of the similar arrangements in the brochs, but the structures are totally unlike. In its half-ruined state, when the conical cap of the building is gone, as in the case of the Goni example (fig. 9), the simple nuraghe, erected on the ground, without a plinth or flanking cones, has a remarkable

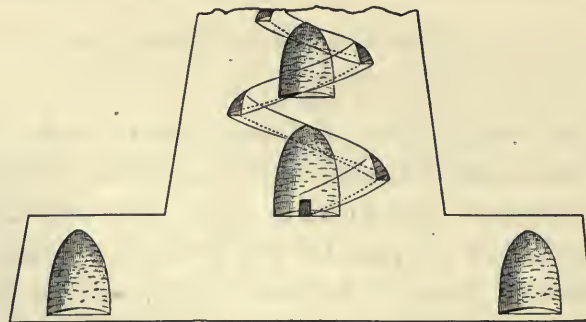


Fig. 10.—Section of a Nuraghe, showing form of chambers and spiral stair.
(From Tyndale's Sardinia.)

likeness to a broch externally; but it differs entirely in its internal construction, and has nothing about it suggestive of the broch except that it is an ancient tower of a round form built without mortar, though built of hammer-dressed stones.

Round Towers in the Valley of the Danube.—Another class of round towers in Germany, of which that of Sternsberg, near Sinsheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, may serve as the type, have some slight features of resemblance to the brochs. They are sometimes as much as 80 feet high; the only entrance is about 20 feet above the ground; the walls are of great thickness, and there is a spiral stair leading straight up a circular well in the wall on one side of the castle, instead of traversing round the whole building, as in the nuraghes and the brochs. There are four chambers in the central space, disposed vertically above each other, with vaulted stone roofs, and in the lower story is a well. One of these towers at Donau-stauf, on the Danube, below Ratisbon, has the usual proportions of a broch, being 60 feet in total diameter, and the wall 15 feet thick, enclosing a central area of 30 feet diameter. The walls of these buildings, however, are faced outside and inside by stones chiselled round the border and set in mortar, the interior of the wall being filled with a grouting of mortar, in which are laid small unhewn stones. Some have regarded these towers as of the Roman period, but the Dean of Sinsheim maintains that the Sternberg Tower is merely the keep of a mediæval castle.

Scandinavian Towers.—I shall refer further on to the supposed resemblance of the ruined towers of Ymsburg and Sualsburg, in Westrogothia, to the Scottish brochs, which led M'Culloch to assign a Scandinavian origin to the Scottish structures. The analogy they bear to the borgs of the Norse Sagas and the burghs of the Anglo-Saxon period will also be discussed in its proper place.

Towers of the Caucasus.—Vallancey states,¹ on the authority of Guldenstaedt, who explored the regions of the Caucasus by order of the Empress Catherine, that among the tribes of the Kisti and Ingushti many of their villages have a round stone tower, which serves them in time of war as a retreat for their women and children. In their purpose these towers are exactly analogous to the Scottish brochs, but I have been unable to obtain a description of their plan and structure. There seems no reason, however, to suppose any community of origin for them and the Scottish brochs.

In the meantime, it is sufficient to clear the ground of the notion of a foreign origin, by showing that none of the foreign structures which are

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. vi. p. 124.

round towers have the slightest claim to be considered as the source from whence the plan and peculiar structure of the brochs have been derived.

Characteristics of the Broch Structure.—But if the peculiar architecture of the brochs is of purely native origin, copying neither the style of its masonry, nor the constructive plan of the building from any external source, it is a very remarkable feature of the broch structure that it does not seem to have been developed from any simpler or earlier style of the native “dwellings of strength.” The amplification of a hut-circle into a “lofty stone-screen drawn round the council fire of the tribe” might produce a circular tower having some external resemblance to a broch, but the stairs, the galleries, the chambers in the thickness of the walls, and the ranges of windows looking into the interior space, would all be wanting. Neither is there any transition, easily perceivable, by which the broch passes into the more advanced type of the castellated structures of succeeding ages. It stands entirely alone among the relics of the past, marking a period in the history of our country, the traces of whose beginning and ending appear to have been totally lost.

This seems the more unaccountable, when we consider that the period of the brochs must necessarily have been one of very great importance in the early history of Scotland. No other period in that history surpasses it in the number and magnitude of its structural remains.¹ And if it be the fact—as the recently discovered examples of Hurley Hawkin² and The Laws³ in Forfarshire, Coldoch⁴ in Perthshire, Torwood⁵ in Stirlingshire, and Edin’s Hall in Berwickshire⁶, would seem to indicate—that the scanty testimony which is now borne to the former existence of the brochs over the area of the central and southern districts of the country is chiefly due to the uncontrolled and remorseless energy of the practical agriculturist, then, beyond a doubt, the broch period must have been one of no ordinary activity and importance in the history of Scotland; and while in their structural features they afford unequivocal evidence of the constructive skill and energy of their builders, the extraordinary number of their ruined sites in districts

¹ See the Appendix to this paper, in which a list of upwards of 300 brochs is given.

² Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 210.

³ Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 440, and vol. v. p. 321.

⁴ Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 37.

⁵ Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 259.

⁶ Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 41.

where these are yet undisturbed by cultivation, testifies as unequivocally to the fact of their having been the work of a large and settled population.

That they were the work of the people of the soil, and not of an invading race striving to establish themselves in an enemy's country, seems also to be clearly deducible from a consideration of the character of the structures themselves. "The castle," says Dr John Hill Burton, "belongs to the feudal period alone. It is not a work of refuge, but of aggression, and was reared, not by the people of the country for protection against invaders, but by strangers who came among them, and held rule over them." Now, the very opposite is the case with the brochs. They are eminently and peculiarly structures of defence and not of aggression. The castle holds a threat in every loophole of its embattled walls, but the broch is the architectural embodiment of passive resistance. Its leading idea is simply that of a perfectly secure place of refuge for men and cattle. This idea seems to me to be the explanation of the remarkable uniformity of style and plan which they exhibit, though ranging over such a wide area of country. Such uniformity could only have resulted from the deliberate adoption of a peculiar type of structure, because of its peculiar suitability to the purposes for which it was required; and the universal adoption of such a completely effective system of purely defensive structures, implies that it must have been the product of peculiar circumstances in the history of the people.

Irish Round Towers.—We have a remarkable instance of this in the origination by the ecclesiastical communities of Ireland, of an equally peculiar type of architectural structure, also marking a period of general insecurity.¹

Like the brochs of Scotland, these Irish "Cloitheachs" stand alone, being neither developed from any species of structure that preceded them, nor passing by any transition into the later architecture of the country, while the striking uniformity of plan and construction is a feature quite as remarkable in them as it is in the brochs. The Irish towers being built with lime-cement, the builders were able to use a thinner and loftier wall, and in other respects they show an advance upon the ruder architecture characteristic of the Scottish brochs. But while a similarity of purpose is plainly discernible

¹ See the able and exhaustive elucidation of "The Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," by Dr Petrie, which shows conclusively that these singular structures were the product of the peculiar circumstances of the times.—(Trans. Roy. Irish Academy, vol. xx.).

in both, the dissimilarity of the structures seems more a question of materials than of date.¹ The broch being constructed of stones uncemented, required a thicker wall and a larger area to give it the requisite strength and solidity.

Uncemented Building.—Although it seems at first sight a perfectly natural classification to place uncemented structures before those that are lime-built in the order of time, it is obvious that this will only hold good for the style of building, and not for the structures. The Romans used lime-mortar in their buildings; and though it may have been used earlier in the south of Scotland, in a few instances, for ecclesiastical buildings, it seems conclusively established from the facts mentioned by Bede, that the mode of building with lime was either not known or not practised among the northern Picts in the eighth century.

The Brochs unknown to the Romans, and later than the Roman Period.—Again, the fact that the brochs appear to have been entirely unknown to the Romans, may be taken as *prima facie* evidence of their being later than the Roman occupation of Scotland. It may be said that the Romans never occupied the districts where brochs are most abundant; but Coldoch and Torwood are close to the wall of Antoninus, and Edin's Hall is a long way south of it. The Romans, moreover, were so well informed on most subjects which it behoved them to know as invaders seeking to subdue the land, that we cannot conceive them to have been ignorant of this remarkable style of defensive structure, had it been then in existence. The "Cathairs" or "Caers,"²

¹ Of the Round towers of the Irish type in Scotland, that at Brechin (as we know from the curious notice in Boethius, first pointed out by Sir J. Y. Simpson—Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 526, note) was standing about A.D. 1012; and the Abernethy tower is referred by Dr Petrie to the eighth century, when, as we learn from Bede, Nectan, king of the Picts, sent messengers to Abbot Coelfrid of Jarrow, requesting that architects should be sent him,—“Qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent.” If Egilshay in Orkney be admitted to be of Irish origin, it may probably be of not much later date, as it seems from the name that there was a church on the island when the Norsemen came to Orkney in the ninth century. Munch adopts this view, on the ground that the name Egilshay [Eglais-ey or Kirk-island], is not from the Norse proper name Egill, but from the Latin *Ecclesia*, corrupted in Irish into *Eccles* or *Eglais*; and he further adds, that the tower exactly agrees with similar ones in Ireland of the eighth century.

² It is greatly to be desired that some one would do for the Scottish caers and early hill-forts, what Sir Henry Dryden is doing, with such laudable perseverance, for the brochs. Few, if any, of these hill-forts have been either properly examined or accurately planned, so as to show

which were simple ramparts of great stones drawn round the brow of an eminence, were well known, and are described by Cæsar and Tacitus. But the only Roman testimony we have regarding such structures as the brochs, is the negative statement of Dio, who, speaking of the Meatae and the Caledonians beyond the wall, says, "Each of them inhabit mountains very rugged, and wanting water, and also desert fields full of marshes; *they have neither castles nor cities, nor dwell in any.*"

It may be remarked also, that the character of the broch structure itself must refer them to a later period. They are not defences against the assaults of a regular army, but simple refuges from the attacks of predatory bands. They are most numerous in those parts of the country to which the Romans never penetrated; and if they were ever numerous in the districts of the Roman occupation, they are plainly not constructed to resist the attacks of such a military power as that of the Romans. It may indeed be open to question whether any of those "prehistoric" refuges—underground or above-ground structures—are earlier than the date of the Roman occupation of Britain. Samian ware has been found in the "cave-dwellings" of England and in the yird-houses or weems of Scotland,¹ proving their occupation during or after the Romano-British period. It would be an inversion of the ordinary method of archaeological induction to place the broch structure before these underground shelters in the order of time and progress.

The Brochs as known to the Norsemen.—Having thus obtained the close of the Roman occupation of Britain, or about the commencement of the fifth century, as an approximate limit beyond which we cannot push the antiquity of the brochs, we have now to look for a limit on the other side, beyond which the period of the brochs cannot possibly have extended.

the details of their structure. Judging by the analogy of the Irish Cathairs and Cashels, some of which show certain features of resemblance to the broch structures, *e.g.* the hollow passage or gallery in the circular wall, it is by an examination of these structures that the "missing links" in the development of the broch structure are most likely to be obtained (see Mr G. V. Du Noyer's paper on the Cloghauns and Forts of Kerry, in the "Arch. Journal," vol. xv. p. 10).

¹ One of these underground structures at Newstead, Roxburghshire, had its walls built of hewn stone, and the shoulder of the flat arch of the roof of bevelled stones. Roman mouldings appeared on some of the stones found near the entrance. (Proceedings, vol. i. p. 213).

If there is one thing more strikingly brought out than another by the recent investigations among the ruined brochs, it is the fact that there was an earlier and a later period of their occupation. They were frequented and occupied long after their original purpose had been rendered inoperative by decay. Outer walls of defence of hasty construction, and extensive ranges of outbuildings, were added to the original structure, and frequently so added as to show that they were not only built out of, but built upon, the ruins of the central tower. The interior area was adapted for this later occupation by the erection of a wall, usually about 8 feet in height, round the inside wall of the broch, and partition walls, evidently intended to support a roof at that height, were rudely run across the area. Sometimes these partition walls are found to have several feet of the *debris* of the older structure, and of the food remains of the older occupancy, intervening between their foundations and the original floor. It was in this condition of half-ruined and wholly ruined structures that the Norsemen found them in their descents on the northern coasts in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries; and probably, in many cases, they may have thus occupied and utilised them. That they did find some of them capable of being thus utilised we know for certainty, from the Saga records; and that others were in the condition of total ruin we are led to infer from the fact, that they were indistinguishable from the cairns or barrows of the neighbourhood, and were used by the Norsemen as "hows" for the interment of their dead.¹ Bronze brooches of the "tortoise" form, and iron swords, both of unquestionably Scandinavian type, have been found deposited with such interments in the mounds of ruined brochs.

But there are other indications which point to the fact of a considerable number of the brochs having been still in a condition to be utilised for other purposes than as cairns for the burial of the dead during the period of the

¹ Many mounds, now known by excavation to have been originally brochs, have been thus used, and in consequence, are known to this day as hows, from *haugr*, a barrow or cairn. The How of Hoxa is the reputed burying-place of Earl Thorfinn Hausakliffer, who died about A.D. 960, and may have been "hoylaid" not in a cairn specially constructed for him, but in the cairn which existed ready made from the ruins of the broch. In 1786 a broch in the parish of Odrig was cleared away, and in the upper part of the mound there was found an interment, with two tortoise brooches, one of which (presented by Mr Traill) is now in the Museum. These brooches are distinctively Scandinavian.

Norse ascendancy in the north of Scotland. There are two sites in Caithness, known by the names of Hall of Bowermadden and Old Hall of Dun. The former is known by excavation¹ to have been a broch. The latter, from its name, was presumably so. "Hall" was the old term for the seat of residence of an earl,² and was used in this sense both by the Norsemen and Saxons. *Búr* in Old Norse signifies a storehouse, and was applied to the "meat-hall" of an earl or rich odaller, where open table was kept for his followers and friends. The local pronunciation of "Bower" in Bowermadden to this day is *boor*, and it is spelled "Bouer" in Bishop Gilbert's deed of constitution of the cathedral chapter of Caithness, A.D. 1243-45. When Earl Moddan³ disputed the earldom with Thorfinn Sigurdson, about A.D. 1028, we are told that Thorfinn had his residence at *Dungalsbae*;⁴ and though Moddan's residence is not mentioned, yet the name still attached to this old broch suggests that he may have occupied it, and perhaps adapted and refitted it as his *Búr* or "Hall" of residence.⁵ No remains of the many "seats" of earls and vikings, alluded to in the Sagas (specifically distinct from native structures) are now recognisable, and this makes it the more probable that they may have utilised the half-ruined native strongholds of the country.

Again, wherever we find the Celtic term "dun" attached to a defensive position, we conclude that it marks its occupation and use as a Celtic fortress. On the same principle, the Norse term "borg" attached to one of these ruined Towers records the fact that it was a fortress, and was known as

¹ See *ante*, p. 143.

² Munch en Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845-9, p. 245.

³ There was a later Moddan, who lived in the Dales of Caithness early in the twelfth century, and is said in the "Ork. Saga" to have been the most considerable man of his day.

⁴ Orkneyinga Saga, p. 30.

⁵ The *búr* or "hall" or earl's seat at Örfyara (Orphir) in Orkney, is referred to in the "Orkneyinga Saga" (p. 144) as Earl Harald's residence, and as Earl Paul's residence (p. 186). It is described as having a large "drink hall," in which as you entered on the left hand were large ale-vats of stone, which may have been similar to the large stone vessels (one of which was 3 feet deep) dug up at Bowermadden (see *antea*, p. 144). Swain Asleif's *búr* in Garecksey (Gairsay) in Orkney had a drink-hall so large that there was none like it in the islands, and in which he maintained eighty followers ("Ork. Saga," p. 396). He had also a *búr* at Thraswick (Freswick) in Caithness, which seems from the context to have been the same as the stronghold or "borg" elsewhere called by the Saga "Lambaborg," now Bucholly Castle.

such to the people who called all fortresses "borgs." And, still on the same principle, a fortress called by such a name as Dun Skudborg¹ (in Skye) seems to me to bear record to the fact that it was known both as a "dun" and as a "borg;" that is, that it was known as a fortress both by a Celtic and a Norse-speaking people. Such a name could not have been given to a Celtic dun previous to the Norse invasion of the Hebrides. It is to be regarded, therefore, as an indication that this broch was still used as a fortress at some period within the eighth, or at latest, the tenth century.

Looking at the fact, that the Norse term borg² is so thickly scattered over the area occupied by the Northmen, we cannot resist the conclusion that it must have been intelligently applied, and must mean that the structures so named were fortresses at the period when this name was given to them—a period which could not have been much earlier than the last quarter of the ninth century.

It seems probable that the brochs of Yarhús, Warhús, and possibly Burnthús (*Norse*, Brenthús) in Caithness may owe the names by which they are still known to the Norsemen. If so, they tell us that the structures were still in a condition to be occupied when the Norsemen came to Caithness. I have sometimes wondered whether the curious name of Kettleburn³ by which the broch near Wick is known, might not be an indication of its occupation by that Ketilbiorn,⁴ who was one of the earliest Norse colonists, and a branch of whose family, through the marriage of his great-granddaughter Groa with Dungal, Jarl of Dungalshæ, in Caithness, became naturalised in the north of Scotland. The Raudabiorg⁵ of the "Orkneyinga Saga," where the fierce sea-fight took place in the Pentland Firth between the Jarls Ronald and Thorfin, can scarcely be anything but the place now called Brough of Rattar, on the estate of Rattar, in Caithness. It lies on the shore of the Pentland Firth, on the east side of Dunnet Head. Raudabiorg would mean Red Rock or Red Borg; and it is confirmatory of this identification that not only is the modern name

¹ Skidh-borg (?) from Skidh, the Norse name for Skye.

² It appears as Borg, Borgie, Borgar, Borve, Borwe, Barrock, Bharrich, Varrich, and as a compound in Borreray, Bhoreraig, and Burray, Borrowston, Burwick, Burland, Burraland, Burrafirth, and Burgowater.

³ Explored by the late Mr A. H. Rhind, see Proceedings, vol. i. p. 264.

⁴ See Landnama Bók, pp. 5, 241; Kristni Saga, p. 192. ⁵ Ork. Saga, pp. 65, 91.

“Rattar Brough” a very likely corruption of Raudabiorg, but this is the only locality in Caithness where the red-coloured beds of the Old Red Sandstone do occur. In this notice of Raudabiorg we have possibly an indication that the broch was then standing, and a well-known seamark to the Norsemen frequenting the Pentland Firth.¹

In the brief notice given in the same Saga² of the death of Thorbiorn, a distinguished viking, who was killed by Hacon Palson and Magnus the Holy, at Borgarfjord in Shetland, it is not said that he occupied the borg there; but as he was a viking of eminence, it is to be presumed that the reason of his connection with Borgarfjord was its affording him and his followers a shelter and defensive position in the broch. That the broch was known to the Norsemen is plain from their naming the firth on which it stands “Borgar-fiord,”³ or the Fiord of the Borg.

Burray, in Orkney, a small island on which there is more than one broch, was named Borgar-ey by the Norsemen—the Island of the Borg. “Borgar-ey,” says Professor Munch, “is from Borg; there must, therefore, have formerly existed some kind of burgh or fortress on this island.”⁴ It seems thus probable that one or more of the Burray brochs must have been standing and known as a borg or fortress within the ninth or tenth centuries. It is right to add, however, that such conclusions cannot be drawn with absolute certainty, and that they derive their force only from their forming one of several sets of indications all pointing to the same general inference.⁵

¹ See the notice of the finding of eight silver armlets in cists near this broch by Mr Campbell, in the Proceedings, vol. ix.

² Ork. Saga, p. 122.

³ Borgarfjord or Borgarfirth, in Hialtland, is mentioned in a document in the Old Norse language, dated A.D. 1299, a copy of which is given in the “Diplomatarium Norvegicum,” vol. i. p. 81, being a record drawn up in the Lagthing concerning certain charges of malversation of the land-rents of Brekasettr made against Herr Thorvald Thoreson by a woman named Ragnhild Simonsdatter, who declares him to be “a Judas.” A Harald of Borgarfjord also witnesses a document in 1498.

⁴ *Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1845–9, p. 227.

⁵ Borgar was also a man's name, and there was a Borgarfjord in Iceland, where there are no brochs. Sigurd, keeper of King Swerre's borg, or castle, at Bergen, was nicknamed Borgarklett, in allusion to his strength and stature. Borgar as a man's name occurs in the “Orkneyinga Saga,” p. 222. It is curious to find it occurring as a surname in the latest known Hialtland document written in Norse, dated 1586, where “Jamis Burgar, sergenn y Jella” (serjeant in Yell), is mentioned.

But we know for certainty, from the Saga notices of Mousa (the best known and best preserved of the Shetland borgs), that for a period of two hundred years at least, from the commencement of the tenth century, it stood unoccupied and open to receive the chance sea-rover whose necessities compelled him to seek shelter and security within its walls. The earliest notice of the broch of Mousa refers to about the year A.D. 900,¹ when Björn Brynulfson, who fled to Shetland from Norway with Thora Roaldsdatter, because her father would not consent to their marriage, was shipwrecked there, and found shelter in the borg, where he lived through the winter and celebrated his marriage, having landed the cargo and laid up the vessel for repairs. Again, about the year 1156,² the Jarl Erlend Yunga, having become enamoured of the mother of Jarl Harold, carried her off from Orkney to Shetland. There they took possession of Moseyaborg, and were besieged in the borg by Harold, who sat down before it and cut off all their supplies, as the place could not otherwise be taken. After some time, however, the two earls came to a mutual understanding, and the siege was abandoned. These notices of Mousa, so precise and circumstantial that they do not admit of doubt or dispute, go to strengthen the probability derived from the incidental notices of other "borgs" in the north and west of Scotland,—and derived also from their sites still retaining the names given to them by the Norsemen,—that they may have existed at the same period in a condition to be known as fortresses, and possibly to have been used as Mousa was, though we have no direct statement to that effect.

Narrating the outrage perpetrated upon Bishop John of Caithness by the Jarl Harold Maddadson, the "Saga"³ places the scene of the event within the borg at Skarabolstad, now Scrabster, near Thurso, in Caithness. It is stated that the bishop was in the borg, and Harold's men rushed from their ships up to the borg, and the men that were in it immediately surrendered it. From the letter of Pope Innocent, appointing the penance to be performed by the "Lomberd, a layman," who (as he says) was compelled by the earl's soldiery to cut out the bishop's tongue, the additional particulars are to be gathered, that when they took the "borg" they killed almost all that were

¹ Egills Saga, c. 32, 33. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1850-60, p. 127.

² Orkneyinga Saga, p. 342.

³ Orkneyinga Saga, p. 415.

in it. The date assigned to this event is about A.D. 1200.¹ Unless there may have been an earlier building on the site of the bishop's castle, which stands on the cliff overlooking Scrabster Roads, the scene of Bishop John's mutilation may probably have been a broch. There is a mound, presumably the ruins of a broch, not far from the present hamlet of Scrabster.

But the use of the word "borg" in the Sagas, though commonly applied to a fortress or stronghold, does not necessarily imply the species of structure which we call a broch.² The frequent occurrence of the word in these records as a generic term for a fortified place, seems to have misled M'Culloch into the belief that the Scottish brochs were of Norwegian origin. In support of this idea, he appeals to "what may be considered a perfect and incontrovertible proof of their real origin, that they are still found in Norway;"³ instancing, in support of this assertion, the ruined strongholds called Sualsburgh, near Drontheim, and Ymsburgh, in Westrogothia. Both these are figured in Dahlberg's "Suecia Antiqua," and are merely circular towers like the keeps of our own early mediæval castles. Worsaae, whose authority no one can doubt, states expressly that there is nothing like the broch structure in Scandinavia. There is a notice in the "Chronicon Manniæ," under the date 1098, of Norse fortresses in the Isle of Man, which represents them as being made of wood, and states that King Magnus impressed the Galwegians to cut wood and carry timber for their construction. Munch adds, in a note to this passage, that what is here stated is likely to be true,—firstly, because these fortresses still bore King Magnus's name when this part of the chronicle was written—viz., about A.D. 1260; and secondly, because King Magnus erected similar forts at other places which he conquered, for instance, at Kvaldensey, in the Lake of Wener, in Sweden, in 1100. There is no

¹ Bishop John witnesses several charters between 1187 and 1199. See "Two Ancient Records of Caithness," Bannatyne Club Miscellany.

² Of the use of the word "borg" in the sense of a simple defence, not of a structural kind, we have a curious example in the narrative of the death of Brian Boruimhe, at the battle of Clontarf, as given in the "Njal Saga." It is there stated that "the champions formed a shield-burg round the king"—i.e., a ring of men holding their shields locked together round its circumference. The same expression is used in the Saga of Örvar Odd, who is represented as breaking through the "skjald-borg" to slay King Wilhelm.

³ The Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, in Letters to Sir Walter Scott, Bart. By John M'Culloch, M.D. Vol. ii. p. 245.

evidence that the Norwegians ever made fortresses like the brochs either in Norway or in Britain.

It very often happens that where we should most naturally look for a special reference to this class of structure in the Sagas, we find that the word used is not "borg," but "kastala," a castle.¹ But in the narrative of the invasion of Bute by King Olave the Swarthy, the words are used interchangeably, although the description of the mode in which the "borg" was assaulted, and the reference to the "soft stone-work" coming tumbling down, might lead to the supposition that it was an uncemented structure.²

That there were brochs in Bute, I think is probable, judging from the

¹ "Afterwards they sailed into Scotland under Dyrness (Durness, in Sutherland); then went they up and burnt a castle, but the men had fled."—*Haco's Expedition, Johnstone's Edition.*

² "And the Scots lay there (in Bute) in a castle (*i kastalu einum*), and a Steward of Scotland commanded over them. The Northmen sat down before the fortress (*Nordmenn lögdo til Borgarinnar*) and gave a hard assault. But the Scots fought well, and threw down upon them boiling pitch and lead. Many of the Northmen fell, and many were wounded. They therefore prepared over themselves a covering of boards, and hewed at the walls, for the stone was soft, and came tumbling down after them. They cast it down to the ground. Three days did they fight with the borg-folk before they won it."—*Johnstone's Translation.* But perhaps the most curious and interesting notice that has been left to us by the Norsemen of the storming of a "borg" is one which occurs on a pillar stone in the district of East Rekarne, on the brow of the Kula Mountain in Sweden. This stone bears a Runic inscription, forming two long serpentine bands with a cross in the middle—an indication of a date subsequent to the introduction of Christianity. The inscription is as follows:—

Alrek reisti steinn	Alrek raised this stone,
son Sigridar	the son of Sigurd,
at sinn föður Spjöt,	to his father Spiot,
sa er vesterla	who in the western parts
um varit hafði	had in the spring-time
borg um brotna	broken a borg
ok um barða,	and beaten eke,—
(for) hann (ok) garsar	he and all his lads
með Gauti allir.	went forth with Gaut.

The expression, "in the western parts," is commonly used for Britain and Scotland, and it is suggestive that Gaut is one of the names that occur in the Runic inscriptions in Maeshow:—

"Molf Kolbainsson carved these Runes to Gaut."

remains of a structure popularly called the Devil's Caldron, near St Blane's Church, in the south end of the island. It is described by Wilson¹ as a remarkable building of unknown usage, consisting of a circular wall, 9 feet thick and 30 feet in diameter, the interior being filled with rubbish, and the height of the walls still standing about 10 feet. The masonry is rude, many of the individual stones are of immense size, and the general style of workmanship indicates even a more ancient origin than that of the adjoining buildings, which are referred to the close of the tenth century.

The Earliest Lime-Built Castles.—The earliest lime-built castles of the north and west of Scotland are usually small, square, and almost windowless keeps. They are most frequently erected on the landward end of a precipitous rock, jutting out into the sea, with a number of rude hut-like erections clustered between it and the sea on the space thus protected. The castles of Old Wick² and Bucholly on the Caithness coast, and of Borge and Barroch³ in the north coast of Sutherland, are typical examples of this class of stronghold. Borge Castle is traditionally connected with a Norse occupant or founder, named Thorkel; and Barroch Castle, perhaps the most typical specimen of the kind on that coast, is only about 12 feet square inside. Both these names are evidently corrupted from the Norse term "borg." Bucholly Castle, near Freswick, in Caithness, which is identified by Pope and Pennant as the Lambaborg⁴ of the "Orkneyinga Saga," has a mediæval restoration of the upper part of the square keep-like tower, but the covered passage leading from it to the clustered buildings behind is roofed with the flat arch formed by the overlapping of the stones so characteristic of the earlier brochs.

The "Orkneyinga Saga"⁵ and the Saga of Hakon Hakonson⁶ both notice the erection on the island of Vigr (now Weir in the Orkneys) of a castle by Kolbein Ruga in the twelfth century. In the last-mentioned Saga it is related that Snaekoll Gunnason, after having killed the Jarl Jon Haraldson, repaired for safety to Kolbein Ruga's castle in Vigr, and that it resisted all

¹ Voyage Round Scotland. By James Wilson. P. 18.

² See an engraving of this castle in Mr Joass's paper, *antea*.

³ Probably the Beruvik of the Ork. Saga, p. 30, 348.

⁴ Swein Asloif's Búr, where he kept sixty men, and in which he was besieged by Earl Ronald. "Ork. Saga," pp. 248, 250.

⁵ Ork. Saga, p. 258.

⁶ Saga Hakon Hakonsonar, cap. 171.

the efforts of the earl's friends to reduce it. In Barry's time the ruins of this castle showed it to have been a small square keep, 15 feet square inside, with walls of well-cemented stone, 7 feet thick. Mr Petrie informs me that a corner of it was lately exposed by the removal of part of the mound in which, like the brochs, it is now hid. The site, however, bears the name of Cobbie Row's (Kolbein Ruga's) Castle to this day.

With the earliest of these small square, almost windowless, but lime-built keeps which stud the shores of the north and west of Scotland, we have the commencement of a well-marked architectural period, differing entirely in almost all its characteristics from the period of the brochs, which appears to have immediately preceded it. But, as I have already remarked, there is no transition easily perceivable by which the gap between the two styles or periods can be bridged over. It is true that there are a few slight indications, such as the clustering of a series of huts behind the keep, which was also a feature of the brochs in some cases,¹ the use of the flat arch in Bucholly, the character of the masonry in Oldwick, which resembles that of the brochs in a manner sufficiently striking to the eye, but very difficult to be described without the aid of exact pictorial representations, the frequent use of long passages or galleries in the thickness of the walls, the want of windows looking to the outer world, and other minor features, which seem something like the missing links. But the introduction of lime-cemented buildings must have all at once changed the character of the fortalices. There was no longer any necessity for the enormous thickness of wall, and the change from the circular to the rectangular form may have been partially due to the desire to economise more expensive work and materials, if it do not also indicate a no less marked change in the constitution of society and the conditions of life.

The Tower of Coningsburgh.—Turning now from the extreme north of Scotland, we find in Coningsburgh, in Yorkshire, what has been called a very remarkable instance of a Saxon burgh, giving also some slight indications of correspondence with the earlier Pictish structures, if not of Pictish influence, in its architectural style. In a note to the 18th chapter of "Ivanhoe," Sir Walter Scott states, that when he last saw the castle of Coningsburgh—

¹ See Lowe's description of the broch in Fetlar, of Burreland in Walls and Sandness, and of Burland in Dunrossness, given in the Appendix to this paper.

one of the very few remaining examples of Saxon fortification—he was strongly impressed with the desire of tracing out a theory regarding it as a step in advance from the rude architecture of the northern brochs or duns. After describing with great vividness and accuracy the chief constructive features of the Shetland brochs, he adds:—

“The builders of Coningsburgh had attained the art of using cement, and of roofing a building—great improvements on the original burgh. But in the round keep, the chambers constructed in the thickness of the walls, and the difficulty by which access is gained from one storey to those above it, Coningsburgh still retains the simplicity of its origin, and shows by what slow degrees man proceeded from occupying such rude and inconvenient lodgings as were afforded by the galleries of the castle of Mousa, to the more splendid accommodation of the Norman castles, with all their stern and Gothic graces.”

Mr King has also pointed out the apparent resemblance which the tower of Coningsburgh bears to an ancient Pictish broch,¹ “appearing,” he says, “to be only the first improvement on such a kind of building by architects a little more civilised.”

The tower of Coningsburgh² is constructed of a circular wall, 15 feet thick and 60 feet high, enclosing an area 23 feet in diameter—not a great departure from the ordinary dimensions of a broch. The stair is in the thickness of the wall, and winds spirally round the whole building. The area of the floors is not subdivided, and the use of the flat arch, and the absence of external openings in the walls (except the doorway and one small aperture near the top) complete the points of resemblance. On the other hand, it is lime-built and buttressed, the buttresses rising the whole height of the walls. If divested of the buttresses, however, the ground plans of its several floors (given by Mr King) might readily be mistaken for the ground plans of brochs. With regard to the indications of Pictish character in the building, he suggests that about the period to which he ascribes its erection (*viz.*, the first ages of the Heptarchy), the Saxons had made a league with the Picts, who were their confederates, when they seized that part of the country.

¹ See his “*Munimenta Antiqua*,” vol. iii. pp. 43–50, and also “*Observations on Ancient Castles*,” in the *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 231.

² There can be little doubt that there must have been a stronghold on “*Caer Conan*” (the early name of Coningsburgh) long before the erection of this lime-built castle. The “*Duan Albanach*” speaks of “the building of the tower of Coning” as a well-known event of national importance.

Edin's Hall, a Broch surrounded by a Saxon Burgh.—But perhaps the most remarkable of the true brochs, whether for size or situation, is that known as Edin's Hall,¹ or Etin's Hold, on Cockburn Law, near Dunse, in Berwickshire. The name by which this great broch is still known is suggestive, as indicating not improbably its occupation in the seventh century by Edwin, king of Northumbria. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Edwin, son of Aelle, was slain in A.D. 633. Under the date 631, the following entry occurs in the Annals of Tighearnac :—

Cath itir Etuin MacAilli regis Saxonum qui totam Britanniam regnavit, in quo victus est a Chon Regi Britonum et Panta Saxano.

In the Annals of Ulster, under the date 638, we have the entry :—

Bellum Glinnemuresson et obsessio Etui.

In the Annals of Tighearnac, under the same date, it is :—

Cath Glinne Mairison et obsessio Etain.²

These notices seem to refer to the same place, named from the "Etuin MacAilli" of the first extract, and may be assumed to be at least as applicable to Edin's Hall as to Carriden. But, if the historical notices are insufficient to establish the identity of Edin's Hall with the "Etain" of the Annals, there is sufficient evidence in the composite character of the fortification itself to warrant us in concluding, that while Edin's Hall is a "Pictish Tower," it has been occupied by Saxons, and surrounded by Saxon outworks. To bring out this point some little detail is necessary.

The main building of Edin's Hall is a broch of the usual construction, though somewhat larger than common. It has the two "guard-chambers" on either side of the doorway, three oblong chambers in the thickness of the wall, and a staircase of the usual broch type. The chambers have been roofed in the manner invariably found in other brochs.

But besides the broch proper, a number of other circular structures are scattered over the platform, on the summit of the shoulder of the hill on

¹ For a description of this broch, see Dr Stuart's paper in the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 41.

² In the *Chronica Pictorum*, there is the following statement as to the final abandonment of a stronghold known by this name :—

"In hujus temporis (Indulfi, 954-962), oppidum Eden vacatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem."

which it stands. The whole platform is enclosed by a series of defensive ramparts, consisting of a wall of stone, and a double circumvallation of earthen mounds, with a ditch between,—that is to say, the earlier broch has been enclosed for greater security, at a subsequent period, by a Saxon “burgh.” This is exactly what we should expect to find if it had been occupied by King Edwin. Fortunately, we are able to compare the outbuildings round Edin’s Hall with one of the known “country seats” of King Edwin; but before doing so, it is necessary to examine what was the specific character of the structures which the Saxons called “Burghs.”

Character of the Saxon Burghs.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is full of notices of these fortified places, of the period ranging from the time of the first establishment of the Saxon power in England downwards. Thus, under the date 913, we find:—

In this year also, God granting, Aethelflaed, Lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and built the burgh there in the early summer, and before the following Lammas that at Stamford; then, in the year after this, that at Eddesbury, and in the same year that at Warwick; next year that at Chirbury, and that at Wardbury; and that same year, before mid-winter, that at Runcorn,” &c.

But it is plain from other notices of these burghs that they were not brochs. In the year 921, when the burgh at Colchester was beset, it is told how the besieging army reduced it, and slew all the people, and took all that was therein, *except the men that fled away over the wall*. In the same year, it is recorded that King Edward went to Passenham, and sat there while they surrounded the burgh of Towcester with a stone wall. In 963, it is related of the Abbot Kenulf of Peterborough, that “he first made the walls about the monastery, then gave it for name ‘Burch’ (burgh), that was before called Medeshamstede.” Bede also mentions that a holy man, named Fursius, came out of Ireland, when Sigbercht was king of the East Angles, and built a monastery on ground which was given him by King Sigbercht. This monastery, he adds, was built *within the area of a burgh* or castle, which in the English language is called Cnobheresburg. From these notices, it appears that the Saxon “Burgh” was simply a stone wall or breastwork of no great height (over which men could flee), enclosing the strong position of a town, a monastery, or a hamlet. This is exactly what we find in the case of the known “country seat” or “burgh” of King Edwin, which we shall now compare with the structures surrounding Edin’s Hall.

King Edwin's Burgh at Ad-gefrin.—Bede, in his 14th chapter, relates that Paulinus, coming with King Edwin and his Queen Ethelburga to the royal country-seat called Ad-gefrin or Ad-gebrin, stayed there with them thirty-six days, catechising the people, who flocked to him from all the villages round about, and baptising them in the river Glen, which is close by. The locality is readily identified as Yeverin in Glendale, a valley in Northumberland, so called from the river Glen, which runs through it. In an old document respecting the vicar of Newton, in Glendale, it is called "Gevera;" and in escheats made in the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VI., it appears as Yevern. The modern name is Yevering Bell.

A series of excavations were made on this interesting site; and the results have been detailed by Mr Tate in the Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalist's Club for 1862-63. The principal remains of King Edwin's "country-seat" or "burgh" at Ad-gefrin, consist of a rude stone wall of blocks of porphyry, uncemented, which had been originally about 12 feet broad, and 7 or 8 feet high, enclosing an area, of an irregularly oval form, on the summit of the hill. The circumference of this enclosing wall is about 1000 yards, and the space enclosed nearly 12 acres. It has four entrances, the largest of which is 12 feet wide, and is flanked by an oval guard-chamber in the thickness of the wall, measuring 9 feet by 6. On the highest part of the enclosed space are the remains of a circular construction, of no great height, and over 50 feet in diameter, surrounded by a ditch. This was doubtless the place in which the king held his court—his hall of state. Hut circles, varying from 18 to 30 feet in diameter, are scattered over the area of the large enclosure. The enclosing wall of the "Burgh," of 7 or 8 feet in height, answers exactly to the description of the burgh at Colchester, over the wall of which the men fled away; and the general character and *tout ensemble* of the royal seat at Ad-gefrin bears such resemblance to the out-buildings of Edin's Hall, that we have grounds for believing that they may also have been Saxon, and of King Edwin's time; in short, that it is a Pictish "broch," surrounded and strengthened by a Saxon "burgh." The relics found at Ad-gefrin, consisting of querns, deer-horns, rude pottery, flints, armlets of oak (? lignite), and glass, the bronze pin of a fibula, and an iron spear-head, form just such a collection as might have come out of a broch.

It may be objected that Edin's Hall lies too far out of the limits usually assigned to the Pictish territory to have been a Pictish stronghold. But

the nature of the structure, its being a broch, pure and simple, conclusively establishes its relationship to the northern structures; and in fact, from the time of the departure of the Romans (say about A.D. 430) till the arrival of the Saxons, the Picts appear to have held possession of the territory south of the Forth, and would, doubtless, have their strongholds in it. Even throughout the period of the Anglie ascendancy, the population of this portion of the country continued to be largely Pictish.¹

Thus we find the Picts in possession (though by no means in undisputed possession) of the whole area over which the brochs are found during the period which we have assumed as limiting the age to which these structures can be referred. From their first appearance in the Annals they were in possession of the Orkneys. Between the years A.D. 442 and 476 they had possession of the whole territory from Caithness to the Forth, and that after the departure of the Romans they occupied the territory south of the wall of Antoninus there seems to be no reasonable doubt.

The Origin of the Brochs.—But whatever may have been the necessity for the erection of such defensive structures, arising from the prevalence of internecine war among the numerous petty tribes of the native population, the peculiar circumstances which necessitated a universal system of defensive structures were in operation for nearly three centuries before the time when we first come upon certain traces of the existence of the brochs in the Norwegian records. In the sixth century the Picts began to be continually harassed by the incursions of foreign predatory bands. Previous to this, indeed, if we are to believe the story of Octha and Ebissa, with their forty keels,² the Orkney Islands, and a large portion of the eastern seaboard, had been subjected to the same ravages so early as the middle of the fifth century. In the sixth century came the incursions of the Dalriad Scots from the west, and these, followed, as they were, by the piratical descents of

¹ A.D. 681. In this year Trumbryht was hallowed Bishop of Hexham and Trumwine of the Picts, *because at that time they belonged here.*—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

The statement of Bede, that in his day the Firth of Forth divided the Regnum Anglorum from the Regnum Pictorum, does not exclude the possibility of districts embraced within the Regnum Anglorum having had a Pictish population, any more than it does districts having a British population which we know existed within the limits of the Anglie kingdom.—*Skene's Preface to the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.*

² See the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, p. 89.

the Northmen on the northern and Hebridean coasts, and by the invasions of the Saxons from the south, must have produced a condition of general insecurity, which could only be provided against by the adoption of some species of defensive structure like that of the brochs. And it is precisely in those portions of the country which were longest and most incessantly exposed to this species of devastation that we find the brochs to have been most abundant.

We do not know how long before the days of Harald Haarfager the Norse vikings began to come over to the western parts to harry, slay, and lay waste. The earliest notice of their expeditions to the Irish seas is in A.D. 758. But there is evidence, I think, of a Dalriad irruption over the north of Scotland of sufficient magnitude and importance to suggest that possibly they may have been an earlier exciting cause of the development of this species of defensive architecture.

In A.D. 580 the Annals of Ulster record an expedition to Orkney by Aedan, son of Gabran, seventh king of the Dalriad Scots. We know, from the notice in Adamnan's Life of St Columba, that when he was at the residence of Bruide Mac Meilcon, king of the Northern Picts, on the river Ness, about A.D. 565, the Orkneys were under Pictish rule. We are not told what was the result of the Dalriad expedition in 580; but the next mention we have of the Orkneys is the record of their "devastation" in A.D. 682 by Bruide Mac Bile, the king of the Northern Picts. This may or may not mean that they were overrun by the Dalriads from the time of Aedan's expedition in A.D. 580 till Bruide reconquered them in A.D. 682. But we have a suggestive entry in the Annals of Tighearnach, under the date A.D. 629, as follows:—

"Cath Fedhaeoin in quo Maelcaith Mac Scandail Rex Cruithniu victor erat. Dalriada cecidit. Condadh Cerr Rex Dalriada cecidit, et Dicuil Mac Eachach Rex Ceneoil Cruithne cecidit, et nepotes Aedan ceciderunt, id est Rigullan Mac Conaing, et Failbe Mac Eachach, et Oisirie Mac Albruit Righ domna Saxon cum strage maxima suorum."

In the Annals of Ulster the name of the place is spelt *Fedhaeuin*. Its locality has not been identified. The most remarkable group of cairns and cists in Caithness occurs round a large cathair or fortified hill-top, enclosed by a wall of stones, which is known to this day as Garry Feuin or Garry Whoine—suggestive, at least, of a corruption from Garadh Fedhaeuin. Should this be so, the large chambered cairn close by, which is called Kenny's

Cairn, might be the tomb of that Condadh (or Kenneth) Cerr, king of Dalriada, who fell in the battle, and the Carn Righ, not far off, might be that of the Pictish king (Rex Ceneoil Cruithne), who also fell there. This, of course, is mere conjecture; but if we suppose an irruption of Dalriads thus early into these northern districts, many things become clear and explicable, which otherwise are difficult of explanation. For instance, why we should have here and there over the Orkneys and the North so many groups of chambered cairns bearing such a striking similarity to those of Ireland, and of Argyllshire, where we might expect the Dalriadic remains to be most numerous; why we should have Ogham monuments and stone urns in Orkney and Shetland; and why we should have so many Fenian traditions and legends,¹ and a seemingly distinctive Fenian topography scattered over the extreme north of Scotland.

Were the Broch Builders Pagan or Christian?—One other question of much interest remains,—Were the broch-builders pagan or Christian? Indications of Christianity in connection with some of the broch sites are not wanting, but they may be all referred to the practice of burying on these sites after the buildings had become mere mounds of ruin.² Although we have no evidence that the broch-builders were Christians, the period to which we have limited the range of these structures may be regarded as a period of transition between paganism and Christianity, and a comparison of the style of building which characterises the earliest Christian structures of the north and west of Scotland with the style of the brochs, and of the later cells, which cluster round their exterior walls, leads to the conclusion that there cannot be much difference in their date (see figs. 11–14). The earliest of these Christian structures in the massiveness, solidity, and rude irregularity of their masonry, bear a remarkable resemblance to the character

¹ The well-known legend of John o'Groat's House is apparently the legend of the house built by King Guaire Aidhne for Seanchan and his poets, applied to the modern John de Groat, and the "House" itself has all the appearance of a "pre-historic" mound.—See *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, vol. v. p. 37.

² The discovery of a bronze fibula, inscribed with the formula ISVS NAZAR, in the broch of Yarhouse, and the more recent disinterment from the broch of Burrian, in North Ronaldshay, of a rough slab, having a cross of the same form as those on the Ulbster and Monymusk stones, and an Ogham inscription, rudely and slightly scratched into its surface, are instances in point.

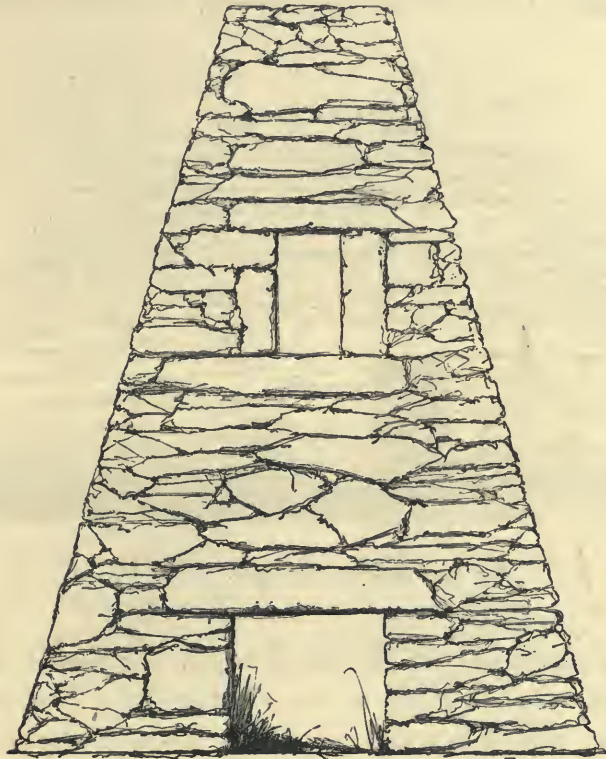
of the building in the brochs themselves, while some of those of later date exhibit features equally characteristic of the later buildings clustered round the brochs.



Fig. 11.—Interior view of Doorway and Masonry of Broch of Yarhouse. (From a Photograph.)

Early Ecclesiastical Architecture compared with that of the Brochs.—
 “Teampull Beannachadh,” the chapel of St Flann, on one of the Flannan islands, is described by the author of the “Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland” as “a very primitive-looking thing, composed of rough stones, joggled together compactly, without mortar.” The form is a squared oblong, the walls being irregular in length and thickness. It is covered by a stone roof, like the cells in the thickness of a broch wall, and its interior dimensions are not larger than many of these cells. A narrow squared aperture, scarcely 3 feet in height, is at once doorway and window, besides it there being no opening of any kind in the building. The chapel of St Carraig, in Eilan Mòr, which is a building of the same kind, is a little larger, measuring internally 11 feet 3 inches by

10 feet 10 inches. The walls are rudely built of uncemented stones, and are more than 4 feet in thickness.



TEAMPULL RONA
INTERIOR WEST END ELEVATION.

Fig 12.

Teampull Rona, on the lonely island of the same name, off the Butt of Lewis, is a better example of the early massive style. It is roofed by horizontal slabs as the broch chambers are, and the projection inwards of the side walls is such that a man standing in the middle of the floor can touch the opposite walls at the height of his shoulders with his outspread hands. The end walls are also inclined inwards.

The chapel on the Sula Sgeir is irregularly rectangular with irregularly rounded corners, having all the characteristics of the larger cells that form the outbuildings of a broch. The projection inwards of the stones of the

side walls commences almost from the floor, and the opposite walls are neither uniform in length nor thickness. The roof is of large slabs laid across horizontally, and this, with the unsymmetrical irregularity of the ground-plan, makes the resemblance to a broch cell almost complete.¹ (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13.—Teampull Sula Sgeir. South side.

The Tigh Beannaichte on Gallon Head, in the Lewis, though built of uncemented stones, is of a more advanced type, larger, more symmetrically rectangular, and has one small window. Even in Lybster Chapel, in Caithness, and Weir in the Orkneys, assigned to the twelfth century, the older characteristics of smallness of size, rudeness of masonry, and—in Lybster at least—the absolute want of windows connect them closely with the previous examples.

Thus we have in the comparison of the early Christian architecture, with that of the brochs and their outbuildings, a corroborative line of testimony to the limits of the broch period of no inconsiderable value. The earliest of these chapels or oratories cannot well be earlier than the end of the sixth century, and may be considerably later, so that we have in the Christian architecture of the period, between the sixth

¹ For the use of these two woodcuts, which are taken from "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, &c., in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland" (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861), I am indebted to the author, Mr Thomas S. Muir.

and ninth centuries at least, a style of building in many respects similar to that of the outbuildings of the brochs, and approaching closely, in some instances, to the style of the brochs themselves in several important



Fig. 14.—Interior view of Entrance to Stair and Galleries, Broch of Yarhouse.
(From a Photograph.)

features. In other words, we thus have evidence from an independent source, that this peculiar style of building did actually prevail over a large part of the area occupied by the brochs during the period to which I have assigned them.

The Contents of the Brochs.—Thus, while the architectural features of the brochs imply that they must have been the work of a people possessed of some measure of civilisation—a people emerging from the barbarism of

Paganism into the light of Christianity—the contents of the ruined structures tell the same tale. They show that the people who occupied the brochs were cultivators, that they grew grain and ground it, kept flocks and herds, and were able to command considerable supplies of venison, practised the arts of spinning and weaving,¹ worked in metals, melting and moulding bronze, which they imported in the unmanufactured state, and probably smelting and forging iron. On the whole, although the evidence is wanting in that fulness and precision of testimony which might be desired, it seems conclusive against the supposition of an extremely remote antiquity for the period of the brochs, and points rather to the time when the historic and the pre-historic annals of our country merge into and throw light upon each other—a period not wholly removed from the ken of the historian, but not wholly illustrated by what has been written.

The Name "Brugh" or Broch.—Finally, the name "brugh," or, as it is now written, "broch," by which these structures are generally known in the extreme north, is not a modern corruption of the Norse term "borg." It is the original native name by which they must have been known in Pictish times by their Pictish builders. The primary signification of the Gaelic word *Brugh* was "a large house," and *Brughadh*² meant a farmer. Probably we have a simple translation of the older term in the name "Big-house," applied to one of the Sutherlandshire brochs. The Irish word "brugh" also meant primarily a large house, with the secondary signification of a fortified place, while *Bruighe* or *Brugaidh* meant a farmer or husbandman. In early times, says Robertson,³ the members of the Irish clans were divided into two classes, the *Brugaidh* or free members, living each in his separate *Brugh*, while the *Biotaigh* was the villager, sharing and cultivating in common the lands of the *Baille-Biotaigh*. The *Brugaidh* was originally the member of the clan who possessed a *brugh*⁴—the householder tracing

¹ See a paper entitled "Notes on the Evidence of Spinning and Weaving in the Brochs, supplied by the Whorls and Long-handled Combs found in them, by Joseph Anderson," Proceedings, vol. ix.

² Highland Society's Dictionary, *sub voce*.

³ Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 103, vol. ii. pp. 167, 260.

⁴ It is suggestive of the extent of the establishment pertaining to an Irish "Brugh" that it is stated in the *Leabhar Buidhe* (Yellow Book of Lecan), that one class of the *Brugaidh* were bound by law to keep each 100 labourers and 100 of each kind of domestic animals.

his origin to the founder of the race, and hence entitled to his free allotment, deriving his name from his *Brugh* or separate house, while the Biotaigh was the man who held his land by paying biodh or rent. While the brughs in Ireland were thus the ordinary residences of the farmer freeholders of the clan, the brughs of Scotland appear to have been originally the same, and to have assumed the peculiar form and structure by which we now know them, in consequence of necessity compelling their owners thus to protect themselves, their substance, and their dependants from the constant depredations of marauding bands.

Facts apparently implying a higher antiquity considered.—It remains now only to notice one or two facts which at first sight seem to imply a higher antiquity for these buildings than that here assigned to them. This leads me also to notice a very remarkable instance of the usefulness of that humble instrument, the spade, in the illustration of history.

It is recorded in the Saga¹ that the Earls Harold and Ronald were in the habit of coming over from Orkney to Caithness to hunt the reindeer there, in the middle of the twelfth century. This has been regarded as evidence of the untrustworthiness of the Saga on matters of fact, it being assumed that the reindeer did not exist anywhere in Scotland so late as the date here mentioned, although it is known from geological evidence to have been pretty widely distributed at a much earlier period. Ingenious attempts have been made to account for the statement of the Saga as possibly fabulous, or certainly due to corruption of the text. But recent excavations in the brochs of Caithness and Sutherland have shown that the reindeer was actually hunted and eaten there during the later occupation of these ruined towers.² Taken by itself, this fact would only have gone to strengthen the argument for the high antiquity of the brochs, but taken in connection with the historical statement of the Saga, the truthfulness of the historian is established by the discovery, and the assumed necessity for assigning a high antiquity to the existence of the reindeer in the north of Scotland is shown to be based neither on historical nor archæological grounds.

One of the most remarkable facts, as suggestive of the age of the brochs,

¹ Orkneyinga Saga, p. 384.

² See an exhaustive paper on "The Reindeer in Scotland," by Dr John Alexander Smith in the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 186.

that has yet been placed on record, is the discovery, by Mr George Petrie of Kirkwall, of a cemetery of short cists overlying the ruins of the broch of Okstrow.¹ In one of these cists a fragment of a bronze ring was found. But it is extremely difficult to assign the precise period of demarcation between the various modes of burial.² Short cists are found in such juxtaposition with long cists as to indicate that the two modes of sepulture were contemporaneous.³ Even cremation itself, which is regarded as a purely Pagan usage, existed side by side with Christian sepulture in the early ages of the Church, and is, therefore, taken by itself, no certain test of the age of interments. No doubt it existed in the Orkneys at least down to the compulsory Christianising of the isles by King Olaf in the end of the tenth century. The capitulary of Charlemagne shows that it existed in France in the latter part of the eighth century.⁴ It has been usual to refer interments by cremation, and accompanied by bronze deposits, to "the bronze age." But it is extremely difficult to define the limits of the bronze age, and still more difficult to distinguish between interments of the bronze age and those of the iron age. Fothad, an Irish chief, who was killed with an iron spear (and thus, speaking archæologically, ought to have had an iron-age funeral), was buried under a cairn in a stone cist, with a pillar stone and an Ogham epitaph, and to complete the resemblance to a burial of the bronze age (so-called) it is added, "and his two rings of silver, and his two bracelets, and his torc of silver on his chest."⁵ His death is assigned by the Annals of the Four Masters to the date A.D. 285.

We know that ruined brochs have been used as places of sepulture,

¹ See Mr Petrie's paper, *antea*.

² In 1519, John M'Gregor of Glenstrae "sepultus est in cista lapidum."—*Book of the Dean of Lismore*.

³ Dr Stuart, in his preface to the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," noticing some remarkable interments at Alloa, one of which was a short cist three feet long, having its cover marked on the under side with two crosses, remarks that the short cist has even been found in Christian sites, and around the cross-slabs of Scotland, thus evidencing its late continuance.

⁴ A.D. 785. Si quis corpus defuncti hominis, secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit, et ossa ejus ad cinerem redegerit, capite punietur. Cited by Kemble in *Hore Ferales*, p. 97.

⁵ See Transactions of the Ossianic Society, vol. v. p. 222, and Petrie's Round Towers of Ireland, p. 10.

both by Norsemen from a very early period, and by the native inhabitants down even to our own time,¹ and it is quite possible that Pagan interments, such as those described by Mr Petrie, may have been made over a ruined broch so late as to be within the period I have assigned as limiting the age of these structures. In fact, we know from the curious account given by Ahmed Ibn Fozlan,² the Arab ambassador to the King of Hungary, that the Norsemen did burn their dead in the tenth century, with rites precisely similar to those that must have accompanied the interments of the cremation period in Britain. Ibn Fozlan was present on the occasion of the funeral obsequies of a Norse chief, and saw the dead man laid in his ship, dressed in his finest clothing, with his arms and armour, and his food and drink placed ready by his side, and a dog, two horses, and a female slave immolated to keep him company, and the whole consumed in one vast pile, over the ashes of which a round topped mound of earth was raised, with a tree-trunk erected on the summit instead of the customary bauta-stein. But, still more to the point is the description given in the Saga³ of the death of Orvar Odd, who, as the Saga expressly states, was a convert to Christianity. When he found his end approaching he gave the following directions for his funeral:—"But the other forty of my men shall make for me a stone trough, and take it to the wood, there shall fire be placed in it, and all be burned up together when I am dead. . . . Now, I will be laid down in the stone trough and die there; afterwards ye shall put fire about it, and burn up all together . . . After that Oddr died, then did they put fire into it and burnt up all together, nor did they go far away till all was burnt."

It is thus established that cremation was practised by the Northmen down to the tenth century, and that it was even reverted to in cases in which there had been a nominal conversion to Christianity. Now, these facts relate to the very people who have left their graves upon the mounds that

¹ See *antea*, p. 133.

² Orvar Odd Saga, cap. xxxi.; Fornaldar Sögur, ii. 301, also cap. xxxii.; Fornald. Sög. ii. 321.

³ See "Description, by Ahmed Ibn Fozlan (an eye-witness) of the Ceremonies attending the Incrementation of the dead body of a Norse chief; written in the early part of the tenth century. Translated from C. A. Holmboe's Danish version of the Arabic original. By Joseph Anderson," &c. Proceedings, vol. ix.

cover the ruined brochs. There is, therefore, no necessity to go much further back than the tenth century for the possibility of any number of interments after cremation, and with bronze relics, over the ruins of an Orkney broch. Moreover, as these brochs had by that time been exposed for well-nigh a couple of centuries to the attacks of the marauding Northmen, there was abundance of time for such dilapidated structures of uncemented stones to become mere heaps, grass-grown, and indistinguishable from the burial-mounds so common around them.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF BROCHS IN SCOTLAND AND EARLY NOTICES OF THEM.

In illustration of the extraordinary number of the brochs or "Pictish towers," and of the testimony they bear to the activity of the broch period, and its importance in the history of the country, I have thought it advisable to attempt a general list of these remains in Scotland. Incomplete and imperfect as it is, it will serve to show how thickly these ancient strengths were planted along the northern straths, and in the islands of the northern and western coasts, and how extensive was the range of country occupied by the broch-builders.

It is needless to say that the difficulties in the way of the compilation of such a list as shall be complete and accurate are absolutely insurmountable. Without personal inspection of every site, no single individual can possibly insure correctness of description, and éven then, the character of the ruin, in many cases, can only be determined with absolute certainty by excavation.

To every such undertaking, however, there must be a beginning, and with all its imperfections, the present attempt may be accepted as a tentative commencement of a complete catalogue of the brochs of Scotland, which I hope we may yet see completed by the co-operation of all local investigators interested in the ancient remains of our country. To such co-operation, cheerfully given, the following list owes all the value that it may possess. For the revision of the Shetland portion, and large additions to it, I am indebted to the Rev. James Russell, of Walls, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., and Mr William Lawrence of the parochial school, Dunrossness; the Caithness list is in the same manner indebted to the late Mr R. I. Shearer and the Rev. Alexander Miller; and the lists for Sutherland and Ross to the Rev. J. M. Joass, of Golspie, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., who has done so much to elucidate the archæology of the northern districts of Scotland. These, I believe, will be found to be tolerably exhaustive and accurate. The rest are merely tentative.

SHETLAND (75 BROCHS).

ISLAND OF UNST (7 Brochs).

1. *Snaburgh*.

"It is on a promontory in a loch, fortified partly by the loch, and partly by a wet ditch and rampart composed of large stones, and at the foot of the wall a small dry ditch. The double wall is visible, but the first story has large hollow apartments, oblong, widest at each end, and following the curve of the wall."—*Low's Tour*, 1774. *MS. in the possession of David Laing, Esq.*

2. *Burghholm*, at a small distance from Snaburgh, on an isolated rock opposite to the Mull, much destroyed.—*Low's Tour*.

3. *Underhool*.—"New Statistical Account of Scotland."

4. *Burraness*.—Low, describing the two brochs in Unst, which he does not name, but which are apparently the two last mentioned, says one is quite razed, except the foundation, the stones being made use of to build a pier; the other, much in the same condition, on the sea-bank, well fortified with two very deep ditches and high ramparts towards the land.

5. *Burraferth*, North Unst.6. At Brough, Balta Sound.—*Shetland Directory*.7. At Brough of Colvidale, east side of Unst.—*Admiralty Chart*.

ISLAND OF WHALSAY (3 Brochs).

1. At Brough, on the top of a hill, near the Kirk.—*Rev. J. Russell, Walls*.2. At Loch of Hunter, near to No. 1.—*Ibid*.3. Near Symbister.—*Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.*

[Low mentions five burghs in Whalsay, including the ancient fort called "Burgh of Hogsetter," on a small island in one of the lochs, which, however, is not a broch. It is figured in Hibbert's Shetland, from Low's plan.]

ISLAND OF YELL (9 Brochs).

1. *Burraness*, at Bastavoe, in the south end of the island.

"The most entire of the brochs in Yell (which are nine in number, but all more or less in ruins) is Burraness; it is 20 feet high, the other dimensions as follows:—height of the highest part, 20 feet; thickness of the double wall, 10 feet; outermost wall, 4 feet; passage between the walls, 2 feet; inner wall, 4 feet; inside diameter, 31 feet. It has a scarcement of 10 inches on the inside wall about 10 feet above the floor, but this is not easily measured, as the inside is filled with rubbish."—*Low's Tour*.

2. *Gossaburgh*, East Yell.—*Rev. J. Russell, Walls*.3. *Ulsta*.—*Ibid*.4. *West Sandwick*.—*Ibid*.5. *Neeps of Gravelin*.—*Ibid*.6. *Copista*, Yell Sound.—*Admiralty Chart*.7. *Tonga Burgh*, East Yell.—*Ibid*.

8. At Brough, Burravoe, South Yell.—*Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.*

9. At Brough, near Greenbank, North Yell, remarkable from its having a communication with a cave immediately under it.

“ Situated about 50 feet back from the face of a rocky precipice. Not only does it possess the usual advantage from standing on steep ground, and protected by a precipitous cliff, but there is also a cave stretching from the sea inwards till it terminates directly under the centre of the broch, from which a perpendicular well-like passage leads down into the cave. Doubtless this passage afforded means of exit from the interior of the broch to the sea before the perpendicular part of it was filled up by the ruins. There are many caves in Shetland formed in the same manner, and called *kirms*.”—*Rev. J. Russell.*

ISLAND OF FETLAR (4 Brochs).

1. *Houbie*, situated on a rock jutting into the sea. It is surrounded by double ramparts of earth and outbuildings. [A ground plan of this broch is given in *Low's Tour*.]

2. Near *Houbie* on an eminence.

“ It had no perceptible rampart, being placed on an eminence. The walls were hollowed out into apartments similar to those of *Snaburgh* in *Unst*. Close by this broch are the foundations of a number of small houses entirely in ruins, seemingly of the same age with the broch itself. They are of an oblong shape, rounded off at the corners.”—*Low's Tour*.

3. *Snaburgh*.—*Lowe* describes and figures this as a curious fortification, and *Hibbert* calls it a Roman camp. Dr *Arthur Mitchell* has ascertained that it is a broch with extensive outworks, which have been misunderstood by *Low* and *Hibbert*.

4. *Strandburgh*, East Fetlar.—*Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.*

ISLAND OF MAINLAND (45 Brochs).

Parish of Northmaven.

1. *Houland*.—On the hill above *Houland*.—*Lowe's Tour*.

2. *Islesburgh* on *Sullom Voe*.—*Rev. J. Russell, Walls*.

3. *Northroe*.—Of huge size.—*Ibid*.

4. *Fedeland*.—On a precipice connected to the land by a neck of land about 3 feet broad.—*Ibid*.

5. *Brough*, Burravoe, Yell Sound.—*Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.*

6. *Burland*.—On the margin of a loch, about two miles inland from *Mangister*, in the south end of the parish. This is one of the few brochs in Shetland that are at a distance from the sea.—*Rev. J. Russell.*

Parish of Delting.

1. *Burraness* in the north side of the parish on Yell Sound.—*Sir R. Sibbald's Description of the Shetland Islands, 1711.*

2. At *Waderstay*, on Burravoe, in the south side of the parish.—*Ibid*.

3. At *Boostaye*, in the west of the parish, on a little holm in the mouth of *Meikleroe Sound*.—*Ibid*.

Low says of *Delting*—“ Round the shores at different distances observed several *Pight's castles*, but all in ruins.”

Parish of Nesting.

1. *Husabister*, near Kirk of Nesting.—*Rev. J. Russell*.
2. In Loch of Stavanness, much ruined.—*Ibid*.
3. *Railsbroch*, south point of Nesting, on a precipitous rock, separated from the mainland about 100 yards, and only accessible at ebb of spring tide by wading.—*Ibid*.
4. Broch, in Brochtown of South Nesting, about a mile west of the Mull of Eswick, close to the shore.—*Ibid*.

Parish of Sandsting and Aithsting.

1. *Cullswick*, on an eminence near the entrance of Gruting Voe.

"It is constructed of vast pieces of a very hard kind of white and red granite, the produce of the rock on which it stands; the stones altogether rude, but strongly and closely built; the wall double, with a sort of spiral passage, which one can creep through where it is not choked up with ruins. No kind of cement has been used in building, and, notwithstanding, the walls are firm and entire, except where they have been pulled down by men. The gallery is covered with long lintel stones, which rest on both walls; and the floor of the one is the covering of the other. Round the whole building, which is circular, is a ditch and rampart. Its dimensions follow, together with a plan, elevation, and section:—The diameter within the inner walls, 26 ft. 6 in.; whole diameter at the foundation, 44 ft.; thickness of the inner wall, 3 ft. 6 in.; breadth of the gallery, 2 ft.; thickness of the outer wall, 4 ft.; thickness of whole wall at foundation, 18 ft.; height of the gallery, 8 ft.; height of the highest part, as it now remains, 23 ft.; breadth of the ditch, 13 ft.; breadth of the rampart, as it remains, 19 ft. 6 in. The ditch is now (1774) much filled up with rubbish. The rampart has been formed with earth and stones. The door is strongly lintelled with a large triangular stone, which stands as firm as when put in; as would the whole fabric, had it not been that many of the stones have been removed for housebuilding."—*Low's Tour*.

"Cullswick has been greatly destroyed to build houses since 1774, but inside its ramparts parts of the walls of stone huts are still standing. As it is a sea-mark, the Admiralty should see to its preservation."—*Letter, Rev. J. Russell, Walls*.

2. *West Burrafirth* (Borgarfjord), on the small holm of Hebrista.

"The wall is single, at least as much as is now to be seen of it, with small apartments to be entered from within. The double wall, with galleries, began above these, and was continued to the top. The dimensions are as follows:—Inside diameter, 30 ft.; thickness of the wall, 13 ft.; diameter of one of the apartments in the wall, 5 ft. In forming these wall apartments, the stones are made to jut over one another, till by little and little they draw to a point, covered with a single stone. All the passages, galleries, and other hollows are topped with broad flat stones, well supported at both ends by the double walls."—*Low's Tour*.

[Rev. Mr Russell informs me that it has a scarcement about 10 feet above the floor.]

3. *Nunsburgh*, the ruins of a large burgh, but the stones have been carried off for building.—*Low's Tour*.

4. *East Burrafirth*.—*Statistical Account*.

5. *Easter Skeld*.—*Ibid*.

6. *Tumlin, Twatt*.—*Rev. J. Russell*.

7. *Houlland*, near the top of a hill, about a half mile from Bruster Voe, in the

district of Bruland, opposite Pinhoulland (Walls).—Nearly used up in building.—*Rev. J. Russell.*

8. At Brough of the Ness, Snarra Voe.—*Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.*

Parish of Walls and Sandness.

1. *Huxter*, a very large broch, but torn down to build dykes.—*Rev. J. Russell.*
2. *Corness*, on an almost isolated rock, faced on one side by walls rising in steps or terraces.—*Ibid.*
3. *Fudaburg* (Fotaborg), on a rock close to the sea; is very large, and would be worth excavating.—*Ibid.*
4. *Burraland*, in a loch.

“ In ruins (1774). The double wall still discernible; and toward the land side a double rampart and double wet ditch, with stepping-stones still remaining to get in; both these particulars well defined, and evidently the works of art coeval with the burgh itself. The ditches are cut exactly circular, and parallel to the body of the work. The ramparts are the same, with plain traces how the ditches were filled with water from the loch, which is the natural rampart on that side.”—*Lowé's Tour.*

5. *Burrastowe*, on a rock, almost entirely swept away by the sea.—*Rev. J. Russell.*
6. *Broch o' Setter*, on the top of a hill, about a mile from Fudaborg Voe.—*Ibid.*
7. *Broch of Burgowater*, in a large loch, in the midst of the Scattald, four miles from the village of Downawalls. The doorway is still complete.—*Ibid.*
8. *Pinhoulland*, midway between Gruting Voe and Voe of Walls; very large.—*Ibid.*
9. *Watsness*, near loch of Watsness, with remains of outbuildings, &c.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Lerwick.

1. *Clickamin*, in a loch, with outworks. Described by J. T. Irvine, Esq., in the “*Journal of the Archæological Association*,” vol. xxii, p. 369. See also Sir H. Dryden's plans and descriptions in the present volume.
2. *Brindister*, at Gulberwick, on a headland, with very large outworks.—*Rev. J. Russell.*

Parish of Tingwall.

1. *Trondra Broch*, in the isle of Trondra, in the bay of Scalloway, now completely demolished.—*Rev. J. Russell.*
2. *Brough* in Loch of Shurton, on a little holm opposite the church of Whiteness.—*Ibid.*
3. *Brough*, Burra; the stones taken to build the pier at Scalloway.

[There must have been more brochs in Tingwall, for we have Burwick, Burray, and Burraland, in this parish.—*Ibid.*]

Parish of Dunrossness, including Sandwick, Cunningsburgh, and Burra.

1. *Mousa*, on the small island of Mousa. See *antea*, p. 158, and also in Egill's Saga, cap. 32, 33; Orkneyinga Saga, p. 342; Torfaeus, *Rerum Orcadensium Historia*

p. 131; Sir R. Sibbald's Description of Shetland (1711), p. 19; Low's Tour; Hibbert's Shetland, p. 251; Worsaae's Danes and Northmen, p. 234; Paper by Dr Stuart in the Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 187. See also Sir H. Dryden's plans and descriptions in this volume.

2. *Burland*.—Plan taken by Sir Henry Dryden.

“Landed on the main opposite to Mousa, at a burgh on a point of a rock, the land side surrounded by a stone wall at a distance from the body of the work. Here, as at Fetlar (p. 180), observed numbers of foundations of small houses exactly similar to those above mentioned, but much in ruins. They are generally 14 feet long, and 6 or 8 broad, with about a foot or two of the wall still standing, and probably coeval with the burgh itself. Here they are placed between the burgh and the extreme point of the rock, and probably might have been a sort of huts for the people to fly into where they might be safe under the shelter of the burgh.”—*Low's Tour*.

3. *Levenwick*.—See paper by Mr Gilbert Goudie in the Proceedings, vol. ix.

4. *Rausburghness*.—A large ruinous burgh.—*Low's Tour*.

5. *Broch* in West Burra, opposite Quarff.—*Rev. J. Russell*.

6. At Boddam, on the cliff on the north side of the bay at Voe, the largest in area of any I have seen.—*Letter of Mr William Laurence, schoolmaster, Dunrossness*.

7. Near Voe, on the south side of the Bay of Voe.—*Ibid*.

8. *The Broken Broch*, near Clavigarth.—*Ibid*.

9. At east shore, near Sumburgh.—*Ibid*.

10. *Water Broch*, on a small island in the Loch of Brew.—*Ibid*.

11. *Scousbroch*, now nearly drifted up with sand.—*Ibid*.

ISLAND OF BRESSAY (5 Brochs).

1. At Brough.—*Sir R. Sibbald's Description of Shetland*, 1711.

2. At Liraness.—*Ibid*.

3. At Beoaster.—*Ibid*.

4. At Culbinsburgh.—*Ibid*.

5. At Noss Sound.—*Ibid*.

“Four Burghs in Bressay; all in ruins.”—*Low's Tour*.

ISLAND OF FOULA (1 Broch).

1. *Friarsburgh*, at Northrock, almost destroyed by the stones being wantonly thrown over the rock.—*Rev. J. Russell*.

ORKNEY (70 BROCHS).

[The complete list of the brochs in Orkney (which was prepared by Mr Petrie at my request), has been inserted at p. 93, and need not be here repeated. The total number enumerated in the Orkney Isles amounts to 70.]

CAITHNESS (79 BROCHS).

Parish of Canisbay.

1. *Duncansbay*, on Duncansbay Head.—Its remains were seen by Pennant in 1796, and are described by him as those of a circular building, probably the residence of Duncan, Jarl of Dungalsbae.—See *Orkneyinga Saga*, cap. 1.

2. *Canisbay*.—The church of Canisbay is built on the top of a mound, which covers a ruined broch.—See *antea*, p. 133.

3. On the sea-shore to the west of Barrogill Castle, destroyed.

Parish of Dunnet.

1. *Rattar Broch*, at the mouth of the burn of Rattar, near the old chapel, called Kirk o' Banks, where eight penannular silver armlets were found in short cists in January 1872.—(See Mr Campbell's paper in the Society's Proceedings, vol. ix.) This may be the Raudabiorg of the "Orkneyinga Saga."

2. *Reaster*.—A very large mound, believed to be a broch.—*Mr Campbell, Dunnet.*

Parish of Odrig.

1. *Odrig*.—A large mound, believed to be a Pictish broch.—*Ibid.*

2. *Castlehill*, situated about 50 yards from the shore to the west of Castlehill House, but now removed. Two tortoise brooches, adorned with horses' heads, a jet ring, and bone pin were found deposited with a skeleton in the top of the mound. These articles were presented by Mr Traill to the Museum in 1786.

3. *Sibmister*, a very large mound, believed to be a broch.

4. *Thurdistoft*, on the links near the sea.

5. *Durran*, on the farm of Durran.

Parish of Thurso.

1. *Scrabster*, in a field above Scrabster. The "Orkneyinga Saga" mentions a borg at Skarabolstad (Scrabster), in which Bishop John was mutilated by Earl Harold's men.

2. *Thingsva*, about a mile to the south of the second milestone from Thurso, on the coast road to Reay. It is the largest I know in Caithness, and has traces of outbuildings beside it.—*Rev. Alex. Miller.*

3. *Carsgoe*, on the farm of the same name, on the east side of the Wick and Thurso road, partially destroyed long ago, but not completely, on account of the mysterious death of one of the farmer's cows. Its destruction was completed, however, a few years ago.—*Ibid.*

4. *Brimsade*, on the farm of Lythmore, destroyed. Eight or ten skulls were taken out of it and buried.—*R. I. Shearer.*

Parish of Reay.

1. *Achinellan* or *Achvarasdale*, partly excavated by Sir Robert Gordon Sinclair a few years ago. Plan taken by Sir H. Dryden, 1871.

2. *Lybster*, at the chapel of Lybster in Reay, partly destroyed. Plan taken by Sir H. Dryden, 1871.

3. *Borrowston*, partly destroyed fifty years ago. A human skeleton was found laid close to the wall of the tower, and covered by a flagstone, loosely set on edge in the ground, and leaning against the wall.—*Letter by John Miller, F.G.S., Esq., in "Daily Review" (reprinted), 1865.*

4. On the farm of Downreay, half way to Borrowston, consists of a central conical green hill, with circular enclosures, the outermost of which is at a considerable distance from the central mound.—*Rev. Alex. Miller.*

5. *Skaill*, a large mound on the farm of that name.

6. *Crock-Horra*, near the old castle of Downreay, now a green mound, the greater part of which has been removed.—*Mr John Miller, Downreay.*

7. *Achwilaga*, on the farm of Upper Downreay.—*Ibid.*

8. *Achinabest*, also near Downreay.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Halkirk.

1. *Skinnet*, partially destroyed fifty years ago. Two or three human skeletons were found here; one of them lay near the fire-place, which still retained the strong red colour produced by using peat fuel. The well dug in the rock inside the building was still there, and the dry ditch outside, showing clearly that this was a tower of defence.—*Letter by John Miller, Esq., F.G.S., in "Daily Review" (reprinted), 1865.*

[A ring of shale and a bronze key (?) were found in this broch. The key is in the possession of the Rev. Wm. Miller, Madras.]

2. *Harpsdale*, destroyed in 1841; had a well of beautifully clear water in it.

3. *Mybster*, a large broch, partially destroyed, close to the road from Achtipster to Dale, south side.—*Rev. Alex. Miller.*

4. *Achlachan*, on the north side of the same road.—*Ibid.*

5. Near the former.—*Ibid.*

6. At Bridge of Dale, on the west side of the river.—*Ibid.*

7. At Westerdale, a short distance down the river from the Bridge of Dale.—*Ibid.*

8. Near the former, on the same side of the river.—*Ibid.*

9. *Dale*.—The present house of Dale occupies the site of a broch, now removed. About forty years ago, a cist, containing bones, was found when digging the foundations of some outhouses, but owing to the prevailing superstition, it was destroyed by the workmen before any one from the house could see it. A quern of red sandstone, which was found when the house was built, nearly 200 years ago, is still preserved.—*Ibid.*

10. A quarter of a mile further down the river, and a short distance east from an old burying-place, called "the Aisle." This broch was partially removed about fifty years ago, and finally cleared off sixteen years ago, at which time half a stone dish, 6 or 7 inches diameter and 1 inch in thickness, was found.—*Ibid.*

11. Half a mile eastward from the last, the interior area was cleared out with some care five years ago. About 3 feet in height of the inner wall was standing recently, and one chamber remained pretty entire.—*Ibid.*

12. *Cairn-na-Merk*, half a mile above the bridge of Dale, on the east bank of the river; a large cairn, with well-marked ditch; shape very regular, the top being depressed in the centre, and near the top traces of walling, with the stones inclining inwards as if the walls had fallen in a mass. I know none more likely to reward examination.

—*Ibid.*

13. A mile further up the river, the foundations in good preservation, showing wall-chambers and traces of the outer wall.—*Ibid.*

14. *Achfuidhaga*, near the mouth of the Little Water, and a short distance above the last mentioned. The outer wall is pretty entire, and has never been covered, forming the inner face of a ditch, except where it touches the river bank. Some of the chambers are still pretty entire, and roofed with flat stones. They are nearly circular, with curious curved recesses on opposite sides.—*Ibid.*

15. On the south side of the Little Water.—*Ibid.*

16. *Dalnawillan*.—The burying-ground here is believed to be on the top of a broch.—*Ibid.*

17. *Calder*, on the west side of the loch of Calder.

Parish of Bower.

1. *Barrock*, in the plantation near Barrock House, partially excavated.

2. *Lynegar*, on the farm of Lynegar, entirely removed some years ago; had a considerable shell heap, though nearly in the centre of the county.

3. *Bowermadden*, at the farm-house of Hall of Bowermadden, totally removed, and the site trenched over. Described in "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," vol. ii. p. 228, and *antea*, p. 144.

Parish of Watten.

1. *West Watten*, above the Parliamentary Road, on the farm of West Watten, partially removed.

2. *Achingale*, excavated thirty years ago, now destroyed.

3. *Old Hall of Dunn*, on the farm of Old Hall.

4. On the same farm.

5. Near Dunn.

Parish of Wick.

1. *Kettleburn*, on the farm of Wester Seat, entirely removed, except the well in the area of the broch, which is still used as the well for the cottar's houses built out of the ruins of the structure. It was described and figured by Mr Rhind in the "Archæological Journal," vol. x. p. 211, and in the Society's Proceedings, vol. i. p. 264.

2. *Hillhead*, near Wick, on the north side, shows part of the outer wall, and a section of a shell heap is exposed by a ditch cut close by the mound.

3. *Papigoe*, about a mile and a half north-east of Wick on the goe of the same name. It is much destroyed, but shows traces of chambers.

4. *Humster*, two miles south-west of Wick, has traces of extensive outbuildings.

5. *Hempriggs*, two and a half miles south of Wick, on the Parliamentary Road at the gate to Hempriggs House, planted with trees.
6. *Tannach*, in a field to the north of Tannach House; has the appearance of extensive outbuildings.
7. *Old Stirkoke*, on the east bank of the burn of Haster, on the farm of Old Stirkoke, partly removed. Described in "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," vol. ii. p. 230, and *antea*, p. 142.
8. *Thrumster Little*, at the farm-house of that name; outer wall bared all round, and interior utilised as a cart shed.
9. *Thrumster*, in the plantation at Thrumster House, cleared out, and the area utilised as part of a flower-garden. A skeleton was found buried in a cist of slabs in the rubbish of the mound. The long-handled comb, presented to the Museum by Mr Innes of Thrumster in 1783, seems to have come from this broch.
10. *Borrowston*, about three quarters of a mile from Thrumster, a very large mound, showing traces of chambers in the wall.
11. *Gansclett*, about half a mile south from Thrumster, now destroyed.
12. *Brownaben*, about a mile south-east from Thrumster, excavated, described *antea*, p. 142.
13. *Yarhouse*, on a peninsula in the south end of the loch of Yarhouse, with a ditch and extensive outbuildings. Excavated, and described, *antea*, p. 131.
14. *Warhouse*, at the farm-house of this name, nearly a mile south from Yarhouse.
15. *Wattenin*, on a height overlooking the small loch of that name.
16. *Bruan*, on the road side near the church of Bruan.
17. At Bruan manse, less than a mile south from the previous broch.
18. *Toftgun*, about 4 miles west of Thrumster, in the midst of the moor.
19. *Rean-i-gearach*, about half a mile down the burn from Toftgun.
20. *Blingery*, about a mile in the moor to the south of the farm of that name.
21. *Camster*, about three quarters of a mile north of the great cairns of Camster. (See the Society's Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 485.)
22. *Torrikingle*, near Camster, now used as the burying-ground of the district. (See *antea*, p. 132.)
23. *Torriveach*, at Achavar, on the Camster Road, about a mile from its junction with the Wick Parliamentary Road. Short cists containing skeletons were found near it. (See "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," vol. ii. p. 252.)
24. *Roster*, two miles along the Camster Road.
25. At Newlands of Clyth, partly destroyed.
26. *Occumster*, near the road, twelve miles south of Wick.

Parish of Latheron.

1. A large mound to the north-east of the road from Lybster to Achivanich, and about two miles from Osclay.—*Rev. Alex. Miller.*
2. On the side of the hill of Ben-na-cheilt, behind Nothingham; the lintelled passage visible.—*Ibid.*
3. *Forse*, near the mill-dam, and not far from the previous one.—*Ibid.*

4. *Goulsary*, in the valley under the north end of the hill.—*Ibid.*
5. *Stemster*, near the loch, at the south end of which is the U-shaped series of standing stones.
6. *Rangag*.—In the loch of that name, on a small peninsula, with traces of a ditch and encircling ramparts. The broch and outworks in fine preservation.
7. *Dunbeath*, on the fork at the junction of the two streams, excavated. Described *antea*, p. 144.
8. *Latheronwheel*, a high and somewhat conical mound, having all the appearance of a broch.

[Between this and the Ord of Caithness are several mounds, of which I have been unable to obtain descriptions sufficiently precise to enable me to say that they are likely to be brochs.]

SUTHERLAND (60 BROCHS).

Kildonan Parish.

1. In the Helmsdale valley, about a mile and a half from the sea, on the south side of the valley, below Craig Marril. (Its ruins are now covered by the Caithness Railway. A steatite cup was found in it.—*Rev. J. M. Joass.*)
2. In the same valley, a mile higher up, on the north side of the valley, above the junction of the burn of Alt Chaen with the Helmsdale Water. [Many tumuli near, and a hut-circle, from which an eirde-house is entered by a trap in the surrounding wall.—*J. M. J.*]
3. In the same valley, about a mile further up than the last, on the north side of the valley, on the hill above the east side of the Kilphedir burn. [A fine specimen, still about 15 feet high, with deep surrounding ditch. A stone hammer was found in the wall. Another hut-circle, with eirde-house attached, about 500 yards to the northward.—*J. M. J.*]
4. In the same valley, about a quarter of a mile further up than the last, but on the south side of the valley, on the west side of the small burn of Alt Eilderable. [A shale ring found outside.—*J. M. J.*]
5. In the same valley, about a mile above the last, on the north side of the valley, and west side of the burn of Torish, near its junction with the Helmsdale Water.
6. In the same valley, about two and a half miles above the last, on the south side of the valley, and the west bank of the burn Alt Kilaournan, nearly half a mile from its junction with the Helmsdale Water.
7. In the same valley, about four miles above the last, on the north side of the valley, and east side of the Suisgill Burn, near where it enters the Helmsdale Water.
8. In the same valley, on the south side of the valley, about three quarters of a mile above the last.
9. In Strath Free, a strath running westwards from Strath Helmsdale, and about two miles from the junction of the Free with the Helmsdale Water, on the north side of the strath, near where a small burn enters the Free. [Part of gallery remaining.—*J. M. J.*]

10. About two miles further up Strath Free, and to the south of the last, where the burn of Alt-an-duin joins the main stream, on the triangular space at the junction of the waters.

11. In Strath Helmsdale, on the burn of Kinbrace, on the south side of the burn, a quarter of a mile above its junction with the Helmsdale Water.

12. In the same strath, on the opposite side of the Kinbrace valley.

Parish of Loth.

1. In the valley of the Lothbeg Water, a little below its junction with the Sledale Burn.

2. *Cinn Trölla*.—On the sea shore, near Kintradwell. Excavated. [See previous paper by Rev. Mr Joass.]

Parish of Clyne.

1. In Strath Brora, on the south side of Loch Brora, about a mile and a half from the lower end of the loch, on the side of the hill, near a small burn. Excavated by Rev. Mr Joass.

2. In the same strath, on the north side of Loch Brora, about half way between the upper and lower ends of the loch.

3. In the same strath, on the north side of the strath, and east bank of the burn of Alt-a-vullin, about half a mile above its junction with the Brora Water.

4. In the same strath, about two miles above the last, at Kilphedir Beg.

5. *Castle Cole*.—In valley of the Blackwater, about two miles above its junction with the Brora.

“ Achir-na-Kyle (Castle Cole), a large circular tower, on the top of a lofty rock which overhangs the Brora, corresponding with those in Glenelg, except the apartments within the walls, which are of an oval form, distinct and entire, about 8 feet long, 6 high, and 4 wide. Those on the ground floor are still a place of refuge from the storm for the goats that feed on the neighbouring hills. The stairs from the first to the second row of chambers are regularly and commodiously made out; the apartments are carefully lighted by windows from within—a strong evidence that the area within these towers had never been closed above, or entirely covered. The door looks over the precipice towards the river, and is full 6 feet high, as I should suppose all of the kind have been ere they were choked up by the ruins of the building. One chamber had several paces of a level entry to it, and measured 9 feet in height. The space for the hall is about 20 feet diameter. From the quantity of ruins, this castle must have been pretty high, probably so as to admit of a third row of chambers. The walls at present do not exceed 15 feet. In these parts, this building is not singular. They have been very numerous among these hills. Wherever good pasture is found, near the less rugged forests, there one meets with the remains of a circular tower. I saw two others fallen into a shapeless state, and had information of one more complete than any I had seen. Near the towers are commonly several cairns.”—*Cordiner's Antiquities, &c., of the North of Scotland*, 1776.

Parish of Golspie.

1. *Uppat*, near the House of Uppat.

2. *Carn Liath*, in the Dunrobin Park, on the edge of the brae, near the sea.

“A very entire piece of antiquity, of the kind known in Scotland by the name of the Pictish Castles, and called here *Carn Lia*, or a grey tower. That I saw was about 130 yards in circumference, round, and was raised so high above the ground as to form a considerable mount; on the top was an extensive but shallow hollow; within were three low concentric galleries, at small distances from each other, covered with large stones, and the side-walls were about four or five feet thick, rudely made. There are generally three or four of these places near each other, so that each may be seen from any one. Buildings of this kind are very frequent along this coast, that of Caithness and Strathnaver. Others, agreeing in external form are common in the Hebrides, but differ in their internal construction. In the islands they are attributed to the Danes; here, to the Picts. They were probably the defensible habitations of the times.”—*Pennant's Tour*, 1769.

3. In the wood above Dunrobin Castle. [Surrounded by narrow ditch, with stone-faced sides.—*J. M. J.*]

4. *Backies*, in Dunrobin Glen, to the north of the village of Backies, on the hill-side. [Explored 1855. Stone cups, shale rings, and pottery found in it.—*J. M. J.*]

Dornoch Parish.

1. On the hill near Rhimusaig, a mile north of Morvich.
2. In Strath Carnach, on the north side, at its junction with Strath Tollie.
3. In Skelbo Wood, half a mile west of Skelbo Castle.

Creich Parish.

1. On the north side of the Kyle of Sutherland, below Cnoc-an-tinnel, about a mile above Balblair.
2. In Glencasseley, at Achness.
3. In Glencasseley, at Dall Langwell.

Parish of Rogart.

1. At Mearlig, in Strathfleet.

Parish of Lairg.

1. About two miles north from the last, on the hill near Suvalmore.
2. On the south side of Loch Shin, near the burn of Alt Leackach.
3. On the bank of the river Tirry, a little above Dailchoire.
4. On the roadside, near Shiness.

Parish of Reay.

1. *Bighuss*, in Strathalladale, at Bighuss, about five miles from the sea.
2. *Borgbreakrie*, in the same strath, about four miles above Bighuss.

Parish of Farr.

1. On the Armadale Water, about a mile and a half above the sea.
2. Near Loch Swordly, about a mile inland from the head of the Bay of Swordly.

3. *Inveraver*, in Strathnaver, near Inveraver, about three quarters of a mile below the Chain-boat Ferry.

4. *Rhinovie*, in the same strath, at Rhinovie, about two miles above the last.

5. *Skelpick*, in the same strath, about a mile above the last, and near the house of Skelpick, on the shoulder of the opposite hill.—*Dr Stuart's Report, Proc.*, vol. vii. p. 289.

6. In the same strath, about two miles and a half above the last, on the west side of the strath.—*Ibid.*

7. *Dunviden*, in the same strath, about half a mile above the last, on the east side of the strath.—*Ibid.*

8. In the same strath, about half a mile above Dunviden, on the west side of the strath, on a slight eminence overhanging a ravine and burn. On the haugh at its base are many cairns and circular hut foundations.—*Ibid.*

9. *Skaill*, in the same strath, about three miles above the last.

10. *Syre*, in the same strath, about two miles above the last, near the farm-house of Syre. An eirde-house of the usual curved form is also here.—*Ibid.*

11. On the north side of Loch Naver, near the middle of the loch. Three of the chambers in the wall still remain, and the ledge or scarcement is distinctly traceable.

12. On the south side of Loch Naver, near the head of the loch, on a small islet, reached by a causeway of stones.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Tongue.

1. On the east side of the Kyle of Tongue, opposite Melness.

2. At the head of the Kyle of Tongue.

3. *Dunbuie*, on the west side of the Kyle of Tongue, at Melness.

Parish of Durness.

1. *Cashil Dhu*, about a mile above the head of Loch Hope.

2. *Dun Dornadilla*, in Strathmore, about five miles above the head of Loch Hope.

"The highest parts of the walls are not 30 feet, but must have been much more; the door has been at least 6 feet high; the building is near 50 yards in circumference; the inner area 27 feet diameter. There are three distinct rows of apartments and passages within the wall. I walked up and down different stairs from the first to the second story, but the third seemed too confined, probably owing to many of the stones being displaced or fallen in."—*Cordiner's Antiquities of the North of Scotland*, 1776.

For Mr Pope's description of Dun Dornadilla, read to the Society of Antiquaries of London, 14th March 1777, see *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 216, where he gives a plan and elevation, and refers to Mr Cordiner's description.

3. On the Kyle of Durness, on the east shore, about half a mile above Keoldale.

4. On the Kyle of Durness, on the east shore, about a mile above the last.

5. On the Kyle of Durness, on the east shore, about a mile above the last, and near where the burn of Altachoran enters the Kyle.

Parish of Eddrachillis.

1. On a little tongue of rock near Kyle Skow, isolated at high water. The uncemented walls are about 8 feet in height. In the middle of the thickness of

the wall, for about 2 feet all round, the stones are mingled with bones, which are decidedly human.—*Anderson's Guide to the Highlands*, p. 703.

Parish of Assynt.

1. At the head of the Bay of Ardvar.
2. Near Loch-an-aidale, on the shore of the Bay of Stoir. [Stone cup found near, and several extended burials in neighbouring sand hummocks.—*J. M. J.*]
3. On Loch Borrolan, in the south end of the parish.

ROSS-SHIRE.

MAINLAND (10 Brochs).

Parish of Edderton.

1. *Dun Alisaig*, about ten miles west from Tain, on the south bank of the Dornoch Firth, now almost totally removed.

Boece, in his "*Scotorum Regni Descriptio*" (Parisii, 1520), after describing the town of Tain, adds:—

"Servantur in valle quadam Rossie duæ ædes vetustatis monumenta rotunda figura in formam campanæ factæ."

[There are preserved, in a certain valley of Ross, two edifices of antiquity, monuments of a round figure, made in the form of bells.]

Ubal dini, in his "*Descrittione de Regno di Scotia*" (1588), mentions other features of these structures, which enable us to recognise them distinctly as brochs—in all probability Dun Alisaig and one of the others in the valley of the Dornoch Frith:

"Essendo nella Rossia ancora due chiese non grandi, la fabrica delle quali è tirata in alto in forma di due campane, ma aperte assai di sopra per ostentar forse la bizzarria di chi edificar vèle fece, ò forse edificate à gli Dii termini, essendo antiche assai."

"Vedi la forma di questi due templi, de i quali si trova, che erano edificati di pietre grandi sopraposte l'una a l'altro con grande arte."

[There are in Ross, also, two churches, not of great size, the structure of which is built upwards in the form of two bells, but they are also open from above, perhaps a proof of the eccentricity of those who built them in this fashion; or perhaps they were built to the gods of the boundaries (the god Terminus), as they are ancient enough to have been so.

I have seen the form (drawings?) of these two temples, from which it is found that they were built of great stones placed one upon another with much skill.]

Maitland, in his "*History of Scotland*" (1757), vol. i. p. 145, describes Dun Alisaig as being 54 ft. 9 in. from side to side, the walls 12 feet thick, and the external circumference 164 feet. The doorway in the east side was about 6 ft. high, and 3 ft. 2 in. wide; the lintel being an equilateral triangular stone, with a side of about 4 ft. The circular internal area about 30 ft. in diameter. There were three galleries—the lowest 7 ft. in height, the second 8 ft. 2 in., the third ruined.

Cordiner (1776) gives a ground plan of it, representing the lower story as furnished with four oval-ended chambers. He calls it "an exact plan to supply the omissions in the print given in the *Archæologia*."—*Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, plate xx. p. 118.

It is also described and figured by Mr James Anderson, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th November 1777, and published in their *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 241.

2. At Leth-Choinnich, half a mile south of Struigh Hill.—*Rev. J. M. Joass.*
3. On the hill-track from Redburn to Scotsburn Road.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Kincardine.

1. At Greenyards, on the south side of river Carron.—*Rev. J. M. Joass.*
2. At Croick, on the Blackwater, two miles above its junction with the Carron.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Lochcarron.

1. *Tomaclarè*, on the rising ground behind Janetown.—*New Stat. Acc.*
2. *Lagandrim*, at Kishorn.—*Ibid.*

Parish of Kintail.

1. *Dun-an-Diarmid*, near the manse of Kintail.—*Old Stat. Acc.*

Parish of Glenshiel.

1. *Castle Gruagach*, on Loch Duich, near the harbour of Ob Inag. Situated immediately under a high cliff, which must have considerably overtopped it. Internal diameter, 25 ft.; thickness of wall, 9 ft; door lintelled by a large triangular stone.—*Stat. Acc.* (Plan taken by Sir H. Dryden, 1871.)

Parish of Kirkmichael.

1. On the glebe, about the year 1834, the Rev. Donald Sage trenched up the ruins of "the circular base of an ancient Pictish house," and found a stone cup, with a handle, made of whinstone.—*New Stat. Acc.*

Parish of Lochbroom.

[There are many of the drystone circular buildings, called duns, in this parish.—*New Stat. Acc.*]

ISLAND OF LEWIS (28 Brochs).

[The following are marked (with one exception) on the sheets of the six-inch map of the Ordnance Survey :—]

Parish of Barvas.

1. *Dun Sobhaill*, on a little bay on the coast.
2. *Dun Bharabhat*, in Loch Bharabhat.
3. *Dun Mara*, on a promontory not far from Ness Free Church.
4. *Dun Loch an Duin*, on an island in the loch of that name.
5. *Dun Loch an Duna*, on an island in the loch of that name, with a causeway.

Parish of Lochs.

1. [Unnamed], on a rock at the entrance of Loch Erisort.—*Stat. Acc.*
2. *Dun Carloway*, on Loch Carloway, the best preserved in the island.

Parish of Uig.

1. *Dun Bhorraig*, on an island in the Loch of Uig.
2. *Dun Bharabhat*, in the loch of that name, in the island of Berneray, with a causeway leading to it.

[I am informed by Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., that he has notes of twenty-eight duns or brochs in Lewis (including the above). A detailed list of these will be given with a paper which he is preparing on the brochs of the Outer Hebrides.]

INVERNESS-SHIRE.

MAINLAND (6 Brochs).

Parish of Beaully.

1. Near Struan, on the River Beaully.—*Rev. J. M. Joass.*

Parish of Glenelg.

1. *Castle Chalamine*, on an eminence on the north side of the valley of Glenbeg, which branches off the vale of Glenelg. Only the foundations remained at the date of Gordon's Tour, 1720.

2. *Castle Chonil*, at the east end of the same valley. Only the foundations remained in 1720.

From the plans and sections of this structure made in 1871 by Sir H. Dryden, it appears as an irregular semi-elliptical wall, about 13 feet thick, enclosing an area measuring about 58 feet in the longer diameter, on the brink of a precipice overlooking the stream.

3. *Castle Tellve*.—Only half of its circumference remained entire in Gordon's time (1720). (See his drawing of it, "Itinerarium Septentrionale," plate 65, p. 166.)

When Pennant visited Glenelg in 1776, he found the height of the side of this tower which remained to be 30 ft. 6 in.; but in 1772, he adds, some *Goths* purloined from the top $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, under pretence of applying the materials to certain public buildings. He gives the diameter within as $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet at 10 feet from the bottom, the wall being there 7 ft. 4 in. thick. Two galleries remained; the lower 6 ft. 2 in. high, and 2 ft. 5 in. wide at the bottom. It was divided into apartments by six flags placed equidistant from each other. The second gallery was 5 ft. 6 in. high, and 20 in. wide at bottom. The remains of a third gallery appeared above it. The entrance to the tower was a square hole in the west side; and before it were the remains of some building, and a small circle of rude stones. (See Pennant's figure of this tower in his Tour of 1776, vol. ii. plate 41, and Description, p. 391.)

4. *Castle Troddan*, near the last mentioned, the most entire of the four in Gordon's time, being then 33 feet high, and showing four galleries entire. (See his drawing of it, plate 65, p. 166, in the "Itinerarium Septentrionale.")

The second tower described by Pennant stands on a little flat, on the side of the hill. It was then only 24 ft. 5 in. in height, the diameter 30 feet, the thickness of the lower part of the wall 12 ft. 4 in. It had three galleries—the first, 6 feet high and 4 ft. 2 in. broad; the second, 6 feet high and 3 ft. 5 in. broad; the third was not measured.

5. The writer of the "New Statistical Account" mentions a fifth of these "duns" in Glenelg.

ISLAND [OR PARISH] OF HARRIS (10 Brochs).

[Capt. F. W. L. Thomas informs me that he has notes of ten brochs in Harris, a list of which will be given with his paper.]

THE ISLES.

[The writer of the "Statistical Account of North Uist" says—"Other remarkable buildings in this parish are the Danish (?) forts or castles. They are generally built of a circular form, in the middle of freshwater lakes, and accessible from the shore by causeways. These duns, as they are called, are about twenty in number." In all probability a number of these are brochs.

In South Uist, there are also about twenty dry-built forts.

In Barra, the "Old Statistical Account" mentions that there are eleven duns.

Uncertainty as to the true character of these prevents their enumeration.]

ISLAND OF SKYE (30 Brochs).

There are at least thirty brochs in Skye, if the enumeration given in Anderson's Guide-Book is to be depended on. It is as follows:—

In the parish of Durinish,	.	.	.	15 brochs.
"	"	Kilmuir,	.	6 "
"	"	Strath,	.	7 "
"	"	Bracadale,	.	2 "
Total,				30 "

Martin gives the following notice of some of them:—

"There are many forts erected on the coast of this isle. . . . They are round in form, and they have a passage all round within the wall; the door of them is low, and many of the stones are of such bulk that no number of the present inhabitants could raise them without an engine. All these forts stand upon eminences, and are so disposed that there is not one of them which is not in view of some other. . . . The forts are commonly named after the place where they are, or the person that built them—as *Dun Skudborg*, *Dun Derig*, *Dun Skeriness*, *Dun David*, &c."—*Martin's Western Islands*, 1703.

ISLAND OF RAASAY (1 Broch).

1. *Dun Voradel*, in S.W. of the island, a quarter of a mile W. from the church on the brow of an eminence. It is elliptical in form, the interior diameters 35 feet

by 24 feet, thickness of wall variable, 12 feet to 15 feet, a "step or seat," a foot wide (the usual scarcement), runs round the interior. The entrance passage is 7 feet wide, where it opens into the central area, and on the outside only 3 feet; greatest height of wall standing about 20 feet.—*Mr J. M. Judd, in a Letter to Rev. Mr Joass, Golspie.*

ARGYLLSHIRE.

[*Ard-in-fuir*, the remains of a circular building, about 30 feet diameter, with traces of chambers in the thickness of the wall, near the north end of the Crinan Canal.—*Rev. R. J. Mapleton.*

The writers of the Statistical Accounts also mention "drystone forts" in the following parishes:—

MAINLAND.			
Craignish,	.	.	seven.
Ardnamurchan,	.	.	several.
Kilfinichen,	.	.	many.
THE ISLES.			
Coll,	.	.	eight.
Tiree,	.	.	fifteen.
Mull,	.	.	several.
Jura,	.	.	several.
Islay,	.	.	several.

It is impossible to ascertain whether any, or how many, of these may be brochs without special examination of the ruins themselves. That there are brochs among them I think is highly probable, judging from the descriptions of Martin, Pennant, and others:—

Tirefoor, in the island of Lismore, is described by Pennant as a dry-stone fort, 17 feet high, having a gallery within the wall, and round the area a ledge or scarcement. This is suggestive of a broch. [Captain Thomas states it is one.]

Dun Bhorraraig, in the island of Islay, is also described by Pennant as a fort of a circular form, 14 feet high, of excellent masonry, but without mortar; the walls 12 feet thick; the circular area 52 feet in diameter, with a scarcement running all round; a gallery extending all round in the thickness of the wall; and a guard-room on each side of the entrance, which is covered with great flat stones. This is most probably a broch, as its name also implies.

Duchaille, on a height overhanging the water of Teatle, the ruins of an old fort or castle, built of drystone, and resembling those old ruins called Danish forts, so frequent in the Western Isles.—*New Stat. Acc. of Glenurchy*, p. 96.

Barchasttallain, another of the same description, a little to the westward of the inn at Dalmally.—*Ibid.*

On the farm of Castles stood another of these buildings, not a vestige of which now remains.—*Ibid.*

As the character of these structures is undetermined, they are not included in the enumeration.]

BUTE.

[The structure at St Blane's Chapel, in the south end of the island (referred to at p. 161 *antea*), cannot be admitted as a broch. Since this paper was in type, Dr Arthur Mitchell has informed me that he examined it in 1865, but failed to find any traces of chambers within the walls. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Galloway, architect, for some notes of his inspection of it while these sheets are passing through the press. He is decidedly of opinion that it is not a broch. The walls, from 4 to 5 feet thick, afford no room for chambers or galleries, and there is no appearance of their ever having been much higher than they are now. I am favoured by the Rev. Mr Ross of Rothesay, a Fellow of this Society, with a sketch of the ground-plan and description of a circular structure at Port Bannatyne, in the north end of the island, which seems to be well worthy of further examination. It is about 60 feet in diameter internally, its walls are about 14 feet thick, and at one side there is the appearance of a chamber or gallery running round in the centre of the wall.]

PERTHSHIRE.

1. *Coldoch*, on the estate of Coldoch, four miles south of Doune. Excavated by Dr Stuart, 1870. Described by Miss Maclagan in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 37.

FORFARSHIRE.

1. *Hurley Hawkin*, on a peninsula between two burns, near the parish church of Liff. Wall 19 feet thick, area 40 feet diameter. Explored by A. Jervise, Esq., 1865. Described in the Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 210.

2. *The Laws*, on the top of a hill near Monifieth, forming one of the terminations of the Sidlaw ranges. The wall of the circular building is about 18 feet thick, and the area about 35 feet diameter; it is surrounded by extensive outworks. Excavated by James Neish, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., 1859. Described, Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 440.

STIRLINGSHIRE.

1. *The Tappock*, on the highest point of the ancient forest of Torwood. Internal area, about 35 feet in diameter; wall, about 15 feet thick, with remains of the stair, &c. Excavated by Col. Joseph Dundas of Carronhall, F.S.A. Scot., 1865. Described by Col. Dundas in the Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 259.

BERWICKSHIRE.

1. *Edin's Hall*, on a spur of Cockburn Law. See p. 164 *antea*, also Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 41.

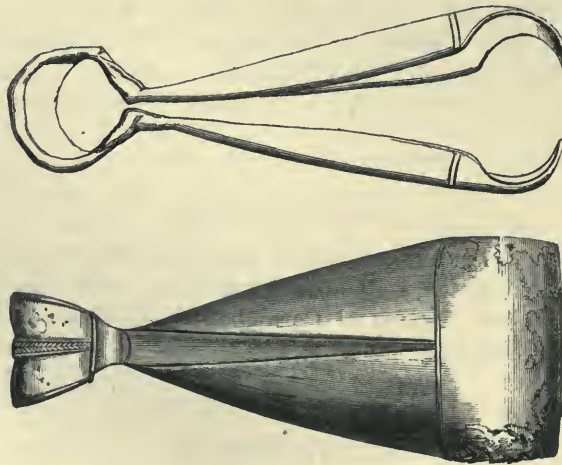
SUMMARY.

LIST OF BROCHS IN SCOTLAND.

(See the accompanying Map.)

	List of Brochs enumerated.
Shetland,	75
Orkney,	70
Caithness,	79
Sutherland,	60
Ross (Mainland,	10
„ (Island of Lewis),	28
Inverness (Mainland),	6
„ (Island of Harris),	10
„ („ of Skye),	30
„ („ of Raasay),	1
Perthshire,	1
Forfarshire,	2
Stirlingshire,	1
Berwickshire,	1
Total enumerated,	374

[This total (though doubtless including several instances where further investigation may prove the structures to be different from brochs) is exclusive of a large part of the west coast of Ross-shire, the whole of the mainland of Argyll, the whole of the outer Hebrides south of Harris, and the islands south of Skye. If these districts were properly examined, I have no doubt the number and range of the brochs would be greatly extended.]

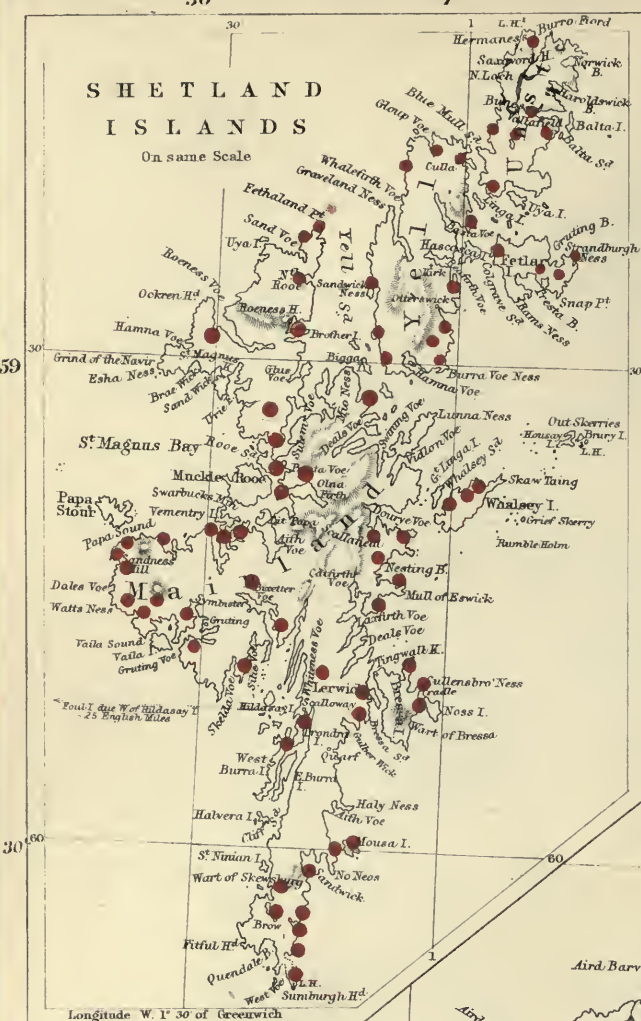


Bronze Tweezers, from Kettleburn Broch, Caithness, in the Museum.

S H E T L A N D I S L A N D S

On same Scale

A T L



North Barra

North Rona

59

30'

O C

30

60

Longitude W. 1° 30' of Greenwich



T H E

M I N C H

58

30'

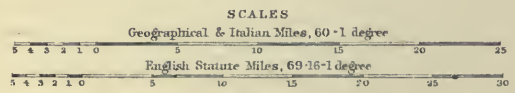




N T I C

A N

NORTHERN PART
of
SCOTLAND
(Approximately)
Showing Sites of
BROCHS.



Site of Brochs marked in Red.

70 VML
ANSON 140

VI.—*Notes of the Brochs or “ Pictish Towers ” of Mousa, Clickemin, &c., in Shetland, illustrative of part of the series of Plans and Sections deposited in the Library of the Society. (Plates XVII.—XXII.)*

By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

[Communicated May 13th 1872.]

BROCHS IN SHETLAND.

The peculiar kind of fort known in the north of Scotland by the name of “ Brough ” is found only in Scotland and the Scottish Islands, and is almost entirely confined to the north-west of that country, including the islands to the north and west ; but the area in which these forts are found, and the comparative numbers in different parts of that area, are shown more exactly in the list of brochs in this volume, p. 179. They are probably as numerous in Shetland as in any part. Most of them are within a few yards of the shore, often on little promontories, but some are on little holms in the sea, or in lakes near the shore. Many are on ground only a few feet above the sea. In Caithness and Sutherland, however, many are far inland. Shetland possesses the most perfect example extant.

The Editors of the Society have decided to adopt the spelling “ broch ” as the name of these forts in the present volume. This word is an approximation to the pronunciation of the word *brough*, which apparently is by metathesis from *burgh*. Icelandic, *Borg*, a town, fort ; gen. *burge*, dat. *byrig*.

Ang. Sax., *Bur* or *Burh*, a city. Hence our words *Burgh* and *Borough*. So we have again in old authors by metathesis *Brugh*, as *Edinbrugh*.

It is necessary to observe the difference between the word *Burra* in some cases and in others. In some it is a corrupt spelling of *Burrey*—*Burgh-ey*, the “ fort island,” whilst in other cases it is a corrupt spelling and pronunciation of *Burgh* or *Borough*. In Orkney *Burra* is a corruption of *Bur-ey* the fort island. In Shetland *Burraness* is of the second meaning—the

promontory of the fort. In the first the *a* should be close, and in the second should be open.

A broch is a circular tower formed of wall from 10 to 16^f thick at the base, enclosing a court from 24 to 38^f diameter, with one entrance from the outside into the court. The usual thickness of wall is about 15^f, and the usual diameter of court about 28^f. All were in outline truncated cones—that is, the outer face of the wall “batters” or inclines inwards. The wall is also decreased in thickness towards the top by set-offs inside. The chambers of the broch proper are in the thickness of the walls, but there are usually partitions in the court of later construction. The original height of these towers of course varied, and except Mousa, we have no broch more than 20^f high, but Mousa is still 40^f high, and was somewhat more. No mortar was used in them, but probably the chinks were stopped with moss or mud just as in modern Shetland cottages.

The stones of the Shetland examples are of a laminated texture—commonly micaceous schist, roughly shaped; laid in courses at the inner and outer faces as regularly as the materials admitted without mortar. There are no marks of hammer or chisel, though probably some tools were used. The courses vary in thickness from 3ⁱ to 1^f. As the outer face of the wall is conical, and as the stones have their outward faces at right angles to their beds, the wall forms a number of minute steps on which wet lodges and lichen grows. This circumstance has done much to disintegrate the stone. The interstices between the large stones in the faces of the wall were filled with smaller stones so as to make an even bed for the next course above. The walls of the chambers were also built as regularly and smoothly as the materials allowed. The core of the wall was filled less regularly. The batter of the outer face varies in different examples from 2^f in 12^f of height (the steepest), to 2^f in 6^f 6ⁱ (the flattest.) Probably the mean batter is about 1^f 2ⁱ in 6^f, which forms with the perpendicular an angle of 11°.

There are two methods of constructing the shelter in the walls—1st, By making bee-hive chambers of stones laid horizontally, each successive course over-hanging the course below, till the four sides were near enough to be closed by one slab or two slabs. This kind of vault is found in the “Picts’ houses.”¹ The access to these chambers is usually separately from the court, but exceptions will be noticed hereafter. 2nd, By making two concentric

¹ In such structures as Maeshow, and in some chambered sepulchral cairns.

walls at 2^f or 3^f or 4^f apart, and joining them at intervals of 4^f or 5^f in height by floors of flag-stones. The access to these galleries is by stairs in the wall, leading from the court. This mode affords more shelter in proportion to the stone used than the former one. In most brochs the two systems are combined, but in different proportions.

The entrances to the isolated chambers, as well as those to the galleries, were not always close to the ground. The entrances from the exterior into the court, as well as the entrances to cells and the passages in the walls, are all nearly rectangular and horizontal in the head, covered by large slabs. The original entrances from the outside have, about half way along them, a rebate for a door.

Near this rebate, on the inside of it, are in many cases bar-holes, and a gap between the covering-stones, just where the door would be. The door must have been loose, not hinged. It was probably made of wood, and barred with wood or with slate. The bars were in one piece, for the hole is always long on one side and short on the other.

In many brochs are found tanks or wells ; but some are dry and may have been store-holes, or may have been made for water and failed.

It is a matter of dispute whether the courts were roofed or not ; whether such roofs were put on in the first or second occupation ; whether there were floors also. Captain Thomas and Mr Irvine, whose observations have been accurate and extensive, with some others, suppose that they had in the first occupation floors and roofs. If they had *floors*, the roofs would be a consequence. The evidences on which these gentlemen depend are the set-offs and ledges which in most brochs are to be observed inside, the fire-places in the courts, and the position of some brochs below heights from which missiles might be shot into the courts. The roofs are by them supposed to have been conical, with an aperture for smoke in the centre, and with the eave of the roof on the outer edge of the tower.

On the other side, it is argued that no signs of insertion of beams or rafters exist in any one. If the builders had timber and skill to floor and roof them, why did they spend so much labour in making thick walls and chambers in them ? If floored and roofed, why should they have these heavy stone divisions in the court ? These probably belong to the second occupation, and it may be held that the roofs were gone by that time. We cannot assume that these forts are of as early a date as the age of timber in Shetland and

Orkney;¹ and if not, how did they get beams for 20^f span, and rafters 15^f in length, and boards for floors? The smoke of fires might get through a hole in the apex of the roof, but how through the floors, unless there were large apertures left in them? If floored, there could be no light in the lower part, and even if roofed without floors there would be but little light. At Mousa there are numerous openings to the court evidently for light; but if floored or roofed they would be of no use. There are no openings to the outside as far as we know, except three at Clickemin, and these do not light *chambers*. Probably if the brochs had been roofed they would have had at least slits to the outside for light.

The idea that a conical roof fitted *inside* the tower, and rested on the ledge at 10^f high, cannot be correct, for the wet would have poured down the wall and rendered the entrances to the cells very wet.

We know that the cells in the court and in the outworks of the second occupation, had, in many cases, lean-to roofs, and there is no reason why such should not have been used in the court in the first occupation. In many brochs the courts have drains—useless if roofed—but these may be of the second occupation. If the roof had reached to the outside of the tower, the use of the wide top, as a position for defenders, would have been prevented. This cannot be supposed; the roof, if conical, must have reached on to the flat top and must have had a passage and parapet outside it, just as the roofs of the Irish castles are. On the whole, it seems that the evidence in favour of roofs is outweighed by that against them.

BROCH OF CLICKEMIN.

(See Plates XVII.—XX.)

This broch is on a holm or small island in the Loch of Clickemin, about three quarters of a mile west of Lerwick. The loch is within a short distance of the sea, and nearly level with it. A narrow passage of stepping-stones, 170^f long, connects the holm with the south shore of the loch. On the west of the loch the ground rises for some distance. The name Clickemin is applied to several roadside inns in Scotland, and is a contraction of “click-them-in”—catch them, *i.e.*, the travellers. Formerly there was a whisky

¹ Those who have examined the evidence assert that there is no trace of an age of timber in Orkney and Shetland.

70 1111
ANNEX 10

shop by the side of the main road near the loch, which gave its name to the loch.

The tower or broch proper is about the centre of the holm, which is 150^f N. and S. by 154^f E. and W., and is surrounded by a wall, now varying from 1^f to 3^f in height, and in some places 10^f wide. (See Plate XVII.)

On a stone on the causeway there are two sinkings in the shape of two human feet, whether cotemporary with the occupation of the fort is uncertain. The entrance through the outer wall is on the S. and E. The holm is of rock, and the centre of it is only about 1^f 3ⁱ above the average water-level of the loch. The interior of the tower and some chambers on the W. and S.W. of it were excavated in 1861-2 by some gentlemen in Lerwick with assistance from the Society of Antiquaries and others. The plans were made by the writer partly in 1855, and the remainder in 1866. The scales of the original plans are—General plans, 4-8thsⁱ to 10^f; detailed plans and sections, 3-8thsⁱ to 2^f; some portions, 3-8thsⁱ to 1^f.¹ The magnetic meridian was taken to be 25° W. of N. Several sketches inside and outside were taken. Copies of all are in the library of the Society. Between the entrance and the outer wall of the tower or broch proper is an outwork, described hereafter, and outside the tower on the W. and S.W., between this outwork of the entrance to the tower, are chambers, also described hereafter.



The base of the tower is hidden on the outside by fallen rubbish, and its contour is not a perfect circle. The external diameter, W. by S. and E. by N., is 67^f 6ⁱ; the walls, 19^f 6ⁱ and 19^f thick; and the diameter of the court in the same direction, 29^f. But a considerable block of masonry was inserted in later times, which reduces the court to an irregular oval 26^f 10ⁱ W. by S. and E. by N., by 20^f 9ⁱ N. by W. and S. by E. The height of the wall on the west (the highest part) is 19^f 4ⁱ from the floor of the court.

The building is of the schist of the district, in courses from 3ⁱ to 10ⁱ thick. The outer face inclines in most places about 2^f 6ⁱ in 10^f of height. The entrance into the tower is on the W. by S., and a passage 50^f long leads

¹ The scales used in the plates are—General plans, 1-4th inch to 10 feet; common plans and elevations, 1-16th inch to 1 foot. Some parts, 3-16ths inch to 1 foot.

N.W. from the outer end of it to the loch. About half-way along the entrance passage are as usual two projecting slabs of stone, leaving a passage between them 2^f 11ⁱ wide at bottom and 2^f 6ⁱ at top. The passage to the west of them is the same width, but on the east side of them it is 4^f 6ⁱ wide at bottom, and 5^f wide further east. A strong sill is placed on the west side of the jambs. The entrance passage is 4^f 10ⁱ high. On the east side of the jambs before mentioned, and at about 6ⁱ from them, are holes for a bar to fasten the door. Over the internal part of the entrance passage is an ambry or store hole, with an opening into the court. It is usual to find such openings over entrances to chambers, and doubtless one reason for the position was to lighten the pressure on the lintels of the entrances. The floor of this ambry, which is also the roof of the east part of the entrance-passage, does not reach quite up to the jambs of the doorway. This opening is found in some other brochs. The door must have been a loose shutter, probably of rude pieces of wood pinned together, just pushed up a little way through this slit, and then let down into its place, and fastened with the bar. On the east of the court, and opposite the main entrance, is the entrance into a chamber constructed in the thickness of the wall. The sill of the entrance is raised a step from the floor of the court. The entrance is 2^f 6ⁱ wide at the bottom, 2^f 3ⁱ wide at top, and 2^f 11ⁱ high. The chamber is 12^f 6ⁱ N. by W. and S. by E., 5^f E. by N. and W. by S., and 7^f 3ⁱ high in the centre, constructed in the usual bee-hive way, by stones laid horizontally and overhanging the course below till within 2^f 6ⁱ of each other. On the south is a chamber 11^f 6ⁱ E. by W., and 5^f N. by S., and originally about 7^f high, constructed as the last. The original entrance from the court is visible from the inside, but is blocked by the insertion before mentioned, and the only access to the chamber now is near the top of it, as shown in the section in Plate XX.

It is probable, judging by other examples, that there is a chamber in the north-west part of the tower, the entrance to which has been blocked up by the insertion. At 10^f average above the floor of the court is a ledge about 1^f wide. At 4^f 9ⁱ above the floor in the north wall of the tower is an entrance 2^f 7ⁱ wide, which passes through the wall to an opening in the outer face 3^f 7ⁱ high by 2^f 5ⁱ, the sill of which is 7^f 4ⁱ above the water. Midway along this passage a flight of twenty-one steps leads up eastward, and a chamber is attached westward. Of these stairs the risers are commonly 7ⁱ or 8ⁱ, and

the treads from 5¹ to 8¹. At about 6^f 6ⁱ above the floor in the south wall of the tower is an entrance from which access is gained to the chamber before mentioned (not the original entrance of the chamber), and to a landing on the wall, from which a flight of fourteen steps leads up westward to galleries now destroyed, and from which a gallery 4^f high leads eastward for about 50^f, and then turns at right angles to an opening 2^f 11ⁱ high by 2^f 4ⁱ, in the outer face, the sill of which is 9^f 5ⁱ above the level of the water. (See plan half-way up, Plate XIX.)

Over this gallery is the lower part of another gallery nearly similar in form and extent, which at its east end has an opening into the court, as well as in the outer face. The upper part of this gallery is gone.

There is nothing to guide us in conjecturing the height of the tower originally. Mousa is now 40^f, and was more. We may fairly assume that Clickemin was at least 30^f.

In nearly all the brochs which have been excavated have been found constructions, more or less extensive, inside and outside, apparently of a later date than the original towers; at least the various persons who have conducted the examinations have independently come to the same conclusion. The evidence appears to prove that this second occupation took place at a considerable interval from the end of the first occupation, and by a people of less mechanical skill, and to whom the power of defence was less necessary. The broch of Clickemin affords good evidence in this matter. The interior addition is, on the average, 7^f 8ⁱ high, on the N.W. it is 7^f 3ⁱ wide, on the S. 2^f 10ⁱ wide, on the E. only 1^f. The constructors of this addition continued to use the original E. chamber, and formed a chamber on the N.W. side in the addition. On the S. they built their wall against the entrance to the original S. chamber, so as to block it up, and made an access (unless it was broken through previously) near the top of the chamber. It is very probable that they blocked up an entrance to an original chamber on the N.W. Inside this addition, and projecting from it, are slabs of stone edgeways, making compartments round the court, as in most other brochs. These slabs are from 1^f to 3^f high. On the S. of the court is a stone construction like a bed, locally termed "Bink," about 5^f 7ⁱ long by 2^f 9ⁱ wide, and 2^f 2ⁱ high. In this addition, at 4^f 6ⁱ above the floor of the court, and entered from the passage before mentioned, is a chamber 2^f high, 2^f 9ⁱ wide, and 8^f 3ⁱ long, roofed with slabs of stone. This large mass of inserted

masonry contains only two small chambers, and it is probable that the second occupants found the interior of the tower much incumbered with fallen stones, and, therefore, built them up in this form to put them out of the way, just as a Galway farmer makes a wall 15^f wide in his field.

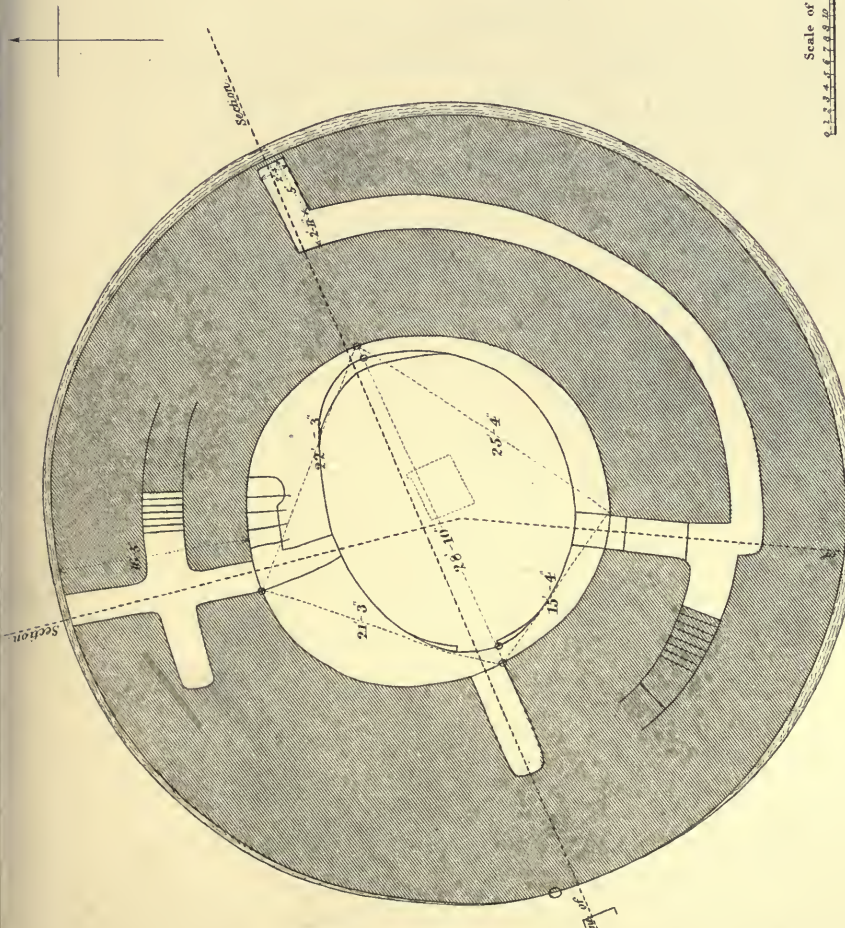
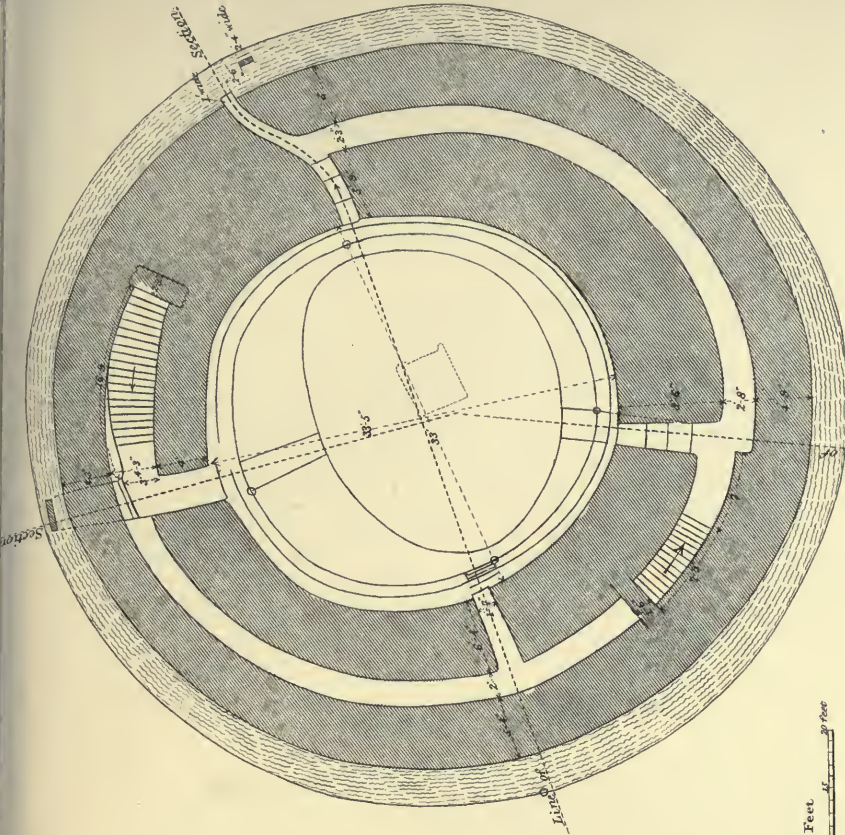
In the middle of the court is a fire-place, 3^f 6ⁱ by 2^f 11ⁱ, of which the sides are now only 5ⁱ or 6ⁱ high. On the S. side of the court the original wall had decayed and fallen, so that several courses which had not actually fallen had inclined. At some subsequent period (probably at the second occupation) courses of masonry, *laid level*, were placed on the top of these sloping courses, which shows that considerable decay had taken place in the original tower when the second occupants took up their abode in it.

Outside the main entrance are many irregular chambers and passages, of which the upper parts have been destroyed. Many of these were covered, and others were not, and it is now impossible accurately to determine which were covered and which were open. The passage leading to the water is for the most part about 2^f 10ⁱ wide, with walls 2^f 4ⁱ high. About midway a projecting jamb looks as if a door was placed there, and probably the part between it and the main entrance was covered, especially as there is in it a "bink." A drain runs from the court, through the main entrance and under the floor of this passage, to the loch.

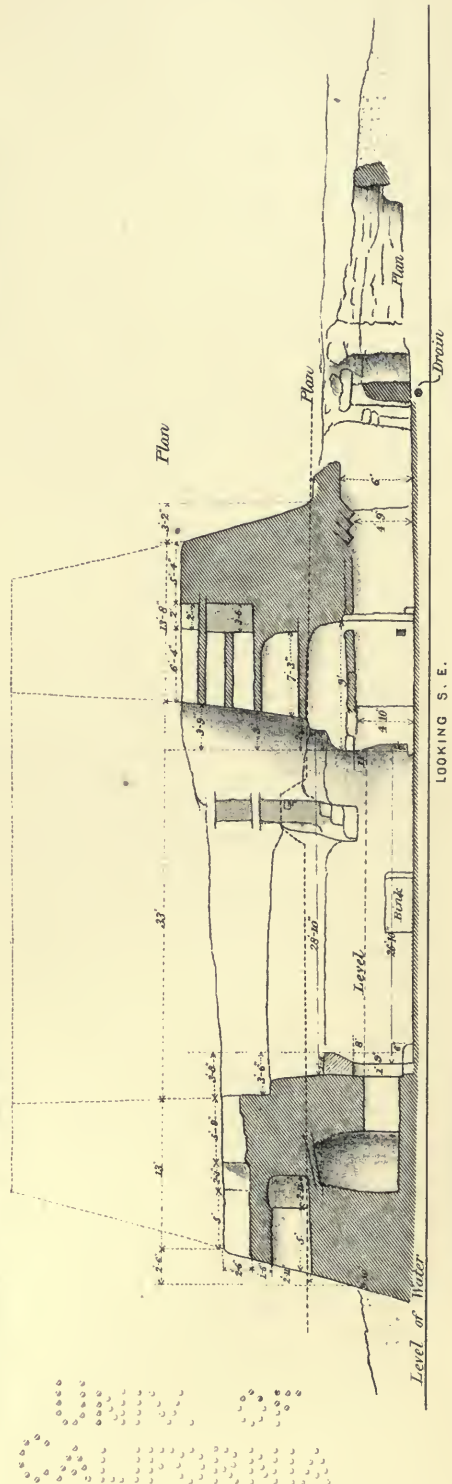
W. of the main entrance is a large chamber, perhaps partially covered, in which is another "bink." The space (13^f span) seems too large to have been covered by a bee-hive roof, and there are no pillars which might have supported lean-to roofs. S. of the entrance to the tower is a passage or chamber, which has at its S. end a doorway or entrance 1^f 8ⁱ wide, and 5^f high, on which the roof remains. At 7^f S.E. of this the passage forks, and between this point and the outwork or guardhouse, the chambers and passages are in great ruin, and have not been cleared. Probably these constructions are of the same date as the large interior addition.

Between the entrance in the outer wall surrounding the holm and the tower, is the guard-house (Plate XX.), in form a segment of a circle, 43^f on its convex face, connected with the outer wall by a passage, in which is a doorway, but not connected with the tower, at least no connecting walls appear. This outwork is about 13^f wide at bottom, 19^f at top at the passage through it, which is near the centre, and about 8^f high, but it is irregular in width. There is a chamber on each side the entrance. About 5^f in from the outer

70 1000
ANATOMICAL



Scale of Feet
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



LOOKING S. E.

face the entrance passage is diminished to 2^f 11ⁱ, by the usual jambs for a door, inside of which the passage is wider. Holes remain for the fastening bar, and a slit in the roof, as in the entrance to the tower. The E. chamber is 9^f 6ⁱ long. The only access to it is from the space over the entrance, through the top of the chamber. The W. chamber is on a higher level, and entered from the same landing on a level. At the W. end of the guard-house are steps leading to the top of it, and doubtless there was a parapet, which is now destroyed. The wall is broken away over the outer end of the entrance, but was solid. We must suppose that the outer wall and the walls forming the passage to the guard-house were several feet high, so that the only access to the tower was through the guard-house. It is doubtful whether this building is of the date of the original tower, or of the external chambers, or of some intermediate date. Judging by the work it is rather to be attributed to the builders of the tower, than to those of the external chambers. No other example is known, though so few brochs have been examined by the spade and pick that we cannot affirm that no example exists.

The interior addition was probably built out of materials fallen or taken from the upper part of the tower, and many of the external chambers may have been made from the surrounding wall, not as in the former case to get rid of the stones, but to save the labour of transporting stones. Although the builders of the original broch had some mechanical skill, we may infer by the chambers, passages, and especially the steps, that they were people of small stature. When the tower was cleared in 1861, there were found stone troughs or mortars, used for bruising grain; oval beach stones, used as pestles; coarse black pottery, whorls for the distaff, stone pot-covers, and quantities of shells.

There is a short paper on this broch by J. T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot., in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, of December 1866.

BROCH OF MOUSA.

(See *Plates XXI.-XXII.*)

This is on the W. side of the little island Mousa, properly Mous-ey, which is the S.E. of the Shetland group. It is on a small rocky promontory, at the point nearest to the mainland of Shetland. The bottom of the tower is about 20 feet above high water mark, and is only 19 feet from the edge of the plateau. The rocks slope down to the water. The point of the promon-

tory is on the N.W., about 80^f from the tower. On the S.E. are the remains of an intrenchment, and on the N.E. another less distinct. The ground round the tower has been disturbed. It is stated that there were remains of bee-hive huts round it, as round Burreland on the opposite side of the strait, but these were taken away many years ago to build the farm-house.

In a view of the tower in Lowe's Tour, is shown a circle of boulder stones round the tower. It is built of schistose slate, varying from 1^f to 2ⁱ in thickness, averaging 6ⁱ at bottom and 4ⁱ at top. No lime is used in it, but probably the chinks in the chambers were filled with mud or moss.

Plans and sections were made by the writer in 1852, but at that time the interior was filled with rubbish to a depth of 9^f, and the lower chambers, of course, were not visible. In 1861, through the exertions of the owner, Mr Bruce, and some members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the interior was cleared, and some repairs done to the walls, so as to check further decay. The plans and sections of the lower portion of the tower were made by the writer in 1866. The scales of the original plans are—general plan, 4-8thsⁱ to 10^f; detailed plans and sections, 3-8thsⁱ to 2^f; portions, 3-8thsⁱ to 1^f. The magnetic meridian is taken to be 25° W. of N. Several sketches inside and outside were taken. Copies of all are in the library of the Society.

The diameter at the ground is about 50^f 2ⁱ, and at top about 38^f. The wall, at bottom, at the entrance is about 15^f 6ⁱ thick. The entrance from the outside to the court is on the W. by S. It is 5^f 3ⁱ high by 2^f 11ⁱ wide. The roof of the passage slopes upwards towards the court. There has been some mutilation about the entrance, and there is a good deal of new work (before 1851) about the inside and outside. Midway along the passage were the usual projecting jambs, within which (eastward) the passage was wider. No bar holes are now visible.

There is a set off course or ledge, 7½ⁱ wide, on an average, from the wall above it, all round the court, about level with the inner roof stone of the entrance passage, and two or three large stones projecting inwards 1^f or 1^f 6ⁱ. Above the ledge the diameter of the court is 22^f 6ⁱ N. and S., and 21^f 3ⁱ E. and W. At the floor, about 2^f 6ⁱ less each way. The top of the tower is not complete at any part, but is highest on the E., and measures there 41^f from ground outside, and 45^f from the floor inside. The upper part is so much decayed that the construction of the top of the walls, and of

the head of the stairs, cannot be ascertained. Probably the top of the tower was flat, or nearly so, except a parapet wall at its outer edge, like many of our old castle walls. Round the floor of the court attached to the wall, or rather forming part of it, is a bench or ledge about 1^f high, near entrance, and rising to 3^f high at farther side. This served as the step to reach the entrance to the stairs on the N.

On the ground floor are three isolated bee-hive chambers, roofed as usual by horizontal stones overhanging the course below, till near enough to be closed by one slab at top. These have entrances from the court. The chamber on the N.W. is 14^f long by 5^f 6ⁱ wide, and 9^f 6ⁱ high. The entrance is 3^f 2ⁱ high and 2^f 3ⁱ wide. The chamber on the E. is 14^f by 6^f 10ⁱ and 10^f 6ⁱ high. The entrance is 3^f 4ⁱ high and 2^f 9ⁱ wide. The chamber on the S.W. is 16 by 5^f 9ⁱ and 9^f 9ⁱ high. The entrance is 3^f high and 2^f wide. Each chamber has two or more ambries or store-holes in it. Each entrance has over it apertures, which not only relieve the pressure on the lintels, but give light to the chamber. In this lower compartment of the building are three ambries recessed, 4^f 9ⁱ, 4^f 4ⁱ, and 2^f respectively. (See Plate XXI.)

At 4^f higher level than the entrance to the chambers on the N.E. is the entrance to the stairs, 5^f 4ⁱ high by 3^f wide. The stairs lead up S.E., and give access to the galleries. Opposite the foot of the stairs is a chamber. The stairs are of stones, from 10ⁱ to 2^f wide, and average 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁱ rise, and only 5ⁱ tread.

There are now six galleries, as shown in elevations (Plate XXII.). The roofs or floors of the galleries are of stones from 10ⁱ to 2^f wide, and 4ⁱ or 6ⁱ thick, reaching into both walls. The height of the galleries varies from 4^f to 5^f 6ⁱ, and the width from 1^f 6ⁱ to 3^f 2ⁱ; but probably none were originally so narrow as 1^f 6ⁱ, for reasons given hereafter. The access to them is by getting off the stairs, facing downwards. The floors of the galleries could not come within about 3^f 9ⁱ of the stairs, or there would have been too little head-room for persons going up or down

The galleries and stairs are lit by four sets of windows opening into the court. One set of windows is over the main entrance. It had fourteen openings (one division is now gone), in all 16^f 4ⁱ high, varying in width from 2^f 9ⁱ to 10ⁱ. Another set is on the east, over the entrance to the stairs. This consists of eighteen openings, in all 20^f 7ⁱ high, varying from 2^f 9ⁱ to 10ⁱ in width. The next set is nearly over the east chamber, in all 16^f 9ⁱ

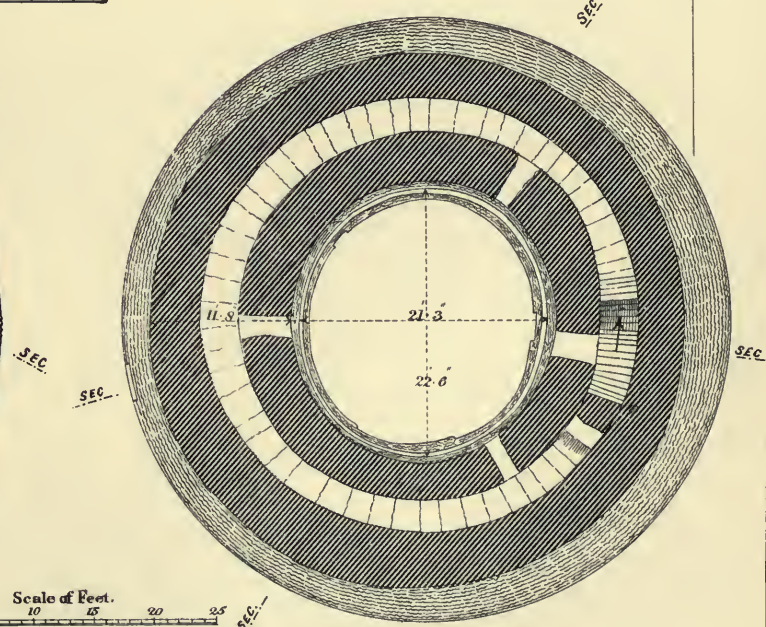
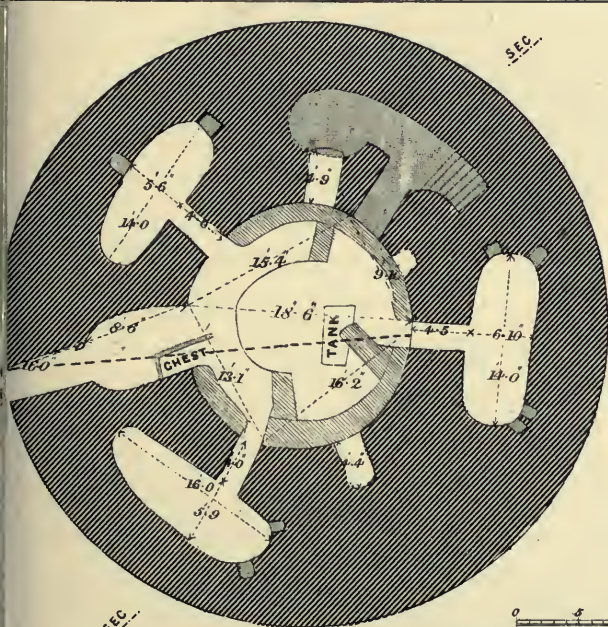
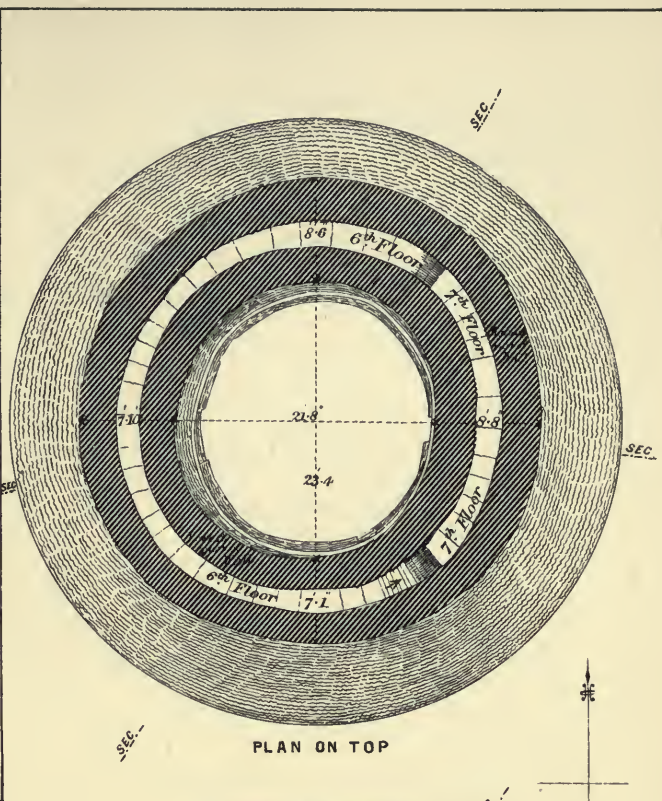
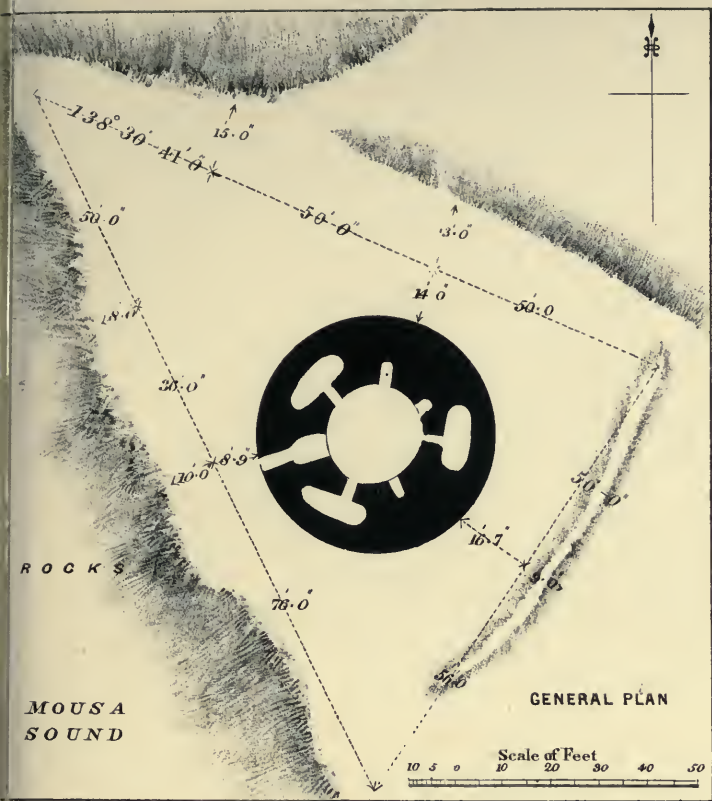
high. Several of the divisions have been broken into one, so that the number of original openings is uncertain. They vary from 3^f to 9ⁱ in width. The fourth set is on S.S.E. It consists of seventeen openings, in all 20^f 3ⁱ high, varying from 1^f 7ⁱ to 9ⁱ in width.

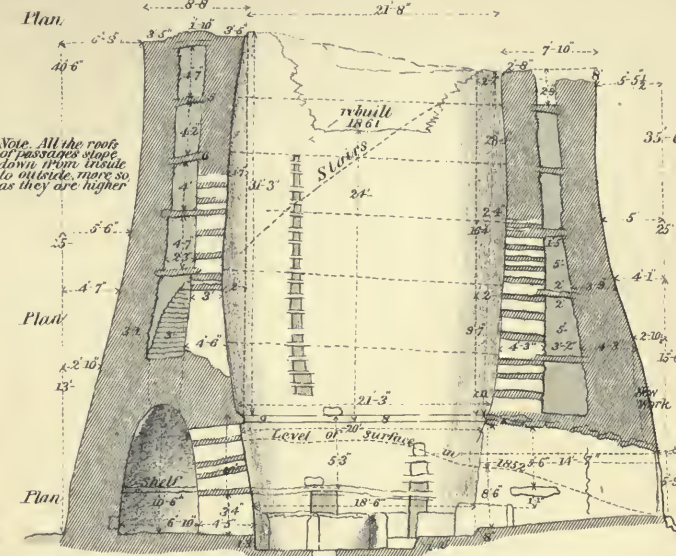
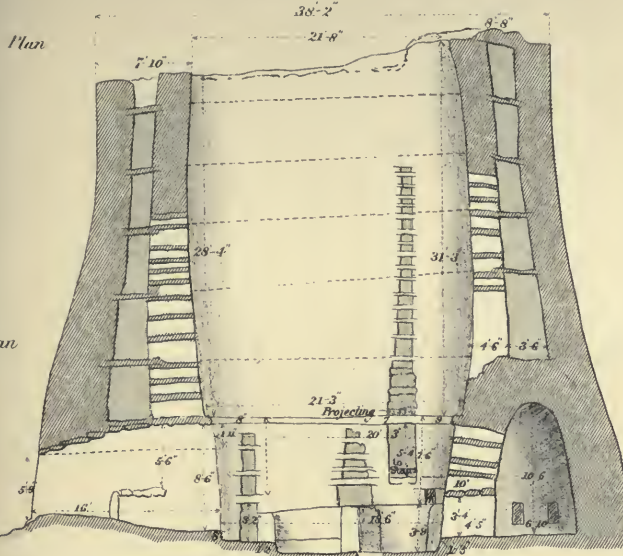
In the court and attached to the wall of the tower are rude irregular walls and benches of stone, the use of which is not apparent; but they answer to the slabs which are more commonly found. They vary from 1^f to 3^f 9ⁱ in height, and are doubtless additions. A circular space in the court is sunk 1^f below the portion next the wall of the tower. This possibly was to make the chambers and portion next the wall more dry. In the court is a tank, probably to hold water, 4^f 3ⁱ by 2^f 6ⁱ, and about 2^f deep, partly built and partly cut in the rock. It was at least partly covered, and part of a partition wall is over it.

In clearing the interior in 1861 great quantities of animals' bones, especially of otters, were found; the remains of a clay pot, black with use on the fire, flat round stone pot-covers; a slaty stone, about 1^f long, like a three-cornered file; and a carved model of a Norway boat in fir, about 3ⁱ long.

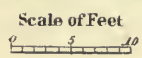
Reference to the plates will show that the outline of the tower has in a slight degree the form known as "ogee," and much has been said of this peculiar outline, which has been supposed to be original. It is certain that this form is the result of accident, and that the tower originally was a truncated cone. The outer wall has slipped down a little with regard to the inner one. Hence it bulged out near the bottom, and fell in nearer the top. The inner wall has bulged towards the outside about halfway up. The floors of the galleries incline downwards towards the outside, especially on the east. The inclination is greatest in the highest galleries. Many of the stones of the floors are torn asunder, and the two walls in the fifth gallery, where the double wall is now narrowest, so nearly meet as to prevent passage. The interior face of the wall near the top leans inwards, or overhangs to the court, from decay, and unequally in different parts.

The whole construction of this tower is doubtless very rude; but could a modern architect, with few tools, with no wood, or with only enough to make a door, and without lime, contrive a building which should more conveniently afford an open or perhaps roofed court, an unscalable and impenetrable wall (no guns being in use), and larger accommodation, in the same area, namely, four isolated cells, and about 460^f of gallery, sheltered from



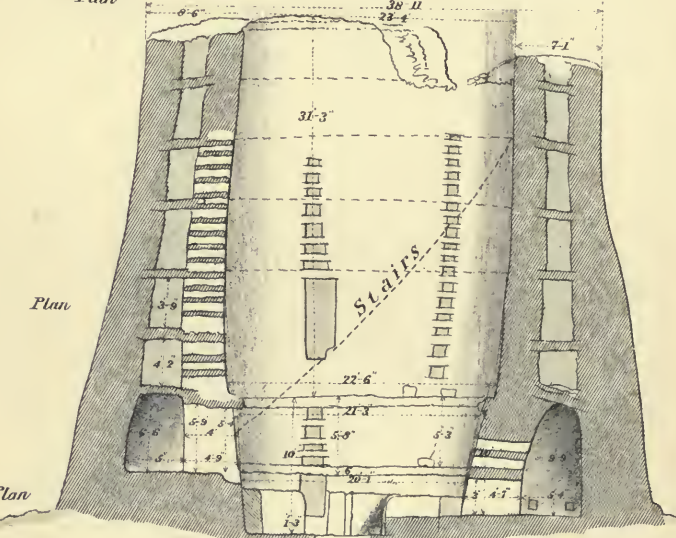
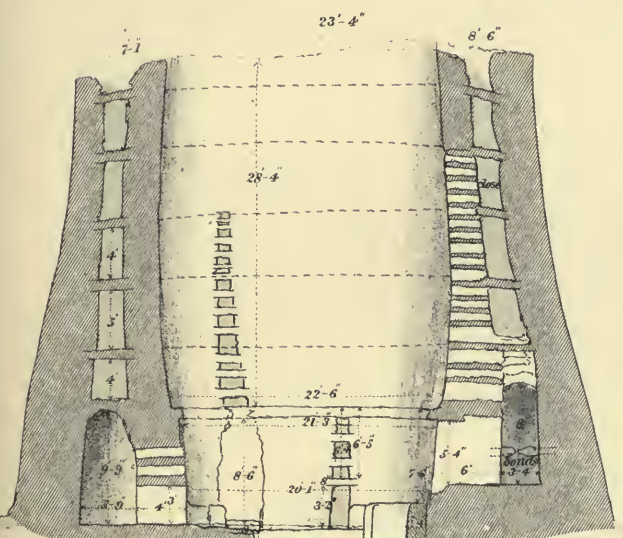


Note. All the roofs of passages slope down from inside to outside, more so as they are higher



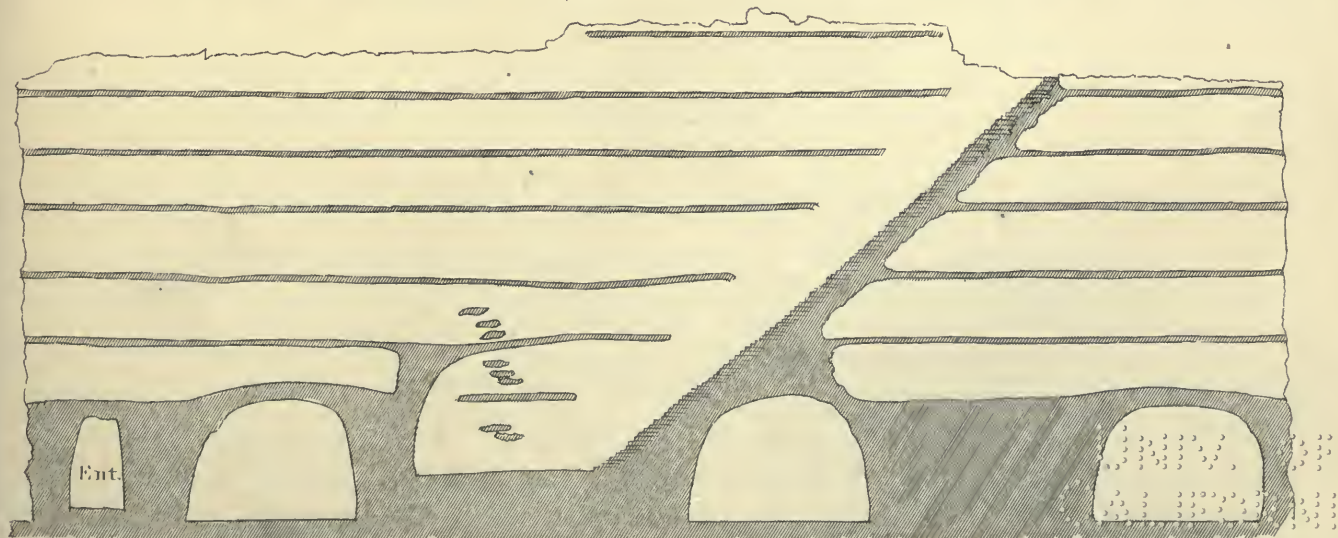
LOOKING N.

LOOKING S.



LOOKING N.W. BY W.

LOOKING S.E. BY E.



PANORAMA SUPPOSING THE INNER WALL TAKEN AWAY

wind and weather? The section of the tower, showing stairs, in Hibbert's "History of Shetland," copied by Worsaae in "The Danes and Northmen," is very erroneous.

In Glen-beg, district of Glenelg, county Inverness, are two brochs, of which considerable portions remain, which appear to be constructed on the same plan as Mousa. Both are rather larger in diameter than Mousa, Castle Ellye (in Gordon's "Itinerarium," called "Tellve")—Exterior diameter about 55^f; interior diameter about 33^f. Castle Troddan—Exterior diameter 53ⁱ; interior diameter, 29^f 6ⁱ.

OTHER BROCHS IN SHETLAND.

The writer visited and made plans and views of the following brochs in Shetland, as far as could be done without excavating; but there are numbers more:¹—

MAINLAND.

BRINDISTER.—Exterior diameter, 68^f; interior diameter, 34^f. Entrance on S.W., on which side the wall is 12^f 6ⁱ high. Internal additions, but centre is filled up.

LEVENWICK².—Exterior diameter, about 54^f 6ⁱ; interior diameter, 28^f 6ⁱ. Traces of outer wall and of ramparts beyond that on N.W. and S.

CULLSWICK.—Exterior diameter, 50^f 8ⁱ; interior diameter, 24^f 8ⁱ. Considerable portion of the tower remains, and traces of outer wall as at Clickemin. (See Hibbert's "Shetland.")

BURRALAND.—Exterior diameter, 55^f; interior diameter, 37^f. Much encumbered with debris. Entrance not visible. Apparently had galleries as Mousa. Near it remains of fifteen or twenty bee-hive huts, from 5^f to 12^f in diameter.

SUMBURGH.—A broch stood where the present lighthouse is.

DUNROSSNESS.—Grown over; no exact measures can be given. Two ramparts surrounded it; but little of the tower can remain.

HOULAND (Northmaven).—On a holm in a loch; much ruined; no measures taken.

¹ For a complete list of the Brochs in Shetland see the Appendix to the previous Paper by Mr Anderson, p. 179.

² See paper by Mr G. Goudie on the Broch of Levenwick, Proc. vol. ix. p. 212.

FETLAR.

HOUBIE. — Exterior diameter, 58^f; interior diameter, 33^f. Ruined and grown over. Nothing can be stated of chambers. Was defended by considerable ramparts on land side.

SNABURGH.—Nearly all the broch has been destroyed by the sea. Perhaps the piece of wall which remains is part of an outer concentric wall as at Cullswick. Was defended by two ramparts on land side. Hibbert has termed this a Roman camp.

UNST.

OGANESS.—What little remains of the tower is enveloped in rubbish and grown over. Has double rampart on land side.

TAFT, near Burrafirth.—On a small ness. Much ruined; no measures taken.

UNDERHOOL (from J. T. Irvine).—Exterior diameter, 55^f 9ⁱ; interior diameter, 25^f 9ⁱ. Entrance on W.; ramparts on N.E.

YELL.

BURRANESS.—Exterior diameter, 57^f; interior diameter, 27^f. Much destroyed; entrance not visible. The N.W. part about 16^f high. Traces of ramparts all round it. Appears to have had isolated chambers and galleries.

No doubt the building of brochs was carried on for many years—200 or 300, perhaps more—and we may fairly place latest those with long galleries and stairs as showing the greatest mechanical skill. The similarity of the towers from the north of Shetland to the south of the Western Isles shows that communication existed amongst the people who built them; and that a traditional and easily remembered measure was in use. Perhaps this measure was the cubit, which seems the most ancient, and one of the natural measures.

A cubit may be taken at 18ⁱ. This would make the walls 10 cubits thick, and the court 20 cubits in diameter—numbers easy to remember. The similarity of the additions, and of the remains found in and about the brochs, show a similarity of race amongst the second occupants.



Engr. by W. & A. K. Johnston.

HIGHLAND TARGET, THE PROPERTY OF M^R DRUMMOND, R. S. A.

VI.—*Notes on Ancient Shields and Highland Targets, one of the latter having embossed upon it the Cognisance of the Lord of the Isles.*

By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland.

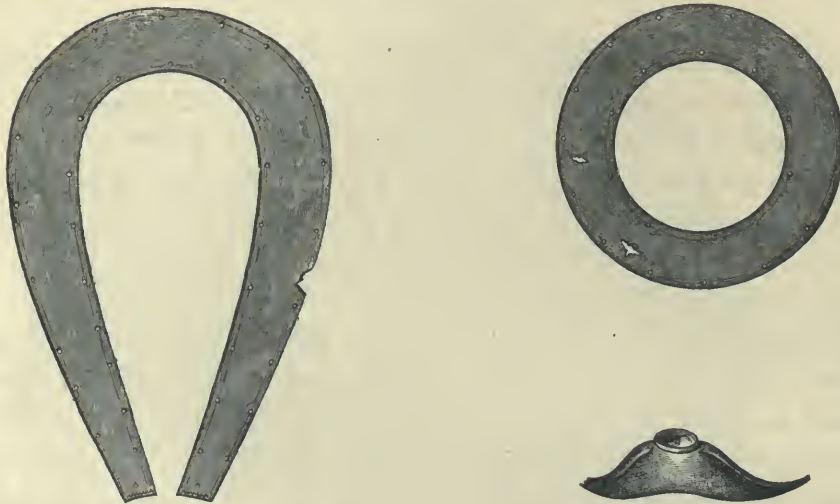
[*Read before the Society, 10th April 1871.*]

There is a class of Scottish antiquities to which hitherto comparatively little attention has been paid by the archæologist, I mean the warlike weapons, offensive and defensive, of our Highland forefathers, many of which were used down to a comparatively recent period. Of these weapons much ignorance seems to prevail even among the Highlanders themselves, who almost invariably answer inquiries as to their age, that they had no doubt they had been used from time immemorial.

In England, and on the Continent, much interest has been taken in the study of arms and armour. On the Continent, the books are endless; in England there are the works of Meyrick, Grose, and Skelton, with Boutell's "Monumental Brasses and Slabs," and others of a kindred nature, all showing how much instruction may be gained by such inquiries when followed out in a proper spirit. In Scotland, we certainly have M'Ian's "Highlanders," and the "Costume of the Clans" by John and Charles Sobieski Stuart, both admirable works, but treating more of dress than of the armour and weapons, which, though alluded to, can scarcely be said to be illustrated, and without delineation they are almost valueless, as so much, in these weapons, depends upon the ornamental detail for character.

At present I wish to call attention only to one of these Highland weapons, the *Targaid* or Target. No weapon of war has, at different periods and among different nations, assumed so many forms as the shield. It was square, oblong, and kite-shaped. The brass mounting of one of the last form, which was found under 6 feet of moss on the hill of Benibreae, in Lochaber, with other brass ornaments for a shield or armour, shown in the accompanying woodcuts, has been deposited in our Museum by Cluny Macpherson, Castle Cluny. The shield assumed a variety of other forms,

it was triangular, crescent, and fiddle-shaped, concave and convex ; it was hollow and fluted, also oval and circular, varying in size from being large enough to protect the whole body to the small mediæval hand shield, which was no larger than the iron or bronze boss of the Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon shield. During the 15th and 16th century, a sort of tilting shield was introduced ; it was made to fit the shoulder, sometimes covering the chin also, and was screwed to the armour. I have one of these, which is cross-barred lozenge-ways, and between the spaces is elaborately engraved.

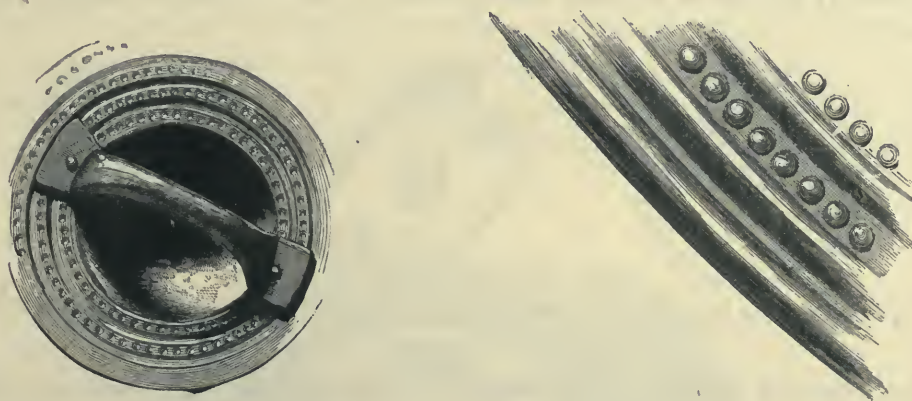


Elongated Bent Plate of Thin Brass, 25 inches long, and Circular Plate, 13 inches diameter, with Boss of Thin Brass, 8 inches long, found at Benibreac.

The circular and oval forms seem to have been the most common and the most continuous in their use, and it is with these we have at present to do. The round shield was an early Greek, Etruscan, and Roman form, it was also used by the Assyrian, Mexican, and Indian nations, and is still used by many of the savage tribes of Africa. On the Trajan column, both the Romans and Dacians, again, have them nearly all of an oval form, while on the Roman sculptured stone found near Carriden,¹ Linlithgowshire, the ancient Britons have them of an oblong-square, with a boss in the centre, while the Roman soldier's is of an oval shape. With one of this form, convex and radiating from the central umbo, a Roman soldier is

¹ Plate XXVII.* Museum of the Antiquaries.

armed on a bas-relief found at Housesteads, Northumberland.¹ The Scandinavian and British shield of bronze was circular, and was chased or struck up in the metal itself, generally having a large boss in the centre, with a series of concentric circles, between which the space was filled up with rows of small nail-head-like studs. Those found at Yetholm, and now in our Museum, are beautiful specimens of this class. They have also been



Handle and Studs of Bronze Shields.

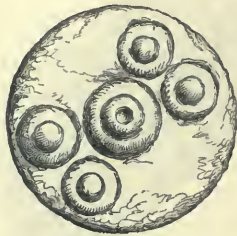
found in Ireland, and one very similar to these last, but with fewer circles, was this year got in Lough Gur, County Limerick.² Occasionally there are more large bosses than the central one, these again surrounded by smaller studs in rows. Of this variety there are good specimens in the British and Copenhagen Museums. Underneath the central boss is the handle.

On many of the early sculptured stones in the north-eastern counties of Scotland, such shields are represented, but whether of bronze or wood it is impossible to say. On a stone at Benvie, a figure on horseback has a shield having a central boss with a series of concentric circles, and figures on the cross near Dupplin Castle have the same; these may be of bronze, such as the Yetholm specimens, while, on a fragment from Dull, Perthshire, now in the Museum, figures are represented having shields with a large central and four smaller bosses. A figure is represented on the St Andrew's sarcophagus carrying a shield of an oval form, which has the narrow ends hollowed out,

¹ Museum of the Antiquaries.

² Plate XXVI.

and a large central boss. On the Irish crosses such shields are also figured. On one of these in the street of Kells, county Meath, a battle is represented, the combatants on one side having simple round shields and swords, while the others are armed with spears and shields having an enormous spike or pointed boss, of which there is also one on a fragment at Jarrow, Durham. The shields of the chiefs, sculptured on their tombstones in the West Highlands, seem invariably of a triangular form, and on one slab alone, at Kilmory, Knapdale, does the shield seem circular. I should suppose, how-



Fragment of Dull Cross.



Sarcophagus at St Andrew's.



West Highland Chief.

ever, that the wooden shield was more common than the bronze one, from the immense number of bosses which have been found all over the country, the wood having rotted away, leaving the bosses which are of iron or bronze. The iron specimens had often a bronze rim; occasionally they were plated with silver, and in some rare cases overlaid with a thin plating of gold.

During the excavations in the peat mosses of Thorsbjerg and Nydam, in South Jutland or Slesvig, under the sanction of the Danish government, and conducted by Conrad Engelhardt, between the years 1858 and 1863, remains of wooden shields were found in great abundance, these being thin boards varying in breadth from 3 to 9 inches, the average thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. Although hundreds of these were found, only three complete shields could be made up. The diameter seems to have been from 22 to 44 inches; in the centre was the opening across which the handle was placed, over this opening was fixed the metal boss or umbo; on one piece only was found the remains of leather, the outer rim seems to have been protected by an edging of bronze. Occasionally the shields were highly ornamental, from having thin plates of bronze, cut into a sort of heraldic-looking pattern, riveted to them.

Numerous iron and bronze bosses have been found in Anglo-Saxon

graves, and to judge from the length of the rivets to attach these, the shields were $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch thick, in this respect resembling the Scandinavian specimens. One was found in Yorkshire in a perfect state, having a bronze boss and a metal rim. We are told of a king of the Goths in the year 553, the supposed age of these Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon shields, who, standing in the front of his band of warriors, received so many of the Roman javelins in his shield, which thus became so heavy that he was unable to hold it up, and was killed while his attendant was changing it for another. From this it would seem that the shield must, sometimes at least, have been of stronger material than those found in England or Slesvig.

The reading of this incident suggested to me that there was in our Museum the pieces of some circular object, very much decayed, and called



Wooden Shield, found in Blair-Drummond Moss.

in the old catalogue a wooden wheel, but, from the loose way in which the pieces were put together, it was difficult to say what it had been. On examining it, Mr Anderson and I were certain it could not have been a wheel, seeing that when it was carefully put together it was oval. I was now confirmed in my conjecture that it had been a shield, there being enough to show that the centre had been hollowed out for the handle, which, being raised on the outside, would form the boss. It, and part of another, were found in Blair-Drummond Moss, and presented to the Museum by the late Henry Home Drummond, Esq. The fragments of another were found in the same moss in 1831; and, somewhere near it, a mortar or hand-mill, fashioned from the

section of an oak ; “ there were also some flint arrow heads.” Fortunately for comparison, a perfect specimen has been found since in Ireland, in the parish of Kiltubride, county Leitrim ; it is $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 21 inches broad, and half an inch thick. Besides the boss, which is perfect and 3 inches high, there are seven slightly raised concentric circles, the whole carved out of one piece of wood, in this respect differing from the Blair-Drummond one, which is composed of three pieces most ingeniously put together by two mortises through the whole breadth, into which are put



Section of Wooden Shield.

two pieces of wood about 2 inches broad and half an inch thick, these not only holding it together but preventing warping, while the centre is a solid piece of wood hollowed out for the hand, and is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the two edges gradually bevelled up to make them join firmly. The shield is 2 feet long, 1 foot 7 inches broad, and at the thickest part $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and gradually thinning towards the outer edge, where it is about 1 inch. From this it will be seen that such a weapon in the hands of a powerful man who could use it would be an admirable defence, as in the case of the king of the Goths. Certainly shields of wood, half an inch thick, such as those found in Jutland and England (and the same may be said of the Irish one), would have been quite useless against the Roman javelins ; and even Mr Engelhardt was puzzled how they could have been kept together to be effective, seeing he only found in one piece out of the hundreds any trace of dowelling.

There can be no doubt that the Highland target is the traditional continuation of these early bronze and wooden shields, which evidently were the successors of the *Cetra*, or small round shield made from the skin of some animal, and mentioned by Tacitus as having been used by the Britons and also by the Mauritians, who, he says, made it of elephants' skin. These must have resembled the shields used by some of the African tribes and North American Indians at the present day. They are almost invariably made of wood and covered with leather, the instances to the contrary, when

they have been made of iron or steel, being the mere whims of individuals. One such is represented in the portrait of the Hon. James Campbell, son of John Lord Glenorchy (1708); another, having a formidable spike, is in my own possession, and resembles one I have seen, said to have been used by an Earl of Marr, but there is nothing whatever of Highland character about them, being simply the iron or steel target formerly used in other European countries, which were occasionally embossed and engraved in a most elaborate manner. One of these, of Italian workmanship, is preserved in our Museum, having on it a classical subject in high relief, of the best style of this art during the 16th century. A curious Dutch shield of iron, belonging to Mr Charles Lees, R.S.A., is convex and covered with large bosses, some round and some of triangular form. It looks like a pageant shield.

The leather of the Highland shield is very generally embossed with Celtic ornamentation,—a sort of repoussé work, in the form of the twisted interlacing ribbon pattern, with scroll leafage filling up odd corners of the design, and now and then rude attempts at animals.¹ On one belonging to Sir J. Noel Paton there is a galley, a fish, and a nondescript kind of animal; and among those in the Museum is one with birds and grotesque animals surrounding its outer margin, sometimes initials and a date, the whole design divided by concentric circles of brass nails and bosses, the latter often engraved; in this style of ornament they resemble the early bronze



Boss.



Boss.

shields, with their bosses and smaller studs; sometimes they are bound by a brass or steel rim.

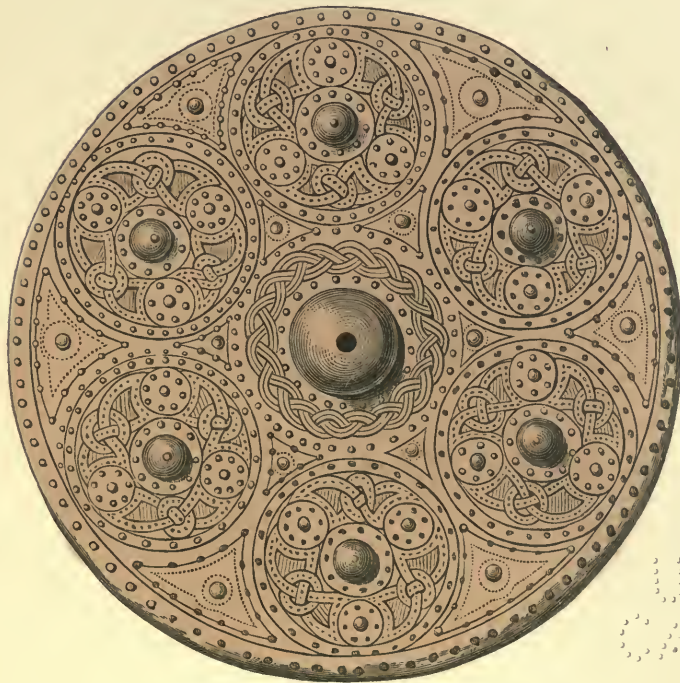
Occasionally the shield was converted into a formidable weapon of offence by having a strong and long pike screwed into the centre. This can easily be understood when the manner of fighting adopted by the Highlanders

¹ Plates XXIV.-V.

is considered. On approaching the enemy, "after discharging their pieces, they threw them away, as was their custom, drew their broadswords," raised their targets, and rushed forward before the smoke had cleared away, generally scattering their opponents by the fury and impetuosity of their attack, as was the case at Killiecrankie, Prestonpans, and other engagements. In the coat of arms granted to M'Pherson of Clunie in 1672, and emblazoned upon the green banner of the clan, the supporters are two Highlanders dressed as they fought at the Battle of the Shirts—each is armed with a shield having this long spike. Rae also tells us, in his history of the Rebellion in 1715, that the Laird of Luss joined the Highland host followed by "forty or fifty stately fellows, in their hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well-fixed gun on their shoulders, a strong handsome target, with a sharp-pointed steel of about half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it," &c. These targets generally have so much similarity in design, that we cannot help thinking they must have been made at one place in great quantities. In the specimens figured by Skelton, Logan, and Dr Stuart, this likeness is very apparent.

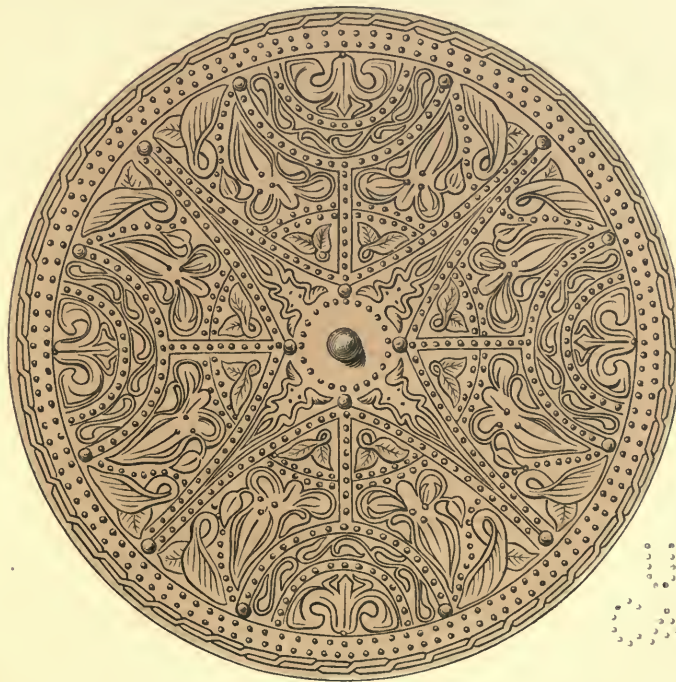
The question naturally suggests itself, Where were these made? Certainly not in the Highlands; my own opinion being that, for the West Highlands, at all events, they were made in Glasgow. In confirmation of this opinion, my friend the late Joseph Robertson told me that, in the MS. account of one of Queen Mary's masques, Highlanders are mentioned as appearing in their native dress of skins, and having Glasgow targets. Mr Dickson was kind enough to make search for this, but did not succeed in finding it, although he also thinks he saw it somewhere taken notice of.

Nothing is more difficult than to assign dates to Highland weapons of almost any sort, from the retention of forms and styles of ornamentation of a very early, down to a comparatively recent period, unless the weapon bears undoubted evidence of antiquity. Now and then a date is found upon Highland Targets, and by comparison of design and workmanship a date may be given to others of similar manufacture. Sometimes again, when the history of a particular target is known, it may be of no value whatever in determining the date of others which may have been used at the same time; such a one is at Cluny Castle, said to have been the property of Prince Charles Edward, but unfortunately it is of French manufacture, and has nothing whatever of Celtic character about it; instead of the



HIGHLAND TARGETS IN THE SOCIETY'S MUSEUM.

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HIGHLAND TARGETS.

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usual decorations, it has patches of silver chasing in the form of warlike weapons and emblems, while at the centre, in the place of a boss, is a chasing in relief of the Medusa's head. In the armoury at Warwick Castle was a rival shield of similar design, also said to have been used by the Prince. This was unfortunately destroyed during the fire at the castle in 1871.

The same difficulty as to date is experienced with Scandinavian weapons of various sorts, and is well illustrated in a quaint kind of powder-horns, very antique in design, on which are carved a series of the heroes of antiquity, each armed with a circular shield, which at first sight looks very like the Highland target; but on examination it has a large central boss, with a series of studs between it and the rim, not unlike bronze specimens in the Museum at Copenhagen, like these also in having only one handle. I have two powder-horns of this kind, on one of which the date is only 1739; while on the other, which is evidently of an earlier period, there seems a fringe of some kind round the outer rim of all the shields.

In the quaint account of the Duke of Somerset's "Expedicion into Scotlande" in 1547, "Set out by way of Diarie, by W. Patten," there is notice taken of the "Targetts" used by some of the Scots at the disastrous battle of Pinkie. "Nye this place of onset, whear the Scottes, at their runyng away, had let fall their weapons (as I sayd) thear found we, bysyde their common maner of armour, certyn nice instrumentes for war (as we thought). And they wear, nue boordes endes cut of, being about a foot in breadth, and half a yarde in leangth; hauyng on the insyde, handels made very cunnynly of ii cordes endes: These a Gods name wear their targetts again the shot of our small artillerie, for they wear not able to hold out a canon. And with these, found we great rattels, swellyng bygger than the belly of a pottell pot, couered with old parchement or dooble papers, small stones put in them to make noys, and set vpon the end of a staff of more then twoo els long, and this was their fyne deuyse to fray our horses when our horsmen shoulde cum at them: Howbeeit bycaus the ryders wear no babyes, nor their horses no colts, they could neyther duddle the tone nor fray the toother: so that this pollecye was as witles as their pour forcedes." The above must not be looked upon as the ordinary military shield, but rather as an extemporised makeshift to answer the same purpose, by the irregular troops got together so hurriedly and with so much difficulty by the governor, the Earl of Arran,

who had recourse to the desperate measure of sending the Fiery Cross through the country to raise the army. This old Celtic and Scandinavian custom was, even by these nations, only used in cases of eminent peril; but when this Cross, the :—

“Dread messenger of fate and fear,
 Stretched onward in its fleet career,
 The fisherman forsook the strand,
 The swarthy smith took dirk and brand;
 With changed cheer, the mower blithe
 Left in the half-cut swathe the scythe;
 The herds without a keeper stray'd,
 The plough was in mid-furrow staid,
 The falc'ner tossed his hawk away,
 The hunter left the stag at bay;
 Prompt at the signal of alarms,
 Each son of Alpine rushed to arms.”¹

And so it was on this occasion; the summons was at once obeyed, and a motley, undisciplined, and poorly-armed crowd were assembled, but unfortunately, not like the Highlanders, who were accustomed to the almost daily use of their weapons. I have given the whole paragraph from Patten's diary, as it clearly shows that both the “Targetts and Rattells,” from the primitive nature of their construction, had been hastily made up, and were not “their common maner of armour.” Something of the same sort may be alluded to in a description of the armour of the Highlanders to be found in the Wodrow MSS. under date 1678, where they are mentioned as carrying “targetts and shields of the most odde and antique forme.” The *shields* here referred to may have been like the “nue boordes endes cut of,” &c., and used by the poorer clansmen.

Of late years, from the great scarcity of genuine targetts, imitation ones have been much manufactured for the purpose of making up Highland trophies, but these have entirely failed in the embossing of the leather and engraving of the studs, where that has been attempted. This scarcity has been caused by the severe manner in which the disarming acts of 1746 were enforced; and

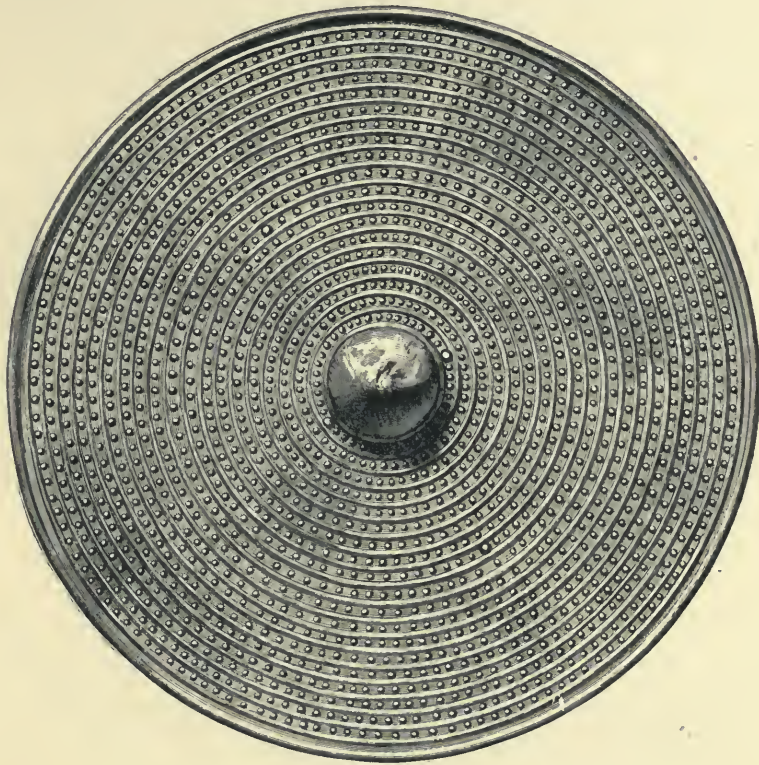
Boswell, describing in 1773 the armour at Dunvegan Castle, says—"There is hardly a target now to be found in the Highlands. After the disarming act they made them serve as covers to their butter-milk barrels." By this means, no doubt, a number would be preserved. In other places, again, where the target was a fine one, and cared for by the family, the embossed leather cover, the really valuable part, seems to have been taken off and rolled up, in which state it would easily be concealed. This appears to have been the case with the one to which I would specially call attention.¹ It was brought from the island of Skye many years ago, and is not only different from the ordinary specimens in beauty and symmetry of design, which is worked out in a different and more artistic manner, but is also peculiar from having embossed at its centre the heraldic cognisance of the Lord of the Isles, of which Nesbit says, "The Macdonalds of the Isles carried, as in our old books, a double-headed eagle displayed." Its diameter is one foot eight inches, which is the average size of the Highland target. It must not be thought that leather and leather-covered targets were peculiar to the Highlands in mediæval times; they were common in most European countries; Spain, in particular, was famous for them, and it may not be improbable that this was made in that country for one of the Macdonald chiefs, there having been a great traffic between the West Highlands and Spain, hides being exchanged for armour of all sorts, swords in particular. Spencer also speaks, in his "View of the State of Ireland," 1586, of the Northern Irish, especially of the Scots, as having round leather targets, often coloured in rude fashion. In this respect they differ from those of our Highlanders, as I am not aware of theirs ever having been painted, although the open work of the brass ornamentation was frequently filled in with leather or cloth of a bright colour. At the present day shields of buffalo hide or other strong leather are in use among many of the oriental nations; they are circular and almost invariably convex, the edges turned up towards the front, and are often most gorgeously emblazoned in gold and colour, having bosses of brass, silver, or even gold. In the Society's Museum are several fine specimens; one of these has an elaborate pattern in relief upon it, painted in purple and gold, while another has an ornamental design painted upon it in green and gold.

¹ Plate XXIII.

Among the native tribes of Africa they are also used, being generally made from the skin of the rhinoceros, and by the Kaffirs of an oval shape, and so large that they act as a protection for the whole body; while the Fans use them of many forms manufactured from elephant skin. The Nubians sometimes make them of crocodile's skin, to which they attach much value. The shield of the Abyssinian is convex, and made of buffalo hide with bosses of silver or brass. Among some of the North American Indians they are also common. The Highland target differs from those of the early Britons and Scandinavians in having one or two arm-straps, and occasionally an arm-piece of leather, as well as a handle; the very early shields of bronze or wood, only having a handle below the central boss. The back of these targets is almost invariably covered with deer skin, below which is stuffing of some sort to deaden the effect of a blow upon the arm. On the Trajan column all the shields seem to have the double arrangement, while the Greeks used an arm-piece and a handle towards the rim.



Handles and Arm straps of Highland Targets.



Yetholm.



W.C.S.



W.C.S.

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TO THE
SECRETARY
OF THE
NAVY

VIII.—*Notices of Three Churches in North Uist, Benbecula, and Grimsay, said to have been Built in the Fourteenth Century.*

By F. W. L. THOMAS, Capt. R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

With Descriptions and Plans of Primitive Chapels in Rona and Sulasgeir.

By T. S. MUIR, Esq.

[*Read before the Society, 4th December 1871.*]

Of the scores of chapels in the Outer Hebrides, whose ruins exist or whose sites are known, very few have any traditionary date of the foundation or of the name of the founder; but there are three which are said, by the historian of the Macdonalds, who wrote in the time of Charles II., to have been built by Amie MacRory, the repudiated wife of the "good" John of Islay, first Lord of the Isles. The notes and measurements made of these churches may interest some members of the Society, particularly if they have not at hand the comprehensive work of Mr T. S. Muir, on the "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in Scotland."

TEAMPULL NA TRIONAIDE (OR, AS IT IS CALLED ON THE SPOT), TEAMPULL NA TRINIDAD; *i.e.*, THE CHURCH OF THE (HOLY) TRINITY.

The ruin of Trinity Church stands at Carinish,¹ the south-west extremity of North Uist, at a short distance from the inn. It is in a very dilapidated condition; for besides that it is roofless, the sides and lintels of the windows and doorway have been destroyed, for the sake of the dressed stone of which they are said to have been formed. The interior is choked for several feet in height with rubbish and graves, and it is hoped that among the debris some figured and moulded stones may yet be found. When I was there the crop of nettles was most luxuriant, many of them being over six feet high.

¹ Carinish, Karynych (a mis-spelling of Karynich) for Kiarri-nes, *i.e.*, Bog-ness; from *Kiör*, bog, marsh, and *nes*, ness.

The interior of Trinity Church measured $61\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and the breadth $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet; it is, therefore, three times longer than it is broad; the average thickness of the wall is $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet.

The east wall, which, like the rest of the church, has been made of undressed stones, has been thicker than the others (3 feet 10 inches); but it

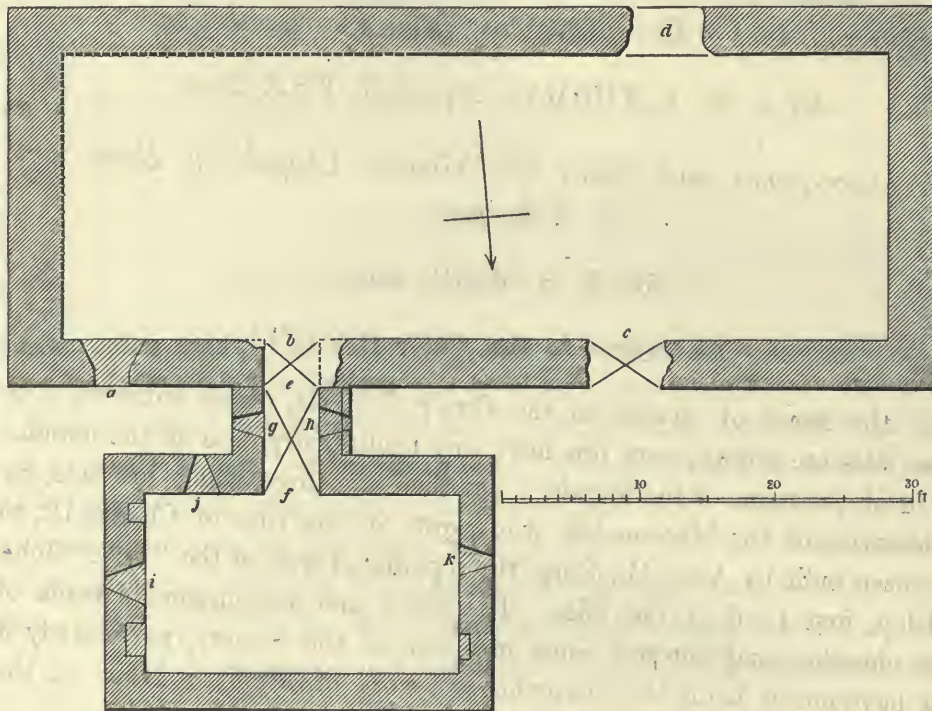


Fig. 1. Teampull na Trionaide (ground plan).

is nearly all down, and there are no architectural features left,¹ except a rude oilet or hole, apparently to shoot out of. (See view, Plate XXVII.)

¹ "There was a spire (pinnacle) upon the east gable of Trinity Church, with the figure of a giant (fomhair) with three heads, on the top. This 'giant with three heads' was probably a representation of the Trinity. Some say that the 'giant with three heads' stood in a niche in the gable, and not on the top. There were several pieces of sculpture, both inside and outside of the church, but these being of freestone were carried away for sharpening stones. It is also said there was an altar of marble or freestone in the church, and that the sides of the doors and windows were of cut freestone, which have been taken out and carried away. There are some bits still remaining."—*Mr Carmichael.*

H. Sharban, del.



MODERN TOMB.

CURIOUS PORCH.

TEAM PULL NA TRIONNAIDE (TRINITY CHURCH) AND TEAM PULL MAC VICAR;
CARINISH NORTH UIST: FROM THE EASTWARD.

Geo. Watserson & Son, Lithog.

TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE
CONGRESS

The north wall has a round-headed window (*a*) of undressed stones at the east end; it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide outside, splaying to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, arched and splayed above. The arch is cleverly formed of unhewn stones, and the key-stone has been ingeniously selected and placed. There is a recess or ambry below the window, filled with human bones.

Next comes a doorway (*b*) utterly destroyed; it is now blocked up, but it led through an arched passage to an adjoining chapel, of which anon. There is another doorway (*c*) in the north wall, being the present entrance to the ruin; the arch of this doorway is obtusely pointed, and it appeared to me not to be original. There are five oilets in the north wall, which, as well as the west and part of the north, is still about 17 feet high. The masonry is of large undressed stones, rudely in courses, often separated by small flat pieces laid horizontally.

The masonry of the west wall is quite different;¹ there is no attempt at horizontality, nor is there either door or window; but what looks very odd is, that the wall is pierced with seven oilets or holes (as seen in Plate XXVIII.), three below and four above, at the height where, I suppose, there has been a wooden gallery. These oilets, whose sides are formed of rough stones, do not splay nor dip on the inside, so that the range from them, if intended to shoot from, is very limited indeed. The holes may average 8 or 10 inches square, and are a curious feature in an ecclesiastical building. They appeared to Mr Sharbau and myself to be original, but I do not feel very positive on the subject.

The south wall is half gone; there remains an ope where a window has been, and a break (*d*), which may have been the original doorway.

On the north side of the church is a small chapel, attached to the church by a very curious porch (*f*). The walls of the porch are not bonded

¹ "There were flags in the floor at the west end, and when these were lifted and carried away, the west wall fell down. The wall was rebuilt by a patriotic man of the name of MacCōiseam, who was a small farmer at Carinish. He expected the proprietor—the Fair Lord, Ann Mōrfhear Bàn—to recoup him for his outlay, but the proprietor declined, and the wall was never completed. Moreover, the scaffolding fell, by which one of the workmen was killed, and he was buried on the spot."—*Mr Carmichael*.

The above note from Mr Carmichael appears to account for the puzzling holes or oilets in the west wall; that they are, in fact, holes for the scaffolding poles which have never been filled up. And I can offer no better explanation of their presence in other parts of the church.

into the church ; but my companion and myself came to the conclusion that they were an original extension from those of the chapel. The porch has a round-arched or barrel roof, and on the church side the walls are apparently pendicular (fig. 2; Plate XXVIII.) ; but at the entrance to the chapel the barrel roof is hidden by masonry, while the jambs or sides of the doorway are decidedly inclined (fig. 3, Plate XXVIII.), although from the dilapidation of the masonry it is difficult to say how much ; it is probably seven inches wider at the bottom than at the top. The porch has splayed window-slits (*g, h*) on each side, and on the outside has a flattish angular roof, covered with imbricated stones, like tiles.

The chapel is 23 feet long, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad inside, and the walls are $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

The north wall is quite destroyed ; the east wall is complete, and the gable has a ledge or bevel about 9 inches broad along the edges for the (stone ?) roof to rest on ; there is a small rectangular window (*i*), splayed at sides and top, not quite in the middle of the wall, and an ambry on each side of the window.

In the south wall there is a small narrow window (*j*) like that just noticed, and the inclined doorway (*f*) described above. It is about 5 feet high, 2 feet 4 inches wide at top, and 2 feet 11 inches at the bottom.

The west wall still sustains the gable (see fig. 1, Plate XXVIII., reduced from photographs), which is ledged, and has a small window (*k*) like others, with an ambry on one side. The window is considerably on one side of the centre of the wall—a deviation not often observed in other chapels.

I was told on the spot that the little chapel is called Teampull Mac-Vicar.¹

We read in the “*Origines Parochiales*,” that “in 1389, Godfrey² of Ile, lord of Wyst, confirmed to the monks of Inchaffray the chapel of the Holy Trinity (at Karynch) in Wyst, as granted them by Christina, the daughter of Alan, the true heiress, and Reginald, called M’Rodry, the true lord and

¹ “The small chapel on the north side of Trinity Church is called Teampull Chlann a Phiocair, from some families of the Macvicars who took possession of it for burying therein. An old man still living, John Macvicar, Balsher, told me lately that he saw this ruin roofed and thatched with heather.”—*Mr Carmichael*.

² Godfrey was Amie’s son.



Fig. 1. Teampull na Trionaide (Trinity Church) and Teampull Mac Vicar, Carinish, North Uist. From the westward, shewing the west wall of Trinity Church pierced with seven holes or oillets; three below and four above.

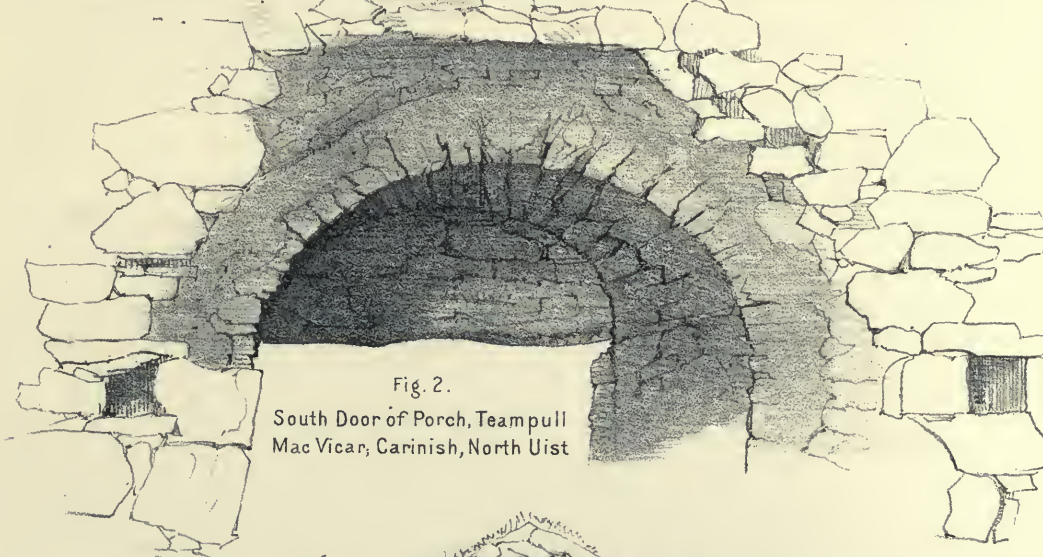


Fig. 2.
South Door of Porch, Teampull
Mac Vicar, Carinish, North Uist



Fig 3.
North Door of Porch, Teampull
Mac Vicar, Carinish North Uist

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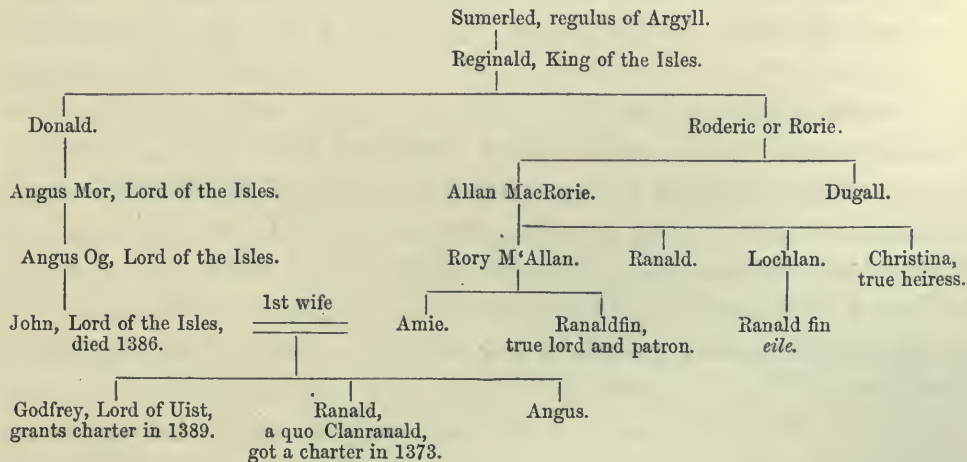
patron. About 1390,¹ the chapel of Carinish was probably rebuilt or repaired by Amie M'Ruari, who is traditionally reputed its founder. In 1601, the Macdonalds of Uist took refuge, with their cattle, in the church of Kiltrynad, when the island was invaded by the Macleods of Harris. The church is marked by Blaeu as Kiltrinidad, and its ruins are locally known as Teampulna-Trianaide (the Trinity Church.)”²

In a note it is added,—“The chapel was apparently a Culdee church, and therefore built before the time of Cristina, the daughter of Alan, who lived about the year 1309.”

The authority for the belief that Amie MacRuari rebuilt Trinity Church is, I suppose, the family history of the Macdonalds, written in the time of Charles II., and printed in “De Rebus Albanicis.” The Sennachie states, “This gentlewoman being a good virtuous woman, &c., she built the Trinity Church, at Carinish, in North Uist”³ He also asserts, eight merk lands in North Uist, and two farms in Benbecula, were mortified to the church, but does not say to what church. He probably refers to the

¹ Upon this date Mr Skene remarks,—“It must have been earlier. See the Genealogy appended—

Genealogy showing connection of M'Donalds and M'Rorie's.



John, Lord of the Isles, married secondly in 1373, so that the date of repudiation must have been earlier ; he died 1389. Amie married probably about 1355 ; born say 1335.”

² *Loc. cit.* Part i. vol. ii.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 298.

transaction when, "in 1389, Godfrey of Ila, lord of Wyst, confirmed to the monks of Inchaffray, along with the chapel of the Holy Trinity, the whole land of Karyneh,¹ and 4 penny lands in Ylara (Ileray), situated between Husabost² and Ken-erroch, as granted to them by Cristina, the daughter of Alan and Reginald M'Rodry."³

The occasion on which Trinity Church became the fortress of the Macdonalds is thus told by Sir Robert Gordon:—

"Troubles betuein the Clandonald and the Seill-Tormat [Macleods of Harris], in the West Iles." "About this tyme [1601] there arose great troubles in the north-west iles of Scotland, betuein Donald Gorme [Blue-eyed] Mackonald of Sleat, and Sir Rory Mackloyd of Herreris, upon this occasion: Donald Gorme Mackonald had mareid Sir Rory Mackloyd his sister, and for some displeasure or jealousie conceaved against her, he did repudiat her; whervpon Sir Rorie sent message to Donald Gorme, desiring him to tak home his wyff agane. Donald Gorm not onlie refused to obey his request, bot also intended a divorcement against his wyff; which when he had obteyned, he mareid the sister of Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord of Kintayle. Sir Rorie Mackloyd took this disgrace (as he thought it) so heighlie, that he assembled all his countreymen, and his tryb (the Seill-tormat) without delay, and invaded with fyre and sword a pairt of Donald Gorme his lands in the yle of Sky; which lands Sir Rorie clamed to apperteyne unto himself. Donald Gorme, impatient of this injurie, conveyned his forces, and went into the Heris, which iland he spoiled, killed some of the inhabitants, and careid away from thence a great booty of cattell. This agane did so sturr vp the said Sir Rory Mackloyd and his tryb, that they took a journey into the ile of Ouyst (which apperteyneth to Donald Gorme), and landing ther, Sir Rorie sent his cowsen, Donald Glasse [grey-headed] Macloyd, with 40 others, to spoile the iland, and to tak a prey of goods [cattle] out of the precinct of the church of Kil-trynad, wher the people had put all ther goods and cattell, as in a sanctuarie. John Mack-ean-Mack-James (one of Donald Gorme his kinsmen), who had stayed in the iland, accompaigned with tuelff men, rencontred happelie with Donald Glasse

¹ "Cairenische," in 1561, is among "The Abbatis (of Ecolmkill) landis within Donald Gormis boundis," p. 2, De Re. Alb.

² Husabost, for Hùsa-bùstaðr, house-stead.

³ Or. Pr., p. 374, part i. vol. ii.

Macloyd. This small companie of the Clandonald behaved themselves so valiantlie that, after a sharp skirmish, they killed Donald Glasse Mackloyd, with the most pairt of his company, and so rescued the goods. Sir Rorie Macloyd seeing the bad successe of his kinsman, and suspecting that ther wer greater forces in the iland, retired home with the losse of his kinsman and servants, thinking to returne agane shortlie with greater, to revenge the same.”¹

But the late Rev. John Macdonald, minister of Harris, and who was a native of Benbecula, supplied me with a much fuller traditional account of the battle of Carinish ; and it is interesting, as illustrating the manners and customs of the islanders about 270 years ago. He tells,—“The battle of Carinish was fought at the time when the well-known feud existed between the M’Leods and M’Donalds. Donald Glas (grey) M’Leod, accompanied by his son, a brave young man, and sixty of his followers, sailed from Harris with the intention of raising a *creach* in North Uist—a place which, it would appear, was not over well protected against hostile incursions. They landed at Loch Efort,² on the east side of North Uist, and lost no time in setting about the accomplishment of their purpose. By some it is asserted that they made a circuit of the whole island before any resistance was offered to their progress ; while others, with more appearance of truth, maintain that they ravished Carinish only, although they passed a night in the small island of Balshare.³ Be this as it may, it was at Carinish they paid the penalty of their guilty conduct.

Donald M’Donald—commonly known by his patronymic of Donald-Mac-Iain-Vich-Hamish—a near relative of the chief of the clan M’Donald, a more terrible man than whom, in arms, the West Highlands could not produce at that time, lived at the date of our story at the island of Eriska,⁴ in the Sound of Barra.⁵ To him the North Uist people, among whom he had resided for a number of years, looked of all others as the readiest help at this juncture, and particularly as he had proved himself a terror to the M’Leods

¹ P. 244, Sir R. Gordon’s “Sutherland.”

² Efort, Eport, for Eyja-fjördr = Island-firth. In the West Highlands “fjördr” has become *forth, fort, port, ort, ert, art*.

³ Balshare, for Baile s-ear (Gaelic) = East Village.

⁴ Eriska, for Eriks-ey = Ericks-island.

⁵ Barra, for Barr-ey = (St) Barr’s-island.

ever since their differences had commenced. M'Leod was not therefore long in North Uist before "Sgeula nan Creach"¹ reached Eriska. M'Donald was in motion at once, with his twelve gillimores—a small well-trying band of his own choosing and training, whom he always retained about him. As he was passing a place called Airdavachar² in Iochdar, South Uist, he met a man who was well known to him, and to whom he made the remark after the usual salutation, "Tha latha buain fhaghair agam ort," *i.e.*, "I have a day in harvest against thee." "Ma tha cha'n fhad a bhitheas," says his friend, "If you have, that will not be the case long;" and this man joined the small number that was on the way to drive the M'Leods out of North Uist.

It was a beautiful morning in May. A Benbecula man, who was working with his *caschrom*,³ at a place then called Gerrydonull (now called Linclat) near the South Ford,⁴ observed a number of armed people coming from the strand; he at once recognised M'Iain, and caught the purpose of his journey. An idea can be formed of the delight the people of those days took in strife from the readiness with which this man, without ever being asked, stuck his "caschrom" in the ground, assumed his bow and sword, and ran to meet M'Donald. The latter was glad of this accession to his small force, and marched on towards the North Ford. Having come to the last stream in the strand, between Benbecula and North Uist, called "Sruthan na Comraig," *i.e.*, the Stream of the Sanctuary, at the entrance of Baymore in Carinish, they were met by a stalwart wild fellow of the name of Donald Dhu, whom M'Iain had known when he resided in North Uist. M'Donald asked him where he was going, to which he answered that he was on his way to Grimsay to cut peats. To the next question, which was about wages, he replied that sixpence was promised him for his day's work. "Come," says the leader of the band, "engage with myself for this day, as I have more important work on hand, and am scarce of crew, and I will give you that much at least in the evening." The offer was at once accepted by Donald Dhu, and M'Iain's force was augmented to fifteen. As they advanced

¹ Sgeula nan Creach = News of the invasion.

² Airdavachar in Iochdar, for Aird a Mhachair (Gaelic) = Point of the (sandy) plain. Iochdar, nether; (district) is understood.

³ Caschrom = foot-plough.

⁴ It is from these Fords (Faoghalaichean) that Benbecula gets its name.

further on their journey, a poor woman gave them all the necessary information concerning the enemy: the M'Leods were in the old temple (Trinity Church), after finishing breakfast upon a fine cow that they had taken from a widow at Eachadh of Carinish, and slaughtered that morning.

Now was the time for M'Iain to enter into his arrangements for the day. The M'Leods had hitherto encountered no opposition, and had no idea that danger could be so near. Reasons were too obvious to the enemy why he should not fall upon them in the "temple," and being well acquainted with every inch of the ground, he made the following disposition of his few men. Dividing them into three parties, he concealed the first, consisting of seven, behind the rising ground that faces the present mission-church, and to the south of the brook (now a drain) called "*Feithe na fala*," *i.e.*, the Ditch of Blood; the next division, four in number, he stationed behind a knoll about half way between the position of the first division and the "temple;" and the last, consisting of the remaining four, were appointed to give the alarm to the M'Leods that "M'Iain had arrived." The men had been duly harangued, and each had received his instructions in the most definite terms; their leader then took an elevated position on the height a little to the north of where the preaching-house now stands, from whence he had soon the satisfaction of seeing his orders carried out to the very letter. The alarm given, out rushed the M'Leods all in confusion, and before they were aware of what like the danger really was, four of their number were brought down by the cool aim of their enemies. The latter, after carrying out their orders so far, fell back with all speed upon the second party, and with them waited the approach of the foe. These, fancying they had only a handful to deal with, rushed on in the same confusion till they were checked by a second shower of arrows, which made eight of them reel back and bite the dust. The M'Donalds now precipitated themselves upon the main body, and waited as before until the enemy was within range, when all suddenly springing up and letting fly a third discharge of arrows with the same well-regulated aim, and with the same galling effect, rushed across the hollow through which the road now passes, and took their position for the brunt of the day, a little below the place where their leader stood. The M'Leods now beheld the force with which they had to contend, and pressed on with great fury to engage them on even ground. Just as line stood to line, and the rage of battle was commencing, M'Donald received a further accession

to his force from a very unexpected quarter. Among the M'Leods was a stout young man of the name of M'Donald, the son of a blind old man who had resided for years at Rodil, in Harris; and had, by "coaltship," or some other way, been in close friendship with M'Iain. This youth could not brook the idea of being in the ranks of foes fighting against his own clan, and particularly when he saw such fearful odds against them. He therefore jumped across the field and joined them. The struggle had no sooner commenced, than M'Iain observed the great difference in power in favour of the bows of his own men, which he quickly set about turning to his advantage. Therefore, as his greatest care was to preserve his men as much as possible, he caused them to retrograde gently during the course of the action, so that while their arrows were telling with galling effect in the fray, those of their opponents were falling spent at their feet. Before Donald Glas (M'Leod) could understand why his men were falling in heaps around him, while not so much as one gap was being effected in the small detached rank that stood opposite to him, the numbers on both sides were more nearly equal. Seeing that the day was assuming more and more an unfavourable aspect for him, that he was on the soil of an enemy, and that even the line of his retreat was cut off, he inspired his men with courage, and made a furious onset upon the M'Donalds, with a determination, as it would appear, to make the best of his circumstances, should that only result in the last and least honourable course of safety, namely, a "retreat." He was met, however, by too stubborn an opposition, and his effort only made the struggle assume a more ferocious character, which was the worse for him, as his ranks were subjected to a quicker process of thinning. The day was almost M'Donald's own, when, as in the excitement occasioned by his success, he had approached nearer the enemy than was prudent, he received an arrow "ann am beul a churain," *i.e.*, at the mouth of his cuaran or shoe, which threw him on his length in "Feithe na fala." His men seeing their leader low, became infuriated, rushed upon the foe, and in a few minutes cut them to pieces. Five or six managed to make their escape. These took to their heels in good earnest. One of them, who, from his spare lean form and extraordinary swiftness, was called "Glas nam beann," *i.e.*, the Gray Man of the Mountains, made for Loch Efort, and soon reached old M'Leod with his woeful intelligence. The story he brought was to the old chief very unlikely, and in case it should be found that he had deserted, given a

false report, or attempted to carry a joke too far, a triangle was erected in order to hang him as a punishment for such conduct. The intelligence proved, alas! too true. The triangle was scarcely up, and the rope intended for poor "Glas" neck suspended, when another fugitive appeared, bearing about him all the marks of despair. Half dead with fatigue and terror, he threw himself before M'Leod and told his tale of misfortune. The latter, seeing things had come to the worst possible pass, took to his boats and held off the land.

The other fugitives were not so fortunate. These consisted of young M'Leod and two or three of his men. Their retreat being cut off, they made for the island of Balshare as the only alternative. Probably they had an eye to the protection of the sanctuary, as a small chapel in ruins is there, called Christ's Temple.¹ Thither they were hotly pursued by some of the M'Donalds, among whom was Donald Dhu, who had greatly distinguished himself in the fray, but particularly after he had seen M'Iain stretched in the ditch. He far outstripped his comrades in the pursuit; and young M'Leod seeing he was gaining fast upon him turned round, and stood to wait his coming up, on the strand (which is called from him ever since "Oitir Vich Donul Glas"), at no great distance from the shore, evidently thinking a surrender was the wisest policy. In this he was woefully mistaken. Donul Dhu came up in a great fury. The M'Leods threw themselves on their knees, their young leader along with them, and in the most earnest manner begged for mercy. The savage answered, "Cha do chuir Dia anam anns an duinne don d'thugainnse maitheanas agus MacIain 'na shìneadh 's an fheithidh;" *i.e.*, "God did not put a soul in that man whom I would pardon, and M'Iain stretched in the ditch." With this he came down with his sword upon the head of Donald Glas, and the blow cleaved his skull on the right temple, immediately above the ear. The others were soon despatched, and their graves are pointed out on a green knoll a little above the shore of Balshare island, and looking down upon "Oitir² Vich Donul Glas." The young leader was buried in the "temple" at Carinish. Years after this the grave in which his remains were deposited was opened, in order that another inhabitant might be consigned to its dark recess, and young

¹ Mr Carmichael informs me that Christ's Temple is also believed to have been built by the Lady Amie.

² Oitir, Gaelic, a bank or ridge jutting into the sea.—*O'Reilly*.

M'Leod's skull was taken up and placed in one of the corners or windows of the temple, as the practice then, and till very recently, was. Among the heaps of skulls that crowded the recesses of the temple as lately as twenty years ago, poor M'Leod's was easily distinguished by the gash it had above the ear. The Carinish youth often used it for a football.

Such is the story of the battle of Carinish. I have not lost an opportunity of getting information regarding it for the last twenty years. I gathered it from among the most trustworthy people in Uist; with some of these I have walked over the ground and had the plan of the battle pointed out and explained to me. One of them gave me the account as he had it from his grandfather, who was a native of Carinish—a man of intelligence and some education. He was accounted the best sennachie of his day. In fact, while I may say I have heard the account fifty or a hundred times, I have never heard it with any material difference.

M'Iain was conveyed to a house in Carinish with the arrow sticking in his flesh. He was very weak; and it was from the Old Castle of Borge,¹ Benbecula,² then inhabited, that a cake of barley-bread was procured to strengthen him. Anything else was out of the question, so wretched was the state to which "creachs," and broils, and depredations had reduced the islanders. The arrow was extracted, but not without great difficulty and pain. The song sang by "Nic Coshem," M'Iain's foster mother, to drown his cries, is now for the most part lost. She sang it extempore, at the head of a band of young women arranged around a "waulking" board. Knowing how passionately fond he was of a good song, she set up this demonstration to divert his attention while undergoing the operation. There was no chloroform in those days. The song commenced—

" Mhic Iain, a laoidh mo chéilleadh
Gur moch a chuala tu'n éibhe," &c.

i.e., " Vich Iain, O darling of my soul, early didst thou hear my cry."

¹ Borge—when written in Gaelic, Borgh—(gen. Bhurriugh, pronounced Vurrie), for Borg, Norse, castle. Borge is a common topographical name in the West Highlands, but so completely is the original meaning forgotten, that where the ruins of the castle remain, the Gaelic, Dun, is prefixed; thus Dun Bhurriugh. See Ord. Map of Lewis.

² Benbecula, for Beinn-dha-Fhaoghailaichean, pro. Ben-a-Oo-a-la, Hill of the Two Fords.

M'Donald recovered from the effects of his wound in a short time ; for fourteen days after this we find him on his way to Skye at the head of his men.

If I was to add anything of my own to this story, it would be my opinion that M'Donald took a very active part personally in the engagement, and received some slight wounds ; for " Nic Goshem " says, in one of the songs addressing him, " Bha fuil do chuirp chubhraidh a'drughadh ro t'anart ; " *i.e.*, " The blood of thy precious body was oozing through thy linen."

So far the Rev. John M'Donald, who appears to have told the tale as it was told to him. The Macleod version would have been something very different ;¹ but there can be no doubt the Macleods suffered a severe defeat, for Sir Robert Gordon was contemporary with the event ; and as the glory of the Sutherlands and Gordons—nor the disgrace of the Sinclairs, Mackays, and Mackenzies—is not concerned, there is great probability that he would endeavour to relate the truth.

It is to be regretted that scarcely an architectural feature remains of Trinity Temple ; the rounded window of undressed stones in the north-east corner may be part of an original church built in the Norman style ; while the obtusely pointed doorway, with the south wall, may have been made at the time asserted by tradition (before 1390). The west wall is of a different style of masonry to the rest, and there is no sign of window or door in it ; there may have been a window in the gable, which is now destroyed ; but the two rows of oilets are surely remarkable features. I have noted the occurrence of holes in the gable of St Kenneth, Loch Laggan, Badenoch ; and Mr T. S. Muir, describing the ruined church of St Helen, Aldcamus, Berwickshire, notes,—“ The west wall is almost entire, but appears to have

¹ Since writing the above, I have found a notice of the battle of Carinish in the MS. " Traditions of Lewis," by John Morrison, a native of Harris, and consequently favourable to the Macleods. He tells that Sir Roderick lost sixty of his men, but that Donald Glas Macleod manfully stood his ground, after the rest of his party had fled, and faced MacIain.

" The surviving Uist men allowed both heroes fair play until they perceived MacIain Macdonald losing ground, when they gathered to his rescue. Macleod by a back stroke killed two of them, but the rest gathered thick around their leader, now almost overcome. One of the Uist men came behind Macleod and made a blow with his sword, which only cut away Macleod's belt ; but this disabled him and exposed him to a mortal wound, by which he fell, regretted even by Macdonald who fought against him that day."

In tradition, or even history, it saves a world of trouble to hear only one side.

been a re-erection, as, besides angle buttresses, of probably fourteenth century date, pieces of Norman detail are built into it in various places. It is without a window, though copiously pierced with rows of diminutive square holes, the object of which it is difficult to divine.”¹

I was told that the dressed stones that formed the doorway and windows were pulled down to make the graves in the floor of the church. The Rev. J. Macdonald named one ambitious individual who had done so; and Mr Muir remarks,—“It would appear that, till about the beginning of the present century, the interior of the greater church was decorated with sculptures similar to those still existing at Rodil, as I was told that one Macpherson, an octogenarian living at Cladach, Carinish, remembers having seen, when a boy, stones in the walls figured with angels, armed men, animals, &c. The area of the church is deeply bedded with rubbish, and among it possibly some of these interesting relics might be found by any one disposed to the labour of making a search.”²

Concerning Temple MacVicar I can form no decided opinion. It may have been a sacristy belonging to the original church, like that at St Muluag, Ness, Lewis, but it is more probably an original chapel, not later than the thirteenth century, though it may be several centuries older, as the sloping door seems to indicate.

Mr Muir, in his “Barra Head, A Sketch,”³ observes that “Carinish is perhaps of all places in North Uist the most interesting to the ecclesiological antiquary. The ruins referred to above (Trinity Church) occupy a raised spot at the south end of the island, and close by the little inn from which the traveller has his bearings on taking the long mazy ford to Benbecula. In the want of historical data, and of any peculiarities in the fashion of the buildings themselves, it seems useless to guess to what age they belong.

“At Carinish, the south-west point of the parish, there is a ruin of large dimensions, called ‘Teampul na Trianaide,’ or Trinity Temple, which, by the tradition of the inhabitants, is said to have been built by the daughter of Lorn, when she was separated from the Lord of the Isles. I have in my possession a document, which is a copy of what is said to be the original charter of dedication of some lands in Uist to the Trinity and Blessed Virgin

¹ P. 298, vol. iii. plate 21, Pro. S.A. Scot.

² Barra Head, A Sketch, p. 41.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 39.

Mary Church at Carinish, by Godfrey Macdonald, Lord of Uist, in the year 1389. This, should it be genuine, does not contradict the tradition."¹

"In a part of the parish called Carinish, there is a church called Teampul Trianade, or Trinity Temple, which tradition gives out to be the oldest building of the kind in the Highlands."² But here tradition is most undoubtedly at fault.

Fordun³ has "Insula Barry, et ibi cella Sanctae Trinitatis." I am not aware of any church dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Barra; no doubt "Barry" is here a mistake for "Vyst."

TEAMPULL CHALUMCHILLE; *i.e.*, THE CHURCH OF ST COLUMBA,
BENBECULA.

At Uachdar (*i.e.*, the upper or further part or place), about half-way between Iochdar (*i.e.*, lower or nearer place) and Nunton,⁴ and a quarter

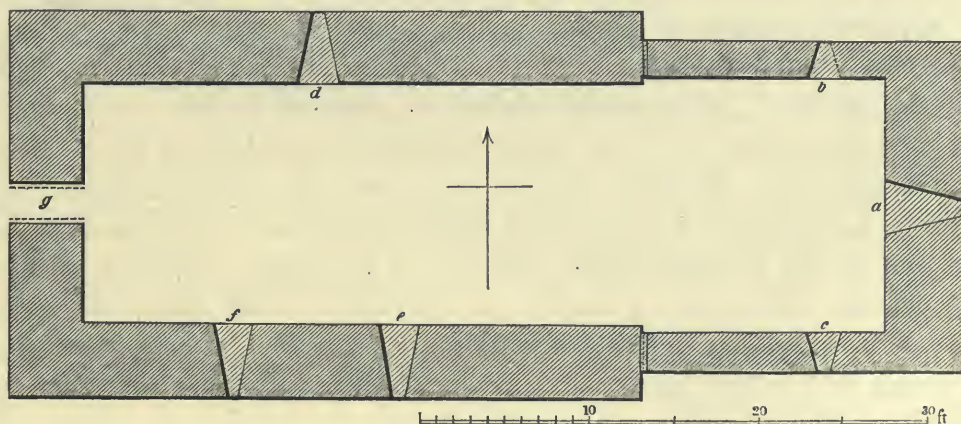


Fig. 2. Teampull Chalumchille (ground plan).

of a mile on the south side of the road, is a small lake, Loch na Chille, *i.e.*, Church Lake, which in consequence of drainage is now in summer a swampy meadow. On a point jutting into the lake from the south side stands the ruin of Teampull Chalumchille.

A cursory examination suggests that the greater part of this church was

¹ P. 169, Stat. Acc. Inverness-shire.

² P. 321, vol. xiii. Old Stat. Acc.

³ Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 43.

⁴ Nunton, formerly Baile nan Cailleachan, Gaelic, Nun's-town.

built in a very remote age. On the north side the mortar is so much washed out of the wall that it appears at first sight to be dry-stone masonry. The only door, at the west end, with inclined jambs, and so low as to necessitate a stooping position on entrance; the narrow doorway through a thick wall, and covered with undressed flag-stones; the little rectangular windows, like port-holes to a casement;—altogether present a combination of antique features, of which I have not seen the like in the Long Island.

Teampull Chalumchille stands east and west, true; *at present* it is distinguished into chancel and nave. The interior measurement of the chancel is 14 feet long and 15 feet broad, of the nave, $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $14\frac{1}{4}$ feet broad; thus, the whole (interior) church is $47\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and the original breadth $14\frac{1}{4}$ feet.

The east wall is 5 feet thick, and, with the gable, which is still standing, but greatly overhanging and ready to fall, is 27 feet high. The gable is apparently ledged or rebated: much mortar is used in the building. The east window (*a*) is a narrow (6 inches) rectangular slit, $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high on the outside. It is splayed slightly at top and bottom, and largely at the sides, so that the inside is almost square, being 3 feet 2 inches high, and 3 feet wide. The side walls of the chancel are evidently much later additions, and do not bond into the walls of the nave. The chancel walls are but 2 feet 2 inches thick, and are 14 feet long; they are greatly dilapidated. There was a window on each side near the altar; the north one (*b*) is ruined, but that on the south (*c*) is a narrow oblong slit, externally 8 inches by 2 feet 8 inches, but splaying on all sides within to 1 foot 10 inches by 3 feet 6 inches.

The walls of the nave are very massive; they are $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet thick. In the north wall is a small rectangular window (*d*), 7 inches by 14 inches outside, splaying at sides and bottom to $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet by 2 feet 5 inches inside. In the south wall are two little windows: the easternmost (*e*) is 10 inches square, but splaying on all sides to $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet within; the other (*f*) is rectangular, being 1 foot 2 inches by 8 inches, splaying on all sides to 2 feet 2 inches square internally. These light-holes have a strange look, and seem more fitted for a dungeon than a church. The sills of the windows appear to have been about 5 feet from the ground.

The door is in the middle of the west wall, with straight sides and roof.

The roof is formed by lintels laid across, which have now almost all been taken away. The jambs of the doorway (*g*) slope inwards, so that while it is only 2 feet wide at the top, it is 2 feet 4 inches at the bottom; the height is but 4 feet 7 inches.

The masonry of the older part of the church is of large, regular, apparently undressed blocks, laid in courses as far as the unequal size of the stones would admit. In the newer wall are many isolated large blocks, surrounded by intermediate pieces that are not small.

I was told that a cross was in the church till lately.

Such is the description of the ruined church of St Columba, which I cannot for a moment believe to have been built at the end of the fourteenth century; but the thinner walls at the east end are probably repairs made by the Lady Amie near that time, as stated by tradition.

The older building I believe to be of great age, possibly erected under the direction of St Columba himself, but certainly prior to the Norse invasion at the end of the eighth century. There is no other church that I know of in the Long Island that has such thick walls nor such small windows, nor in any other large church is the only door at the west end. The sloping jambs of the door is also an antique feature, only seen by me in two other places, viz., at Teampull MacVicar, already described in this paper, and again at "Caibeal Chlann MhicDhughail" (Chapel of the Clan (or Family) Macdougall), one of a group of five churches and chapels at Howmore,¹ South Uist.

"It is a curious fact that the first Christian church erected in Britain, and which is ascribed to the apostolical age, was exactly of the size generally adopted in Ireland after its conversion to Christianity, namely, 60 feet in length, and 26 in breadth."²

"These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows that splay inwards, which do not appear to have ever been glazed. In all cases the sides of the doorways and windows incline

¹ Howmore, Howfe, Hough, for Haugr-mor, Great-hillock; from *Haugr*, Norse, a hillock, and *Mor*, Gaelic, great. In the Orkneys the large tumuli and the mounds formed by the ruins of the broughs are called Hows.

² Petrie's Round Towers, p. 195.

feet, and mean breadth of 21·83 feet, or $\frac{2\cdot91}{1}$, which practically is three to one.

Trinity Church, Carinish; T. MacDhiarmid, Howmore; St Columba, Benbecula; and T. Muluag, Ness, have mean length 60·31 feet, mean breadth 24·94 feet, or $\frac{2\cdot44}{1}$, which is about two and a half to one.

The remaining ten chapels—St John's, Bragir, not being a simple rectangle, is not included—have an average length of 25·325 feet; breadth, 17·0 feet, or $\frac{1\cdot49}{1}$; that is, they are half as long again as they are broad.

Petrie tells us that the typical Irish church (*daimhliag*) should be 60 × 26 feet; dimensions supposed (at any rate, the length) to have been recommended by St Patrick himself;¹ and this is very near to the second class of churches noted above.

The *duirtheach*, or oratory, originally built of wood, is found by Petrie to be 15 feet by 10 feet, interior measurement; and the proportion of the rectangle corresponds generally with that of the smaller churches (those less than 50 feet long) and chapels in the Long Island; and it is interesting to know that—if I understand the quotation correctly—a wooden chapel cost, if thatched, a heifer for every foot and a half of length; but, if roofed with boards, a cow was paid instead of a heifer; and that a stone church cost twice as much as a wooden one.²

“The church of Benbecula, said to have been founded about 1390³ by Amie or Algive, the wife of John Lord of the Isles, appears to have been included in the grant of the lands of Uist made in 1392 by that Lord to Reginald of Yle his son, and confirmed in the same year by Robert III. In 1535, King James V. presented Archibald Makillewray to the rectory of the parish church of St Columba, in Beandmoyll, which was vacant by the decease of Sir Tormot Makane. In 1542, the same king presented Sir Fingonius M'Mulane chaplain to the same church, styled the rectory of Beanweall,⁴ in Evist, vacant or when vacant by the demission of Sir Archibald M'Ilwray.”⁵

¹ P. 161, Petrie's Round Towers.

² P. 365, *loc. cit.*

³ Concerning this date, see note by Mr Skene, *ante*.

⁴ This represents the pronunciation of the name of the island by the natives at the present time; the ignorant corruption to Benbecula is worthy of notice.

⁵ P. 370, part i. vol. ii. Or. Pr.

TEAMPULL MHICHAEL.

The south-west extremity of Grimsay, North Uist, is called Ru' Mhechael, *i.e.*, St Michael's Point; and about 500 yards from the shore is the ruin of a small chapel, dedicated, as I was informed on the spot, to the saint.

It is a simple rectangle, $23\frac{1}{4} \times 14$ feet inside; and the walls are $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. It is greatly dilapidated, the east wall being quite gone, and the south side, in which was the door, is but 3 feet high. There is 9 feet of the west wall left, in which is a splayed, straight-lined window, and it is nearer to the north than the south side. In the north wall, which is 9 feet high, are two windows; the eastmost is destroyed; but the western is rectangular,

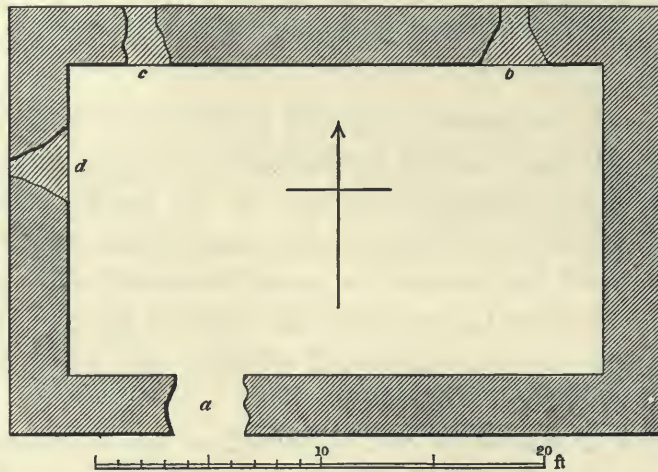


Fig. 3. Teampull Michael (ground plan).

$1\frac{1}{4}$ foot wide on the outside, with parallel sides ($4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high) for $\frac{3}{4}$ foot, then splayed to 3 feet on the inside.

There is a tradition that St Michael's chapel was built by the same lady that built Trinity Church, Carinish, and that it was for the use of strangers and fishermen coming to the port of Kallin. Martin (p. 56, *Western Isles*) refers to this chapel as the "Lowlanders Chappel, because seaman who die in the time of fishing are buried in that place;" but he locates it in the adjoining island of Rona, where it is not known that there ever was a chapel.

The sennachy of the Macdonalds states that the Lady Amie "built

the little oratory in Grimsay," and he may be correct in this instance; if so, the date of the erection of St Michael's chapel is before 1390.

It will be seen that of the three churches ascribed to the Lady Amie, I am willing to suppose that she built St Michael's, repaired and perhaps embellished Trinity Church, and rebuilt the side walls of the chancel of St Columba, Benbecula.

The remains of lime-cemented chapels are very numerous throughout the Outer Hebrides; but these islands possess a class of ecclesiological anti-

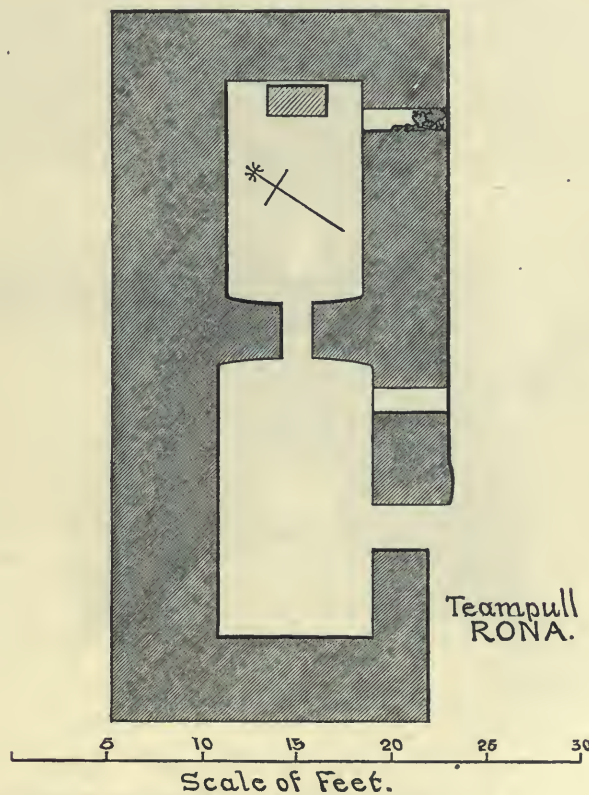


Fig 4. Teampull Rona (ground plan).

quities not elsewhere to be found in England or Scotland. These are the drystone and stone-roofed cells or oratories, built upon lonely islands far from the habitations of men. Mr Muir has visited, and described in his "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture," the three that are still nearly perfect;

viz., on the Flannan Isles, on Rona,¹ and on Sulasgeir.² But, as he has since revisited the two latter, I think it desirable to copy, with his permission, his drawings and description.

Of Teampull Rona he remarks,—“On the outside it is in most part a rounded heap of loose stones, roofed over with turf.”

Within you find it a roughly built cell, 9 feet 3 inches in height, and at the floor, 11 feet 6 inches long, and 7 feet 6 inches wide. (See plan.) The end walls lean inwardly a little, the side ones so greatly (see view), that,



Fig. 5. Teampull Rona, interior looking west.

where they meet the flat slab-formed roof, they are scarcely two feet apart. Beyond the singularity of its shape, there is nothing remarkable in the building, its only minute features being a square doorway in the west end, so low that you have to creep through it on your elbows and knees,—a flat-

¹ Rona, for Ronans-ey, *i.e.*, the Island of (St) Ronan.

² Sulasgeir, for Sula-sker; from *Sula*, a gannet, and *Sker*, a rock; Norse.

headed window, without splay on either side, 19 inches long, and 8 inches wide, set over the doorway,—another window of like form and length, but an inch or two wider, near the east end of the south wall,—and the altar-stone, 3 feet in length, lying close to the east end.

Attached as a nave to the west end of the cell, and externally co-extensive with it in breadth, are the remains of another chapel, internally 14 feet 8 inches in length, and 8 feet 3 inches in width. Except the north one, which is a deal broken down, all the elevations are nearly entire, the west one retaining a part of the gable. A rude flat-headed doorway, 3 feet 5 inches in height, and 2 feet 3 inches wide, in the south wall, and a small window of the same shape, eastward of it, are the only detail.

At what time either of these buildings was put up it is impossible to say. Both are alike rude in their masonry, and between them there is scarcely a difference in the character of their few inartistic details; but, be the age of the larger what it may, the cell, which may be termed the chancel of the structure at large, is certainly by many hundred years the older erection, and in all probability the work of the eighth or ninth century.

In the burying-ground, which is fenced by a low wall, with a doorway on the southwest, there are several truncated plain stone crosses, the tallest one only 2 feet 6 inches in height. At the intersection of the arms it is pierced with a triangular group of three small round holes. (See fig. 6.)

Of Teampull Sulasgeir, Mr Muir remarks, that it occupies “a slope at the east side of the southern end of the islet,” where “five or six stone bothies, quaintly fashioned things of the ordinary Lewis type, have been put up as shelters to the fowlers while there killing the birds. Near to these, on a small semi-insulated spot, closely surrounded by rocks, marked Sgeir an Teampull in the Ordnance map, there is a low rugged building with rounded corners and curved roof (see plan), called Tigh Bheannaichte (Blessed



Fig. 6.
Cross at West End of Teampull.

House), internally 14 feet long, and 8 feet wide at the middle, and 6 feet 4 inches at the ends. Within, the walls, rising with a curve towards each other, are roofed with heavy slabs, laid horizontally across. Outside, also, the walls and roof are curved, and covered over with loose stones and turf. The doorway, a rude flat-headed aperture, with inclined jambs, 3 feet 5 inches in height, 16 inches wide at top, and 22 inches at bottom, is on the south-west. Eastward of it there is a small square-shaped niche, and near to the north end of the west wall there is another of the same form. The

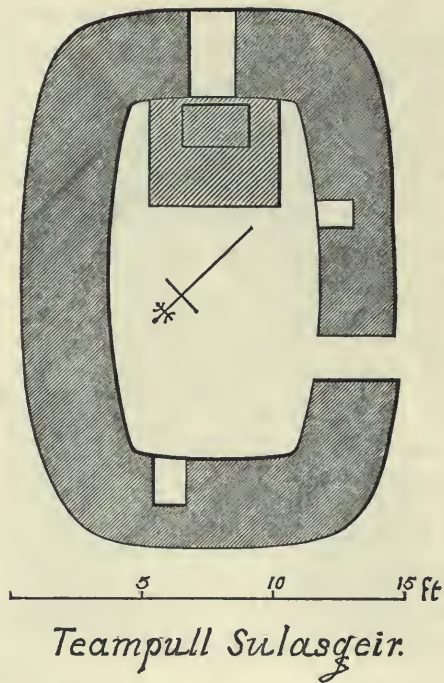


Fig. 7. Teampull Sulasgeir (ground plan).

only window is a small one at the east end, under which is the altar-stone, 2 feet 8 inches in length, raised on a low dais or foot-pace flanked by thin slabs set upon edge.”¹

¹ North Rona; A Sketch, p. 36.

IX.—*On a Runic Door from Iceland.*

By GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Copenhagen. (Plate XXIX.)

[*Read before the Society March 14, 1872.*]

Among the most precious "finds" of later years are those SCULPTURED OBJECTS which modern folk-lore has triumphantly recognised as echoes of heathen ages, as telling the tales of our Scando-Gothic fore-elders, as handling those grand and striking mythical Sagas which relate to the gods and heroes of our noble "barbarian" folkships. Ideas and legends so ancient as to run from the cradle of our races, following them from the far East to the far West, they were so intertwined with the mother-tong and the whole intelligent life of the peoples, that they were almost imperishable, living on in spite of the new and better faith, so that even Christian poems bud and bloom with pagan imagery.¹ And all these written and carved reminiscences of pagan song are quite independent of, and much older than, the merely local Norse-Icelandic Eddas. They are equally original, though only broken outstreamings and variations from common Scando-Gothic traditions, and show how many such "Eddas" we and others might have had if time and fanaticism had not destroyed the great mass of our oldest skin-books and hand-made works of art.

It is true that these carved old-laves are very few. But we must not be impatient. Only a score of years ago *none* such existed. And, now that our eyes are open to the subject, and we *destroy* less than once was the fashion, the tiny roll is continually lengthening. Who can tell how soon

¹ As one example among many, see the death of Christ treated in words applicable only to the killing of BALDOR, the White Os of Walhall, by the blind kemp HADO, pointed out by me in the glorious rune-carved stave-rime verses on the Ruthwell Cross, the noblest monument of its kind in all Europe. I have shown that these lines are by the Northumbrian bard Cædmon, the Christian Milton of the seventh century, and that the date of this runic pillar is about A.D. 680. (Old Northern Runic Monuments of England and Scandinavia, p. 431, and in the separately printed "The Ruthwell Cross, Northumbria," folio. London: J. R. Smith, 1866, p. 29).

others may be added to the number? As I am not aware that these scarce remains have ever been brought together, I will here mention *all* the pieces thus as yet discovered and identified, *in so far as they are known to me*. But this little list does not touch similar sculptures and decorations, &c., mentioned in ancient Northern writings, and which have long since perished, and is also exclusive of several of the remarkable Bild-stones (figured stones in relief, with or without runes) found in the Swedish island of Gotland, where some of the cuttings—for instance, the 8-footed horse (?Woden's steed Sleipner)—are apparently taken from the local folk-trow at the close of the heathen period, but which we as yet *cannot absolutely prove* to be the case.¹

The tall groups, then, illustrated by actual fragments of early art, are:—

I.—THE WELAND AND ÆGIL SAGA.

Weland, the Völund of Iceland, is the northern counterpart to Dædalus and Vulcan, and to so many other still farther off symbols or folk-pictures. To this legend belongs the fornest (oldest) such mythical Scando-Gothic carving left to us. Two cuttings from this hero-lay are found on *the Franks Casket*, or whalebone box, covered with Old English runes and bold sculptures—of subjects pagan, Christian, and historical—of about the year eight hundred. The work and dialect are Old Northumbrian.²

¹ See the engraving of the Tjängvide stone, Gotland, at p. 224 of my "Old Northern Runic Monuments." But this block, which I had never myself seen, has since come to the Stockholm Museum; and personal inspection, as well as a paper cast of the runes, obligingly forwarded to me by the assistant keeper, Dr O. Montelius, have shown me that *none* of the staves is Old Northern. It therefore goes out as an O. N. runic piece. The inscription states that the stone was raised by SIKVI to his brother URULF, and it probably dates from about the year 900 after Christ. See also the Habblingbo stone, as figured at my p. 708; the Laivide stone, at p. 743; and the Sanda stone, at p. 778.

² See beautiful chemitypes, full size, and a careful description, in my "Old Northern Run. Mon." pp. 470-476, D., and pp. lxi., lxx. This costly piece is now in the British Museum, to which it has been presented by its late owner, our accomplished and noble minded old lorist, Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., F.S.A. Reduced Photo-lithographs of this casket (doubtless taken from my chemitypes, which were executed by J. Magnus Petersen) have lately been given by the Rev. Dan. H. Haigh, in his paper on "Yorkshire Runic Monuments," in the Yorkshire Archæological Journal for 1872, Svo.

II.—THE VOLSUNGS.—A.

SIGURD FAFNE'S BANE.

The wide-spread folk-lays hereon have found outward shape on—

1. *The Ramsunds-berg*, Södermanland, Sweden, a runic grave-wording cut on the surface of a large rock table, together with many figures telling the story of Sigurd, the Dragon and the Gold. The whole carving measures about 16^f, by from 4^f to 6^f in breadth.¹

2. *The Gök Stone*, a few miles from the above and in the same folk-land, a runic grave-wording on a large stone block, with very similar but coarser carvings from the same cyclus; the whole nearly equal in size.²

The true character of these two wonderful stone-pictures was first recognised by Prof. Carl Säve, of Upsala, Sweden; and his essay hereon³ is a masterpiece of research. These colossal carvings must date from about the year 1000, or a little later.

3. *Hyllestad Church* door pillars,⁴ Setersdal, Norway, now in the Christiania Museum. Date about 1150.

¹ First engraved in "Rudbeck's Atlantica," fol., vol. iii., Upsala, 1698, p. 22; then in R. Dybeck's "Svenska Run-Urkunder," 8vo, vol. ii., Stockholm, 1857, p. 13, fig. 63; last and best in Carl Säve, "Sigurds-Ristningarna," pl. i.; J. Mestorf, "Zur Nibelungensage," pl. i.; and O. Montelius, "Sigurds-Ristningarne," Södermanland, in "Ny Illustrerad Tidning," fol., April 8, 1871, Stockholm, pp. 110, 112; Worsaae, "Om Forestillingerne," in "Aarbøgerne," Kjöb., 1870, pl. xv.; Worsaae, "Les Empreintes des Bracteates en Or," in "Mémoires de la Société Roy. des Ant. du Nord," 8vo, Copenhagen, 1870, pl. xv. (xviii.)

² Engraved in Rudbeck's "Atlantica," vol. iii., p. 21; in C. Säve, pl. ii.; J. Mestorf, pl. ii.; O. Montelius, pp. 110, 112.

³ "Sigurds-Ristningarna å Ramsunds-berget och Göks-stenen, Tvänne Fornsvenska Minnesmärken om Sigurd Fafnesbane," pp. 321–364 of "Kgl. Vitterhets, Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Handlingar," 8vo, vol. xxvi., Ny Följd, vol. vi., Stockholm, 1869. Translated into German, with some additions, by J. Mestorf, "Zur Nibelungensage," 8vo. Hamburg, 1870.

⁴ Woodcut in "Skilling Magasin," 4to, No. 5, Feb. 4, 1865, Kristiania; Chemitype, by J. M. Petersen (from a large photograph), illustrating Worsaae's paper, "Om Forestillingerne paa Guldbracteaterne," in "Aarbøgerne for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 8vo, Kjöbenhavn, 1870, pp. 382–419, plate xiv.; copied by J. Mestorf, pl. iii.

4. *Veigus Church* door, Robygdelag, Norway. Nicolaysen¹ says, date about 1200–1250.

5. *Gaulstad* door pillars,² Jarlsberg, Norway.

6. As probably identified by the Tree (Birds gone), this legend may, perhaps, exist on a Miserere (date first quarter of the 16th century) now in the chapel of Durham Castle. See the list in "Notes and Queries," June 7, 1873.—"6. Winged and long-eared dragon, with clawed feet. A human figure has been broken away, but a hand pushing a shield against the dragon's nose, and a bare foot broken off at the instep, remain. In background a cabbage-like tree. On either side a mask, one with tongue out."

III.—THE VOLSUNGS.—B.

GUDRUN WARNS HER BROTHERS AGAINST ATLE.

Gunnar and Hogne were brothers of Gudrun, Sigurd Fafne's-bane's wife. Gudrun's second husband, Atle, sends two bodesmen to the princes, bidding them visit him, with intent to slay them. Gudrun warns them with runes, and with a golden ring into which a wolf's hair was twisted.

This episode is found on one of the two *Hiterdal Church* chairs,³ Thelemark, Norway.

IV.—THE VOLSUNGS.—C.

GUNNAR HARPING IN THE WORM-PIT.

Gunnar Giuking had married Sigurd's first love, Brynhild. When Gunnar would not betray the hiding-place of Fafne's and Sigurd's gold-ward, he was cast into a snake-den with his hands fast tied. Gudrun sent him a harp, and on this he played so sweetly with his toes that he

¹ N. Nicolaysen, "Norske Fornlevninger," 8vo. Kristiania, 1862–6, p. 252.

² Engraved in "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkens Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1855," 8vo, Christiania, 1856, pl. vii.

³ Engraved in "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkens Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1854," pl. iv., 8vo, Christiania, 1855; Worsaae, "Om Forestillingerne paa Guldbracteaterne," pl. xviii., xix.; J. Mestorf, pl. iii.

lulled the serpents to sleep, all but one fierce viper, which gnawed through his breast and tore his heart asunder.

1. *Hyllestad Church* door pillars.¹

2. One of the two *Hiterdal Church* chairs, Thelemarken, Norway.²

3. Door-plank in *Opdal Church*, Numedal, Norway.³

4. Stone *Font* (now in the Swedish Museum, Stockholm) from *Norum Church* in Bohus-tän, Sweden. Each of the four sides is decorated, that with the Gunnar scene also bearing a runic inscription and runic date, which I read: SUÆNN KÆRDE CCCXX. (*suænn gared* = *made me* [1]320). All the sides are engraved in the elegant work of G. Brusewitz on the Antiquities of South Bohus-tän ("Elfsyssel," 4to, Göteborg, 1864, p. 120-21.)

V.—THE KING AND THE DRAKE.

The commonest variation of this ancient theme in our lands is that best known under the title of KING THEODORIK AND THE DRAGON.

The Icelandic church-door carved with this story dates from about 1150, or a little later. It was first made public by Worsaae, from a chemitype by J. Magnus Petersen, in his "Nordiske Oldsager," 8vo, Kjöbenhavn, 1854, No. 388 (No. 505 in the 2d ed., Kjöbenhavn, 1859). It was first handled and its runes deciphered by myself in "The Runic Hall in the Danish Old Northern Museum," 4to, Cheapinghaven (Köbenhavn), 1868, p. 17; (also p. 17, in the Danish edition of this same work, "Runehallen i det Danske Oldnordiske Museum," 4to. Köbenhavn, 1868). Thereafter I treated it more at large, and illustrated it with a new and still more exact and delicate, and one-third larger chemitype, by the same first-rate artist, in the Danish illustrated paper "Illustreret Tidende" for June 20, 1869, folio.

But this splendid carving is of great interest to all the Northern races, and throws light on several of the olden remains of Britain, as so carefully and magnificently collected for us by Dr Stuart, in his "Inscribed Stones of Scotland." I have, therefore, great pleasure in forwarding these lines to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, offering them to their Transactions. My

¹ For engravings, see note to II. A., 3.

² Engraved, as in note to II. B.

³ Engraved in "Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden," folio, part 6, Kristiania, 1866, pl. iii.

readers can at the same time study the door itself, the Society having consented to add impressions from my characteristic plate, as executed by J. Magnus Petersen.

This beautiful and costly door, of pine-wood (drift timber), one of the finest specimens of Middle Age carving in Europe, was formerly in the head entrance to the ancient church at Valthjófstad, Nordrmúlasysla, in East Iceland. But as it began to fall in pieces, and the parishioners wished one much stronger in its place, they agreed it should be taken care of in the Danish Old Northern Museum, in exchange for a new oaken door and two altar candlesticks. The venerable relic was forwarded to Denmark in 1851, by Pastor Arneson, the priest of Valthjófstad. It was, however, found to be covered over with several coats of paint, given to it in later years, and all this smearing had to be taken off, while at the same time the whole was restored. This masterpiece is now No. 12,195 in the Museum collections, and is about 6 feet and 9½ inches high, by 3 feet and 2½ broad.

Our Northern lands can yet show many art-famous doors from the early and later middle age, but it is only in Scandinavia that some few bear scenes from our oldest legends. One such is that now before us (as was first hinted by Prof. Svend Grundtvig¹), for there can be no doubt that it is a free and fresh wood-rising of the tale how a king—usually called THEODORIK—freed a lion in danger of death from a savage dragon, slaying the monster, and how the grateful wood-king thereafter followed the kemp as his friend and protector.

The whole field of the door is taken up with two large roundels, cut in relief. The lower shows us a large nondescript winding, twisting, writhing, intertwined cluster of four winged worms. One dragon-head bites another's tail at the top of the circle, another at the bottom, a third at the right, and a fourth at the left.

Midway between this cartouche and the circle above is the finely wrought iron ring, which, as well as its staple, is delicately and decoratively inlaid with silver—a wonderful proof of what the art-smith then could do.






The upper roundel is divided by a narrow band into two equal halves. The bottom section shows a warrior, armed with helm and a three-pointed shield, dashing at full speed on horseback against a winged drake, into whose

¹ S. Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, vol. i. 8vo. Kjöbenhavn, 1853, p. 130, "Kong Diderik og Löven."



CARVED CHURCH DOOR, WITH RUNIC INSCRIPTION, FROM ICELAND.

body he plunges his sword. The tail of the worm grasps a struggling lion. The top half represents the same hero, triumphant and still on horseback, followed by the thankful animal, and advancing towards a small building (doubtless a church), at whose gate crouches another or the same creature, who rests on a broadish band, or slab, or tombstone, *whose edge bears a line of runes*, and at the head of which stands a small cross. This second lion may show that his gallant deliverer is in the church thanking God for his victory, while the faithful king of beasts awaits and guards him without. It may also be a general symbol of the homage paid by heathen strength to the mild lore of Christ. But most likely it shadows forth the last scene of all, telling us that at his master's fall the true and great-hearted forest-lord lays him down to mourn and die on his grave.

At the base of and inside the top roundel is the mark of the carver, ; so old is "the artist's monogram." Below this roundel on the left is another mark or bindrune, perhaps that of the maker of the door, the mere carpenter; it is . And below this again, still farther to the left, is a worn , which, perhaps, was originally  or . There is also a scratch or two of later date.



The whole carving shows a surprisingly bold and free and elegant handling, and must have been the work of a master, a true "wood-smith." The costume and armour agree in all essentials with the well-known historical needle-bilds which meet us on the Bayeux tapestry, and in miniatures of that age; and the style and work are evidently from about the middle of the twelfth century, or maybe a little later. The shield is kite-shaped or oblong and three-cornered, but cut off square at the top; the helm has both nasal and backpiece; the sword is large, with a massy guard; the stirrups are fastened to the saddle-bow, are apparently of leather, and seem to end in a large roundish opening for the foot, so that there is perhaps no iron flat-bottomed stirrup-shoe as on the Bayeux tapestry. The spurs are either wanting, or have been broken away, but were probably never carved at all. They were most likely *understood*, the artist thinking such a minute feature would soon crumble if cut in this soft wood. As might be expected, the king is attended by his hawk, which flies near him during the combat, but has approvingly settled on the horse's mane after his lord's sigör ("victory"). Very curious in the after scene is the hawk-staff or perch borne upright by the sigör-winner. That helt holds it in his right hand, for the falcon to fly

to when he needs him. It is clearly not a leash wound round the hand, but a stout leathern or wooden pin with a broad and indented top. We must also note that the lion following the sigor-lord is ornamented with a double collar or neckchain, doubtless of precious metal, while the sorrowing woodland-king, who bows his head before the church, has no such triumphal ornament.

The large lock which once belonged to this piece is gone; it has been cut out, and its place filled with a bit of wood. Maybe this was done (whether in Iceland or Denmark I cannot learn) when the door was otherwise repaired.

We now come to the runes. But we must first remark, that at some time when the door was in Iceland, perhaps long before it was taken out to be sent to Denmark, a slip about 1 inch and a quarter wide was split off the third, or rightmost, or lock-deal (for the whole consists of three such boards nicely fitted together), all the way along the inner side of the plank from top to bottom. This breakage, of course, spoiled the whole, for what was left would no longer fit in with the carvings of the next or second board. It was therefore determined to replace it. A piece of new wood, of exactly the same width ($1\frac{1}{4}$ inch), was obtained, carefully planed, and glued on to the broken side, and some clever hand carved in all those parts of the design and figures which had stood on the lost strip. By a lighter shade-play, my artist has admirably enabled us to trace this narrow mending-lath all the way up. In so doing, however, the old workman *forgot to cut the runes* on that bit, or else they may have suffered, and *he knew not how to restore them*. If this mending was done in Denmark the carpenter could know nothing about the missing letters. The damaged slice had contained at this spot *the beginning of the runic inscription*. As I have said, the width of this splinter is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. That part of the narrow slab, or band, or grave-stone still farther to the left *never had* any staves, as a glance at the engraving will show us. We are therefore *sure* that the runes which *want* were *not many*, how many we cannot know, as one or two of them *may* have been bind-runes (monograms, clasped-letters), for two such occur elsewhere in this rune-line. But these—say five to seven—missing staves—or five to six staves if one of the marks was a dividing point—*must be supplied* in any reading of the risting.

We must also remember that the carving of small runish characters in so narrow a space, and on so soft a material as timber, and this wood so nesh

and loose as *the pine*, must be carefully managed, and the shape of each letter adapted to the kind of tree, for else the runes will assuredly *chip out in the cutting*. Hence on any such monument we must be prepared to grapple with any modification in the shape of a letter or two. Add to this, that where the threads and grain are often so very coarse (so that *here*, for instance, the deep fibre-marks in some places run like broad wires down the whole board, thus , and in the inscribed parts may often at first sight be mistaken for the rune  (I), or for part of a letter), and where such a thing as a *door* has been exposed for at least 700 years to wind and weather, and rubs and dints, and scathes manifold, we may expect the runic risting to offer doubts and difficulties.

This is the case here. The runes are very hard to make out, and have never yet been read. (This was written before the publication of my "Runic Hall" and "Runehallen," whose short text contained my reading.) They have become comparatively faint; there are several damages and doleful spots on the surface; wee bits have here and there fallen away, and in one place (the E in the word ER) *a whole* letter has mouldered out bodily, so that there is a deep chink. As so often also, particularly on wood, it is not always easy to decide whether a rune is "stung" (dotted) or no; and where dividing points occur, we cannot always clearly see their exact number. Still, by the help of *many and long and careful* examinations of the original and *good paper casts*, and an inexhaustible stock of *patience*, we may do wonders. I believe I have succeeded in deciphering the whole.¹

The staves are 1 inch high, very nearly. The whole rune-row was at first $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, of which almost 9 inches remain. For better control, and to ensure perfect accuracy, and that the reader may minutely follow them, I have had the staves carefully chemityped *separately* on a large scale, by J. Magnus Petersen, from my drawings from the door itself, and from paper casts, and give them here one-half the full size:—



For a long time I was hampered in trying to make this out by the plain

¹ As I have said, my translation was first made public in 1868, and I have not seen or heard of any adverse criticism.

rune \mathbb{K} , a mark often found as one of the many shapes in latter times for P. But this value would here be quite inadmissible. It might also be taken as a modification of one of the later types for G, and this long misled me. At last I saw that it could here be neither P nor G, but must be F, which the context, and indeed the whole reading, absolutely demand. My explanation of this F is simply, as I have remarked, that the stuff on which the rune-cutter worked was a soft, coarse-fibred wood, and he had to act accordingly. Living in a late runic age, he used a late and therefore a "stung" alphabet. Therefore, wanting the stung letter D (as modified from his \mathbb{A} , T), he would have to carve \mathbb{A} , or \mathbb{A} or \mathbb{A} , &c. But he was risting this nesh wood, and close-crossed lines so near as in such T's would *certainly* soon *chip out* and spoil his stave; so (in saving his space when cutting the bind-rune DR) he scored the scarce mark \mathbb{D} for D. In the same way, I take it, with the F. The common stave for this letter is \mathbb{F} ; but, so risted, the top or inner arm would *loosen and fall out*; so he made the rare character \mathbb{K} for F, *the two arms being still there*, but so placed as not to mince the fibre of the tree.

Should my copy and my reading be correct, we have here two bind-runes, DR and Aþ; \mathbb{D} (D) and \mathbb{R} (R) in \mathbb{R} , and \mathbb{A} (A) and \mathbb{D} (þ, TH) in \mathbb{D} . The A in Aþ belongs to the foregoing word DREKA, the þ to the following word þÆNA, a fresh instance of this not common peculiarity thus added to the many already known to us. The stung or dotted letters are the usual \mathbb{A} for Ü or Y (\mathbb{A} being U), \mathbb{F} for G (\mathbb{F} being K), and \mathbb{I} for E (\mathbb{I} being I). The D has been already spoken of.

If I be right in all this, there can be no objection to my reading and translation. The *missing letters* I supply in harmony with the rest, *in small staves and in a parenthesis*.

(H:*) RIKIA KÜNÜNG HER GRAFIN (E)R UA DREKA þÆNA:

(SE HIN) RIKIA KÜNÜNG HER GRAFIN (E)R UA DREKA þÆNA.
[SEE YON (*that*)] RICH (*mighty*) KING HERE GRAVEN (*buried*) AS
(*who*) WOOG (*slew*) DRAKE (*dragon*) THÆN (*this*).

All is here quite simple and natural, and is paralleled by similar mottoes on objects bearing Roman letters. The wordfall RICH KING, RICH EARL,

&c., is a standing phrase in our older writings. Here RIKIA is a form (ancient) form, instead of the usual Norse-Icelandic RIKA (acc. s. m. def.); nom. s. masc. M. Goth. REIKS, O. Engl. RICE, Norse-Icel. RIKR, mighty, potent, strong, far-ruling, splendid (*rich = wealthy* being later or by implication); and this epithet, formerly often given even to God himself, shows that the whole *cannot* refer to any petty later and local prince or kingle, as the learned Icelander, Gisli Brynjulfsson, has suggested. KÜNÜNG, for the common N. I. KONUNG, reminds us of the Old English KUNUNG, CÜNÜNG, CÜNING, CYNUNG, &c.

I take it, therefore, to be plain enough that the RICH (= GREAT) KING here spoken of is the far-and-wide known and famous THEODRIK (DIDRIK) WITH THE LION, or the antique mythic folk-king whose symbol he had grown to be. But the legend as here sculptured is not exactly the same as in the commoner and later traditions about king Theodrik, best left to us in the *Vilkina Saga*. In the story as found in that charming tale-book, we have the episode of the king killing all the young dragons also, and he fought *on foot*. On the door (where we, perhaps, have them in the great lower roundel, but at all events we see three of them carved in their den at the right-top corner of the lower half in the upper roundel), the wormlet slaughter is seemingly unknown, and the champion fights *on horseback*.

This is, therefore, the simplest and oldest sculpture-tablet of KING THEODRIK AND THE LION now left to us. But it is also of great value as a work of high art, and is one of the very few specimens of *figure-carving in relief on wood* now found in our North, and dating so far back as about the stirring days of Thomas à Becket in England, Erik the Holy in Sweden, and Valdemar the Sigor-rich (Victorious) in Denmark.

Since the substance of the above was printed, and attention thus drawn hereto, a distinguished Danish archæologist—one especially so in all that relates to the arms and costume of the olden time, Otto Blom, Danish Artillery Captain—has submitted this door to a minute and searching examination at a sitting of the Society of Northern Antiquaries in Cheapinghaven, April 19, 1870. The paper he read on this occasion has since been published, with some additions.¹ As might be expected, it is full of instruction as to the dress and weapons borne in the twelfth year-hundred by

¹ "De udskaarne Kirkedøre fra Valthjofstad og Hyllestad," pp. 229-248 of "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 8vo. Kjöbenhavn, 1871.

man and horse, and will well repay our attentive study. The accomplished critic comes to the conclusion that this relief was carved by a native Scandinavian artist, about the year 1150, and that the Norse Hyllestad door is of about the same age. An Icelandic scholar, Hr. Gisli Brynjulfsson, observed at the meeting that the church at Valthjofstad was not built so early, old documents showing that it was raised about 1190, or some years after. To this Captain Blom replies,—that his proofs do not admit this difference of about fifty years, that the forms of the helm (with its nasal and backpiece) and of the saddle are decisive against so low an era; that the door may have first belonged to an older building, and may then have been used for the new one, or that it perhaps was brought from Norway, or that there may have been some other reason for the style being older than 1190–1200, but that it is certainly not much younger than about 1150. At all events, the difference is not very great. All agree that this fine wood-carving cannot be *later* than *about* 1190. It is thus one of the most precious art monuments left us by our forefathers. If I am rightly informed, this northern heirloom has, as it were, its double in the South Kensington Museum. At least it is said (I hope truly) that one of its officers has made a paper mould of the door, whence to take a cast for that rich institution.

X.—*An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St. Patrick.*

By J. H. TURNER, M.A.

[*Read before the Society, 8th January 1872.*]

CONTENTS.		PAGE
INTRODUCTION,		261
Part I. The Existence of St. Patrick not doubtful—His own statements about himself,		263
„ II. Statements contained in the Old Biographies,		271
„ III. Examination of Dr. Lanigan's Theory—Remarks on the Art of Hagioclepsy—Conclusion,		278

“Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et cognatos meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere verba animæ meæ.

“Testem Deum habeo, quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis.”—*St. Patrick's Confession.*

In the following observations, which are submitted with great deference to the judgment of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, I cannot flatter myself that I have succeeded in removing all the doubts and clearing up all the difficulties that beset the question they discuss, belonging as it does to a period which, for Scotchmen, is already one of remote antiquity. They may, however, go some way towards settling a controversy which, within the present generation, has been warmly debated, and which offers as legitimate a subject of interest as any other. Since the days when nine cities of Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, men have always been proud to be able to claim kindred with the great of old; and the times and places of birth of distinguished heroes, statesmen, poets, and hierarchs, have sometimes offered matter for obstinate and minute inquiry. It cannot be indifferent to know to what country or clime we are to refer the birth of a man who has been deservedly styled the Apostle of Ireland, and who, if we may judge by the records of his actions that have come down to us, was undoubtedly a true successor of the apostles. I am aware that the very existence of such a personage has been called in question, but to me it appears to be as clearly established as that of Napoleon Bonaparte,

although historic doubts have been started in both cases. It is not the non-existence of such a personage, but the actual existence of more than one saint or apostolical missionary of the same name, which can present any real difficulties in this case to the inquirer.

The personality, birthplace, and mission of St. Patrick constitute a link between ourselves and the sister island, appealing to the dearest sympathies of religion and consanguinity, which I should be loath to see dissevered, and which I hope, therefore, may resist the rudest assaults of sceptical criticism, although this and every other consideration must give way to the voice of truth, if that should be found opposed. But it is impossible that all which has been handed down to us as to the existence and actions of such a personage should be a mere fiction; that a nation should have been deceived as to the most important event of its history—the introduction of Christianity, and the man who was the principal instrument in the work; or that it should have made itself, either voluntarily or involuntarily, the agent of deception. St. Patrick, too, is still something more to us than a name. Even St. Ninian himself is little more than a shadow, although we know him as the apostle of Scotland, and the missionary of Galloway and the tribes beyond the Wall. But St. Patrick is still a living power, whose memory is fresh in the hearts of millions throughout the world; and with his spirit we may still hold communion through the literary remains, scanty as they are, which he has bequeathed to us.

Up to our own age the unanimous tradition of Christendom represented the apostle of Ireland as having been born amongst the Britons of Strathelyde, or Clydesdale, in south-western Scotland. There were indeed some who, as Usher takes notice in his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, supposed him to have been born in Wales, or even in Ireland itself; but their names are so obscure that it requires much research to discover them, and they did not for a moment disturb the general conviction. The first to do so, and to trouble the stream of ancient tradition, was Dr. Lanigan, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, published in the year 1829, who had, previously to his writing that work, been for some years professor in the University of Padua. His theory, as explained therein, is that St. Patrick was a native of the French or Gallican town now known to us as Boulogne.¹

¹ Moore, in his *History of Ireland* (i. 211), blindly follows Lanigan.

In this view he has been followed by Mr. Cashel Hoey (the author of an essay on this question, which is included in a volume of treatises published under the auspices of Dr. Manning, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster), who, however, adds nothing to the arguments of his predecessor. It is certain that both religious and national feelings have been unwarrantably enlisted in this matter within our own times, but I should be the last to seek to imitate the bad example which has been set. I regard such a mode of proceeding as fatal to the interests of truth. Such a question ought to be approached, if at all, with the calm and unbiassed temper appropriate to the investigation of scientific problems. It is only by such a method, and by casting aside all spirit of partisanship, that we can hope to arrive at the determination of truth, and to see the results of our inquiries acknowledged and embraced by others. In order to the attainment of this end, it appears to me that the best and most expedient course will be to cite and examine in the first instance the statements of the most ancient authorities, which I shall proceed accordingly to do without further preface.

I.—*The Existence of St. Patrick not doubtful—His own statements about himself.*

From what has been already said, it will be seen that I consider the existence of this saint to be as well established as any fact of history. He never achieved, like Augustine and Jerome, or Athanasius and Chrysostom, a great literary or polemical reputation; hence it would be vain to expect to find abundant notices of his sayings and doings in the contemporary literature of continental Europe. He laboured in a remote and barbarous country, the very name of which was hardly known in the polished cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire.

The earliest notice of St. Patrick seems to be contained in the letter on the Paschal controversy addressed by the Irish theologian Cummin¹ to Segen or Segian, Abbot of Iona, about the year 630, in which he is styled "Sanctus Patricius Papa noster." Another early attestation of his personality, the more valuable as being itself placed beyond the reach of suspicion, is that

¹ Cumineus or Cummianus. This epistle was published by Usher from the Cottonian manuscript, in the *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Dublin, 1632. Segenus or Segianus was Abbot of Iona from A.D. 622 to 652. Usher states that Cummin is mentioned by Bede, but his name is not to be found in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

of Adamnan in his "Life of St Columba." He mentions in the *Præfatio Secunda*, "Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii Episcopi discipulus, Maucteus¹ nomine." This is the testimony of one who wrote only 200 years after the saint's death, when his memory had not yet become a subject of doubt or dispute, and was cherished with religious veneration by all the foremost men of the church he founded. There can be no reason for throwing discredit upon it, and it must therefore be accepted as a great fact in hagiology. Of the same age with Adamnan, though less known to fame, was Maccuthenius, or Muirchu Maccumachtene, the author of the Life of St. Patrick preserved in the Book of Armagh, which has supplied the groundwork of most of those subsequently written. This was composed from the dictation of Aedh, Bishop of Sletty, who is believed to be the same with an anchorite mentioned by the Four Masters as having died in 698.² The Annotations of Tirechan, preserved in the same collection, which was formed about A.D. 800, were taken from the mouth of Ultan, a bishop who flourished at the beginning of the seventh century.³ Ledwich, in his Irish Antiquities, published at the close of the last century, may be regarded as the chief of the sceptics who have called in question the existence of St. Patrick. His doubts were based chiefly on the fact of no mention of the saint being made by Bede in the Ecclesiastical History; but for this it is easy to account. Bede commemorates only those foreign missionaries or other ecclesiastics who were brought into contact with the Anglo-Saxons, or who influenced directly or indirectly the development of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Of these St. Patrick was not one; and even St. Columba is mentioned by Bede only in the most cursory way, though he speaks in detail of his followers Colman and Aidan. This supposed ground of difficulty, there-

¹ This Maucteus was probably St. Mochta of Lughnagh or Louth, who died in 534, as mentioned in the Annals of Ulster under that year: "Dormitatio Mauchte, discipuli Patricii, xvi. Cal. Sept. Sic ipse scripsit in epistola sua; Mocteus peccator presbiter, Sancti Patricii discipulus." This entry is important for the chronology of St. Patrick's life.

² Todd, Life of St. Patrick, p. 314, note. The first four leaves of the MS. of Maccuthenius are now lost, though they existed in the time of Usher, and were seen by him.

³ These make mention of St. Patrick's Canticum Scotticum, the Gaelic hymn still extant, in which he prays to be protected against the spells of women, smiths, and Druids; Petrie, Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, p. 109; in the 18th volume of Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

fore, disappears the moment it is seriously examined. But though not mentioned in the History, the name of St. Patrick occurs in two passages of Bede's other works. In the Martyrologium Poeticum, a short metrical composition of which the authenticity is unhappily questioned, his death is commemorated, under March, in the following line—

Patricius Domini servus conscendit ad aulam,

or, as we may render it,

Patrick, God's servant, mounted to the skies.

In the Martyrologia, as printed by the Bollandist editor Henschenius, who discovered the remnants of the manuscript codex, we have the following entry—"xvi Cal. Apr. In Scotia Sti. Patricii Confessoris."¹

This may suffice as to Bede's knowledge of the existence of St. Patrick.²

¹ In the Cologne version of the Martyrology, which appears to have undergone alteration and interpolation by later hands, the entry is—"In Scotia natale Sti. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris, qui primus Christum ibidem evangelizavit." Here *natale* is used as of the second birth, the day of the saint's decease. This or something else misled Hussey, the Oxford Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in his edition of Bede published in 1846, to describe St. Patrick as born in Ireland (p. 26, note). The Martyrologium is supposed by some to be, at least in part, the work of Florus, a monk of the Abbey of St. Trond, near Liège, who lived rather more than a century after Bede. He also made insertions in the Martyrologia, which are known as the Auctarium. It does not of course follow that interpolations of this kind were made with any dishonest intention.

² Marianus Scotus in the eleventh century, and Sigebert of Gemblours in the early part of the next (he died in 1112), both refer to St. Patrick, and both speak of him as a native of Britain. The Chronicle of Marianus, under the year 394, which in his chronology is equivalent to the year 372 of the ordinary notation, has the following entry:—"Stus. Patricius nascitur in Britannia insula ex patre nomine Calpuirn. Mater Conchess soror sancti Martini." On this we may remark, that if Conchess or Concessa were St. Martin's sister, she could not have been a Gallic or Gaulish woman, as so often stated by the biographers, for St. Martin was a native of Pannonia or Hungary. Sigebert, under the year 394, has—"Stus. Patricius Scottus in Hibernia cum suis sororibus venditur," where Scottus is evidently used for a native of North Britain. This entry is given as taken from Marianus, though it is not to be found in the text of that writer. Again, Marianus, under the year 453, = 431 of the ordinary notation, has "Sanctus Patricius genere Brittus." Sigebert, at the year 432, has the following—"S. Patricius genere Britto, filius Conches sororis S. Martini Turonensis." This passage also professes to be taken from Marianus, and agrees with his entry under the year 394 above given. Whether the entry in Marianus, then, be by the writer himself, or by some other, a point on which Waitz, his late editor, expresses doubt, though without assigning a

I have said enough upon a point which has no claim to be regarded in any other light than that of a mere sceptical crotchet. We must speak very differently of the theory first suggested by the lamented Dr. Petrie in his *Essay on the Antiquities of Tara*, relative to the existence of more than one St. Patrick. It must be said that the theory is not developed very fully or distinctly, and to examine it minutely is not within the scope of the present inquiry, but there appear to be grounds sufficient to warrant us in receiving it as probable, if not as certainly established. The *Annals of Tighernach* record under the year 341 the birth of Patrick, and under the year 357 his abduction into captivity in Ireland.¹ This goes far to identify him with the author of the Confession, as in one of the most remarkable passages of that venerable document² the writer speaks of himself as being carried captive into Ireland in his sixteenth year. It is believed that the Patrick here mentioned died about the year 460, whereas the year ordinarily assigned for the death of St. Patrick is 492,³ and for his birth that of 372.

reason, Sigebert must have had it before him when compiling his *Chronicle*. Marianus may be consulted in the 5th volume of Pertz's collection, *Monument. Germ. Hist. Scriptores*, or in Migne's *Patrologia*.

¹ Tighernach is considered the most accurate and trustworthy of the ancient Irish annalists. The entries in his *Annals* are—"A.D. 341. Patricius nunc natus est;" "A.D. 357. Patricius captivus in Hiberniam ductus est." The *Annals of Ulster* place the death of Patricius in 457, or in 461 according to other statements, which last date would make him 120 years old, agreeably with the ordinary statement. At the year 461 the *Annals of Tighernach* are defective, but the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* is believed to have been copied from them. A subsequent entry in Tighernach confirms this. Under the year 664 he mentions the outbreak of a pestilence 203 years from the death of St. Patrick, which would thus have happened in 461. What Patrick can this be but the great St. Patrick?

² Dr. Reeves states (note to Adamnan, p. 6) that the Confession of St. Patrick was transcribed into the *Book of Armagh*, about the year 800, from the autograph of the saint himself, then partly illegible. Either this cannot be true, or the Confession as we now have it must be quite untrustworthy, since the author describes himself as unable to read, much more to write (see c. iii.).

³ Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, t. i. ps. ii. p. cviii.) places the birth of St. Patrick in 372, and his abduction in 388, when Britain was ravaged by an Irish fleet. Dr. Todd (in the *Life*) does not attempt to fix the year of his birth, and considers Usher to have been right in placing his death in 493. Dr. Lanigan (*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, i. 137) makes him to have been born in 387, and led captive in 403, when Nial of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland, after having ravaged the coasts of Great Britain, was plundering the maritime districts of Gaul. According to the same author, he died in 465.

I can afford here only a cursory allusion to this difficult and abstruse question, which it is not necessary for my present purpose to discuss at length, but I shall assume that the statements which will be examined in a subsequent portion of my essay relate to the first or elder St. Patrick, however the true chronology of his life may be settled. Some of the old Irish chroniclers mention a Patricius Junior, who is described as nephew of the elder of the same name.¹ It may well be that the great saint, the true apostle of Ireland, died in the year 461, as stated by the best authority, and that his nephew died in 492. There arises thus a strong probability that the acts of two distinguished preachers of Christianity have been blended together, and the ingenious and learned antiquary who first suggested this was of opinion, that this furnishes the real explanation of the apparent contradictions or conflicting statements to be found in the old biographies, and which may be regarded as the result of an anxiety to ascribe the honour of the conversion of Ireland to one individual. But, for the object I have in view, this matter is subsidiary and of minor importance, and therefore can receive only incidental mention. It is time now to turn to the language of the original documents themselves.

¹ Could Patricius Junior have been a figment which sprang from the existence of Seachnal (Latinised Secundinus), *nephew of St. Patrick*? Yet if so, the Annals of Ulster place the death of Sechnal in 448, when he is said to have been aged seventy-five, having been born in the same year with St. Patrick. It is to be regretted that Dr. Todd, in his *Life of the saint*, has not examined or even adverted to this question. Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*, c. xvii. vol. vi. p. 458 of the *Whole Works*, Dublin, 1847) quotes the *Annals of Connaught* for the death of St. Patrick Senior in 454—"Anno ccccliii. Dormitatio sancti senis Patricii Episcopi Glosioniensis Ecclesie;"—and the *Life of St. Dunstan* by a contemporary writer, which records the devotion of Irish pilgrims at the tomb of Patricius Senior. William of Malmesbury, in his book "*De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesie*," makes him first Abbot of Glastonbury; born in 361, died in 472. Dr. Petrie further supposed that the second Patricius Archiepiscopus et Apostolus was identical with Palladius. This, however, cannot be admitted, as irreconcilable with the authentic tradition regarding Palladius, who is well known to have died in the territory of the Albanian Picts at Fordun in the Mearns. The whole subject of the chronology of St. Patrick's life is complicated by the date of the mission of Palladius (in 429 or 430), and the assumption that his labours in Ireland did not commence until after those of Palladius. But this is altogether doubtful. Why may we not suppose that St. Patrick had been actively engaged as a missionary many years before the nomination of Palladius? As to the age of 120 years ascribed to St. Patrick, it should be recollected that several of the early bishops, amongst them Osius of Cordova, lived to 100 or upwards.

The only writings of undoubted authenticity ascribable to St. Patrick are the "Confessio" (supposed to have been framed in his seventy-seventh year), and the "Epistola ad Coroticum," with respect to both of which there is a general assent of the learned. Against them not a single name of any respectability can be quoted, and it is hardly worth while to advert to the objection some have brought, from the inelegance or rusticity of their Latin style. We know nothing of the circumstances of St. Patrick's early life except what he has himself told us, and it is therefore impossible to say whether he had the opportunity of cultivating a correct Latinity. Although he was the son of a cleric, it is sufficiently well known that the clergy of those early times included many ignorant and illiterate, as well as many highly learned and cultivated persons. But more than this, it will appear from what follows (and this has not yet been noticed by any one), that his Confession at least was not written by himself, but dictated, and translated for him by some one else. In neither of the above-mentioned documents does he specify the exact place of his birth. All that he has told us on this point is that his father was Calpurnius, a deacon, son of Potitus a priest, who was of the town of Bonaven or Bonavem Taberniæ. The original passage with which the Confession opens is as follows:—"Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, patrem habui Calpurnium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ; villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim." The most important remark that suggests itself upon this passage is, that it leaves us uncertain whether it was his father or his grandfather who belonged to the town of Bonaven. According to the known rule of Latin syntax, the *qui* must be referred to the immediate antecedent, which in this case is his grandfather Potitus. Yet it is always stated that it was his father Calpurnius. It is no doubt possible that he may have meant to speak of his father, but we must take the statement as it stands, and if we do not, we may as well give up any attempt to find out the truth at all.¹

¹ The Bollandist editors, Henschen and Papebroche, give an important various reading from a very old codex—"Qui fuit *e* vico Bonavem Taberniæ." If this be accepted, the meaning would be, "who *came out of* the town of Bonavem," not who belonged to or was resident in it, for if the latter were intended, the Latin would be, or at least ought to be, "qui fuit *de* vico." There is a second various reading which is more doubtful—"villulam *enim* prope

I hold the statements of the saint himself in the Confession, taken in connection with those in the Epistle, to establish clearly two points:—

1. That St. Patrick was born in the island of Britain. In chapter x. of the former, he says that, after having spent several years in servitude in Ireland, he was in Britain with his parents, who received him like a son—“*Iterum post paucos annos in Britanniiis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt.*” Again, in chap. xix., he adds that he would have wished to revisit Britain, his native country, and his parents, and afterwards to go *as far as* Gaul—“*Pergens in Britannias et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum, sed eram usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei.*” It is most important to observe that he speaks of the Britains, “*Britanniæ*,” not Britannia. Had he used the singular, it might be supposed that he meant Brittany in Gaul; but those who wish to make out that he was born in the latter country must show that *Britanniæ* can here mean anything else than the island of Britain, or that the plural appellative was commonly applied to Brittany of Gaul. This has not been done, and I will add confidently that it cannot be done. In the above cited passage he also uses the plural when mentioning Gaul. *Britanniæ* and *Galliæ* are evidently placed in contradistinction, and nothing but the paltriest cavillation can put any other construction on the saint’s language.¹

habuit.” But as the latter is immaterial, I may content myself with merely mentioning it. If *Enon* be the correct reading, it is, of course, the name of the villa or farm-house of his father or grandfather, and would mean, etymologically, the *inn* or lodge on the water. *Ænon* is a scriptural name: “John also was baptising in *Ænon* near to Salim, because there was much water there.” John iii. 23. The *Opuscula* of St. Patrick may be read either in the *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. ii., or in O’Conor’s *Scriptores*, vol. i., or in Migné’s *Patrologia*, vol. liii. I cannot forbear quoting here the judicious remark of Migne or his editor—“*Restant quidem, demptis etiam fabulis, multa in vitæ ejus narratione, quorum fidem argumentis firmis probari desideres, quo tota ejus ad transmarinas provincias peregrinatio, et Cœlestini hac in re partes, referri debent. Sed cave, ne arbitrario nimis traditionum domesticarum fidem eleves.*” liii. 796, note.

¹ The westernmost corner of Gaul began to be styled Britannia after the time of Maximus, whose death took place in 384. See Daru, *Histoire de Brétagne*, i. 40–54. The propriety of the plural appellative in reference to the British Islands is evident. Gregory of Tours, who died at the end of the sixth century, uses the plural appellative to designate Brittany in a single passage, quoted in a subsequent note. *Britannia Gallicana*, *Minor*, *Citerior*, *Cismarina*, are the terms used by Eginhard and other early writers.

Again, in the Epistle to Coroticus, a British prince, whose name we have no difficulty in recognising as a variation of Caractacus, Caradoc, or Carataic, he speaks of the subjects of that potentate as his fellow-citizens or countrymen. His words are (sec. 1)—“*Inter barbaros habito proselytus et profuga, . . . pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes, et animam meam usque ad mortem, si dignus sum. . . . Scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda et tradenda militibus mittenda Corotico, non dico civibus meis, neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum, ob mala opera ipsorum. In morte vivunt socii Scottorum atque Pictorum.*” He will not call them his fellow-citizens, nor fellow-citizens of Rome, but of the demons, on account of their evil deeds. They have allied themselves with the *Scots* and with the *Picts*. In another passage he applies to the latter the epithet of “apostates,” which seems to intimate that they had fallen away from the teaching of St. Ninian, or perhaps (if the time intended were before the mission of St. Ninian) from the teaching of those earlier apostles who, according to Tertullian, had in the second century carried the Word of God into places of Britain unapproached by the arms of Rome. I submit that all this demonstrates the truth of my first proposition, that St. Patrick was born in the island of Britain.¹

2. That St. Patrick’s native tongue was not Latin, but Celtic. This may be certainly proved, like my first proposition, from his own expressions. In chap. iii. of the Confession he speaks of himself as unable to read, and

¹ Dr. Todd remarks that a subsequent passage of the Epistle has been understood as if it asserted that St. Patrick was a native of Ireland, which would be in manifest contradiction not only with all other ancient authorities, but with the saint’s own repeated and explicit declarations above quoted. The text of the passage is obviously so corrupt that no inference can possibly be drawn from it, and I allude to it only as showing to what shifts the advocates of this innovating theory have been reduced. The Epistle to Coroticus was written in rebuke and deprecation of the ravages and cruelties exercised by a British prince on the natives of Hibernia or Ireland. It is evident, therefore, that by the *Scoti* with whom the piratical Britons allied themselves, natives of or dwellers in Ireland cannot be meant. We have thus a clear and very early instance in which the word is used for the inhabitants of North Britain. Compare this with the passage of Bede quoted in a subsequent note. So little foundation is there for the confident statements lately made by mere Irish scholars upon this head! One would be tempted to think, from this and other circumstances which will be adverted to in the course of our inquiry, that they had never read through the very brief literary remains of St. Patrick, to whom they so frequently and fondly refer.

alludes to the good fortune of those who are educated and imbibe knowledge without having to change their language ;¹ and at the beginning of chap. iv. he adds that his own words had been translated into another (*i.e.*, the Latin) tongue : “*Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in alienam linguam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva scripturæ meæ.*” This must leave it very doubtful whether St. Patrick understood Latin at all. It is obvious to remark, that if he had been born at Gessoriacum, the modern Boulogne, then a Roman settlement of nearly 400 years standing, the Latin tongue must have been familiar to him. Clearly the theory which makes him to have been so born must have originated only in grossly careless reading of his remains, or in an utter perversion of the truth. It is further very unlikely that, unless St. Patrick were a native of North Britain, its Gaelic population would be familiar with his father’s name, as Mr. Maclauchlan (in his work on the Early Scottish Church) informs us that they are. In their designation of him as Patrick MacAlpine, the Alpin (or rather Calpin) represents the Calpurnius of the old Latin texts.

II.—*Statements contained in the Old Biographies.*

From a detailed examination of the various inconsistent statements in the old biographies, to which allusion has been made above, the limited scope of the present essay happily relieves me. Nor can I venture to adjust the due precedence of the conflicting claims which may be advanced on behalf of each of the seven lives of St. Patrick included in the vast repertory of Colgan.² It must suffice to observe that, however the existing versions may have been disfigured by interpolation, they are the only exponents or representatives of ancient opinion on the subject which we possess, and there is a general agreement to receive them as founded on the entire and original

¹ The expressions of the original are—“*Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum ; et quia non legi, sicut cæteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras litteras utroque pari modo contulerunt, et sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt.*” The *utroque pari modo* evidently alludes to those who were instructed in both the Celtic and Latin tongues.

² The *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Lovanii, 1645, in two volumes folio. The second volume contains the *Trias Thaumaturga*, or collection of ancient Lives of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba. Colgan’s (or Callaghan’s) notes embrace a mass of information upon the old topography and nomenclature of Celtic Ireland, in which modern scholars have found little to rectify.

documents. I have to do here only with their statements regarding the birthplace of the saint, which I shall now adduce.

1. The *Vita Prima*, or First Life, is the Gaelic hymn which bears the name of St. Fiëc or Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, a disciple of Dubhtach, who was one of the first converts of St. Patrick. It contains an allusion to an event which took place in 563, the desolation of Tara, and this proves that it cannot have been written until towards the close of the sixth century. The statement apposite to our present purpose is contained in the first line, which runs "*Genair Patraic i Nemthur*," or, according to the Latin version, "*Natus est Patricius Nemturri*." Unfortunately the second line subjoins, "*ut refertur in historiis*," which seems hardly compatible with so early a date as that above assigned. The second stanza tells us that Succat was his tribal or family name. This may well have been so, the name of Patricius being bestowed in confirmation, according to the custom of the early Church, which is followed to this day by the Church of Rome. The Scholiast on the hymn, whose date cannot be assigned with certainty earlier than the eleventh century, informs us that Nemthur was Alcluid, which we know from Bede to have been the ancient name of the present castle of Dumbarton. He further explains the name of Succat as meaning, in the ancient British tongue, *deus belli* or *fortis*,¹ and states that Calpurnius and his family

¹ Dr. Todd supposes *sui* to be a dialectic variety of the Welsh *duw*, deus. It would rather appear that the etymology of the word, as long since suggested by Dr. O'Connor, is now to be found in the Gaelic *suaigh*, prosperous, successful, and *cath*, war. The latter word is still found in the Welsh; the former may have existed in the Cymric of the eleventh or earlier centuries, though it has now disappeared. It has been supposed that the name Succat might have some reference to that of a well-known estate in the present Dumbartonshire. But this is Succoth, the Hebrew word (meaning cattle-stalls) used in the Scriptural book of Exodus (c. xii. v. 37) to denote the first resting-place of the children of Israel in their departure from Egypt, and the name was no doubt adopted in days comparatively modern. Dr. Lanigan (Eccles. Hist., i. 141) insists upon explaining *succat* from *succa*, the Latin name of a tunic or close-fitting cassock, which was ordered by several conciliar decrees to be worn by bishops and canons. He supposes that St. Patrick was so called from the circumstance of the vestment being quite new to the Irish people of that day. It is sufficient to observe upon this, that the explanation is quite at variance with the statement of the old writers as given in the text. Another explanation of Succat, which has not wanted favourers, is from the Gaelic v. *suath*, to stir, &c., and s. *cath*, seeds, husks, St. Patrick being supposed to have been employed in winnowing corn. But I prefer to adhere to the explanation above given, which has the

migrated from the Britons of Strathclyde to those of Letha¹ or Armorican Gaul.²

2. The *Vita Secunda*, or Second Life, was wrongly attributed by Colgan to Patricius Junior, the real or supposititious nephew of St. Patrick. The author, according to Dr. Todd, had the Book of Armagh before him, and cannot have lived earlier than the eighth century. This and the Third Life begin abruptly, with hardly any variation in their language, stating St Patrick to have been born in the town of Nemthor, in the district of Taburne, which was so called from the Roman army of the country having once encamped or pitched its tents there. "Natus est igitur in illo oppido, Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in campo Taburne. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus, eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore." These are the opening words, and something is evidently wanting.

3. The Fourth Life supplies the proem, or initiatory part of the passage defective in the two preceding. It begins by stating that the family of the saint were Armorican Britons, who were driven out by the Romans, and, on the dispersion of their community, removed to the country of Strato-Clyde, or Strathclyde, where St. Patrick was born. "In qua terra conceptus et natus est Patricius, in oppido Nemthor nomine, quod turris cœlestis Latine interpretari potest" (chap. i.).

4. I shall next, for convenience, take the Seventh Life, the *Vita Tripartita*, as it is generally called, because divided into three parts. It is highly commended by its first editor Colgan, and considered by many

sanction of ancient authority. The Scholia on St. Fiïc's Hymn were published by Colgan in a Latin version; but the original Gaelic manuscript is still extant in St. Isidore's College at Rome, where it was seen by Dr. Todd.

¹ This word is the Cymric *llydaw* (L. *littus*), applied by the Welsh bards to the coasts of both Gaul and Britain. Out of this Letha, by which is clearly meant Armorica, some biographers have made Latium or Italy.

² Dr. Petrie was of opinion (Essay on Tara, p. 95) that the Scholia on St Fiïc's Hymn could not be later than the eighth century, from the circumstance of their being preserved in the Liber Hymnorum. I can offer no opinion on the question of the age of that manuscript, but both the learned Bollandist editors, and in modern times Dr. Lanigan, appear to have come to the conclusion stated in the text from the internal evidence of the Scholia themselves. The Scholiast calls our saint Patric Mac Calpuirn, which agrees with a conjecture stated in the text.

modern critics the most reliable of the whole. It appears to have been compiled in the tenth century from older writings, or at least to have been then interpolated, as shown by an examination of its contents. Kinaetus, son of Fergal, Prince of Meath, who is known to have died in 868, is spoken of as a historical personage, and Kinngegan, King of Cashel, who died in 897, is mentioned. It states that St. Patrick was sprung from the Britons of Strathclyde, and that Nemthur was the place or district of his birth. “De Britannis Alcludensibus originem duxit Sanctus Patricius. Nemthur, quod ex vocis etymo coelestem turrim denotat, patria, et nativitatis locus erat” (chap. i.).

5. The Sixth Life is Jocelyn's, assigned to the year 1183, and, as is well known, agrees with the others in stating that St. Patrick was born in Nemthur of Strathclyde. I have taken the Fifth Life last in order, because it contains some remarkable statements, and by some writers, especially Dr. Lanigan, has been preferred to all the rest, principally on the ground of its being a reproduction of Maccuthenius. Its author was Probus, whom he supposes to have been the same with Coneachair, who was chief lecturer in the school of Slane, and was burned to death in the tower of that place by the Danes in the year 950.¹ He states that St. Patrick was born in Britain, in the town of Bannaue in Nentria. Before proceeding further, it is expedient to observe that four of the five perfect lives explicitly state that St. Patrick was born in Britain; three of them add, in the district of Strathclyde. It is hard to imagine how any one could be so audacious as to reject such a weight of ancient testimonies, yet it will be seen before we close that such an adventurous knight has been found. I will here add that five of the seven lives call Nemthur a town or place, but that on which we are now engaged describes it as a province. The words of Probus, however, are so remarkable, that they must be minutely considered, and I will first quote them as follows:—“Sanctus Patricius, qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito fuit

¹ Lanigan supposes Probus to be the Latin equivalent of Coneachair, but the word means, not honest or righteous, but prosperous or affluent. *Conach* or *cónnach*, the substantive from which it comes, is explained both by O'Reilly and Armstrong to mean prosperity, affluence. This, however, is only one of several instances which show that Lanigan's parade of Celtic learning was merely delusive. Probus (l. i. c. 10) mentions Normannia, which has been generally understood to mean Normandy in France; but it may mean, with equal propriety, Northumberland, or the Danish portion of Ireland.

natione ; in qua etiam multa adversa in adolescentia perpressus, omni genti suæ ac patriæ factus est in salutem. Hic in Britanniiis natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono, qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri ; et mater Concessa nomine ; de vico Bannaue Tiburniæ regionis, haud procul a mari occidentali ; quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse Nentriæ provinciæ, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur” (Cap. i.)

I despair of being able to localise with certainty either Bannaue (the Bonaven of the saint's Confession), or Tiburnia, the Taburnia or Taburne of the other lives. But, as Scotchmen acquainted with the topography of the west country, we can be at no loss to indicate localities in plenty, of which one may have been intended. Bannaue¹ would answer admirably to denote the mouth of the Leven, where it joins the Clyde, and Taburnia or Tiburnia is a designation most appropriate for a river-district, or a *ross* placed between two streams.² The most probable site for the Bonaven of St. Patrick is the confluence of the river Aven or Avon with the main stream of the Clyde, near which the present town of Hamilton stands. A more exact correspondence of locality with the name as it has been transmitted to us could not be desired. Tabernia or Taburnia would thus be the present district of Strathaven,³ or the upper course of the Clyde itself, which might well be so desig-

¹ Of all existing names in western Scotland, Bunaw is that which most closely represents—is in fact identical with—the Bannaue of Probus. It has not yet been explained, so far as I am aware, that the prefix *bun* is properly *buinne*, at present used in the sense of tap or spout, also wave or rapid current. The first sense gives us its topographical meaning, whether primitive or derivative—the mouth or efflux of a stream. Bunaw is the mouth of the Awe, where it falls into Loch Etive ; the word Awe is well known as the general name of rivers, whether in the Celtic or Suio-Gothic dialects. Banavie in Lochaber may be the clear stream, as explained by Colonel Robertson (Gaelic Topography of Scotland, p. 57), from *ban-abh*. But in the Bonaven of the Confession, *bon* or *bun* is in all probability *buinne*.

² From Gaelic *taibh* and *tobar*, gen. *tobair*, water ; Cymric, *dwfr*. The *n* may be easily accounted for, from the assumption of the Gc. *aon*, country or district, as the conjoined word, *tobair-aon*. Eliding *ao*, and adding an appropriate termination, the result is Tabernia, the appellative. It must always be borne in mind, in discussing Celtic etymologies of ancient place-names, that words or forms now found in one of the dialects only were in all probability at first common to both. In respect to many the fact is ascertained. Compare the name Tabernia with that of Moray, from Gaelic *muir*, sea. The explanation of it by the monkish writers of the Lives as “the field of tents,” *campus tabernaculorum*, is a mere paragram.

³ The ancient parish of Torrance, now forming part of the parish of East Kilbride, contained not long back some very remarkable remains. Mounds are still visible ; and, about the

nated in reference to the Falls, presenting certainly one of the most striking combinations of beauty and grandeur of natural scenery contained within the bounds of our island. The tradition as to Kilpatrick in Dumbartonshire being the locality of the saint's birth, though no one now insists upon it, could never have arisen unless the belief in his being a native of the district had been strongly rooted in the minds of the population. But the most difficult problem is to determine the true character of Nemthur, whether a town or a district. It may mean etymologically, as remarked by the old biographers, the heavenly or holy tower, but it may also mean the vaulted tower, or the tower of Nen, and the heavenly or holy mount.¹ If the name was properly the designation of a district or province, it is easy to perceive how it may have come to be mistaken for that of a town by persons who were not themselves acquainted with the localities, and who were misled by a plausible and obvious etymology of the word. But it is especially to the closing words of the passage above cited that I wish to invite attention. It may seem at first sight labour lost to endeavour to extract a definite meaning from a statement which appears merely ludicrous, but that it has such a meaning I entertain no doubt. I am much mistaken if the words, "which giants are said formerly to have inhabited," do not contain an allusion to the Attacots

middle of last century, an extensive ruin with a subterranean vault was removed. See Ure's History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride, p. 148, ed. 1793.

¹ The old Gaelic *noem*, modern *noam*, is holy; *neam* or *neamh* is heaven; the Cymric *nen*, which was probably the word on which the name was formed, means a vault, and hence, metaphorically, heaven, the corresponding adjective being *nenni*. But Nenn, Nann, and Nem were all of them Celtic proper names. Ninias or Ninian, the name of the great apostle of the Picts, and the most popular of Scottish saints under his cognomen of St. Ringan, is the same with Nennius; and both names mean heavenly. The Cymric *tor* is either a pointed hill (like the Tors of Devonshire), or a tower. Hence the name Nentria or Nemthur is susceptible of various explanations, as stated in the text. Some have been disposed to identify Nemthur with Nemphlar, an ancient township or village close to the burgh of Lanark. Of this latter name the second syllable seems to be the Cymric *ffle*, an inclosure. Undoubtedly the name might have undergone such a change in the lapse of time, since we now find a Nenthorn in Berwickshire, which was formerly *Naithan's thirn*. In the Upper Ward we find the river Nethan, a tributary of the Clyde, which may even have given name to the district, though I prefer the suggestion in the text. (Remark that the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, in the seventh century, gives Memanturum as one of several names of places in North Britain. If we suppose the initial M to have been substituted for N, this would be the Latinisation of Nemthur. But the authority of this work is very uncertain.)

or Attacotti, who were undoubtedly inhabitants of western Scotland, "not far from the western sea." The name of this tribe in its original Gaelic form of *Athaich-coilteach*, may signify either "inhabitants of the woods," or "giants of the woods;" and it would seem that Probus, having heard or read of the Attacots as a tribe distinguished for prowess in arms and ferocity, like the Anakim or giants of the Old Testament Scriptures, chose to interpret the name in its latter sense, and to suppose that they were a tribe whose physical stature corresponded to their moral character.¹ It appears to me that this must be the true explanation of his words, and, if I am not mistaken in thinking so, we have here the situation of Nentria, the native district of St. Patrick, defined beyond doubt or cavil. Nentria I believe to be the primal or archetypal name of the district of Strathclyde, and as a provincial name it is easy of explanation. It was probably derived from the Cymric *nant*, a valley, and *dwr*, water, and the literal meaning would thus be "the valley of the stream," Strathclyde being the valley of the Clyde.²

¹ The Gaelic *athach*, pl. *athaich*, means giant, monster, champion, but it may also mean inhabitant, from *ath*, a district. It is explained in the latter sense by Macpherson in one of his notes to Ossian, and I have little doubt that this was its real meaning in the name Attacots, though it was open to any one to understand it in its other sense of *giant*. The very different meanings attached with equal justice, though we can hardly say with equal propriety, to the same word, are a constant source of confusion and misunderstanding in all languages. The second part of the word, *coilteach*, is the adjective of *coille*, a forest. That there were extensive forests in North Britain in ancient days we may be certain, since so recently as the age of Richard II. John of Gaunt employed an English army of 40,000 men for many days in cutting them down. The Attacots are the tribe of whom St. Jerome declares that he had seen some, whilst stationed in Gaul as auxiliary troops of the imperial army, engaged in the actual practice of cannibalism. Much doubt and some ridicule have been thrown upon this statement, but these might have been spared had the sceptics reflected that less than four centuries before, the Gauls themselves, in the very district of Treves where St. Jerome was resident, were addicted to this custom. In the age of Augustus, and in a work written about the commencement of the Christian era, the historian Diodorus Siculus informs us (l. v. c. 32) that the most savage of the Gauls were those who dwelt in the north-eastern quarter, and that they were addicted to cannibalism, like those of the Britons who inhabited Ireland—*Αγρωτατων δε οντων των υπο τας αρκτους κατοικούντων, και των τη Σκυθια πλησιοχωρων, φασι τους ανθρωπους εσχειν, ωσπερ και των Βρεττανων τους κατοικούντας την ονομαζομενην Ιριν.*

² The name of Nentria, taken in this sense, has a peculiar appropriateness as applied to the territory of Strathclyde. *Nant* signifies properly a ravine hollowed out by water, and the Clyde, along the greater part of its course, flows in a dale between chains of hills through

It is in this way that I interpret the statement of Probus, that St. Patrick was born in the town or hamlet of Bannaue, in the district of Tiburnia, in the province of Nentria, and in the island of Britain. If my interpretation should be approved by the learned and distinguished Society whom I have the honour to address in this paper, I shall consider that the problem proposed in the outset has been solved.

III.—*Examination of Dr. Lanigan's Theory. Remarks on the Art of Hagioclepsy.*

It remains to consider the theory of Dr. Lanigan as to the Gallican extraction of St. Patrick, to which I adverted at the beginning of this paper. I have anticipated, in what I have already said, some of the most fatal objections to it, but for a complete view of the subject it is proper to consider what its author has alleged in its support. His main propositions are—

1. That St. Patrick was born in Gaul, in the town of Bonavem; and,
2. That Bonavem is the present town of Boulogne.

In support of the first proposition Dr. Lanigan has absolutely nothing to adduce that deserves the name of an argument. We have seen that it is in flat contradiction to the statements of the saint himself, who of all others must have been best informed on the subject of his birthplace. He cites the passage given in the first section of this essay from the "Confession," and he assumes that because the father or grandfather of the saint—for it is not certain which—was resident in the town of Bonavem at some period not distinctly specified, therefore the family had long been settled there, and St. Patrick himself was born there! It is a literal fact, that one of the most deliberate attempts ever made to set aside the voice of tradition and the verdict of history took its rise in the mere misapprehension of the force of a

which it appears to have formed a channel for its current. The word enters into many names of places or districts, as stated by Dr. Pughe the Welsh lexicographer. Dr. Reeves, in one of his notes to Adamnan (at p. 395), gives Arecluta as a Latinised name for Strathelyde, used, it may be presumed, by the Irish annalists. This would be derived from Gaelic *ar* or *aire*, meaning land or region. Taburnia and Nentria as above explained will agree with Buchanan's character of the "regio Glottiana: amnes nobiliores fundit" (Hist. i. 20). Possibly the latter name may have been given in allusion to the inundations to which the valley of the Clyde has always been subject, the river, in time of *spate*, overflowing its banks at some points for miles.

Latin text, and that misapprehension so gross as to imply an amount of carelessness which seems hardly credible. We are reduced either to this conclusion, or to the far more painful one of supposing what would amount to absolute and audacious imposture. Other evidence, of course, than that of the passage so flagrantly misconstrued, there is none; for I have adduced all that exists on the subject, with the exception of the Life by Maccuthenius, which, when it appears, may impart additional confirmation to the thesis here maintained. With regard to the second proposition, Dr. Lanigan has been able to adduce nothing in its support beyond what is equally applicable to showing the identity of Bonavem with Cardross or Alclyde. He states that the name was applied to the ancient Gessoriacum in the fifth century, when the latter appellation was discontinued, and he explains Taberne or Tabernia as T  rouanne, a town near Boulogne, and conjoined with it for the formation of a bishopric, the proper ancient name for which is Tarabanna or Tarvanna.¹ He further states that the north-western district of Gaul was occupied by the Britanni, a people mentioned as there settled by Pliny,²

¹ T  rouanne was laid in ruins by the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. Its ancient name is supposed to be derived from that of a Roman propr  tor. But Dr. Lanigan does not attempt to show that it was ever used for the name of a district, as Tabernia is in the "Confession."

² Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansici, juncti pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur, *Britanni*, Ambiani. Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 31. In c. 37 he mentions the portum Morinorum Britannicum. From this it is clear that even so early as the days of Pliny the name of the Britanni of Gaul was restricted to one of several contiguous tribes, though it is highly probable that these were the descendants of the population which furnished the original colonists of Britain. Compare on this subject the language of Bede and Tacitus. The former says, in the first chapter of his history—*Britannia, oceani insula, cui quondam nomen Albion fuit. In primis h  c insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes vindicarunt.* The latter (V. Agric. c. 11) says—*In universum tamen estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est.* Britain, therefore, according to Bede, derived its name from the Britons, whose appellation is easily explained as identical with the Cymric *brython*, warriors, or men of *bree*. That this is the real meaning of our ancestral name I have no doubt, and it corresponds with the explanation of Gauls or Galli from *gal*, an old word found in several languages, with the various senses of animal vigour (Gr. *γαλα*), gale or tempest, noise (Teut. *galen*), ostentation (Sp. *gala*), which is completely illustrative of their national character. The Oromansici of Pliny are the people bordering on the Channel (Gc. *oir*, Gr. *opos*, and L. *ora*, limit, border, coast; Gael. *muinch*, L. *manica*, Fr. *manche*, a sleeve—the modern name of the Channel). Bonavem, as already explained, is the mouth of a stream, and Gessoriacum may have been so called, as Dr

and whom we may infer to have sent over the first colonists of our own island ; that this country was called Britannia, of which he has been able to produce a single, but not very conclusive instance ;¹ and that we may also suppose it to have been styled Britannia, a hypothesis for which he offers no reasons whatever.² This is the substance of his thesis, and I have only to

Lanigan states, or rather suggests, in the fifth century, although not in the fourth. But he has omitted to observe that Bede in the eighth century still speaks of Gessoriacum Morinorum gentis (c. 1).

¹ The old *Vita Sti. Fursai*, published in Colgan's Collection under January 16th, and ascribed to Arnulph, Abbot of Lagny, has the following passage in narrating the saint's progress from Ireland to Rome—"In Britanniam provinciam, quae a modernis Normannia nuncupatur, pervenit. Veniens autem per Pontivum pagum in possessionem quamdam Haymonis ducis." The writer appears to use Britannia and Normannia as equivalent appellations, but he is certainly in error in making Ponthieu, or the pagus Pontivus, a portion of Normandy, and he may have been equally wrong in his application of the term Britannia. The pagus Pontivus was part of the territory of the Morini or sea-coast tribe (Ge. *muir*), whose name, as we have seen in the note immediately preceding this, was not extinct even in the eighth century. It was erected into a county by the Frankish sovereigns of the Merovingian line about the middle of the seventh century, and the line of Counts of Ponthieu continued unbroken until the year 1220, when the history becomes more complicated. The chief town was Abbeville, and the Counts of Ponthieu ranked with those of Boulogne as semi-independent potentates, immediate feudatories of the French Crown. Guy, the robber count, whose history is so strangely and direfully mixed up with that of Harold, the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings of South Britain, would not have called himself a Norman, and acknowledged no obedience or liege homage to William, Count of the Normans or Duke of Normandy. This digression was unavoidable to illustrate the point at issue, but I may add that the use of a term by a single writer cannot in any case be held to prove its general acceptance.

² Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. 16) uses both Britannia and Britannia to designate Brittany, but he confines the term strictly to Gallia Lugdunensis Secunda and Tertia, including the peninsular territory to the south of the Seine. Now the Morini and adjacent tribes belonged to the Germania Secunda of the imperial demarcation. The use of the plural terms Britannia and Gallia is as old as the most flourishing age of Latin literature, as we may see from the line of Catullus—

Hunc Gallia timent, timent Britannia.

In this passage, as by St. Patrick himself, they are used in contradistinction, and it is futile to pretend, as Lanigan does, that any one wishing to go from a part of Gaul where Celtic only was spoken (if there were really any such part), to one where Latin was spoken, would have talked of going from the Britannia to the Gallia. He further attempts (*ibid.* pp. 116, 117) to show that Belgic Gaul, in which the Britanni dwelt, was quite distinct from the real and properly called Gaul, which comprised the country of the Celts, whom the Romans styled Galli.

remark upon it, that those who are content to accept St. Patrick's own account of himself as it has come down to us, are not concerned to deny any of these statements. Some of them are unfounded and others doubtful, but we might admit them all without having to apprehend the slightest injury to our own position. That St. Patrick's family was connected with Armorica, that it may even have been Armorican in its origin, is not improbable, as will have been seen from the passages quoted in a former page. We may admit that Bonavem is Boulogne, and that St. Patrick himself resided there for some years of his life, but this affords no ground for asserting that he was born there. I must not conclude this section of my inquiry without stating that there appears to be some ground for supposing that St. Patrick was actually resident in Boulogne, and that Dr. Lanigan is entitled to the credit of having drawn attention to this point.¹ But I must add that I believe the

To this it is sufficient to oppose the words of Cæsar, whose authority he admits is decisive on these subjects—*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. The proper name of maritime Gaul has been Armorica since the days of Julius Cæsar. *Universæ civitates quæ oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur* (B. G., vii. 75). *Cæteræ civitates positæ in ultimis Galliæ finibus, oceano conjunctæ, quæ Armoricæ appellantur* (viii. 31).

¹ Malbranck, the annalist of the Morini, a writer of the seventeenth century, records the ancient tradition of the country as to St. Patrick having officiated as bishop or priest at Boulogne, in support of which he refers to the Catalogue of the Bishops of Boulogne, the Chronicon Morinense, and the Life of St. Arnulph of Soissons. *De Morinis et Morinorum rebus. Tornaci Nerviorum, 1649–1653* (Tournay, 3 vols. 4to). St. Patrick, he states, is included in the Catalogue as bishop suffragan or coadjutor to the regular bishop of the see, and officiated in that capacity for eight years. He makes no attempt, however, to identify the Patricius of the Catalogue with our saint, and as to other matters he follows Jocelyn's Life. *Patricius ad Morinos quidem accessit Episcopus, sed non eam sibi desponsavit ecclesiam. Ideirco Catalogi Episcoporum Morinensium non eum recta includunt serie, sed ad latus adsciscunt episcopum* (i. 171 and 149). All this we may admit in the fullest extent without the smallest infraction of the grounds on which our thesis rests. That St. Patrick was a bishop appears from his own statement in the first sentence of the *Epistola ad Coroticum*—“*Hiberione constitutum episcopum me esse fateor*.” Nothing to the contrary can be inferred from his being entered in old martyrologies as *presbyter*, for every bishop, of course, is a priest. But this is a point of very minor consequence, though it is not uninteresting to observe that, if he received episcopal consecration in Ireland, that country must have contained at least one bishop at the time. To confer episcopal orders, the canons uniformly prescribe the attendance of three bishops, though allowing one to act in case of necessity. Could St. Patrick have been ordained bishop by Palladius, the Archdeacon of the Roman See, who no doubt had a plenary dispensation? It seems most probable that this was so, and that the date of 431 or

annals of antiquarian or historical research record no more discreditable failure than his attempt to identify Nemthur with Neustria.¹

The statements made in the preceding part of this essay, and the evidence adduced in support of them, will enable us to estimate the true value of the theory of Lanigan, which a late biographer of St. Patrick has highly praised for its ingenuity and plausibility. A countryman of Lanigan and Todd, to whom archeologists are indebted for an excellent edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, has complained bitterly of the attempts made to defraud Ireland of her saints by Dempster, the author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Scotorum*, whom he designates repeatedly as the hagioclept. I cannot help thinking that, if Dr. Reeves had reflected upon the difficulties under which Dempster wrote, in the absence of documentary treasures, and the perplexities created by the confusion arising out of the double sense of the words *Scoti* and *Scotia*,² he would not have applied such an epithet to

432, which has been generally accounted the commencement of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland, was in reality that of his episcopate.

¹ The process by which this feat is accomplished is the following:—The proper pronunciation of Nemthur (according to Lanigan) is Nevthur, the true Gaelic word being Neamh-tur. In support of this theory he prints *Nevtriæ provinciæ*, in what he pretends to be a quotation from Probus, although the word in the old text as printed by Colgan is clearly *Nentria*, and not *Nevtria* (Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 102, note). With regard to Nemtur, I believe there is no doubt, according to the view of the best Gaelic scholars, that this was the ancient pronunciation, though at the present day it would be aspirated into Nemhtur or Nevtur. I have shown in a former note that the word is in all probability Cymric and not Gaelic, whatever the true meaning may be, the Cymric form *nen* coming nearest to the *Nentria* of Probus. Having obtained *Nevtria*, by what I regret to be obliged to designate as a falsification, the change into *Neustria* is easily enough made. Although the name of *Neustria* cannot be older than the sixth century,—the word having originated with the Franks, who employed it to designate the north-western portion of France, as *Austria* or *Austrasia* designated the north-eastern,—we may allow that Irish writers of the seventh century would speak of *Neustria*, but they would certainly not have converted *Neustria* into *Nemthur*. The name is, of course, derived from the Latin *Notus*, as *Austria* is from *Auster*. Lanigan ventures to assert, but without giving a single instance, that *Neustria* was often called *Neptricum* or *Neptria*, names which were probably never heard of except in his own pages (*ibid.*, i. 101). The following passage from the *Historia Francorum* of Aimoin, is given by Ducange, as showing the origin of the names—*Has omnes provincias dum Franci occupavissent, illam regionem, quæ Septentrionem versus tenditur, et inter Mosam et Rhenum est, Austriam; illam autem, quæ a Mosa ad Ligerim usque pertingit, Neustriam vocaverunt.*

² I must maintain, in opposition to the theory which has lately gained ground, that the

that unfortunate writer. Whatever the sins of Dempster may have been, no doubt can now remain that his achievements have been far surpassed by those of Lanigan, who attempted to deprive North Britain, not of obscure worthies like St. Fursey, St. Muloch, or St. Mowrie, but of the glorious St. Patrick, of whose apostolical labours, and the success which crowned them, she has long been proud. I regret to have to add that this is by no means the first instance of hagioclepsy which can be brought home with fatal distinctness to Irish hagiologists. In the seventeenth century Colgan, a man far superior to Lanigan in knowledge of Celtic antiquity and philology, made an attempt equally daring, and quite as successful, to deprive South Britain of St. Cuthbert.¹ The progress of time, however, has consigned it to merited obscurity, and I feel confident that the same fate will attend the efforts which have been made in our own times to undermine the true position of North Britain or Scotland in the history of the Christian Church.² A

use of Scoti in reference to the early inhabitants of North Britain is as legitimate as it is in reference to those of Ireland. A passage of Bede, hitherto overlooked, is decisive of the question. The great Anglo-Saxon historian states (l. ii. c. 5) that Oswy, King of Northumberland, in great part subdued the nations of the Picts and Scots, inhabiting the northern division of Britain—"Pictorum atque Scottorum gentes, quæ septentrionales Britanniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit." Whether the statement of the historical fact be accurate or not, the words of Bede can leave no doubt as to whom he understood by Picts and Scots. They agree also with those of St. Patrick in his Epistle to Coroticus, as likewise with the well-known passages of Ammianus Marcellinus and other writers who couple the two nations or tribes. I cannot adduce any passage equally conclusive as to the application of the territorial name Scotia.

¹ I subjoin from the Proemium to Bede's Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert the lines which decisively establish that St. Cuthbert, like St. Patrick, was born in Britain—

"Nec jam orbis contenta sinu, trans æquora lampas
Spargitur effulgens, hujusque Britannia consors
Temporibus genuit fulgur venerabile nostris,
Aurea quâ Cuthbertus agens per sidera vitam,
Scandere celsa suis docuit jam passibus Anglos.
Hunc virtutis honor, jam primo in limite vite,
Ætheriumque decus signis comitatur apertis."

² As a last specimen of Dr. Lanigan's proficiency in classical and archeological research, I may adduce the following (E. H. i. 125):—"I believe it would be difficult for the sticklers for St. Patrick's birth in North Britain to find a curia or decurions in Kilpatrick, or any place near it, in the fourth century." Evidently he had little idea of the condition of Britain about

country which has ever venerated the name and memory of its apostle St. Ninian, and which has given birth to St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, may afford to regard them with undisturbed serenity.

NOTE ON GESSORIANUM AND BONAVEN.

What is the meaning of the name Gessoriac(um)? Probably it may be explained as "the field or place of spearmen." *Gais*, a javelin, was the favourite weapon of the ancient Gauls, and *gaisair* would be a person so armed (like *cathair*, from *cath*), which the Roman writer Latinised into *gæsata*. The ordinary custom of the Romans, in the countries occupied by them, unless when they wished to honour one of their own great men by naming a place after him, was to adopt the names given to places by the aboriginal inhabitants, adding a Latin termination.

Boulogne, like Bologna in Italy, comes probably from Bononia, a Latinised form of Bonaven or Bonen, the stream being known as the Enne.

It is not unworthy of notice that at the confluence of the Clyde and Avon, near which, I suppose, St. Patrick's Bonaven to have been situated, there exists on the eastern bank of the latter stream a considerable hillock or mound, which has rather an artificial than a natural appearance. Its real character will probably be ascertained by excavation before any long period elapses, the intention of building on it having been entertained for some years past.

the time when Theodosius re-established the Roman power amongst the southern Picts, and created his province of Valentia between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. Had he suspected the existence of those remarkable evidences of Roman presence and power, the stones of Antonine's wall, preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, and since so admirably described and represented in the *Caledonia Romana* of Stuart, he could never have been betrayed into such absurdities. I might add further evidences to the same effect, but I have already sufficiently tried the patience of the reader.

XI.—*On the Early History of the Priory of Restennet.*
(Plates XXX.—XXXV.)

By JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., Secretary.

[Communicated 10th February 1868.]

A suitable introduction to the historical notices of this venerable structure will be found in the following letter, addressed to me by the Bishop of Brechin¹ :—

DUNDEE, February 1, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—You ask me to give you a few remarks on the architecture of Restennet, especially in illustration of the different epochs of its augmentation. I need not remind you that, in the present state of Archæological science, we can approximate within a very few years to the actual date of the erection of the different parts of a Gothic building, and thus we obtain collateral proof of history, and architecture becomes the handmaid and sister of that science—stone and lime affording almost as certain proofs as document or charter.

And first, as to its site. We find Restennet, as its name implies, built on a promontory. In this we observe a similarity of situation to another foundation of S. Bonifacius, the church of Invergowrie. In days when even religious houses had to be protected from the surrounding barbarism, a peninsula, next to an island, was the strongest defence. The close proximity to the Highlands would have kept Forfarshire a mere hunting-ground long after Fife and the Lothians were civilised, and suggests the reason why S. Bonifacius should have planted his religious house on the peninsula of Rostinoth.

This leads me to allude to the walls wherewith the Monastery is girt. A *clausura* is of the essence of a religious house, independently of the necessity for protection from external foes, and therefore no argument for a particular date can be obtained from its existence. In the present instance, I am disposed to think that the actual wall which encloses the Abbey is not much older than the fifteenth century, though

¹ In now printing this letter, it may be permitted me to refer to the many services rendered to the cause of archæology and historical research by its learned and distinguished writer. It was not merely by contributions to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries and other kindred bodies, but by the stimulating enthusiasm through which he stirred up others, that he rendered such valuable aid to archæology, while his contributions to the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland will always be referred to by the student in that line as of the very highest value.

very possibly the stones of some older structure may have been built into it. The traces of the other structures which time and violence have not spared to us are indicated by two strongly-marked gable lines, one of which follows the roof of the cloister, the other running into the old tower, and, from the acuteness of its angle, indicating the First-pointed period. If this traced the roof of a nave to the church, as its position entitles it to be considered, it is remarkable that no consideration has been had for architectural effect—the tower cutting the two first-pointed portions of the church without any regard to symmetry. Of the nave, if ever it was completed, no trace save that one gable-mark remains. It may be that, being a house of canons-regular of St Austin, there never was any nave at all, and that the church consisted of the chancel only, in which the choir services were carried on, like the college-chapels of the present day.

The choir is an exquisite specimen of single-lanceted First-pointed, measuring 63 feet by 19½ feet; on either side are five equi-distant lancets with deep splays, connected by a continuous string-course, and forming a hood moulding. On the south side the space of the two westernmost windows is occupied by a round-headed doorway, which evidently led into the cloister marked by the gable-line of the pent roof already alluded to. The east end, which is much ruined, consisted of a triple-lancet, and there is a very beautiful treatment of the windows in the use of detached shafts springing from small corbels. The wall-plates still remaining on the south side are elaborately carved, and of an Early English character.

The piscina is cusped, with a shelf, and the sedilia in choro are under one depressed arch, the recess which they caused being exteriorly strengthened by a buttress. There is in the choir a Third-pointed tomb, but the destruction generally has been very great. The bowl of the font, which is octagonal, with a series of double niches supported on a rope moulding, has been preserved. It may be as early as the twelfth century.

It remains only to say somewhat of the most interesting feature of the church, viz., the tower. I think that an accurate study of the photographs by Mr Patrick, of Forfar, will convince any candid student of architecture that the masonry is of the period of St Rule's tower at St Andrews. Though very inferior in dignity to that remarkable monument, the similarity in character is easily detected—the moulding and chamfer, of which I give a drawing in the margin, is evidently of the epoch, and the slightly horse-shoe-formed arch is indicative of that peculiar style of the buildings, of the Scoto-Irish Church in its latest period. In the present instance, the evidences of great antiquity are unmistakable. I would especially call attention to the extreme rudeness of the little window, formed without any attempt at an arch, which is nearly identical with that in the tower of St Michael's, Oxford, acknowledged by Parker, in his Glossary, to be undoubtedly Saxon as opposed to Norman. I may observe that the spire probably belongs to the fifteenth or even sixteenth century, and it would be curious to trace in the charter's evidence of church restoration at that time. But the

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most remarkable thing connected, not only with the tower, but with the abbey itself, is, that on the south side there is an arch, apparently of a different material from the rest of the fabric—so massive and rude in its construction, that it must have belonged to an earlier church. Photographs of the exterior and interior aspects of this arch have been taken, and it will be seen that on the outside a rude moulding may be distinctly traced, while the interior view gives very distinctly the composition of the rude work where a massive lintel, hollowed out as a round arch, and hewn out of one stone, is superimposed upon the posts on either side, and thus forms a doorway. It must be observed, however, that the similarity of the masonry inside the arch to that of the rest of the wall of the tower shows that, since that tower's erection, it never was used as an actual entrance, but that the more ancient mass was built into the wall to give it strength. This remarkable constructional fact was first noticed by the Rev. Roger Rowson Lingard, formerly an active member of the Oxford Architectural Society, who did me the favour of accompanying me on a visit of inspection to these interesting ruins. Is it possible that this almost Cyclopean fragment is a remnant of the original church of S. Bonifacius—*i.e.*, work of the eighth century,—preserved when the present comparatively modern fabric was erected? Whatever its actual date may be, no one who has seen it *in situ* can doubt its extreme antiquity.

I must apologise for the crudeness and possible inaccuracy of this notice, as some of the details, taken in pencil on the occasion of my visit there, are scarcely legible.—Believe me, faithfully yours,

ALEX. FORBES, *Bishop of Brechin.*

The careful description of the buildings of the Priory which the Bishop of Brechin's letter furnishes, together with the striking photographs which accompanied it, must have convinced the members that the ruins present architectural features of great interest. They have indeed been already described by others, but their real character is now known for the first time. On hearing from the Bishop of his discovery, I lost no time in making a pilgrimage to the spot; and the impression which an examination of the ruins led me to form was entirely in harmony with the conclusion to which he had come.

Some years ago I prepared notes of the early records of the priory, principally from a collection of them made by a much-valued friend, the late Mr Patrick Chalmers, of Aldbar; and I am now led to offer to the Society an outline of its history, in the belief that it will show how great a light records and architecture, when studied together, may sometimes throw on each other.

The Priory was placed on a promontory jutting into the surrounding

loch, but the draining of its waters in recent times has robbed the place of this feature, from which, doubtless, it received its name. The loch was one of a chain of several in the same neighbourhood, on the southern margin of the great glen of Strathmore—a country which was the seat of an early population, and where the Pictish tribes have left more conspicuous monuments of their condition and progress than are to be found in any other district.

About two miles towards the south is a branch of the Sidlaw range, known as the hills of Dunnichen and Burnside. There are many reasons for believing that some of the Pictish kings had one of their settlements in this neighbourhood.

In the Loch of Forfar, which is a short mile west from Restennet, besides a natural island which was fortified, there was a crannog or stockaded promontory; and in the Loch of Rescoby, a short distance to the east, there have been found indications of a similar structure. Besides these remains there are, or were, numerous raths on the neighbouring hill-tops, numerous stone coffins throughout the country, and many pillars of memorial, single and in groups—some of them with sculptures on them,—all witnessing to a primitive population both numerous and important. Nor is the district without its underground houses, one of which was recently brought to light by railway operations on the farm of Wemyss of Pitscandly, to which the souterraine may have given its name at a time when it was in use by the Celtic people, from whom the country received its nomenclature. Near to Forfar also has been found a curious specimen of a slab sculptured with cups and rings, which may safely be ascribed to a people in the infancy of decorative art.

The first occurrence which brings the light of history on the neighbourhood was the overthrow of the Saxon king Egfrid at Dunnichen, whither his opponent, the Pictish prince Brude, the son of Bili, had withdrawn before him. This battle was fought in the year 685, at a place which, in the language of the chronicles, appears as Nectansmere and Dunnechtan, on the site of which a pillar sculptured with symbols, covering a stone coffin, was found some years ago.

About twenty-five years after the date of this battle, Nectan ascended the Pictish throne, and we cannot doubt that from this prince both the “dun” and the “mere” derived their name. The mere or loch has vanished

under the hands of the agriculturist, but on the adjoining hill, in the direction of Burnside, there yet remains a rath, enclosing a group of hut circles, which may well have been the residence of the Pictish chief. We know that the palaces of the kings of Tara were exactly of this character, and it would seem that the walls which crown the hill of Craig Phadric, near Inverness, formed the Dun or "munitio," described by Adamnan as the residence of the Pictish king Brude, when the illustrious Columba arrived at its gate.

At the very time when Nectan was ruling over the Pictish tribes of Alba, the Venerable Bede was writing in his cell at Jarrow the ecclesiastical history of the Angles, where he was led to describe a remarkable occurrence in which the Pictish ruler was an actor, and has thus surrounded him with a light which makes us sigh more despondingly over the bare lists of names and scanty array of facts which are the staple of our native chronicles.

Northumbria had at this time reached a position in religion, literature, and art, such as had not been attained by the other Saxon provinces, and which she only maintained for a short time. Benedict Biscop, in the erection of his monasteries at the mouth of the Wear, had obtained the services of foreign masons, who could build with stones after the Roman fashion, and he had brought from the great centre of Western civilisation many ornaments, pictures, and books, for the churches which he had built.

In this course he was followed by Wilfrid, his friend and his companion at Rome, who, besides, had been the main instrument in introducing into the Northumbrian Church the Roman use in two points, which had long agitated the Christian world, viz., the time of the Paschal feast, and the form of the ecclesiastical tonsure.

Up to this time the use of the Northumbrian had coincided with that of the Pictish Church, both having been derived from the school of St Columba at Iona.

From the pages of Venerable Bede we learn that Nectan had been no idle observer of the controversies and improvements which were in progress around him. Indeed, it appears that he had come to the conclusion that the Scottish cycle for fixing the time of Easter was erroneous, but that he wished to be satisfied by additional arguments, and to obtain for any changes which might be necessary a sanction beyond his own convictions.

Accordingly, in the year 710, Nectan despatched to the Abbot of Wear-

mouth messengers with a request that he would send him written instructions as to the day on which the Paschal feast ought to be held, and as to the proper form of the tonsure, engaging that he and his people would follow the Roman customs as far as might be possible for those who were so distant from the Roman people and tongue.

The answer of the Abbot Ceolfrid is preserved in the pages of Bede, who very probably was the scribe who wrote it; and its arguments were so convincing to the mind of Nectan that, although he had already been persuaded on the subject, he professed that he now saw the reasons so clearly as if he had known nothing before. He therefore at once adopted the new cycle for calculating the time of Easter, and we are told that his order on the subject was sent through all the provinces of the Picts, to be transcribed, learned, and observed in future, while the coronal tonsure was immediately imposed on his clergy.

But this was not the only request of Nectan to the abbot. Probably the fame of Benedict Biscop's churches had been carried across the Scot Water to the King's Dun on the side of the Sidlaws, and he besought Abbot Ceolfrid, Biscop's successor, that he would send him architects, "*qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent,*" promising to dedicate the church, when erected, in honour of Peter, the chief of the apostles.

The abbot in this matter also complied with Nectan's request, and sent workmen accustomed to the new manner of building, but we learn nothing from Bede of any church which they erected.

Before dwelling farther on this point, I have to draw attention to another striking event which marked the reign of Nectan, and has a close relation to the former. This was the mission of Boniface, of which we have one account in the Breviary of Aberdeen, and another, with somewhat more detail, in the History of Boece. According to the former, this ecclesiastic filled the papal chair for upwards of seven years, but, forsaking this dignity, he came to preach the gospel in Pictland, accompanied by Madius and other six bishops, by two virgins, Crescentia and Triduana, by seven presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, seven acolytes, seven exorcists, seven readers, seven porters, and many other men and women who feared God. Being guided by a sign they came to Restinoth, where Nectan met them and received the sacrament of baptism. The king then gave the place to Boniface.

Boece doubts whether Boniface was a pope, or was only believed to be so by the rude people among whom he was sent, but he asserts that the saint, arriving in the estuary of the Tay from Italy, founded a church at Invergowrie, which he dedicated to St Peter. He then proceeded to Tealing, where he also erected a church with a like dedication. A third he built at Restennet. After tarrying here for some years, he went northwards, preaching in the Mearns, in Marr, and Buchan, in Strathbogie, and in Moray, erecting in these places not a few churches, all of which he dedicated to St Peter. At last he came to Ross, where, after his many labours, he died, and was buried at Rosmarkie, in which place also rests his companion St Moloc, the disciple of St Brandan.

The occurrence of a mission with a Roman influence in the time of Nectan may be accepted as a historical fact, while much of the detail in the Breviary must be rejected as fabulous.

It so entirely coincides in point of time with the events described by Bede that one is strongly tempted to recognise in Boniface and his companions the messengers sent by the Abbot Ceolfrid in answer to the king's request. At two of the churches which he erected, viz., Invergowrie and Rosmarkie, examples have been found of sculptured crosses. At the latter place they are of unusual merit as works of art, while the stone at Invergowrie portrays the figures of ecclesiastics with books in their hands and brooches on their shoulders.

The king's acceptance of the Roman usages, and his resolution to dedicate to St Peter, we are sure of from the narrative of Bede; and we know that, in point of fact the churches specified by Boece were all dedicated to the chief of the Apostles.

The accounts concur in stating that the Church of Restennet was erected by Boniface, and the Breviary adds that the site was given by Nectan.

Keeping in view what has been said as to the adjacent Dun of Nechtan, it seems in every way probable that the site formed part of the Royal domains; as we know that in later times, the neighbouring place of Forfar continued to be a frequent residence and seat of the Scottish Kings, and that several of their thanages were in the neighbourhood.

Up to the time of Nectan it appears that in Pictland, the "mos Romanorum" in building, which implied the chiselling of stones and the use of mortar, was unknown.

The "mos Scotorum" is described as consisting in the use of wood and wattles for building. It was, however, a custom of much wider acceptance, and prevailed generally till the force of Roman influence overpowered it. By the Scots the use of wooden materials was continued with the pertinacity which they showed in clinging to all customs which had been sanctioned by the founders of their polity, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The monastery of St Columba at Iona consisted of a group of huts of wattle, and a church of wood, surrounded by a wall; and such, doubtless, were his monastic establishments throughout Alba.

When St Finan went from Iona to Lindisfarne, he erected his episcopal church of cut wood, and covered it with reeds, as did St Columbanus in his monastery at Bobbio, and St Kentigern in his at St Asaph.

Even if some churches of stone came to be erected in Scotland under such influence as that of Nectan, it would seem that they were rare, and that the earlier custom prevailed till the impulse given by the Saxon colonisation of the eleventh century led to the general erection of stone churches, and to a change in the ecclesiastical polity of the country. Till then the religious wants of the people were supplied by bodies of clergy in the monasteries scattered over the land, and these, probably, in the main, continued to be mere groups of isolated huts, with churches of small pretensions in point of art or material.

In the time of William the Lion, the royal burgh of Inverness consisted of such houses, surrounded by a stockaded ditch. In the thirteenth century we read of a wattled guest-house—"fabricata de virgis"—near the Church of Kilpatrick, in the Lennox, for receiving pilgrims coming to the Church of St Patrick.

And after stone churches were to be seen, they were not regarded with respect by the Scottish people, either in Ireland or Scotland. St Bernard has recorded the mocking speech with which the Irish Scots reproached St Malachy on his departure from their old customs, by founding an oratory of stone at Bangor. He himself had indeed helped to erect one at the same place at an earlier period, formed of smoothed branches of trees; but on his return from Rome he wished to erect something more in keeping with the churches which he had seen on his journey. Reginald of Durham narrates an event which shows something of the same temper in the Scots of Galloway. In the year 1164, Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, went into that country,

and was present at Kirkcudbright on the festival of St Cuthbert. A bull was brought as an oblation, which the "clerici" of the place baited in the churchyard. The more aged remonstrated against such a profanation, but one of the others mocked, and said there was no presence of St Cuthbert here, nor had he any power in that place, even although his church was built of stone.

It has hitherto been supposed that no work of the character of Nectan's new churches, and of that early period, remained in Scotland; but the discovery by the Bishop of Brechin, read in the light of the historical events which I have described, renders it probable that part of Restennet is really of the time of Boniface and Nectan; and if so, it is the earliest specimen of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland.

Of the church erected at Monkwearmouth by Benedict Biscop, the only part now remaining is a tower of small dimensions, which is pierced on three sides by archways. In the course of recent excavations in the base of this tower, a Saxon grave-slab has turned up, with an inscription in letters of the same character as the Saxon manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries. The arch at Restennet, described by the Bishop, probably also formed part of a tower. It is formed out of a solid stone, and in this feature, as in the rude flat moulding, which may be traced on the sides of the arch, it greatly resembles the doorways of many of the round towers and early churches of Ireland, described by Dr Petrie; and it may be remarked that in both the round towers of our own country—at Brechin and Abernethy—the arches of the doorways are cut out of solid stone, although with a skill which marks them as of a later period than Restennet.

If, therefore, the earlier tower came afterwards to be replaced by a larger erection, it would be in consonance with a very general custom to find the primitive arch imbedded in the new work.

It is probable that the Church of Restennet partook of the decay into which we find that most of our early ecclesiastical foundations had fallen before the eleventh century, when the light of record first enables us to appreciate their condition; and we may probably ascribe its restoration and enlargement to the piety of Malcolm Canmore or David I., as we know from the evidence of charters that both were benefactors to the institution. There is every reason to believe the statement of Boece and the voice of tradition, that Malcolm had a castle at Forfar, for in the time of William the

Lion, we find that monarch making a grant to Robert de Quincy of the place of his old castle of Forfar ; and the artificial island in its loch, already noticed, was associated with his saintly mother, being long known as Queen Margaret's Inch.

The date ascribed by the Bishop of Brechin to the present tower, would rather fall in with the supposition which would attribute its erection to Malcolm. This monarch had erected a monastery at Dunfermlinè, and witnessed the foundation of the Church of Durham, towards the end of the eleventh century. It was about the year 1140 before the Tower of St Rule at St Andrews was completed ; and the Tower of Restennet has an earlier air than it.

On the whole, therefore, we seem to be led to the conclusion, that in the arch now described we have a fragment of the church built after the Roman fashion for Nectan, the Pictish king, in the beginning of the eighth century, by the architects sent to him from Northumbria ; and that in the tower we have the earliest specimen of the restoration work of the eleventh century.

Various facts which we gather from charters and chronicles, concur in attesting the early importance of Restennet, as if it inherited an unusual devotional regard.

It was the mother church of Forfar, where a chapel subject to it had been erected at an early period, and it continued to be the parish church of Forfar till the close of the sixteenth century. I learn from a note of Dr John Jamieson, that an aisle of this chapel was traditionally called St Margaret's Chapel.

By William the Lion the monastery was conferred on the monks of Jedburgh, of which it became a cell. In his charter of gift the King specifies the manors, tithes, and dues which then belonged to it by the gift of his ancestors. Again, in the time of King Robert Bruce, an inquest of the good men of Angus was held to ascertain the rights conferred in former times on the Church of Rostinoth by the Kings of Scotland, but of which the charters had been lost or destroyed in the wars, and of which they were in possession in the time of Alexander III. These comprised many lands with yearly payments from the neighbouring thanages or demesne lands of the Crown, the tithes of the escheats in the Courts of the Justiciar and the Sheriff, tithes of the King's stud of horses in Angus, and of the hay of the forest of Plater. It was found that they were also entitled to 100 eels from

the loch of Forfar, and on every visit of the King to Forfar, and while he abode there, to receive two loaves of demain bread, four loaves of the second bread, and six loaves called hugmars, two measures of the better ale, and two of the second ale, and two pairs of messes of each of three courses from the royal kitchen.

King Robert Bruce also gave the Prior licence to cut wood and brushwood at all times in the forest of Plater for the purpose of making waggons, carts, yokes, halters, and the like. David II. confirmed to the Prior and Canons the charters granted in their favour of the teinds of the fruits of their thanages and demesne lands by his predecessors, Malcolm, Alexander, and David. He alleged the special goodwill and affection which he bore to the Priory, from the circumstance that the bones of John, his brother-german, were buried within its walls, thus making us acquainted with a son of the great Robert Bruce, otherwise unknown to history, and also proving that charters were granted by Malcolm Canmore, while we have hitherto been led to suppose that written grants were first known in the time of his son Duncan.

In the time of William the Lion, and of his successors, Alexander II. and Alexander III., we find on record frequent mention of their residence at Forfar. In the Exchequer Rolls there are entered the wages of the King's gardener at Forfar, which amounted to five merks in the year. The same records furnish us with the number of the cows and swine, the quantity of cheese, butter, hens, and malt received from the King's manors of Forfar and Glamis, and with the expenditure for the King's hawks and horses, when hunting at Forfar. The wine for the royal table is not omitted, and the carriage of sixteen pipes from Dundee to Forfar cost L.4, 8s.

Other evidences of royal residences may be gathered from the tenures by which some of the neighbouring lands were held. Thus, the lands of Tyrbeg and Balmashanner were bound to furnish the royal household with three hundred cart loads of peats during the King's residence at Forfar.

It may be worth noting, before I conclude, that the memory of the dedication of Restennet to St Peter is kept up by a fair, which is now held at Forfar on the festival of this saint, but the former site of which was Restennet. Another, called St Trodlen's market, which of old was held at Rescobie, may be held to confirm this legendary statement, which connects St Triduana with Boniface in his mission. According to the tra-

ditions of the Scottish Church, Triduana, with another virgin, led for a time a hermit life at Rescoby, from which she removed to Dunfallandy, in Athol. She died at Restalrig, where her memory was long venerated.

In an appendix I have printed some of the early charters of the Priory, on which many of the previous statements are founded; and I have asked Mr William Galloway, architect, a Corresponding Member of the Society, to draw up a report on the architectural characteristics of the building, which is here subjoined.

Report on the earlier part of the existing Buildings at Restennet Priory.

(Plates XXX.—XXXV.)

By WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Esq., Architect, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

The following notes have been drawn up at the instance of the late Dr Stuart, in connection with a visit which I paid with him to Restennet Priory on the 18th of April 1877:—

Owing to the accumulation of soil and *débris* from the buildings, it was found that there were many interesting questions which could not be determined without carrying the examination below the level of the present surface.

The permission of the proprietrix having been obtained through the intervention of the Earl of Strathmore, a trench was dug on both sides of the south wall of the tower, on the outside of the west wall, and partially at the piers on each side of the great arch, toward the inside of the church. Lady Metcalfe also granted leave for the removal of the rubble work which blocked the old doorway on the south side of the tower; the instructions being that, if considered desirable, the doorway should be allowed to remain permanently open—a matter about which, from an archaeological point of view, there could be only one opinion. It is, indeed, matter of regret that, owing chiefly to their very partial character, it should have been necessary to fill up the excavations made at the Society's instance. The ground has risen between 2 and 3 feet above its original level, and no greater improvement could be effected than by the complete removal of this accumulation. It is only by operations carried out to this extent that the true character of this interesting and unique example of Scottish architecture could be exhibited, and additional discoveries made with regard to the ground plan of the mediæval structure. Owing to the entire absence of any staircase or means of ascent, an accurate survey of the upper part of the tower is also still a desideratum.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to notice what is ascertainable under existing circumstances.

The principal remains visible above ground are the tower, the church, and the south and west cloister walls.

With exception of the broached spire and lucarns, which are comparatively late, the tower presents a marked contrast to the rest of the buildings, forming apparently the sole relic of a very ancient structure. Although it contains a well-constructed



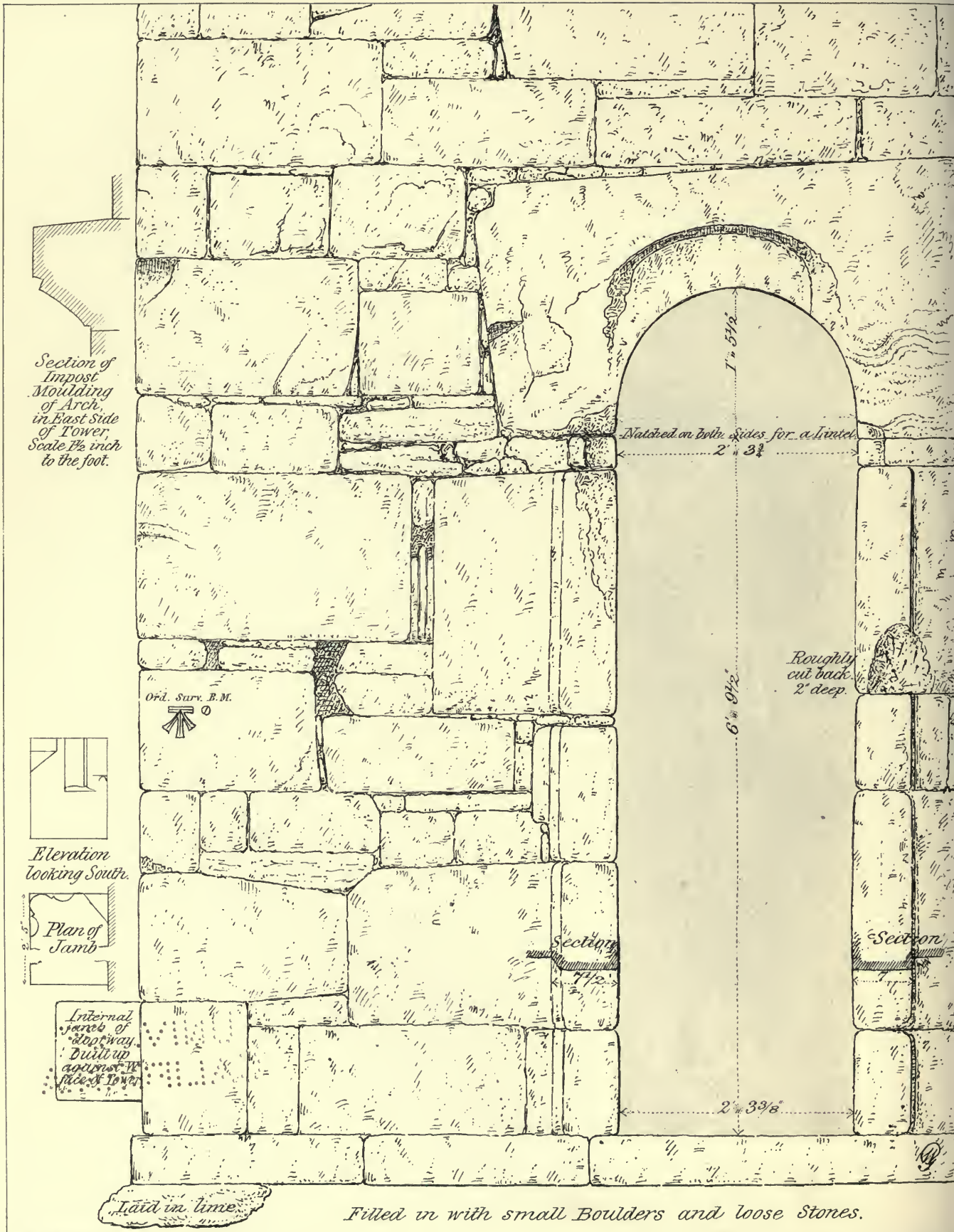
W. D. D.

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

BESTENNET PRIORY—VIEW OF TOWER FROM INTERIOR OF CHURCH

TO VMD
ANNEX 10

THE
UNIVERSITY OF
MICHIGAN
LIBRARY



Section of Impost Moulding of Arch, in East Side of Tower, Scale 1/2 inch to the foot.

Elevation looking South.

Plan of Jamb

Internal parts of doorway. Built up against W side of tower

Ord. Surv. B.M.



Notched on both sides for a lintel 2' 3 1/2"

Roughly cut back 2' deep.

6' 8 1/2"

Section

Section

2' 3 3/8"

Laid in lime

Filled in with small Boulders and loose Stones.

round arch and circular-headed doorway, neither in general features nor in detail does it exhibit the slightest trace of Norman work; and whatever may be the date assigned to it, there can be no doubt that its erection is due to a period anterior to the earliest introduction of that style into Scotland. Its peculiarities will, I trust, form the best apology for my entering so minutely into the following details.

To begin at the foundation. The subsoil is the coarse gravel common to the district. Above this lies the accumulation of *débris* and black vegetable mould already referred to. The foundation of the tower consists of a single layer of broad flag-stones, ranging from 5 to 6 inches in thickness, uniformly laid upon their natural beds, and carefully tooled and squared upon the edges. Both externally and internally, this foundation course shows a projecting scarcement not exceeding in general 3 inches in breadth. This scarcement is entirely absent on the exterior face of the west wall of the tower, but on the inner face the foundation course projects 8 inches. There is a slight decrease in the interior dimensions of the tower from east to west, as compared with those from north to south, so that it would appear as if the foundation course for the west wall had been laid inaccurately, the dimensions being afterward equalised, or nearly so, by placing the superincumbent wall on its extreme verge. At least, there is no other apparent reason for the irregularity; and had the scarcement on both sides been equal, as it is in the case of the other walls, instead of being approximately a square as it now is, the variation between the respective widths of the tower would have been considerable.

This base or plinth-course of broad flag-stones seems to rest at irregular intervals upon massive blocks of stone, rough from the quarry, laid without any indications of lime, and often with wide gaps between them, so as to admit of the soil and loose stones coming quite freely away from beneath the base-course.

The only trace of lime-built preparation for the superstructure occurred at the extreme south-west angle, where the corner stone of the base course had been laid and well-bedded in mortar on a *rough*-edged flag-stone, also about 5 inches thick. I was anxious to have ascertained whether these foundation-stones embrace the full thickness of the wall, but on carrying the excavation round the western face of the tower, I was at once stopped by the internal joint of a doorway between the cloisters and nave built up against the tower.¹

It is evident, then, that this line of tooled and dressed flag-stones formed not merely the foundation of the building, but also an external plinth, and was designed not to be buried, but to be seen. There is no other reason why the angle flag-stone referred to should be laid with all its edges rough, undressed, and irregularly projecting, while the edges of the stone above it are as carefully tooled as the regular masonry of the walls. The one stone was evidently intended to be buried below the soil, the other to show above the surface. This idea is further corroborated by the fact that the splayed base-course on the south side of the church is carried down exactly to the same level as this earliest base-course of the tower, showing that even in the thirteenth century, when I presume the existing church to have been built, the new walls were intended to be exposed down to that extent, the centuries which must have

¹ *Vide* Plate XXXII.

intervened between the erection of the tower and that of this present church having effected no change whatever in the level of the ground.

As would naturally be expected, then, there is no other plinth or base-course to the building; but the masonry starts at once, with its elaborately tooled and axe-dressed surfaces, all the better preserved that they have been so long buried under accumulated soil.

A careful examination of the very curious doorway in the south side of the tower yields additional evidence on the point stated. This doorway has been for a long period closed with rubble work, so that its most interesting features have been entirely concealed. It is distinguished externally by an architrave or raised margin on each side, about 7 inches in breadth by 1 inch in projection. Internally, on removing the rubble work, a deep check was found close to the inner face of the wall, with which, when closed, the door must have been flush. This check is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad on one side, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad on the side next the west wall of the tower, where the door was hinged. Both these checks and the external margins go right down upon the foundation flag-stones, showing undoubtedly that, without the intervention of any step, they also formed the threshold or paved ingoing of the doorway, and mark, no doubt, the floor-level of the primitive church.

This square projecting plinth-course, structurally the real foundation of the building—with less or more preparation in the way of massive blocks of stone, as security against subsidence—laid level with the surface of the soil, and intended to be exposed, forms of itself a sufficiently distinctive mark of antiquity. It is a feature of frequent occurrence in the round towers of Ireland.¹ It also appears in the tower at Abernethy,² and in an enlarged form in that at Brechin.³ This mode of founding a building stands certainly in marked contrast to that in use at a later period, where trenches previously dug are filled in with masses of undressed but still lime-built masonry.⁴

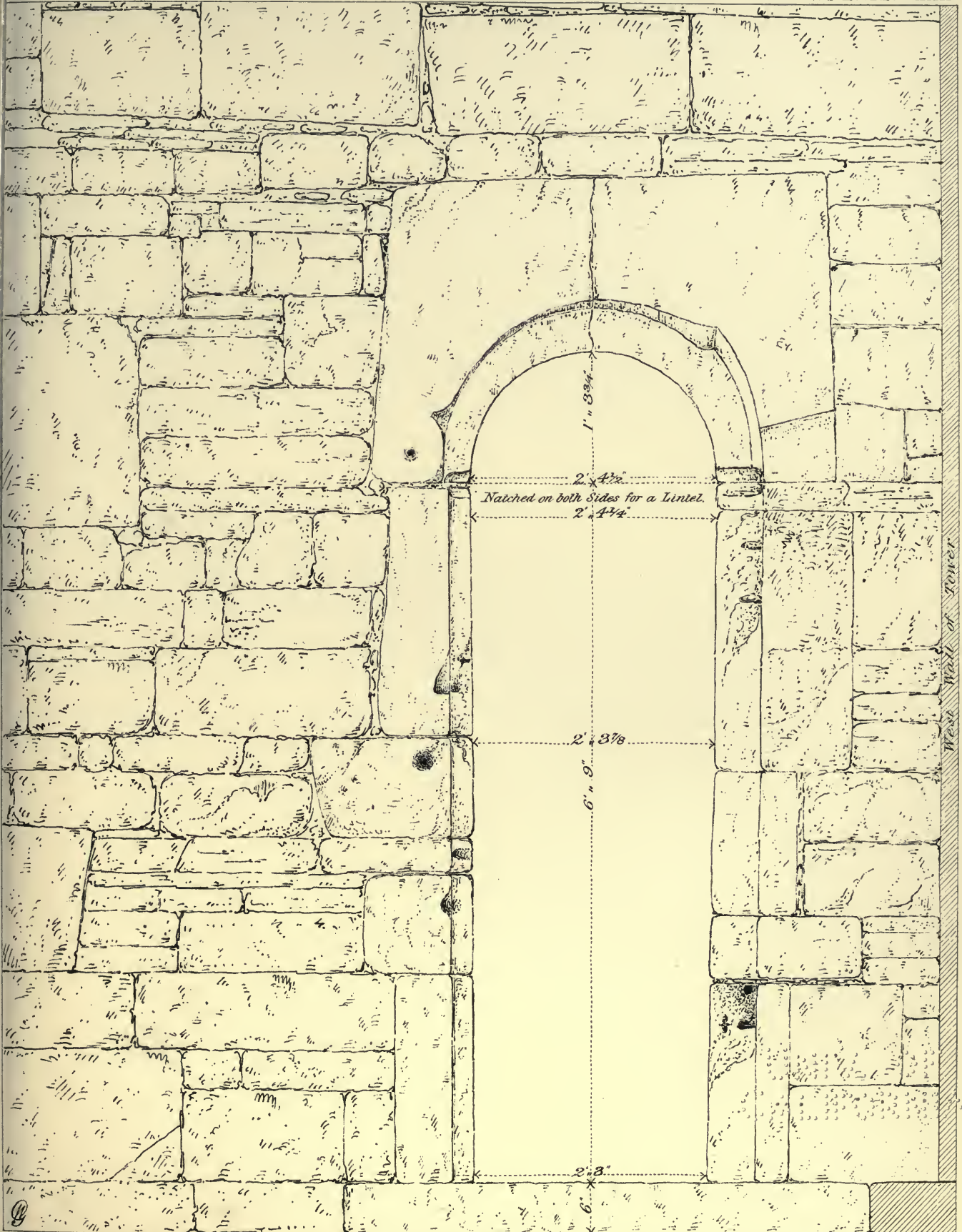
The doorway already mentioned in the south side of the tower contains not less distinct indications of having been constructed at a very early period. It will be found fully illustrated in Plates XXXII., XXXIII., and XXXIV. From these drawings it will be seen that it is extremely narrow in proportion to its height, the width not exceeding 2 feet 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the base, while the height from the threshold to the crown of the arch at the outside is about 8 feet 3 inches, with a slight decrement

¹ See section of the base of the round tower at Cloyne, Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 87, and various incidental notices in the same work, many striking examples also occur in the text and illustrations to Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture."

² Proceedings of the Society, vol. iii. p. 303.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 28.

⁴ The following quotation given in Parker's "Glossary of Architecture," vol. i. p. 243 (ed. 1850), sub., Ground-table-stones (*i.e.*, plinth or base course), illustrates this point very well:—"The ground" (foundation) "of the same body, and Isles to be maad *within the erthe*, under the ground-table-stones with rough stone; and fro the ground-table-stone . . . alle the remanent . . . with elene hewen asshler." Contract for Fotheringay Church, p. 20.



RESTENNET PRIORY. INTERIOR ELEVATION OF DOORWAY, SOUTH SIDE OF TOWER.

Scale, 3/4 of an Inch to the foot.

70 1980
ALABAMA 1980

a to b. Remains of Masonry of Ancient Church bonded into Tower
c. Fragment of plinth of Ditto.

Looking East

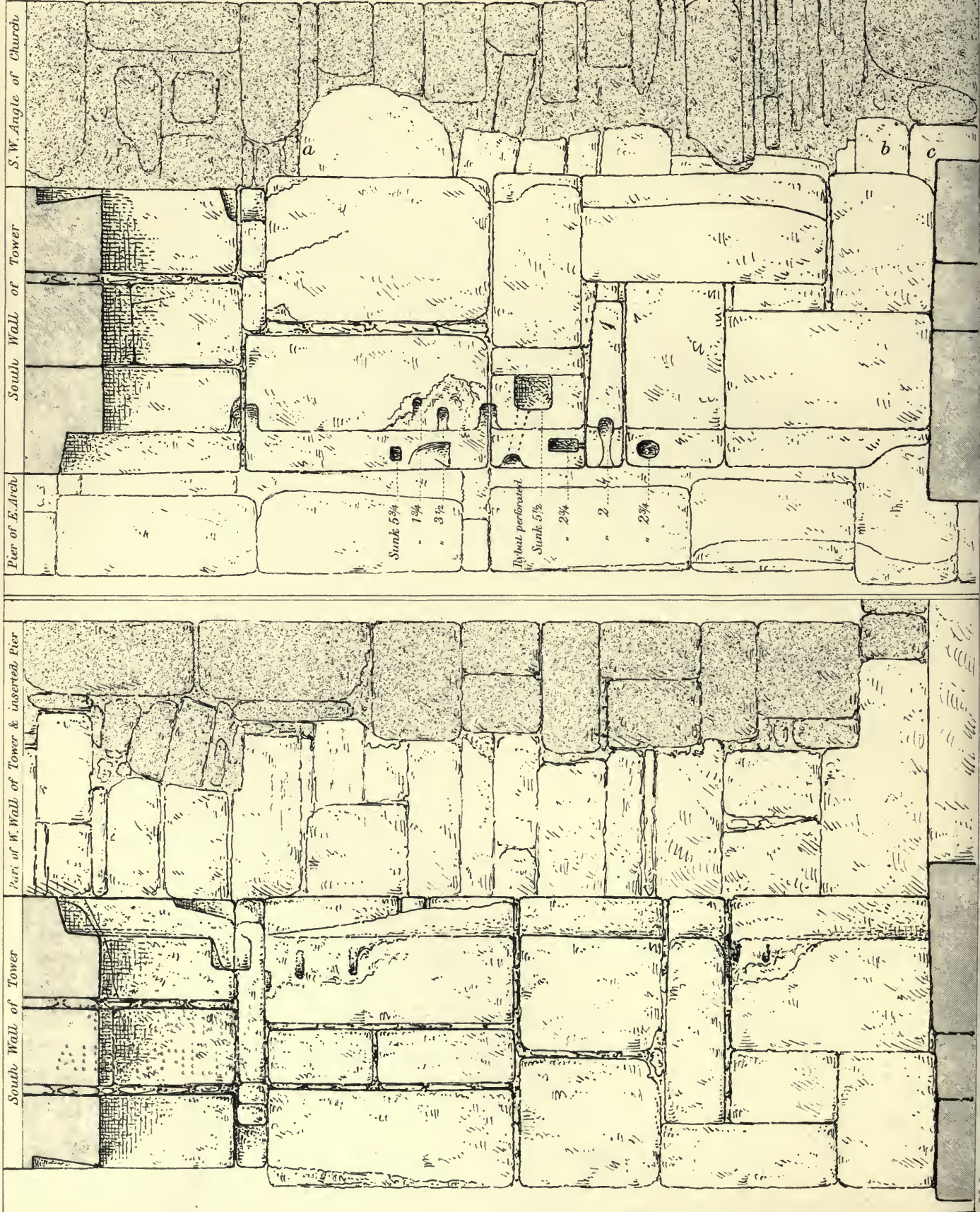
S. W. Angle of Church

South Wall of Tower

Pier of E. Arch

Part of W. Wall of Tower & inserted Pier

South Wall of Tower



toward the inside. The jambs do not converge as in the openings above, the inclination being if anything the other way, as may be seen from the dimensions given.¹

Although formed with a circular head, on its outer faces at least, this doorway is not constructed on the principle of the arch. Both externally and internally, the head is hewn out of a massive flag-stone, set on edge. The external flag-stone is a foot in thickness, nearly 5 feet in length, by 2 feet 9 inches in depth. The internal one is about 10 inches in thickness, 4 feet 6 inches in length, by 3 feet in depth. The space between these facing stones is filled in with a ring of stone, the same thickness as the last, but in three stones, which, so far as can be judged from the direction of the joints, are hewn as voussoirs, and put together so as to form an arch.² The in-goings on each side are quite square, without any bevel or recess, excepting the checks for the door already mentioned, and are carefully faced throughout with dressed masonry, precisely similar to the rest of the walls.³ The threshold shows that the foundation or plinth-course, at this point at least, is laid in two breadths, the outer stone being a foot broad, the inner, 1 foot 8 inches by over 3 feet in length,—the space between them being filled in with smaller stones. There is also a slight inclination or fall outwards, which may have been so designed originally to prevent the lodgment of water.

The only decorative feature is the architrave or margin previously mentioned. Toward the lower part of the doorway, where it had been covered up with soil, it is exceedingly sharp and fresh, getting more worn and injured as it ascends, until, where the rounded head is cut out of the lintel-stone, it becomes not only effaced, but a deep and irregular sinking is substituted for it. This is due, not to violence, but to weather, and results from the peculiar manner in which the building is constructed. In order to prevent inevitable waste and decay of the surface through exposure, it is one of the leading principles of sound masonry that all stones where the distinction prevails shall be placed upon their natural beds, so that the reed or stratification of the stone may be horizontal. This principle is exactly reversed at Restennet. The stone chiefly used is the Forfarshire flags, which readily split into layers of varying thickness, with a large superficies requiring but little dressing. With these stones, all placed upon the *hem* or edge instead of the natural bed, the greatest part of the tower is cased, both externally and internally.⁴ The result is a constant tendency to exfolia-

¹ *Vide* Plates XXXII. and XXXIII.

² For the important bearing which these facts have on the relative antiquity of the doorway and the tower, see p. 301 *et seq.* This mode of arching a moderate-sized opening by means of three voussoirs, *i.e.*, two springers and a key-stone, seems to have been rather a favourite one in Ireland. It occurs in the doorways of the round towers at Iniscaltra, Kfilala, Kells, St Canice, Kilkenny, and Donoughmore, &c. At Kilcullen and Kildare the arch is formed of successive rings, with two stones in each, the joint being in the centre. The doorway in the round tower at Monasterboice is also arched in three stones, but the joints, as in the overlapping pseudo-arches of the earliest *clochanns* or bee-hived structures, are horizontal, not radiating. (*Vide* Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture," vol. ii. plate lxxii.)

³ *Vide* the sections on Plate XXXIV.

⁴ Except in buildings erected of late years the same method of construction has been extensively practised in the neighbouring town of Forfar. From the church and the town-hall,

tion and decay, a process which may be seen in all stages throughout the tower, the interior included. From a layer the thickness of pasteboard, to the depth of one or two inches, the surfaces are extensively scaled and wasted. The stone in question, forming the head of the doorway, is particularly so; no part of the original tooling is now visible, and it is evident that in a stone with such an open reed, placed vertically, any carved work *in relief* must be peculiarly at the mercy of the weather. Hence the entire disappearance of the circular portion of the architrave referred to.

Both Dr Stuart and the Bishop of Brechin have directed attention to this architrave as a proof of high antiquity, and no more reliable criterion could be adduced. It occurs with great frequency in the earliest churches of Ireland, in the round towers and other primitive structures,¹ but, like the square plinth and other semi-classic features, with the advancing influence of mediævalism it entirely disappears. A very fine example, about 15 inches in breadth, and decorated with a double line of pellets, distinguishes the doorway of the round tower at Brechin.² The doorway of the tower at Abernethy has a plain architrave 6 inches broad by 2 inches in projection, in so far resembling this one at Restennet. I may mention that the apparent rudeness and indeterminate character alluded to by Dr Stuart, which gives such an archaic appearance to the architrave at Restennet, is entirely due to weathering and other injuries. It is plain, certainly, as much so as in the earliest instances that can be cited, but toward the foot of the doorway where it has been protected by the soil it will be found sharp-edged and carefully tooled. Round the triangular-headed windows in the upper stage, where exactly the same feature occurs, it has also been preserved comparatively intact. At the springing of the arch the rybats are notched on each side as if for a wooden transom or lintel.³ This is also the case with the inner rybats, the notches indicating that the transom must have been outside the door-check. This wood-work probably formed a part of some later arrangement. At the east side of the doorway the rybat, including part of the architrave, has been at one point roughly cut back to the depth of about 2 inches for some purpose or other.

On the inside, the means adopted to fasten and hang the door form the most characteristic feature. The door itself must have been about 8 feet 6 inches high by 3 feet in breadth, hinged on the west side by means of crooks and bands, the traces of at least three successive fixtures being evident. On the east side the internal rybat is literally riddled with perforations for bolts and other fastenings, which, having for a time served their purpose, through wear and tear ultimately proved faithless

down to the dwelling-house or the cottage, the walls are veneered with these flagstones, their decaying surfaces often giving a venerable character to buildings which have not the slightest pretensions to antiquity.

¹ See Dr Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 167 *et seq.*, where he makes particular reference to this feature. For interesting examples, see also Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture."

² "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Spalding Club), vol. ii. plate i.

³ At least so much may be inferred from the limited breadth of the notch ($3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches), although Dr Petrie gives a very curious example of a round-headed doorway in which the arch is notched at the springing, and a flat stone introduced as a pseudo-lintel, the semi-circular head being then filled in with rubble.—"Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 181.

to their charge. Several of these bolt or lock holes are, however, still in good condition. At one point the rybat is completely perforated, evidently to admit of a chain affixed to the door being passed through the orifice and fastened from the inside, the surface of the perforation next the door being polished quite smooth, as if by long-continued friction.

Owing to the superincumbent pressure the inner lintel-stone is fractured in the centre. On the west side, just above the springing, it has been cut back in a wedge-like form to the depth of 2 inches. This recessed part, like the rest of the surface, is carefully tooled and dressed, and may probably have been connected with some mode of securing the original door. There is an apparent corroboration of this in the fact that a large portion of the rybat below has been wrenched off in a slanting direction as if by extreme violence.¹

Before closing my remarks on this doorway, a reference may be permitted to the belief expressed by Dr Stuart that this doorway is relatively much older than the rest of the tower, and may possibly form a relic of the earliest church erected by Boniface at the instance of Nectan, King of the Picts.² In giving an opinion upon this point it must be understood that I am guided entirely by the constructive evidence the building itself supplies; and it appears to me that this evidence affords no adequate warrant for such a conclusion as that mentioned. The doorway is built upon exactly the same principle as the rest of the tower, viz., that of facing up the mass of the wall by means of slabs of greater or less dimensions placed upon their edges, and thus having their natural beds set vertically instead of horizontally. The difference in the size of the stones is a mere question of adaptation. In the foundations there are stones as large as those used in the doorway, and both the piers of the great arch are faced up with slabs of similar size. The two stones out of which the circular head is cut are, indeed, exceptionally large, but I rather think that when the idea was first suggested, the arch was assumed to be hewn out of a single stone. In his letter to Dr Stuart the Bishop of Brechin also states that "the similarity of the masonry *inside the arch* to that of the rest of the wall of the tower shows that, *since that tower's erection, it never was used as an actual entrance*, but that the more ancient mass was built into the wall to give it strength,"³ i.e., that the rubble work recently removed blocking this doorway was coeval with the tower, and formed part and parcel of its southern wall. But having suggested and superintended the opening up of this doorway, I am satisfied from the number of worn and wasted bolt-holes and other means of fixture, that it must have been in use for centuries subsequent to the erection of the tower. Dr Stuart has stated that the tower is possibly a restoration work of Malcolm Canmore, dating from the eleventh century. If this were the case, then the riddling of the inner rybats to the extent shown in Plates XXXIII. and XXXIV. must have taken place previous to that time, viz., from the eighth to the eleventh century, and through the constant wear and tear of fastenings presumably unknown even at the latter date. The removal of the rubble-work⁴

¹ See Plate XXXIV., section looking west, and also interior elevation, Plate XXXIII.

² *Vide* pp. 290-294, *antea*.

³ *Vide* p. 287, *antea*.

⁴ I need scarcely mention that the idea referred to is still further negated by the character of this rubble filling of the doorway. In the rest of the tower the grouted hearting of the walls

equally dissipates the argument from apparent strength. The construction is "Cyclopean" in appearance rather than in reality. We have seen that the large flag-stones which look so massive superficially are after all but facings, the head of the doorway being in three thicknesses of stone instead of one. Of these, the middle one is made up of three stones disposed in the form of an arch, and the innermost is fractured in the centre through superincumbent pressure. In a locality where such materials as those used in the rest of the tower were readily to be had, the transfer and reconstruction for the mere sake of strength of the feature in question could be no object.¹

If this southern door never formed "an actual entrance" to the church, where, then, was that entrance? Through the great archway, assumed to be coeval with the tower in the western wall? But this opening is evidently an interpolation of a comparatively late date, the entire *modus operandi* of its insertion being clearly traceable.

It is a high tribute to the construction of the old walls, and especially to the tenacity of the mortar, to find that, in breaking out an opening like this in a solid wall, instead of the stones being picked out entire, as would be done now-a-days, they have been individually *fractured across*, it having been found more easy to break the stone than to disengage it from the mortar. Such a line of fractured stones is distinctly traceable on each side right up to the springing of the arch. On the north side the original coursers have been roughly hewn across, and pieced up here and there to form a pier. On the south side a built pier has been added, but it is entirely unbonded into the original masonry, the irregularities between it and the fractured stones being made up with rubble packing.² The evidences of interpolation in the arch are not less striking. At the springing on the north side internally are the remains of a very deep courser, the lower half of which has been hewn out so as to admit of the impost moulding and the stone below it being inserted, the upper half being hewn to the curve of the arch, as has also been the courser above it. The treatment of the third

is its true backbone. But this rubble work was only lime-built on the external faces, the interior being little more than dry stone building. This external crust once pierced, the entire mass came freely away and left the original doorway, with all the evidence it carries of the wear and tear of ages, intact. It never would have done this had the mortar or the style of building been similar to that of the old walls. The only wrought stone of any importance found embedded in the rubble was the base or under course of a respond or jamb pier, of very plain character. The stone is 2 feet 4 inches in length, by 1 foot 9 inches in extreme width, and 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. From one of the longitudinal faces rises the segmental pier or respond, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, by 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in projection, and 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, terminating upon a splay about 2 inches deep running the entire length of the stone.

¹ Although probably of later date, the doorway of the round tower at Brechin is more entitled to the term "Cyclopean" than Restennet. There the jambs are true monoliths, the arch is hewn out of two thicknesses of cubical stone, and the sill also is in one piece. The whole question, however, depends upon the nature of the materials at command in a particular locality. Had cubical stone instead of flag-stone been readily available at Restennet, I have no doubt its construction would have been as "Cyclopean" as Brechin, or any of the primitive Irish structures.

² *Vide* Plate XXXIV., section looking west.

courser, which is also a very deep stone, is not less peculiar, it having been hewn away in its upper portion to the depth of 9 inches, so as to admit the introduction of two voussoirs, which thus form the real start of the interpolated arch, this deep courser acting as a springer. The arch-stones never exceed 9 to 10 inches in depth, and are uniformly hewn on the extrados, presenting the strongest possible contrast to the inner arch, which is undoubtedly original. The imposts also differ very much, that on the west being merely a flat slab 6 inches thick with a plain chamfer taken off both edges.¹ Beyond the fact that it is relatively late, there is really nothing about this opening to determine the period when it was inserted, which can only be matter of conjecture. Such a means of communication must certainly have been found requisite when the building was extended westward.

There is thus not the slightest evidence that a doorway of the same date as the tower ever existed in its western wall. It might, indeed, be argued that all traces of it may have been swept away when the present opening was broken out; but even then its existence would be entirely hypothetical.

There cannot, I think, be the slightest doubt that the doorway in the south wall was not only the original but also the only entrance to the church through the tower. It may, indeed, be said that it forms its own best record, and bears the indelibly engraven traces of its history. In use, probably for centuries, as a public and external entrance to the building, the lintel-notches would seem to indicate that latterly it must have become an internal means of communication between the church and the cloisters or some part of the monastic buildings. The eastern wall of the cloisters, upon the foundation of which the present boundary wall is built, certainly terminated against the tower just at the ingoing of the doorway, so as to include it and no more.²

In direct contrast to the extemporised western opening, let us now turn to the archway communicating between the tower and the church, and which, by every test that can be applied to it, is undoubtedly original. Instead of such pieced and fractured masonry as has been referred to, its piers are carefully faced up with massive slabs precisely similar to those of the south doorway. Instead of the plain chamfer taken off each edge of the impost, there is the delicate moulding referred to by the Bishop of Brechin. It is more carefully wrought than is customary even in Norman times (see Plates XXXI., XXXII.), and it seems to have been extensively diffused throughout Europe from a very early period, and only inherited by the Normans as part of the prevalent detail. Both in a plain and richly decorated form we found it occurring in the ancient Chapel of St Saturnin, in Normandy, drawings of which were exhibited last session; and Dr Petrie³ has given a variety of cognate examples from Ireland, exhibiting extensively the curved outline which characterises not only this impost, but all the external string courses at Restennet. The arch itself, however, supplies the most

¹ Both of the imposts in the western arch are checked vertically, and at a lower level. On the face of the south pier there is a square sinking as if there had been a screen—possibly a rood screen—at this point.

² *Vide* Plate XXX., both plans of tower.

³ *Vide* "Ecclesiastical Architecture," pp. 295-300.

convincing evidence that the whole construction is homogeneous, and whatever date may be assigned to it, coeval with the tower. Instead of a ring of masonry, never exceeding 9 or 10 inches in depth, we have a series of voussoirs which tail out irregularly, sometimes to the length of two feet, only in three instances being half that length, the average being from 18 to 20 inches. The arch is certainly not horse-shoed, but the centre is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the spring, the rise being 4 feet 6 inches and the chord 8 feet 7 inches. The height from the original floor or bottom of the plinth-course below the walls to the crown is about 15 feet 8 inches, and the width between the piers 8 feet 5 inches. Leaving out of account arches reputedly Roman, if the claim we advance for this tower in its totality can be established, I think it may safely be affirmed that of its size this is the earliest arch of purely native construction in Scotland, and it is by no means unworthy to occupy so distinguished a position. True, the dimensions are relatively small—an impost moulding is the only adornment—but its construction is the real test of an arch; and showing as it does no trace of weakness or subsidence, practically this arch at Restennet is as sound as the day it was built. When we remember that it may in all probability have stood perfect and intact from eight hundred to a thousand years, and that there are very few even of Norman arches which do not show signs of depression from superincumbent weight, its superiority will, I think, be at once admitted. This high state of preservation is attributable partly to the excellence of the mortar used throughout the tower, partly also to the length of the voussoirs. The object seems to have been to retain the utmost size of which the materials were susceptible. There is no regularly-formed extrados either on the external or internal wall-faces, the stones in general tailing out irregularly; and where any adaptation does occur in individual instances, the coursers are either hewn to suit the voussoir, or *vice versa*, any interstices being filled in with spawled work. In imperfect stages of the building art, this bonding of the arched stones with coursed masonry is always a difficulty, only to be solved by a carefully-formed extrados, to the outline of which the several courses are hewn, or by hewing the tail of each archstone so as to bond with the coursers.

A certain amount of irregularity in the masonry of the lower part, as compared with that of the upper part of the tower, has also been held to favour the idea that there may be a corresponding variation in point of date. The circumstance is of itself curious, and deserves attention. The irregularity referred to is by no means so obvious on the outside of the tower, although even there it prevails to a certain extent. On the inside, however, it occurs *en masse*, and is very noticeable. It is at once seen that on the south side, for a height of ten feet above the plinth,¹ or just above the top of the large lintel-stone of the south doorway, and on the north side for a height of fully eight feet above the same level, there is to a great extent an entire absence of the flagstone casing, which almost entirely covers the rest of the walls, both externally

¹ Owing to the necessity of filling up the excavations, this plinth being now entirely concealed, it may be mentioned that from the level of the Ordnance Survey bench mark cut upon one of the quoins at the south-west angle of the tower (*vide* Plate XXXII.) down to the bottom of the plinth or foundation-course, *i.e.*, to the original level of the ground, is on an average just about 4 feet 6 or 7 inches. The change of masonry referred to may be seen partially in Plate XXXIII.

and internally. On the west side, owing to the insertion of the arch, the great part of the masonry is of course gone, but at the south corner¹ up to about two feet above its springing, the same appearance is presented, showing that in so far the same mode of treatment prevailed on that side also. To the uninitiated eye, these parts of the walling, in contrast with the rest of the masonry, look like ordinary rubble work². The truth is, the materials are in each case much the same, only disposed in a fashion exactly converse. In the lower part of the tower, what meets the eye are chiefly the *edges* of the slabs, of varying length and thickness, laid on their natural beds, and placed, not on the surface, but occupying the breadth of the wall. Whether it was the recognised and special reason for the variation referred to, I will not say; but there is at all events a sound constructive purpose served by this arrangement. We have seen that the major part of the walls is faced on both sides with dressed stones set on their edges, the interior being filled in with grouted rubble. So much is this the case, that I venture to say that in the whole upper part of the tower, with the exception of those in the openings, the string courses, &c., there is not a single bonding-stone or header in the whole wall. In the regular masonry there is certainly none.³ Where the mortar is exceptionally good, as at Restennet, this defect may not be so apparent; but even mortar itself takes a considerable period thoroughly to set and harden. It is evident that, owing to its being pierced by large openings, having to resist the thrust of arches, the pressure of superincumbent material, and, it may be, even possible violence, had the lower part of the tower been constructed on the same principles as the upper part, it would for a lengthened period have been exceptionally weak. The most certain remedy for this defect was a liberal use of bonding stones, only to be managed under the circumstances by taking the flagstones at command, laying them on their beds, and so showing the edge instead of the broad face externally. It may also be remarked that there is no better dressed or more regular masonry in the building than the first two or three courses above the plinth, the stones being also of large size, and, owing to their having been so long buried beneath the soil, in a state of perfect preservation. There is thus *variation*, but no *real change*; and although I do not say the reason given was the actual one operative in the minds of the builders, still it is much more likely to have been the case than to assume there is a discrepancy in point of date between the upper and lower parts of the tower. That this irregularity, then, was merely a clumsy expedient to secure a properly bonded wall is at least probable. Whether due to the same cause or not, I do not know, but a similar change of masonry has been noticed in several of the round towers. In describing

¹ *Vide* Plate XXXIV., section looking west.

² It was this *primâ facie* resemblance to rubble which led the Bishop of Brechin to suppose that this walling and the rubble-blocking of the doorway were of the same date.

³ I find that Mr Brash, in his work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 152, has noticed exactly the same characteristic. Comparing the masonry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with that of the primitive churches, he states that the difference between them is quite apparent, the former being "inferior in the dressing and fitting of the material and in the quality of the mortar, but showing a *regular system of cross bonding* in which the latter is deficient."

their masonry, Dr Petrie states that "in a few instances the lower portion of the towers exhibit less of regularity than the upper parts;"¹ and of that at Cashel, in Tipperary, Lord Dunraven remarks:—"The upper work of the tower is better than the lower."² A singular variety is also presented in the tower at Timahoe, Queen's County.³

I may mention that to the height of 14 feet 6 inches from the original ground-level the walls are externally vertical; from this point they diminish up to the first string course. This diminution also occurs on the inside, so that internally the tower becomes wider as it ascends. On the upper stage there is externally a slight round or camber distinctly perceptible to the eye, especially at the angles. The general proportions are very graceful and pleasing, and contrast favourably with the entire absence of these qualities in the great majority of Norman towers. Allusion has already been made to the excellence of the mortar, which is really one of the hardest I have ever met with. The interior of the walls has been grouted throughout, and forms a concrete really more durable than the stone casing. With exception of a fractured stone here and there, structurally there is not a single flaw or sign of weakness in the tower, and it is no small tribute to walls which necessarily become thinner as they ascend, that in the broached spire imposed upon them, they have been enabled to carry safely a weight for which they were not originally designed.

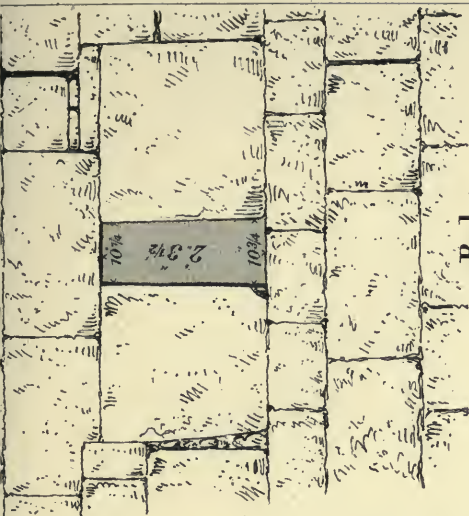
Of the openings in the upper part of the tower, the largest is that immediately over the eastern archway. It has evidently been designed to give access from the first floor of the tower to the space within the roof or croft of the church. It is shown in Fig. C, Plate XXXV. Like all the smaller openings in the tower, the jambs converge to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches on a height of 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ingoing is quite square, with no splay, as are also those of all the other openings.⁴ On this stage occurs the small opening illustrated in figs. B, 1, 2, and 3, Plate XXXV. The jambs and lintel are formed of three massive stones, which give it quite an archaic character. It is curious that in the round towers in Ireland there is frequently a window placed some distance above the doorway, exactly as in the present instance. The only other opening on this stage is a small circular orifice looking out toward the west. The next stage forms the belfry proper, pierced on every side by openings for the emission of sound. Their construction is illustrated in Figs. A, 1, 2, 3, and 4, Plate XXXV. Like the doorway, these windows are distinguished by a raised margin from 5 to 6 inches in breadth, and an inch or so in projection. The arches are triangular-headed or straight-lined, formed by inclined stones, of which there are two breadths in the thickness of the wall. Windows with this triangular-headed arch do occasionally occur in England in buildings reputedly Saxon, but a slight consultation of the standard works on the subject will show that it is still more extensively prevalent in Ireland, what is exceptional in the one country being to a great extent the rule in the other. The great majority of the

¹ "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 358.

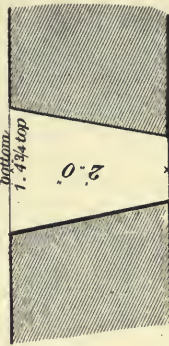
² "Notes on Irish Architecture," vol. ii. p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

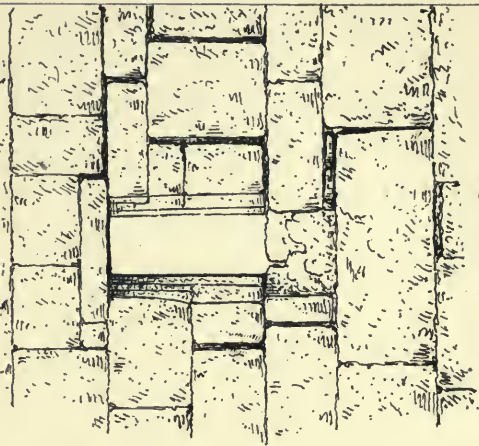
⁴ Of the Round Tower at Glendalough, Lord Dunraven states:—"All the apertures in this tower have inclined jambs, and have *no internal splay*."—"Notes on Irish Architecture," vol. ii. p. 15.



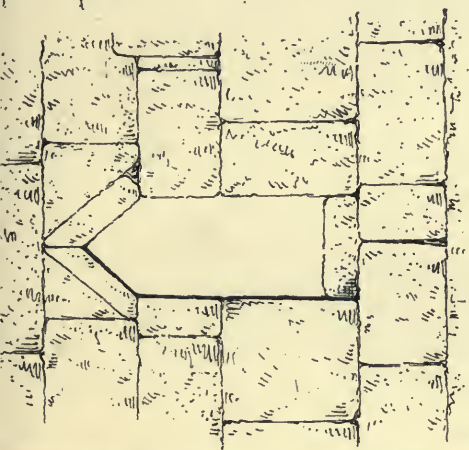
B.1



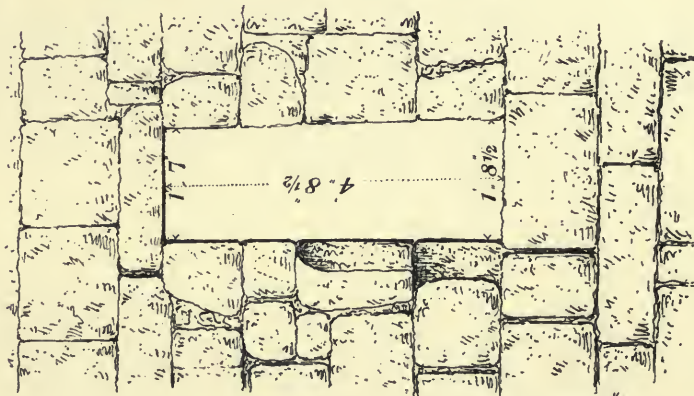
B.2



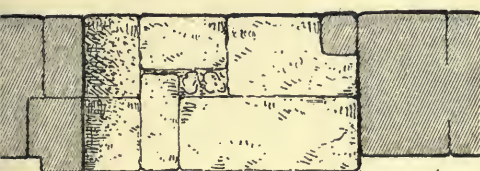
B.3



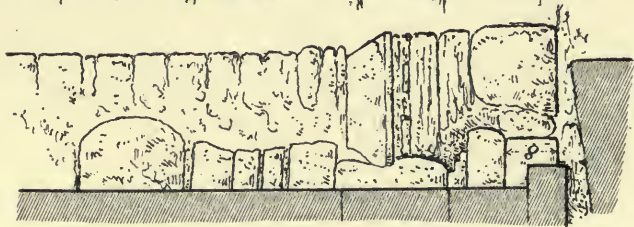
A.4



C

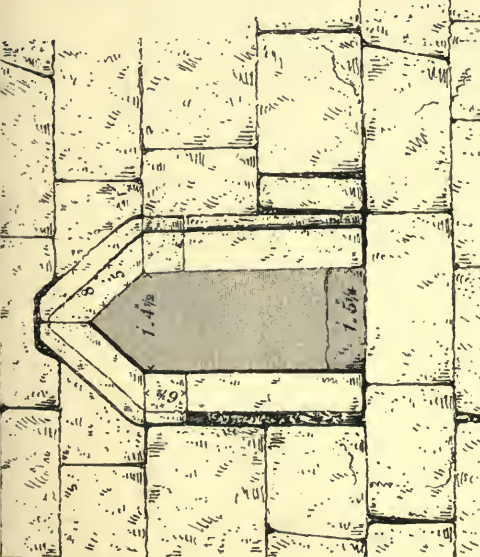


A.3

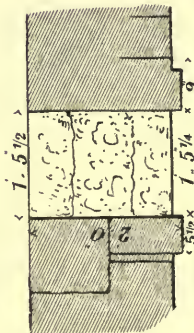


D.3

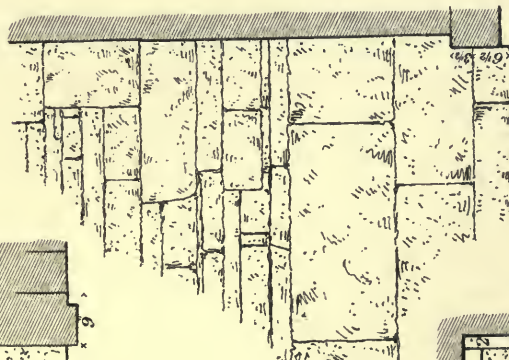
Scale $\frac{3}{8}$ inch of an Inch to the Foot



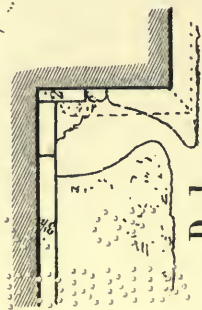
A.1



A.2



D.2



D.1

TO VNU
CALIFORNIA

upper or belfry windows in the round towers are so formed. In the tower at Kilmacduach there are eleven windows, six of them belfry windows, all triangular-headed.

We thus see that it is not merely in the doorway, as fully recognised by Dr Stuart, but throughout every feature of the tower that the analogy with early Irish architecture prevails. On a general survey, indeed, it is impossible to resist the idea that, although, as a true western tower, it is square in plan, and designed to give direct access to the church, still the arrangement is exactly similar to that prevalent in the round towers, and that both are due to a people working on the same principles, and actuated by the same ideas—defence, passive resistance, evidently forming in both the leading object. Although not elevated above the ground, the doorway at Restennet is closely akin to a great majority of those in the purely defensive towers. With exception of this doorway, and that of the small window immediately over it, and the little outlook to the west, there is not a single opening in the lower half of the tower—nothing which could facilitate attack, or by which access could be obtained. Even the first floor or stage is elevated twenty feet above the floor, and, with no means of ascent which could not easily be removed, might form, when occasion required, a place of refuge by no means insecure. On the next stage, or 33 feet above the ground floor, at a level where large openings were comparatively safe, are the belfry windows, which also, in any number up to eight, perforate the uppermost story of the round towers.

It might reasonably be supposed that, even in the practice of the same style by sister nations so distinctly separate as those inhabiting Scotland and Ireland, characteristic differences would inevitably arise. As the necessary result of their transplantation, most styles do so differ; but, in the present case at least, while the points of analogy are unmistakable, those of divergence will be found remarkably slight. Take, for instance, the masonry. No element in a building is more readily affected by altered circumstances or local material than this, and yet the following remarks by Dr Petrie on the masonry of the Primitive Irish Churches might be adopted word for word as describing that of Restennet.

“The stones are most usually laid in horizontal courses, with more or less irregularity, but with their joints not always vertical; and except in the doorways and lower courses, the stones rarely extend as bonds through the thickness of the wall, but are placed perpendicularly on their edges both on the inner and outer faces of the walls—the space between them being filled with rubble, or small stones, and thin grouting, while little or no mortar was used in the joints externally, which are admirably fitted to each other. It should be stated, also, that the stones used in three or four of the lower courses, from the foundation upward, are often of considerably greater size than those above them.”¹

Parallel statements, both as to the hearting of the walls in ancient Irish buildings being formed of grout and rubble, and the absence of cross-bonding, are made by Mr Brash.²

There is, indeed, one point wherein this tower at Restennet differs from usual

¹ “Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,” p. 186.

² “Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,” p. 152.

Irish practice, which is rather peculiar, and that is the mode of forming the window-sills. In Ireland it is a rule, to which there are comparatively few exceptions, that a stone, often of dimensions so considerable as to be out of all proportion to the opening above, shall first of all be laid as a basis for the window or other aperture. Upon this stone, the rybats, each formed either of one or more stones, are set up, and the whole capped by a lintel, rivalling, it may be, the sill in point of size. Such are the primitive openings; and the same thing holds good of the round and triangular-headed windows, and also of the elevated doorways in the round towers, the jambs being always set up on a *true sill*, long enough at least to form for them a solid base.¹ At Restennet there is not such a sill in the whole tower, either external or internal. The jambs or rybats are invariably set up on the ordinary coursing, so that nothing is more common than to find a joint falling within the limits of the opening, or just below the rybat.² In the triangular-headed windows in the upper stage this defect is partly supplied by *slip sills*, *i.e.*, short pieces of stone about 6 inches square in section, introduced between the rybats, both on the outer and inner face of the wall—the intermediate space being filled in with rubble.³ This device, however, only renders the absence of the characteristic just mentioned the more notable, and it forms a variation for which it is not easy to account. Still a difference occurring on a point like this only serves to emphasise the complete harmony alike in principles of construction, general arrangement, and subordinate detail, between what remains of the early buildings at Restennet and those which occur in Ireland. Dr Stuart has already pointed out this fact with regard to the doorway; and any doubt being removed as to a discrepancy in point of date between this feature and the rest of the tower, the logical conclusion becomes at once apparent. In the views stated by Dr Stuart two conflicting tendencies will be noticed, which it would be difficult under any circumstances to reconcile. The one, based upon an observation of actual facts, points exclusively to a native origin, analogous to that of the round towers at Abernethy and Brechin; the other, based on an endeavour to harmonise certain historical and ecclesiastical coincidences, points not less distinctly to a Northumbrian, or, we should rather say, a Continental influence. Between the two we do not hesitate. Architecturally, the entire weight of the evidence rests with the first, and I venture to say that, had the information in its completed form come before Dr Stuart, he would have arrived at the same conclusion. His death unfortunately intervened before this result could be accomplished. The last letter he ever wrote on the affairs of the Society conveyed the permission to have the southern doorway opened up. Only on this being done could it be fully proven that, instead of being blocked up and superseded in the eleventh century, this door must have been in use for centuries afterward, and in all probability formed, if not the main, certainly a main entrance to the church, and, as such, part, not of a preceding, but of the existing structure.

¹ Any illustrated work on Irish architecture will supply striking examples of this fact. In Dr Petrie's work, I need only refer to pp. 181–184, 208, 281, and 400–413.

² *Vide* Plate XXXV., figs. A, 1–4, B, 1–3.

³ *Ibid.*, figs. A, 1–4. In the south window the outer slip-sill is gone, but it may be seen still *in situ* in the west window (Plate XXX., view from N.W.).

An examination of the tower of St Peter's church at Monkwearmouth, referred to by Dr Stuart, not less effectually dispels the idea of any analogy having existed between it and Restennet. I am aware that, on the high authority of J. H. Parker, it is denied that any remains exist at Monkwearmouth earlier than 1075. Still it is I think probable that the lower part of the tower, at least, may be of the time of Benedict Biscop, *i.e.*, the seventh century. But if so, then the building of which it formed a part must have been *basilican* in its arrangements. The lower part of the tower has really been an open porch—a *porticus ingressus*, not part of the church as at Restennet. There are archways on all the four sides. Of these, by much the largest is toward the west, and there has evidently never been any provision for its being closed by a door. The true entrance to the church is through the archway on the east side, which is comparatively small. The openings to the north and south are of similar dimensions, and, from the door-checks which still remain, were evidently designed to give access not to the porch, but from it to apartments on each side.¹ An arrangement like this presents the strongest possible contrast to that at Restennet, where a single doorway of the narrowest dimensions was the only means of access into a tower, one great object of which was evidently passive defence.

Whatever basis there may have been for the transactions narrated by Bede, Nectan's message to Ceolfrid may be accepted as a proof that in the eighth century a desire for churches built with stone was at least entertained. At the same time, the silence of Bede as to any result from the mission of the "architects" sent by Ceolfrid is significant. So far as has yet been ascertained, they have left no recognisable trace of their operations on Scottish ground. One thing is certain, whether in the days of Nectan, or in those of his Pictish or Scoto-Pictish successors, the want indicated was supplied in a manner quite consistent with what we otherwise know as to the history of the country, and the capabilities of the race by whom it was so extensively colonised.

¹ Precisely the same peculiarities occur in the lower part of the tower of the church at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, a building in its older portions attributable to the period of the Roman occupation. Were it desired to present on English soil an analogous instance to Restennet, it would be much more readily found in the church at Barneck in Northamptonshire. The tower at Barneck is at least two-thirds larger than that at Restennet, and the attempts at ornamentation are much more elaborate, but in plan the arrangements are identical. They are both western towers connected with churches, which in width must have exceeded the towers very slightly. They were true towers, and, with certain additions and alterations, still exist intact. At Monkwearmouth and at Brixworth there were no towers originally, but only porches upon which towers have been superimposed at a later date. The thickness of the walling at Monkwearmouth does not exceed twenty inches, and thus can never have been intended to carry a lofty superstructure. These porches also gave access to buildings of relatively considerable width, with subsidiary arrangements equivalent to nave and aisles. At Restennet and Barneck there is the same massive substructure pierced with no external opening save that of a comparatively small southern doorway. Both have the same ample tower-arch, opening into the interior of the church; and as in each case the church was really very little wider than the tower, the space so acquired must have formed no slight addition to its area. I may also mention that in the doorway at Barneck the jambs are inclined in the same way as at Restennet, so that the door is two inches wider at the impost than at the threshold. There is also a similar increment of three inches in the width of the tower-arch.

Attention having been hitherto confined to the tower, a few words may now be permitted regarding the church. The merest fragment of it remains, just sufficient to indicate the point of junction between the two. All that is recoverable is shown in figs. D, 1, 2, and 3, Plate XXXV. It is part of the return of the south wall of the church upon the tower. About 8 inches in length of the original plinth still remains; it is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with 2 inches projection, the top being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the tower plinth. Above it there are nearly 6 feet of fractured ends of stones bonded into the tower, which had formed a part of the original wall-face, the unbonded junction between them and the later masonry being quite apparent. When the primitive church was taken down, these stones must have been broken across, instead of being picked out, just as we have seen was the case at the western archway. It will be noticed from fig. D, 3, that the basement of the new church was carried right down to the bottom of the plinth of its predecessor, showing that the ground-level had not varied appreciably during the centuries which intervened between the building of the two.

I may also state that on making an excavation at the north-east angle of the tower, a line of broad foundation stones running eastward was come upon, in all probability indicating the position of the north wall of the church. The first of the stones was a very massive one, and went in beneath the angle of the tower. It would have been most interesting to have carried this examination a little further, but at the time it was not considered expedient to do so.

It will be noticed from Plate XXXI. that, for a considerable way above the ground, this north-east angle presents a ragged appearance, as if the masonry had been torn out. This is no doubt due to the removal of the north wall of the church, which had impinged upon the tower at this point. The church must have been a very narrow structure; its internal dimensions probably not much exceeding the breadth of the tower, *i.e.*, 15 or 16 feet. To our lasting regret, this interesting example of Scotland's primitive architecture was doubtless demolished sometime during the thirteenth century, to make way for the present more enlarged fabric.

I must apologise for the length to which these remarks have extended. I have endeavoured to express the conviction, only strengthened by each renewed examination, that the remains in question are not only homogeneous, but, in their entirety, referable at latest to the same period to which we owe the round towers at Abernethy and Brechin; nor will the work undertaken by the Society at Restennet be lost if, through its instrumentality, this tower be permanently enrolled among the few but precious memorials of that early time.

A P P E N D I X.

CHARTERS OF THE PRIORY OF RESTENNET.

I. MALCOLM KING OF SCOTS, to the Church of St Mary of Jeddeworde of the Church of St Peter of Restinoth, A.D. 1153-1160.

MALCOLMUS, Dei gracia Rex Scottorum, vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, tam futuris quam presentibus, salutem : Sciatis me, posteaquam arma suscepi, concessisse, et hac carta mea confirmasse, Deo et Sancte Marie de Jeddeword, et O[sberto] abbati eiusque successoribus et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus, Ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Rostinoth, cum omnibus que antecessores mei eidem ecclesie dederunt et concesserunt ; que ut clarius patefiant propriis nominibus exprimere decreuimus : videlicet, Rostinoth, in qua predicta fundata est ecclesia, et Crachnatharach, et Pethefrin, et Teleth, et Duninath, et Dyserth, et Egglespether, cum omnibus rebus et maneriis illis pertinentibus, et totam decimam de placitis meis de tota Anegus et de conuentionibus, in auro et argento et omni pecunia ; Et totam decimam de can casei mei et brasii mei et prebende mee [Et deci] mam molendini mei et piscarie mee de Forfar ; Et totam decimam de can coriorum meorum et pullorum meorum de meis haraz de Anegus ; Et x solidos de Kyneber ; Et [deci] mam firme mee de Salorch, et xx solidos ad lumen ipsius ecclesie de eadem Salorch ; Et decimam firme mee de Munros et de Rossin ; Et si forte eas ad firmam [non de]dero sed in manu mea retinero, habeant totam decimam de dominio meo sicut de firma habuerunt, et decimam de molendino meo de Munros : Et sciatis me concessisse suprascripto Abbati et Canonicis passagium maris de Scottewater, libere et quiete de omni seruiicio et consuetudine eis et hominibus eorum inperpetuum ; Et preterea unum toft in Pert, et unum in Striuelin, et unum in Edenesburgh, et unum toft in Forfar : Et precipio quod omnes illi homines, tam clerici quam laici, qui habitauerunt in terris pertinentibus [], ubicunque nunc sint, reueniant ad Rostinoth cum tota eorum pecunia : et defendo super forifacuum meum ne aliquis eos iniuste detineat amodo super hoc breue [concessum illis] ; et concessi unum toft in Salorch ; Precipio itaque ut ecclesia de Rostinoth iuste habeat omnes cumelagas et cumherbas et omnes fugitios suos ubicunque sint et inueniri poterint : Preterea, quecumque eidem ecclesie Abbas atque Canonici iuste atque canonice adipisci poterint, tam largitione principum uel regum, quam oblatione ceterorum f[ideliu]m, perpetuo eis iure mansura statuimus : Volo eciam ut prefata ecclesia habeat decimam salinarum mearum de Munros ; Et concedo eis molendinum quod fecerunt in eadem [], salua rectitudine molendini mei, et ita quod molendinum meum non peioretur per illud : Hec igitur omnia suprascripta, pro animabus aui mei, patris mei, matris mee, [sor]orum mearum antecessorum et

successorum meorum, predicte Ecclesie et Canonicis ibidem sub obedientia prefati Abbatis Deo seruientibus, in perpetuam elemosinam concedo, ita libera et quieta sicut aliqua ecclesia in terra mea elemosinas suas liberius et quietius tenet: Volo etiam ut predictus Abbas O[sbertus] et successores eius prefatam Ecclesiam de Rostinoth suo tractent regimine, ponentes in ea Priorem et Conuentum iuxta facultatem eiusdem ecclesie: Testibus his, Arnaldo episcopo Sancti Andree, Willelmo episcopo Morauiesi, Herberto Glasguensi episcopo, Gaufrido abbate de Dumfermelyn, Willelmo abbate de Melros, Johanne abbate de Kalchou, Willelmo abbate de Edenesburgh, Aluredo abbate de Striueline, Willelmo et Dauid fratribus meis, Ada Comitissa matre nostra, Waltero cancellario, Engelramo archidiacono, Nicholao camerario Waltero dapifero, Ricardo conestabulario, Gilberto de Vnframuillo, Dauid Olifard, Hugone Ridel, Ricardo Cumin, Philippo de Coleuilla, Radulpho filio Dunegal: Apud Rochesburg.

II. CHARTER by King ROBERT BRUCE, confirming various rights and privileges to the Prior and Canons of Roustinot, A.D. 1st March 1322.*

Carta prioris de Roustinot.

Robertus etc., omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue, salutem: Sciatis quod comperimus et intelleximus evidenter per inquisitionem de mandato nostro factam, et ad capellam nostram retornatam, per fideles homines patrie de Anegus, viz. per dominos Alexandrum de Lambertoun et Hugonem de Erth milites, Dauid de Innerpefer, Dauid de Manich, Henricum de Fethy, Duncanum Judicem, Willelmum de Gourley, Patricium de Strevylin, Johannem de Tremblay, Robertum de Tremblay, Johannem de Broxmouth, Hugonem de Craumond, Thomam Marum, Douenaldum Marum, Johannem filium Leonis, Hugonem filium Leonis, Cristinum filium Johannis, Ego Marum, Willelmum Marum de Brechyn, Samuelem de Wylton, Richardum filium Thome, Willelmum filium Alani, Andream filium Nicholai, Christinum Gall., Rogerum Marum, Fynlaum Forestarium, Douenaldum de Hibernia, Adam Scotthe, Morauium de Caithenes, Laurentium de Lour, Johannem Barb de Monros, Christinum Chapman, Andream Porter de Forfar, Willelmum Scot et Henricum Oglath, Quod religiosi viri abbas et conventus de Jedworth prior et canonici eiusdem loci apud Restineth commorantes, et ibidem Deo servientes ac hospitalitatem tenentes, fuerunt infeodati per reges Scotie, predecessores nostros, vestiti quoque et saysiti, de omnibus et singulis terris, redditibus et eleemosinis infra-scriptis, et in plenaria possessione earundem terrarum, reddituum et eleemosinarum, tempore bone memorie domini Alexandri Dei gratia regis Scotorum, predecessoris nostri vltimo defuncti, viz. de terra de Restinnet super quam ecclesia de Restinnet fundata est, de Dunynad, Dissarth, Cragratherau, Pettreychyn, Eglispedir, Ardworks, vno tofto in villa de Perth, vno tofto in villa de Forfar, et vno tofto in villa de Monros:

* The transcript from which this charter is printed is obviously in several points inaccurate, especially in the list of the men of assize.

Item de viginti solidis et decem denariis, percipiendis per annum de thannagio de Thanahayis; de secundis decimis, omnium thanagiorum subscriptorum videlicet de Veteri Monros Enney Glammes Kingalteny et Abirlemenach: Item de tribus bondagiis de Forfar, scilicet, Trebog, Balmichenor et Esterforfar, plenariam decimam perceperunt prout singulis annis assedata fuerunt: Item de decima ville de Monros, molendino et piscaria eiusdem, et omnium aliarum rerum ad dictam villam pertinentium, prout potuerunt assedari: Item de duabus marcis percipiendis per annum de villa de Forfar, et de vna marca de molendino eiusdem de centum anguillis de lacu eiusdem; de sex marcis de baronia de Ketnes xl s., et vna petra cere de baronia de Brechin: Item de vna petra cere et vna marca de parua Perth de quatuor marcis de Innerlunan: Item de integra decima omnium lucrorum, finium et escaetorum, tam curie justiciarie quam vicecomitis, infra vicecomitatum de Forfar: Item de decima omnium wardarum et releuorum ibidem contingentium de decima equitii domini regis in vicecomitatu de Forfar, et de decima feni foreste del Plater. Item iidem jurati dicunt quod dicti religiosi percipere solebant et [sunt] in plena possessione percipiendi, in quolibet adventu regis apud Forfar, quolibet die quo ibidem steterit, duos panes de dominico, quatuor panes de secundo pane, et sex panes qui dicuntur hugmars, duas lagenas de meliori cervisia, duas lagenas de secunda cervisia, et duo paria ferculorum de quolibet trium cursuum de coquina. Item dicunt quod, si dominus rex aliquas terras de predictis terris dominicis suis in manu sua retinuerit non assedatas, plenam inde decimam dabit eisdem religiosis ac si essent in assedatione. Item dicunt quod dicti religiosi perceperunt dictas decimas per manus justiciarii, vicecomitis et escaetoris regis, ad festa Pentecostis et sancti Martini, de vniuersis rebus supradictis. Quare volumus et concedimus quod dicti religiosi, apud Restennet residentes, omnes terras, redditus et elemosinas suprascriptas habeant, teneant et possideant, adeo libere et quiete, pure, plenarie et honorifice, sicut predecessores ipsorum religiosorum ipsas terras, redditus et elemosinas de predecessoribus nostris regibus Scotie liberius, quietius, purius, plenius aut honorificentius tenuerunt, seu possiderunt, aut percipere consueverunt, et quod carte et munimenta quibus dicti religiosi super terris, redditibus et elemosinis predictis infeodati fuerant, per guerras et alios casus fortuitos perdita sunt et distracta, Nos, divine caritatis intuitu, et pro salute anime nostre, et pro salute animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum regum Scotie, omnes terras, redditus et elemosinas suprascriptas, per inquisitionem declaratas vt predictum est, prefatis religiosis et eorum successoribus approbando et innovando damus, concedimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmamus inperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium etc. apud Dundee, primo die Martii, anno regni nostri sexto decimo.

III. CHARTER by King ROBERT BRUCE to the Prior and Canons of Restennet.

Robertus etc. sciatis nos, diuine caritatis intuitu, et gratia nostra speciali, dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse religiosis viris priori de Restennet

et canonicis de Jedworth apud Restennet residentibus, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam, licentiam et libertatem scindendi infra forrestam nostram del Plater meremium et subboscum, quatenus indiguerint ad vsus suos propios, pro suis carrucis plaustris, herciis, cum jugis, laqueis et aliis apparatus ligneis ad predictas carrucas, plaustra hercias et carectas pertinentibus; Quare forestariis nostris predictae foreste nostre del Plater, qui pro tempore fuerint, pro nobis et heredibus nostris firmiter precipimus et mandamus quod dictos priorem et canonicos et eorum successores ad dictum meremium vna cum subbosco supradicto, ad vsus suos propios, absque conditione sive impedimento, scindere et libere abducere permittant ad ipsorum religionum per totam forestam nostram maius aysiammentum [*Cetera desunt*].

IV. CHARTER by King DAVID II. to the Prior and Canons of Restennet,
A.D. 10th June 1344.

Chartour of secund teindis to Restennet.

David etc. Cum felicis recordationis Malcolmus, Alexander et David, reges Scotie, predecessores nostri, dederint, concesserint et per cartas suas confirmauerint religiosi viri priori et canonicis de Restenot, inter ceteras donaciones sibi factas, decimam omnium fructuum thanagiorum suorum et terrarum dominicarum, tam in denariis quam in bladis, et decimam vardarum, releuorum, finium, lucrorum et escaetarum infra vicecomitatum de Forfare qualitercunque contingentium, prout carte dictorum Malcolmi, Alexandri et Davidis, ac charte bone memorie domini progenitoris nostri, in se plenius continent et testantur; excepta decima magne custume que dicitur le Mactoll infra burgum nostrum de Dundee contingente, in qua decima recognouerunt se nullum jus habere; Nos vero easdem donaciones illibatas confirmare et vberius augmentare volentes, diuine charitatis intuitu, et pro salute anime nostre, et pro salute animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum regum Scotie, ac ob benevolentiam et affectionem specialem quam erga dictum prioratum devote gerimus, eo quod ossa celebris memorie Johanni fratris nostri germani ibidem humata quiescunt, dedimus, concessimus et hac presenti charta nostra confirmauimus religiosi viri, priori et canonicis de Restenot, ibidem Deo seruiantibus et imperpetuum seruituris, viginti marcas sterlingorum de magna custuma nostra burgi nostri de Dundee, per manus camerarii nostri Scotie qui pro tempore fuerit annuatim percipiendas, ad terminos videlicet nativitatis Benedicti Johannis Baptiste et natalis Domini per equales portiones: Tenendas et habendas eisdem priori et canonicis et successoribus suis in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam, adeo libere, quiete, integre et honorifice in omnibus et per omnia, sicut aliqua elemosina infra regnum nostrum, per nos et predecessores nostros reges Scotie aliquibus religiosi data et concessa, tenetur seu possidetur. In cuius rei etc. Testibus etc. apud Sconam, in pleno parlamento nostro tento ibidem decimo die Junii, anno regni nostri sexto decimo.

V. DECRET of the DEPUTIES of WILLIAM, Earl of Ross, Justiciary of Scotland North of the Forth, for Payment of the Tithes of the Thanages of Monyfoth and Menmur, and other Thanages and Royal Lands within the Shire of Forfar, to the PRIOR of Rostynoth, dated at Dundee, 22d February 1347.

Uniuersis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras visuris vel auditoris, Andreas de Douglas, miles, et Samuel de Wyltoun, commissarij nobilis viri Hugonis de Ross, locumtenentis magnifici viri Willelmi comitis de Ross et domini de Sky ac justiciarij Scocie ex parte boreali aque de Forth, constituti, salutem in Domino sempiternam : Noueritis quod, cum discreti et nobiles viri Hugo de Ross et Willelmus de Meldrum, locum tenentes justiciarij supradicti, die Iouis, videlicet, octauo die Februarij, anno gracie millesimo tricentesimo quadragesimo septimo, apud Forfare curiam justiciarie tenerent, accedens ad eos in plena curia religiosus vir, dominus Alexander prior de Rostynoth, quasdam cartas et quedam monumenta sub sigillis auctenticis regum Scocie exhibuit, per quas et que constabat euidenter dictum prioratum de Rostynoth infeodatum esse ab antiquo de plena et integra decima omnium firmarum regiarum, tam denariorum quam bladorum, et tam de thanagiis quam de aliis terris suis quibuscunque infra vicecomitatum de Forfare : Et quod intencionis regie non extitit dictam decimam subtrahere, diminuere, auferre, vel permittere detineri, quantumcumque reges Scocie, post dicti prioratus infeodacionem, fideles suos infeodauerint, permutationes, donaciones, vendiciones vel remissiones fecerint de dictis thanagiis vel terris, aut aliqua particula eorundem ; ymmo, quod res cum suo onere transeat per indiuiduam comitiuam, et quod predictus prior non minus extunc quam ante de dicta decima seruiatur, quapropter ijdem Hugo et Willelmus vicecomiti et balliis suis de Forfare per litteras suas patentes preceperunt expresse quod, dictum priorem, de dicta decima, tam de thanagiis de Monyfoth et de Menmur quam de alijs thanagiis et terris regijs plenarie facerent deseruiri : Quodquidem preceptum cum vicecomes exequeretur, et quidam de nouo liberetenentes effecti in thanagiis de Monyfoth et de Menmur predictis dictam decimam soluere recusarunt, inuentis plegiis quod ad huiusmodi solucionem minime tenerentur, idem vicecomes diem eis assignauit legitimum apud Donde, videlicet, vicesimum secundum diem Februarij anno gracie supradicto, coram nobis Andrea et Samuele commissarijs primoscriptis, vt si quod rationabile haberent ad contradicendum solucionem predictam dictis die et loco ostenderent vel iudicium soluendi haberent. Nobis igitur Andrea et Samuele commissariis primoscriptis apud Donde tenentibus iter justiciarie vicesimo secundo die predicto, comparente coram nobis prefato Priore cum euidentiis prenotatis, et instanter petente iuxta tenorem earum sibi satisfieri de decima pretaxata, partibus vero contradicentibus in iudicio comparantibus, nec aliquod rationabile ostendentibus quare dicta solucio fieri non deberet, de consilio jurisperitorum et fidelium domini nostri Regis consideranti quod dominus noster Rex easdem terras liberius dare nequiuisset quam ipse eas habuit, quia nullus plus

iuris transferre potest in alium quam possidet in seipso, ex decreto curie per iudicium determinatum fuit et legitime definitum quod, de dicta totali decima, tam de dictis thanagiis de Monyfoth et de Menmur quam de alijs thanagiis et terris regiis infra vicecomitatum de Forfare, Priori de Rostynoth qui pro tempore fuerit, ita plenarie satisfiat in quorumcumque manibus ex quacumque causa dicta thanagia vel terre fuerint, ac si in manibus domini nostri Regis existerent sicut prius: Et quia veritatem occultare peccatum esset non modicum in hoc casu, premissa sic esse gesta coram nobis ad perpetuam rei memoriam harum perhibemus testimonium litterarum quibus nostra sigilla patentium duximus apponenda. Datum apud Donde, xxij die Februarij, anno gracie millesimo tricentesimo quadragesimo septimo.

VI. LITERA EPISCOPI BRECHINENSIS testimonium perhibere super decimis burgi de Munross.

Universis Christi fidelibus, presentes literas visuris vel audituris, Patricius, Dei gracia Episcopus Brechinensis, Cancellarius Scotie, salutem in omnium Salvatore. Cum sit pium, meritorium et juri consonum, veritati testimonium perhibere, universitati vestre tenore presencium declaramus nos quandam cartam recolende memorie quondam Domino David regis Scotorum illustris, filii quondam Domini Malcolmi eadem gracia regis Scocie et Sancte Margarete regine, non abolitam, non cancellatam, nec in aliqua sui parte viciatam, super redditibus Prioratus de Restynot confectam, veraciter inspexisse et evidenter intellexisse; per quam plane et plene concepimus quod Prior et Canonici Prioratus predicti infeodati sunt ex antiquo tam de viginti solidis, percipiendis annuatim de firmis burgi de Munros ad lumen Ecclesie de Restynot, quam de decimis denariis dictarum firmarum. Et quod predicti Prior et Canonici prioris fundacionis et infeodacionis existunt de dictis viginti solidis et dictis decimis denariis annuatim percipiendis quam nos vel predecessores nostri Episcopi Brechinenses sumus vel fuimus de illo annuo reddito nobis debito de firmis burgi supradicti; unde nos tenore presencium, recognoscimus ex bono consciencie quod non est nostre voluntatis intencio, sicut nec esse debeat, quod predicti Prior et Canonici aut successores sui in percepcione predictorum viginti solidorum vel dictorum decimorum denariorum aliquo tempore causa predicti annui redditus nobis debiti de firmis dicti burgi aliquo tempore impediatur. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus, apud Fernwalle, primo die mensis Maii, anno gracie millesimo ccc^{mo} sexagesimo primo.

XII.—*Notice of the Chapel dedicated to St Blane at Kingarth in Bute.*

(Plates XXXVI.—XLI.)

By WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Architect, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

[*Read 12th May 1873.*]

The chapel forming the subject of this notice is situated at the southern extremity of Bute, where, from an early period in the Christianisation of Scotland, a religious settlement appears to have existed.¹ In fulfilment of an intention entertained for several years previously, I visited the locality in the autumn of 1872, and made a careful survey of the existing ruins. Its principal results will be found embodied in the six accompanying plates, embracing all the architectural features of any importance, in so far as the very dilapidated state of the walls admit of their being determined.

My first object, however, is not to describe the building, but to direct attention to certain peculiarities hitherto unnoticed, which, if the inference to be afterwards drawn from them proves to be in any degree correct, must to a considerable extent modify the views entertained regarding the history in its architectural bearings of this most ancient and interesting structure.

As in many similar instances, the Chapel of St Blane, in the various additions and alterations to which it has been subjected, especially towards the east end, exhibits no slight variety in point of style.

The principal part of the building, comprising the nave and western part of the chancel, is indisputably Norman or Romanesque. To the eastward, however, there occurs an elongation of the chancel, from the character of the windows, invariably considered to be an extension due to the thirteenth century or First-Pointed period, and to this extent, necessarily so much *later in date* than the remaining Norman part of the building.

In direct contradiction to this theory, it will be my object in the following paper, to prove—what seems to have been hitherto altogether unsuspected—

¹ Gleaned from various sources, the leading information regarding this site will be found summed up by Dr Stuart in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, p. 37.

that to a greater extent than might at first be supposed, there still exist, incorporated in the walls of the present chancel, and constituting in the elongation just referred to really its major portion, the remains of a building older considerably than any of those parts the ages of which are at least approximately admitted, and, therefore, by a period not easily determinable, not *posterior* but *anterior* to the work of those who built in the twelfth century.

Perhaps the simplest and most direct way to bring the points at issue, and the evidence upon which they depend, at once under review, will be to give a brief summary of current opinion upon the subject.

The late Mr Charles Hutcheson seems to have been the first who in recent times directed special attention to St Blane's. A considerable number of years ago he drew up a paper, illustrated by drawings, an extract from which is given in Mr Eaton Reid's "History of the County of Bute" (pp. 28, 29), and the views therein expressed are substantially, and with little or no modification, the same as those held at the present day, with regard to the more recent origin of the existing chancel, and the fact that it is from the four windows in this part of the building that "the character of the architecture is at once fixed."

On the 27th January 1853, Mr John Baird, Architect in Glasgow, at a meeting of the Architectural Institute of Scotland held there, read a paper upon St Blane's Chapel, illustrated by drawings to a large scale, which are of special interest, as showing the state in which the building existed previous to the modern reparations.¹ In this paper, while fully endorsing the previously expressed views of Mr Hutcheson, the thirteenth century extension theory received a still further development, by Mr Baird's suggesting that, in all probability, the chancel of the original Norman edifice had terminated in an eastern gable and apse, which at the date referred to were taken down, and the materials employed in erecting a new gable further to the east.

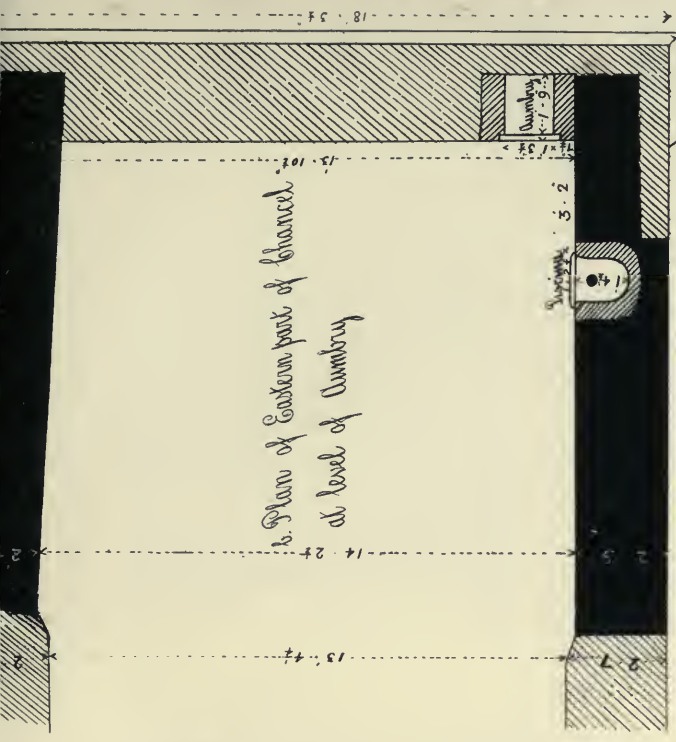
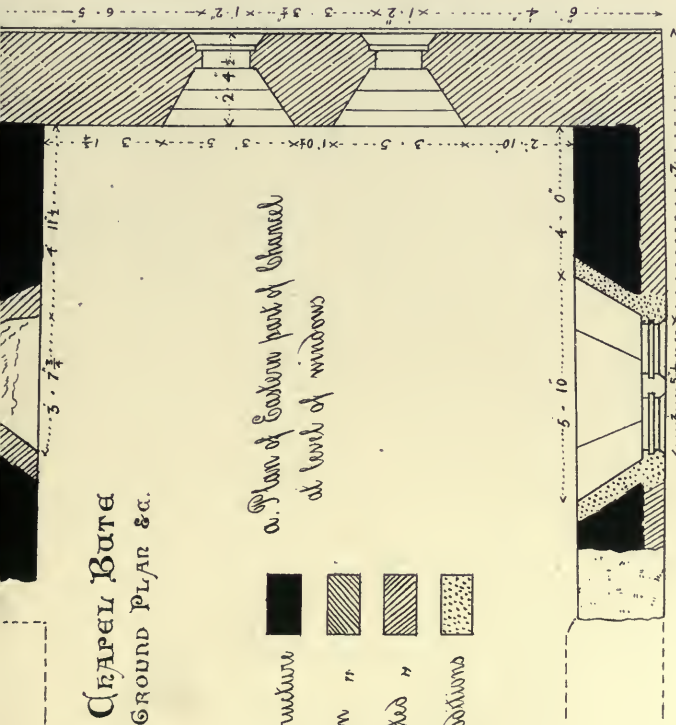
To these more formal statements may be added such incidental notices as that contained in Professor Daniel Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals," where,

¹ These drawings, consisting of a ground plan, a view of the chancel arch, and eastern part of nave, and an exterior view of the chancel from the north-east, all to large scales, were kindly lent by Mr Baird for exhibition at the meeting of the Society when this paper was read.

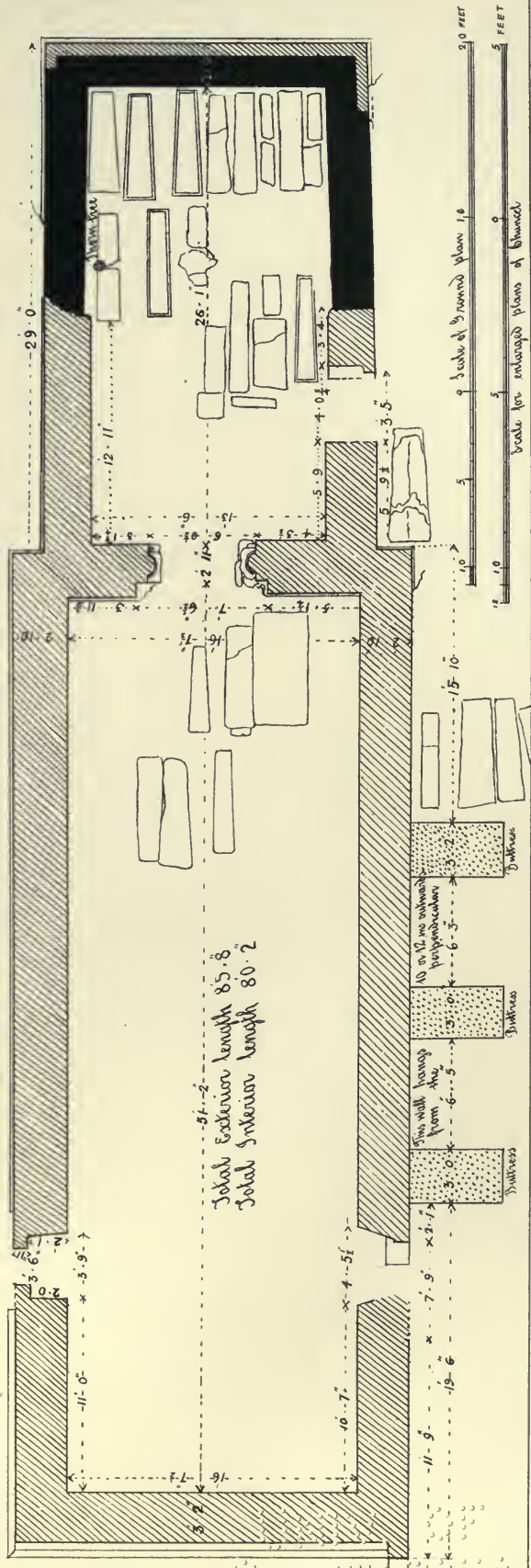
S. BLANE'S CHAPEL, BUTE
 N. 1. GROUND PLAN &c.

a. Plan of Eastern part of Chancel
 at level of windows

- Original structure
- Norman "
- First Pointed "
- Subsequent additions



b. Plan of Eastern part of Chancel
 at level of Ambry



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enumerating the examples yet remaining of Romanesque architecture, the author mentions: "The beautiful little ruined church of St Blane, on the island of Bute, with its Romanesque chancel arch and graceful First-Pointed chancel;"¹ and at p. 615 (2d ed. ii. 413), it is also stated that "Specimens of pure First-Pointed work are by no means rare in Scotland, ranging from the stately Cathedral of St Mungo, or the ruined Abbey of Dryburgh, to the chancel of the lovely little church of St Blane in the Isle of Bute." In a similar manner Mr Muir defines the style of the building as being "elegant, pure, Norman, except in the extremities where it is First Pointed." This view has also been fully adopted by Cosmo Innes in the "*Origines Parochiales*,"² by Dr Bryce in his "*Geology of Clydesdale and Arran*," &c.

From the summary just given, it will easily be seen that a remarkable degree of unanimity has hitherto prevailed in assigning their relative ages to the eastern and western portions of the composite structure of St Blane's.

In adducing these opinions, as conjointly illustrating a particular theory, I do not wish it to be supposed that I regard them as mere consenting expressions to a common idea. On the contrary, in the cases at least of Mr Hutcheson, Mr Baird, Dr Wilson, and Mr Muir, as undoubtedly the result of direct personal observation, their statements must in each case be accepted as conveying an opinion arrived at upon entirely independent grounds. Unfortunately, however, this opinion does not appear to have been so much the result of a minute scrutiny of the building itself as an inference drawn from its more prominent architectural features, in the chancel especially the inserted windows forming the essentially misleading element. On one point all are agreed, viz., that the Norman part of the building is decidedly the oldest work upon the ground, and as previous to the later extension it must have had an eastern termination of some sort or other, under such circumstances Mr Baird's suggestion seems eminently reasonable, as indeed the question could only be whether that termination were square or apsidal.

In dissenting from this theory, then, I affirm, first of all, that however probable such a supposition might otherwise be, in the present case neither an apse nor, in the position in which according to these views it would be placed,

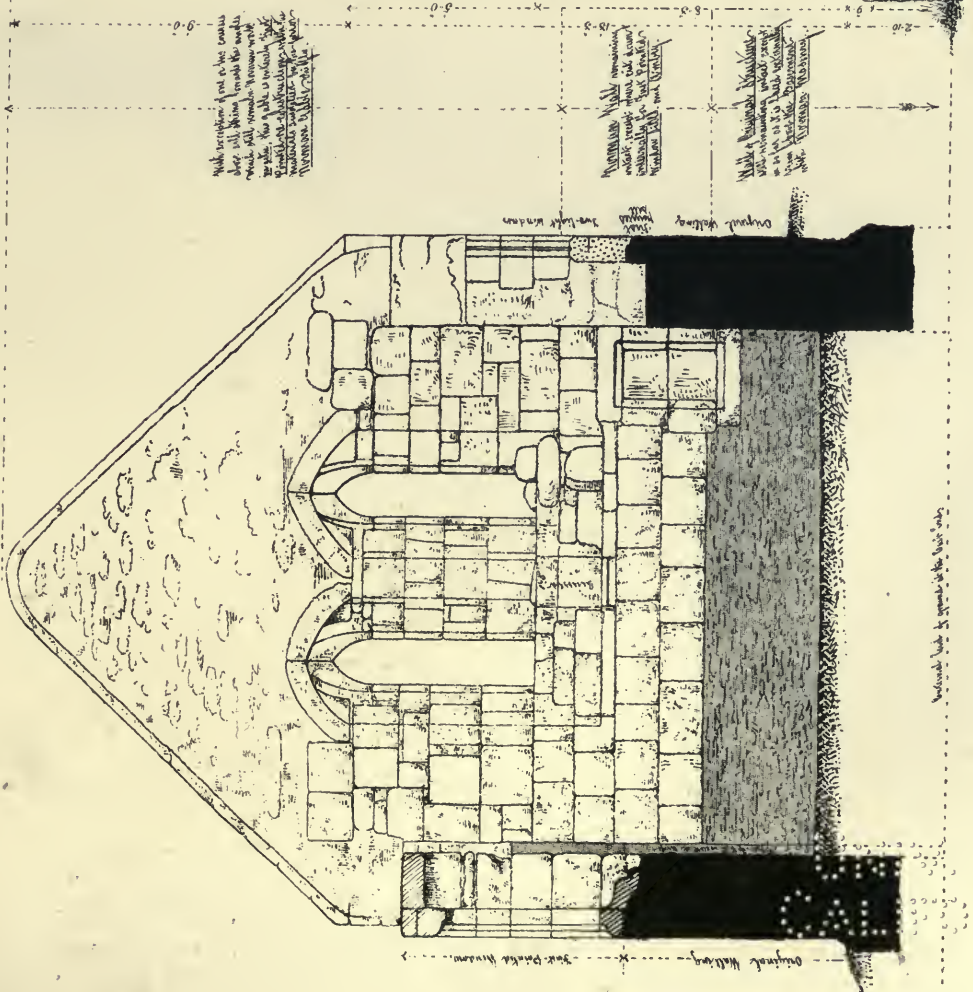
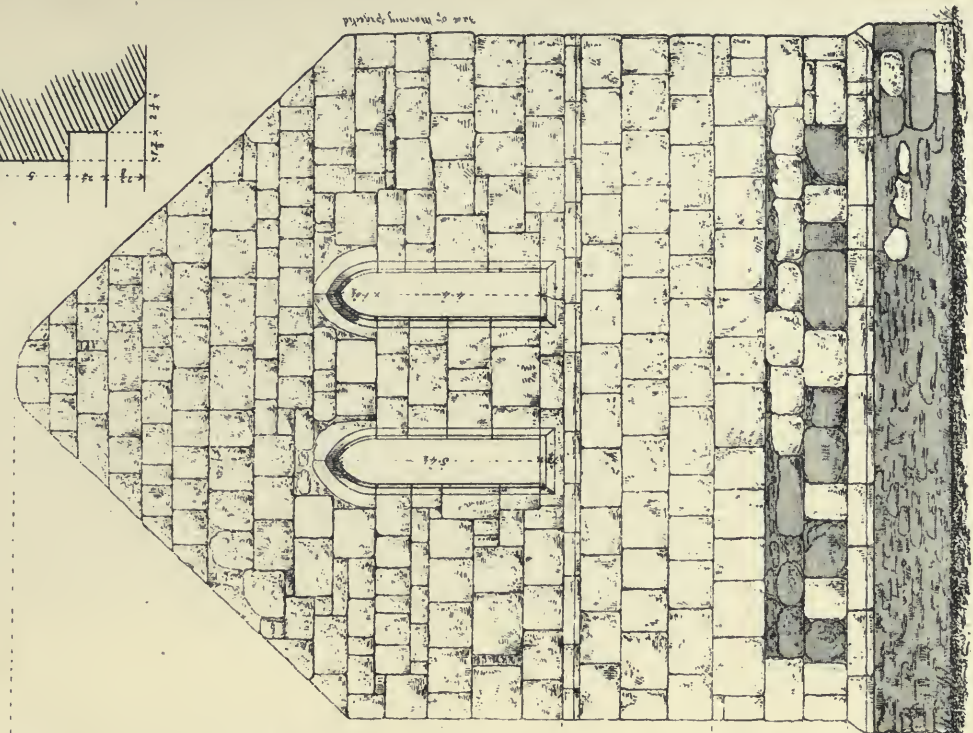
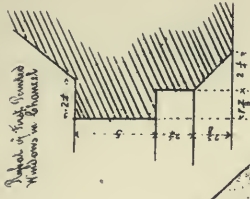
¹ P. 614, 1st edition; and vol. ii. p. 412, 2d edition. *Vide* also the tabular statement given at p. 649, 2d edition, ii. 453.

² Vol. ii. Part II.; Appendix, p. 831.

an eastern gable ever existed, and could not, therefore, have been taken down and reconstructed; secondly, whatever may have been the dimensions of the structure, which it is admitted in all likelihood preceded the present one, and was by those who built in the Norman style, in so far necessarily demolished, instead of erecting a new chancel of their own *in toto*, they, with certain adaptations, retained in its major portion the old chancel almost intact, which, subject to various alterations, due chiefly to the thirteenth century, still exists, and must, of course, be regarded as constituting the real nucleus of the building. The adaptations just mentioned refer to the east gable, which, in order to accommodate it to the requirements of a loftier edifice, had to a considerable extent to be taken down and rebuilt, and to the heightening of the side walls; beyond these changes introduced in order to provide increased space, and give a structural connection with the new building, the old chancel was merely lengthened westwards, and not eastwards as previously supposed.

And now, at this stage of the inquiry, as the principal evidence for this question depends not upon architectural features, which, as already mentioned, have hitherto tended only to mislead, but upon the varying quality and materials of masonry, and masonry only, it is necessary to direct attention to the manner in which the larger existing or Norman portion of St Blane's has been built. The character of Norman masonry, especially in early examples of the style, is unmistakable. This character, in its Norman portion, the chapel dedicated to St Blane possesses to an eminent degree. An inspection of the drawings¹ will show that the stones are all laid in regular and unbroken courses, that they are for the most part carefully squared, and have both their vertical and horizontal joints fitted to one another with the nicest precision, and more especially exhibit an almost entire absence of piecing, pinning, and other unworkmanlike make-shifts which inevitably characterise a more carelessly constructed building. It will also be noticed that they break band with undeviating consistency, and with few exceptions conform to all the rules of sound masonry; and had it been possible for us to have seen St Blane's as it came from the hands of its Norman builders, and before it had been subjected to the faults and settlements, the wear and tear, the dilapidations and decay of more than seven

¹ *Vide* especially Plates XL. and XLI.



Note: description of one of the windows above will show towards the north side, the wall is finished. The window is finished with a decorative tracery. The window is finished with a decorative tracery.

Note: the window is finished with a decorative tracery. The window is finished with a decorative tracery.

Note: the window is finished with a decorative tracery. The window is finished with a decorative tracery.



ST. BLANE'S CHAPEL, BUTE

centuries, I think we would have all agreed that for its age and dimensions it was in every respect an admirably constructed edifice. A style of masonry so distinctly characterised supplies an unfailing criterion, by the application of which we are enabled to determine what, in this special instance, is Norman work and what is not. Let this test, then, be applied to the eastern part of the chancel of St Blane's, and at the same time let it be remembered that, according to the current theory, this portion being a thirteenth century extension, it ought to have been built simultaneously, and to whatever extent it may contain re-used Norman material, it ought to exhibit no trace whatsoever of Norman building.

What, then, do we actually find ?¹ It requires only an adequately careful comparison to show at once, that in the portion of the building referred to, there are three distinct styles of masonry, differing from one another in the most marked manner, either in the nature of the materials employed, or in the manner of their application. *First*, In the under part of the east wall, and considerably more than the under half of the side walls, we have a rubble masonry, in the great body of which, with exception of the splayed base course, and one or two fragments which may be accidental or otherwise, the only materials employed are the natural undressed trap abundantly supplied in the immediate neighbourhood. In so far as these materials admit, the walls in which they occur are carefully and compactly built. Externally, and especially towards the under part of the walls, a good many large boulder stones or blocks are used, retaining in every respect their natural forms, only with whatever flat or level surface they may present turned to the exterior, so that they may range flush with the rest of the wall. *Second*, In the east gable almost exclusively, and in immediate juxtaposition with the rubble masonry just mentioned, we have a style of freestone building in every respect corresponding with that of the Norman part of the nave and chancel further west. Like it the stones of which it is composed run in regular courses; they are carefully squared, and fitted to one another with great nicety, the joints always "break band," and the identity of the two masonries is unmistakable. *Third*, In the upper part of the walls, and most extensively in the eastern gable, we have a style of building which stands in all the more marked contrast to the preceding, not only in that the same

¹ For the various plans, sections, and elevations illustrating this part of the subject, *vide* Plates XXXVI.—XXXIX.

material—viz., freestone—is employed, but also in great part precisely the same kind of stones as those previously used, the main difference being in a very inferior style of workmanship only. All those rules which were so carefully observed by the old builder are now systematically violated. In so far as the possession of even prior materials would admit, the stones are smaller, more irregularly disposed, and often piled together, as it were, at random. Of course the work which had to be done was for the most part simply that of rebuilding, so that in the present instance these remarks apply rather to the style where the thirteenth century builder's own handiwork is seen than to the net result. Still the difference is such as to enable us to determine, even to the extent of a few stones, what is Norman work intact, and what rebuilt.

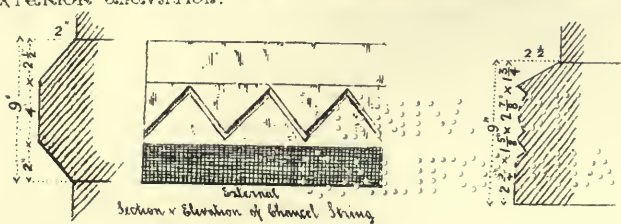
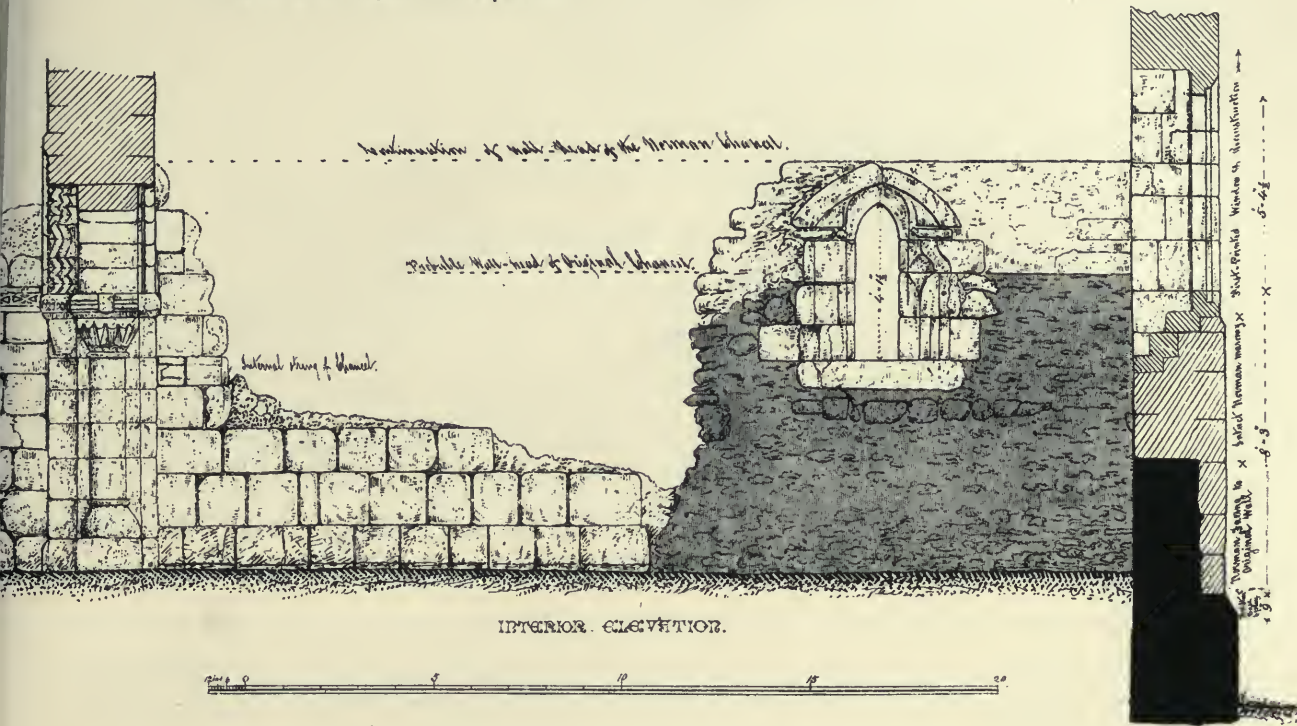
From the various styles of building employed, let us now turn to the walls themselves *seriatim*, and first as to the east gable. I have said that the under part is entirely composed of the native whinstone or trap rubble previously mentioned. In the inside this shows itself for about three feet above the present surface of the ground in an unbroken homogeneous mass; on the outside it is entirely faced with Norman masonry, a comparison of the exterior and interior levels, as measured down from the window-sill, showing that this facing includes three courses of about three feet six inches deep in all.¹ It is very curious also to notice the manner in which the more available portion of the old materials have been used up by the Norman builder, in so far as they would apply, in order to save his own more costly material.² It has been mentioned that in the early trap-built walls, boulders and other large-sized stones are frequently used. Instead of discarding these, we find that in the first two courses above the basement, interspersed with roughly-squared blocks of freestone, and the irregularities packed up with rubble, the Norman builder has so incorporated them together as to produce a very passable coursing. The third course, which is still facing, is entirely freestone, squared and jointed in the Norman fashion. From above this third course, both externally and internally, the regular Norman walling begins, and, unfortunately, owing to the thirteenth century alterations, there is not much of it left. In the interior, two courses only remain intact, except

¹ *Vide* sections in Plates XXXVIII., XXXIX.

² *Vide* Plate XXXVII. Exterior elevation.

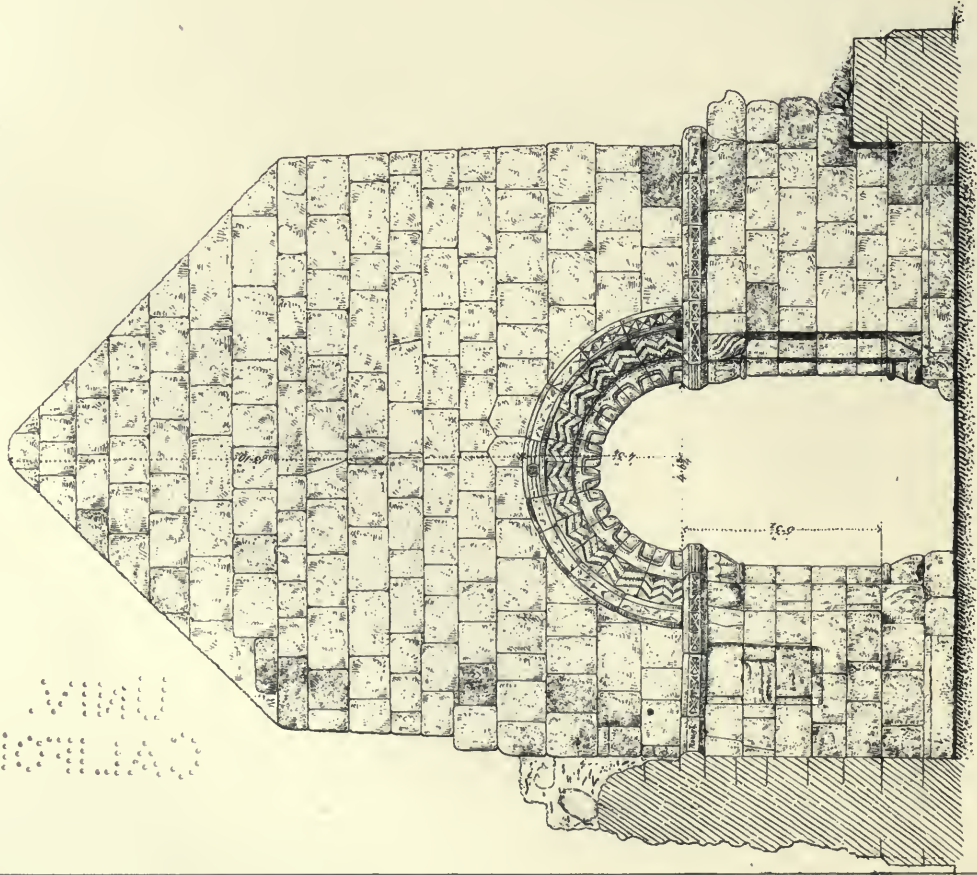
S. BLANE'S CHAPEL, BUTE.

N^o 4. Νόθη Ἐκκλησία, ἢ Ἀνακτορεῖον.

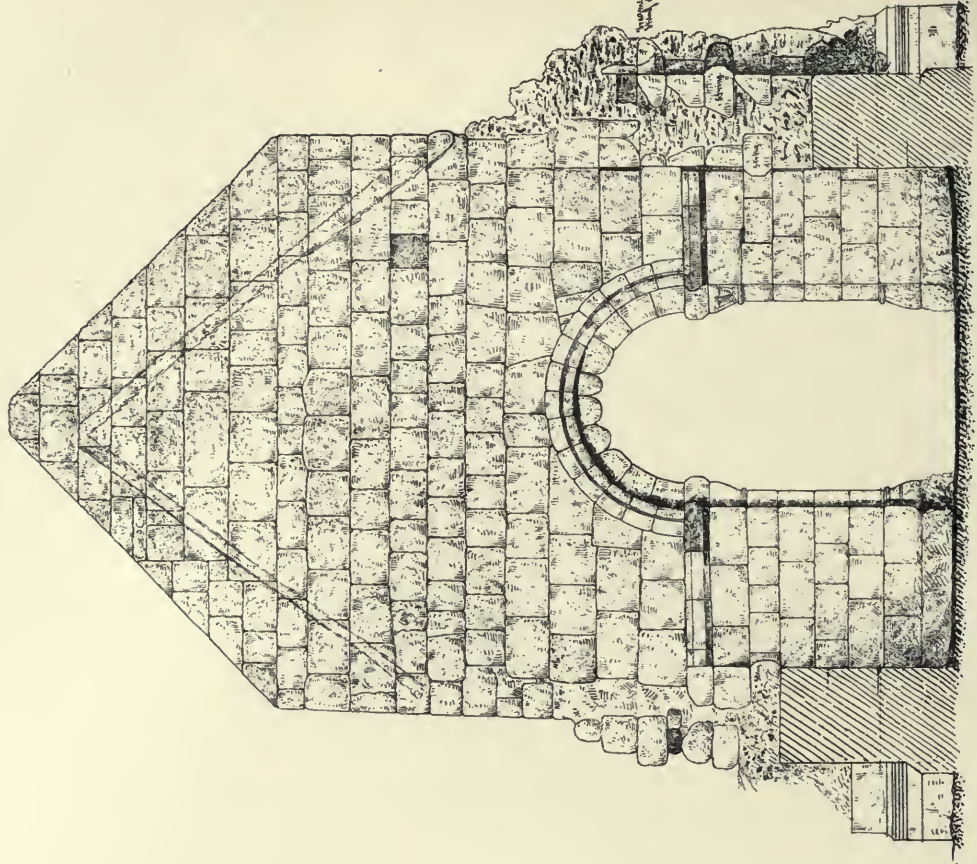


S. BYRNE'S CHAPEL, BAYE.

№ 5. ЧАПЕЛ СВЯТЫХ ПАРЫСЬ, у с. БИРНОУСКОГО.



WEST ELEVATION.



EAST ELEVATION.



where cut in upon at the south end for the aumbry. Two or three of the courses between the angle and jamb of the north window are evidently still *in situ*, above this the wall has been re-faced to the level of the scoinson arches, the rest of the gable, where concealed by the roof, in direct contrast to the mid-gable, shown in Plate XL., being plain rubble.¹

On the outside the Norman work again appears to be intact up to the level of the string or slight intake, and including several courses above this, towards the angles, the Norman masonry being also carried as a facing partially round the flanks of the gable on to the side walls.² The rest of the gable is entirely First-Pointed reconstruction.

As the most perfect of the two, let us now take the north wall of the chancel.³ On the inside, except where cut down for the First-Pointed window, we find the old rubble wall showing itself for about eight feet above the present surface of the ground, or five feet above the level to which the east gable was taken down. Above this eight feet there is superadded about three feet of what is entirely freestone walling, and at the point of junction there occurs between the two very different materials a line of demarcation so distinct that I think there can be little doubt that it is simply the old wall-head of the original structure, which has been heightened to meet the requirements of a more extended chancel. It will also be noticed that below the present inserted window there is a rude line of stones larger than those ordinarily employed in the interior. These can scarcely be due to a later age than that of the primitive building, and afford an incidental proof that in all probability at this point in the side walls windows were inserted, the centre, however, being further to the east than that of those now extant.

On the outside, the line of demarcation just noticed is quite invisible, the later masonry being carried down as a facing two or three feet below the superadded portion, so that the point of junction is entirely concealed. It may be remarked, however, that towards the angle there occurs a very well-defined fault in the masonry (showing itself also round on the east gable) which in all probability marks the junction between the undisturbed Norman work and the First Pointed reconstruction. This is apparent even in spite of the recent reparations, as the surfaces of the masonry are to an appreciable

¹ *Vide* Plate XXXVII. Interior elevation. ² *Vide* Plates XXXVIII. and XXXIX.

³ *Vide* Plate XXXIX.

extent relatively recessed or projected; but in views made before these reparations (*e.g.*, Mr Baird's, or even Horatio Macculloch's sketch, in the possession of the Society), it is still more evident as an open fracture. The material used in the external facing of this wall seems to be chiefly the square-dressed blocks of the Norman builders, but put together in the clumsy, misplaced, and irregular fashion of the later workmen.

To the south wall¹ the same remarks apply generally, with this difference, that neither in the outside nor inside is there any line of junction discernible, on the outside for the same reason, in that the old wall is faced to a considerable extent with the later masonries; on the inside towards the angle where alone it could be expected to be seen, the wall is concealed with a thick coat of plaster. Owing to the insertion of a two-light window in place of the First Pointed one, this wall has also been more encroached upon than that on the north. I may also mention that previous to the recent repairs on the building, there seems to have been a very extensive rent close to the eastern gable, or between it and the piscina, but it has been indiscriminately filled up. Still, in so far as the plaster permits it to be seen, and where it has not been interfered with by insertions, all the under part of this wall is of precisely the same character as the rubble work in the north wall and under part of east gable.

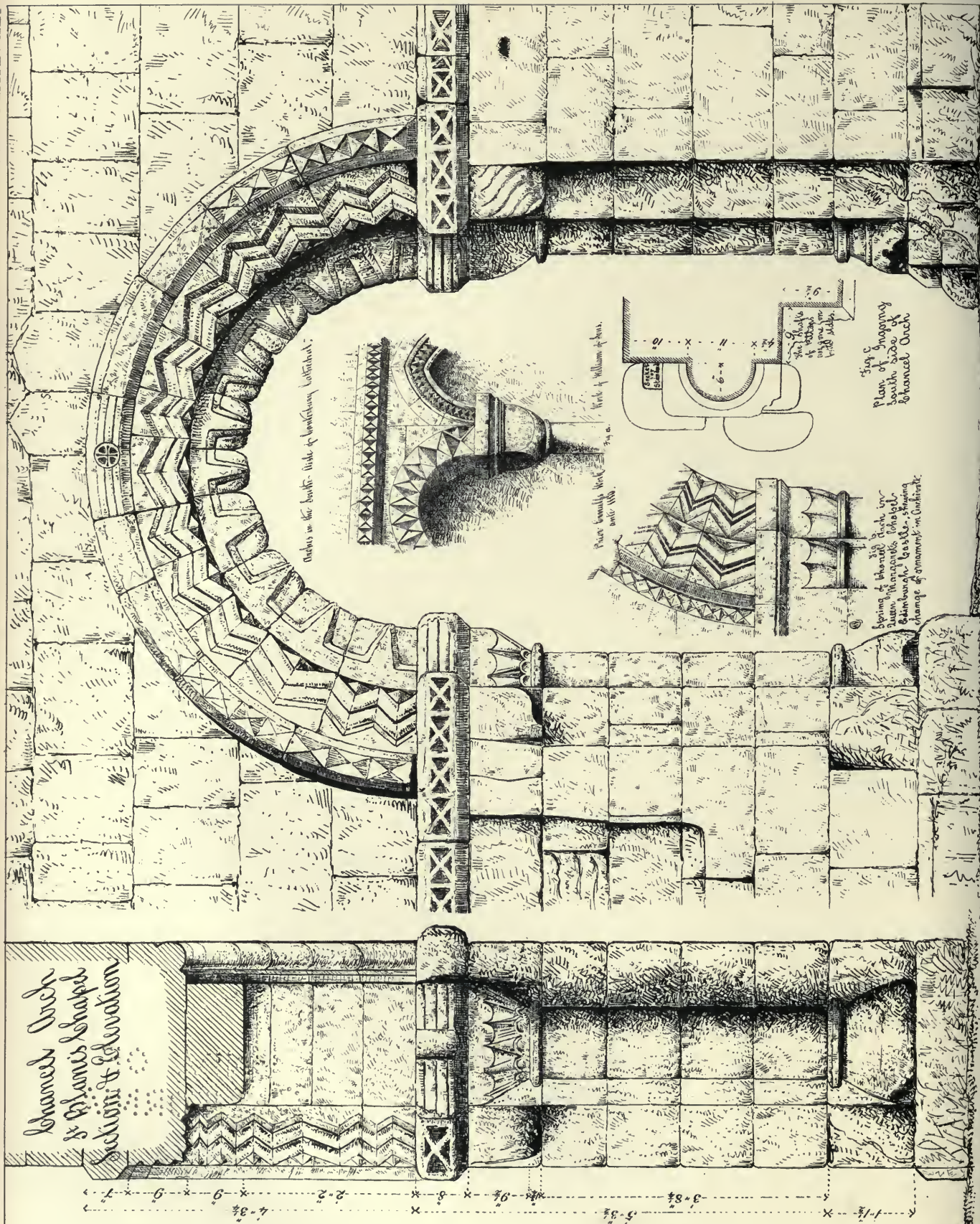
From what has just been stated, both with regard to the very distinctive characters by which these several masonries are distinguished, and the order in which they are combined, I think there can be little hesitation in coming to the conclusion already mentioned. All the circumstances are quite consistent with, and in favour of, the theory advanced; while at the same time they present obstacles in the way of that currently received which appear to me to be altogether insuperable, and which must be overcome before its truth can be established.

Of these obstacles, the most prominent is undoubtedly the existence of the mass of Norman masonry interposed between the trap-rubble and the more random freestone building in the upper part of the eastern gable. It has already been stated that if the east part of the chancel be thirteenth century extension, then "to whatever extent it may show the use of Norman materials as these were re-employed, it ought to exhibit no trace whatever of

¹ *Vide* Plate XXXVIII.

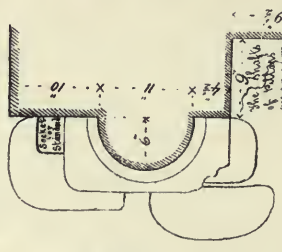
UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

braced arch
of Romanesque
Section & elevation

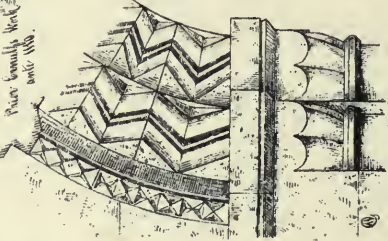


Arch on the south side of Winchester Cathedral.

Plan of window
of William of Sens.
1140.



Plan of doorway
on south side of
Stained Arch



Section of internal arch in
Stained Arch, showing
arrangement of ornaments on Capital.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 x $9\frac{1}{2}$ x $9\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 x 7

Norman building," and yet we see it existing distinct and unmistakable from a depth of seven or eight feet in the centre, or six courses and the string-course, to, say, ten or eleven feet at the angles. Only a slight comparison of the two wall-surfaces is requisite to indicate the marked distinction between this middle portion of the gable and that necessarily taken down for the insertion of the First-Pointed windows. Below the string-course the masonry is just as perfect as that in the admittedly Norman parts of the chapel, and, like it, has evidently suffered from no displacement, but has come down to us intact as left by its first builders.

I need scarcely mention the important bearing this fact has upon the theory advocated. If these few courses of masonry be indeed twelfth and not thirteenth century work, then, still less so is the mass of trap-rubble below. To this must be added the building in the side walls of a precisely similar character, and all that we contend for is complete.

It must also be remarked that if the east part of the chancel is indeed a thirteenth century extension, there could be no possible reason why the rubble work in the east gable should be faced up for three courses, viz., two courses of rough stones, trap, and freestone, interspersed, and then a course of carefully-squared and jointed ashlar, and yet that such is the case is easily determined by measuring down externally and internally from the window-sill as an available point of comparison.

The difference between the thickness of the walls in the eastern and western parts of the chancel tells also in favour of the view advocated. That the variation was designed to supply a check to finish plaster on cannot be admitted. That the walls were plastered at all at so early a date is extremely unlikely. The principle upon which the Norman builders evidently went was that at the point of junction the two walls should be flush on the outside, leaving the interior to take care of itself. That the discrepancy could not arise from a provision being made for plaster is evident from the angle at the south side, where alone the junction remains perfect, being not checked but splayed, and showing that the plaster must be a much more modern expedient. The truth is that, owing to their style of building being ashlar, both externally and internally, the Norman builder required a much greater thickness of wall for the proper disposition of his materials, while the thin walls and irregular dimensions of the eastmost portion are precisely

such as would characterise the much smaller and ruder structure preceding that now in existence.

The general disposition of the building itself in relation to the ground upon which it stands very materially favours the theory of an extension having been made, not to the east, but to the west, and that in what Mr Muir very well terms for Scotland, "the great church building era," *i.e.*, the twelfth century. Any one who has seen the actual *locale* of the building will at once understand what I mean. The chapel stands upon a slightly elevated mound, of which the difference between the level of the ground surrounding it on the west is much greater than that upon the east, where the declination is comparatively slight. The consequence is that on the west side there is quite a steep and precipitous face falling down towards the soft and marshy ground below, while towards the east there is an ample extent of firm and level ground. Now, towards the west, the nave or Norman part of the building is carried forward to the very brow of the little precipice or steep bank, and occupying, indeed, every available foot of space that could possibly be got, the foundations of the western gable being carried down on the face of the bank itself. We are thus asked to believe that in what *par excellence* is affirmed to be the oldest part of the structure, and built by those who had the ground at their disposal in an entirely unencumbered state, whereon to plant the chapel as they pleased, while the western extremity of the building was carried so far forward as to require a considerable amount of under-building in the foundations, the eastern portion comprising the chancel and assumed apse actually fell considerably within the present eastern gable, and so leaving a level space beyond, more ample than exists even now.

All these circumstances combined, while they directly contradict the received theory, supply convincing evidence in behalf of that advocated, and leave little doubt that, sufficing the simple requirements of an early age, prior to the twelfth century, a small chapel existed here built of local materials and differing very slightly from the plain and unadorned structures still to be found in the Western Highlands and Islands. In the twelfth century the major portion of this chapel must have been taken down, and the chancel only being retained, a new structure erected extending westwards as far as the limits of the ground would possibly admit.

That this reconstruction took place prior to the acquisition of the

island by the Stuarts there can be no doubt. The insertion of the four lancet windows in the chancel with the partial reconstruction of its eastern gable, was probably the only important alteration made upon the fabric subsequent to the death of Somerled in 1164. That the enlargement of the church was effected during the brief interval which elapsed from the cession of Bute with the rest of the Sudreys in 1156 by Godred the Black to that ambitious and warlike chief is by no means likely. We are thus thrown back upon the earlier half of the twelfth century, embracing, as it did almost through its entire currency, the long and peaceful reign of Olave the Red, as the most probable period for the erection of the Norman portion of St Blane's. A variety of circumstances concur in rendering this conclusion highly probable. Of the united kingdom of Man and the Isles won by his father, and dismembered during the reign of his son, Olave held undisturbed possession for fifty years, from 1103 to 1153.¹ He was thus a contemporary of Alexander I. and David I., kings of Scotland, and of Henry I. and Stephen of England. Not only was this period specially distinguished by great activity in church building, but in Scotland at least, within its limits, the practice of the pure Norman style was restricted. Into the spirit of his age in this respect Olave seems fully to have entered, selecting David of Scotland as his exemplar. From the *Chronicle of Man* we learn that in 1134 he gave to Yvon, first abbot of Furness, lands in Man wherewith to found the Abbey of Rushen. The *Chronicle* further adds that "he gave to the churches of the islands lands and privileges, and was with respect to divine worship devout and fervent."²

The "churches of the islands" must, of course, refer to the Sudreyjar, of which Bute was one, with the chapel at Kingarth as its leading ecclesiastical establishment. That Olave exercised a real dominion here we cannot doubt, for the Sudreyjar formed the original kingdom of Godred Crovan, who only acquired Man by conquest, circa 1079-80, and so founded the united kingdom of Man and the Isles. Again, it was only as the result of a severe struggle between Godred the Black and Somerled that in 1156 this kingdom was disrupted, and the Sudreyjar included within the Lordship of the Isles. It was in retaliation for the restless ambition of Somerled that

¹ *Vide* the Manx Society's edition of the "Chronicle of Man," vol. i. pp. 166, 171.

² "Deditque ecclesiis insularum terras et libertates; et erat circa cultum divinum devotus et fervidus, tam deo quam hominibus acceptabilis."

the Scots were first induced to attempt the conquest of Bute, a task by no means easily effected, its recovery being the object of frequent reprisals, until the failure of Haco's expedition, and the marriage of the Stuarts' son and heir to a great grand-daughter of Somerled, finally established their position. All these considerations prove that Olave's influence over the Sudreyjar must have been very considerable, and although in individual cases like the present it may not be directly traceable, still the peace and the prosperity enjoyed for so long a term of years, the known tendencies of the reigning monarch, backed it may be by the more substantial assistance referred to in the *Chronicle*, must have acted as a powerful stimulus in every part of his dominions. The local magnate who with Olave as his overlord held Bute may be to us unknown, but it is certain that the transformation of the primitive chapel, into what was relatively a large, richly-adorned, and handsome building, constructed not of local materials but with hewn stone brought from across the Firth, must have been, even in the twelfth century, no slight undertaking. The contrast between the little trap-built chapel and the freestone church, 85 feet 6 inches in total length, with its admirable masonry and elaborate carving, marks the advance made during the interval which had elapsed between their respective erections—a convincing proof of the increased population, and growing wealth, which form the natural result of settled times. If, then, with a high degree of probability, the Norman fabric of St Blane's be attributable to the reign of Olave the Red, not less does the small and unadorned chapel it superseded carry us back to the period of the Norse dominion, exercised as it was chiefly through tributary earls. In his notes to the *Chronicle of Man* (p. 33), Professor Munch states that "the islands between Ireland and Scotland were even more completely subdued and subjugated to the Norwegian rule than any part of Ireland itself. Indeed, the Island of Man and the southernmost islands west of Scotland are to be regarded as the centre of the Norwegian settlements in these parts of Europe." Its association with the Norse period would thus be indisputable even if we were to carry the erection of the chapel no further back than the eleventh century. There is no reason why it should not be earlier, but in the entire absence of any satisfactory evidence, the question must always be indeterminate. Still, we must assume that, in all likelihood, it existed for a considerable time before the necessity arose for its enlargement. The really important point is, that, in

establishing the priority of this trap-built chapel, in point of date to the Norman extension, we add an authentic example to that "little total" of chiefly insular chapels, summed up by Mr Muir as being "nearly all that Scotland has to show of ecclesiastical architecture belonging to a period earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century." Mr Muir, indeed, takes a very desponding view of our primitive architecture in Scotland. "Wander wheresoever we choose, we see no ecclesiastical buildings to which a date can be confidently given more ancient than those of the Norman period."¹ It cannot, therefore, be inferred that such structures did not exist, but with the introduction of a style which, "even in its earliest state" most assuredly "was not a national development," the process was to a great extent one simply of obliteration and supercession.

Owing to its dilapidated state, the architectural features, even of the Norman portion of St Blane's, are comparatively limited. The most prominent and the most ornamental is the chancel arch.² It is in two orders, the first carried on jamb-columns having each of the arch-stones decorated with a simple form of the beak-head. In the second, carried on detached columns, the shafts of which are gone, each arch-stone is carved both on the soffit and exterior face, with a division of the double-rolled zigzag or chevron meeting at the apices, and so forming a very rich example of this characteristic ornament. In section the label is semi-hexagonal. In the centre there is a small Greek cross inscribed in a circle about four inches in diameter, the rest of the stone on either side being striated rather than moulded, with lines following the curve of the arch and terminating abruptly without any reference to the adjoining decoration. The ornament on the remaining part of the label forms a peculiar and by no means common variety of that well known feature in Norman work—the lozenge, the pattern in this case being brought out by a series of alternate sinkings of a triangular form. In St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh Castle, both of the springers in the label over the chancel-arch are carved in this identical pattern, the only difference being that at St Blane's the design is brought out by a flat sinking of equal depth, while at St Margaret's the sinking is prismatic or run down to a point. At St Margaret's also, after

¹ *Vide* "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland," p. 4; *cf.* also p. 14.

² *Vide* Plate XLI.

the two springers had been so carved, the ornament was immediately changed to the ordinary lozenge.¹ The closest approximation to this ornament I am aware of is in the older portions of Canterbury Cathedral, erected at latest prior to 1110. Here the rhomb or lozenge forms itself the sinking, but instead of its being flat as at St Blane's, or an inverted pyramid as at St Margaret's, it slopes down on each side from a central ridge.² The Scottish examples are also distinguished by the alternation of the sinking. Still, all the three are only special varieties of the same ornament. That at Canterbury is figured by Professor Willis in his well known work on that ancient cathedral, and he adduces it as an interesting example of decoration wrought with the axe in contrast to that wrought with the chisel.³

The capitals of the columns present considerable variety in their modes of decoration, each one being different from the others. The abaci are continued as a string round the interior of the nave; this string, together with that on the outside of the chancel, being carved on its principal face.⁴ The abaci over the jamb-columns are notched vertically on each side for a rood-screen, and the sockets still remain at the base of the columns into which the uprights were fixed.⁵ In the chancel, the abaci of the columns are also continued as a string along the centre gable, dropping on the north and south sides of the chancel nearly two feet.⁶ At the north-east angle of the nave there also exists a small fragment of an external string, which, together with those just mentioned, seems to have been quite plain.⁷ A moulded base, figured in Plate XXXIX., has been carried round the entire Norman part of the building. Of the north and south doors in the nave and the chancel door little more than the lowermost courses remain to indicate their position. Of the Norman windows the indications are still more slight. There is the fragment of a sill apparently still *in situ* in the south wall of the nave, close to the eastmost buttress. It is useful as determining the window levels. In the chancel, to the west of the door, the sill and one rybat-stone of a small window still exist, which may give us, in so far, a correct idea of what the Norman windows originally were.

¹ *Vide* Plate XLI.

² *Ibid.*

³ Canterbury Cathedral, pp. 58, 86.

⁴ *Vide* Plates XXXIX. and XLI.

⁵ *Vide* Plate XLI.

⁶ *Vide* Plate XL., &c.

⁷ *Vide* Plates XXXIX. and XL.

A comparison of the drawings given to an enlarged scale in Plates XXXVII. and XXXVIII. will show the difference in section between the rybat and sill of the First Pointed windows, and this solitary remnant of the Norman period. In Plate XXXVIII. it will also be noticed that in the upper part of the south wall of chancel to the west of the double-light window, there is the small fragment of a mullion built into the wall. The section of this mullion, shown to an enlarged scale on the same plate, agrees neither with that of the First Pointed windows, nor with the still later double-light window. At the same time, it agrees exactly with that of the small Norman window to the west of the chancel door. There can be no doubt, then, that it belongs to the same period. From its breadth (9 inches) it may have formed part of the division between two coupled windows, and the likeliest position for such windows would be the eastern gable. We know that in the thirteenth century windows were inserted not only into this eastern gable, but also into the oldest portion of the north and south walls of the chancel. The probability is that the Norman builders permitted the rude little windows, which no doubt existed here, to remain. At the same time there must have been windows of some kind in their new gable; and the question is, may this fragment not be a relic of them? As known to us, there is at least no other part of the building to which it is applicable.

In the thirteenth century, probably soon after the acquisition of the chapel by the monks of Paisley, the alterations on the chancel were made, the sole object apparently being to insert larger windows and obtain more light. In this respect we may well imagine the old chancel to have been very defective. In the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, the necessity for a still further increase being felt, a double-light window was inserted on the south side of the chancel, the sill and part of the rybats of the prior First Pointed window being still permitted to remain. This was the last alteration of any importance on the fabric of the building. At a period comparatively late in its history, owing to the thrust of the roof, the southern wall of the nave must have shown a tendency to bulge outwards, and, with a view to its correction, the extemporised buttresses were erected.

Masonry, as distinct from features especially characteristic of architectural style, having claimed so much attention in the previous part of this paper, it may not be inappropriate if a few remarks are made on the subject of

Mortar. The mortars of the original chapel, and the Romanesque building, are of very much the same character. They are both exceedingly hard and durable.

In the first, owing to the impervious nature of the trap, except where positive violence has been used, the preservation of the walling is perfect, and to all appearance may remain so for an indefinite period. In the latter, owing to the exclusive use of freestone of very various qualities, at the joints the mortar may often be seen standing out in ridges beyond the weathered and sorely disintegrated surface of the stone.

Both the mortars agree in this, that they are a coarse amalgam of lime, sand, and unriddled shingle, composed of shore-pebbles and sea-shells, such as may now be obtained in any quantity on the beach at Kilchattan Bay. The mortar used in the extemporised buttresses, and to a certain extent also in the south-west angle of the building, which seems to have been subjected to some accident, is of quite a different character, the gravel used being very small, and carefully riddled.

In connection with the mortar first mentioned, a striking peculiarity occurs, very seldom to be met with, and for which it is difficult to find an explanation.

My attention was first directed to this point by Mr Joseph Anderson, who, having visited St Blane's shortly after the removal of the soil encumbering the walls, found strewn round the building pebbles of various sizes thickly coated with a pellucid glaze precisely similar to that produced upon earthenware or tiles by vitreous action. His first impression was that this coating was artificial, but even when so prepared it was impossible to conjecture to what purpose the pebbles could have been applied. On my next visit I examined the ground, and obtained ample proof of the accuracy of Mr Anderson's observations. The glazed pebbles, however, occurring chiefly close to the building, and round its exterior, it occurred to me, that they must form part of the *debris* of the walls themselves, the likeliest source being the mortar. Examination proved this to be the case, glazed pebbles, from the tiniest size upwards, being found abundantly, either partially exposed on the surface, or embedded in the heart of the mortar itself. This appearance, then, cannot have been produced artificially, nor is it all likely that it is due to the action of heat, because the sea-shells, which occur as plentifully as the pebbles, are not calcined. The coating varies considerably

in amount on different pebbles, but it is never met with in such quantity as to admit of its being detached and made the subject of experiment. I may mention that I have examined many ancient mortars, and have never, except in one instance, found a similar appearance, viz., in the chapel dedicated to St Cathan in Colonsay, where the glazed pebbles occur in perhaps even a larger proportion than at St Blane's.

In conclusion, I may be permitted briefly to refer to one or two other matters connected with this interesting locality.

In the new statistical account several curious traditions are mentioned as being associated with the burying-ground at St Blane's. These statements have been, without adequate examination, frequently repeated, and are now to be found embodied as received facts in such works as the "Origines Parochiales" (vol. ii. part 1, p. 211), Dr Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (vol. ii. Notices of Plates, p. 37), &c.

The first tradition is that the mound or knoll upon which the chapel and major part of the burying-ground are placed is artificial, or, to quote the words used, that it is "a level space raised by art considerably above the adjoining ground." Such an arrangement seems, on the face of it, to be highly improbable, nor is it likely that a structure so massive as that of which the ruins still exist, would be founded on no better basis than forced earth. Similar isolated mounds are by no means unfrequent in the locality. Within the same hollow, and immediately to the north, there rises a much higher and more characteristic eminence, to which an artificial origin has never been attributed. The tradition was probably due to the fact that the upper part of the burying-ground has been from time immemorial carefully embanked round, so as to secure the soil from getting dislodged. I was fortunate in having seen St Blane's during the last season in which the old state of things was permitted to exist. With exception of the portion running between the upper and lower burying-grounds, this embankment has been entirely removed and replaced by a turf-capped dry-stone dyke, rising to some height above the interior level of the ground.

Another tradition is that "the whole of this space is found arched or built with mason-work underneath, a distance of two feet from the surface."

Of course, without proof based on actual examination, this statement must be considered still more apocryphal than the former.

Not less erroneous is the idea that the means of access from the higher to the lower level "seems to have been underground." It is certainly nothing more than a very rude flight of steps leading down through a dry-built passage-way from the upper to the lower burying-ground. This flight of steps lands at a short distance from the chancel door, in the direction of which the passage-way runs, and some such communication would be absolutely necessary on the occasion of interments, &c. To these various statements the words used in the statistical account, with regard to the supposed existence of a convent or nunnery, in the lower burying-ground, may safely be applied, viz., that they rest "on no other authority that has been discovered, but that of tradition."

A tradition still more generally entertained regarding this burying-ground relates to the separation of the sexes in burial. So much did this peculiarity strike Pennant, that in the narrative of his tour in Scotland it and the Devil's Cauldron are the only things taken notice of in connection with St Blane's. Under date June 18, 1772, he writes:—"Descended to the ruin of old *Kin-garth* church. Two cemeteries belong to it, a higher and a lower. The last was allotted for the interment of females alone, because, in old times, certain women being employed to carry a quantity of holy earth brought from *Rome*, lost some by the way, and so incurred this penalty for their negligence—that of being buried separated from the other sex."

The separation of the sexes in worship is a well-known custom, extensively prevalent in the East, practised in a more restricted degree both in Romish and Protestant churches, and observed in many parts of England, and also in Ireland, down to the present day. Separation in burial, except in conventual life, has been practised systematically only by the Moravian communities.

Whatever may have been its origin in the tradition regarding this peculiar custom at St Blane's, it is fully confirmed by the Presbytery Records of Dunoon, on examining which I find that a visitation was held at Kingarth by the Presbytery of Dunoon on 9th August 1661. In accordance with the usual custom, the principal feature was the alternate examination, first, of the elders as to the proper discharge of his duties by the

minister; and then, conversely, the examination of the minister in the same respect as to the elders. The first part of this ordeal having been successfully passed by the Rev. Alexander M'Lean, the incumbent of the parish, and "The elders having removit, & he being enquired anent y^r behaviour in y^r charge, declared y^r concurrence w^t him, onlie wishit y^m to be admonishit in these things—

"1. Slackness in censures of some vices which would require greater sharpnes, which they declin to exercise.

"2. Neglect of familie worship in some of y^mselfs.

"3. Carelessnes to persuad the people of y^r severall quarters to attend weeklie sermons.

"4. Ther tollerating y^e people in a superstitious custome, viz., of burying y^r men and women in two diverse churchzards, y^e first rise q^rof wes superstitione & contineweth to be so in many of y^e people's minds hitherto."

The elders having been recalled, they were "seriouslie exhortit to amend these particulars," and this part of the visitation brought to a close "with a serious exhorta^{one} to the ministers & elders to be fund in the vigorous prosecution of y^r respective duties, & in particular it is recomendit to y^m to sie to y^e executione of this following act relating to the for^{sd} custome of burying."

"Act against ye superstitious custome of burying in ye kirkyard of Kingarth."

"Wheras y^r hath bin a custome of burying men & women in tuo diverse kirkzards y^e people refusing to bury promiscouslie in anie one of y^m, & y^t this is done superstitiouslie y^rfor it is ordained y^t men & women shall be promiscouslie buryed in y^e vpper kirkzard, & for y^e laigh kirkzard q^r onlie women wer befor buried, y^t none such shal be now but men may bury y^r if they please, and if want of roome in y^e oy^r zard so require, & to mak this act effectuall y^e minister is carefullie to attend burials for a season, and if any shall offer to bury contrar to this act, he is to put to his hand for y^e resystance of y^m, & they ar to be sumoned to y^e Presb. as scandalous persons to be censured, & this act to be publishit on a Saboth togidder w^t ane act of y^e Sessione declaring y^e penaltie y^t shal be exactit from every transgressor of this act."

XIII.—*Notice of a Carved Ivory Ciborium, the Property of*
JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq. (Plate XLII.)

By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Assistant Secretary and Keeper of the
Museum.

This curious and interesting vessel of ivory, presenting a rare and rude style of art, was exhibited by Mr Gibson-Craig at a meeting of the Society in June 1876.

It was then described in the "Proceedings" as a Carved Ivory Ciborium, or Cup with Cover, and, as, through the kindness of Mr Gibson-Craig, the accompanying plate has been presented to the Society, the description is here repeated. The cup stands 14 inches high, and is curiously ornamented with beaded work, and with birds, lizards, serpents, and human figures in high relief. The lid is surmounted by the figure of a palm-tree trunk, the top ornamented with open work, on which sits a parrot-like bird. A man is climbing the tree on one side and a lizard on the other. A serpent issues from the man's right hand, reaching up to the bird on the top of the tree. Two serpents chase two birds in a circle round the base of the tree. Four lizards are carved round the base of the middle of the lid, which is semi-globular in shape. The foot-stalk of the cup has a projection in the middle, from which four serpents hang down at regular intervals round its circumference. In the mouth of each of them is a bird's head. The swelling base of the foot-stalk is ornamented by a bird, a lizard, and a human figure, placed alternately at equal distances round the middle of its circumference. This rare and curious ivory was obtained by Mr Gibson-Craig at Milan. There are two of the same style and period in the British Museum, and one in the Newcastle Museum, which is figured in Fox's "Synopsis of the Allan Museum" (p. 183), and also in W. B. Scott's "Antiquarian Gleanings," pl. xxi. They are regarded by some as West African, and by others as Indian, most likely from the neighbourhood of Goa, and dating probably about the middle of the sixteenth century.



CARVED IVORY CIBORIUM

THE PROPERTY OF JAMES T. COOPER, 2nd Fl., 505 E. 9th St., N. D.

70 VINU
ANBONLAD

The late Albert Way, a high authority on all such questions, thus describes the Newcastle specimen :—

“A covered cup or pyx, sculptured with singular figures, animals, serpents twined around the stem, and ornaments of an Oriental character. On the cover is a figure of a female holding an infant, possibly intended to represent the Virgin with the infant Saviour. Height, 10 inches. It was also formerly in the museum of Mr Allan, near Darlington. It appears to be one of the works produced at Goa during its occupation by the Portuguese. The arms of Portugal occur reversed under the bowl. They are also formed on several other sculptured objects of ivory of a similar class.”

An Ivory Hunting Horn, carved in the same style as this cup, was exhibited at the meeting of the Archæological Institute, London, held on 7th February 1851, by Mr Forrest. It is thus described in the “Journal of the Archæological Institute” :—

“An ivory hunting horn, curiously carved with subjects, in which a singular mixture of European and Oriental character is seen, so that it is difficult to determine the country or period to which objects of this peculiar workmanship may be assigned. This horn measures $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the mouthpiece issues from the jaws of a monstrous head bearing on the brow a cross, with limbs of equal length; at the other or widest end is twice introduced a blundered achievement of the arms of Portugal. Two figures of very Indian aspect, with a castle between them, hold aloft an escutcheon in an inverted position, resembling the coat of Portugal. The other carvings represent subjects of the chase, and bowmen aiming very long shafts at various animals. Amongst the ornaments is found a winged scaly monster, with two legs, a kind of wyvern, resembling the supporters and crest of the arms of Portugal, explained to be the fiery serpents that assailed the Israelites. Bands of interlaced work appear, presenting a style of design which may have led some antiquaries to ascribe a Scandinavian origin to these sculptures.

“M. Pulski laid before the meeting a beautiful drawing of a horn of this class, preserved in the collection before mentioned. The ornaments and style were almost identical with those by which Mr Forrest’s horn is characterised. The arms are different—one coat has a crowned eagle in the centre of the shield, another has a saltire. Both, however, have the bordure imitating that of the arms of Portugal. M. Pulski observed that ivory horns of this description are preserved in Hungary, and have been regarded as objects sculptured in the north of Europe. One specimen which he had examined had been attributed to an Hungarian chief of the 10th century.”

Two other horns of precisely similar workmanship deserve to be mentioned. One is given by Olaus Wormius (“*Danicorum Monumentorum*,” lib. v. p. 435, Hafniæ, 1643). It was at Florence in the possession of the

Grand Duke of Tuscany, and exhibited the hunting of stags and lions, the Portuguese arms and a cross patée. Around the mouth was inscribed: DOM LVIS : IMFAMTE, supposed to refer to the second son of Emmanuel, king of Portugal (1495–1521), and brother of John III. The other horn was in the museum at the Jesuits' College at Rome, and is engraved by Bonanni in the Museum Kircherianum (Roma, 1709, pl. ccxcix., p. 281). It is sculptured with hunting subjects, the arms of Portugal very incorrectly given, and the cross patée appears near the mouth. It seems highly probable that these horns were carved in the East, in imitation of Portuguese models, and that they are not more ancient than the early part of the 16th century.

Mr Maskell in the appendix to the Description of Ancient and Mediæval Ivories in South Kensington Museum, published for the Department of Science and Art, mentions that in the British Museum there are "several remarkable pieces of the so-called Goa work; or rather of Western Africa." Among them he notices two cups, "having much the character of Scandinavian art," and a large tusk which has been turned into a grotesque drinking-horn, bearing "some original African carvings of animals," and the inscription—

"Drinke you this and thinke no scorne
All though the cup be much like a horne.
1599, *Fines.*"

Also in the Mayer Collection there are "many pieces of what is commonly known as Goa work, and made for the Portuguese of that settlement two or three hundred years ago." Concerning them Mr Maskell adds that "later investigation has induced authorities of great weight to believe that carved ivories of this class were mostly made in the settlements founded on the west coast of Africa. Several of the specimens in the Liverpool Museum are very large and important of their kind.

XIV.—*The Quigrich, or Crosier of St Fillan.*

(Plates XLIII. and XLIV.)

In consequence of the acquisition by the Society of the Crosier of St Fillan for permanent preservation in the National Museum of the Antiquities of Scotland, it has been thought desirable to give the accompanying illustrations of the Crosier and its silver case. Plate XLIII. represents the relic as it has been known from time immemorial, enclosed in its outer casing of gilt silver. Plate XLIV. represents the Crosier head of copper contained within the silver casing. Both figures are given of the actual size and colouring, from drawings prepared by Robert Gibb, Esq., A.R.S.A., and lithographed by Messrs W. & A. K. Johnston.

The earliest notice of the Crosier is that communicated to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 28th June 1785 and printed with an engraving of the Crosier in the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. ii. p. 289, under the following title: "An Account of the Ancient Crosier of St Fillan, described in a Letter from William Thomson, A.M., Student of Christ Church in Oxford, to the Earl of Buchan."

The next account of it, by one who had actually seen it, is contained in a letter by Sir Edmund B. Head, Bart., Governor-General of Canada, to Lord Talbot de Malahide, dated Toronto, 17th April 1858, which is printed in an article entitled "The Quigrich, or Crosier of St Fillan, with a Notice of its present existence in Canada," by Lord Talbot de Malahide, read to the Archæological Institute, and published, with illustrations, in the Journal of the Institute, vol. xvi. p. 45.

This was followed by an elaborate paper by Dr Daniel Wilson, read before the Canadian Institute on 12th February 1859, and published, with an illustration, in "The Canadian Journal" for November of that year. A short paper with lithographic illustrations from photographs sent by Dr Wilson also appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" of the same date (vol. iii. p. 233).

An account of the acquisition of the Crosier by the Society, with full

details regarding its historical associations and artistic character will be found in "Historical Notices of St Fillan's Crosier, and of the Devotion of King Robert Bruce to St Fillan," by Dr John Stuart, printed in the "Proceedings" of the Society, vol. xii. pp. 122-182, pls. v., vi.; and also in the accompanying "Notices of the Quigrich, or Crosier of St Fillan, and of its Hereditary Keepers," by Dr Daniel Wilson; and in the "Deed of Conveyance of the Quigrich," by Alexander Dewar, the last Hereditary Keeper, with consent of his son, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the National Museum, of which the tenor follows:—

"WHEREAS I am possessed of that ancient Scottish relic known as the "*Quigrich*," or Crozier of St Fillan, which has been in possession of my ancestors and family, as I believe, from the time of Robert the Bruce.

"AND WHEREAS the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have applied to me, through Daniel Wilson, of the city of Toronto, LL.D., professor in University College, Toronto, for the surrender to them of said "*Quigrich*."

"AND WHEREAS I have consented to dispose of my right and title to said "*Quigrich*" to the said Society of Antiquaries for the consideration following, that is to say, the price or sum of seven hundred dollars, to be paid in manner following, videlicet: five hundred dollars, and the remaining two hundred dollars of said sum to be credited to me by the said Society of Antiquaries as my contribution or donation towards the acquisition of said relic, and on the further express considerations that the said Society shall permanently deposit said "*Quigrich*" in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, and shall record my name in the archives of said Society and Museum as joint donor of said relic.

"NOW KNOW YE AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS, that in consideration of said sum of five hundred dollars, now paid to me by the said Society by the hands of the said Dr Daniel Wilson, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and of the said agreements on the part of the said Society of Antiquaries above set forth, I, the said Alexander Dewar, have granted, sold, assigned, and transferred, and do grant, bargain, sell, transfer, set over, and surrender unto the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the said "*Quigrich*," to hold the same unto the said Society of Antiquaries and their successors on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come, for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation."



Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

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eng by R. Gibb.

W & A K. Johnston, Chromo-Lithog, Edinburgh.

THE QUIGRICH OR CROZIER OF ST FILLAN.

(Of Silver gilt, 9 inches high.)

UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA



THE
 OLDER
 CROZIER
 OF
 ST
 FILLAN

THE OLDER CROZIER OF ST FILLAN.
 (Of Bronze, inlaid with niello $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high)

XV.—*Results of Excavations at the Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, during the Summers of 1870 and 1871.* (Plates XLV.—XLVI.)

By WILLIAM TRAILL, M.D., of Woodwick, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

(Communicated June 10th 1872.)

The broch of Burrian, styled locally the Castle of Burrian, is situated at the southern extremity of the island of North Ronaldsay. The site has long been known to be an artificial mound, the sea having encroached upon and exposed a part of the circular wall of the tower; but with that exception it quite resembles a natural grassy hillock.

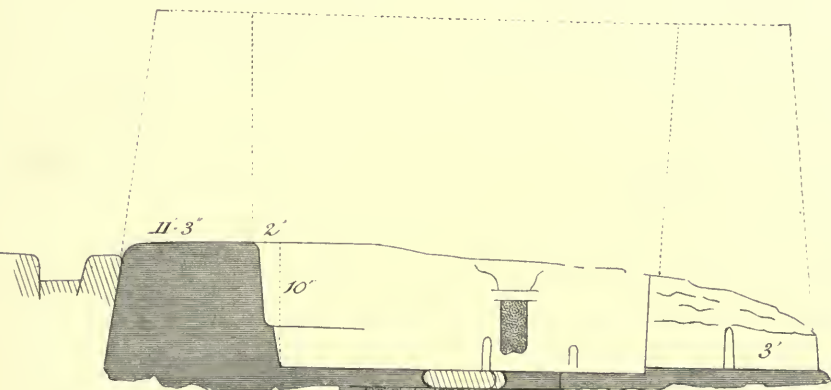
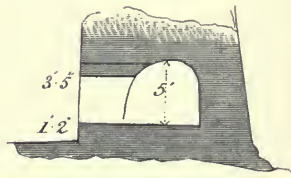
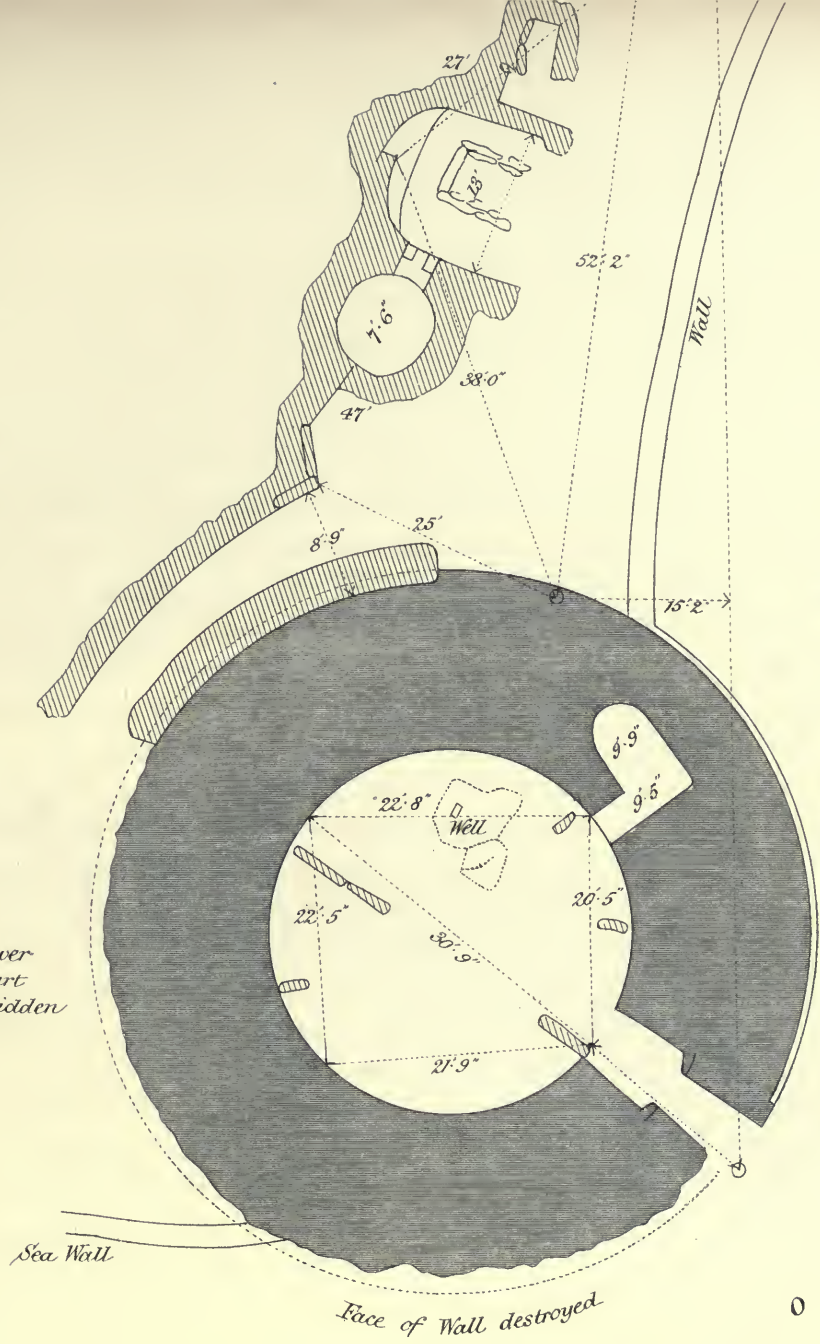
A closer examination shews the remains of four concentric walls or fences, at nearly equal distances from each other, surrounding the mound. The circle formed by the outer wall is about one hundred yards in diameter. All the walls are so overgrown with turf that only a few stones here and there appear on the surface.

On the 5th of September 1870 we commenced our excavations, and as there was no doorway visible externally, we proceeded to dig down, as nearly as we could guess, over the centre of the tower, and I consider it fortunate that we did so, as by thus descending from level to level we came upon very distinct evidence of at least two separate occupations of the building, with apparently a long interval of time between them. The original inhabitants of the building appear to have left various rude implements on a paved floor at the base of the structure. From one to two feet of rubbish had accumulated over that; and there, as we worked downwards, we first came upon an upper paved space, and various partition walls, built upon the debris that overlay and concealed the original floor. At this upper level we found some bone combs, single and double edged, beautifully finished and ornamented, also a variety of other articles quite different from those which we subsequently discovered in the lower floor. In this upper floor there was also found an oblong stone cist partly embedded in the earth below the floor or paved space; it was half filled with red ashes, and contained a water-worn stone with geometric figures or symbols in-

scribed on it. In conducting these excavations, and more especially in ascertaining the form and extent of the broch and its outworks, I was very materially assisted by Sir Henry Dryden of Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire, who has very kindly placed his notes at my disposal. I shall therefore avail myself of his measurements and bearings, which he carefully took with instruments on the spot, and these, with the aid of the plan given in Plate XLV., will render the general form and position of the building and outworks more intelligible. It will be observed that the underground chamber is on the plan designated a well, but I should mention that there was no water in the chamber when we discovered it, although some surface water has since drained into it.

The cist which contained the small figured stone stood at the west side of the well or underground chamber; it was 3 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 6 inches broad, and about 1 foot 6 inches deep. When found it was covered with an oblong flagstone, between which and the cist, clay had been carefully plastered, apparently for the purpose of excluding air and moisture. The above-mentioned chamber or well was about 6 feet deep; it was approached by steps cut in the rock, and was concealed from view by flagstones covering the entrance, the weight of which was partly supported by a square pillar or block of stone placed on end, and extending from the base of the chamber to its summit. It will be seen that the second occupants, perhaps ignorant of the existence of the underground chamber, had built a heavy wall over it, besides closing up the entrance to another chamber that the former occupants had built in the wall of the tower. On the north side of the broch there is a strong fence or buttress of heavy stones set on end and edgeways against the tower; whether erected to strengthen the wall, or as an additional means of defence against a hostile attack, it is not easy to determine.

Still more to the north of the broch there are several small outworks partly excavated; their general form may be seen on the plan. Judging by the bone pins, combs, and other implements found in them, I am inclined to consider them coeval with the second occupation, as the encroachment of the sea at this part of the island has apparently swept away parts of the concentric walls, and even injured the main wall of the broch to some extent. It seems likely that more extensive outworks formerly existed here, as we came upon the foundations of a square chamber close to high-water



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Looking N.E.

H.D. & J.T. 1871

mark, in which was found a bone whorl, a long-handled comb of deer horn, and a few other small articles.

The following measurements, &c., are from Sir Henry Dryden's notes:—

“The pavement of the middle of the court is 13 feet above high-water mark.

“The tower, or broch proper, is 30 feet 9 inches in diameter, inside average, near the floor, and the wall about 15 feet thick at the base, making originally a total diameter of about 60 feet, which is the usual size.

“On the west and north about 10 feet height of wall remains, and on the south about 4 feet.

“The batter of the wall, inside and outside, is about 10 inches in 5 feet of height, so that at 10 feet high the wall is about 11 feet 6 inches thick.

“The entrance is on the S.E. facing the sea; it is 4 feet 3 inches wide at the inner end, and was about 3 feet 3 inches at the outer end, but narrowed to 2 feet 10 inches by two stone slabs set on end. All the roof of the entrance is gone.

“On the north-east is one chamber in the wall, 9 feet 9 inches by 5 feet 9 inches wide, of which the entrance is 2 feet 2 inches wide and 3 feet 3 inches high, with lintel over it. The chamber was about 5 feet high in the middle, but most of the roof has tumbled in. It was roofed in the usual way by overlapping stones, finished by large slabs.”

The form of the broch having been, as I trust, fully explained, I shall now endeavour to detail what we found in it. Bones were, as usual, abundant. I have chiefly selected from them, for the inspection of the Society, such as show marks of human handiwork, with the exception of two or three skulls of animals, and part of a leg-bone of an ox, which appear to have been fractured for the purpose of extracting the brains and marrow. So universally has this custom been practised, that among many barrow loads of bones that were removed we could not find a single marrow bone entire. Of articles of food I may mention that we found numerous remains of oxen, sheep, deer, hog, seal (*Halichærus gryphus*), whales of at least two species, sea birds, fish, crabs, limpets, and other *Testacea* of common kinds. There were, I think, two varieties of hog, some of their tusks being very small, while others were as remarkable for their extraordinary size.

Of human remains there was identified only one broken jaw bone, the teeth of which were worn down very flat.

Subjoined is a list of the different kinds of manufactured articles found in Burrian, by which it will be seen that, in number and variety, the collection is unusually large. This I attribute partly to the practice we adopted of occasionally stimulating the flagging zeal of the diggers by the offer of a small pecuniary reward for the discovery of any object of unusual interest.

A few of the relics are rare, if not unique. Some of the bone pins exhibit such delicate workmanship, that they may almost be looked upon as the prototypes of our modern toilet pins; two bone needles shew much neatness of execution: but of all the bone articles, none display so much evidence of artistic skill as a series of finely-cut hair combs, single and double edged, which evidently belong to the second period of occupation; some of them are neatly ornamented with concentric circles and dots; and it will further be observed, that each comb has a hole drilled through one end of it. It may, perhaps, appear too hasty a deduction, to assume that this hole was made for passing a cord or thong through, by which the comb could be suspended from a peg, or possibly hung round the neck of its fortunate owner; yet it is certain that the small fragment of comb with the rivets of bronze or brass bears evident marks of having had a cord of some kind attached to it, traces of friction being clearly seen both in the holes and on the batten between them.

The labour and skill bestowed upon these combs must have been very great; none of them are made of one piece, but of a number of small pieces of bone, placed side by side, accurately fitted together, kept in position by a flat batten of bone on each side, and further secured with rivets. All the combs of this kind found at Burrian were riveted with iron. The small piece of a comb put together with bronze pins was accidentally turned up by some workmen employed in removing earth from a mound about a mile to the westward of Burrian.

I have been much struck with the resemblance these combs bear to some of the typical forms of comb figured on the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland, which, I think, are intended to represent combs similarly made of small pieces, kept together with side battens and rivets.

A number of long-handled combs were also found, chiefly on the lower floor; one was on the floor of the above-mentioned chamber in the wall, and another was dug out of some rubbish outside the tower, on the north side.

These are sometimes called broch combs, and I believe that in the

majority of cases they have been found in or near such buildings. Doubts have been expressed whether or not these implements have been intended for combing the hair, and it has been thought by some that they are more adapted for carding wool, or some textile fibre.¹ It is noticeable that the teeth of some of them are irregularly notched on one side. These combs appear to belong to the time of the first occupation, some of them are made of the bone of a species of whale, others are constructed of deers' horn, a few of them are slightly ornamented, or at least marked with crucial incisions.

Several small oblong pieces of bone were found here, somewhat cylindrical in shape, the surface partly rounded and partly flat or angular, inscribed with dots and circles, some of which have been made with a drill, but others are more rudely carved, apparently with a knife. From the peculiar arrangement of these marks it is supposed that the bones were used as dice for some game of chance; so far as we could judge they appeared to belong to the second occupation. Undoubtedly the most curious and interesting bone relics found here are two metatarsal bones of a small ox, on which are rudely traced certain symbolical marks; one of the specimens is much defaced, but on the other the well-known emblem of a crescent and a V-shaped sceptre can be easily seen carved on one side of the bone, while on the other side there is a central dot, surrounded by a circle on a kind of angular pedestal, which is almost an exact fac-simile of an emblematical figure on a sculptured stone at Kintradwell in Sutherlandshire.

The only other article of bone which I think requires special notice, is a small broken implement perforated at one end, which, from the irregular spiral lines on its surface, has, I think, been a part of a drilling apparatus, perhaps a bow drill, which is a very simple instrument, and much used in the East at the present day.

Of articles of stone I may specify the following: lava or vesicular obsidian, of which many pieces were found among the ruins, some of them rubbed into an angular shape, and others artificially perforated. This vesicular lava floats in water, is frequently found on the shores in Orkney,

¹ Another purpose has been suggested for these combs by Mr Anderson, viz.:—That they were used in weaving, for driving home the weft in the upright loom. See the paper "On Spinning and Weaving in Pictish Towers," in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 548.

and is supposed to drift over from Iceland. The water-worn stone with geometric figures has been already mentioned, but it may further be observed that the figure on one side of the stone has circles in the angular spaces, and a twin circle in the central part, also something like the head of a bird at one side of the figure, all of which may have been intended to convey some mystic meaning.

A stone slab with an antique cross and an Ogham inscription was also dug up here. I believe it is the first relic of the kind that has been found in a broch. It was at once forwarded to the Museum of this Society in the hope that the writing might be deciphered.¹ That hope has not yet been realised; but the stone is nevertheless valuable as a part of the cumulative evidence, that the Orkney Islands were once inhabited by an ancient Celtic race; though the brochs were possibly not constructed by them; for we must not lose sight of the facts that many of these buildings afford very conclusive proofs that they have been tenanted by different people at different times.

The slab was found towards the south side of the broch, where the wall was so low that, though the slab lay not much above the floor of the tower, it was also not far from the surface, so much so, that roots of plants had penetrated between the stratified layers of the stone, and defaced parts of the cross, though the inscription fortunately has escaped with little or no injury.

While we cannot avoid connecting the Celtic symbols discovered in this building with the Celtic inscription and cross on the stone slab lying so near to them, yet the fact of the monumental stone being found so near the surface should prevent us from too hastily concluding that they belong to the same period. It is well known that in this and other countries the pagan custom of burying the dead in mounds was continued for some time after the introduction of Christianity. It seems to me quite possible that the presence of the stone slab was due to the prevalence of this custom; and if so it must, I think, be conceded that centuries may have elapsed since the time that occupants of the broch carved these symbols of the sculptured stones, ere the ruins of the same building could have assumed the appearance of a grassy mound adapted to purposes of sepulture.

¹ See the different readings of this inscription given on pp. 349, 351.

Near the centre of the broch we found broken pieces of a vessel of pot-stone or steatite, of an oval shape, 16 inches long by 7 inches deep. It showed chisel marks inside, and it was much blackened with soot. This mineral is not found in Orkney, though it is very abundant in Shetland; and it is curious that among the stone articles found there were also several pieces of a large fossil encrinite, which, as well as the pot-stone, must have been imported.

Of bronze articles there were found three pins, one of them plain, and and the others slightly ornamented. It is worthy of note that in their general shape they resemble some of the bone pins found in the same locality. It is very remarkable that, of all the articles we discovered, there were none so perishable as those made of bronze; no sooner were they exposed to the air than they began to decay, verdigris spreading over them in one night like a fungous growth. After trying various remedies in vain, I was advised to coat them thickly with varnish, which seems to have arrested their decay for the present; but some smaller bits of bronze that were not so treated are gradually being converted into a green powder.

Next to the bronze we may turn to examine the various articles of wrought iron that were found here; and it is somewhat singular that, unlike the bronze, which appears to have undergone no change until exposed to the air, the iron articles (if we may call them so) have all the appearance of having been long ago entirely changed into rust or oxide of iron, in which state they do not seem liable to further change, at least in an ordinarily dry atmosphere. Some of these articles that were accidentally broken in digging them up were found to be hollow in the centre. A hollow iron ring that we picked up did not excite much attention; but when a broken knife blade was found to be in the same condition our curiosity was excited, and we were induced to examine all the specimens of iron more carefully. It appeared to us that this abnormal state of the iron implements is caused by the metal oxydising in layers. The outer layer being most exposed to atmospheric influence first exfoliates, the second layer then follows and adheres to the first; layer after layer thus exfoliates, forming a spongy mass of rust, until the inner core is reached, which, in its turn, undergoes the same change, attaches itself to the surrounding spongy mass, and thus leaves a cavity in the centre. Among the iron implements were several lance heads, and a small bell of the form peculiar to the early Celtic Church,

which had originally been coated with brass or bronze, the verdigris of which is still adhering to it.

Many broken pieces of pottery were dug up, of the same colour, and apparently of the same quality, as common flower-pots. Only one bit showed traces of an embossed pattern. Much of the pottery was blackened by smoke.

Glass was represented by one blue bead, and a small fragment of some glass vessel, both highly iridescent.

Among the ashes on the floor were a good many lumps of wood charcoal. There were also in some places heaps of charred straw or rushes, a few parcels of which I collected and preserved.

Some of the facts elicited during the present excavations, and also borne out by discoveries simultaneously made in a broch at a different part of the country, indicate a period so much more modern than was supposed, as at first to give rise to a feeling akin to disappointment; whereas, in a historical point of view, the interest now deepens, for we need no longer contemplate a state of savage life separated from our era by such a wide gap as renders it hopeless to endeavour to trace any connection between them.

It is, doubtless, true that we have not at present any means of determining the precise period at which the older forms of Orkney "Picts' houses" were built. We have, however, every reason to believe that the brochs immediately succeeded them, if, indeed, the one period did not overlap the other. The two styles of architecture, though very dissimilar, possess some striking features in common. I may instance the low doorways, the absence of windows, and the fact that no lime or mortar was used in building.

Remains of deer, and other wild animals, are found in both, and their inhabitants seem to have adopted the same custom of breaking the long bones of animals to extract the marrow. Other facts again, as we have seen, tend to prove that the dwellers in the Brochs had attained to a higher state of civilisation. In the broch of "Lingrow," near Kirkwall, Roman coins of the first and second centuries were lately discovered; in another broch fragments of Samian ware have been found; and in the locality which we are at present considering, the description of articles found—in particular, the iron bell of Celtic form, the Celtic symbols engraved on bone and stone, and lastly, the cross and Ogham inscription—all point to a definite period, and help us to supply missing links. Thus, we not only make an approximation to chronological order, but we may also fairly conclude that the brochs were at one

time tenanted by an ancient Celtic race. As to the "vexed question" of the identity of the Picts and Celts, I do not presume to venture an opinion, but there cannot be a doubt that a series of similar excavations carefully and patiently conducted, will conduce to throw much light on this deeply interesting subject.

APPENDIX.




The following is a detailed description of the Collections from the Broch of Burrian which were presented to the Society's Museum by Dr Traill, as noticed in the "Proceedings" of the Society, vol. x. p. 5:—


Objects of Stone.






Slab of Clayslate, 2 feet 4 inches in length and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest breadth, having incised on its flat surface a cross of peculiar form, and on the space between the shaft of the cross and the side of the stone a line of inscription in Ogham characters. The form of the cross is that seen on the sculptured stones of an early character at Ulbster, in Caithness, and Monymusk, Aberdeenshire. Some parts of the surface of the Burrian stone have scaled off, and the cross is thus incomplete towards the bottom of the shaft, where there are remains of a figure which appears to resemble a fish. The Ogham inscription appears to be complete except in one part near the middle, where there is a slight break in the stone. (See Plate XLVI.)

A copy of the inscription having been sent to Sir Samuel Ferguson of the Public Record Office, Dublin, an accomplished Oghamist, and an Honorary Fellow of this Society, he wrote to the late Dr Stuart offering some suggestions towards a provisional reading of the text, and pointing out the difficulties which it presents. In that letter he says:—

"All your Scottish Oghams which I have seen differ from ours in indicating the vowels, not by notches on the aris, but by stem-crossing digits, distinguishable from the stem-crossing consonants only by their relative inclinations. The consonants generally appear to be incised obliquely, the vowels perpendicularly to the stem; but it may be *vice versa* in some cases, and hence one source of perplexity.

"Besides this, common to them all, your Orkney text presents combinations not found, that I know of, on any Irish lapidary monument, or in any Irish or other written text. We have a single cross intersecting on the stem  thus, to which the power is generally ascribed of *ea* diphthong. Besides this the Orkney legend has like intersections of groups of three  and five  unknown to my experience, over and above a back-to-back

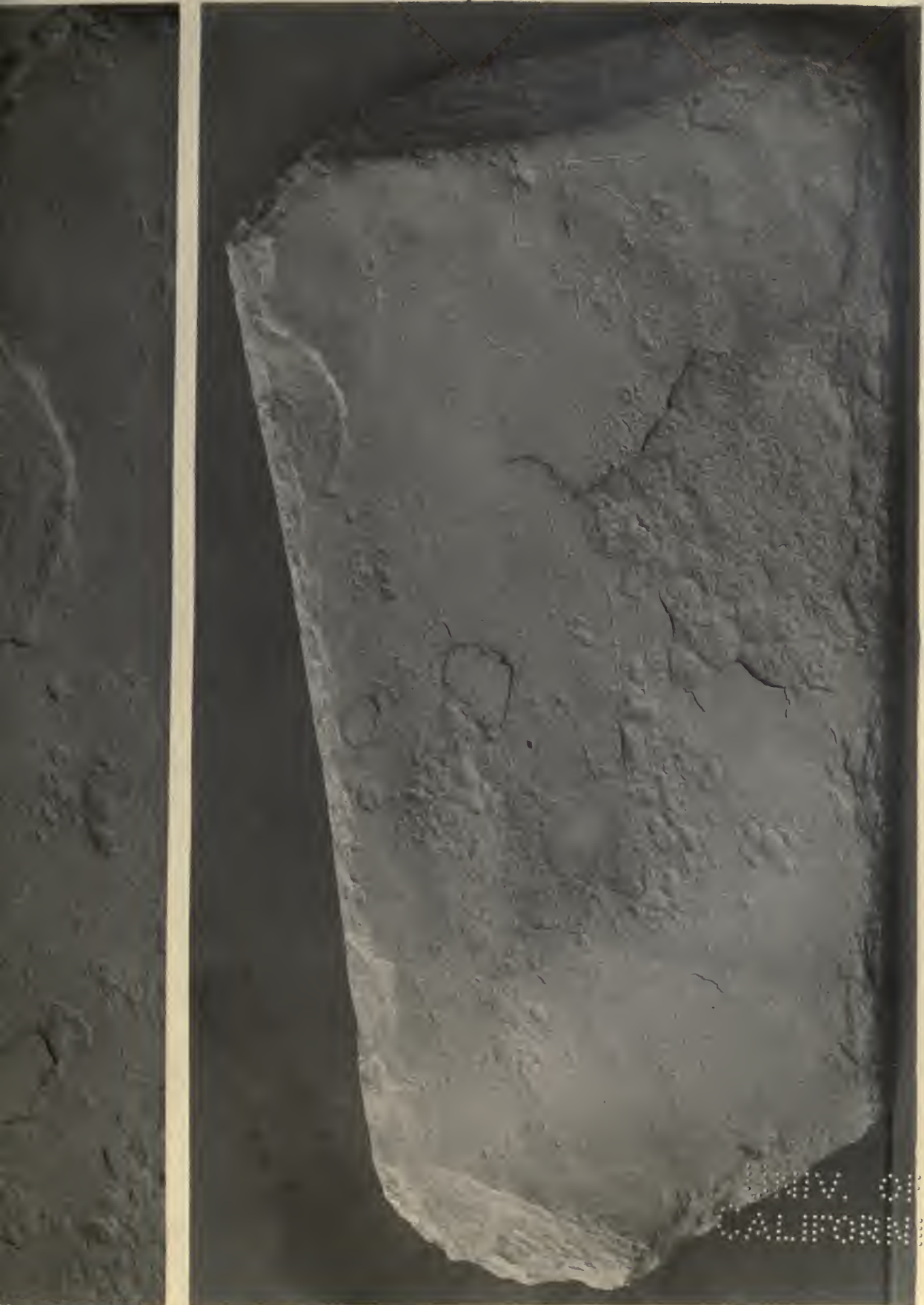
character  of which one Irish example only exists that I know of (at Camp), where it apparently reads as the ordinary St Andrew's cross above referred to.

"To assign values to these on any other theory than the apparent needs of the context, would seem to me, in the present state of our information, to be a vain attempt. But what is the context—Latin? Gaelic? Old English? I read a name apparently ending in *mann*, and what seems a verb ending in *acht*, whence, if I could steady my footing so far, I might infer that the language is some form of our own speech, and that some one of some such name as Mab ograrmann or Gorm^r//mann or Gorarmann did something in respect of an object described by the last word which seems to end in *ocqs*. If that were so, we might infer that the  formed by the crossing of two characters, which singly might stand for *u*, is designed to express *u u*; and venture on reading the seeming verb as *wrract* = "wrought," "fashioned," and the  following the  as *k r r* evolving *krrocqs* = "cross." What, then, should we say to the intermediate group, beginning with ? They will yield no articulate sound read as they run in their context; but if regarded as segregated, and read from *above* instead of from below (see Stephens on what he calls one of the Runic "elegancies" of reading digits as of their opposite powers), their known elements furnish the equivalents of *etts*, whence possibly it might not be out of the range of likelihood if we accepted that hint for concluding the  in this collection to stand for *th*, so as to read the whole—M A B G O R A R M A N N W R A C T T H E T T S K R R O C Q S. But would this be at all like the kind of old English which might be looked for in the Orkneys? It is a question for Copenhagen rather than Dublin."

The late Richard Robert Brash, author of a posthumous work on Ogham inscriptions, also communicated a note on the reading of the inscription as follows:—

"The Ogham inscriptions hitherto found in Scotland differ materially from those found on stone monuments in Ireland. In the latter the vowels are (with one exception) formed or represented by groups of short scores, or by oval or circular dots cut on the angle of the stone. In the former, on the contrary, they are represented by long scores vertical to the angle or stem line, to distinguish them from the consonantal groups, which are cut obliquely; but this difference, which should be strongly defined, is not always attended to in the Scotch examples, hence much of the difficulty encountered in rendering the Newton inscription. Again, the Irish examples show the groups of scores well defined and separated, so that there is seldom any difficulty in arriving at the values of the groups. In the Scotch this is not attended to; the legends are very irregularly and confusedly cut, and apparently on no regular system, while the Irish and Welsh examples appear as if they were the work of one hand.

"For these reasons none of the Scotch legends are intelligible, with the exception of that on the Bressay stone, which has been fairly rendered by Dr Petrie, owing to its being more carefully executed than any of the others. Attempts have been made to give a reading of the Newton legends without success. The late Dr Petrie, Mr John Windele, and the Rev. Mathew Horgan gave it up in despair. I have myself pored over it day after day, but could never satisfy myself as to the value to be assigned to all the score groups. The wheel inscription at Logie is equally a puzzle. The truth is, the legend in this stone cannot be read, as we have no clue to its commencement, and all the letters are consonants.



α.

SLAB WITH INCISED CROSS AND OGHAM INSCRIPTION FROM BROCH OF BURRIAN.

TO VNU
ANBONLAC

“The result of my study of the Scotch examples is this—that they are of comparatively late date, that they were not cut by persons acquainted with the monumental Ogham character of the Irish Gaedhil, but by scribes or ecclesiastics, who took their scales from those MSS. in which alphabets of that character have been preserved. This is particularly observable in the Bressay legend, which contains six peculiar characters found only in the alphabets contained in the Ogham tract from the “Book of Ballymote,” and not one of which has been found in any Irish monument.

“The above remarks hold good with respect to the minute line of Oghams cut on the face of the grave slab found in Burrian Broch, North Ronaldsay; they are the smallest I have seen on any stone monument, and are evidently of the same age as the other sculpture on the same face. An examination of the legend shows that it must read from the bottom upwards. I have, however, failed in a satisfactory rendering of it, and can only at present attempt to identify the letters, which I have numbered in the enclosed tracing, and have attached the values of the groups as far as I can at present see my way. There can, I think, be no difficulty about the first twelve groups, which I take to have the following values:—I A L E L R A R B A N N; the small score before No. 2 I make no account of; No. 7 appears slightly oblique in my copy. I am, however, inclined to give it a vowel value; the enclosing of Nos. 6, 8, 11, and 12 by lines drawn at the ends of the scores is a freak of the engraver, and does not affect the values of the characters. The 13th character is difficult to deal with; if a consonant, its value would be N G; if a vowel, U. I would be inclined to give it the latter value. We have then a doubtful character, marked by dotted lines, three scores slightly oblique; this would read N G. Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 read R R A C T. No. 20 is a character found on many Irish monuments; its value in the MSS. is given as E A. On the Crickhowel example it reads P, by the aid of the accompanying Roman legend. Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 easily read E F F C. Nos. 25 and 26 create a difficulty; they either represent two consonants, M M, or two vowels, A A. Nos. 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 read R O C C S. Taking this view of the values of the characters in this curious inscription, we have the following:—I A L E L R A R B A N N (U or N G) N G R R A C T (E A or P) E F F C (M M or A A) R O C C S. I look upon the cross scores on No. 27 to be an attempt to form a certain character found in the MSS., and also on the Bressay stone, or else marks of obliteration. I do not attempt to form these letters into words; I should wish to be more certain of the correctness of my copy ere I should attempt to do so.”

Oblong water worn Pebble of Claystone, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, abraded at both ends by use as a pounder.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of hard Claystone, 6 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, greatly abraded at both ends by similar use.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of indurated Claystone, 7 by 2 inches, abraded and broken at both ends by similar use.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of Grey Sandstone, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, similarly worn at both ends.

Whetstone, being an oblong Pebble of fine-grained reddish Sandstone, 6 by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Flattish boat-shaped piece of Steatite, 5 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across the middle, and 1 inch thick, tapering to both ends, and having a small hole partly drilled through one end. One of its flat sides is marked transversely, as if by cuts of a sharp instrument.

Flattish circular Pebble of Quartz, 3 inches diameter and 1 inch thick, marked on the surface with streaks as of rusty iron.

Oblong Pebble of brownish Sandstone, having incised on both sides figures of crossed triangles, as represented in the annexed woodcut (fig. 1). A somewhat similar figure, formed of intersecting triangles, occurs, with the comb and shears, on a Stone at St Andrews, Fifeshire. —*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. pl. ix.

Five pieces of black vesicular Lava, irregularly conical in shape, having small holes pierced through the narrow ends. They vary in size from 3 inches in length, by about 2 in breadth and thickness at the bottom, to not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, by less than 1 inch square at the bottom.



Fig. 1.—Stone with incised figures of crossed triangles, 6 inches in length.

Twenty-two Whorls or Discs of Stone, perforated in the centre. The smallest is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with a perforation $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. The largest is 2 inches diameter, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, the perforation in the centre being $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter. A number of these seem to have been whorls for the spindle. Some of the smaller ones may have been meant for table-men. One is ornamented with radiating lines, and has a channelled edge. Another has been used for some purpose by which the sides of the hole have been worn by the friction of a thread or fine cord passing through it.

Ball of Sandstone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, having a socket-hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, tapering to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch at the bottom, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep.

Twelve Pieces of Fractured Flints, none of which show any traces of artificial working.
Seventeen Pebbles of various sizes, very smooth, round, and highly polished.

Objects of Bone.

Sixteen Whorls of Bone, mostly made of the head of a femur of an animal, pierced with a hole in the centre, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. A few of the smaller ones may have been table-men.

Awl or Borer, made of the leg-bone of an animal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Awl or Borer, made of the leg-bone of an animal, 7 inches in length.

Awl or Borer, made of a splinter of bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Implement of Bone, 5 inches in length, made by cutting the leg-bone of a sheep obliquely across, so as to produce a long thin segment. It has been broken at the point.

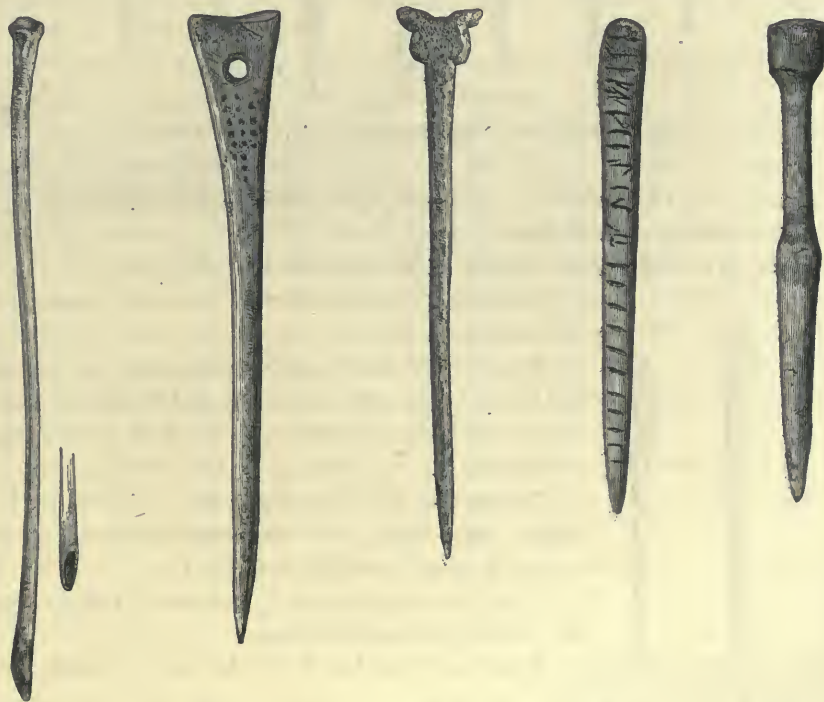


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 2.—Bone Implement, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Fig. 3.—Bone Pin, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.

Fig. 4.—Crutch-headed Bone Pin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Fig. 5.—Bone Pin, ornamented with rune-like marks.

Implement, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, made from the radius or wing-bone of a bird by cutting the bone obliquely across near one end, and grinding the section smooth (fig. 2). It is not clear to

what useful purpose this curious implement may have been applied, but it is found, on trial, that it can be used as a pen for writing with.

Eight Pins made of bone, varying in length from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with flat heads, made from the natural articulating ends.

Three similar Pins, broken.

Seven Pins of bone, varying in length from 5 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with flat triangular heads



Fig. 7.—Bone Pins, with ornamental heads. (Actual size.)

fully $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch wide, and perforated. The head of one, which is here figured (fig. 3), is ornamented with a number of small holes.

Two Pins, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with crutch-like heads (fig. 4).

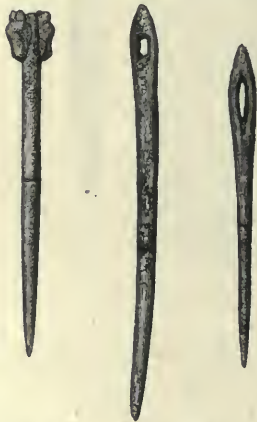


Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 8.—Bone Pin, with carved head. (Actual size.)

Fig. 9.—Bone Needles. (Actual size.)

Two Pins (broken), one with the head ornamented with a cluster of small holes.

Pin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, ornamented on one side with incised markings, some of which resemble runes (fig. 5).

Pin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with flat head, and swelling in the middle (fig. 6).

Twenty-five Pins, varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 1 inch in length, finely made, with ornamental heads, one or two with a band above or below the head (fig. 7).

Eight Pins, varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 1 inch in length, with flat, circular, or spade-like heads.

Two Small Pins, 1 inch and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, with bifurcated heads.

Pin, 2 inches in length, the head being neatly carved into two horses' heads, looking opposite ways (fig. 8).

Thirty Pins, broken or without heads, from 4 inches in length.

Three Needles, with elongated eyes. One is broken, the other two are $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long respectively (fig. 9).

Small Pin, 1 inch in length, with perforated head.

Five Pegs of hard, solid bone, from 3 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch diameter.

Portions of two Slips of Bone, flat on the one side and convex on the other, one having three pegs driven through it in holes at equal distances from each other, and the other two having one peg only.

Slip of Bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in thickness, sawn flat on one side, the other slightly convex, and having two holes $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, neatly bored, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from either end.

Two thin Slips of Bone, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches and 2 inches in length, by about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, pared smooth on both sides.

Handle of Deer's Horn, being part of a tine, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, having in each end a tapering, square-shaped hole, as if for the insertion of the tang of a metal implement.

Handle of Deer's Horn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, having similar holes at each end, and one end split by use.

Handle of Deer's Horn, apparently of a knife, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, with the tang of an iron implement remaining in the socket.

Handle-like Implement of Deer's Horn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, having an oblong cavity in one end, which is discoloured by oxide of iron. A small hole is pierced transversely through the implement, as if for suspension.

Handle-like Implement of Deer's Horn (?), being the end of a tine, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a round hole, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, pierced transversely at about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the wide end.

Two Knobs of Bone, 1 inch in diameter, one having the remains of an iron tang in it.

Pin, made of Bone, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, having a squarish head, with rounded top, about 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, projecting from one side of the pin only, the shape of which is flat, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. A hole about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter pierces the head of the pin perpendicularly in the centre, coming out alongside of the shaft.

Three pieces of Bone, two being portions of the shank-bones of a sheep, and one a piece of hard bone, pared to a cylindrical form, and worn smooth at one end by the friction of a thread or cord passing round them.

Half of a square-shaped Stud or Button of Ivory, with a small hole for the shank, discoloured by oxide of iron.

Two Studs or Buttons of Bone, made from short sections of the leg-bone of a sheep. One has the iron shank still in the hole, and has been pierced with another hole in the side.

Two Broken Buttons, similar to the former.

One piece of a Shank-Bone, cut off to be made into such a button.

Three Oblong Dice, each made of a piece of sheep shank-bone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. The one here figured (fig. 10) is ground flat on one side, on which there are six points; on the convexity of the bone there are five points; on the flatter part



Fig. 10.—Die made of the leg bone of a sheep. (Actual size.)

of the bone (which is broken), there are no markings to be seen, but a portion of one near the centre shows there was at least one number on that side; on the remaining side the number seemed to have been four. In the second die the surface is so much gone that the numbers cannot be distinguished. Of the third die there is only one side remaining, on which there are four points. Dice of this form are also found in graves of the Viking period in Norway.

Tool of Bone, 4 inches in length, having a rounded point, with two grooves cut in it leaving prominent parallel ridges about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch apart (fig. 11).

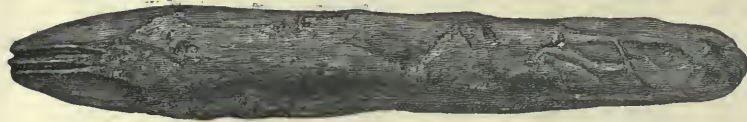


Fig. 11.—Tool of Bone: (Actual size.)

Thin Disc of Bone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, with two small holes through the centre.

Thin Disc of Bone, $1\frac{2}{3}$ inch in diameter, with a dot and circle in the centre, and two small holes midway between the centre and circumference.

Broken portion of an oval-shaped piece of Bone, polished, and having two holes drilled in it.

Oval Object of Bone, probably of whale, 3 inches long by 2 inches wide, and 1 inch thick, having a square hole through the centre, as if for the tang of some iron implement.

A similarly-shaped Object of Bone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, with a square hole through the centre.

Implement made from a flat piece of the bone of a whale (?), $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, rubbed smooth at both ends, and along the sides, probably a "weavers' rubbing-bone," for smoothing the web after it was woven (fig. 12).



Fig. 12.—Rubbing bone made of the bone of a whale, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Similar Implement of Bone, 8 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, broken on the edges.

Similar Implement of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, rounded at the corners, and having the ends and edges rubbed smooth and polished by use. In shape it is

somewhat curved, as if made of the hard outer layer of a large jaw or rib-bone, probably of a whale.

Similar Implement, 5 inches by 4, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with rounded edge, worn and polished by use.

Similar Implement, being an oval disc, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches across its greatest diameter, and less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with part of its edges smoothed and polished by use.

Similar Implement, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, having one of its ends rubbed smooth and polished by use.

Similar Implement, 6 inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad, fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, roughly made, and bearing no marks of smoothing on its edges by use.

Large Implement, made of the bone of a whale, shaped somewhat like the blade of a spade, 10 inches in length by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. Notches, 2 inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, are cut into its upper part on either side.

Implement, made of the bone of a whale, 10 inches long, 6 inches broad, and nearly 1 inch in thickness, having two holes, one round, and 2 inches in diameter, the other oval, and 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$, cut above each other, the lower hole being near the centre, of the length of the implement.

Triangular-shaped piece of spongy bone, 8 inches long, and 5 inches broad at the wide end, having two holes, one 2 inches wide, narrowing to 1 inch, and the other 1 inch wide, narrowing to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, pierced through the bone near the broad end.

Piece of Bone, 7 inches long by 2 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, with a groove $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and triangular in section, cut round its length.

Piece of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, and 1 inch in thickness, roughly shaped to a rectangular form, sawn across at the one end, and hacked at the other.

Piece of Bone, 8 inches long, 5 inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, formed of a portion of the circular articulating surface of a vertebra of a whale, having an oblong hole, 3 inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, cut obliquely through it in the centre, and a smaller round hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter above it. The sides of the implement (if it be so) have been cut away with a saw. The lower part is broken.

Comb of Bone, with rounded back, ornamented with a profusion of small "cup and circle" markings. The comb is formed of five thin slips of bone about 2 inches in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, laid together lengthwise, and held in their places by two slips laid transversely across them, fastened together by four iron rivets. The entire comb measures 3 inches by 2 inches, and besides the ornamentation of the cup and circle markings, the two end slips and the centre slip are ornamented on the upper part by three small holes arranged triangularly. The teeth of the comb have been very regularly cut with a fine saw, and the saw-marks are distinctly seen on the slips forming the outer frame, which holds the comb together, showing that it was constructed before the teeth were cut. (See fig. 13.)

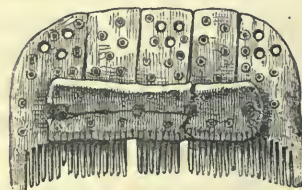


Fig. 13.—Comb of Bone. (Half actual size.)

Similar Comb with round back, wanting most of the teeth. It is fastened with three iron rivets, and has a small hole in the centre of the back, as if for suspension.

Double-edged Comb of Bone, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 inches, formed of four slips of bone inserted between two transverse slips, held together by three iron rivets. The transverse

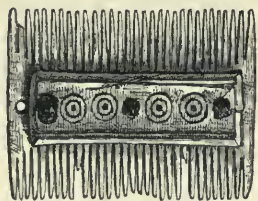


Fig. 14.—Comb of Bone.
(Half actual size.)

slips are ornamented by a single line incised along each border, and four sets of two concentric circles, with central dots, ranged at equal distances along the middle of the slips. The teeth are widely but regularly cut, narrowing towards the points, and those towards either end of the comb shorter than those in the middle. In cutting the teeth the saw has only touched the binding transverse slips in one or two places. A hole for suspension is pierced in the middle of one end of the comb. (See fig. 14.)

Double-edged Comb of bone (broken), $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 2 inches in breadth. The six slips of bones of which it was composed remain attached to the transverse slips which are fastened by five iron rivets, placed at equal distances. On the upper and lower side of each of the rivets is an ornamental "dot and circle" marking about $\frac{1}{10}$ inch in diameter, and a similar marking in the centre of each of the broad terminal teeth at either end of the comb. The transverse slips are regularly marked on both sides by the saw. The teeth are well cut, and regular in length and thickness. They show very strongly the marks of wear, chiefly towards the bases of the teeth, as minute transverse lines are worn deeply into the corners of the teeth, sometimes completely encircling them. These marks are different from those on the long-handled combs, which are chiefly towards the apices of the teeth, indicating a different method of use.

Portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, being one of the endslips, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, ornamented by four very deep and regularly cut sets of two concentric circles, with central dot, and having the remains of an iron rivet.

Similar portion of a double edged Comb of bone, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, similarly ornamented, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, 1 inch in width, unornamented, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in width, ornamented with two cup-shaped hollows on either side, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width, having part of both the transverse slips attached, in which there are the remains of three rivets of copper or a coppery-like bronze. This comb has been pierced with two holes for suspension, both of which are much worn on the side from which the comb has hung.

Slip of Bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, being part of the toothed portion of a double-edged comb, having a rivet-hole pierced through one side.

Slip of Bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, being part of the toothed portion of a double-edged comb, having remains of an iron rivet in one side.

Portion of a double-edged Comb, being part of one of the transverse slips, with two iron

rivets, and a portion of the toothed part of the comb still adherent. The transverse slip is ornamented by cup and circle markings arranged in pairs.

Portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, being part of one of the transverse slips, with one iron rivet and the mark of another, and part of the toothed portion of the comb adherent. The transverse slip is ornamented by saw-cuts along the edges, and groups of three at equal distances passing obliquely across the middle of the slip.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn (see fig. 15), 5 inches in length, 2 inches wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are ten in number, are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, $\frac{1}{3}$ inch apart, and strongly marked towards the apices by use, probably as a weaving implement. (See paper by Mr Anderson, in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 548.)



Fig. 15.—Long-handled Comb of Deer's Horn ($4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long).

Long-handled Comb of bone, 5 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are ten in number, are scarcely $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, and so strongly marked by use that some of them are almost cut through.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are eight in number, are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, bearing no marks of use beyond a slight polish.

Long-handled Comb of bone, 4 inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are eight in number, are $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, and bear no marks of use beyond a slight polish.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth have been ten in number, but only the stumps remain.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth have been thirteen in number, but are quite broken away.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 2 inches wide at the base of the teeth. The comb is imperfect at the lower end, so that the number of teeth cannot now be ascertained.

Portion of handle of long-handled Comb, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Piece of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at each end, 1 inch wide in the middle, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, probably a long-handled comb in process of manufacture previous to the teeth being cut.

Long handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth. This variety of comb differs from those previously described, in being shorter and thicker, and having longer and stronger teeth set wider apart. This specimen has nine teeth $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in

length, some of them being as much as $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at the base, where the bone is hollowed out to a gouge-like form. It is ornamented by two deep saw-cuts drawn diagonally across the back in the form of a St Andrew's cross. The butt-end of the comb is much polished by the friction of some soft substance.

Long-handled Comb, made from the lower part of a shed antler of red deer, 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth, which are twelve in number, and fully 1 inch in length. The butt-end of the comb is formed of the burr of the antler, and, as in the previous comb, the horn is hollowed out into a somewhat gouge-shaped form at the base of the teeth. A hole nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter has been made at one corner of the comb for suspension.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth, which are eight in number, somewhat rounded and sharp-pointed, and fully an inch in length. Like the previous two, this comb is gouge-shaped, the softer interior of the horn being removed, in this case perhaps by decay.



Fig. 16.

Fig. 16.—Bone with Incised Ornament similar to that of the Sculptured Stones. (Natural Size.)

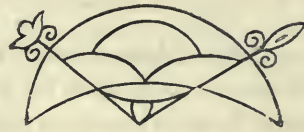


Fig. 17.

Fig. 17.—Symbol or Ornament on Sculptured Stones.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn, almost precisely similar in form to the last, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width at the base of the teeth, which seem to have been twelve in number. Only two now remain entire, and they are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length.

Long-handled Comb, 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the base of the teeth which are twelve in number, and have been fully an inch in length. The upper part of the handle of this comb is rudely ornamented with a line cut across it parallel to the line of implantation of the teeth, and between this line and the butt-end of the comb two lines cross each other diagonally like a St Andrew's cross. Below the crossed lines two other lines run diagonally across the teeth.

Part of the handle of a long-handled Comb of deer's horn, 2 inches in length.

Long-handled Comb of bone (perhaps imperfect), 3 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across the base of the teeth, which are fully an inch in length, and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch apart.

Portion of the toothed end of a long-handled Comb of bone, 2 inches across the base of the teeth, which are sixteen in number, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and cut with a very fine saw.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, convex and smooth on one side, concave and roughly dressed on the other, having the one end sawn off square, and the other brought to a blunt rounded edge.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, 15 inches in length, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, tapering to a point, and triangular in section, the back being rounded, and fully $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, 13 inches in length, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, roughly cut to shape with a sharp implement.

Phalangeal Bone of a small Ox, having incised on the centre of the convex surface the "crescent-shaped ornament," traversed by the "double sceptre" (see fig. 16), similar to that which is of such common occurrence on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (see fig. 17).



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

Fig. 18.—Bone with Incised Figures. Reverse Side. (Natural Size.)

Fig. 19.—Sculptured Stone, Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire (45 inches long).

The symbol or ornament represented in fig. 17 is copied from the standing stone at Crichie. Kintore, and is the commonest and most widely-distributed of all the symbols of the Sculptured Stones. It occurs with a great variety of detail, but the general form is much the same, and the figure given above has an almost exact resemblance, with the exception of one or two additional flourishes, to that of the stone from Firth, Orkney, now in the Museum. On the opposite side of the bone to that represented in fig. 16 there is incised another figure or symbol (see fig. 18), which is also characteristic of the ornamentation or symbolism of the Sculptured Stones. This peculiarly-shaped symbol is sculptured on the stone at Kintradwell in Sutherlandshire (see fig. 19).

Phalangeal Bone of an Ox, having on one side incised marks showing no distinct form.

Phalangeal Bone of an Ox, one of the articular ends of which is hollowed as if to receive the tang of some metal implement.

Articles of Bronze.

Bronze Pin, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with globular head, unornamented.

Bronze Pin, 2 inches in length, with round head, flattened on the top, and having a flat band on the side, which is ornamented with cross-hatched lines. Half-way along the length of the pin are two bands of ornamentation in parallel lines.

Broken portion of a Bronze Pin, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

A number of minute Fragments of Bronze, probably of a small Fibula.

Articles of Iron.

Small square-sided Bell of Iron (fig. 20), which bears indications of having been "brazed" or coated with bronze. It measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, 2 inches in breadth, and 1 inch in width, and has had a small looped handle on the top. It is made in the usual way in which these small early square bells have been made, of a piece of thin sheet-iron bent into the required shape, and clamped together. It is of small size, but not so much smaller than the enshrined Bell of Kilmichael Glassary (fig. 21) as to raise a doubt of its ecclesiastical character.



Fig. 20.—Bell from Broch of Burrian.



Fig. 21.—Bell of Kilmichael Glassary.

Lozenge-shaped Piece of Iron, with tang, the lozenge-shaped part being $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide in the middle, and the tang 2 inches in length. It is probably a spear or dart head, but it is so thickly encrusted with oxidation that it is impossible to tell whether the edges have been sharp or not.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head of Iron, with remains of tang for insertion in the shaft. It measures 2 inches in length by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in greatest breadth.

Knife-blade of Iron, with thick rounded back, and tang for insertion in the handle. It measures 4 inches in length by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in greatest breadth of blade, the point being long, and tapering gradually from the middle of the rounded back.

Knife-blade of Iron, with thick back, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with tang for insertion in the shaft, 1 inch in length.

Portions of two other Knife-blades or Spear-heads of Iron, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, encrusted with remains of vegetable fibre.

Portions of Knife-blade of Iron, with tang $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length.

Hollow tapering Object of Iron, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, probably the ferrule of a spear shaft.

Iron Ferrule, apparently of a Spear-shaft, 3 inches long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter.

Iron Ferrule, apparently of a Spear-shaft, broken on one side, and showing remains of the wooden shaft, with a rivet passing across it.

Four Broken Rivets of Iron, three with square heads and one round.

Two Broken Rings of Iron, an inch in diameter.

Five Pieces of Iron Implements of indeterminate character.

Portion of the point end of an Iron Tang, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, with the wood adherent in which it has been imbedded. As it has been driven in parallel to the grain of the wood, it might probably be the tang of a knife-blade or spear-head, with remains of the shaft in which it was inserted.

Pottery.

Portion of the side of a large Vessel of reddish Clay, hand-made, but smoothed inside with a tool, the marks of which are still perceptible. The vessel has had a slightly everted lip, and has been slightly bulged towards the middle of its height. The clay is well burned, and free from grit.

Portion of the same vessel, showing part of the lip.

Part of the bottom and sides of a globular flat-bottomed Vessel of reddish Clay, well smoothed on both the inside and outside surfaces, but imperfectly fired. The flat bottom is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, and in form and texture the vessel has resembled the modern Lewis "Craggans," though somewhat better made.

Two portions of the sides of the same, or a similar vessel.

Portion of a flat-bottomed vessel of reddish Clay, with straight sides, the interior retaining marks of smoothing by a tool.

Portion of a flat-bottomed cup-like Vessel of brownish sandy Clay, thick, and imperfectly fired. The bottom seems to have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Small portion of the bottom and side of a coarsely-made Vessel of reddish Clay, thick and gritty, and imperfectly fired.

Portion of the side of a bowl-shaped Vessel of reddish sandy Clay, with part of a neatly-moulded lip.

Portion of the side of a straight-sided Vessel of reddish Clay, with slightly bevelled lip, clean on the inside, much blackened and encrusted on the outside.

Portion of a straight-sided Vessel of brownish Clay, fine in texture, and very thin, being only about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick, with straight edge. It is greatly blackened and encrusted on both sides.

Portion of a large Vessel of Red Clay, smoothed by hand on both sides, and having an everted lip.

Portion of the bottom of a cup-shaped Vessel of reddish Clay. The bottom of this vessel

seems to have had a diameter of about 2 inches. The clay is fine in texture, and perfectly free from grit. The vessel appears to have been made very thin, and whether from an accidental circumstance, or in order to stiffen the soft clay and enable it to sustain its own weight, it has been mixed with grass. The sole fragment of this vessel which has been preserved has split in consequence of this admixture, and the ribbed impressions of the leaflets of the grass are preserved in the clay like the prints of fossil leaves.

Twelve fragments of hand-made Pottery, varying from about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch to fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness.

Four fragments of a Vessel of reddish Clay, showing a slightly everted lip, with an ornamental border of short oblique indentations.

Fragment of a Vessel of greyish Clay having an everted lip, and underneath it an ornamental border of oblong projecting knobs, and remains of an incised chevron pattern underneath.

List of the Manufactured Articles found at Burrian.

BONE.	BRONZE.
*39 Round pins, different patterns.	*3 Bronze pins.
*26 Flat pins, for the hair.(?)	A few bits of bronze, nails, &c.
*7 Bodkins.	IRON.
*3 Needles.	*2 Dart heads.
*1 Bone implement, grooved at one end.	*1 Hatchet.(?)
*1 Part of a drill.(?)	*2 Knife blades.
*3 Bone dice.(?)	*1 Ring, broken.
*2 Bones, engraved with symbols.	*8 or 9 pieces of iron articles, use unknown, nearly all of them hollow.
*11 Hair combs, finely cut and ornamented.	STONE.
2 Hammer heads.(?)	20 Stone whorls.
2 Axe heads.(?)	1 Flat quartz pebble, curiously marked with streaks of oxide of iron.
2 Bone clubs.(?)	Lava, many pieces.
1 Bone, shaped like a knife.	*1 Stone, with cross and Ogham inscription.
1 Spade or hoe.(?)	1 Stone, with symbols and geometric figures.
1 Bone whistle.(?)	1 Mortar for grinding.
3 Handles for knives or tools.	1 Do., broken.
3 Bones pointed for boring.	Stones for grinding, <i>many</i> .
1 Scraper.	Stone pot covers, <i>many</i> .
12 Long handled combs.	*1 Vessel of steatite, broken.
10 or 12 Bones, use unknown.	Pieces of 3 querns.
POTTERY.	1 Perforated stone sinker.(?)
Many broken pieces, quality like common flower-pots.	A few flint flakes.
GLASS.	2 Pieces of encrinite.
*1 Blue bead.	Round quartz pebbles, <i>many</i> .
*1 Small piece of a glass vessel.	

N.B.—The Asterisks (*) denote articles supposed to belong to the second occupation.

XVI.—*On the Duns of the Outer Hebrides.*

(Plates XLVII.—LIII.)

By the late Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

It is proposed in the following paper to describe such pre-historic fortifications in *Innise-fhada*,¹ *i.e.*, the Outer Hebrides, as the writer has seen, or of which he has been informed by trustworthy correspondents, together with the mythological or legendary tales connected with these ancient defences; to be followed by remarks on the examples herein described.

Dun Eistein, Ness, Lewis.

At the north end or Ness of Lewis, in the townland of Cnoc Aird, is the natural stronghold of Dun Eistein; it is a flat, cliffy island, of a somewhat oval shape, about 75 yards long and 50 yards broad; separated from the mainland by a narrow and perpendicular ravine, through which the sea flows at high water. The ravine is between 30 and 40 feet broad, and the same in height. The remains of a strong wall follow the edge of the cliff on the landward side of the island, through which it is said there had been squints or loopholes for observation and defence.

Towards the north-east corner are the ruins of a dun, sometimes called "Tigh nan Arm," or the House of Arms; now but $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The outside of the dun is an oblong square, 23×18 feet; but the central area is of an oval shape, only $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and there is no appearance of any doorway. The entrance was probably at the height of the first floor, similar to a dún in Taransay. The walls are of drystone masonry, but that is no proof of

¹ *Innis-fhada*, pronounced *Innish-á-da*, *i.e.*, the Long Island. Giraldus Cambrensis states "In the Northern Ocean, between Ulster and Galway, there are various islands, for instance, the Orcades and Incades" (*Bohn*, p. 72). The Orcades are, of course, the Orkneys, and the latter I take to be *Innis-fhada*.

any great age in this part of the country. When exploring the ruins, the Rev. M. Macphail (who made the above measurements) found a very small piece of flint (probably a strike-light), some small bits of charcoal, and a strip of leather such as was used for making brogues.

There are the remains of houses on the island, said to have been built by the Morrisons. On the south side of the island is a flat ledge, called "Palla na Biorlinn," *i.e.*, the ledge of the Barge or Birlin, where the Morrisons used to haul up their boat.

Mr Macphail is of opinion that Dun Eistein gets its name from two rocks which lie at a short distance from its outer end, called Eistein Mor and Eistein Beg; otherwise I should have supposed it to be the Norse personal name, Eystein.

It is difficult to assign an age to Tigh nan Arm. The absence of mortar by no means proves a great antiquity. The "Tigh" or dun rather appears to have been an incipient peel, but I am unwilling to believe that it dates from the seventeenth century; it is more probable that it belongs to the age when Kolbein Ruga built his castle in Weir, Orkney, namely, the twelfth century.

This part of the country, Ness, was the location of the Clan, *i.e.*, Ghille Mhuire, that is, Servant of Mary, and Mac Ghille Mhuire (pronounced Vu-da) has been translated into Maryson, now Morrison. A writer of the seventeenth century, himself a Morrison, says, "The first and most ancient inhabitants of this cuntry were three men of three several races, viz., Mores, the sone of Kennanus, whom the Irish historians call Makurich, whom they make to be a naturell son to one of the Kings of Noravay, some of whose posteritie remains in the land to this day. All the Morrisons in Scotland may challenge their descent from this man." But the writer forgets to mention the interesting fact, that the head of this clan was the Breitheamh (which formidable combination of letters is simply pronounced Bre-ave or Brieve) or Hereditary Judge of Lewis. "The Brieve is a kynd of judge amongst the ilanders, who hath ane absolute judicatorie, vnto whose authoritie and censure they willinglie submitt themselves, when he determineth any debateable question betuein partie and partie." As it is not likely that any one of the Brieves ever understood a word of English, and as the Scotch laws were never translated into Gaelic, it seems that the native or Brehon laws must have been administered in this part of Scotland as late as the seventeenth century. The Judge lived at Tigh Mor Thabost—in English, the Great House at Hall-stead.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Macleod of Lewis (Old Rory) repudiated his second wife, Barbara Mackenzie, for adultery with the Brieve of Lewis (Hucheon Mac Ghille Mhuire or Morrison). Her son, Torquil Conanach, was never

acknowledged by Old Rory ; but a younger son, by a third wife, was named and acted as heir. To bring Torquil Dhu to his end, Kenneth Mackenzie (afterwards Lord Kintail), Torquil Conanach, the Brieve of Lewis, and Murdo Macleod, a natural brother of Torquil Conanach, held a secret meeting, when Lord Kintail stated it was necessary to make away with Torquil Dhu ; to which the rest agreed, but neither liked to put the proposition into force. At last, the Brieve was persuaded by the earnest entreaty of the other three, and the promise of a great reward, to undertake the matter. Afterwards, the Brieve with his clan (Mhic Ghille Mhuire, *i.e.*, Morrisons), went in his galley to Rona, and took on the way a Dutch ship, which was partly freighted with wine ; he took her into Stornoway, and invited Torquil Dhu to a banquet on board. "So being set down in the ship, expecting some wine, instead whereof they bring them cords ;" and Torquil was seized by the Morrisons and carried to the Mackenzie's country, where, by the instructions of Lord Kintail, Torquil Dhu and his company were beheaded, in the month of July 1597. At the instant of the execution there was an earthquake, which greatly astonished the malefactors, though naturally hardened in cruelty and crime. This act of the Brieve is readily understood if it benefited his own son, while it explains the dislike of the Mackenzies to the Morrisons, in spite of their felonious co-operation. After the death of Torquil Dhu the Morrisons fortified themselves at Ness—without doubt, at Dun Eistein—but Neil Macleod, another "sone naturell" of Old Rory, attacked them, killed some, and made the rest leave the fort at Ness.

About 1599, Neil Macleod fell out with Murdo (another "sone naturell" of Old Rory) for allying himself with the Morrisons, when Neil seized and killed some of the Morrisons, and delivered Murdo to be hanged.

It seems John Morrison, the Brieve, must have escaped at this time ; but that afterwards being in Assynt, with six of his kindred, it happened that John MacDonald MacHucheon (an Assynt Macleod), with four others, came by accident to the same house in which the Morrisons were. At this unexpected rencontre, each waited for the onslaught, till John MacDonald attacked and killed the Brieve and five of his men without losing any of his own party.

Malcolm Mor, who became chief of the Morrisons by the death of his father, sought to revenge himself on John MacDonald, but John, by chance, met this Malcolm in the Cogach, fought with him there, killed most of his men, made Malcolm prisoner, and carried him to Lewis, where Tormod Macleod beheaded him. This John MacDonald died in Strathnavir in 1620.

Such is the narrative taken from Sir Robert Gordon, who had one of the sons of Neil Macleod living in his house, and it is no doubt substantially correct. The *seanachaidh* of the Mackenzies tells a widely different story, which need not be noticed here.

In Lewis the traditions of those times have taken a romantic form ; and Allan, not Malcolm, is said to be the son of John, the contemporary of Old Rory. Many a wild and impossible story has been invented from the shadowy remembrance of the tragedies of the seventeenth century, but the only one relating to Dun Eistein is the following, which has a narrow foundation in fact :—

Neil Macleod, called in this legend Odhar (pronounced O-ar) or Dun, attacked the Morrisons on the Habost moor, but was defeated. Neil sent to Harris for assistance, and again came to Habost; but the Morrisons had taken shelter in Dun Eistein, The Macleods arrived at night, and marched to Dun Eistein, when one of the Morrisons, unaware of the presence of an enemy, came out of the hut, and was struck by an Uig man with an arrow—Baobh an Dòrlaich (literally, the Fury of the Quiver)—the last arrow of the eighteen that should be used, and it passed right through his belly. The wounded Morrison cried for help, when the rest came out, and Allan, the eldest, and by far the bravest of them, sprang across the ravine, and loudly demanded that the assassin should be given up to him. The Macleods denied all knowledge of the deed, but Allan reproached them with cowardice, saying, “If you have come to fight, you ought, according to the laws of war from the creation of the world, to have waited till there was light enough to see each other.” He then asked Neil to send his Leigh, *i.e.*, doctor, to the wounded man. Neil, after some hesitation, consented; when Allan took the Leigh under his oxters, and leaped across the ravine with him back into the dun. The man died, however, and the Morrisons fled to the mainland; thither Neil pursued, but the Morrisons had seen Neil crossing the Minsh, and, slipping out from among the islands, tried to get back to Lewis. The Macleods ascended a hill, espied the Brieve’s birlin, and gave chase. There were only Allan Morrison and his two brothers in the boat, so Allan Morrison, who was very strong, set the brothers to row against himself, and composed and sung this “iorram” or boat-song, with which the Ness fishermen still lighten their weary toil:—

The chorus—“Nàilibh i, ’s na-ho-ro” is repeated after every line.

“Iomair a Choinnaich fhir mo chridhe ;
Iomair i gu làidair righinn ;—
Gaul nam ban òg ’s gràdh na nighean.

“Dh’ iomrain féin fear mu dhithis,
’S nam éiginn e fear mu thri.
Tha eagal mòr air mo chridhe
Gur i biorlinn Neil tha tighinn,
No eathair Mhic Thormaid Idhir.

“’S truagh nach robh mi féin ’s Nial Odhar
An’ lagan beag os ceann Dhun Othail ;
Biodag nam laimh, is e bhi fodham,—
Dhearbhinn féin gun teidheadh i domhain.
’S gun biodh fuil a chlàibh ’na ghabhail.”

Translation—

Chorus—"Na liv ee 's na-hò-rò," words having no meaning.

"Row, Kenneth, man of my heart ;
Row with vehement might ;
The darling of damsels, and the beloved of girls.

"I myself could row against two ;
And may be against three.
There is great fear on my heart
That it is Neil's barge that is coming,
Or the boat of the son of dun Norman.

"It is a pity that I and dun Neil were not
In a small hollow above Dun O-ail :
A dirk in my hand, and he beneath.
I would be sure that it should go deep,
And that the blood of his breast should flow down his reins."

Neil overtook the Morrisons a short time after they passed Dun Othail (O-ail), where they fought desperately. Neil attacked them on one side, and the Harris men in a second boat on the other. Allan engaged Neil's party, and killed nearly all his men, when Neil exclaimed—"My men, something must be done, or the monster (*biast*) will not leave a head on a neck among us." They fastened a sword to the end of an oar, therewith to stab Allan ; who, when he saw it coming, made such a desperate blow as to cut the oar in two, but, striking into the gunwale of the boat, his sword stuck fast, and before he could withdraw it both himself and his two brothers were killed.

Such is a Lewis romance of history.

Dun Eòrradail (in English, *Eordale* ; for *Eyrardalr*, Norse = *Beach-dale*), *Ness, Lewis*.

Dun Eòrradail is situated on the coast, about a mile to the southward of Dun Eistein. It is a small tidal island, joined at low water to the main by an Eyrr or Ore, *i.e.*, beach, and which has apparently been fortified by a wall.

Martin describes it as a natural fort, Dun-coradil, evidently a typographical error for Dun-eoradil.

Dun Bhilascleittir (in English, *Villisklet*, for *Villis-klettr*, Norse = *Wills-precipice*), *Ness, Lewis.*

Dun Bhilascleittir is on the coast, three miles to the southward and halfway between Dun Eòrradail and Dun Othail. It is a promontory, enclosed by a wall 10 feet thick and 72 feet long. The cliffs at both ends of the wall are very high, near 200 feet. The site of the dun commands a good view of the surrounding district, and of the sea as far as the eye can reach. Where the promontory is enclosed, the promontory is as high as the country around and maintains its level for nearly half its length. It then suddenly slopes into the sea. There is, I think, about four acres in the enclosed space.

Dun Othail, North Tolsta, Stornoway, Lewis.

By the kindness of Sir James Matheson I was driven out to Tolsta on my way to Dun Othail (pro. O-ail). It was a cold snowy day, and under guidance of the shepherd, by wading through overflowing brooks and wet heather, I reached my destination, a scene at once desolate and grand.

Dun Othail is a natural fortress, being an irregular peaked rock upon the sea coast, nearly 200 feet high, and disjoined from the main by a perpendicular ravine, which, however, does not reach to the water. The ravine appears to have been the walls of a trap dike, which has been eroded. The dun is only accessible from the land on the south-east side, and there it is defended by a wall. I was unable to proceed beyond this, but Mr Macphail informs me that, although there is no defensive masonry upon the rock, it is so difficult of access that the path which leads upwards could be defended by a single individual.

An oblong ruin upon its extreme point is supposed to have been a chapel.

Dun Othail is famous in Lewis legends. The ubiquitous Coinneach Odhair (dun Kenneth) has prophesied that there will be great destruction of the Lewis people by the sword; but

“ Amhainn Laesdail fo thuath
 Aig an Cruinnich am mòr shluagh;
 * * * * *
 Ach thig a mach a Dun Othail
 Na bheir cobhair dhoibh 's fuasgladh.”

that is,

“ At the north Laxdale river
Where the great multitude of the people will gather ;

* * * * *

But there shall come out of Dun O-ail
That shall render them help and relief.”

The ravine separating Dun Othail from the main is called Leum Mhac Nicol, *i.e.*, Nicolson's Leap; and it is made the scene of a legend, of which I have several and various editions. One of them may be briefly told as follows:—Mac Nicol, for some misconduct, was sentenced by the chief of the Lewis to be mutilated. In revenge he ran away with the only child of the chief, and being closely pursued, Mac Nicol leaped across the chasm with the child. Persuasion was used to induce him to surrender the child; but he refused unless the chief were reduced to the same condition as himself. Several subterfuges, which are too technical to be reproduced here, were tried to deceive Mac Nicol, but in vain, and to save the child the chief consented. When Mac Nicol was sure that he had gained his purpose, he sprang with the child over the cliff into the sea, saying (in Gaelic, of course), “I shall have no heir, and he shall have no heir.”

Now this tale is a good instance that where the accidents of a place are fit, a legend is either originated there or is transferred to it. The real scene of this tragedy is claimed by the South Uist people for Huishness, South Uist, and “Nicolson's Leap” is marked there upon Johnston's map. Nearly the same tale is told of a place in Mull, and probably elsewhere. But some time ago I came upon the original story in Giraldus Cambrensis, where it is told in words of the same meaning as those used by the shenachies of Lewis at the present day. Giraldus says the tragedy occurred at Chateau Roux, at present the chief town of the department of the Indre in France:—

“The lord of that place maintained in his castle a man whose eyes he had formerly put out, but who, by long habit, recollected the ways of the castle and the steps leading to the towers. Seizing an opportunity of revenge, and meditating the destruction of the youth, he fastened the inward doors of the castle, and took the only son and heir of the governor of the castle to a high tower, from whence he was seen with the utmost concern by the people beneath. The father of the boy hastened thither, and, struck with terror, endeavoured by every possible means to procure the ransom of his son, but received for answer that this could not be effected but by the same mutilation of those lower parts, which he had likewise inflicted on him. The father, having in vain entreated mercy, at length assented, and caused a violent blow to be struck on his body, and the people around him cried out lamentably as if he had suffered mutilation. The blind man asked him where he felt the greatest pain, when

he replied in his reins; he declared it was false and prepared to precipitate the boy. A second blow was given, and the lord of the castle, attesting that the greatest pains were at his heart, the blind man, expressing his disbelief, again carried the boy to the summit of the tower. The third time, however, the father, to save his son, really mutilated himself; and when he exclaimed that the greatest pain was in his teeth, 'It is true,' said he, 'as a man who has had experience should be believed, and thou hast in part revenged my injuries. I shall meet death with more satisfaction, and thou shalt neither beget any other son nor receive comfort from this.' Then precipitating himself and the boy from the summit of the tower, their limbs were broken, and both instantly expired. The knight ordered a monastery to be built on the spot for the soul of the boy, which is still extant, and called *De Doloribus*."

It is most singular that an event happening so far away, and probably more than seven centuries ago, should, though falsely located, be told by the bards of Lewis with such distinctness at the present time. Whether it has been continually passed on from mouth to mouth, or whether, which is more probable, it has been read from Giraldus by the Catholic priests, it is nearly certain that it must have been kept alive by repetition for at least three or four hundred years.

Dun Smirvig, Lionol, Barvas, Lewis.

Dun Smirvig stood near the schoolhouse at Lionol, and is believed to have been a circular tower. The site is not marked on the Ordnance Map. The lake in which the dun stood is now almost the boundary of the minister's glebe. The site of the dun is indicated by a green knoll.

Dun Sleibhe, Cross, Barvas, Lewis.

A circular tower in a bog; now entirely removed.

Dun Mara, Cross, Barvas, Lewis.

Dun Mara stood on the sea coast. It is now removed. One of the old people reported that this and Dun Sleibhe were as round as a bottle, and that eighty years ago they were quite entire, in which he was certainly mistaken; but there may have been considerable remains of each before there was a general rebuilding of all the cottages in Lewis. The old gentleman was also of opinion that these two duns were the first that were

made in Lewis, and that they were built under the auspices of King Denmark of Norway.

Dun Airnistenn, Dail o Thuath (in English, *Dun Arns-ton, North Dale*),
Barvas, Lewis.

- Said to have been a circular tower.

Dun Cleamon, Dail o Thuath (in English, *Dun Clement, South Dale*),
Barvas, Lewis.

Nothing remains of Dun Cleamon. Its site, which is now ploughed over, is not marked on Ordnance Map. A polished stone hammer was found near this dun.

Dun, Loch Bharabhat (= *Borgar-vatn*), *Gabhunn* (in English, *Galson*),
Barvas, Lewis.

This dun is on an island in a lake. It is a "Pictish tower" (a Broch), and there is still 6 or 8 feet of it remaining. The lake is being drained, and the stepping-stones on the north-west side are now dry.

Dun Sabhuill (i.e., *Savil*), *Galson, Barvas, Lewis.*

By the shore; apparently circular.

Dun Bhuirgh, Borgh, Barvas, Lewis.

Dun Bhuirgh (pronounced Vurrie) is situated in the townland of Borgh, or Borve, to which it has given its name. It stands about half a mile from the coast, upon one of the flattest parts of Lewis, at a little more than 100 feet above the sea, upon a former islet in a lake now drained.

In 1781 it was a heap of ruins; but Mr Macphail has lately been able to make out that the dun is circular in plan, of undressed stones, and without mortar. The internal diameter is 30 feet, and the walls are 11 feet thick; the external diameter is therefore 52 feet. There appear to have been seven beehive cells in the thickness of the wall, some of which were 10 feet long and 5 feet broad. At about one-third of a circle from the main doorway there is a doorway, from the area, entering to a large

cell, which is 16 feet long, $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet broad at one end, 3 feet at the middle, and 2 feet at the other end.

Though neither history nor tradition are associated with Dun Bhuirgh, the fairies have long made it their residence. They used to be seen with their big black dogs, with large iron chains round their necks, going about like ordinary men in their Bruithean. They were of great assistance to the Borvians, often helping them out of their difficulties, and even performing apparent impossibilities.

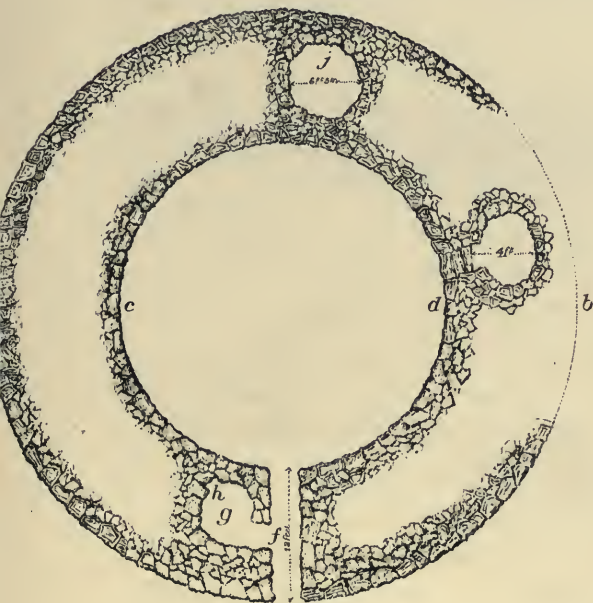
Ever since the burning of the Lewis forests there is often a scarcity of timber. A Borge boatman, who lived when the fairies inhabited the dun, experienced this difficulty, but got over it in a wonderful manner. It seems he had no mast for his boat, and knew not where to get one. He was not altogether destitute of wood, for he had a small "simid," or hand-mallet. He took this to the dun, and throwing it on the ground outside the wall, he loudly expressed his hope and wish that the fairies would before morning convert his "simid" into a mast for his boat. Being curious to know how the fairies would get on with his mast, he hid himself in some nook about the dun. He had not waited long when he heard them speaking of himself and his "simid." "Nach cruaidh a cheist a chuir am fear a thainig a tir nam fear beo oirinn!" *i.e.*, "What a hard task the man who came from the land of the living men has given us!" The first who attempted it could do nothing at it, and killed himself in the attempt. The brother of the deceased fairy, in a great rage, tried next, and was rather liberal in his imprecations on the man who came from the "land of the living men," saying, "Mo bhuilg, m'uirid, us m'ionnan; m'ainnis, m'eiginn, us m'aimbeart, crann-bata dheanamh de shimid. Gu ro trom eiginn is cruaidh mhilleadh air an laimh a chuir a steadh an simid, or chuir mo bhrathair a mach ris fuil a chridhe;—ach ni mis e";—*i.e.*, "My bellows, my hammers, and my anvil; my poverty, my distress, and my foolishness: to make a mast of a hand-mallet. My weightiest violence and my destruction be on the hand that sent in the mallet; for it cost my brother his heart's blood;—but I will do it." And the man found in the morning his mallet transformed into a mast.

*Dun, Loch an Duin, Siadeir (pronounced Shadder for Setr, Norse),
Barvas, Lewis.*

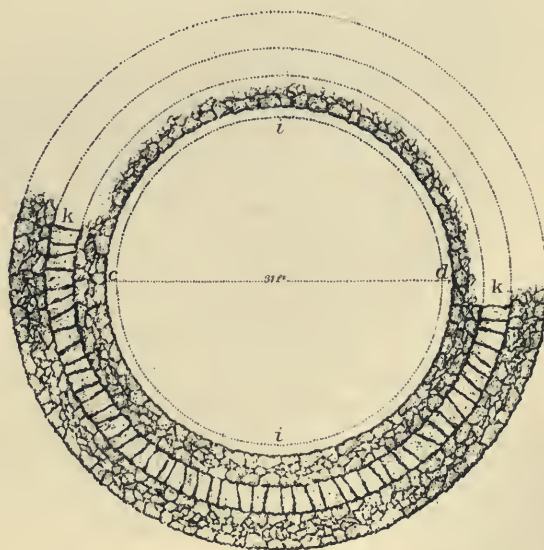
There are modern buildings in the dun, and a stone basin is lying near it, among the stepping stones.

Dun Bhragair, Loch an Duna, Bragair, Barvas, Lewis.

This dun (Plate XLVII.) is situated near the road, on a small point projecting into the lake, about one mile from the bay, which has given the



Entrance



Horizontal Section
above Gallery



township its name. It was a cylindrical tower, of undressed stones, and without mortar. We examined and surveyed it with as much care as the encumbered area and the ruined state of the walls would permit. The external diameter (*ab*) of the dun is 55 feet, and the walls are 12 feet thick. The present height of the dun on the south side is 14 feet, and the batter at that height is $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet; the internal area (*cd*) is 31 feet broad. The main doorway (*e*) is $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is of course 12 feet long. It is to be remarked that it faces the water, which shows some strategical forethought. When on an island the door usually faces the stepping stones.

On the left-hand side of the passage is an entrance (*f*), $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, to a subcircular beehive guard-cell (*g*), about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet high; at the inner side is a small cuil or recess (*h*). Around the area, at the height of $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet from the ground, is a cornice or ledge (*i*), formed by projecting, flat, undressed stones, of from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 foot broad. The area is filled up to the cornice with stones, which formed the wall of the tower; and I had neither time nor force enough to excavate sufficiently in search of the inner door. All we could be certain of was that there was a gallery (*k*) through the wall for about one-half of its circumference; and there appeared to be remains of beehive chambers in the walls, with their floors at different heights.

If the New Statistical Account is correct, this dun must have been in good preservation up to 1837; for it is described as "well adapted for defence, built solely of large stones, three storeys high, tapering towards the summit, with a double wall, bound with large flags, which, at the same time, form a winding staircase in the thickness of the wall, by which one may go round the building."

The further destruction of this dun has been stopped by Sir James Matheson.

The bards of Lewis tell of a strange tragedy that was enacted at Dun Bhragair, of which the victim, according to one authority, was John Mackay; but John Morrison, the industrious collector of the traditions of Lewis, writes that it was a Macphail. The whole story, as told by the latter, is not fitted for "ears polite"; but in an abridged form, and from both sources, it is as follows:—

The brieve at Ness had treacherously seized Neill, "sone naturell" of Old Rory, chief of the Lewis, and Donald Cam Macaulay. In this he was aided by John Roy

Macphail, a man of gigantic strength. They were carried to Ullapool, but both escaped, and came back to Lewis. When the Morrison party were aware of this they prepared against attack, and Macphail secured himself, along with his wife, in Dun Bhragair. Now, to understand the sequel, it must be told his wife was a Macaulay, a niece of Donald Cam's. Donald Cam musters his clan, and picked out twelve of the best swordsmen to go and take John Roy Macphail, dead or alive. They arrived in the night and found Macphail in bed; they closed with him, but the whole party were unable to overpower him, when his wife exclaimed,—Did they not know how to hold a boar? By unfair means they were able to make him a prisoner. Next morning they started for Uig, with their prisoner secured to a rope, six on each side. But so great was Macphail's strength, that, when crossing the Grimasta river, near Linshader, Macphail struggled and threw down the whole twelve in the water. They carried him to Kirkabost, Berneray, and the next day Donald Cam came from Uig. Macphail employed a man to watch for Donald Cam's coming, and to tell him whether he was looking up or looking down. The messenger informed the prisoner that Donald Cam was looking so intently on the ground as if he were seeking for the smallest pin. Macphail then expected no mercy, and he was hacked to pieces by the swords of the Macaulays. If the event above related really occurred, it must have been at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is strongly believed in Lewis.

Dunan Chroir, Croir, Barvas, Lewis.

On the shore at Croir.

These are all the forts or duns in the parish of Barvas, Lewis. The parish is a large rough moor, surrounded on the west, north, and east sides by the sea; but there is no harbour for a ship in it, and but indifferent landing for boats. The east side is nearly uncultivated, but on the west, for about an average mile from the shore, there is a strip of good land, and a numerous population. It is here that the circular towers were built; they have served as quarries for stones, so that, were it not for the Ordnance Map, the names and sites of them would, in a few years, be quite forgotten. I have noted two—Dun Cleamon and Dunan Chroir—which are not on the map. There are only natural strongholds on the north and east coasts, and there never have been permanent habitations, either fortified or domestic, in the interior.

Caisteal a Mhorfhear, North Tolsta, Stornoway, Lewis.

Caisteal a Mhorfhear, *i.e.*, the Castle of the Nobleman, is a stack or pillar rock, with almost perpendicular sides, and perhaps 50 feet high; standing near the cliff in a sandy bay, one mile north of North Tolsta. The top is flat, and I did not see any remains of masonry there. There certainly would be some difficulty in getting to the top of it, and as it appeared to be within a stone's throw of, and commanded by, the adjacent cliff, I could see no advantage from being upon it; it is not noted on the Ordnance Map.

There is a rocking-stone at North Tolsta.

Dun Beinn Earba.

Probably near Earabhic (Eyrar-vig). Earabhic is marked on the Ordnance Map, but no dun.

Dun Beinn Ivor.

There is a Loch Beinn Iobhair (Ivor), on the west side of the road, about one mile north of Gress, and the dun is there.

To the westward of Loch Beinn Iobhair, and one and a quarter miles distant, is a very large cairn,—the only remarkable one, to my knowledge, on this side of the island. It is marked Carn a Mhare on the Ordnance Map, but it should be Carn a Bhairce (pro. "Vark-e"). Martin calls it Carn-warp, meaning Carn-varp; varp' (Bhairp) being the genitive of Barp. But the name is a pleonasm; for Barp (= barrow) is a large cairn. So completely is the meaning of this word forgotten in Lewis (although in common use in Uist) that Barp or Barc has been transformed into a son of the King of Lochlinn, who was killed on that spot while on a hunting expedition, and was buried there, hence called Carn Bhairce Mhic Righ Lochlinn.

Dun Ghrais.

At Gress.

The three last duns are noted on the authority of Mr M. Macphail.

Dun Mor, Garrabost, Stornoway, Lewis.

On the coast at Garrabost.

Dun, Loch an Duin, Paibaill, Stornoway, Lewis.

At Paible.

Dun, Loch an Duin, Aird, Stornoway, Lewis.

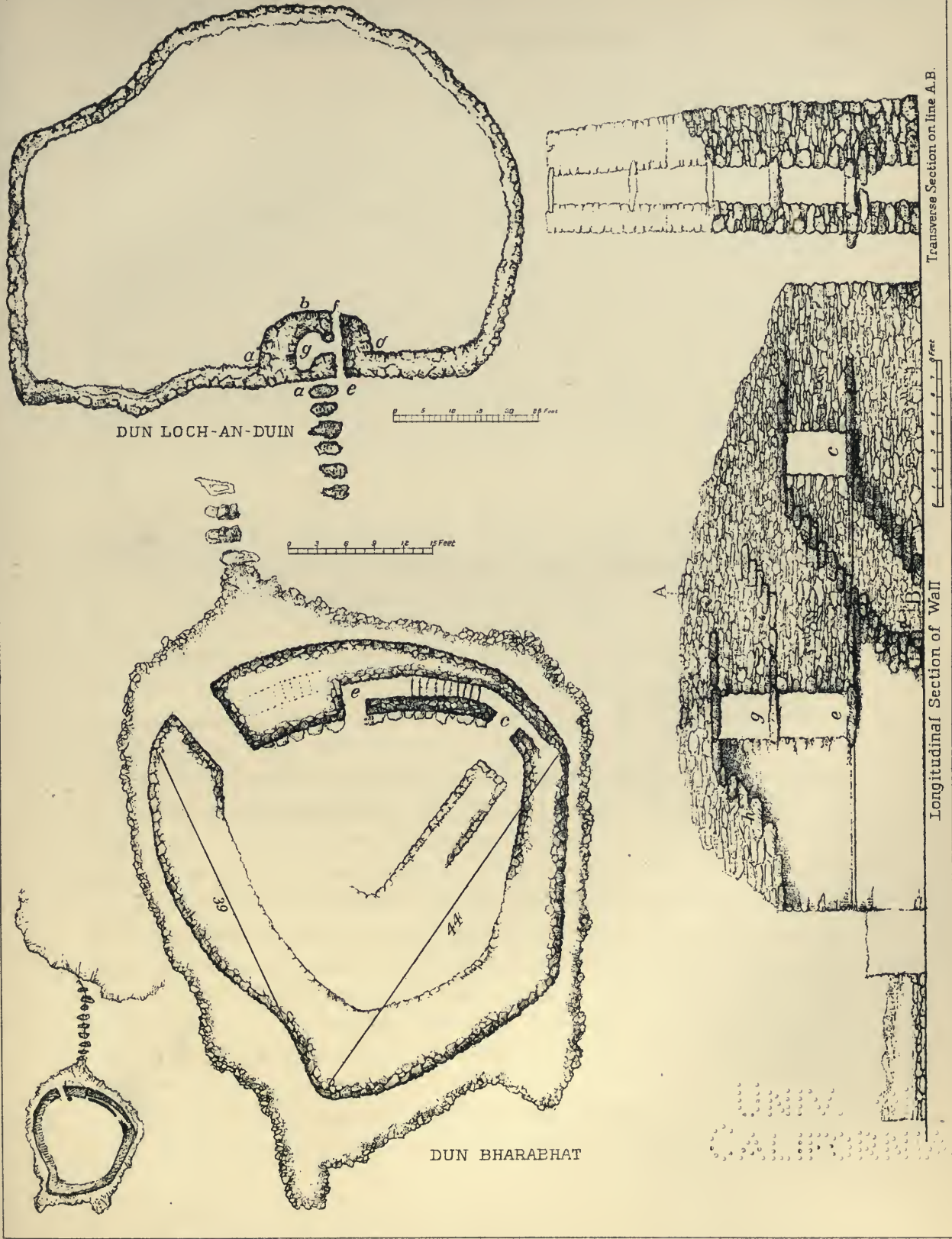
Near the northern extremity of the Aird, in a small lake nearly a quarter of a mile in diameter, is a little flat, low, grassy, fortified island, a very little above the level of the water. The island is about 90 feet long and 50 broad, and is surrounded at the water's edge by a wall of dry stones, which has been 5 feet thick, and probably 6 feet high, but is now much broken down. The island is but a stone's cast from the south shore of the lake, and is approached by stepping-stones, which are apparently laid upon a causeway, for there is deep water all round the island.

The interest of this dun (Plate XLVIII.) lies in its port or doorway, but it is in so ruinous a condition that it took me some time to make out the details. Right opposite to the stepping-stones the wall is thickened (as at *a b*) to 13 feet, and was probably raised as much in height, as it is still 9 feet high; through which is a narrow passage (*ef*), $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 13 feet long, and which, when perfect, was no doubt roofed over at the height of 5 feet.

The east side of the passage is a solid block of rubble masonry, about 5 feet thick; but on the west side, at the middle of the passage, is an entrance to a guard-cell (*g*), which would hold three or four men, and from which they could defend the passage with great security; it differs in no way from those almost always present in the circular towers. This cell is now unroofed, but its outline can be distinctly traced; it is of an irregular oval figure, and may be roughly stated as 6 feet long and 4 feet broad.

This feature is very interesting, for it connects this fortification in time and style with the much more elaborate Pict's castle, as also with the duns described by Mr Du Noyer as existing in the southwest of Ireland; and with a fortification in Shetland to be noted further on.

The side of the island, and consequently the enclosing wall facing the causeway, is not quite straight, but is slightly concave. I supposed this to be merely an accident, but Mr Macphail is of opinion that it is intentional and to flank the entrance.



GROUND PLANS OF DUN LOCH-AN-DUIN IN THE AIR, AND DUN BHARAVAT, BERNEKAY, LEWIS, AND SECTIONAL ELEVATIONS OF WALL OF DUN BHARAVATH.

Besides the above defences, there is Caisteal Mac Neacail (Nicol) Stornoway Castle (both were mediæval towers), and entrenchments at Holm, said to have been thrown up by the "Fife Adventurers"; but these do not come within the scope of the present inquiry.

Stornoway parish, although the smallest of the four into which Lewis is divided, is by far the most important, from containing the flourishing town of Stornoway. And its fine harbour, upon the whole the best on the east side of Lewis, must from the earliest times have been frequented by decked ships, when the crews were strong enough to defend themselves from the then piratical inhabitants. This is no place to enter upon its history, but it may be remarked in relation to the present subject that the site of no ancient dun is known near the town, the inference being that the loose stones of which it was built have been quarried away for domestic purposes.

Dun, Loch an Duin, Lochs, Lewis.

In a lake, one mile north of the Free Church, at Luirbost.

Dunan, Crosbost, Lochs, Lewis.

On the north side of the entrance to Loch Luirbost a small low point has been fortified by a wall, which separates it from the main. The enclosed area, surrounded by the sea on three sides, is a stony heap, 30 feet in height.

In the list of duns supplied to me by Mr Macphail, there is one in Lochs, called "Dun Feiltinish," which I suppose is the Dunan described above.

Dun Bharclin (pronounced Varclin), Loch Luirbost, Lochs, Lewis.

Loch Luirbost, or, written in English, Loch Lerbost, is a sheltered and picturesque arm of the sea; and is further remarkable from having at its south side, at Swordal, several acres of natural wood. There are a few willows, but most of the trees are birches. None of the standing wood was more than thirty years old, but the stools from which the birches sprung were some of them 3 feet across.

At the entrance to the loch is a fortified island, which I did not measure; but it may be 150 yards long and 30 yards broad. I noticed it accidentally

when pulling past, and find it named Dun Bharelin (Castle Varclan) on the Ordnance Map. The island is only from 12 to 20 feet above high-water level, and is uneven and rough, with transported stones. A ruined wall is built along the coast-line upon the east side and round the north end, as also about 20 paces on the west side, where it is easy to climb up. The remainder of the coast is perpendicular or overhanging, but is generally only 10 feet above high water.

The foundation stones of the outer face of the wall can be seen in many parts, and in one place the face of the inner wall can be traced. The wall is there 10 feet thick, and that was the average thickness. No mortar had been used; the stones were of all sizes, the largest containing 5 cubic feet, but the average about 2 feet.

On the east side is the foundation of a beehive cell, 5 feet in diameter, being no doubt the guard-room of the gate. There were no means of knowing the height of the rampart when perfect; but at one place, where it crosses a break in the bank (coast), it must have been raised 12 feet to bring it to the level of the adjacent parts.

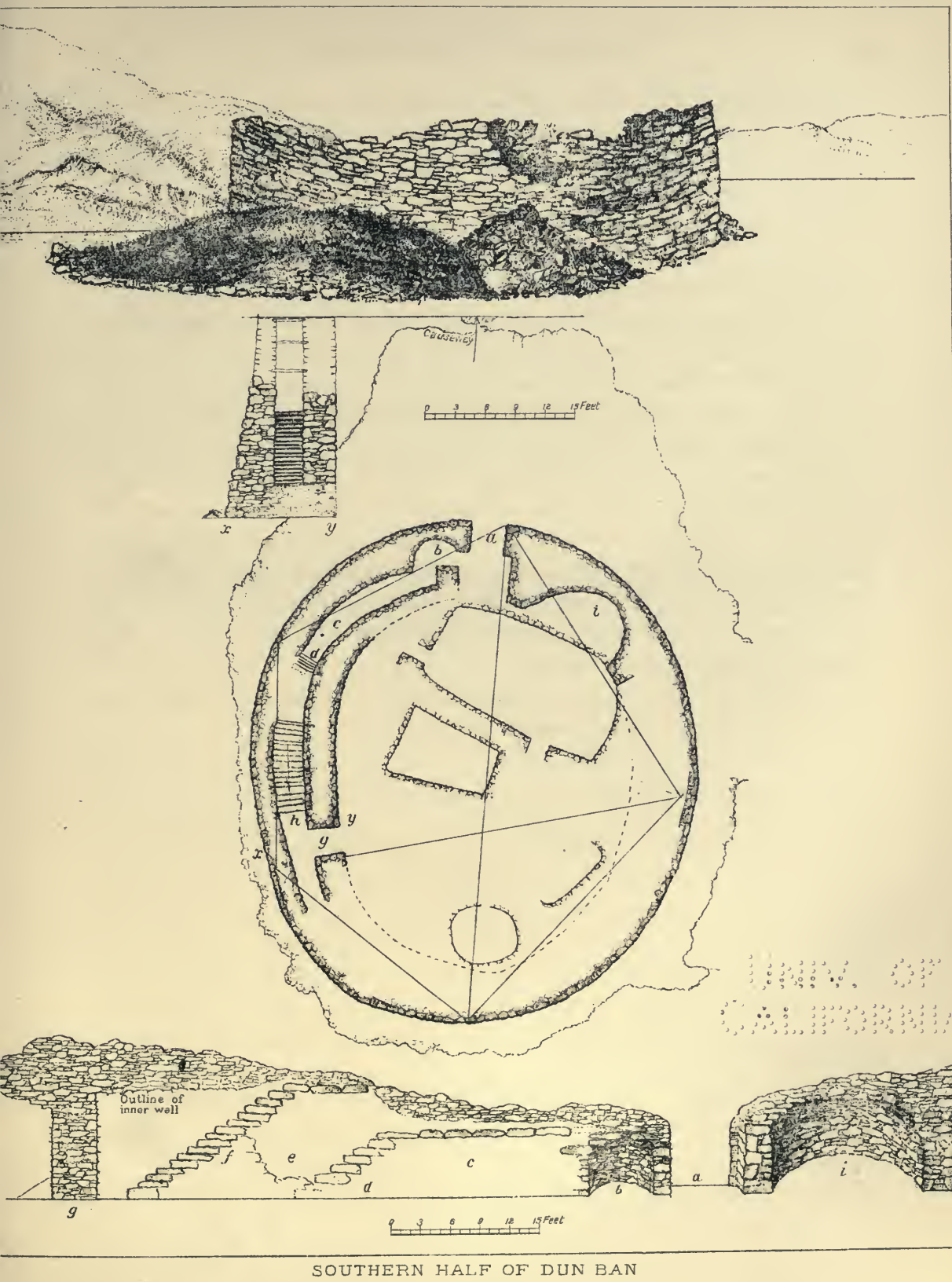
Of course there is a spring upon the island, but I did not find it. The traces of ancient huts were evident.

It is probable that those parts of the island which are not defended by a wall had a rampart of turf to shelter the defenders.

Dun Ban, Loch Cromor, Lochs, Lewis.

The parish of Lochs, anciently Loghur, has probably received its name from the long firths with which it is intersected. Loch Erisort is a fine sheet of water, penetrating for miles into the country, and has many small islands at its mouth. It must have been an important place formerly, for, besides the churches dedicated to SS. Columba and Farrer, there are three fortifications, all near the mouth of the loch. The townland of Cromor is on the south side of the entrance, and on a small islet, in a brackish lake, is Dun Ban.

This Dun was a very great puzzle, and I left it at the first time with quite a false impression, for it was believed to be an entirely new style of fortification; but subsequent exploration proved that the door of the dun had been built up, that one-half of the enceinte had been rebuilt, and



SOUTHERN HALF OF DUN BAN

DUN BAN, CROMORE, LEWIS
View, Plan and Sectional Elevation.

that two or more characteristic Lewis cottages had been partly excavated, partly built, of the stones that filled the area.

The dun is on a rocky islet, which is joined to the shore by a sunk causeway, about 80 feet long, on which was a row of stepping-stones, in a curved line, some of which remain. The islet is 60 feet long and 40 feet broad, and is low and flat.

The dun (Plate XLIX.) is not truly circular, the longest diameter being 50 feet and the shortest 44 feet. The average thickness of the old wall is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and of the secondary wall about the same; but as there is no proper inner facing to that part, its thickness could not be measured. The highest part now left of the wall is $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 14 feet above the water.

On landing there is 31 feet of glais, or rather of rocks and brambles, to the door, which fronts the causeway. We found the doorway built up, but cleared it out entirely. The doorway is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide at first, continues so for 3 feet, then widens to 5 feet.

On the south side of the doorway (*a*) is the door of the guard-cell (*b*), $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and the cell continues as a ground gallery (*c*) for 16 feet, when it is blocked (*d*). The roof of the ground gallery forms the floor of the second gallery, from which a flight of steps leads down to the ground into another cellar-like place (*e*), and this again is blocked by the stairs of the third gallery (*f*). This part of the construction is very singular. From the ground area of the dun a doorway (*g*), 3 feet wide and 7 feet high, is pierced through the inner wall, entering on a landing, from which a flight of seventeen steps (*h*) leads to a third gallery; and this is all that now remains. The place is very ruinous, and it was with difficulty that so much of the plan of construction could be made out.

On the north side of the door a half moon is hollowed out of the thickness of the wall, but I could not understand its purpose. Here the original masonry ends, and a thick, rude, solid wall, built no doubt on the original foundations, completes the enceinte as far as the "grand" staircase.

The area of the dun is partly occupied by two oblong cottages, of which the walls are embedded in loose stones; and for greater security the whole original doorway was built up, so that the only way to get to the house was by climbing up the castle wall. In the area of the cottage was some slag, as if a forge had been used there. There were other indistinct walls of houses within the area, perhaps the refuge in mediæval times of "luchd

togail nan creach" (robbers), who may have rebuilt that part of the castle which had been destroyed by the first invaders. Not being stationed at this part of the country, I had no opportunity for collecting traditions.

A writer in *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i. p. 289, describes "Cromore, on the south-east coast of Lewis, on an island just large enough to contain it, and in a small lake there are to be seen the ruins of another circular fort, about 10 feet in height. When I visited it in September last"—(I infer this was in 1780)—"it was covered with small bushes bearing a red berry, and so thick that it covered the rubbish entirely from view. On examining it more narrowly, I found the area was occupied by several circular cavities, and the spaces between them filled up with stones. Whether this was formed in its original state, or in latter times for secreting their effects in moments of danger, I cannot know; but as I have not taken notice of any other, I rather believe the latter."

There is a view given from which it may be inferred that the dun is in much the same condition now as it was then; but a plan and section which are appended are quite fanciful.

Dunan, Eilean Iubhard (= Ewart), Lochs, Lewis.

My only authority for this is the name upon the One Inch Ordnance Map.

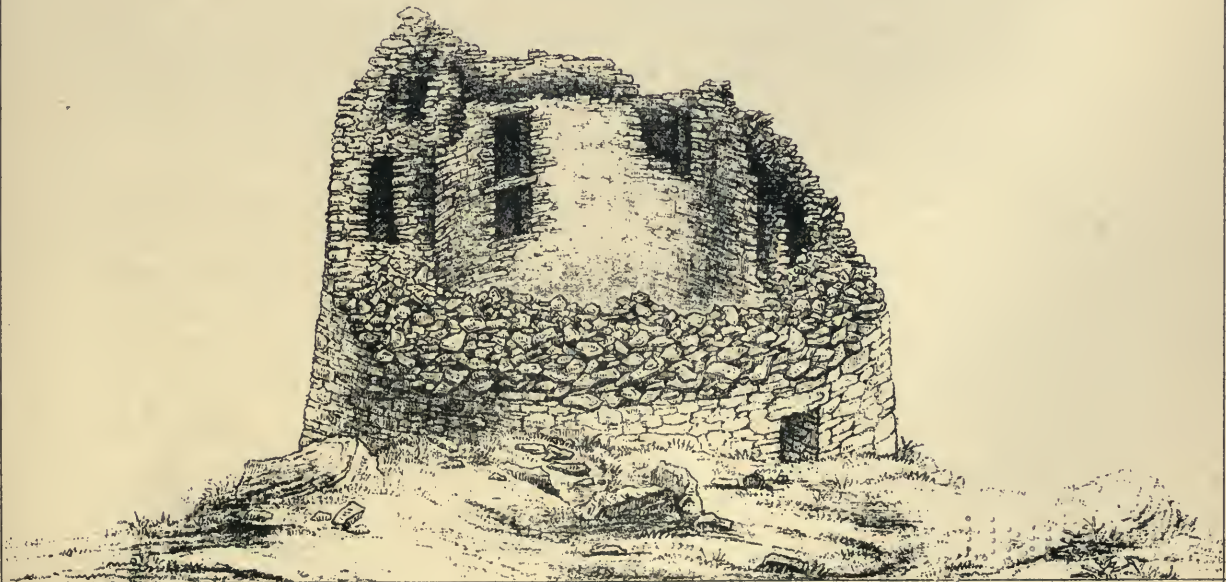
There is a portion of the parish of Lochs detached from the rest, upon the west side of Lewis, in which the following duns are situated.

Dun a Bheirgh, Siabost (in English, Shawbost), Lochs, Lewis.

Dun a Bherigh, *i.e.*, the Dun of the Berry, is a fortified peninsula on the sea coast, about 120 yards long, and 50 yards broad, which is naturally defended by cliffs; and was enclosed by a thick wall, 35 yards long (of which the remains may yet be seen), across the isthmus; the doorway through the wall was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Within the wall is another wall, at right angles to the enceinte, 8 yards of which can still be traced, through which was a covered passage, also $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and roofed by flags. There are ruins of "boths" against both walls, and Mr Macphail is of opinion that they opened into the mural passages. Details are wanting, but I expect this would be a very interesting remain if examined with care.



DUN CARLOWAY FROM THE WEST



DUN CARLOWAY FROM THE EAST

Dunan, Loch Carloway, Lochs, Lewis.

This little dun has been on a very small salt-water islet, or peninsula at low water, in the narrows of Loch Carloway; not a stone remains. The dun must have been very small, probably a simple wall circumscribing the islet.

Dun Charlobhaidh (pronounced Doon Karlovay), Uig, Lewis.

Dun Carloway is situated in the northern part of the parish of Uig, on the west side of Lewis. It stands half a mile from the shore of Loch Carloway, on the southward slope of a hill (Beinn na Duine = Castle-hill), which is 270 feet above the sea. The dun (Plate L.) is built on a slight spur, a little way below the summit. The site is somewhat steep upon the north, west, and south sides, but is rather flat on the north-east, and possesses no greater strategical advantages than may be found in numberless points about it. It is probable the presence of a spring has determined the site of the castle. The country around is a hilly moor, with a few patches of cultivated land.

Dun Carloway is, after the Brough of Mousa, probably the best preserved of any of these ancient castles in Scotland, although one-half of it has been destroyed. When viewed from the southward it appears entire, and on that quarter has probably lost little of its original height. There is now no appearance of exterior works.

The external masonry is extremely well laid, without any mortar or cement, being what is technically called "dry-stone." It is formed of oblong blocks, entirely undressed, usually less than 1 foot thick and 2 feet long, there being from eight to ten courses in 6 feet of height. The "joints" are, of course, very wide, and daylight comes freely through even the bottom of the tower. At no time would there have been any difficulty in scaling the wall by driving pegs or "douks" into the joints to lay hold of.

The present height (1861) is 34 feet; nor do I believe it was ever more than 2 or 3 feet higher when complete. The batter or slope—which was measured by holding a fishing-rod horizontally from the highest part—is considerable, being $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet, or about one foot in five. Something

of this may be due to subsidence; but it will be conceived that a wall built nearly 40 feet high, without mortar, and of comparatively small stones, would require a large batter to be secure.

The diameter of the dun at the base is 50 feet.

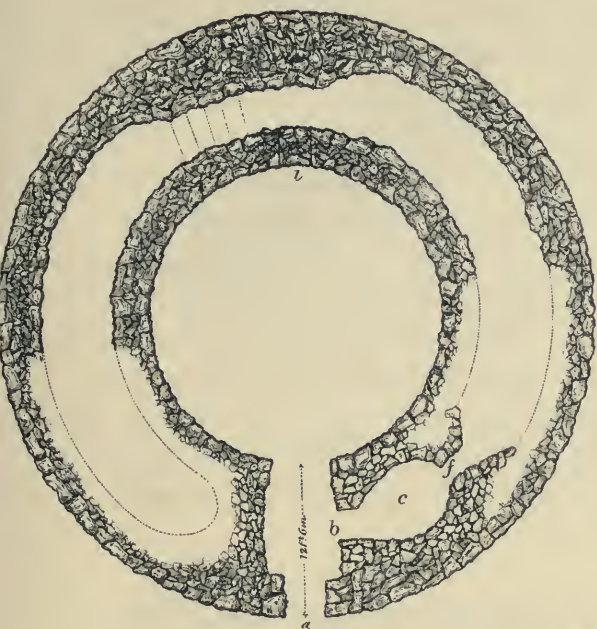
As usual with these structures, it is formed by two concentric walls, tied with horizontal tiers of flags at varying heights, by which galleries (corridors) are formed in the interspace; with shallow flights of steps communicating with the galleries and with the top of the tower. The outer wall is, generally speaking, broad at base, becoming thinner as it leaves the ground; but the inner wall is perpendicular on both sides, or nearly so, and about 3 feet thick throughout.

There are no opes in the exterior wall except the door (*a*), which faces the north-east. The doorway is 5 feet high, 3 feet broad, and crowned by the biggest stone in the building, it being 17 inches thick, 5 feet long, and 26 inches broad. (See the Plan and Sections in Plate LI.)

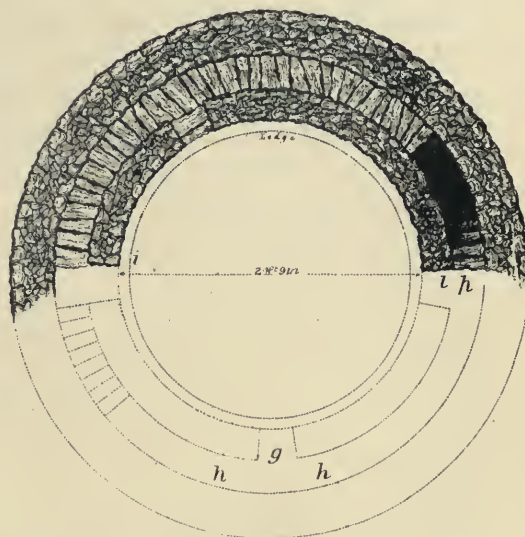
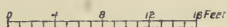
The doorway was blocked by fallen stones, and when these were removed, it was found that at 3 feet within the entrance the passage widens to 5 feet; but by the curving of the north side the inner end of the passage is again narrowed to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The height of the inner passage is 6 feet. On the middle of the south side of the passage is a low doorway (*b*), 2 feet square, leading to an oval, beehive guard-cell (*c*), 6 feet high and 8 feet long, from which a passage (*f*) appears to lead to a ground gallery which goes round the base of the building. The main entrance, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, is roofed by flags; and *over* it was an inner light or doorway (*g*) from whence a gallery (*h*) branched right and left.

Passing through the main-door passage we enter the area of the building, which is quite circular, and $24\frac{3}{4}$ feet in diameter. If there had been neither wooden floors nor roof to the dun, the internal area would have had a most well-like aspect, for the height would have been nearly twice its width. But all round the inner wall, at a height of about 8 feet from the ground, is a coping, corbel-table, or ledge (*i*), formed by undressed flat stones, projecting from 8 inches to 1 foot. This must have been either for a roof or for a floor.

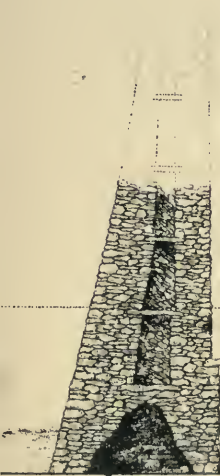
Right opposite to the main door, at the height of 3 feet from the ground, is a doorway through the inner wall (*j*), $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. This lands on the floor of the second gallery, counting that on the ground-level as the first.



Ground Plan

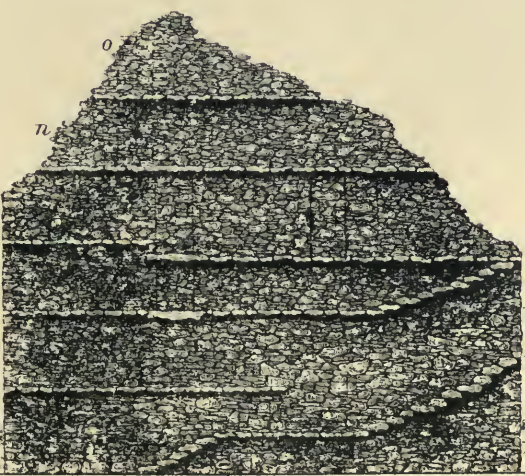


Horizontal Section at AB

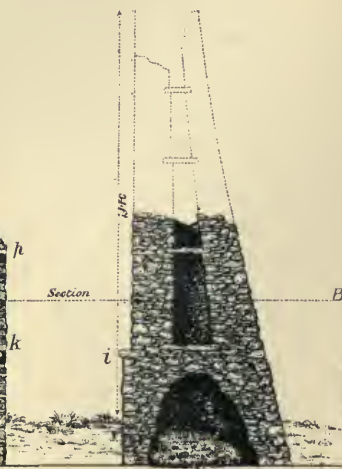


Section

i



Vertical Section Longitudinal with inner wall taken away

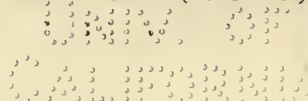


Section

i

B

Vertical Section (transverse)



Here, from irregularity in the masonry and the entire absence of an inner *face*, the outer wall is often but 14 inches thick, and the daylight comes freely through. To the left a flight of steps descends to the ground gallery. We were able to trace this gallery for three-fourths of a circle, the rest being blocked with rubbish. What is left of the second gallery is not continuously level, for the floor of all that lies east of the inner door, and some feet more, is 3 feet above the level of the floor on the west side.

Turning to the right, a flight of steps (*k*) leads to the third gallery on the west side, which is $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide and 7 feet high. At a quarter circle, the walls have been destroyed, so that it can be traced no further; but there appears to remain a jamb of a window (*l*) which lighted this gallery, and also No. 2. On the east side the floor of the third gallery is 12 feet above the ground and about 2 feet wide at the bottom. On the level have been three, perhaps four, oblong lights or windows; only one side of two remains, but the third is so far perfect, except for the subsidence of the masonry. It has much the proportions of a modern window, 4 by 3 feet, and the sides of all are perpendicular. On the west side of the middle window the gallery is so narrow at top, that one must crawl to pass through; and at the west end is a flight of stairs (*p*), which, however, are blocked and closed over by the floor of gallery No. 4. This is interesting, as showing that the builders changed their plan in process of construction.

The fourth gallery (*m*) had two lights at least; one was directly over the window below, 6 feet high and $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet broad; and another, one-eighth of a circle to the westward (see the View in Plate L.).

Of the fifth gallery (*n*), only a portion of the floor remains; the inner wall is thrown down to that level, but a piece of the outer wall (*o*) still reaches 5 feet higher.

No man could pass through the upper galleries, the inner sides being jagged and rough with the ends of projecting stones, in other words, the inner sides of both walls have no *face*; but the outside is smooth. The walls are often only one stone thick, and would stand but a short time but for the device of tying them with flags at an average of every 6 feet of height.

What at the time it was first seen I considered a very important fact, is that mortar of shell-lime, of which I produce specimens, was used about the doorway, and for several feet on each side. But I have met so many

proofs of reconstruction in those duns, that I now consider the lime-mortar marks a secondary occupation. It is, however, a curious fact, and is well worthy of the attention of those who are interested in this class of antiquities.

The area of the dun is filled with fallen stones. If ever it is cleared out I expect the indication of a well will be found, and almost certainly the ashes of *wood* fires.

I have been thus particular in the description of this venerable ruin, for it does not appear that it can last much longer; large portions of it are only supported by a crushed and broken stone. On one of my last visits to it, to compare the drawings and complete my notes, the wind, driving at 40 miles an hour, was making a fiendish chorus through and around the ruined walls. Not daring to go near it, for I was alone and had no ambition to be a martyr, I got a shelter near, and watched expecting to see the last of Dun Carloway. But it survived that storm, and I hope may do so for many years yet.

In a talk with a Macaulay, 75 years of age, and sixth in descent from Donald Cam, he asserted that Dun Carloway had tumbled down one hundred, perhaps two hundred, years ago, and that a pump led down from the dun to the lake (Loch an Duin), and that he had seen it. Of course, Macaulay was mistaken, but probably the traces of a drain from the dun existed then.

There has been singular blundering in the descriptions of Dun Carloway; the topographical writers of the seventeenth century do not notice these old forts. Martin does not name Dun Carloway, but he describes it very well, with the exception of a radical error in writing north for south. He says, "Some few miles to the north [*recte* south] of Bragar there is a fort composed of large stones, it is of a round form, made taperwise towards the top, and is three stories high; the wall is double, and hath several doors and stairs, so that one may go round within the wall."

A writer of the present century makes the serious mistake of describing Dun Carloway as "built circular and double-walled, the external one having *loopholes*, most probably for shooting their arrows through, and composed of different storeys. Some of them would accommodate a *hundred* or more men."

Another writer makes the singular assertion that Dun Carloway "was and is still covered with turf." He has been led into this error by having

heard the tradition of "Donald Caum M'Cuil's" (Dugald's son) ascent with two dirks.

In Lewis they have a tradition that when these towers were being built a row of men reached from the dun to the shore, from whence the stones were passed from hand to hand; and that the towers being conical, they were built to such a height that only a single stone or flag was required to close the top.

"Most of them [round forts] are entirely ruined, and no idea can be formed of their structure, but from the large one at Carloway, one side of which is entire [1781]; but as the other side appears to have been forcibly and abruptly torn down, it is impossible to examine the upper parts of it." The foregoing description will show that that impossibility has been overcome.

The true history of the origin of Dun Carloway is not to be expected now. The legendary tales of the bards connect it with the giants who were always getting the worst of it from the Fingalians. One "bard" informed the Rev. J. Strachan that "all the duns in Lewis were built by the Norwegians to fortify themselves against any enemy who might attempt to revenge the treacherous murder of the Picts. The dun of Carloway was built by *Dearg*, son of Nuadhairean, and is known by the ancient name of Dun Dheirg."

Unfortunately for the "unity" of this tradition, *Dearg* and Nuadhairean are both Gaelic names; the one meaning "red," and the other "silver-handed." From another source I learn that "Dun Carloway was inhabited by Darge Mac Nuaran. These four brothers (the others being Kuoch, Glom, and Tidd) were of prodigious size, and domineered over the whole country, so that the Lewis men were kept in great subjection."

To complete the history of the mythic builder of Dun Carloway, I have to add that his brother Kuoch (Cuithach) having been killed by the Fingalians, he (*Dearg*) followed those wandering heroes to Skye, and after fighting three days and a half, was killed by the Fenian, Gall Mac Morni, and buried there. I suppose *Dearg* had another establishment in Skye, as Martin records a "Dun Derig" there.

We make a long skip before having anything more to tell about Dun Carloway, till at the beginning of the seventeenth century, "Donald Cam Macaulay and a famous blacksmith called the Gow Ban (Gobha Ban = Fair Smith) went to the Flannan Isles in summer; when the Morrisons of Ness, hearing they were away, came and seized all their cows that were on the Uig moor. None dare offer resistance to the Morrisons, but on the return of the Macaulays their wives met them on the beach to tell them of the foray. The Macaulays at once crossed Loch Roag in pursuit, and on nearing Dun Carloway they saw their cattle grazing there, and guessed from that the Morrisons were in the castle. The Macaulays rested that night on a hill close by,

and early next morning Donald Cam and the Smith went out to reconnoitre. Not far from the dun was a fire, over which rested a large kettle, wherein was a whole carcase of one of the cows plundered by the Morrisons; and the cook was asleep near it. Donald Cam told the Smith to hold the man till he took the meat out of the kettle, which he did. As soon as the beef was out of the kettle the Smith threw the cook into it. The beef was put into the Smith's plaid, and carried to the Macaulays for their breakfast. Donald Cam then stalks the sentry at the door of the dun and kills him. The Smith is directed to prevent escape by the door, while Donald Cam climbs up the walls by means of two dirks or daggers, using them as steps, changing them by turns until he got to the top of the uncouth edifice. This dun, upon a superstructure at the top, is closed by a large flag (?). When Donald Cam got to the top he told his men to pull heather and make it into large bundles; these he threw into the area of the dun, and, calling for fire, he sets light to the heather, and smothers and burns all the inmates. Donald Cam then demolished Dun Carloway;—that old fabric, built in the fourth century by a giant, called Dearg Mac Nuaran. There are two similar duns in the parish of Uig, built and inhabited by two brothers of Dearg, named Kuoeh Mac Nuaran and Tidd Mac Nuaran." Mr Morrison here forgets the third dun and brother Glom.

Dunan, Loch an Dúnain, Carloway, Uig, Lewis.

On the west side of the road between Carloway and Callernish, and about a quarter of a mile to the southward of Dun Carloway farmhouse, is a small lake, Loch an Dúnain (Lake of the Small Fort), in which is an island about 15 × 20 yards in extent, and which in summer is connected to the mainland by a natural causeway. The fort or dun is, in this instance, merely an irregular wall from 3 to 6 feet thick, of very rude masonry and without mortar. The wall encloses a roughly oval space 30 × 25 feet. The present height of the wall is 6 feet, or 10 feet above the *terre pleine* of the island, and it was probably 3 or 4 feet higher. The entrance shows some strategic ingenuity. It is placed at the south-west corner, the furthest removed from the way into the island, and instead of being pierced directly through the wall, it is cut obliquely through the masonry, by which the passage is lengthened to 8 feet; and as it was in all probability roofed and low, and possibly had a guard-cell on the south side (but the masonry is too much dilapidated to afford any certainty on these points), it would be a tolerably secure gateway, $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, when defended by determined men.

Dun (?), Loch Bharrabhat, Breascleit, Uig, Lewis.

The name Barrabhat (=Borgarvatn) implies that a dun or borg was in this lake.

Berisay (written in Gaelic, *Bereasaidh*; pronounced *Berisay*, for *Byrgis-ey*, Norse = *Fortified Isle*), *Loch Roag*, *Lewis*.

A large gulf or estuary, full of islands, on the west side of Lewis, has acquired the name of Loch Roag, though that name really belongs to a narrow inlet or voe, in the entrance to which is a dangerous tidal "strom" or rapid, and which is now called Little Loch Roag. The greater Loch Roag is nearly filled by the large island of Berneray; and off the north end of Berneray, in the open sea, are many small islands, and among them is Berisay. It was at sunset on an autumn evening that I pulled past this island fortress, and I had every wish to examine the scene of nearly the last act in the bloody drama of the "Conquest of the Lewis"; but the sea was up, it was already nearly dark, and my vessel was several miles away; so after a good look at its craggy sides, I reluctantly bore away for Loch Carloway. It seemed a dreadful place to live on, for in winter there must be weeks and even months in which, by reason of the raging sea, no boat could land upon it; yet it was here a brave, treacherous, and bad man held out against the superior fraud and violence of the Tutor of Kintail.

Berisay is a craggy islet, one-tenth of a mile long and half as broad, surrounded by mural cliffs about 100 feet high, with an "acarsaid" or landing-place on the south-west side and the ruins of huts upon the *terre pleine*. The highest part of the rock is 175 feet above the sea. Berisay is exposed to the whole force of the Atlantic Ocean, for it receives no protection from the small island of Sean Bheinn (pronounced Shenna Ven = Old Hill, but properly Garbh-eilean = Rough Island) which lies half a mile outside of it. On the other hand it is the beau ideal of a pirates' nest, commanding a view of half the horizon, impregnable, and near a frequented harbour.

Sir Robert Gordon informs us:—"The Lord of Kintayle was exceeding glaid that he had now at last catched his long-wished for and expected prey, and therevpon he went into the iland [Lewis]: Presentlie after his landing their, all the inhabitants yielded vnto him, except Neill Macloyd, with some few others, who, fatallie favoring the declyning syd, still persisted, unfortunatlie, contrarie vnto all such as did aym to possesse that iland; and so, consequently, now to the Lord of Kintayle, to whom the rest of the inhabitants did yield the more willingly, becaus he wes their neir nighbour, and might still vex them with continual incursions, if they did stand out against him, which the vndertakers [Fife Adventurers] were not able to doe. Neill Macloyd was now forced to retire vnto a rock within the sea, with his nepheu Malcolme, William,

and Rorie (the thrie sones of Rorie Oig), Torquill-Blair, his four sones, and thertie others. This rock was called Berrissay, a fort invincible, vnto which Neill was accustomed some yeirs to send alwayes provision of victualls, and other things necessarie, that it might be a retreat vnto him vpon all occasions, in tyme of his greatest necessitie. Neill kepted this rock for the space of thrie years, dureing which tyme the Lord of Kintayle dyed, the yeir of God 1611. The nixt yeir following, which wes the yeir 1612, Neill Macloyd went from Berrissay, with his train, into the Lewes, for to refresh themselves vpon the land; wher the Clanchenzie, accompanied with some of the inhabitants of the iland, invaded them; bot Neill escaped their hands, and retired with his company to the rock off Berrissay. Then the Clanchenzie gathered together their wyffs and children of those that were in Berrissay, and such as, by way off affinity and consanguinity, within the iland, did apperteyn to Neill and his followers, and placed them all vpon a rock within the sea, wher they might be heard and sein from the rock of Berrissay. They vowed and protested that they wold suffer the sea to overwhelme them the nixt flood, iff Neill did not presentlie surrender the fort; which pitifull spectacle did so move Neill Macloyd and his company to compassion, that immediatie they yeilded the rock, and left the Lewes; whervpon the women and children were rescued and randered.

“Then Neill Macloyd, retireing out of the Lewes, went into the ile of Heris, wher he remained a whyle in secret; and not being able to keip himself longer ther in these bounds, he rendered himself vnto Sir Rory Macloyd of Heris, whom he intreated to bring him to his majestie in England, which Sir Rory undertook to doe; who coming to Glasgow of intention to imbarke ther for England, he was charged vnder pain of treason, to delyver Neill Macloyd to the privie councill. Sir Rory obeyed the summons, and presented Neill Macloyd, with his sone Donald to the councill, at Edinburgh, wher Neill was executed, in Aprile, 1613 yeirs. His sone, Donald-Mack-Neill, was banished out of the kingdome, who presentlie went into England, and ther remained thrie yeirs with Sir Robert Gordoun, tutor of Southerland [the author of this account], and from England he went into Holland, wher he died.

“Dureing the time that Neill Macloyd keiped the rock of Berrissay, ther arryved an English pirat in the Lewes, who had a ship fraughted and furnished with great wealth. This captan (called Peter Love) entered in freindship and familiaritie with Neill, being both outlawes; so they thought, by joining ther forces together, to be masters of the Lewes both by sea and land; bot after the pirat had stayed awhile in the iland, he and all his men wer taken prissoners by Torquill Blair and his sonnes, and wer sent, together with the ship, by Neill Macloyd, to Edinburgh, vnto the privie councill, thinking therby to get his owne pardon, and his brother Tormot Makloyd released out of prison; bot neither of them did he obteyne; and all the Englishmen, with their captane, wer hanged at Leith.”

The indictment of Neill Macleod, after charging him with many atrocities, thus concludes:—“And finallie, ye, the said Neill, in regard of your former abhominable lyfe, feiring your awin apprehensioun, and haifing, for your griter suretie and releiff, fled of the Mayne and Continent-land to ane Craig callet Birsay, ane myle within

ane Loche, quhilk ze mannit and fortifeit with men, munitioun, and all manner of provisioun for zour intertenement; and haifing tua boittis provydit, for zow and zour complices passage and repassage fra the land to the said Craig, ze, with zour associattis, during zour abyding within the said Craig, and keiping thairof, come a land, and run dyuerse furrowes [forays] throw the cuntrie, and in maist thiftious maner staw, reft, and away-tuik with zow, to the said Craig, dyuerse guidis and bestiall fra the inhabitantes of the cuntrie about, namelie, fra Gilliechallum M'allaster Coule [slender] and Gilliechallum M.Coneill [Malcolm Macdonald], fra ather of thame, tuelff kye and oxin; quilkis, with dyuerse heirschipis of coirne, victuall, and vther necessaris, stowin and reft by zow, was transpourtit be zow to the said Craig, in maist thiftious maner; whairupoun ye disponit and enterteneit zour selfis at zour plesour."

The trial took place on the 30th March, 1613, and he was sentenced "to be tane to the Mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair to be hangit vpon ane gibbet, quhill he be deid; and thaireftir, his heid to be strukin frome his body, and affixt and set vpon ane priket, aboue the Nether-boll Poirt of the said burgh;—"

The execution must have taken place in less than a week, for Sir Thomas Hamilton, Lord Advocate, in a letter to King James VI., dated 7th April, 1613, says, "Neill Macloyde died at his execution verie christianlie."

A manuscript history of the Mackenzies, written apparently between 1657 and 1678, states that the Tutor of Kintail and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul took forces to the Lewis; and passing to the west side, planted some men on a rock that was within shot of Berisay, on which Neill did kill a man of theirs, called Donald Mac Conichie vic Finla Glaish, and wounded — M^cCoull Rory vic Finla Glaish; and adds that, "at last Neill was obliged to leave Berisay," but very significantly says nothing about the Mackenzies placing the wives and children of the garrison upon a half-tide rock.

"Within the mouth of Loch Carlvay lyes the small Island Garve [now Old Hill]; it is a high rock about half-a-mile in compass and fit only for pasturage. Not far from this lyes the Island Berinsay [a misprint for Berirsay], which is a quarter of a mile in compass, naturally a strong fort, and formerly used as such, being almost inaccessible"—such is Martin's account of it.

Dun Bharabhat (in English, *Dun Burravat*), *Great Berneray*, *Uig*, *Lewis*.

Dun Bharabhat (pronounced *Varavat*) is situated about the middle of a large lake in *Great Berneray*, on a small islet, 20 fathoms from the grass-line. It is approached by the usual row of stepping-stones, but in this instance the door of the dun does not face the causeway. The dun (Plate XLVIII.) fills the whole island. It is now little better than a heap of stones; on the east side, however, the wall is still 14 feet high. The plan of what remains can only be understood by supposing that but one-fourth of the enceinte is original; the remainder being of subsequent formation. The ground plan of

the original dun was not circular, for what remains of it is not the segment of a circle ; it probably, in some degree, followed, like the present ruin, the outline of the little island. The present dun is of an irregular four-sided figure, with curved sides, undulating, however, on the west. The longest diameter of the dun is 47 feet, the shortest 40 feet.

The door of the dun is at the north corner, from thence the west side is hardly traceable ; but I do not believe it is other than a solid wall, without cells or passages ; this wall appeared to be from 8 to 5 feet in thickness.

The south and east sides have likewise been solid walls ; at the east corner the old work begins and continues to the doorway. This part is very interesting, the exterior masonry is as good as is usual in the "Pictish castles." From the area there is no apparent entrance, at the ground level, to the galleries in the wall ; but there is a broad coping or cornice, formed by flat stones projecting from 8 to 14 inches, and which, I do not doubt, supported a floor. Above this coping are two doorways ; the eastmost (*c*), which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 2 feet 5 inches wide, lands upon the roof of the ground gallery, and, on the left hand, a flight of steps descends to the ground, but is then blocked, as is shown at (*d*). This forms a cellar, for there is no exit into the area. On the east side of the door, the floor continues for 4 feet, and is then ruined.

The second doorway (*e*) is 4 feet high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide ; on entering the west side is blocked at once, the wall here being solid, and nearly 8 feet thick ; turning to the right the slabs are flat for 5 feet ; then a flight of steps (*f*) leads to the third gallery, which is perfect for 9 feet.

Over the westmost door is a third ope or window (*g*), which led to or lighted the fourth gallery. The roof of the third ope formed the floor of a gallery, from which a descending flight of stairs (*h*) appeared to have led to a gallery over the main entrance, but this part has been removed. The system of opes and galleries in this dun is very curious, and shows that these ancient towers are not mere copies of another, although the observer soon perceives a great similarity in style and method.

The area of the dun is filled with displaced stones, and overgrown with brambles and honeysuckle ; but we traced part of a wall of a rectangular hovel which had, no doubt, been a refuge for some turbulent spirits in mediæval times.

I have learnt no traditions connected with this dun.

Dun Bharaglom, Baraglom, Berneray, Uig, Lewis.

A low mound marks the site of this dun, and in winter, when the grass and weeds by which it is covered in the summer season are withered, the foundation stones can be traced all round it. The material of the dun was taken by the crofters to build their cottages, but the hamlet is now cleared off.

The bardic account of this castle is that it was built and inhabited by a giant, named Glom; who, as well as his brother, Teed (Tid), would not go out to fight the Feine, feeling secure from their attacks on account of their insular position.

Tidaborragh (Dun) Kirkabost, Berneray, Uig, Lewis.

The foundation of Teed-brough is on a rocky knoll, which is steep on the west side, and at about 40 fathoms from the shore. The dun was about 60 feet in diameter, but only a small piece of the wall on the south-west side was left; a house was then being built out of the ruins, in which, if I mistake not, tempered clay was being used in the place of lime-mortar.

The bards tell that this dun was the abode of Teed, the brother of the giants mentioned above.

Dun, Loch Bharrabhat, Kneep, Uig, Lewis.

The lake is halfway between Kneep and Meavag.

Dun, Loch Bharabhat, Croulasta, Uig, Lewis.

This dun was on an islet in Borgar-vatn, near Crolesta; and must have been very small.

*Dun Cuithaich (pronounced *Ku-ik*), Uig, Lewis.*

This dun, called Dun Bhorranis on the Ordnance Map, stands upon a small semi-islet in the sands of Uig. The islet is separated at high water from the mainland or point of Boranis by a narrow and shallow channel; but which at ebb tide is left dry, except where a small stream wanders through the sand.

The dun is a mere heap of stones, but sufficient remains to show it was

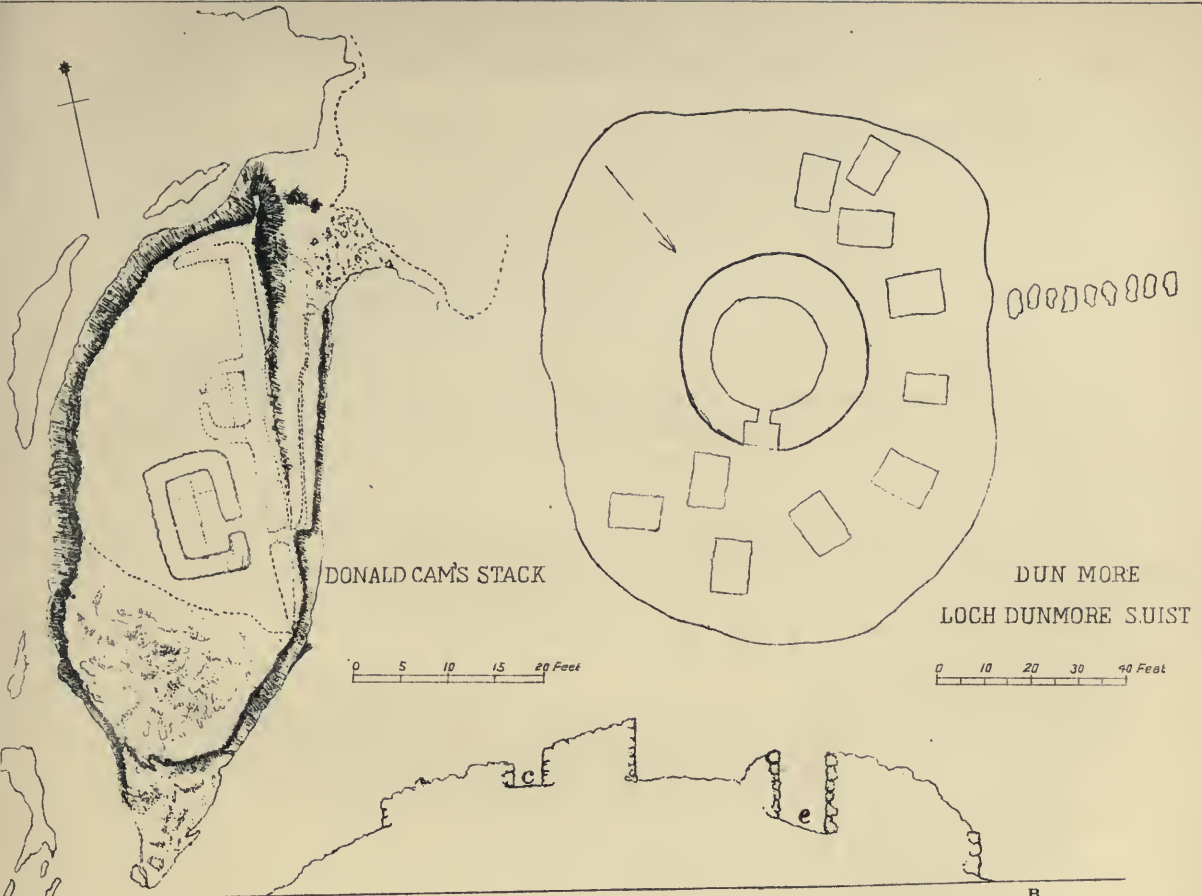
a Pictish tower, with walls from 7 to 12 feet in thickness. It is peculiar, however, in not being circular, but oval, in plan; the respective diameters being 45 and 60 feet. My assistant, the late Mr John Morrison, made the plan and view. I have seen the place in passing, but had no time to examine it.

This dun, according to tradition, was the abode of the famous giant, Cuithach Mac Nuadharañ (pronounced Nu-ag-aran, in Lewis)—the only hero who ever made the Feine retreat even one step; but his valour did not save him, as the following genuine Ossianic tale, abridged from Morrison's Traditions of Lewis, will plainly tell:—

Many centuries ago the giant Cuithach inhabited a fort or dun in the Mains of Uig, whereof the ruins may still be seen. At this time, three other brothers, equally gigantic, occupied the duns at Dun Carlöway, Tidbury, and Ballyglom, and these four giants bore sway over all the country.

Fingal and his army, hearing of the oppression used by the giants, came to Lewis; and because Cuithach was the strongest, it was decided to march to Uig and give him battle. The Fingalians posted themselves upon an eminence at Penny-Donald, within a mile of the dun. Now, it was a maxim of the Fingalians to give fairplay to their enemies, and although they should be all killed one after another, never to oppose more than man to man.

The giant had a clear view of Fingal's army, but had such confidence in himself that he would not trouble himself to fight them, but marched down the sands with a forked spear to fish flounders. On the following day Fingal marched his army close to the dun, but this did not provoke the giant to engage in battle. This was repeated for a week, when Toskir (Oscar) proposed to go sporting on the hill, and asked the loan of "Mac Luinn," that is, the sword of his grandfather, Fingal. But Fingal said, "What shall I do if the giant comes out to engage me, while you are away with my sword?" Tosker replied that he would only sport upon the adjacent hill, and that if the giant came forth they had only to blow the strongest whistle, and he would be back in a moment; so Tosker got the sword. But that very day, when the Fingalian army marched, as usual, on to the sands in front of the dun, the giant came out and appeared as if he would cross the sands to the army of Fingal; his appearance was so terrible that, in spite of their bravery, the whole army fell back one foot—Fingal himself not excepted. The giant seeing the Fingalians so intimidated by his appearance, resolved to give them battle next day. When the army marched to the sands, as usual, the giant walked across the brook, and although from his enormous size he was frightful to behold, the army stood firm at the command of their leader, Fingal. The giant asked would one or more engage with him at a time. When Fingal replied that they always gave fairplay, the giant said, "Well, then, let one of you come to me." Fingal advanced, but was heard to utter a groan for the want of his trusty weapon, Mac Luinn.



DONALD CAM'S STACK

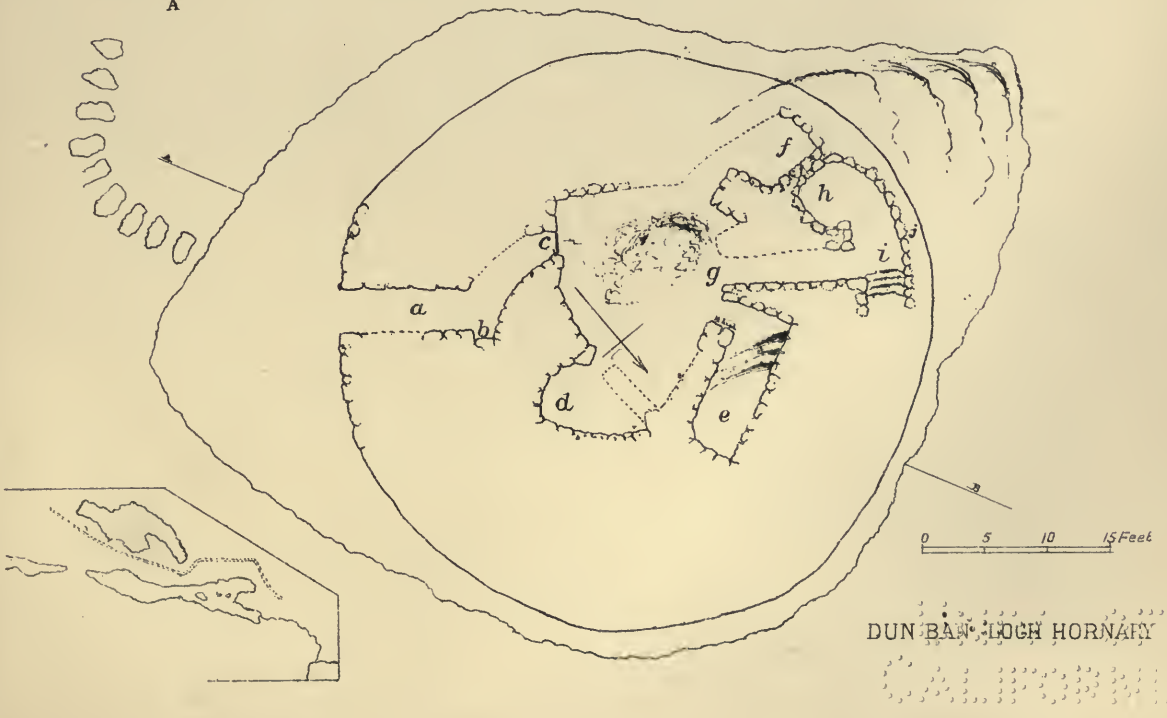
DUN MORE
LOCH DUNMORE SUIST

0 5 10 15 20 Feet

0 10 20 30 40 Feet

A

B



DUN BANN LOCH HORNAFY

0 5 10 15 Feet

The strongest whistle was now blown; and Tosker quickly returned; but when he arrived, Fingal had been brought to his knee by the awful sword-play of the giant. Tosker seeing the imminent danger of Fingal, said to him, "Come you out, and let me engage him with the never-failing weapon, Mac Luinn." Tosker, who was never conquered in battle, had, by the third stroke, completely severed the head of the giant from his body, and in this way was Ku-och M'Nuaran killed on the Mains of Uig, where his grave, 14 feet long, with a stone at head and foot, may be seen to this day.

Mr Morrison might have added that the marks of Cuithach's shoulders are still seen in the cliff against which he was driven when fighting with Oscar.

Dun Gormsuil, Carnis, Uig, Lewis.

Carnish is on the south side of the bay of Uig, but I have no information concerning this dun.

I have heard that there are a great number of shallow stone dishes lying about at Carnish.

Stac Dhomnuill Chaim, Mangursta, Uig, Lewis.

The sea coast in the neighbourhood of Mangursta is cliffy, broken, and romantic, and faced by numerous detached and semi-detached rocks and islets. One of these bears the name of Donald Cam's Stack, or Stac na Berighe. It is about 100 feet high, and on the top is not more than about 20 yards in length. A deep ravine cuts it off from the shore, with which, however, it remains connected with a rocky isthmus. The rock is otherwise surrounded by the sea, and is quite inaccessible, except on the land side, where a narrow path leads up the steep brae. A wall, from 4 to 5 feet thick, defends it on the land side, in which, at the south end, there is a gap or gateway, 2 feet wide. The gate would be extremely dangerous to force, as the cliff is close in front of it. There are the ruins of a cottage, $18\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 feet interiorly, and the walls $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, on the *terre pleine* of the rock, as also a sheep-pen attached to the wall. Only in very fine weather can boats land at Mol Garbh, or Rough Beach of the isthmus. (See Plate LII.)

It was to this pinnacle that the Uig hero, Donald Cam Macaulay,

retired, on the conquest of the Lewis by the Mackenzies. This name is still a household word in Uig, and they tell how his daughter (Anna Mhòr = Big Anne, I think) used to carry water to her father on her head, her hands being required to assist her up the dangerous pathway. This occurred in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

I do not know that this rock was used as a castle before Donald Cam's era, but from its natural capabilities it is highly probable.

The parish of Uig must, in ancient times, have been of great relative importance; besides the numerous fortresses described above, there are six Tursachan or stone circles within a radius of two miles. When viewing these monuments, one is lost in wonder to see them in such a place, and the impression becomes confirmed that the physical, as well as the ethnic, conditions, must have greatly changed since the time when they were erected.

Dun, Loch an Duin, Scalpay, Harris.

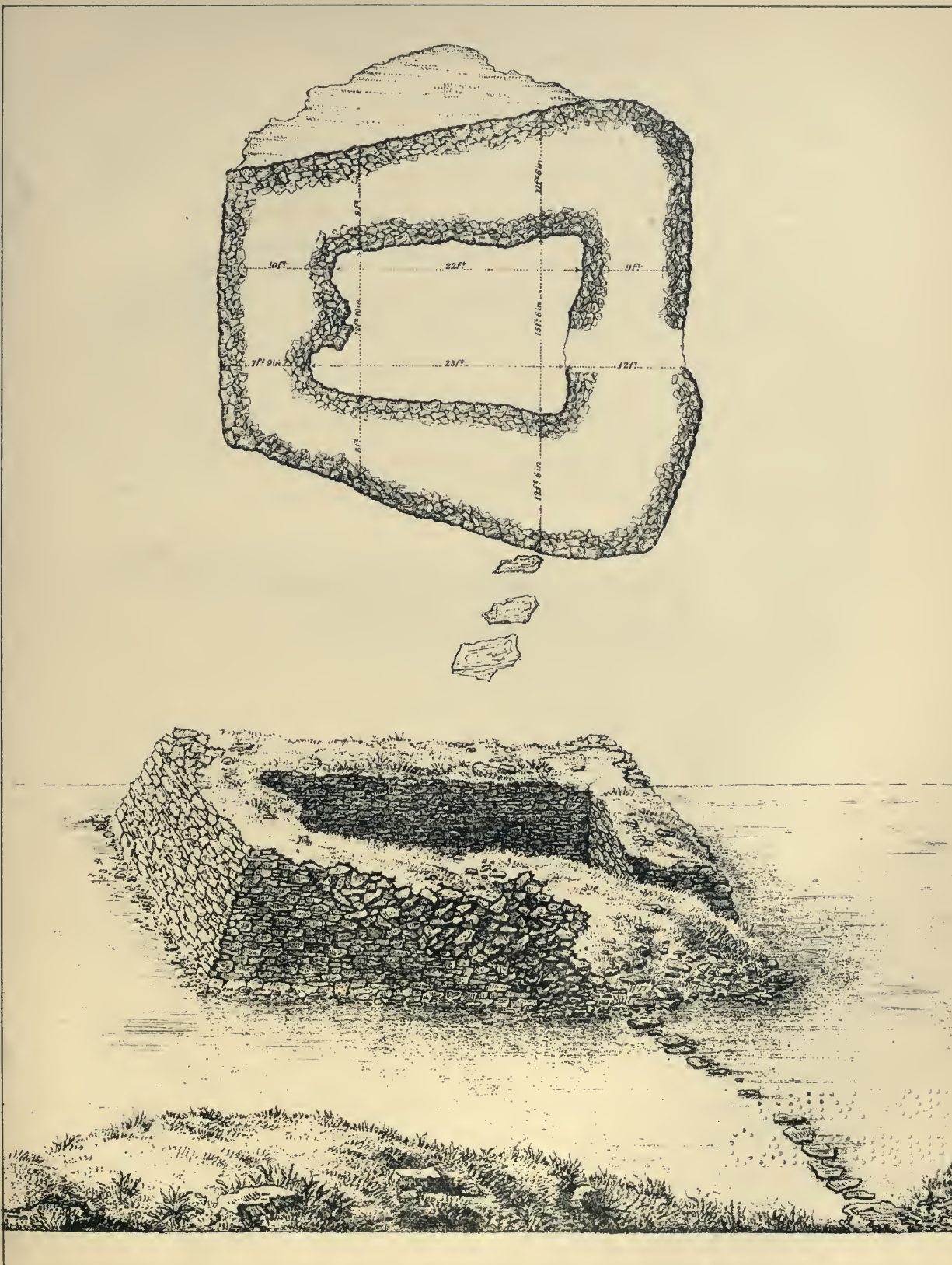
The lake is in the middle of the island; as far as I could see from the adjacent shore, the dun, on a rocky islet, was very small and not round.

Lios? Luskentyre, Harris.

The name appears to indicate that there was a lios or lis, that is, a circular fortified place at "Lios-cinn-tir," which would mean "Headland-fort." As it must always have been an excellent farm, there would certainly have been a defensive structure in it.

Dun Bhuirgh, Borve, Harris.

This has been an important "Pictish castle," but is so dilapidated that no details could be made out. It stands on the spur of a hill, at some distance from the coast. The dun was circular, and enclosed by an outer wall (which is still apparent), probably to include a supply of water and protect the cattle. The duns on islets could have received but few cattle.



DUN LOCH-AN-DUIN, TARANSAY, HARRIS.

Near this dun are two standing stones (Menhirs), and to the northward, at Nesibost, is a large menhir called "Ord Bhearnaich" or the "Limpit Hammer," and a Picts house; and at Haugarbost, a cromlech.

Dun na Caillich, Loch Langabhat, Harris.

The "Long Lake" is in the middle of the district, and in very dry weather the "stone footpath" to the "Old Wife's Dun" can be distinctly seen.

Saint Clement's Dun, Rodil, Harris.

The dun is said to have been round. The name is taken from the adjacent Priory, dedicated to St Clement.

Dun Borigidh (Borigee), Strond, Harris.

Dun Innis-ghall, Carminish Isles, Strond, Harris.

The name implies the "Island of Strangers," who, of course, were enemies.

During the Highland destitution, the people trenched a piece of ground near this dun, when several flint arrow-heads were turned up.

Dun, Loch an Duin, Taransay, Harris.

This dun (Plate LIII.) is upon a very small islet in a lake, about the middle of the island. It is of a very unusual shape externally, being a rude square in plan, about 40 by 40 feet; the wall, plain and solid, without mortar, is 10 feet thick, and encloses an open space, 20 by 12 feet. There is no indication of a doorway or other opening, and I do not doubt the entrance was six or more feet from the base, and landed on the first floor. It is remembered when the walls of this dun were 15 feet high, but it is not more than 6 or 8 feet now. The dun is approached by stepping-stones, and as the water flows up to the foot of the walls, there was but little room for an adversary to make an attack.

Dun Rhàtha, Taransay, Harris.

Dun Rhàtha (pronounced Raw), also called Dun an Oir, or the Golden Dun, was built upon a large, steep hillock, perhaps 60 feet high, close to the shore upon the east coast of Taransay. On the level top (see View) we traced a circular wall-face, 50 feet in diameter. There were indications of small enclosures outside the wall of the dun (but probably they were not original), and of circumscribing wall or ramparts.

There is a tradition that some golden ornaments were found here. Hence its name, Dun an Oir; but it is more generally called Dun Rhàtha, and is the only instance, within my knowledge, of a place of defence in the whole Long Island bearing the Irish name, Rath.

Taransay is an interesting island to the antiquary. Besides these two duns, the island is named after St Taran; the site of his church is known, and the simple cross that decorated it is now in the National Museum of Antiquities. Within a stone's throw is the ruin of Teampull Cè, the saint here being, undoubtedly, a lady; for if any male was buried in her cemetery, he was found above ground on the next day. And the same thing happened if a female intruded upon St Taran's resting-place. Both these chapels are at Paible—a name, Papu-li = Priests' lea—that tells that the Northmen found Culdees here. There was another church at Uidh, of which no trace is left, but an ancient Latin cross engraved on an upright gneiss-pillar points out its cemetery. Both here and at Paible bronze brooches and bone pins are frequently found, that were the fastenings of the grave clothes in which the people were interred—for wooden coffins were not used in these islands till recent times. At Paible, by the shore, is a hypogeum or subterranean cave, in which I do not doubt the holy men often hid their good things from their many enemies, Keltic as well as Teutonic.

Dun Ruadh, Killigray, Sound of Harris.

The Red Dun is said to have been on the middle of the island. It is marked "Dunan," *i.e.*, Little Dun, on Johnston's map.

Dun Pabbay, Sound of Harris.

The dun was on the south side of the island.

Dun Borve, Berneray, Sound of Harris.

On the south side of the island; an old circular dun, containing wall-passages and galleries. All the stones were carried away for building materials.

Dun Mac Lathairn, Groatay, Sound of Harris.

Dun Mac Lathairn, *i.e.*, the castle of the son of Loarn, is on a detached rock, on the west side of Groatay. The island is at the south end of the Sound of Harris, and close to North Uist.

Dun Ban, Loch Horneray, Grimsay, North Uist.

In ancient times all the land which lay between the Sound of Barra and the Sound of Harris was known by the name of Uist; and indeed it is so far one island now that a man can walk at low water from one end to the other of it. It is quite possible that when the land received the name of Uist, it was but one island at all times of tide. At present it forms the three principal islands of South Uist, Benbecula, and North Uist, together with several thousand lesser ones. From the mountains of South Uist, along the east side, to the Sound of Harris, the appearance of the country suggests a recent and gradual subsidence, which is still going on. At high tide the sea flows into the interior of the country, among the swells and green hillocks of the Laurentian gneiss, in an extraordinary manner, and makes brackish water in many of the lakes. Such a country has an amazing number of those defensive points, which suited the genius of the fortification in mediæval and pre-historic times; and in Uist, taken as a whole, in a length of 57 geographical miles, I believe there have been, at least, a hundred defensive structures.

Grimsay is one of those geographical portions for which the English language has no descriptive term; it is an island for six hours, and part of North Uist for the next six. When attending church-service at Carnish no eloquence of the preacher could match the stern necessity of the rising tide, as the flood began to cover the sand which lay "between us and our hame," an increasing uneasiness came over us semi-islanders, which was soon communicated to the pulpit, and brought the discourse to a close, or there would have been a general stampede, without a blessing.

Loch Horneray has no features differing from several small lakes in Grimsay, it is half a mile long, and may average one-tenth of a mile in breadth. There are several rocky islets in it, on one of which the *Osmunda regalis* grows. But towards the east end is a little rock, about 50 feet in diameter, rising to a little peak about 12 feet high towards the centre. On this rock is Dun Ban, which, when I first saw it, was a huge cairn, covered with brambles and sweet herbage. When the wind was too high for surveying, a party from H.M.C. "Woodlark" was sent to excavate it, and as the ancient causeway was impracticable, a small boat was carried to the lake.

The rugged rock, on which Dun Ban is built, is 16 fathoms from the shore, and there is 9 feet of water in the channel. A causeway has been formed by throwing stones into the water, and then placing stepping-stones, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart, upon the causeway—originally, no doubt, they were above the surface of the water, but now, as in many other instances, they are overflowed. A curious idea is common among the Hebrideans, that one of the stepping-stones, called the Monitor or Warning Stone, was so balanced as to make a clatter when trod upon, by which warning was given of the approach of friend or foe during darkness. The belief is general, and it may have been so, but the fact of a stone being now loose or unequally balanced is no proof after the great lapse of time since these stones were laid. The causeway, in this instance, shows some ingenuity in its contrivance, for instead of advancing straight from shore to shore, the line of direction would, if continued, pass clear of the island, but when near the island it turns sharply towards it, by which means the approach is well flanked.

Dun Ban (Plate LII.) is unique in its construction, and may be called a fortified "Picts-house"—using that term in a technical sense—and may be described as an agglomeration of beehive cells imbedded in a circular tower. The foundation is very uneven, and there has been no attempt to level it. The peaked rock rises and protrudes in the central area of the dun, and slopes in one of the chambers at a steep gradient. The entrance passage is opposite to the causeway, and was no doubt roofed with flags. A horrid practice exists in these islands of ruining these ancient buildings by robbing them of their flagstones, to serve for the lintels of doors and windows to the wretched cottages.

From the landing to the doorway of the dun the rock is clear for $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet; from the doorway the passage rises gently for some feet.

The entrance passage (*a*) to Dun Ban has been at least 3 feet high, is 3 feet broad, and straight for 11 feet, where, on the east side, is a recess (*b*), which was apparently the usual guard-cell. The passage then curves to the left for 8 feet, and narrows to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at what was the inner door, where there is a step (*c*) down into the court or area of the dun. The area is of a very irregular figure, with a breadth of about 11 feet; and is largely occupied by a protruding peak of rock which rises 4 or 5 feet above the floor of the area.

Around the court are four beehive cells in the thickness of the wall. They are extremely rude, and when complete were roofed by overlapping stones. In a few places yet remaining the walls begin to come in to form the dome. The height of the centre from the floor was probably 8 feet. Of course a hole was left in the apex for the escape of smoke if the area was not roofed over. The cells were entered by doorways about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square; the first (*d*) with a floor of about 24 square feet; the remaining wall is still 4 feet high. The second (*e*) is quadrangular, 11×4 feet, but instead of having a flat floor it is little better than a large hole 3 feet deep. The natural rock here slopes rapidly towards the water, and accidental ledges form a sort of steps down into the cell. The cell (*f*) on the north side is nearly quadrangular, and contains about 16 square feet. Opposite the main entrance, across the court or central chamber, is the entrance to a steep descending passage (*g*), 13 feet long, one of the sides being still 5 feet high; at its termination on the south side is a cell (*h*) of the same size and figure as some of those in use in Lewis at the present day. Opposite to its doorway, part of a rude staircase (*i*) yet remains, which leads to the battlements or roof of this strange castle. An inspection of the ground-plan will show, that while for about $\frac{7}{8}$ of its circumference the enclosing wall is from 10 to 14 feet in thickness, yet for about 9 feet the wall is extremely weak, being, in fact, hardly 2 feet thick; but it is to be observed that this side is furthest removed from probable attack, and that there is not room for more than two or three men to stand in front of the wall without falling into the water.

No relics of importance were found in this dun; there were broken craggans, as rude as those still made in the west of Lewis (of which there are specimens in the Museum), and which were probably in common use throughout the islands a century ago. As they differ but little from the urns (which a Highlander would call craggans) found beneath tumuli of the

Stone Age, there is nothing to determine whether those who used them were "living before Agamemnon," or were "strutting their little hour" in the days of the glorious Queen Anne. Ashes—some of sticks—the remains of cooking fires, were observed in two places, as noted on the plan; and water-worn stones—were all that remained to indicate inhabitation or defence.

Such is Dun Ban, Loch Horneray, as excavation revealed it; but when inhabited the solid wall was probably 15 feet high above the lake, and on this a parapet, say 5 or 6 feet high, sheltered the defenders from missiles from the shore. But it is to be noted that the dun is commanded by a little eminence, say 50 or 60 feet high, on the shore of the lake, at the distance of 35 yards, so that the defenders would be quite exposed to a flight of arrows, except when skulking by the parapet. I have observed the same defect at Dun Gruagaich, Totag, Loch Duich, which is also commanded by a neighbouring height, so that it may be inferred that the defenders depended more upon the thickness of their walls than upon any active measures against the invaders.

Dun Torquil, Loch Mearral, North Uist.

This dun is situated on a rock or small island in Loch Mearral, at a place called Siginnis. It is about 60 feet diameter, and the wall being about 12 feet thick, the diameter of the interior area is about 40 feet; but these dimensions are not from actual measurement. There is an appearance of a gallery or passage about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide in the thickness of the wall, interrupted at two points, at least, by stairs. The highest part of the wall now standing does not exceed 12 or 13 feet. There are remains of walls outside the dun.

Mr. Alexander Carmichael has sent me notes of a number of duns in North Uist, most of them now so dilapidated by use as quarries that their structure cannot be made out. It may, however, be useful to preserve a record of their names and situations:—Dunsgealor, at Solas, from which it is said the materials for several farm-steadings have been taken—it had a well in it of considerable depth; Dun-an-sticir, at Newton, much quarried for building dikes; Dun Thornaidh, in the sound between the island of Valay and Griminnis, the stones of which were carried away to build a house at Valay; Dun Ban, on Loch Una, near Clachan-a-Guilp; Dun Ban, on Loch Cara-

bhad ; Dun Loch Mhic Coile, the door of which is still entire ; Dun Aonais, on a loch at Howmore, the stones taken away for building purposes ; Dun Laithean, near Cheese Bay, on the east side of the island ; Dun Sgarr, at Balranald ; Dun Grogearry, at Howgearry ; Dun Loch Shanndaidh, the stones all taken away for building.

Dun Buidhe, North Loch Olabhat, Benbecula.

Dun Buidhe is built upon what was an island, but the surface of the loch has been lowered 5 feet, and the island is now connected with the main, the causeway being left dry. The island is nearly circular, about 150 feet in diameter, flat, low, and covered with stones. It had evidently been occupied in modern times, and I was told that the Captain of Clanranald had once lived here. The confusion was so great that I could make out little detail. There appeared to have been two concentric walls surrounding the island, with branches extending into the water—at one place probably to shelter a boat. This rampart enclosed the ruins of a circular tower of the usual type ; the present height about 7 feet, but buried in its own ruins. The tower wall is 14 feet thick at the doorway, the external diameter being 55 feet, and the internal diameter about 27 feet. I had no time to excavate for the purpose of learning the arrangements (if any) in the thickness of the wall.

There was one interesting remain here, however. The causeway, from the partial drainage of the loch, was left dry, and the method of its construction was thus disclosed. It is of unusual length—about 200 yards—and sweeps from the original shore of the loch to the former island with a considerable curvature. At first it is made by single blocks (for 40 yards) of 4 and 5 cubic feet ; towards the middle, where it is 4 feet high, sometimes two stones are placed alongside each other ; afterwards, as the water deepened, the causeway was built up of smaller stones from a broad base, and here it was 5 feet high, with a smooth footway of 4 feet broad on the top.

Dun Mor, Garadh-fliuch, Jochdar, South Uist.

This dun (Plate LII.) is on an island in a small loch, and in sight of the main road. It is approached by a causeway and stepping-stones about 150

feet in length, but recently broken through to admit the passage of boats. The island is sub-circular, about 40 yards in diameter, flat, low, and surrounded at the water-line by a wall which is 4 feet thick, and is still 5 feet high. I suspect this wall to be a secondary construction. The dun occupies the middle of the island, and between it and the wall are many ruins of irregular oblong huts of about 12 feet by 9 feet inside, probably also secondary constructions. The dun is quite circular, with walls 11 feet thick, and the internal diameter 27 feet. The highest part of the wall is now about 10 feet above the water, but not more than 4 or 5 feet from the foundation. The doorway is not original, and is the reverse of the usual plan, for the outer end is $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, while at the inner it is narrowed to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There were indications of a continuous gallery in the thickness of the wall, and there appeared to have been a line of masonry from the causeway to the dun. It is to be observed that the door of the dun is turned away from the causeway.

It was here I had a talk with a road-maker, who told me that he had been to all the duns of South Uist for the purpose of robbing them of their flag-stones to serve for lintels in houses.

Dun-a-Chaolais, Vatersay, Barra.

This is apparently one of the circular towers of the usual type, having an exterior diameter of 52 feet, with an interior diameter of 30 feet, and a thickness of wall of 12 feet. From the condition of the ruin the door is not visible, but the door opening from the interior to the foot of the stair leading to the gallery (4 feet wide) is partly open, and steps in the gallery in the thickness of the wall are visible on the opposite side of the dun.

Dun Stron Duin, Bernera, Barra.

This dun is a curved wall of drystone masonry, enclosing a point of a promontory 680 feet high. The wall is about 95 feet long, 15 feet thick, and is still 13 feet high. Through the north end there is a doorway $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. At 4 feet in, there is a rebate on the north side, perhaps for a wooden door-post. At 8 feet in on the south side a

ground gallery begins, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and runs throughout the length of the wall. The masonry of the lower part of the wall is of very large blocks.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE DUNS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

In the absence of nearly all written history of the strongholds of the Outer Hebrides, an attempt is here made to classify them from the most natural and simple forms to their more elaborate structure of undressed and uncemented masonry, without, however, intending to assume that this arrangement at all represents the order in time in which the fortresses have been either made or used.

No doubt, in a forest country, the woods are the first and most obvious protection; but the northern islands have always been an open country. Yet, if the islanders wanted the shelter of woods, nature supplied them with still more inaccessible retreats in the scarped stacks and mural promontories which surround their coasts.

I. NATURAL STRENGTHS.

(1.) *Stack Rocks*.—Of the high Stack Rocks which have been used as fortresses, Berisaidh, in the mouth of Loch Roag, is a good instance; so are the two Carnbergs—two of the Treshnish islets—on the west coast of Mull. But in general these isolated rocks have not been so extensively used as might have been expected, owing no doubt to the difficulty of securing the boats and the inconvenience of transport by sea, which indeed, in winter, would interrupt all communication for weeks.

(2.) *Mural Promontories*.—A much more numerous class of strongholds is where a high rocky semi-islet, nearly disjoined from the main by a ravine of greater or less depth, has been taken advantage of. The ravine has sometimes been formed by the erosion of a trap-dike, in which case the sides are as steep and straight as the walls of a house—as at Dun Othail, and probably at Dun Eystein. Donald Cam's Stack is not a Stack Rock in the sense of the first-mentioned class of natural strengths, but a semi-isolated rock. In the Orkneys, Low has noted many of these refuges “on

the tops of vast rocks, which tradition tells us the people fled to in case of disturbance from abroad."

(3.) *Fortified Promontories.*—Often when a small scarped peninsula occurred, the want of a natural ravine has been supplied by a ditch and rampart. In most of these defended promontories, the ditch and rampart are so ruined that no details can be observed—as at Dun Bhilaseleittir in Lewis, and Burrow Head, Stronsay, in the Orkneys. At Dun-a-Bheirgh, Shabost, Lewis, on the other hand, there are considerable remains of the characteristic masonry of the rampart. In Shetland, Low describes the Blue Moul in Unst, and Sundborg at Sumburgh Head, as of this class.

(4.) *Walled Islets.*—Low flat islands, both marine and lacustrine, and tidal peninsulas, are sometimes surrounded at the water's edge by a drystone wall. Dun Eorrdail, Ness, Lewis, is a semi-island; Dun Bharclin, Lochs, Lewis, is an island at all times of tide; the Dunan at Carloway, Lewis, the Dun of Loch Druim-an-Isgair in South Uist, and Dun Mhac Mhic Phail in Loch Ollavat, Benbecula, are lacustrine islets, surrounded by a simple drystone wall. In Shetland Little Holm in Quendale Bay, and Kirkholm in Selie Voe, are fortified in the same manner.

(5.) *Castellated Islets.*—A much more interesting class of fortification of natural strengths, of which I saw but one example in the Outer Hebrides, is the lacustrine islet, called (for want of a specific name) the Dun Loch-an-Duin, in the Aird, Lewis. Three sides of the islet are enclosed at the water-line by a rough drystone wall; but the side facing the causeway is strongly fortified by what may be called a gate-tower, through which was the only passage into the island. The entrance was further defended by a guard-cell. I do not doubt that stone steps led up to the top of the gate-house, which was covered by a parapet, and that the height was about 15 feet above the water. The masonry and guard-cell are in no respect different from those in the circular towers; in fact, it is an almost exact reproduction even in dimensions of the wall and entrance of some of the "Pictish Towers,"—Dun Bhragair to wit.

It is interesting to find an islet fortified in nearly the same manner in Whalsay, Shetland. Low gave a sketch-plan and elevation of it in his Tour, and more recently Dr Mitchell has figured it. Both sketches substantially agree, but of course it was much more perfect in 1794. At the time of Dr Mitchell's visit the stones were being removed to build a school.

II. BROCHS OR "PICTISH TOWERS."

We now arrive at a structure of defence, later in style, but possibly not later in time than those noticed in the preceding section. It may be described as characterised by a hollow wall containing stairs and galleries, or as two closely approximate walls bound or tied together by flags, which form the floors and roofs of the galleries and the stairs leading up to them. In plan, the fort or castle is almost always round or curvilinear in outline; very seldom right lined; most of them are circular.

The basement of these castles is usually solid, except where a varying number of bee-hive-roofed cells are constructed at intervals within its thickness. Where there are no bee-hive cells, as at Dun Carloway, the roof of the basement gallery is not formed by flags, but by overlapping.

Supposing galleried walls to have been built upon the gate-houses of the two fortified islets noticed in the last section, we should have the kind of fortification which exists in Dun Stron Duin, Bernera, Barra Head, where a galleried wall is built across the neck of a promontory—the only example of the kind known to me. Dun Chonil in Glen Beg, Glenelg, as shown in Sir Henry Dryden's plan, is of the same nature, the dun consisting of a galleried wall enclosing a somewhat circular space, one side of which is unenclosed, because defended by a cliff.

These, however, are rare examples. The tower is the usual form. Sometimes it is more or less conformed to the shape of the small islet on which it stands, as in the case of Dun Bharabhat, in Great Berneray, which is still further remarkable in having to all appearance the galleried wall only on one side. Sometimes the tower is an irregular oval, on the ground plan, as Dun Chuithaich, on the Sands of Uig, the greatest and least diameters of which are respectively 60 feet and 45 feet measured over walls. Dun Ban, Cromore, Lochs, is more nearly circular, and is peculiar in having a flight of steps from the inner door on the ground level leading at once to the third gallery.

But by far the greater number of these towers—of which Dun Carloway may be taken as the type—are strictly circular in plan, and closely resemble the Brochs of Shetland, Orkney, and the Northern and Western Mainland of Scotland.

The situation of these towers in the Northern and Western Islands is normally upon an islet in a lake. Rocky islets in the sea are but rarely chosen to build upon; but there is one at West Burrafirth, in Sandness, and another at East Burrafirth, in Aithsting, both in Shetland. In the absence of a lacustrine islet, low points in lakes have the next preference; then low points projecting into the sea; but the open country was frequently chosen, where the position of the tower is seldom one of great natural strength. They are never placed on great heights, and in the islands they are not met with in the moors or far from the cultivated land. While there are duns on the west side of Barvas parish, there are no towers—only natural forts—on the east side between Ness and Tolsta, the reason being that on one side there is a good breadth of cultivable soil, while on the other there is nothing but peat.

The body of the tower, as has been said, consists of two concentric walls rising from a basement, and tied or bound together at varying heights by flags.

The theory of the ground plan is very simple. The base is a circle of which the area in breadth is one-half of the diameter, and the wall one-fourth.

	Ext. Dia.	Area.	Wall.
13 Brochs in the Orkneys, average	57.9 feet.	32.6 feet.	12.9 feet.
11 „ in Shetland, „	57.1 „	26.6 „	14.7 „
7 „ in Outer Hebrides, „	51.6 „	26.8 „	12.1 „
31 „ give a mean of	55.5 „	28.7 „	13.2 „

The Exterior Diameter ranged in Shetland, from 68 to 49 feet.
 „ in Orkney, from 69 to 40 „
 „ in Outer Hebrides, from 55 to 48 „

The general uniformity in plan and dimensions over the north and west coasts is very remarkable.

There are two classes of basement: either the base is solid excepting where it contains bee-hive cells; or there is an interrupted ground gallery going all round, which is roofed not by flags but by overlapping. In the first class, the number of cells follows no rule. In the second, the ground gallery is interrupted by one or more flights of steps dividing it into several cellars, as in the Cromore Dun and the Dun in Loch Bharabhat. At Dun Gruagach, Loch Duich, from the unevenness of the ground, one-

half of the base of the tower is 5026 feet above the level of the other, and the lower half contains a ground gallery.

Besides the cells—or otherwise, the ground gallery—the basement always contains the doorway, which is never so far as I know raised above the level of the ground, as in that case it would have been very inconvenient for the transit of cattle. The doorway is the only ope in the exterior of the tower; neither window nor loophole has yet been noted.

From the details of thirteen doorways it appears that it is very unusual—as at Dun Bhragair—for the passage to be of the same breadth throughout. The breadth of doorway outside is usually 3 feet, but varies from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 feet, and the average height is 5 feet. The jambs are generally perpendicular, never inclining inwards unless from subsidence. At from one-half to one-quarter through the passage, there is a rebate on both sides of from 6 inches to 1 foot in breadth, evidently for a door. Bar-holes have been formed behind the rebate in Orkney and Shetland, but I have not seen them at all in the Outer Hebrides. The inner part of the passage is from 6 to 7 feet high, the roof being sometimes flat, and sometimes rising by inverted steps towards the area. The outer part is always flat roofed.

It is very unusual when there is not a guard-cell on one side of the inner doorway. The guard-cell is often a simple bee-hive chamber about 6 feet in diameter and little more in height, entered from the passage by a doorway sometimes not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and having no other communication with the interior of the building. At Dun Carloway and at Cromore, the guard-cell communicated with the ground gallery behind. Occasionally in the Orkneys it is very much elongated, as at Borrowston, Shapinsay.

The external surface of the outer wall in these towers is held in general admiration for the skill with which such rude materials have been used in constructing a regular and even surface. The stones have not been recognised as having been either dressed or quarried. This was not from any want of ability in the builders, but because ice-borne blocks were strewed over the whole face of the land in the Outer Hebrides. Although the Laurentian Gneiss, of which these transported blocks are composed, has an imperfect slaty structure, it is seldom that two of these sides are parallel. Usually the flattest side of the stone forms the outer face of the wall, and the stone is underpinned with great skill to adapt it to its position. Never-

theless, Sir Henry Dryden has remarked, that individual stones often appear crushed from resting upon too few points, for there is no bedding. But while the outer face of the tower is thus a model of skill for regularity and strength, it is remarkable that no pains were taken with the inner side, which has a very rough face; and towards the top, where the wall is often but one stone thick, it has no inner face at all—long jagged points projecting into the upper galleries.

The largest stones are always employed in the lower courses of the tower. In Dun Carloway there are from 8 to 10 courses in 6 feet of height towards the base, and this rule holds good for such of the towers in the Long Island as I have seen. The stones are usually less than 1 foot thick and 2 feet long, and the largest may be taken at about half a ton. In the Orkneys and many of the Shetland Isles, the stones are slaty, and, having two parallel faces, make an excellent and firm wall without mortar; but with the shapeless blocks of the Outer Hebrides, the upper part of the tower has a very insecure aspect, and where only a single stone thick could not have stood for any length of time but for the device of carrying up two separate walls, with the width of the gallery between them, and tying them together at intervals of 5 or 6 feet of their height by the flags forming a roof to the gallery below them, and a floor to the gallery above them. At Castle Gruagach, Loch Duich, the wall of the tower is made of large blocks, but not exceeding $\frac{3}{4}$ of a ton, placed usually over the joints between two beneath; the interstices are filled in with slaty pieces of stone laid flat, as has also been done at Edin's Hall in Berwickshire.

The batter or slope inwards of the exterior surface of the external wall varies considerably. At Dun Carloway, in a height of $33\frac{1}{4}$ feet, the batter is $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet, or 1 foot in $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet of height. In the remaining height of Clickamin, $16\frac{3}{8}$ feet, the batter is 1 foot in 5.2 feet. At Mousa, as shown from Sir H. Dryden's careful plans, the batter varies at different heights, and at $40\frac{1}{2}$ feet (the whole height) is 1 foot in 6 feet. If any reliance can be placed on a plan of Dun Telve in Glenbeg, Glenelg, made apparently in 1773, the batter was 1 foot in 4 feet of height nearly.

The only tower which is apparently complete, or nearly complete in its original altitude, is Mousa, and its height is $40\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Dun Carloway is 34 feet high. Castle Telve, Glenelg, in 1772, was $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and Pennant estimated that it was originally 41 feet high. Castle Troddan, in

Glenelg, appears from Gordon's drawing to have been nearly perfect in 1726, and he states the perpendicular height to be exactly 33 feet; Pen-
nant found it but 24 feet 5 inches high. Dun Dornadilla, in 1776, was still
25 feet high. The dun in Loch Bharabhat, Berneray, Lewis, is now 14 feet
high, and Dun Bhragair is about the same. Although Mousa and Dun
Carloway have the same diameter at base, it is not probable that Dun
Carloway was raised so high as Mousa; it is probable that it was not
originally more than a very few feet higher than at present. But the
difference is not large, and it may be accepted that from 35 to 40 feet is
the normal height of this species of tower.

The area enclosed in the interior of the tower is circular, and usually
rather under 30 feet in diameter, though exceptional instances are noted of
much greater size. The area is now generally filled with the fallen stones;
where these have been cleared out, a well has often been found within the
area, although sometimes the well is not inside the tower but closely
adjacent to it. Drains have also been found in the floor of the area, and
something of this kind must have existed at Dun Carloway, for an old man
told me he had seen a pipe leading from it to the loch, from which he
imagined they pumped up the water.

The inner wall of the tower enclosing the area usually rises perpen-
dicularly—but sometimes with a slight batter—for 8 feet, when it is recessed
to form a scarcement or rebate, sometimes with flat undressed stones pro-
jecting like a corbel table and forming a ledge from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet in width.
But there is a remarkable variation in the position of the ledge in the
Glenelg duns, where instead of being on a level with the roof of the ground
gallery or basement, it is three-fourths up towards the top. The ledge was,
of course, for something to rest on, and this must either have been a roof
or a floor. I am unable to adopt the view of those who regard it as a roof,
and incline to the opinion that the ledge must have supported the beams
of a wooden floor. In several instances, there is a door of communication
with the interior of the galleries at the level of the ledge, and this makes
it extremely probable that the ledge supported the beams of the floor.
At Dun Carloway there is a break through the inner wall at that height.
At the dun in Loch Bharabhat, Berneray, Lewis, there was no trace of
entrance to the interior on the ground level, while there are two doors
opening on to the ledge, but this tower is of an uncommon type. In

almost every case in which Sir Henry Dryden has drawn plans above the lintels of the Orkney and Shetland towers, there are opes which may have served for doors into the floored area. In Mousa, for instance, there is a large door whose sill is 20 inches above the ledge. At Dun Grugach, Loch Duich, immediately over the main doorway, is another large ope or door admitting to a bee-hive cell on the left-hand side. There is no getting into this cell but by this doorway, whose sill is at the level of the ledge. On the theory that the ledge supported the rafters of a roof, the presence of these large opes or doors above the level of the ledge is purposeless.

Besides the main doorway leading into the interior area, there are others opening from the enclosed area into the bee-hive cells of the basement, where these exist; as well as one leading into the ground gallery and staircase for ascending to the upper galleries and to the top of the tower. It is remarkable that this inner doorway leading to the stair and galleries is almost always to the left of the main entrance; but two (Okstrow in Orkney and Cromore in Lewis) have it on the right side; one has it opposite the main door; seven have it on the left side, and the rest are undetermined. The sill of the door is very often 3 or 4 feet above the ground level, while the entrances to the bee-hive cells in the basement are nearly always on the ground level.

On looking up from within the enclosed area, the inner wall of the tower above the ledge is seen to be pierced with many apertures of a rectangular form. Unfortunately there are few towers now entire to the height of the third floor, but besides Mousa there can be little doubt that in Dun Alisaig, the Glenelg Duns, Dun Carloway, and probably, at least, in two of the Sutherland towers, there were four perpendicular rows of windows in the inner wall, looking into the enclosed area. At Mousa, Alisaig, and Carloway, the ledge is on the level of the second floor (counting the ground floor as one), and the rows of windows rise from that level; but in the Glenelg towers the ledge is near the top, and the opes or windows were continuous from the ground floor; and in these two towers there were intermediate rows of windows above the ledge. The windows are usually divided by horizontal shelves or partitions of flagstones, which are no doubt stones of relief to reduce the weight of the masonry on the lintels below. At Dun Carloway, the windows are the full height of the galleries

and unobstructed by shelves. The same is the case with the dun in Berneray, Lewis.

Although there is a marked similarity among the several examples of these towers, yet no two are exactly alike in their arrangements. They are not copies of each other. It may be stated in general terms, that the space between the outer and inner walls above the basement, is divided into horizontal sections by flags which form the floors of galleries lighted by windows looking into the interior area. These galleries were reached either as in Mousa by a continuous staircase, or as in Dun Carloway by a staircase and landing from floor to floor. In Dun Carloway there are six floors, giving an average of 5 feet 7 inches for each gallery, including the stone which forms the floor. The width of the second gallery at bottom is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but that of the fourth gallery is only 15 inches. I am satisfied the upper gallery was not formed for communication but for constructional reasons, for the upper part of the tower is by this means both stronger and lighter than if built solid. An inspection of the panorama of what remains of the galleries of Dun Carloway, shows how much they vary in height, one of them (the third) being less than 4 feet. Here two parties of builders seem to have joined work, with the result that a flight of steps instead of leading forwards is flagged over and forms a *cul-de-sac*. In Mousa there are 7 floors in 37 feet, thus averaging 5 feet for each gallery, but as in Dun Carloway the section shows one of the galleries as but $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. A point of some importance is the breadth of the wall at the top of the tower. At Mousa the average breadth on the top is 8 feet, and the outer wall is over 3 feet thick, so that the garrison could stand in the trough of the uppermost gallery, and have a parapet in front to protect them from the arrows of the enemy, with the inner wall behind as a safeguard from falling into the interior.

The top of the tower being formed of loose stones, like the rest of the building, has no other cohesion than what is derived from the weight of the material; it is therefore manifestly unfit to support a roof unless so constructed that there would be no thrust. In fact, if roofed at all it could only have been by a roof constructed on the same principle as the roofs of the stone cells in the basement, though not a roof of stone. The theory of the construction of such a roof is simple enough and requires no carpentry. It would, moreover, strengthen and consolidate the upper part of the walls.

The space to be covered in is circular and 30 feet in diameter. Take four poles, each 25 feet in length, and lay their ends on the inner wall, so that they form a square over the circular area. On these lay four other poles 21 feet in length to form a square, the angles of which rest on the middle of the poles first laid. A third square of 16 feet poles, a fourth of 12 feet poles, and a fifth of 9 feet, will leave only a hole in the centre of 5 feet square for light and air. These are the main joints or beams. The intervening spaces could be variously filled in; but the strongest and best filling would be to lay poles parallel to and outside of the main beams. By the method here indicated, supposing the poles to be 8 inches thick on the average, there would be a slope of 2 in 5. The interstices could be made weather-tight with turf, straw, grass, or hides.

We have in the last place to consider the quantity of materials and the amount of force required for the erection of one of these towers. Dun Carloway has say 25 feet internal diameter; $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet thickness at base, and 5 feet thick at the height of 34 feet. The exterior diameter is consequently 50 feet at base, and the mean diameter at base $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet. As the mean diameter at top is 30 feet, the mean diameter of the tower is $33\frac{3}{4}$ feet. This gives a length of wall of 106.07 feet, and a superficies of 3606.33 feet, which multiplied by 8.75 feet—the mean thickness—gives the cubic content of 31555.8; but from this must be deducted 7212.8 cubic feet, being the gallery space between the walls assuming it to be 2 feet wide on the average, which leaves 24343 cubic feet—the mass of the tower. The flags binding the two walls together have not been taken into account, for the calculation is made as if the walls were solid ashlar masonry, whereas they are rubble of the rudest kind, and it is considered that the gallery slabs would only fill up the chinks. At the rate of 12 cubic feet to the ton, the whole masonry would weigh 2028.59 tons. Now a man can lift 150 lbs., or 15 men can lift one ton; therefore 30428.8 people could lift Dun Carloway when entire, and twice that number could carry it a day's journey (say 10 miles) in one day. But if 60857.7 people could carry it 10 miles in one day, 6085.7 people could carry it one mile in one day. As all the stones for the tower could be found within the radius of a mile, 608.5 men could collect them in ten days, and 60.8 men could do it in 100 days. But how many people were employed upon the work? Probably as many as the dun could hold. I suppose the basement to have been filled with

cattle, and the people to have lodged on a floor above them. If there was no floor and no cattle, the result would be the same. In the area of 25 feet diameter, there is 491·25 square feet of space, and allowing 8 square feet to each individual, it would contain 61·4 people. Allotting this space to be occupied by as many men as women, it would represent 30·7 families, which at five to a family is equal to 153·5 individuals. But I shall suppose the children were turned into the galleries, and that the working party of the community is represented by 61·4 individuals. A Lewis dykebuilder will lay 54 cubic feet of drystone masonry in a day; he could therefore lay 24343 feet in 450·8 days; or the same quantity could be done by 61 persons in 73·9 days. Now we have seen that 60·8 men could carry all the materials of Dun Carloway one mile in 100 days, and it may be assumed that the same number could lift the stones the required height in one-third of that time—say 33 days—which would be at the rate of 61·5 tons daily, or one ton per man. This would not be very hard work, for if they worked ten hours per day, it would only be 2 cwts. per hour. It is therefore shown, that if the number of people which the area of Dun Carloway could berth were employed on its construction, they could collect the materials in 100 days, and in 107 days it could have been built—that is, that the tower could have been begun and finished in less than seven months. In reviewing the result of these calculations, I am inclined to think that the building was accomplished in a less rather than a longer time, and that the whole work was finished in one summer season.

XVII.—*On the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College,
Aberdeen.*

(Plates LIV.—LXX.)

By NORMAN MACPHERSON, LL.D., Sheriff of Dumfries and Galloway,
F.S.A. Scot.

Not long ago I walked over the University buildings, new and old, at King's College, Aberdeen, with Principal Geddes. As we were parting, he remarked that some of the details I mentioned to him regarding the old parts of the structure seemed to him to possess an architectural and ecclesiological interest that made them worth putting permanently on record; and he suggested that I should do this before the memory of them passed away. Hence this paper, stating what I believe to have been some points of the history of the Chapel—or "Templum" as it was called in old writs, and of the "campanile" with its crown: these being all that remain of the original buildings erected by Bishop Elphinstone, except perhaps the round ivy-covered tower, now deprived of the spire added to it by Bishop Stewart. It marks the south-east corner of the College as it stood when first completed.

My connection with the University of Aberdeen may be said to be hereditary. It is more than a century since my father, Dr Hugh Macpherson, entered King's College as a student, where he afterwards became Professor of Greek and Sub-Principal. My maternal grandfather, Dr Roderick Macleod, was one of the Regents, forty years earlier, and after sixty-eight years ended his Professoriate as Principal. Many old traditions of the place were consequently known to my parents, and I can hardly distinguish between what I learnt from them and what I have picked up from books. Much that I first heard from them I have been able to corroborate from books.

I owe much to the old chroniclers, and cannot hope to rival either the beauty or expressiveness of their quaint language. What, for instance, can be better than this?—

"Ther is in this Universitie" of Aberdeen "a magnifick and illustrious

Colledge called the King's Colledge, having a collegiat kirk and steeple, both of hewin stone curiouslie wrought and covered with lead: and the steeple hath within it an musicall harmonie of costlie and pleasant bells, and above the covering of leid a most curious and statlie work of hewin and corned stones, representing to the vieu of all beholders a brave pourtrait of the royall diademe."¹

After this crown had stood for more than a century—the latter half of the period being little favourable to the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical edifices—we find, on 13th June 1620, very extensive repairs “ordanet,” and *inter alia*, “Seventintlie, that the heid of the gryt Stepill sould be mendit in steane leid and tymer as the samen was abefoir.”²

Before proceeding farther, it is well to quote the terms of the general instructions of 14th Sept. 1619 as to the “repairs of the hail edefeis,”—instructions which it would be well if all who venture to engage in such works would observe. They were to be repaired “with leid quhair leid was, sklaittis quhair sklaitt was, aik quhair aik was, fir quhair fir was, lyme quhair lyme was, heuine steane quhair heuine steane was.”

The repairs, which were ordered, seem not to have been executed, for “this goodlie ornament was by an extraordinar tempest of stormie wind in the moneth of Februar 1633 throun doune, quherby both the roofes of tymber and lead and other adjacent works wer pitifullie crushed, and that Royall crown loosed to the great grieff of the Universitie.” “Bot the crown was quicklie afterwards restored in a better forme and condition by the direction of Patrick Forbes of Corse, then Bishop of Aberdeen.”³

Twice in the eighteenth, and also in the early part of the present century, the crown seems to have fallen into a dangerous state of disrepair; and again in 1860—when the charge of the University buildings was taken over by Government—the condition of the crown was found in need of immediate attention.

The chroniclers, with general consent, speak of the wonderful harmony and musical quality of the “Tunable” bells in the tower, which is said to

¹ Appendix to paper of representations to the king, dated 1634, *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 309.

² *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 283.

³ Gordon's *Description of Aberdeen*, p. 23. The Magistrates of Aberdeen contributed out of the common good, and sanctioned also a local subscription; Burgh Records, 29th May 1633 and 6th Aug. 1634.

have been such that they might call the very stones to prayer by the sweetness of their melody,

“Quæ vel lapides dulcissima melodia ad sacra vocarent.”¹

We learn from the Register of the furnishings of the College prepared in 1542,² that there were five great bells in the Tower, named Trinitas, Maria, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.

Five small bells for striking the half hours, with a like number of iron hammers, two bells for daily use, besides three bells in the chapel.

Of the great bells we are told that “there were two of greater weight each than any in Scotland besyde,”³ which we can readily believe from the measurement given of that named Trinitas, namely, 5 feet 5 inches.⁴

Though these great bells were probably in their place down to 1700, it is difficult not to suppose that by that time they had either been damaged, perhaps by the falling of the crown, or were considered too heavy to ring, for in that year Mons. Gelly, a French founder, offered, if the College would “breake doune the said bells and delyver to him the mettall,” he would, “out of two parts of the said metall, cast for the College use five or six good and sufficient musicall bells.” He demanded the remaining third part of the metal for himself.⁵

As it was “not possible to get the bells recasten so easily elsewhere,” it was “resolved that for a tryall the two bells hingeing next to the eight houer bell be broken and that out of them he be allowed to cast one, . . . and if this answer our expectation, then may we proceed . . . by piecemeale to brake down the rest.” How far Mons. Gelly ultimately proceeded we do not know. There remained till the present century bells so large that the college architect ordered them not to be used, but whether they were of the original five is not known. As they were condemned to silence, and the University was in great straits for want of money to complete repairs

¹ Strachani Panegyricus Inauguralis, 1631, p. 10.

² *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 571.

³ Gordon, p. 23.

⁴ Orem, *Old Aberdeen*, p. 169. He has also preserved the inscription on each of the bells :—

(1) Trinitas—“Trinitate sacra fiat, hæc campana beata.”

(2) Maria—“Protege precor pia, quos convoco. Sancta Maria.”

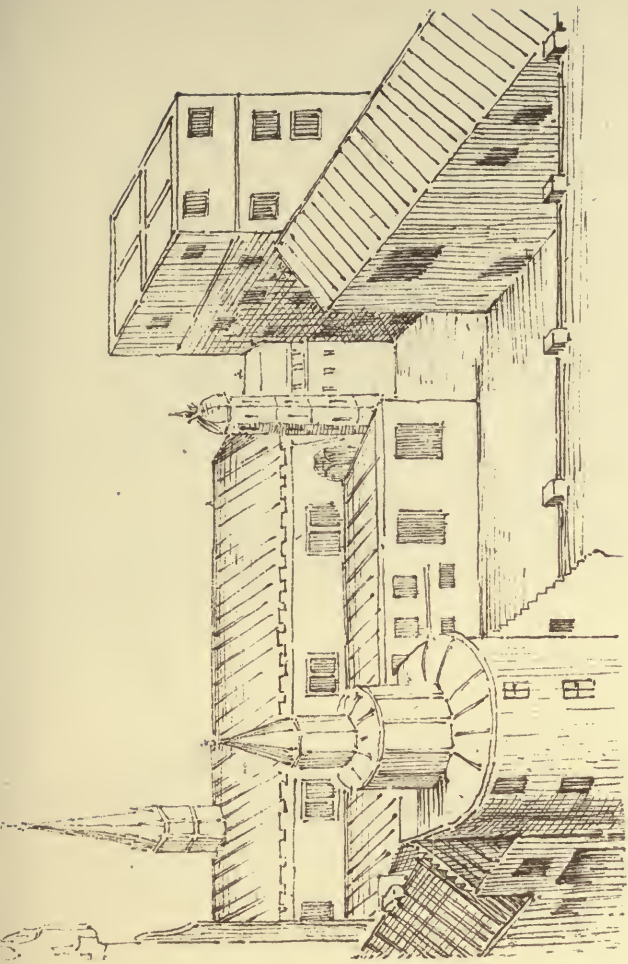
(3) Michael—“En annuncio vobis novum gaudium, quod erit omni populo.”

(4) “Vocor Gabriel, Cantate Domino canticum novum bene. Psallite ei vociferatione.”

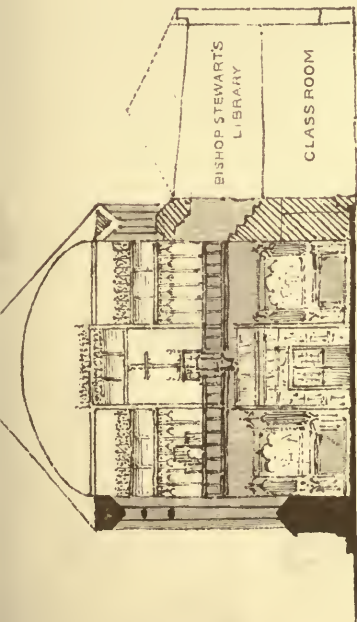
(5) “Raphael Cantate Domino canticum novum bene. Psallite ei in vociferatione.”

Per Geo. Weyhevens MDXIX is inscribed on the three last. Bishop Elphinstone died 1514.

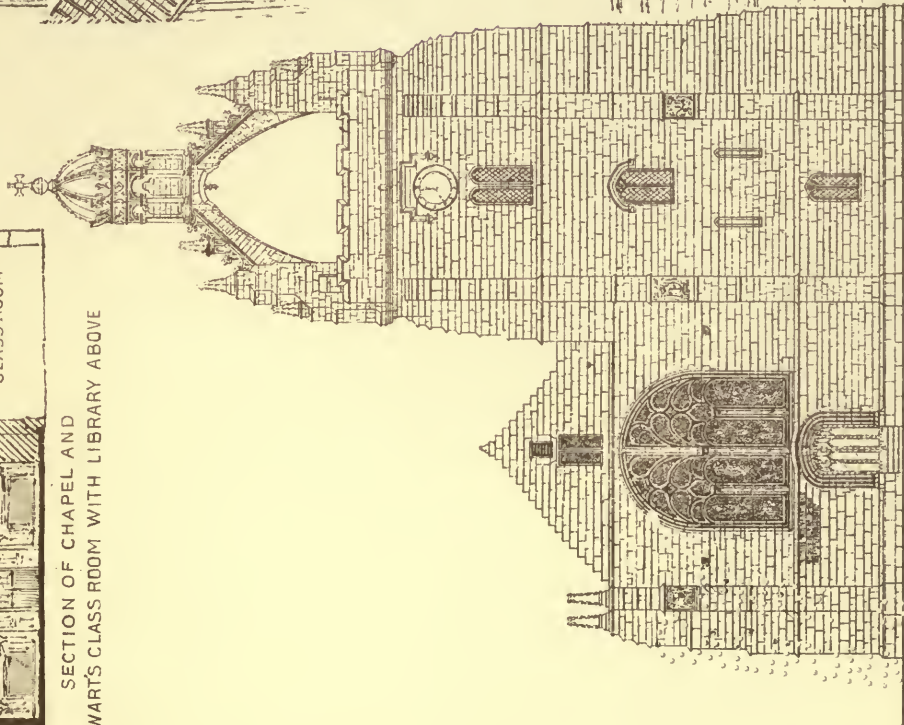
⁵ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 438.



FROM GORDON'S SKETCH IN HIS DESCRIPTION OF ABERDEEN

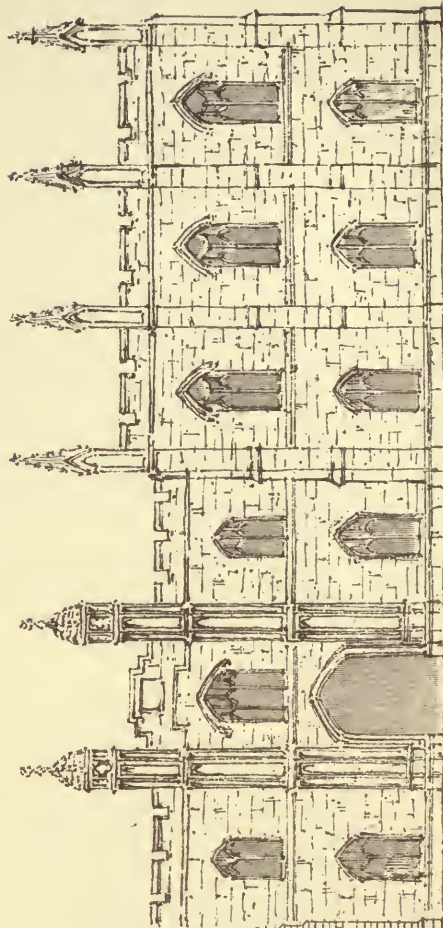


SECTION OF CHAPEL AND
BISHOP STEWART'S CLASS ROOM WITH LIBRARY ABOVE



WEST ELEVATION OF CHAPEL

From Ed Arc. Ass. - James C. Watt.



ADDITION TO WEST ELEVATION 1825

and the new west front in 1823, the dismantled bells were sold, and the largest door of the tower being too small for their removal, the wall had to be broken for the purpose. I remember seeing inside the tower the comparatively fresh plaster where the broken part of the wall was built up.

There were still two bells in the tower when I was at College—the bell which rung the curfew¹ and for chapel services and the one known as “Clatter Vengeance.” An inscription on the former shows that it was recast by Mons. Gelly in 1702.

“Clatter Vengeance” was certainly not one of the great bells. Before 1823 it hung in the tower at the south-east corner of the apse of the chapel.² The tower is shown in Gordon's drawing (Plate LV. fig. 2). The top of the tower is also seen in the view printed by Wilson³ (Plate LXIV. fig. 1), and in Slezer's view.⁴ Many a time have I rung “Clatter Vengeance” in my boyhood. It sent forth two very distinct sounds, according to different traditional modes of ringing it. The one was used to call the students to morning prayer and to lecture; the other—and every student knew it well—was only heard when the call was to “discipline.” I cannot say that “Clatter Vengeance,” by its *dulcissima melodia*, was calculated to charm the savage breast, much less call the stones to prayer, but it had rung out the hours for centuries at the corner of that chapel, and had been written of in prose and verse, and has, I understand, received an honoured place in the University Museum. It bears the following inscription:—

“JOHANNES BURGERHVYS ME FECIT,
1660.
COLLEGIUM REGIUM ABERDONENSIS.”

The “maxie” in the inscription is not creditable to a University bell.

There were belonging to the Church of *Sta Maria ad nives*, once the parish church of Old Aberdeen, which was annexed to the college, two bells known as Shochtmadony and Skellat. They were of sufficient importance

¹ At nine o'clock, an hour for which one feels some sympathy when reading the College rule, “Mane hora quinta ad tintinnabuli sonum omnes surgunto.”—*Fasti Aberd.*, p. 228.

² It is possibly the bell referred to by Orem (p. 183) in the following passage:—“The timber Muses or little chambers at the east end of the College Chapel were built when the building of the said new work was built in which there is a bell that is rung at several hours both in the day and night time.” The want of such a bell at an earlier period appears from the fact that on 14th October 1640 the Provost and Bailies “agries to len” the “bell of the grammer schuill” to Dr Guild, “now primar to the Kingis College, for the use of the said college wpon his ticquat and for redelyverie of the same.”—Extracts from Burgh Records, p. 243.

³ Wilson's *Delineation of Aberdeen*.

⁴ Given in Gordon's *Description of Aberdeen*, Spald. Club Ed.

to have their transfer to that church recorded in a charter by the chapter of the Cathedral on the penult of Sept. 1503(5).¹

I have read no attempt to identify the saints to whom these bells belonged. Some have suggested that we have in Shochtmadony notice of a bell of the Madonna. I have not observed any other example in Scotland of the Virgin being so designated. "Our Lady" is common enough. It may be said "the exception proves the rule," but I incline to think we have here a conveyance of a bell of St Modanus. There are two Scottish saints of that name mentioned in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. Bishop Forbes, in his *Kalendar*, tells us that in Auchmeddan, Pitmeden, and St Meddan of Fintry, near Aberdeen, we have local modifications of Modanus,—they are greater than the transposition of the *o* and *a*. "Shocht" I look upon as a precatory prefix, whether addressed to the saint or to the custodier of the bell. "Shog" or "Shoch" appear in many Scots words, always implying unsteady movement; and Jamieson in his *Dictionary* says, "Shog" means "to pull backwards and forwards."

As regards the other bell,—*"Skellat,"*—that was a common name for bells in early days, and no saint's name is here associated with it. Doubtless in the Scotch word *skelloch* as well as in the German "*schellen*" we have the same root, though Jamieson suggests a French origin; he says, "*Skellat*, a small bell. O. Fr. *eschelette petite sonnette creçelle*. We learn from Roquefort that it was used in monasteries for awaking the religious, and also for proclamations."

It seems to have been a general name applied to small bells—ecclesiastical and secular. The ecclesiastical *skellats* were sometimes highly ornate, sometimes perfectly simple, cast in bronze (fig. 2, next page) or even rudely hammered iron.²

Among secular bells the word came to be applied as the technical name for the bells used in burghs for making proclamations. The old Edinburgh *Skellat*, now in the Antiquarian Museum, is shown in next page. Dougal Graham, the ballad writer and historian of the '45, was "*Skellat-bellman*" of the City of Glasgow. The word does not seem to have applied to the bells carried at funerals, and we have notice that the "*Deid-Bell*" in Glasgow

¹ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 47.

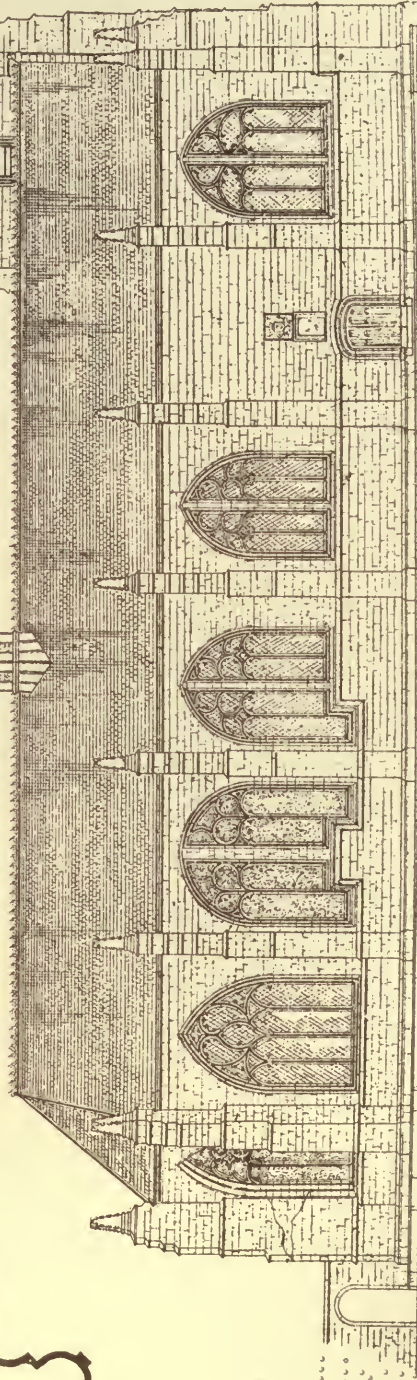
² See many engravings of such bells in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, by Dr Joseph Anderson.

CHAPEL AND TOWER, KING'S COLLEGE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY.

·No 2·



- 1. Moulding (granite)-coit of arma-S.Elev?
- 2. D: (sandstone)-small coits of arma-D:
- 3. D: (granite)-round doors-S.Elev?
- 4. String (sandstone)-North Elev?
- 5. Moulding (db)-round door-D: 6
- 6. D: (db) do. West Elev?



NORTH ELEVATION. (Sandstone)

James G. Watt

was not held by the Skellat-bellman. This distinction makes it not unlikely that the Skellat referred to in the gift to *St Maria ad nives* may have been the subject of a dispute two hundred years afterwards which is referred to by Orem.¹ "The present (1692) hand-bell belonged to the town being gifted by the deceast John Ross, sometime janitor in the King's College. But in 1702 this right was renounced in favor of the Minister and Kirk Session on the ground that the hand-bell which goeth before interments doth entirely belong to the Church."



FIG. 1.—The Old Skellat Bell of Edinburgh.

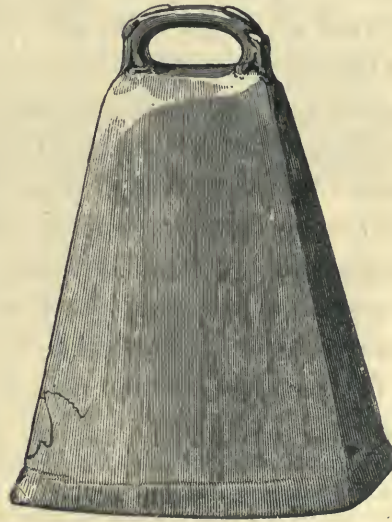


FIG. 2.—St Fillan's Bell.

The College Chapel is on the north side of the quadrangle and of the tower with the Crown.

On the south wall of the chapel abutted the library, and what better support could a church have than learning? This part of the building was not completed by Bishop Elphinstone, nor even by his executor Bishop Dunbar, but by Bishop Stewart, who "built the Librarie hous and with a number of bookes furnisht the same, as also he built the jewell or charter house, and vestrie or Chapter house." Under the library were class-rooms.

¹ *History of Old Aberdeen*, p. 129.

These buildings are shown in Gordon's sketch (Plate LVI. fig. 2), from which it will be seen that they did not extend the whole length of the chapel, but left one large window to the west of the apse. They were low enough to give room above the almost flat roof for the small square-headed windows which still light the chapel on the south.

The entrance to the quadrangle is very different from the old and humble one (according to Jamieson's sketch), which had served good purpose in its day, for doubtless it aided Principal Anderson,¹ when he defended the College from the mob of men of the Mearns, who, after plundering the cathedral and robbing it of its lead, sought to do the same by the College. "Forti manu vim vi repellere nititur, audacem fortuna juvante, integra et intacta huc usque manent augusta musarum tecta."² The last occasion on which the College was defended was about 1770, when students still lived within its walls, and by means of the same gate.³

Over the gate at one time was a stone, with the royal arms vigorously sculptured on it,—probably the shield which is now seen on one of the buttresses of the south side of the chapel (Plate LXIV. fig. 2), where it was removed "some time ago," says Kennedy,⁴ when the gate was taken down. That time we know was subsequent to 1725, when Orem⁵ wrote, for, besides mentioning the "King's armorial coat above the entry gate," he enumerates the arms that were on the wall of the library built by Fraser, and the royal arms are not in his list, which was probably checked down to 1771.

The shield in question must have been substituted for an older one, for

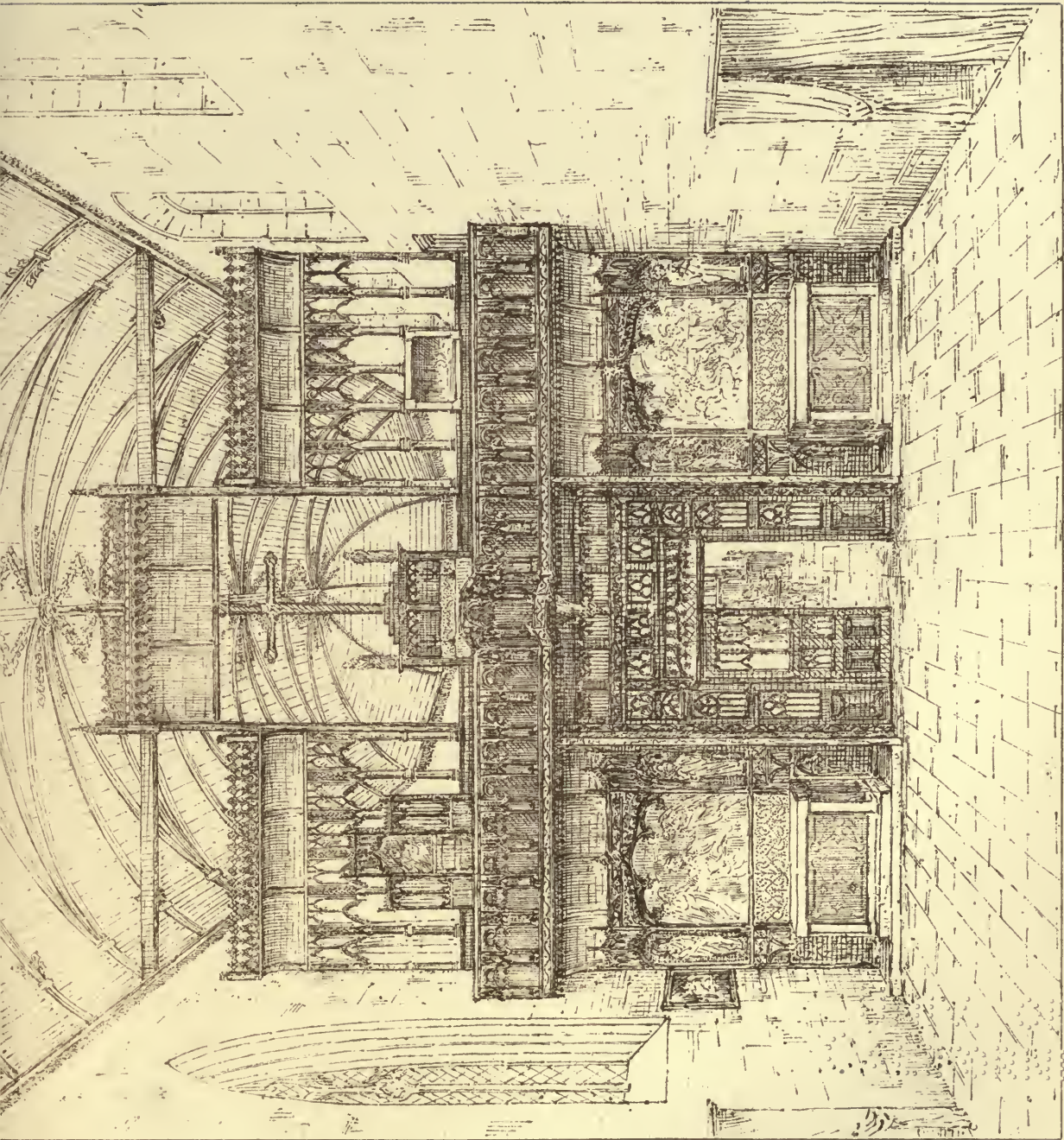
¹ He was the last Principal before the Reformation, and was in 1569 deprived of his office for refusing to sign articles approving of the Confession of Faith.

² *Donaides*, Ker, 1725, p. 17.

³ Aberdeen was then but a small place, and its harbour small in proportion, and frequented by few vessels and of light burden. There used to be frequent "bickers" between the students and the younger sailors. After one of these contests, in which the sailors had the worst of it, the defeated party went the round of the shipping in port, and having gathered a strong reinforcement, gave chase to the students, who were quite unconscious of pursuit, on their way home, and they had hardly reached the College when the mob came in sight. They had just time to rush in, and shut and bar the gate. But sailors are eminently full of resource, and finding wood lying near where two new professors' houses were being built, they soon improvised a battering-ram, and were at the point of swinging it against the gate, when, lo! it opened voluntarily, and out walked Professor Gordon, who happened to be the hebdomadar, with his hat in his hand and his white hair falling on his shoulders, and implored the sailors to go home, and return next day, by which time he promised that the whole facts should be inquired into, and that every satisfaction that was due would certainly be given. Thereupon the sailors marched off with a cheer, and they were too busy to return next day for the promised satisfaction. I had the tale half a century ago from an eye-witness.

⁴ *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 397, published in 1818.

⁵ *Old Aberdeen*, p. 40.



NAVE OF KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL
SHOWING CONJECTURED ARRANGEMENT IN 1542.

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heralds tell us that it has various characteristics of date long subsequent to the time of Jac. IV., whose name is on it.

Douglas, professing to write in 1780, tells us, p. 161—"Several of the professors have manses without the gates, and two very handsome ones have lately been built adjoining to the west wall of the garden." These two still stand at the south-west angle of the College buildings, and no doubt it was when these were being built that the old gate was removed, leaving a considerable part of the west front open, as seen in the drawing of 1818¹ (Plate LXIV. fig. 1).

To the north of the gate, on the first buttress are the arms of A. Stewart, archbishop of St Andrews; while on the second are the royal arms of James IV., and the date 1504; and on the north buttress of the chapel those of his Queen, Margaret Tudor.

On the north side of the west door of the chapel is the inscription recording the commencement of the building in 1500, per "serenissimum et *invictissimum* Jacobum IV. Regem." Little did Elphinstone then foresee the disaster of Flodden, which he felt so keenly that it is said he was never after seen to smile. Over the west door is a remarkable round-headed window of four lights, with a thick perpendicular mullion built up to the top of the arch, the upper part of the window on either side being filled with heavy cusped tracery. There are few examples of such heavy tracery remaining in Scotland. But the old engravings of St Giles's before its first restoration (?) show something similar. The north wall of the chapel is divided into six bays, five pierced with windows nearly equally large, while one is occupied by a doorway, over which are found again the arms of the Archbishop. One only of the north windows is round-headed like the west window. The others are pointed, and all but that farthest east have the same heavy mullion running up the centre to the top of the arch. This massive perpendicular mullion may be seen in Flanders, as in the large east window in the Cathedral of Liege (Plate LXVII.), and in the church of St Jacques in the same city. It is long since Principal Geddes directed attention to the Flemish character of some of the windows.²

The tracery of the windows of the apse and the windows next it, both north and south, is entirely different in character. It is modern, dating only from 1823. What it was before that date I do not know, farther

¹ Wilson's *Delineation of Aberdeen.*

² "Local Aspects of the Fine Arts," *Phil. Soc. Abd.*, 1874.

than that my father, who took special charge of the restorations of the buildings at that time, told me it was all of the same heavy style, and in harmony with the other old windows, which were preserved by the accident of having been all built up, except the upper part of the two on the north of the nave, long used as the library. I do not remember the central mullion being specially mentioned. It is remarkable that of all the windows—nearly a hundred—carved in oak in the College chapel, only two or three of those which are arched have central mullions. The windows of the apse are much narrower than the others, and very possibly they may never have had central mullions. Two were recently filled with stained glass, and when this was done the mullions of 1823, with their wooden mouldings, were removed, and tracery more in keeping with the older windows inserted. What was the original form of the tracery of the east window is unknown. It seems to have suffered at a very early date, for among the repairs ordered in 1620 was, “Fyftlie, that the east window of the said kirk sould be takine doune within sex fuittes to the soill and fullet with glass.” Not impossibly, if some day it be opened up, enough of the old tracery may be found embedded in the rubble to enable the window to be reproduced in its original form. The north-east window of the apse seems to have been closed in 1715,¹ for what reason does not appear, and was reopened in 1823.

The access to the quadrangle by the north-east gateway passed under the “timber Muses,” “Musæa,” built in 1658,² which I suspect must have been built against the east window, closing it up—if indeed it was ever opened in obedience to the order just quoted. At the south corner of that window may be seen the marks of the spiral staircase of the bell tower, represented in Gordon's drawing (Plate LV. fig. 2).

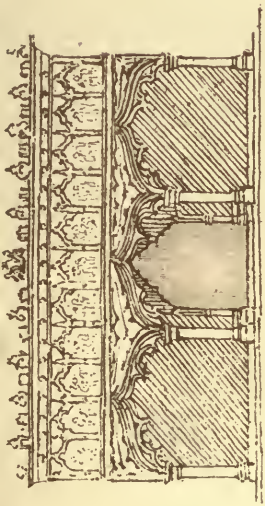
Of the old Chapter House, Jewell House, and Library erected by Bishop Stewart there exist no remains, and no representation but that by Gordon (Plate LV. fig. 2); nor have I ever seen any sketch of the buildings erected by Dr Fraser in their place.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the interesting shields now on the chapel walls (Plate LXIV. fig. 2); they are to be the subject of a separate paper by Mr P. J. Anderson. (See *Proceedings*, New Series, vol. xi.)

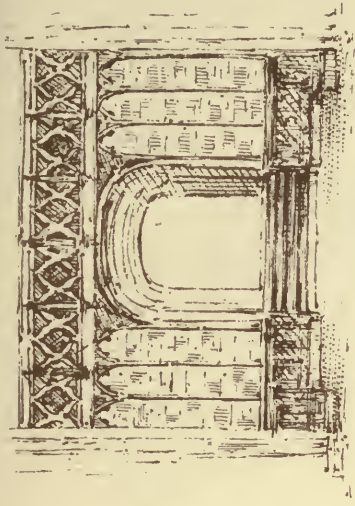
All, but members of the College, in olden times, who entered the Chapel, had to do so by the west door under the great round-headed window (as

¹ Orem, p. 173.

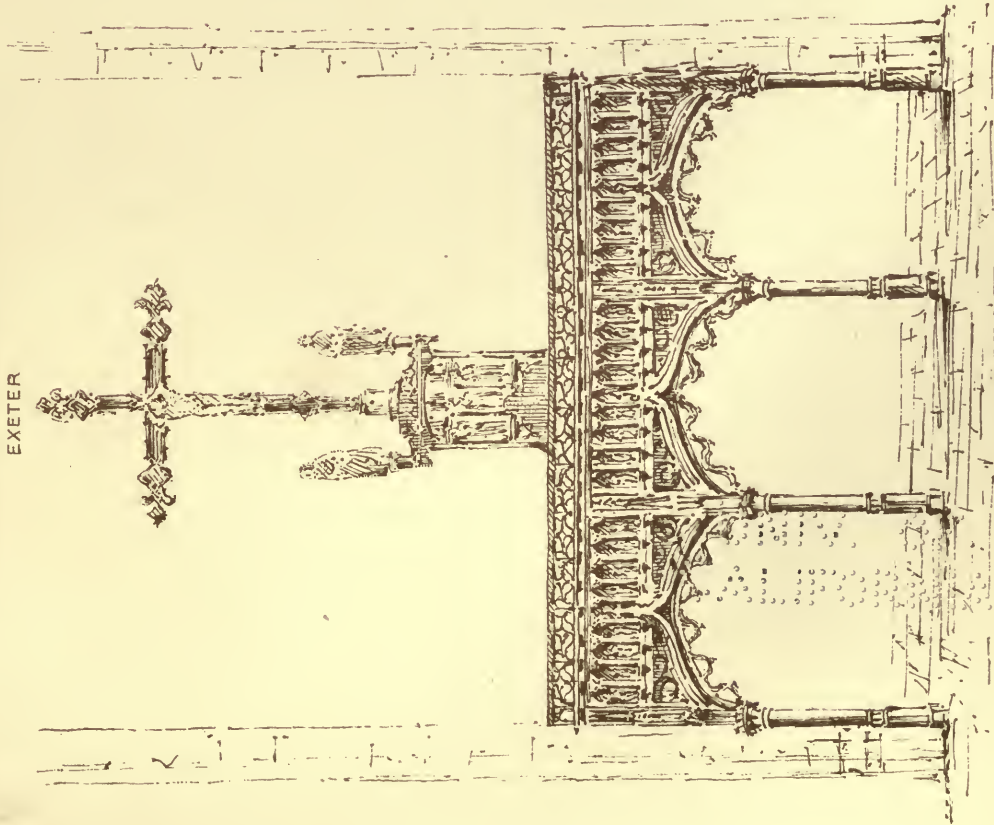
² See note, p. 419.



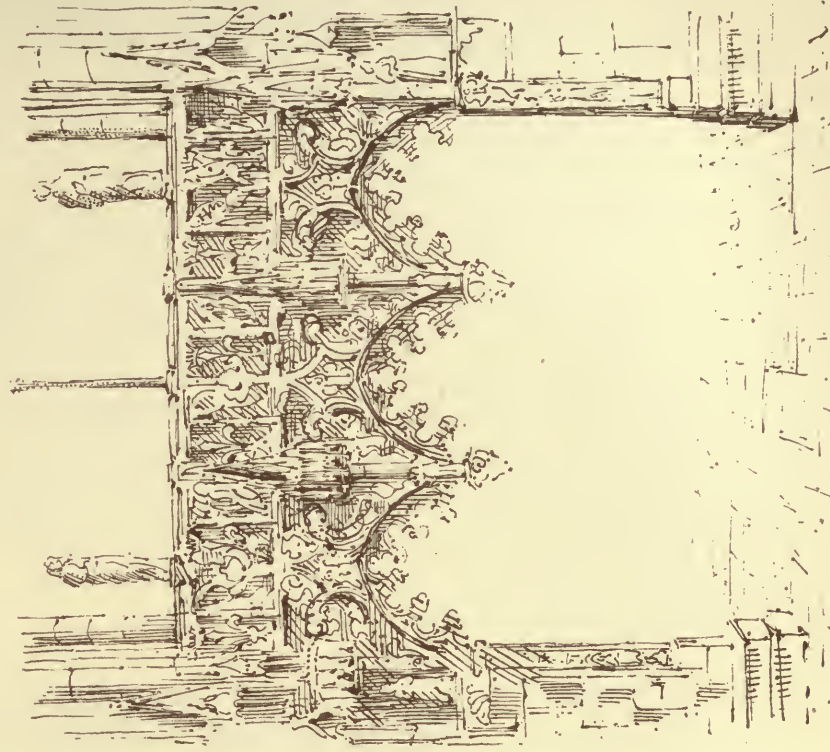
EXETER



GLASGOW



ST PIERRE LOUVAIN



TROYES

ROOD - SCREENS

70 788
ALBERTA

ought to be done now). The chapel seems to have consisted of four squares, two allotted to the nave and two to the choir, with the addition of the apse, the breadth being equal to the height of the walls, above which the roof was alcoved.

Half-way up the nave, on either side, was a door—one by which the members of the College entered from the quadrangle, the other by which those who died were borne out to their final resting-place in the cemetery of the College.

With regard to the other features of the nave, it must be remembered that this was strictly a collegiate, not a parochial church, but yet one in which it was provided that there should be public services. In proper parochial churches, even where there were a considerable number of clergy, the stalls were often arranged along the walls, and did not return across the church, so that, where there was a choir screen with a loft above, it was possible, by supporting the loft on open arches instead of a solid screen, to enable the people in the nave to have a full view of the services at the high altar. But when the church was attached to a convent or other collegiate establishment, and a larger number of stalls was required, they were generally returned across the church, and a doorway left in the centre.

When this was so, those in the nave could neither see nor well hear the services in the choir, and therefore special arrangements had to be made for their benefit; and these varied with the size of the church and the taste and skill of the architect. The plan more ordinarily adopted was this—The great crucifix, which in many churches hung from the roof, or from a rood beam, often highly ornamented, stretching from wall to wall, came to be fixed on a gallery above and to the west of the stalls, and on this gallery were placed an ambone, or perhaps two, from which the Epistle and Gospel were read to those in the nave.

Frequently the Host was exhibited from this gallery. It was not uncommon to have an altar upon it, and it was usual to have altars under it, at which those could worship who were strictly excluded from the portion of the chapel intended for the accommodation of the members of the Convent or College.

There have been fortunately preserved so much of the woodwork used in this part of King's College Chapel as—with the aid of the written record dated 1542, showing what altars were in the nave—to leave very few points to conjecture.

The breadth of the nave was divided into three portions, the centre

being occupied by the carved doorway communicating with the choir. Above this there remained till the other day a loft, with an ambone of carved oak over the doorway, while on either side extended a balustrade of the same pattern as the ambone. Of this only six panels are now seen and placed over the doorway, while the ambone and other six panels were carried away at the date of the last repairs of the chapel.

Tell-tale marks of nails in the niches of this gallery disclose that they were enriched with statues, and we know from the *Register* of 1542 that the subjects were the Saviour and the Apostles.¹

Above this gallery there stretched across from wall to wall, near the roof, the three canopies which have been lowered and placed meaninglessly where the gallery was formerly.

These canopies are of rich design, and are perhaps unique in Britain. Up to the date when the chapel was last repaired (1872), they stood upon the oak framework, upon which they had been originally erected, covered with boarding on the west side to form the backs of bookcases, and separate the choir from the nave.

The central canopy is much the richest and deepest, and whether supported from below or not, it was attached to a beam which stretched across the church just above the top of the walls (and was possibly used as a Rood-beam before the canopies were made). The special importance given to the central canopy was no doubt due to its purpose, namely, to cover the great Crucifix, on either side of which were statues of the Virgin and of Saint John. Below these, on the gallery, was an altar—

“Altare solii crucifixi supra quod est crucifixus et statue dive Virginis et Joannis apostoli et evangeliste.”

There was also on the loft the organ,² and on it a picture of the Virgin—

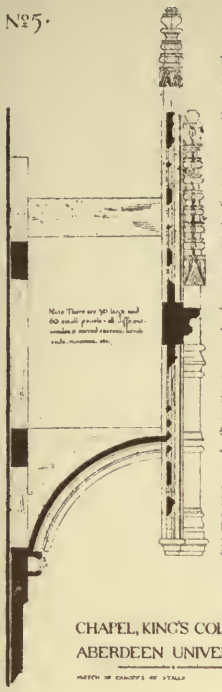
“In solio organorum. Organa ipsa cum imagine dive Virginis in superiore parte eorundem.”

¹ The list of the furnishings of the chapel mentions not only “Velamen lineum pro usu quadragesimali cooperiens crucifixum et duas predictas statuas,” but also “Velamen magnum ex lino, ante statuas Saluatoris et Apostolorum in facie solii crucifixi tempore quadragesimali appensum.” *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 566, the spelling of Latin is given throughout, as the *Register* is printed in the *Fasti Aberdonenses*.

² The arrangement at Durham was, at one time, strikingly similar.

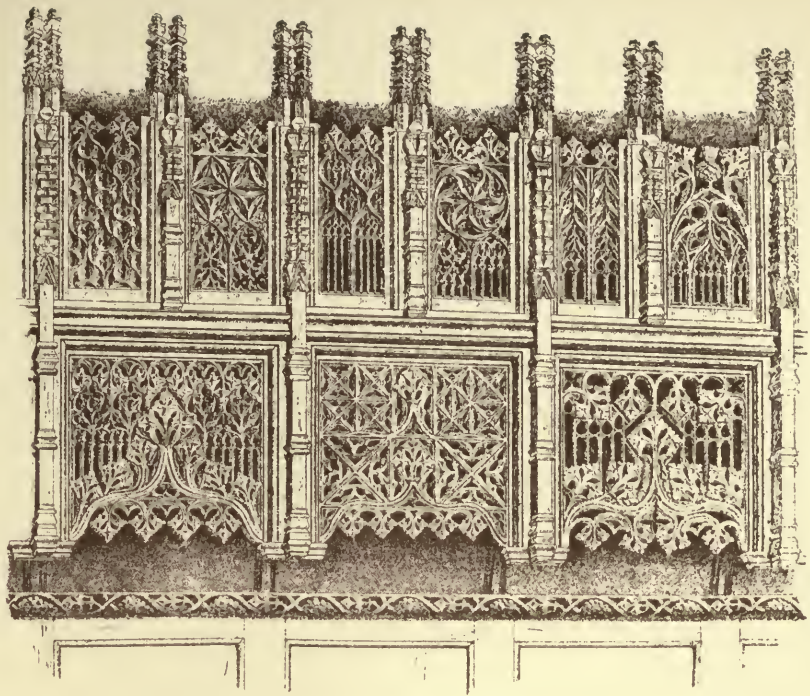
“There were three pairs of organs belonging to the said quire, for maintenance of God's service, and the better celebrating thereof. One of the fairest pair of the three stood over the quire door, only opened and played upon principal feasts.”

“Also there was a lantern of wood like unto a pulpit standing and adjoining to the wood-organs over the quire door, where they had wont to sing the nine lessons in the old time, on principal days, standing with their faces towards the high altar.” (*Ancient Rites of Durham* (Davies), p. 27.)

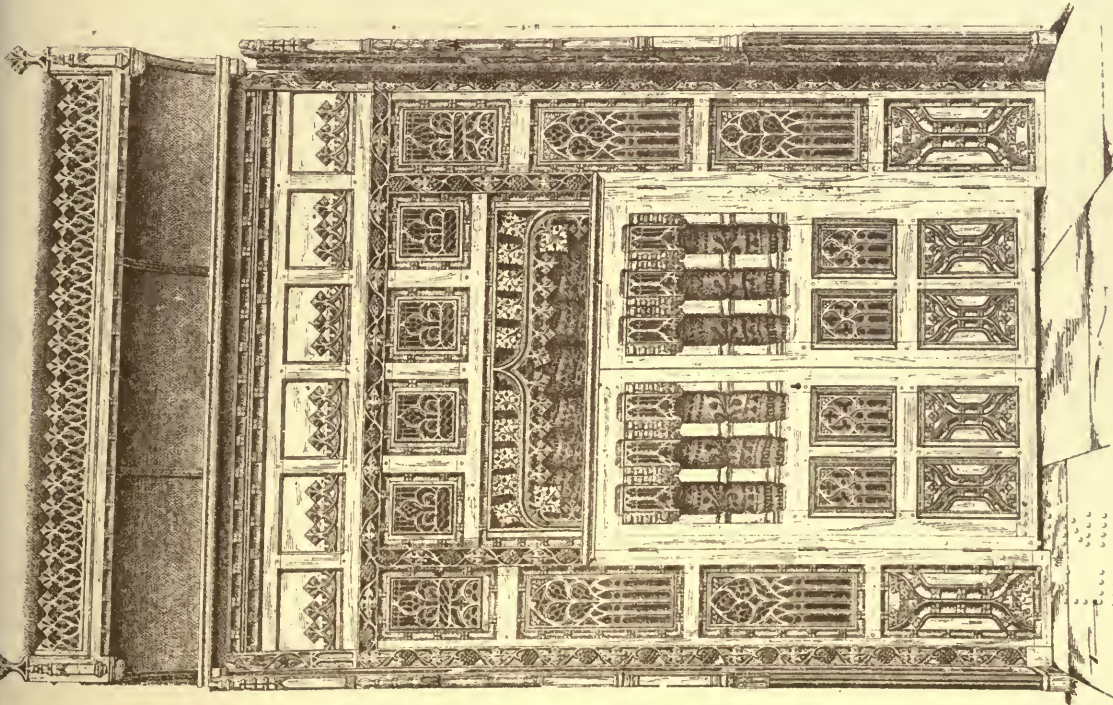


CHAPEL, KING'S COLLEGE
ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY.

SECTION OF CHANCEL BY STALL



James C. Watt



SECTION
OF

EAST SIDE OF CENTRE PART OF SCREEN

CHAPEL, KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

Nº 6.

James C. Watt

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I think it probable that the organ, in its case of fine wainscot, with the painting of the Virgin, stood under the north canopy, on the same side with the statue of the Virgin attached to the Holyrood.

We also find that on the loft was a picture of the Crucifixion. This is mentioned among the "parue tabule templi"—

" Alia habens imaginem crucifixi pendens supra solium organorum,"

and it may have been placed immediately beside the altar.

There were on the floor of the nave two altars, one to the Virgin to whom the chapel was dedicated, and whose name Bishop Elphinstone originally intended the College should bear—

"Altare beate Marie Virginis in nave ecclesie habens tabulam arte statuaria et duas statuas alteram ejusdem virginis, et alteram beati Kentigerni episcopi."¹

The other to Saint German²—

"Altare sancti Germani habens tabulam arte statuaria et duas statuas alteram salvatoris flagellati alteram sancti Christopheri."

These altars were almost certainly placed one on either side of the door entering into the choir. Altars in this position are still common on the Continent. When I first knew the Church of St Pierre at Louvain, the rood-screen (Plate LVIII. fig. 1) had altars in this position, but they have been removed. Still more remarkable as a *jubè* is the beautiful fantastic open gallery at Troyes (Plate LVIII. fig. 2). The choir screen of Glasgow shows altars in this position (Plate LVIII. fig. 3), and in the panels above them there once were statues.³ At Exeter the lines of the arches (Plate LVIII. fig. 4) on either side of the door are admirably adapted to the style of the carved oak at Aberdeen.

¹ The saint of Glasgow, of which Bishop Elphinstone was a native, and at one time "Official," and Rector of the University, appears also on Elphinstone's seal (Laing's *Scottish Seals*, 1866, pl. x. fig. 8).

² Saint German had special claims on the attention of those who came to worship in the College chapel, for the revenues of his hospital in East Lothian had, by Royal charter, been diverted to the use of the College. There was some appropriateness in this diversion, for among what was given to the College we find the tithes of Glenmuich, Glengarden, and Slains, all in the adjoining district.

³ While this paper was passing through the press, Archbishop Eyre, on 21st March, read a paper before the Archæological Society of Glasgow, in which he says:—"On the left hand side of the Rood screen entrance was the altar of the Holy cross. . . . The altar of Our Lady, known as St Mary of Pity, stood at the right hand." The Archbishop assumed that the screen was erected by Bishop Blackader, on whose promotion Elphinstone was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen. This would make the two screens contemporary in date; but the President of the Society, Mr Honeyman, who has made a special study of the Cathedral, expressed a decided opinion that the Glasgow screen was older than the time of Blackader.

In King's College Chapel we know that these spaces could not have been open, because the ancient stalls remain returning across the chapel, interrupted only by the open carved doorway.

One other feature I felt inclined to introduce into the conjectural sketch of the nave (Plate LVII.) as it must have originally appeared, namely, the desk of Bishop Elphinstone. Orem¹ speaks of it as "remaining entire" even in his day, and Pococke speaks of it a quarter of a century later. As preaching in the nave was contemplated by Elphinstone—the Principal and various other members of the College were each ordained "sexties in anno populo verbum Dei predicare"—it seems not unnatural that a seat should have been provided for his use.

I have only farther to remind those who would try to recall the impression and feeling of the nave as originally completed, not to forget "lights of discolored glass" spoken of by the translator of Boece—"the ancient bravery" of the parson of Rothiemay. All that could be said in 1772 was "some relics of their old splendour do yet remain."² The restoration of this feature was commenced with much taste in 1873 by the liberality of John Webster, Esq., LL.D., who has acquired public confidence in so remarkable a degree that, besides having been Lord Provost of and M.P. for Aberdeen, he has, ever since the passing of the Universities Act, been appointed by each successive Rector to the office of Lord Rector's Assessor.

The choir still used as the chapel is entered by the carved door in the choir screen. It is, indeed, robbed of much of the ancient glory of marble, and painting, and brass, and coloured hangings, and carpets on the pavement. But there remain the beautifully carved old oak stalls with their canopies and the *subsellia*, which will stand comparison with the best of those in the college chapels of Oxford and Cambridge. No one can but be struck with the appropriate simplicity, dignity, and solemnity of the building, and it is well that enough has survived to preserve the general tone and effect intended by the first architect.

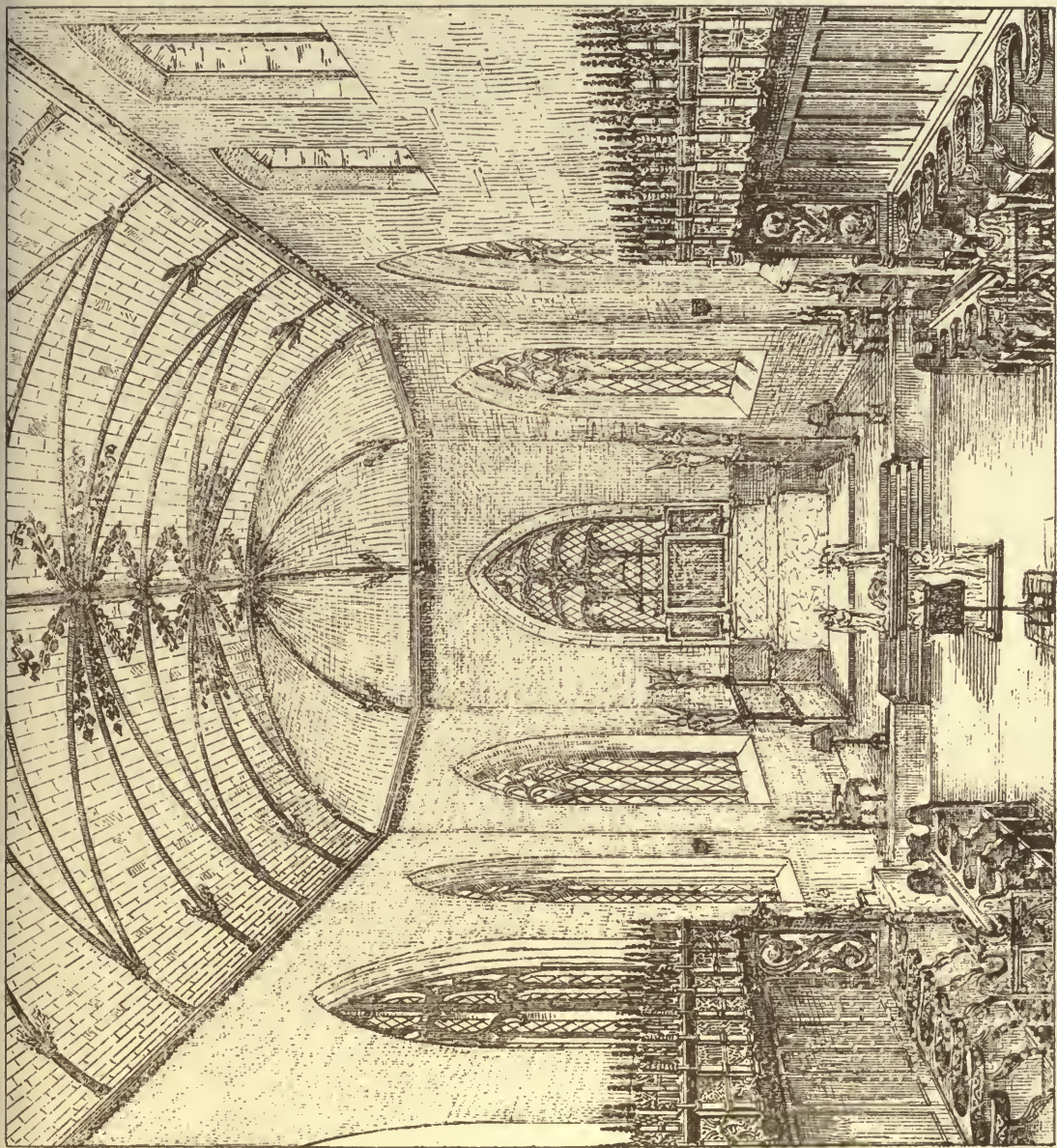
All the stalls are there now as they were nearly four centuries ago, with *perhaps* no change, but the absence of a row of desks in front of the *subsellia*. Forty-two of the seats were appropriated to members of the College—the four doctors of theology (the Principal's),³ canon law, civil law, and

¹ Page 173. *Fasti*, p. 58.

² Even in 1818 Kennedy says almost as much.

³ The Principal's being the first on the south on entering from the nave.

ARUF. SCUL. VCL. V



CHOIR OF KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL, BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM OF
COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY
AND
ANATOMY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

medicine, occupying the corner stalls. The curious on this subject may refer to Bishop Dunbar's charter. Most of the old carved *misereres* are gone, and all the back panels below the canopies, but not the framework of the panels. When I first remember the chapel, the oak was not varnished, and the framework of the panels was dark like the carved oak, but the panels were modern and light wainscot. They were stained dark at a comparatively recent date. I think I have been told that the original panels were carved with Gothic tracery, but were too much decayed to be repaired in 1823; and Douglas,¹ writing of the choir in 1780, says:—"On the west end, the stalls and back linings on the side walls are wainscot, and richly ornamented with most accurate carved work." If they were so carved, we may form a fair idea of the character of the ornament, from the back lining of the pulpit in the Collegiate Church of St Duthac at Tain (Plate LXII. fig. 1), said to have been presented by the Regent Murray. I have not discovered any authority but the *Statistical Account* of 1836 to support this tradition, but the Rev. William Taylor, who mentions it in his *Researches into the History of Tain*, was descended of a line of ancestors who had held the office of town clerk of Tain in unbroken succession from the time of Cromwell, so a more trustworthy tradition is not easily found. Had the tradition been that the pulpit was an offering from James IV., frequently a votary at the shrine of St Duthac, or from James V., who once, at least, worshipped there, or from Bishop Elphinstone, who was for a time Bishop of Ross, it would have been more natural. Murray is believed never to have been in Tain. Ross, the Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Duthac, must have met Murray at the Parliament of 1560, of which he was a member.

In the choir there was originally but one altar, but by the time of Bishop Stewart there were three.

1. The high altar in the apse. Upon it was a great picture—

"Una tabula magna arte pictoria miro ingenio confecta."

The Register of 1542 enables any one so minded to reconstruct Bishop Elphinstone's ideal of what was becoming for the service of the church.

We know exactly the appearance of the high altar of Notre Dame at Paris when Elphinstone studied there. Viollet le Duc assigns the four-

¹ *East Coast of Scotland*, p. 154.

teenth century as its date, and he gives, in his *Dictionnaire de L'Architecture*, voc. "Autel," from an engraving dated 1662, the drawing reproduced (Plate LXVII. fig. 3), with this description:—

"Quatre anges tenant les instruments de la passion sont posés sur quatre colonnes de cuivre portant les triangles sur lesquelles glissent les courtines. . . . l'autel était fort simple, revêtu d'un parament, ainsi que le retable; derrière l'autel s'élevait le grand reliquaire contenant la chasse de Saint Marcel."

Having this description, when we read in the Aberdeen Register that there were among the furnishings in brass—

"Quatuor Columne, super quas effigies quatuor angelorum portantium insignia Christi:"
"candelabrum enneum pendulum¹ coram summo altari;"

and also,

"Cortini templi," "peramenta"—

we can easily imagine what the high altar in King's College Chapel was like.

At Aberdeen the College was too near the Cathedral to possess relics of value likely to require a reliquary anything like so important as that at Paris, which would have run up to the ceiling. Still there was a

"Cistula miro artificio confecta et variis margaritis exornata pro reliquiis sanctorum et corporalibus,"

which may have been brought out on special occasions and placed over the great picture above referred to or on the retable behind the altar.

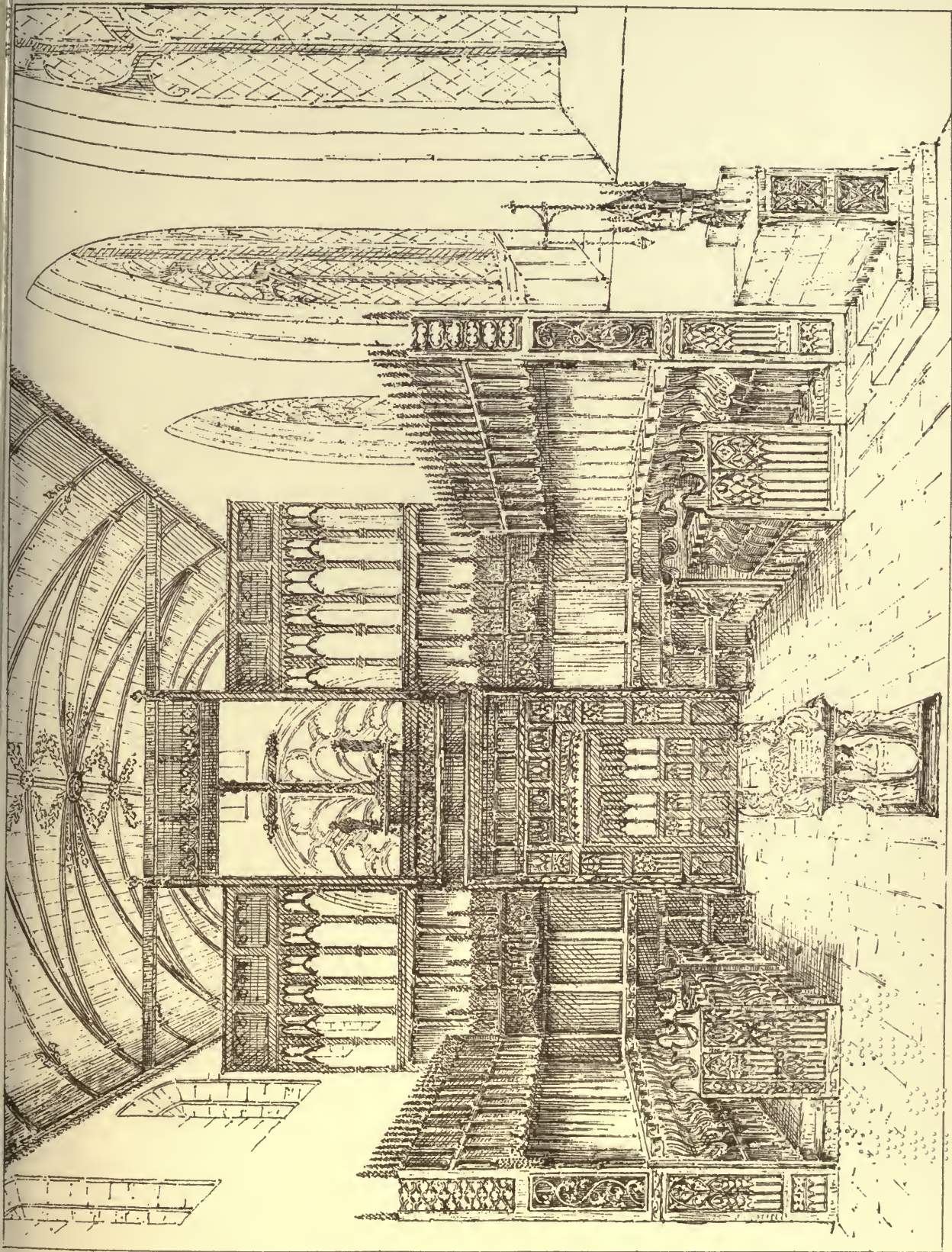
It is not easy to dispose of the sentences of the Register which follow that as to the quatuor columne—

"Sunt etiam super easdem columnas decem candelabra ennea.
Tria candelabra ennea pro luminibus in choro tempore hyemali.
Duo parva candelabra ennea, ad ornatum alteris beate Catherine virginis."

I have been unable to have the MS. of the Register examined, and am inclined to suspect that the words *decem columne* may have been omitted or obliterated. But sometimes the curtains round the altars were supported by columns bearing angels carrying candles. An example is given, also from Viollet le Duc (Plate LVII. fig. 4); and the insignia of Christ may have been movable, and replaced by candelabra at certain festivals—as Candlemas.

2. The second altar of the choir was that "venerabilis sacramenti," probably on the north side as the place of honour. It and the "locus pro

¹ Well represented by another gift from Dr Webster.



INTERIOR OF CHOIR, KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL FROM EAST 1542.

TO VIND
ABSORBIAO
TO VIND
ABSORBIAO

sacramento figure pyramidalis,"¹ were both gifts of Alexander Galloway, a prebendary of the Cathedral and also Rector of the University. He gave also for this altar a statue "dive virginis patrone Collegii ex alabastro seu pario lapide," and a small picture "ex auro textili," and a brazen "lampas pendula" which hung in front of it.

3. The third altar was that "Beate Catherine Virginis," adorned with "Tabula continens effigies nostri domini et divarum Catharine et Barbare."

This altar was also a votive erected by the executors of Hector Boece, the first Principal. It was most likely on the south side of the choir.

The removal of the oak panelling at this end of the chapel would almost certainly disclose, by markings on the wall, where these altars were fixed, and whether they were placed along the wall or at right angles to it; also at what point the steps up to the high altar occurred, and how many steps there were. There are two corbels, one on either side just westward of the apse. These may have been used in fixing up—

"Velum magnum ex candenti lino infra chorum et magnum altare tempore quadragesimali appensum,"—

if so, they would show the length of the platform of the high altar. But the first rise must have commenced farther west, for Orem (*Registrum*, p. 174) says that the tomb of Elphinstone was on the first step of the altar. In that case the second step would be to the east of the tomb, and after a like space probably three more steps close to each other led to the platform.

Besides these altars the chief features of the choir must have been the hanging lamps, and candelabra of brass, of which there were about a score, and the three brazen ambones, at which the Gospel, the Epistle, and the Legenda were read.

"Unus pro evangelio cantando; alter pro epistola et tertius pro legenda,"

—something more than "lecterns," in the modern sense, I presume, as they are, by Boece in his *Life of Elphinstone*, alluded to as "cathedræ."

The two first, no doubt, were on the same platform as the high altar. In foreign churches *sedilia*, such as we are familiar with in England for

¹ *Fasti*, p. 565. Very likely this "locus pyramidalis" may have been as high as the stalls; but if it had run up to the roof, similar examples could easily be quoted. It would still have been described as pyramidal. There is not a single piece of carving but this in the whole chapel which could be described as pyramidal.

the officiating clergy, were not common. I cannot say what the general rule was in Scotland, but stone *sedilia* were not uncommon. Abroad brazen chairs were frequently used, sometimes highly ornate. More commonly, they and the lecterns were made very simply of metal rods. The ambone for the "legenda" must have stood between the stalls.

The whole would derive colour from the "much pretious stuffe layde up" in the shape of tapestry and carpets, for the altars and walls and pavement in front of the high altar and for the choir. The Register shows how much of this was "attrabaceum" from Arras, then the great emporium of such work.

The last and not the least prominent feature must have been the tomb of Bishop Elphinstone, and we have the detailed description of it in the inventory of 1542, which tells us that the statue of the bishop lay, as was most natural, arrayed in his pontificals, on the upper stone, which was supported by statues of the three Theological Virtues and Contemplation on the south, and the Cardinal Virtues on the north:—

"Sepulchrum domini Fundatoris, in cujus superiore parte imago ipsius in pontificalibus, cum duobus angelis portantibus duo candelabra ad caput, et duobus mercenariis epitaphium in ere insculptum ad pedes portantibus: inferius, ex australi parte, tres virtutes theologicæ et Contemplatio, in boreali virtutes cardinales suis signis distinctæ; in orientali et occidentali partibus domini Fundatoris insignia ab angelis lata."¹

From these details it would be easy to restore the tomb. The spirit of restoration of ancient monuments is spreading so fast that it is not unreasonable to hope that the tomb may once more be made worthy of one of the best bishops Scotland ever saw.

The next notice we have of it is in 1661 from Gordon of Rothiemay.

"In this church William Elphingstoune lyes buried, his tombe-stone of black towtech-stone; the upper pairt upheld of old by thretteine stâtes of brasse; his statue of brasse lying betwixt the two stons"; "all these robbed and sold long agoe."²

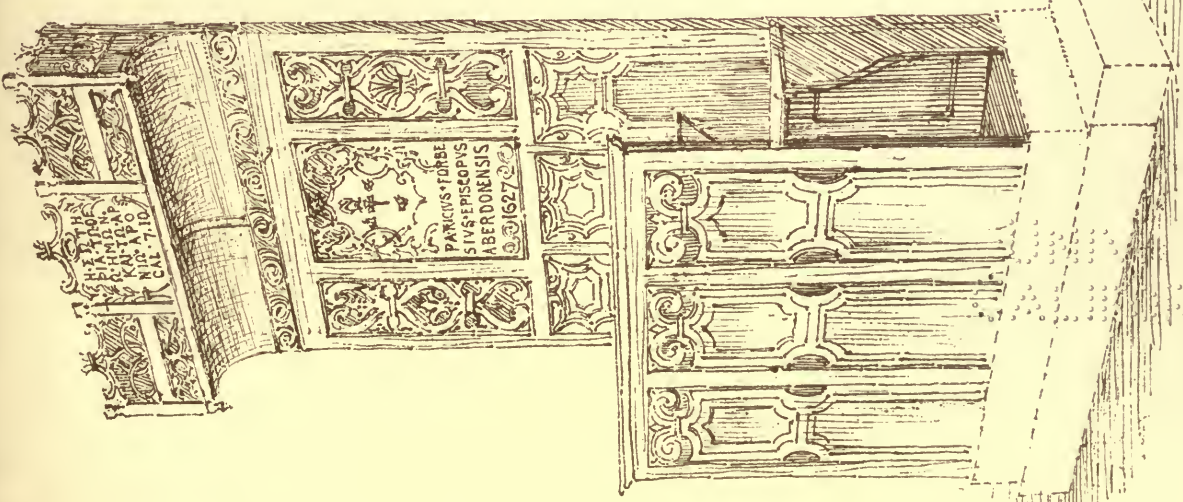
The only other allusions to the tomb I have observed are those of J. Macky³—"Here is a fine monument of Bishop Elphinstone;" and Orem,⁴ who speaks of this tomb as "*lately* stripped of its canopy and ornaments, for fear of accidents, and reduced to a plain blue marble slab." It is

¹ *Fasti*, p. 562.

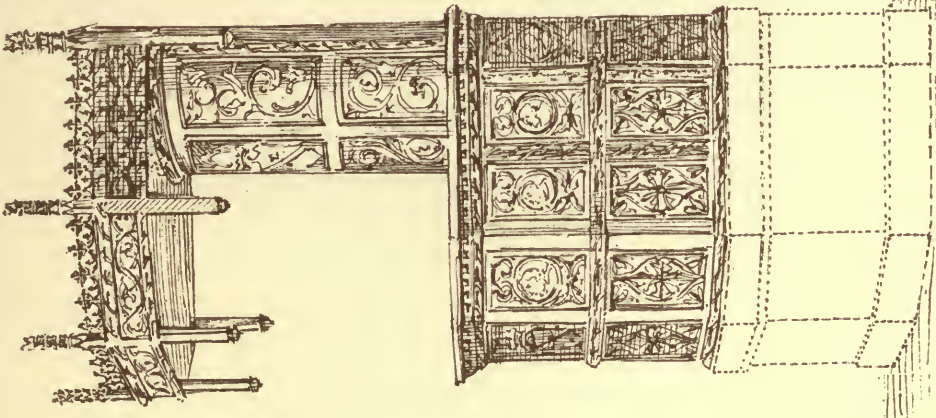
² *Description of the Two Towns of Aberdeen.*

³ *Journey through Scotland*, p. 41, published in 1723.

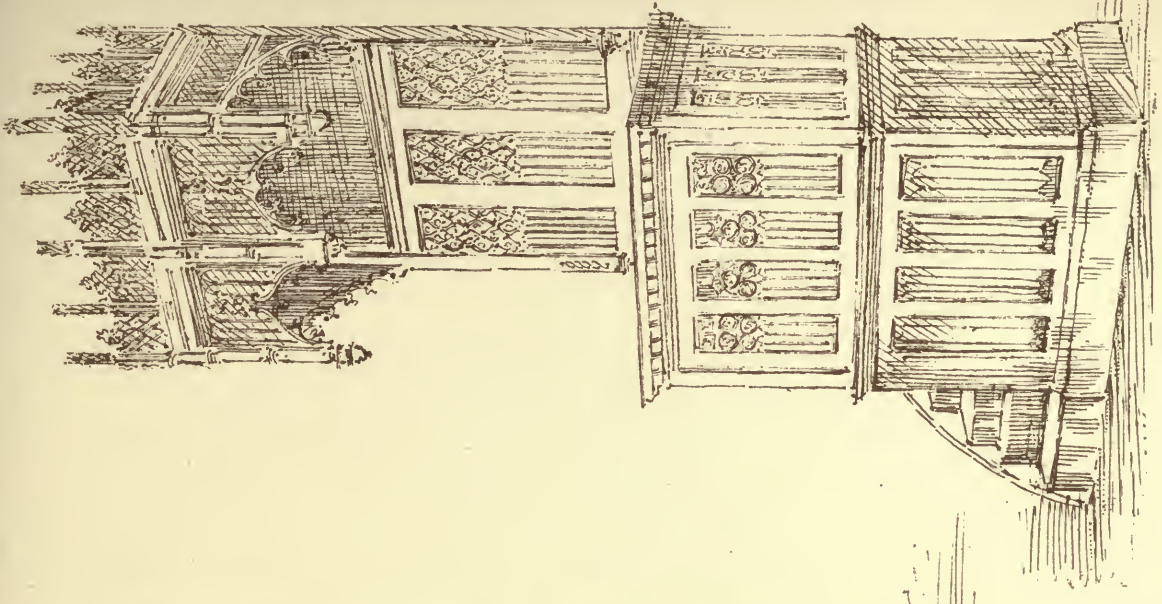
⁴ Or a narrative usually incorporated with his work, but dated 1771, p. 41.



BISHOP PATRICK FORBES' DESK



1540
BISHOP STEWART'S PULPIT



PULPIT OF ST. DUTHAC, TAIN

NO. 1111
ANNEX 110

strange that so remarkable a feature as a canopy remained unnoticed if it existed. The date of the destruction of Elphinstone's tomb nowhere appears. Principal Anderson got credit for saving the chapel from the mob in 1580, and it is not mentioned in the official reports 1618-28¹ as to dilapidation of the buildings, during the time of Bishop Patrick Forbes, who died in 1638. Gordon mentions no particulars in his history, which contains so detailed an account of the mischief done in Old Aberdeen by the Covenanting party during and after the meeting of the General Assembly in Aberdeen in 1640.

It is not easy to estimate the effect upon the art of a district—of workmen being familiar with examples of high taste—and I cannot but think that the tomb of Elphinstone educated the Aberdeen carpenter, who on 14th December 1636 “was ordainit” by the magistrates “to big and erect in most decent and comelie forme, ane loft within the yle of the Grayfrier kirk of this burghe, befor the pulpitt, for the use of prouest, baillies, and counsall.”

How he performed his task, and how the result was regarded when the General Assembly met at Aberdeen in 1640, we learn from Gordon:²—“That yeare or not long befor the magistratts of Aberdeen had tackne panes for to repaire the Grayfreer Church, and had adorned it with a costly seate, in a lofte just opposite to the pulpitt. The carpenter had showed his skill in cutting upon the several compartments of the frontispeece of that lofte the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the Moral Vertwes, as they use to be painted emblem wyse: There stood Faithe leaning upon the Cross. This was as soon quarrelled at as espyed by severall ministers, commissioners of the Assemblies, who looked upon all that new frontispeece as savouring of superstitione, and wold needs have Faithe or her Crosse removed from ther. The magistratts durst not excuse it; and many others were silent least they should be suspected. In ende Mr Andrew Ramsay, the moderator, interposed himself, . . . so that by his mediatione they were pacifyd, and Faith with the rest of the Vertwes were permitted to stand still, wheir they as yett remain undefaced to this daye.”

Bishop Forbes, “the best prelate,” says Spottiswood, “that Scotland had seen since Elphinstone,” seems to have re-established public preaching in the nave, and to have used the choir, among other purposes, for meetings of

¹ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 5.

² *Scots Affairs*, vol. iii. p. 219.

the Synod of his diocese.¹ Here he set up his own throne, or rather seat,² where the altar was, above the steps leading up to the apse, and arranged pews rising on either side from Elphinstone's tomb to the windows, painting on each pew the name of the presbytery whose members were to occupy it. All these remained till 1823, including his seat. The canopied back of it is there still, with a modern oak pulpit placed in front of it in 1828, when Sunday services within the walls of the university were resumed. The desk or front of his seat was at that time removed to the north side of the chapel, and used for the seat occupied by the professor acting as "hebdomadarius." It is now used as a base for Bishop Stewart's pulpit. My father gave me the history of this piece of oak, and no one can look at it, and at the back of the pulpit in the apse, without admitting that they belong to each other.

Bishop Forbes is said to have erected a second throne or seat, in the nave on the right side of the carved door, while he placed a pulpit on the other side for the public preaching above referred to. They could only have been placed in that position after the altars of the Virgin and Saint German were removed. This is not a matter of oral tradition; I have read it somewhere recently, but, unfortunately, cannot give the reference.³ Note 3 reconciles what I had written with what Orem says (p. 173), referring to the choir of the church, "There is a hearse in it," probably one of the original candelabra referred to in the inventory of 1542, "and the bishop's seat or pulpit in the east end thereof, where the altar stood formerly, with presbytery's desks on every side thereof;" "in this chapel there is a middle wall of timber and above it an excellent loft, with a pulpit on the left side thereof, where the priest preached, and Bishop Elphinstone's desk below the said loft yet remains entire, in it likewise is the organ loft entire." Thus, besides the "gallery with a pulpit or ambon there were two pulpits or desks, one on each side of the door. Till after the time of Bishop Forbes, the organ as well as the loft had remained entire; "in the University of Old Aberdeen there stood the remainder of ane old organ, upon which was painted, in a course draught, the pourtraicte of some woman, nobody

¹ And here for 200 years the Synods of Aberdeen, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, continued to meet.

² I presume a bishop has no *throne* except in the cathedral of his diocese.

³ Since this sentence was penned, I have seen Bishop Pococke's *Tour in Scotland*, 1760, p. 207. He writes of King's College Chapel:—"The church is an oblong square, and the body is divided from the Quire by a fine Covered Screen and Gallery, with a pulpit in it, and under that are two Carved Seats. . . . The Stalls of the Quire are of the same beautifull Gothic carved work."



NAVE OF KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL, FITTED UP AS LIBRARY.

1770.

TO THE
ASSOCIATION

could tell who, and had hunge there half brockne, wholly neglected for many years; this was brokne downe and complained upon," when the General Assembly met at Aberdeen in 1640, "as a thing very intollerable in the churche of a Colledge;"¹ and again, "Anno 1642, Principal Guild² causit tak doune the organ case quibilk wes of fyne wanescot and had stand within the kirk since the Reformation."

Notwithstanding all the changes that took place, the pipes of the organ were still lying on the organ loft in the present century, as I have been told by those who had seen them there.

We do not hear of preaching in the nave after the Reformation, except in 1642 by Principal Guild, who seems to have got small thanks for his trouble, and in 1720 by Principal Chalmers, who seems to have met with as little support. Bishop Pococke tells us, in 1760, "this Church is not used but for giving degrees," and the students marched on Sundays to the Cathedral-Machar's kirk, where they occupied "the Colledge loft," at least from 1634 to 1823.

A great change, however, came over the nave in its conversion into the University library. The original library, as has been mentioned, was built on the south side of the chapel, over class-rooms and beside the chapter house and "jewell house." Like the rest of the building, it had by 1618 fallen into great disrepair, and the whole roof was ordered to be taken off, and put in order and covered with lead. We see it in

¹ Gordon, *Scots Affairs* (ed. Spald.), vol. iii. p. 218.

² Dr Guild, or Goold as he is often called, was one of those who at first stoutly objected to Presbytery, and gave up his professorship at Aberdeen, and retired to Holland, rather than sign the Covenant; but he afterwards returned, and getting a church in Aberdeen, signed it *with* qualifications, and on the bait of the Principalship of King's College being offered, he swallowed it entire, and showed his zeal by many unfortunate acts of destroying ancient ecclesiastical buildings. This naturally roused the Prelatists, who speak of him always with a sneer. Bishop Forbes's revival of preaching in the nave was highly approved by them, but when some years after his death Dr Guild tried to have them resumed, here is the way his efforts are recorded:—"Wednesday, 6 April 1642, Dr Goold began to preiche within the Colledge kirk ane weiklie sermon to be taught that day to the old toun people, studentis, maisteris and memberis of the Colledge. This ordour semit strange, to preiche outwith Maucher Kirk, as wes sumtymis usit befoir, and bring down the people, man, wyf and maidis to the Colledge kirk, among young scolleris and students. . . . The gryt bellis of the Colledge and Maucher kirk rang both thrie tymys to ilk sermon, for conveining ane auditorie, quihilk wes never usit befoir, and whiche schortlie decayit to his disgrace, as he justlie deservit." Again, "Upone Wednesday, 4 May, Doctor Goold, principall, began a noveltie, and to preiche upone this weik day within the Colledge Kirk at Old Aberdene. . . . His auditoures war feu, who had littell feist of the doctrein, and at last himself wyreit, and shortlie gave over this weiklie sermon moir foolishlie nor it began."—Spalding, *Scots Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 141. He had more serious troubles in store, for he was deprived of the Principalship by Monk's four generals, who were sent to reform the University.

Gordon's sketch (Plate LV. fig. 2), in its restored state, nearly flat, and leaning against the chapel wall. A century later, on 3rd September 1719, we find the masters of the College "took a view of the library in order to make some reparations for accommodating severall books that are lying loose," and ordered some temporary work to serve "untill such time as the College shall be in a condition to enlarge the said library, by taking down the partition wall on the east end"—there being by this time, unfortunately, no longer occasion for the "jewell house." Happily, the state of the library was brought specially to the notice of an old alumnus, Dr Fraser, physician to the King and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital.¹ Through his generosity, the old building was taken down, and new class-rooms erected on the ground floor, and a new library above nearly double the length of the old one. This room must have been about 70 feet long. There is reason to suppose that the roof was no longer flat, but raised in the centre.

"Bibliotheca nova longitudine duplo fere aucta ac quatuor scholæ infra positæ Græcarum literarum et Philosophiæ prælectionibus sacratæ, ab imis fundamentis polito lapide pulcherrimum in modum extruuntur."²

The same authority tells of the effect of the rebuilding, which he mainly effected, of the south side of the quadrangle erected by Bishop Dunbar—

"Area sublimibus fulget decorata columnis,
Marmore de Pareo; cuncta superba micant."²

When next the library is heard of, it occupied the nave of the chapel; Dr Fraser's library (completed in 1725) and the class-rooms below had been destroyed by fire.

I first heard of this from my father, in reply to my asking how the north side of the chapel came to be of fresh-looking granite, while there were embedded in it a number of coats of arms evidently of much more ancient date, and carved in sandstone. He told me there had been a library there, which had been burnt, and that when this happened the chapel wall required new support, and was then cased and buttressed with granite as we now see it; and that the old coats of arms had been nearly all on the walls of the library, and having escaped the fire, were along with some others inserted in the new granite work.

I have heard my mother tell of this burning. She had the story

¹ "Vir nunquam sine laude nominandus," as says the inscription on the chapel wall, although not one stone of his work has been allowed to remain upon another. ² *Fraseriædes*, pp. 11 and 20.



South Del.

Eng. by J. Swan Glasgow

KINGS COLLEGE OLD ABERDEEN.



SOUTH ELEVATION.

10 20 30 40 50 SCALE OF FEET 60

James C. Watt

NO. 1001
ANNEX 10

from her father, Principal Macleod, and said that it took place during his connection with the university. I do not recollect any date being mentioned. The professor, who was "hebdomadar" for the week, and so in charge of the buildings, had one afternoon, after the students' dinner at which he had, *ex officio*, presided, put his hand on some wainscotting, and finding it very hot, suspected fire, and caused some of the lining of the room where he was to be torn down, when fire burst out, and there was barely time to save the books of the library by "throwing them into the nave of the chapel," then "neglected and disused," and there they remained till 1870, when the present new library was built.

Dr Fraser's library, like its predecessor, was not on the ground floor, as we have just seen. I venture to suggest that the books may have been, in part at least, thrown into the nave of the chapel by the door which communicated with the organ loft, the existence of which was ascertained when the book presses were removed. So far as I know, that door was the only access to that gallery.¹ No doubt the principal access to the library was from the quadrangle,—perhaps from the porch at the south door; but following the analogy of other such buildings, there probably was an access from the chapter-house, as at Crossraguel—or the "jewell house"—to the library, and this would form the most convenient communication for those officiating in the choir to pass to the gallery, unless there was either a narrow wooden stair behind one of the altars in the nave, or a stair in the thickness of the wall. Unfortunately, when the library shelving and even

¹ I believe no trace of a wooden stair to the rood loft was discovered. The late Mr Matheson, then of H.M. Office of Works, promised me that I should be informed before the replastering of the walls commenced, but I was not warned in time to reach Aberdeen until after the walls had been all lathed, and had their first coat of plaster. Those in charge, however, were most obliging, and offered to remove the lath at any point I chose. I did not trust my own skill in such matters sufficiently to feel warranted in acting largely on this offer, but I could not resist the opportunity of testing an opinion I had long entertained that the organ loft had been approached by a door on its level on the south wall, and the plaster, when broken, accordingly disclosed the door, which has since been left uncovered, to tell the position of the gallery. This door, and the mark on the roof where the beam above the canopies was fixed, determine exactly the original position of the old carved oak work. The door is small certainly, 4 feet × 2—but many a smaller door of access to rood lofts is to be found in old churches—and it was filled up with bricks, and therefore it was said it must be modern. Those who stated this view probably did not know that there had been a library immediately outside, in which the books required for use in the gallery may have been kept. But before the library was burned—the organ was silent, and the voice of the preacher was dumb in the nave—a door in that position could no longer be of use, and might have been built up when Fraser's enlargement of the library took place, and if still open must necessarily have been built up, when after the fire the wall was cased in granite from the ground to the foot of the chapel windows.

the stalls were removed from the wall in 1873, I understand that no one made a thorough examination of the walls, from an ecclesiological point of view, to see how far there were traces of old stairs or doors.

It is not easy to fix precisely the date of the destruction of the library built by Dr Fraser. We know from Bishop Pococke that in 1760 the nave was not fitted up for a library; and in 1769 Pennant speaks of the chapel as "ruinous within," with no hint that it was occupied by the library, of which he speaks at some length, but on April 7, 1772, a resolution was adopted by the Senatus to fit up the nave as a library, and to use the materials of the library and schools in erecting the new professors' houses. That library and the lecture rooms had been the pride of the University, and were not fifty years old. Some catastrophe must have led to their destruction. The nave might have been used as an enlargement of the library to meet the increasing accumulation of books under the Copyright Act of Queen Anne, without destroying that built by Dr Fraser. Moreover, the public school, where the students in 1760 met for prayers (see next page), came to be divided into class-rooms, which could only have been required by the destruction of those under Fraser's library. Douglas, who gives the first description of the library when occupying the nave of the chapel, wrote as in 1780, and makes not the slightest allusion to Dr Fraser's building, but does allude to the existence of the two, then new, detached professors' houses at the south-west corner of the College, which are evidently built with granite from the same quarry as the casing of the chapel. Matters did not move fast in those days, but we may infer that not much time was allowed to elapse between the fire and the fitting up of class-rooms for the students, and providing accommodation for the library. The six pages of a notice of Old Aberdeen, bearing date 1771, and printed with Orem's work, pp. 39-45, describes Fraser's library as still existing. The date—1772 or 1773—would tally equally with the tradition that the fire took place in my grandfather's time, and with the story of the conflict with the sailors when the new houses were being built.

The next stage of interest in the history of the chapel we do not reach till 1823. From the time of Bishop Patrick Forbes, the choir had been used for the meetings of the Synod of Aberdeen, for which he had fitted it up, and for competitions for the chair of theology, the only chair in Scotland filled up by public competition. The founder of the chair made



KINGS COLLEGE OF OLD ABERDEEN

From a picture preserved in the college, supposed to have been painted by Jamieson

NO. 1001
APR 10 1900

members of the Presbyteries of the Synod and three Professors the judges, and appointed the competition to take place here, as it has done ever since. It was used also for various academic functions, such as graduation ceremonies. Here, too, the students met for morning prayers after the fire,¹—not at the date of Bishop Pococke's visit, for he says,—“This church is not used except for giving degrees. In the room where they have morning and evening prayer is a large desk hung with a fine carpet, in which the King's and Bishop Elphinstone's arms are worked”—beyond doubt one of the *aulea magna* on which the Register more than 200 years before recorded that “*Regia insignia simul atque fundatoris sunt intexta.*” Where is such carpet-work to be found now? I remember seeing the table—a long old-fashioned many-legged one—of the room where the *Senatus* used to meet covered with a carpet; and the front of “the College loft” in St Machar's, till it was removed about 1860, was also hung with carpets. Were these also some of Elphinstone's furnishing?

How early the choir ceased to be used for ordinary Sunday services does not appear, but in 1634 the Principal was censured for remissness in “going to the kirk before the studentis,” and there is early mention of “the College loft” in the cathedral. Down to 1823 the students of the Arts classes, after meeting and receiving instruction from their various professors, marched to the cathedral in their scarlet gowns up the narrow street, in which most of the houses stood gablewise to the roadway, with space between them for eaves-drop from the heavy thatched roofs.

I have heard old students amusing each other by confessing the shortcomings of their college days, and among others, that of having, when they thought they were unobserved, slipped up one or other of these eaves-drop slits, and let the procession pass on; but they had also to tell of being occasionally detected, and dragged out in disgrace.

It was not improbably the recollection of such scenes that prompted Dr Alexander Murray of Philadelphia, a graduate of the University, in making his will in 1793, to bequeath part of his estate, subject to the life-rent of his widow—

¹ John Thomson, “the sacrist,” the “singular” if not apostolic successor of the chaplain mentioned in the charter as having charge of the fabric and furnishings of the church, and his associate David Cromar—“John and Davie,” as they were called—used, with a mixture of shame and pride, to point out names of professors who, while students, had been so irreverent as to carve them on the oak.

“For the encouragement, in the first place, of a clergyman to preach a course of lectures in their College church on Sunday mornings This donation is also intended to remove in some measure the uncommon grievance and indecorum of their processions to their Parish Church, in an inclement and dangerous season. In this unprejudiced critical age it were to be wished that this famous seminary would agree upon a form of public prayer and worship with or without responses, and instrumental music, to be read at these lectures, as is common in all other countries, to move the youth to the greater solemnity and order.”

On this bequest becoming available through Mrs Murray's death, about the time when the west front of the College was being rebuilt, chiefly by means of a public subscription, the restoration of the choir and its re-adaptation as a College chapel was at once undertaken.

Up to that time the steps to the high altar had remained untouched, and then Bishop Forbes's throne was bisected and used, as already told.¹ Behind the desk in its new position was placed an oak panel with Bishop Elphinstone's arms, at that time removed from the old hall (Plate LXX.).

A deeply carved door may be noticed at the east end of the stalls, on the south side of the chapel, where no door is usually found. This door was removed from the cathedral (Plate LXVII.) when it was being repewed early in the present century, and it owes its place in the College chapel to the fact that a carpenter employed in the cathedral was also engaged in repairing the chapel. Many of the old pews in the cathedral had been made to the fancy of the occupiers, and the carpenter had so admired this door that he saved it when the rest of the old work was swept away, and was glad when he secured it a position where it could be both preserved and admired.² There was also used,—first as “the censor's” desk, and

¹ *Supra*, p. 433.

² He was a worthy successor of the carpenter who refused to take part in the destruction of the reredos of the altar of the cathedral till the evil work was commenced by the parish minister, Mr John Strachan, at the instigation, it is said, of Dr Guild. Strachan was a remarkable man, and by what inconsistency or crotchety character he was led to such an act it is difficult to imagine. Here is Orem's account of him condensed :—He was a professor as well as parish minister. He was the best scholar that ever was in the college. He was to graduate his scholars, and after he had printed his theses, and distributed them, and the day appointed for the graduation in the common school of the college, Mr Andrew Cant, regent in Marischall College, and others, said he had set down Popish positions in his thesis. But Mr Strachan told them he would defend all that was inserted in his theses ; whereupon the place of graduation was altered from the College to St Machar's Church. When the day came, there was a great confluence of gentry ; then came over the Cants, and all the rest of the clergy of



UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS OLD ABERDEEN
FROM
SOUTH WEST 1889.



KING'S COLLEGE from SOUTH WEST 1850.

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM OF
ART AND HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK

subsequently used as the "precentor's,"—another piece of carved wood. It also came from the cathedral, and is somewhat in the style of Bishop Stewart's pulpit, but probably later.

Whether the east window had ever been opened, in obedience to the order of 1619, repeated in 1638, I do not know,¹ but it was in 1823 dealt with as we now see it, the monument to the younger Scougal being moved and inserted above the pulpit. This monument Orem tells us was on the north side of the chapel. "He lies interred in the College chapel on the north side thereof, opposite to the high altar now called the Bishop's seat or desk; with an inscription upon the wall above his grave 'Multa in tam brevissimo curriculo didicit, præstitit, docuit. Cœli avidus et cœlo maturus, obiit anno dom. MD.CLXXVIII. Ætatis suæ xxviii.'"²

One other notable change was made in the appearance of the chapel in 1823, viz., the hanging on the walls of five large paintings of Scripture subjects. They used to hang outside of the old hall in the vestibule, which was long used as the Senatus room. The round ivy tower which abuts on it, the spire of which was blown down on Candlemas Day 1715,³ and never restored;⁴ and the tower and three-light window of the vestibule, were the chief features of the south side of the college till the new class-rooms were built.

The paintings may probably enough be of the date of Jameson, and painted by his scholars. The subjects were, The Meeting of Jephtha and his Daughter, David slaying Goliath, The Judgment of Solomon, The Queen of Sheba, David and Abigail. The only one I have any recollection of

Aberdeen, and placed themselves in the Marquess of Huntley's loft, opposite to the pulpit; for Mr Strachan had taken the pulpit. Mr Strachan began with a prayer, and after he had a long harangue, he invited them to impugn his theses. Then they began to object, and he answered their arguments readily; but they all answered *una voce*, which made a great confusion. When this dispute was ended, coming out of the church door, Mr Strachan accuses young Mr Andrew Cant for some reflecting answer in the dispute, and would have trampled him under his feet, if the gentry had not interposed. "For Mr Strachan was a gentleman, and a pretty man, both in parts and in body, and undervalued all the Cants." He afterwards resigned his chair, turned Popish, and died at the head of the Scots College at Paris. Notwithstanding his victory, however, I suspect the name of Cant is more familiar within the walls of the university than that of Strachan.

¹ One window was closed up anno 1715 (Orem, p. 173). It was reopened by an order of the Senatus in 1821. ² Orem, p. 191. ³ Orem, p. 182.

⁴ It was mainly owing to the efforts of Dr John Hill Burton, the historian, that this tower was preserved; and now that the hall and its window have been removed and replaced by a much loftier building, the tower, which is still interesting as a landmark, would require the replacing of the quaint old spire to give it effect and significance.

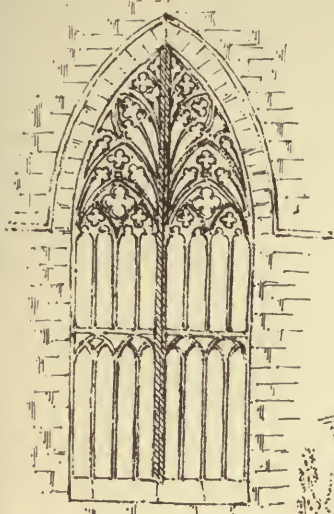
having seen elsewhere treated identically was the Judgment of Solomon, which I once saw painted on copper on a very small scale.

These pictures were removed from the vestibule, or "lobby," as it was then called, of the hall, with no intention of their being replaced anywhere. But the sacrist and janitor "John and Davie" had always admired them, and wishing to contribute to the adornment of the chapel, carefully preserved them, had them varnished by the village painter, and, after all the repairs had been completed and the day was fixed for their official inspection, they had them during the night erected on the chapel walls over the stalls and over the west door.

Regard for two faithful servitors, I believe, rather than the desire to preserve specimens of early Scottish paintings, led to their being left on the walls, to the astonishment of many an English tourist, who could hardly believe their eyes when they thought they saw ante-Reformation pictures allowed to remain on Presbyterian walls. I believe they are now elsewhere preserved for their value in the history of Scottish art.¹

Only one other change was made in the chapel, so far as I can recollect, before the recent remodelling of it. The Senatus got from the kirk-session of Old Machar the remains of a pulpit which had been erected in the cathedral by Bishop Stewart, the builder of the original College library. Orem, when telling of the destruction wrought by the fall of the great central steeple of the cathedral on 9th May 1688, remarks (p. 109):—"The pulpit built by the said Bishop Stewart, as witness his name on it, was also preserved, being removed some time before the fall of said steeple." It had the "arms of Christ" carved on it; but a party of Covenanters

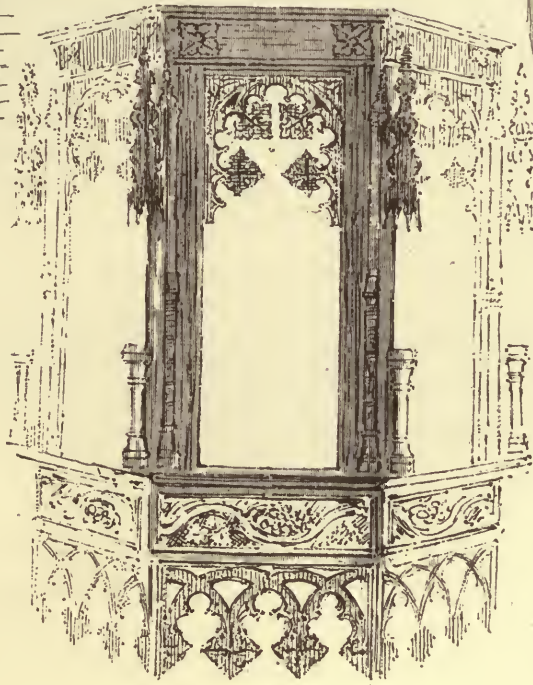
¹ To the question put to me by one of the Professors, How would it do to hang them now in the nave? the reply might be given, it would secure their preservation, and being seen better than any other position that they are likely to be placed in, and it would be putting the nave to a better use than the nave of the greater King's College chapel at Cambridge was put on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit. It appears (Mr T. J. Proctor Carter's *King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, pp. 59 and 60) that the authorities not only prepared a place for her Majesty in the quire—"Also a fair closet glazed towards the quire was devised and made in the middle of the rood-loft; if the Queen's Majestie would perhaps there repose herself; which was not occupied. At the same time a theatre had been erected in the anti-chapel against the rood loft, the chantries on either side serving as green-rooms for this somewhat inappropriately placed stage. Here on the following day the scholars of the college performed with great success the *Aulularia* of Plautus for the diversion of the queen and her court." Speak of Presbyterian want of reverence for churches after this! James V., in 1541, and his Queen visited Aberdeen, and had their quarters in the College, and were entertained with "divers triumphes and playes and comedies," but we have no hint that they were performed in the chapel.



FROM CATHEDRAL, LIEGE.



REMOVED FROM CATHEDRAL TO KINGS COLLEGE



AMBO ON CHOIR SCREEN KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL



HIGH ALTAR, ARRAS



ALTAR, NOTRE DAME, PARIS

TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE
CONGRESS

(The Master of Forbes Dr Guild, Principal, *pro pudor!*), on 5th August 1640, "came all ryding up the gate, came to Machar Kirk, and ordained our blessed Lord Jesus Christ his armes to be hewn out of the foir front of the pulpit thereof." It seems to have been used as the ordinary pulpit of the cathedral till the reseating early in the century already referred to, when it was cast aside as lumber into a room at the bottom of the north-west steeple, its place being taken by a very well-designed mahogany one with Corinthian pillars.¹ After some thirty or forty years, it was given to the University on condition of its re-erection. Its whole framework was complete, and one or two panels which were in part wanting were restored from the fragments that remained. The canopy seems the most doubtful part of it, but I remember well that the carpenter employed was quite confident that what remained of the old work demonstrated the accuracy of the restoration he was ordered to carry out. Besides its being an interesting memorial of one of the greatest benefactors of the College, and a good specimen of oak carving of its date, it is amusing to think of it as the pulpit from which Strachan defied the Cants. It will be observed that it was originally designed to be fixed against one of the round pillars of the cathedral. Unfortunately, no part of the base remained, and the desk of Bishop Forbes's seat was used, being nearly a century later in style and quite incongruous. It is high time that it should be replaced where Forbes placed it, in the east end of the chapel and in front of his canopy. Its position there would be in point of fact historically accurate,—certainly consistent with early ecclesiastical usage as to the position of a Bishop's seat,—and not unimportant as an index of the feelings of one of the most respected of the bishops of the Reformed Episcopal Church, notwithstanding the suggestion of the editor of the *Fasti Aberdonenses*, that the good bishop would have been displeased to see it where it is.²

We have now traced the chapel down to the present date. It was, I believe, mainly due to the efforts of the Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond, and of the Principal, Dr Peter Campbell, who interested himself in every-

¹ Surely St Machar's Church has been singularly unfortunate in the taste of those who have superintended its repairs from time to time. No greater mistake could have been made in such a building than substituting the mahogany pulpit for a 300 years old oak one, unless it was removing the mahogany one, excellent of its kind, for as mean a structure in the way of pulpit as ever disfigured the most unpretentious of parish churches.

² *Fasti*, p. lvii.

thing that concerned the University as much as if he had been an alumnus—Edinburgh was his *alma mater*—that the chapel, the roof of which was found to be in a dangerous state of decay, was taken charge of and restored by H.M. Office of Works.

I have seen the opinion stated more than once, that the roof and spire of the chapel are evidently of the middle of the 17th century.¹ I am aware of no warrant for this opinion except the occurrence of the name of Charles II. on the lead.² This can do no more than suggest that it was repaired in his reign. If, as seems probable, not only the design of the chapel but the woodwork itself be foreign, it is unsafe to try and fix dates by changes of style in this country. The earliest notice I have observed of the spire is under date "15 June 1638," when a report was obtained from the "Dean of gild of Aberdeine," associated with "a wright" and "a plumbear," "who gaue ther judgement in maner following :—Imprimis, they found ruiff of the kirk, for ought they can persaeue, sufficient, except it be in sylling and sarking. Secundo, they find it neidful that the south syde of the kirke be tirrit from the litle steipill to the east gavill of the kirk; and the litle stipill itself bothe theikit with leid and repairit in the timber wark."³ If it was old enough in 1638 to require repairs, we may be very certain that it dates from the 16th century; and, looking to the history of the times, it is probably coeval with the chapel, the contract for covering which with lead is dated in 1506.⁴

Gratitude to those who procured the repair of the chapel in 1873 must be tempered by regret for some of the things that were done, or rather that were left undone.

A new library was built, which left the nave available for securing more space for the enlarged wants of the University after the union of King's and Marischal Colleges, and so the stalls were moved westwards one bay, after having been faithfully gone over and repaired. The change was a reasonable one, but it alters considerably the original proportions. The shortening of the nave by one-third cramps it and takes from its dignity, while adding to the choir seems to lower the roof. But much more serious mischief was done than this, for alas! in carrying out this scheme, the old

¹ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. lix.

² The lead of the chapel roof was authorised to be sold, and slates substituted, in 1793.

³ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 410.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. lvii.



ROODSCREEN, CROSCOMBE CHURCH, NEAR WELLS.

(Reproduced from the Magazine of Art by permission of the Publishers.)

NO. 1000
ANNEX 100

historical organ gallery with its ambone was ruthlessly destroyed. The Reformers had not seen occasion to destroy it; they had been satisfied with the removal, probably by the hands of the members of the University, of all the carved figures great and small, and of the paintings of the Virgin and of the Crucifixion. They left the organ in its place, and when the nave was turned into the library, the Senatus had the taste to preserve the beautiful gallery and its ambone and the three canopies, although plans which involved their destruction were laid before them by an architect.

We have already (page 434) quoted Pococke's reference to the screen in 1760; it is thus noticed by Douglas in 1780:—

“Above the books, on the east end, is some very curious carved work on the boards which divide the library from the chapel, to humour which, the cross gallery has ancient rails; but in my opinion they neither look well nor at all correspond with the modern ones,” an opinion which few will concur in who turn to Billing's drawing of the library.¹

The screen, however, was not removed till its beauty and historical value had been recognised by many ecclesiologists.

From this point of view Dean Stanley has pointed out its great interest, and has selected it as the typical one in Britain. “Nothing,” he says, “can be more splendid than the ambones in the church at Ravillo, near Amalfi, which, though long deserted, remain a witness to the predominant importance attributed in ancient times to the reading of the Bible in the public services. In the French Church the very name of the lofty screens which parted the nave from the choir bears testimony to the same principle. They were called *Jube* from the opening words of the introduction of the gospel *Jube Domine*. Those that still exist, like that of Troyes, and also in the King's College at Aberdeen, by their stately height and broad platforms, show how imposing must have been this part of the service, now so humiliated and neglected. Few such now remain.”²

It is melancholy to think that to the list of jubès which have perished, must now, at least for the present, be added that of King's College. That the altars, statues, and statuettes should have disappeared at the time of the Reformation was only natural; but that the gallery and ambone should have been thrown aside in 1873, would have seemed to me almost incredible

¹ *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Remains*, vol. 1.

² Stanley's *Christian Institutes*, p. 55.

were the fact not one within my own knowledge and that of hundreds; and why should those three canopies have been lowered to a new and utterly meaningless position, however effective¹ from their intrinsic beauty, and this after they had remained where originally placed for two hundred years after the latest burst of fanaticism which discredited the Reformation?

Was it in compliance with the order of the architect, or in bitter irony, that the carpenter who lowered the canopy nailed to it the hideous grotesque which till lately deformed the chapel?

Glasgow alone, I believe, in Scotland has the distinction of having retained its stone choir screen. In Linlithgow, the screen survived to the present century. At Lincluden there are very interesting remains of a stone one, with niches and statuettes. At Fowlis Easter there are some fragments of a wooden one and of paintings connected with it. It would be endless to discuss in detail all the traces of them still to be found in Scotland.²

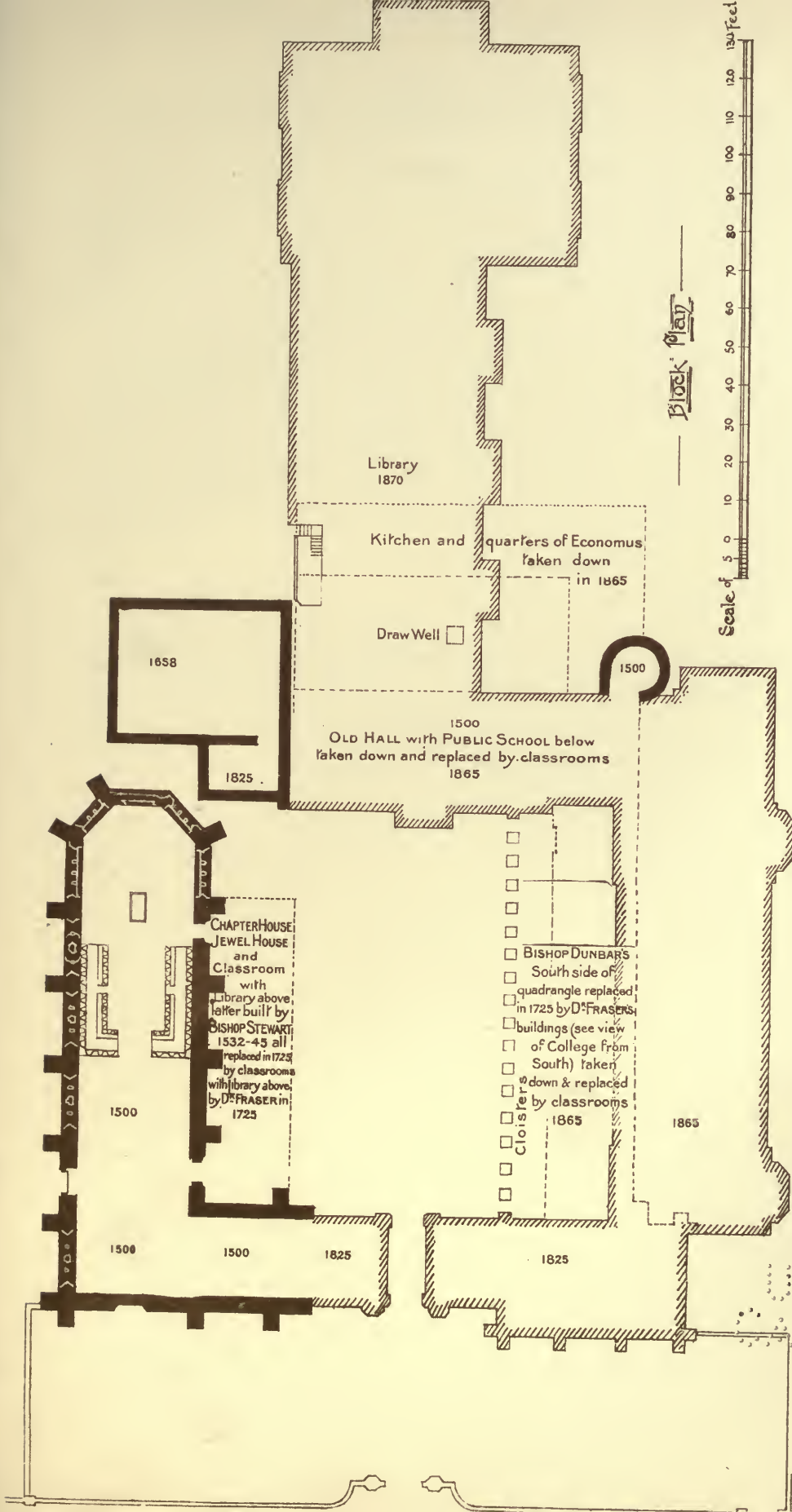
Can anything now be done to repair the mischief of 16 years ago?

To restore so much of the old gallery and screen and canopies as would not offend the most sensitive Protestant, and yet show the original idea of the chapel, and preserve an interesting monument, unique in the history of art in Scotland, would be an easy matter, if there be the will.

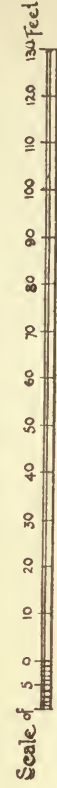
The canopies are still unbroken, and in the chapel. The ambone still exists, Mr Robertson, the present head of H.M. Office of Works in Scotland, having discovered it in a vault below the Parliament House. Soon after the dismantling of the old library I saw the ambone and part of the carved gallery in Mr Matheson's room at H.M. Office of Works. He told me that he had been going over Marischal College Buildings and found the oak tossing about in a lumber room—probably removed for safety from the confusion existing at King's College at the time, in connection with the transference of the books from the nave of the chapel to the new buildings, and he added, "I said to the person with me, a lumber room is no place to leave such work, and ordered it to be sent to the Office of Works." Mr Kerr, shortly before his death, told me that the missing part of the gallery never was in the Office of Works.

¹ No doubt the missing part of the gallery is very effective over some sideboard or over a chimney-piece.

² Billings, vol. i. No. 7. A drawing of a portion of it, the door of which is singularly like the door of the choir screen of King's College Chapel, has been kindly sent me by Mr Robertson, architect, Dundee, who is engaged in restoring Fowlis Easter Church.



Block Plan



NO. 1001
ANNEXED

The portion of the carved gallery carried to Edinburgh is now in the chapel. It can be replaced in its original position, and affords a model for reproducing the remainder, if it be not restored. The spirit of reverence must be weak in Aberdeen, or a notice that it is proposed to restore the *jube* would make the possessor of the missing portion eager to give it back.

What the old position was of each one of the various parts of the screen is not open to question. The continuous notices of the Chapel from 1638 already quoted, and lastly that of Douglas, who tells the number of feet and even inches that the gallery was above the floor (14 feet 4 inches), bring this history far within the memory of those I have talked to, and there are hundreds alive who remember the whole of it, still in the library, as Douglas saw it, and as I have endeavoured to reproduce it from notes I took some forty years ago, standing on the stairs leading to the galleries, shown in Mr Billing's sketch, from which last I have endeavoured to suggest the modern balustrade so much admired by Douglas (Plate LXIII.). I have tried also to have effect given to a strange peculiarity of the roof. On each side of each rib, and round all the bosses and leaves planted on the roof, was a border of black paint about 2 inches broad. In 1823 much of the choir roof was renewed, and in various places where this was done the new carving was not so rich as what remained of the old.

The only room for uncertainty is as to how the canopies, being where we know they were, were originally supported. I can speak to nothing of my own personal knowledge, except the great beam attached to the central canopy. As to the side canopies, the means by which they were supported were mere matter of speculation till the partition behind them was removed. Of what was then discovered, I speak from what I was told by the late Mr Andrew Kerr, F.S.A. Scot., an architect of no inconsiderable learning, and a well-known member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

He was one of the staff in H.M. Office of Works, and went to Aberdeen to inspect the works in the Chapel. He told me that he found on the floor all the old wood that had been found behind the bookcases, much oak and also pine, that though much decayed he had no difficulty whatever in piecing the oak together and seeing that each side canopy was supported by seven uprights of oak, leaving six open spaces, that the upper ends of the uprights were grooved on both sides, and from the analogy of the manner in which the rest of the carving in the Chapel is fixed in position, he believed these

grooves must have been made to receive carved tracery, and he pointed to the choir door as suggesting a probable mode of treatment.

Intending to put nothing by way of illustration of this paper for which I had not absolute warrant, when giving instructions for the preparation of Plates LVII. and LXI., I directed that the side canopies should be supported by simple uprights. But I had mentioned Mr Kerr's opinion to the draughtsman who drew the sketches and he inserted carving between the spars. I was so much struck with its happy effect that I did not have it obliterated. The idea is not mine. It was the deliberate opinion of Mr Kerr.

As regards the central space where the altar was and the crucifix with the Virgin and St John, the canopy over them was certainly attached to the beam stretching across the Church. It must have had support also from the uprights supporting the side canopies, and no further support would have been necessary. Mr Kerr said that the whole space under the central canopy had been found backed with plain oak panellings without ornament. I think it may be assumed that, had the panelling been there originally, it would have been the most richly ornamented of all the rich oak in the Chapel. Farther, it was not usual to have roods so backed. The plain panelling spoken of by Mr Kerr may nevertheless have been from 250 to 300 years old. The College was attacked by the mob from the Mearns in 1569. In 1640 nothing offensive to the Reformers was found in the Chapel except the portrait of the Virgin upon the organ. After the warning of the attack in 1569, it is highly probable that the crucifix and all the statues and plate were removed for safety, and the oak panelling then inserted by the College authorities,—indeed, Principal Anderson was accused of putting church furnishings out of the way.

So much for the History of what remains of Elphinstone's College.

The history of the University buildings as a whole would tell a wider story of the history of university education.

Jamieson's sketch (Plate LXV.) gives the original fabric, as completed by Bishop Dunbar, destined for the accommodation of both teachers and taught, for all but two or three of the teachers, who had duties (ecclesiastical or civil) outside, had to live within the walls.

We know that the Principal's chambers were adorned with beautifully carved wainscot within, and the wall "well adorned with several paintings;"



OVER APSE
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ABERDEEN



UNIVERSITY
FROM
CATHEDRAL ROOF



OLD ABERDEEN
FROM
CATHEDRAL ROOF



SHIELD OF BISHOP ELPHINSTON
REMOVED FROM HALL IN 1823.



TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE
CONGRESS

and that of the Chapter house, it was said "ther parlour is fair and bewtiful within." Poçocke tells us they had "a very handsome Hall where the students eat who live all in the Colledge." It was 90 feet long, including the vestibule or "lobby,"—"invidenda regibus."

We gather from the repairs ordered in the seventeenth century¹ that besides the south window shown in Plate LXVI. there were three large windows, one at least of which was mullioned and looked to the "wast," "at the heid of the buird"; probably the other two also looked west into the court. There was also a "degrie" (dais?) "at the heid of the Hall buird." There were also seats with backs probably of oak along the walls. There were "two folding tables for the masters and gentlemen's sons to dine and sup at; and six long old-fashioned tables for the use of the bursars to dine and sup at." But lest the large party should be too much given to revelry at their meals there was "in the said common hall a large and high pulpit of wainscot for one of the bursars to read Church History at the time of dinner and supper; and when dinner and supper are ended he reads a chapter of the Bible and sings some part of a Psalm."²

Its walls were hung with a selection of ancient worthies connected with the University enumerated by Orem—Elphinstone, Dunbar, Lesley, Scougall, and others. But in his list does not appear Hector Boece, the first principal, nor is he mentioned by Pennant as among the worthies in the hall, nor by Dr Johnson, though we have seen his portrait engraved "from the original in the hall of the King's College, Aberdeen." My father told me that this original (!) was first hung in the hall in the present century, that one of his colleagues, I rather think Professor Duncan, who died about 1820, having been up in London, brought with him on his return this picture, which none of the Senatus could discover any reason for supposing to be, what he thought it, a portrait of Boece,—but to please the donor it was allowed to be hung up, and on his death was not removed. It is gradually acquiring a repute of genuineness from the assiduity with which it has been engraved, and titled as "from the original in King's College."

The oak roof, alcoved like that of the chapel, though different in pattern and with a double row of pendants from end to end, still existed in the first quarter of the present century,³ but in an utterly decayed state, rendering its removal necessary, as there were no funds for repairing it.

¹ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 282.

² Orem, p. 182.

³ Kennedy, vol. ii. p. 399.

I have in vain endeavoured to obtain any old sketch, however rude, of the old Hall; and of all the oak in which it was so rich, there exists, so far as I can learn, but the one fragment transferred to the Chapel wall (Plate LXX.). Under a canopy of vine leaves, such as is so frequently repeated in the Chapel, we have the founder's arms, and below them the pot of lilies with the three salmon fretwise; but, instead of the formal lilies, as in the rendering of the arms of the burgh of Old Aberdeen on the Cathedral roof, or their somewhat freer treatment on the University seal, we have them in rich blossom, encircling and embracing not only the arms, but the very mitre, of Elphinstone, a conceit¹ no doubt due to the special protection of the Virgin, which, according to Boece, Bishop Elphinstone regarded himself as possessing from his childhood, as well as to the honour in which she was held in the diocesan town. For she had her altar in the Cathedral, if it was not dedicated to her, as were the parish church of S^{ta} Maria ad Nives and the college and its chapel.

One symptom of educational change already appeared even in Jamieson's picture, namely, the low buildings in front of the gate, called the Grammar School by Gordon of Rothiemay. The "grammaticus" had to teach outside when people not members of the College body applied for education; and when teaching the elements of Latin grammar was discontinued, he still taught in a room adjoining his manse. The gateway of the old manse, with a niche over it containing Elphinstone's shield and mitre, are still visible.

That portion of Gordon of Rothiemay's view, which is given in Plate LV., shows us another stage of the history. There was an influx of students whom the old buildings could no longer contain; so in 1658 the "new wark" of Gordon's day, the "square work" of later days, was built, six stories high, consisting of students' "chambers, a school," a lecture room, "and a billiard house," *mirabile dictu!* Orem, the only authority² for this statement, died soon after 1725, so he must have been familiar with the fact. The introduction of this "most gentle, cleanly, and ingenious game" as an amusement for Scots students at that date is surely a very remarkable circumstance. The game is said not to have been introduced into France till the time of Louis XIV.; but must have been very common in England, for Shakespeare makes Cleopatra say, "Let's to billiards." Probably the

¹ The same conceit may be seen differently treated on a shield over the door that led to the chapter house.

² Except A. Robertson, in 1760, who probably quoted from a MS. of Orem.

suggestion may have been due to some of the English officers then at Aberdeen, who are said to have taken some interest in the building the square work. The names of "the Lord General George Moncke" and other officers appear in the list of benefactors in the *Fasti*. This building has come within the last few years to be called Cromwell's Tower, a name I had never heard given to it, but which will no doubt soon become as authentic as the portrait of Boece!

The continuing increase of students had led to the necessity for still further accommodation, and Bishop Dunbar's buildings on the south side of the quadrangle, which are written of as much dilapidated, gave place in 1725 to the loftier south side shown (Plate LXVI. fig. 1), erected in Dr Fraser's time, and in no small degree, like his library, at his expense, and of freestone, taken from the ruins of the cathedral (the central spire of which had fallen) and of the bishop's palace. On the south side of the quadrangle was a cloister, where in stormy weather the students in snow and rain might be seen *en masse* safely walking and taking exercise in comfort, before entering their class-rooms. The cloister was of square pillars, with round arches, and the building was thoroughly uninteresting. The West "Capitol," as it was called in Gordon's time, and the part of the west front shown in Smith's sketch, stood spireless and unused, if not absolutely roofless, till 1825, when it was pulled down to make room for the present west front from the design of Mr Simpson, an Aberdeen architect of some genius;—considering the state of Gothic architecture at the time, a clever solution of the problem of planning what would balance and not be out of harmony with the grand old tower and west end of the chapel (Plate LV.).

The view from the south (Plate LXVI.) shows the mass of the building of 1725 as well as the south end of that of 1825, while in the distance are seen the twin spires of the Cathedral, to the enlightenment and liberality of whose bishops the College owed its existence, while it formed the brightest jewel in their mitres.

To the east may be observed the low humble house of the "Oeconomus," in which I remember the great arched chimney, not of the original kitchen, but of that which replaced it after the numbers to be fed increased on the building of the "square work." In the court between it and the Hall was a draw-well, and in it an eel—no one could say how old! This view, however, notwithstanding these traces of olden times, shows signs of the growth

of the demand for improved teaching accommodation. The six stories of students' chambers in the "square work" are seen reduced to three stories of lecture-rooms. At the date when the sketch was taken, about 1850, no students lived within walls, and I have no recollection of more than two or three at any time doing so. One of the Regents, however, still lived in the Quadrangle. Two had been provided for outside about 1773. The Grammarian had lived outside for centuries, so did the Mediciner, and the old manse of the Canonist had long been allotted to the Sub-Principal. The old Mediciner's manse I remember. It was taken down about 1840; and the Canonist's, attached to the office of Sub-Principal, was replaced by a modern residence after my father's death. Nothing now remains of Elphinstone's extra-mural college buildings but the old gateway with the shield and mitre, from which the old manse of the Grammarian derived its popular name of "The sign of the mitre."

The last view shows the complete transformation of the building in which teachers and taught had lived as one family. Now the accommodation for professors and students alike has disappeared. No one resides in the College, and there is no hall to dine in. The "Oeconomus" and his kitchen, the draw-well and its eel, are no more. Everything but the Chapel, the Crown Tower, and the small Ivy Tower, has been swept away to make room for new class-rooms, and no better can be found anywhere; and the constantly growing library, treble the size of the old one, is seen extending to the east of the old quadrangle, doubling its southern frontage.

INDEX.

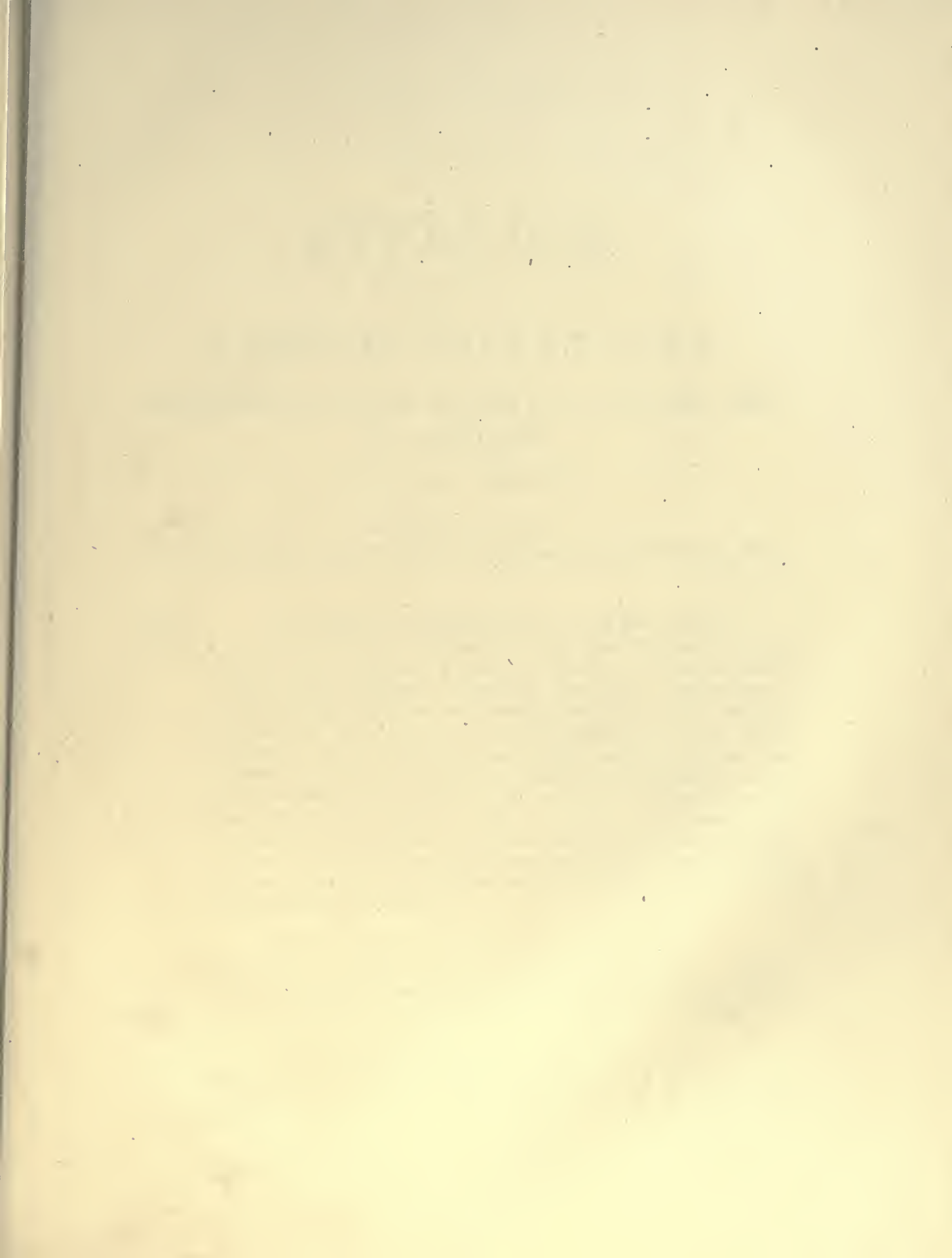
- Abbey of Inchcolm, Account of the, 45-70.
- Aberdeen, King's College, Notice of Chapel and Ancient Buildings of, 416-452.
- Adgefrin, King Edwin's Burgh at, 166.
- Aitken (Dr Thomas), Remarks on Crania found in Brochs in Sutherlandshire, by, 99-101, 118-130.
- Alexander I., Foundation of Inchcolm Abbey, by, 49, 50, 52.
- Alexander (Rev. Dr William Lindsay), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- Allan (Thomas), Treasurer of the Society, 19, 20.
- Anderson (John), Secretary of the Society, 13.
- (Joseph), Notice of the Brochs of Caithness, &c., by, 131-198.
- — Notice of a Carved Ivory Ciborium, by, 336-338.
- Antiquities, Baronial and Ecclesiastical, of Scotland, 35.
- Border, of Scotland, 35.
- Roman, of Scotland, 34.
- Antiquaries of Scotland, Anniversary Address on State of the Society of, 1, 5, 6.
- Argyllshire, Brochs in, List of the, 196.
- Arnold (Thomas), An Account of St Columba's Abbey, Inchcolm, by, 45-70.
- Bass Rock, the Abode of St Baldred, 47.
- Bell of St Fillan, 420, 421.
- Skellat, of Edinburgh, 420, 421.
- Bells of King's College, Aberdeen, 417-421.
- Biographies of Distinguished Scotsmen, 33.
- Birsay, Orkney, Broch of, 114, 117.
- Blair-Drummond Moss, Wooden Shield found in, 217.
- Bonaven, Note on the Origin of the Name, 284.
- Bone, Objects of, found in Broch of Burrian, 353-361, 364.
- Borrowston, Shapinsay, Orkney, Broch at, 81-84, 87.
- Bower (Walter), Abbot of Inchcolm, 56.
- Bowermadden, Caithness, Broch of, Notice of the, 140, 143, 144.
- Boyle (Archibald T.), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- Brechin (Bishop of), on the Early History of Restennet Priory, 285-287.
- Broch, the Origin of the Name, 174, 199.
- Broch of Burrian, Results of Excavations at the, 341-364.
- at Coldoch, Perthshire, 197.
- of Eriboll, Sutherlandshire, Articles found in, 109.
- of Stoer, Sutherlandshire, Stone Lamp found near, 109.
- at Tappock, Stirlingshire, 197.
- Brochs, Origin and Date of the, 115, 116, 146, 167-169, 175-178; Characteristics of the Structure of the, 150, 151; Early Ecclesiastical Architecture compared with that of, 170-173; unknown to the Romans, 152, 153; as known to the Norsemen, 153-161; Early Notices of the, in Scotland, 179-197; Builders of the, Pagan or Christian, 169; in Argyllshire, List of the, 196; supposed, in Bute, 197; in Caithness, List of the, 184-188, 198; of Caithness, Notice of the, 131-198; of Cinn-Trölla, Carn-Liath, and Craig-Carril, Notice of the, 95-130; in Forfarshire, two, 197, 198; of the Outer Hebrides, Notices of the, 407-415; in Invernessshire, List of the, 194-196, 198, 211; Notes on the Northern Brochs, 109-118; of Orkney, List of the, 93, 94, 183; of Orkney, Contents of the, 85-89; in Orkney, Measurements of the, 92; of Orkney, Notice of the, by George Petrie, 71-94; List of, in Scotland, 178-198; in Shetland, List of the, 179-183, 211, 212; of Shetland, Measurements of the, 92; in Sutherland, List of the, 188-192, 198.
- Bronze, Articles of, found in the Broch of Burrian, 362, 364.
- Shields found at Yetholm, 215.
- Brounaben, Caithness, Broch of, Notice of the, 132, 133, 140, 142.
- Brunton (Rev. Dr Alexander), Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 19.
- Buchan (David, Earl of), Founder of the Society of Antiquaries, 2-5, 10.
- Buildings, Ancient, and Chapel of King's College, Aberdeen, Notice of, 416-452.
- Burgar, Orkney, Broch of, 85, 89.
- Burgh of King Edwin at Adgefrin, 166.
- Burghs, Royal, Records of, of Scotland, 36.
- Saxon, Character of the, 165.
- Burial, Separation of the Sexes in, 334, 335.

- Burray, Orkney, Brochs in the Island of, 72-76, 85, 86, 157.
- Burrian, Broch of, Results of Excavations at the, 341, 364.
- Broch of, Ogham-Inscribed Stone found in the, 346, 349-351.
- Bute (John, Earl of), President of the Society, 6.
- Supposed Brochs in, 197.
- Caithness, Brochs in, List of the, 184-188.
- Carinish, North Uist, Battle of, 232-235.
- Carn-Liath, Dunrobin, Broch of, Notice of the, 102-107, 113, 115, 117, 145; Report on Human Remains found in, 127, 128.
- Castle Hill, Museum of the Society on, 22, 23.
- Castles, Lime built, The earliest, of the North of Scotland, 161, 162.
- Caucasus, The Towers of the, 149, 150.
- Chalmers (Patrick), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College, Aberdeen, Notice of, 416-452.
- of St Blane at Kingarth, Bute, Notice of, 317-335.
- of Blessed Virgin founded on Inchcolm, 55.
- of St Carmaig, Eilan Mòr, 170, 171.
- of St Flann, Flannan Islands, 170.
- of Teampull Rona, Lewis, 171.
- on the Sula Sgeir, Orkney, 171, 172.
- Chapels, Ancient, in Long Island, Benbecula, List of, 242.
- Charters of the Priory of Restennet, 311-316.
- Chartularies of Religious Houses in Scotland, 33.
- Chessel's Buildings, Museum of the Society in, 21.
- Christie (Alexander), Secretary of the Society, 18; Curator of the Museum, 25.
- Ciborium, Notice of a Carved Ivory, 336-338.
- Cinn-Trölla, Kintradwell, Broch of, Notice of the, 95-102, 113, 115, 117; Report on Human Remains found at, 99-101, 118-127.
- Clickemin, Shetland, Broch of, 112, 113; Notice of the, 199, 202-207; Sculptured Stone at, 113, 203.
- Club, Scottish Antiquarian, 35.
- Coins of Scotland, 33, 34.
- Coldoch, Perthshire, Broch at, 197.
- College, King's, Aberdeen, Notice of Chapel and Ancient Buildings of, 416-452.
- Combs of Bone found in Broch of Burrian, 344, 345.
- Coningsburgh, Yorkshire, The Tower of, 162, 163.
- Cormack (Dr John Rose), Secretary of the Society, 17.
- Cowgate, Museum of the Society in the, 20, 21.
- Craig (James T. Gibson), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- Craig-Carril, Strath Brora, Broch of, Notice of the, 107-109; Report on Human Remains found in, 128-130.
- Crawford (Thomas), Canon of Inchcolm, 55.
- Crozier or Quigrich of St Fillan, Notice of the, 339, 340.
- Cummyng (James), Secretary of the Society, 8, 9, 37-40.
- Curators of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, 20-26.
- Danube, The Round Towers in the Valley of the, 149.
- Dillon (John), Secretary of the Society, 11, 12.
- Dingishow, St Andrews, Orkney, Broch of, 88.
- Door, Runic, Notice of a, from Iceland, 249-260.
- Drummond (Henry Home), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- (James), Curator of the Museum, 25.
- Notes on Ancient Shields and Highland Targets, &c., by, 213-224.
- Dryden (Sir Henry), Notes on the Brochs of Mousa, Clickemin, &c., in Shetland, by, 199-212.
- Dun Airnistenn, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 373.
- Ban, Loch Cromor, Lochs, 380-382.
- Loch Horneray, Grimsay, North Uist, 399-402.
- Beinn Earba, Notice of, 377.
- Ivor, Notice of, 377.
- Berisay, Loch Roag, Lewis, 389-391, 405.
- Bharabhat, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 373, 407, 408.
- Great Berneray, Uig, 391, 392.
- Bharaglom, Berneray, Uig, 393.
- Bharclin, Loch Luirbost, Lochs, 379, 380, 406.
- a Bheirgh, Siabost, Lochs, 382, 406.
- Bhillascleittir, Ness, Lewis, Notice of, 370.
- Bhragair, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 374-376.
- Bhuirgh, Borve, Harris, 396, 397.
- Borgh, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 373, 374.
- Borigidh, Strond, Harris, 397.
- Borve, Berneray, Sound of Harris, 399.
- Buidhe, North Loch Olabhat, Benbecula, 403.
- na Caillich, Loch Langabhat, Harris, 397.
- a-Chaolais, Vatersay, Barra, 404.
- Charlobhaidh (Carloway), Uig, 383-388, 407, 409-412, 413-415.
- Chroir, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 376.
- Cleamon, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 373.
- Dunan, Crosbost, Lochs, 379.
- Cuithaich, Uig, 393-395, 407.
- of Druim-an-Isgair, South Uist, 406.
- Dunan, Eilean Iubhard, Lochs, 382.
- Eistein, Ness, Lewis, Notice of, 365-369, 405.
- Eòrradail, Ness, Lewis, Notice of, 369, 406.
- Ghrais, Notice of, 377.

- Dun Gormsuil, Carnis, Uig, 395.
 — Innis-ghall, Carminish Isles, Strond, 397.
 — Loch Bharrabhat, Breascleit, Uig, 388.
 — Loch Bharabhat, Croulasta, Uig, 393.
 Dunan, Loch Carloway, Lochs, 383, 406.
 — Loch an Dúnain, Carloway, Uig, 388.
 — Loch an Duin, Aird, Stornoway, Notice of, 378, 379, 406.
 — Loch an Duin, Lochs, 379.
 — Loch an Duin, Siadeir, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 374.
 — Loch an Duin, Scalpay, Harris, 396.
 — Loch an Duin, Taransay, Harris, 397.
 — Luskentyre, Harris, 396.
 — MacLathairn, Groatay, Sound of Harris, 399.
 — Mara, Cross, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 372, 373.
 — Mhac Mhic Phail, Loch Ollavat, Benbecula, 406.
 — a Mhorfhear, North Tolsta, Stornoway, Notice of, 377.
 — Mor, Garadh-fhinch, Jochdar, South Uist, 403, 404.
 — Mor, Garrabost, Stornoway, Notice of, 377.
 — Othail, North Tolsta, Stornoway, Lewis, Notice of, 370-372, 405.
 — Pabbay, Sound of Harris, 398.
 — Paibaill, Stornoway, Notice of, 378.
 — Rhatha, Taransay, Harris, 398.
 — Ruadh, Killigray, Sound of Harris, 398.
 — Sabhuil Galson, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 373.
 — St Clement's, Rodil, Harris, 397.
 — Sleibhe, Cross, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 372.
 — Smirvig, Lionol, Barvas, Lewis, Notice of, 372.
 — Stac Dhomnuill Chaim, Mangursta, Uig, 395, 396.
 — Stron Duin, Bernera, Barra, 404, 405.
 — Tidaborragh, Kirkabost, Berneray, 393.
 — Torquil, Loch Mearral, North Uist, 402, 403.
 Duns of the Outer Hebrides, Notices of the, 365-415; Classification of the, 405.
 Dunbeath, Caithness, Broch of, Notice of the, 132, 144-146.
 Dundas (Laurence, Lord), President of the Society, 6.
 Edin's Hall, Berwickshire, Broch of, 164, 165, 197.
 Edwin's, King, Burgh at Adgefrin, 166.
 Elgin (James, Earl of), President of the Society, 7.
 — (Thomas, Earl of), President of the Society, 6, 7.
 Elphinstone (Bishop), Connection of, with King's College, Aberdeen, 428, 432-434.
 Emona (Inchcolm), Origin of the name, 46, *note*, 47.
 Eriboll, Sutherlandshire, Broch of, Articles found in, 109.
 Ferguson (William), Curator of Coins, 25.
 Forbes (Alexander, Bishop of Brechin), on the Early History of Restennet Priory, 285-287.
 — (Bishop), Connection of, with King's College, Aberdeen, 433, 434, 440.
 Forfarshire, Two Brochs in, 197, 198.
 Fraser (Robert), Curator of the Museum, 24, 25.
 Galloway (William), on the Buildings of Restennet Priory, 296-310.
 — — — Notice of St Blane's Chapel, Kingarth, Bute, by, 317-335.
 George Street, Museum of the Society in, 23, 24, 28, 29.
 Gessoriacum, Note on the Origin of the Name, 284.
 Gibson-Craig (J. T.), Notice of a Carved Ivory Ciborium, the property of, 336-338.
 Gosford Close, Museum of the Society in, 22.
 Grahame (Barron), Curator of the Museum, 25.
 Gray (Francis, Lord), President of the Society, 6.
 Gregory (Donald), Secretary of the Society, 15, 16.
 Harray, Orkney, Brochs in Parish of, 78-81, 88.
 Hay (Edward William Auriol Drummond), Secretary of the Society, 13-15.
 Hebrides, Outer, Duns of the, Notices of the, 365-415.
 Hibbert (Dr Samuel), Secretary of the Society, 12, 40-42.
 Hoxa, Orkney, Broch of, 85, 154, *note*.
 Iceland, Notice of a Runic Door from, 249-260.
 Inchcolm, Island of, occupied by Duke of Somerset, 57; attacked by Danish and English, 47, 48, 52-55; Foundation of the Abbey of, 49, 50, 52; Church of the, 64; Chapter-House of, 62, 63; Cloister of, 59, 60; Lady Chapel of, 65; Dormitory of, 61; Domestic Apartments of, 63; Muniment Room of, 61; Nave of the, 66, 67; Refectory of, 61; St Columba's Cell in the, 68, 69; Sculptured Stone in, 69, 70; Tower of the, 66, 67; Transept of, 66, 67; The Well of the, 68.
 Innes (Cosmo), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
 Inverness-shire, Brochs in, List of the, 194-196, 198, 211.
 Ireland, The Round Towers of, 151, 152.
 Iron, Articles of, found in the Broch of Burrian, 362, 364.
 Islets, Castellated, in the Outer Hebrides, 406; Walled, in the Outer Hebrides, 406.
 Jamieson (Rev. Dr John), Secretary of the Society, 10, 11.
 Joass (Rev. J. Maxwell), The Brochs of Cinn-Trölla, Carn-Liath, Craig Carril, &c., in Sutherland, Notice of, by, 95-130.

- Johnston (James), Curator of the Museum, 25.
 — (Thomas B.), Treasurer of the Society, 20.
- Kettleburn, Caithness, Broch of, 142-144, 156, 198.
 Kiltubride, Ireland, Wooden Shield found at, 218.
 King's College, Aberdeen, Chapel of, 423; Windows of, 424; Organ of, 426, 427; Altars of, 427, 429, 431; Desk of Bishop Elphinstone in, 428, 434; Stalls of, 428, 429; Tomb of Bishop Elphinstone in, 432, 433; Throne of Bishop Forbes in, 433, 434, 440; Preaching in, 435; Used for various purposes, 438, 439; Changes in the, 442-444; Destruction of Jube in, 445; Library of, 421, 435-438, 444.
 Kingarth, Bute, Chapel of St Blane at, Notice of, 317-335.
 Kinnear (Thomas), Secretary of the Society, 12.
- Laing (David), Anniversary Address by, 1; Vice-President of the Society, 8; Secretary of the Society, 17; Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 19; Treasurer of the Society, 20.
 Library of King's College, Aberdeen, 421, 435-438, 444.
 Long Island, Benbecula, Ancient Chapels in, List of, 242.
- Macdonald (Alexander), Curator of the Museum, 24.
 M'Donalds and M'Rories, Genealogical Connection of the, 229.
 — and M'Leods, Feud and Battle between the, 230-236.
 M'Leods and M'Donalds, Feud and Battle between the, 230-236.
 Macpherson (Professor Norman), On the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College, Aberdeen, by, 416.
 May, Isle of, St Adrian and, 47.
 Mitchell (John W.), Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 19, 44.
 Moncrieff (Scott), Treasurer of the Society, 19.
 Montrose (James, Duke of), President of the Society, 6.
 Mortimer (Allan de), Right of Interment on Inchcolm Purchased by, 50, 51.
 Mousa, Broch of, Notice of the, in Shetland, 199, 207-211; referred to, 110, 111, *note*, 158.
 Muir (T. S.), Descriptions and Plans of Primitive Chapels in Rona and Sula Sgeir, 225.
 Murray (Hon. Lord), Vice-President of the Society, 8, 16.
 Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Localities of the, 20-32.
 Neaves (Hon. Lord), Vice-President of the Society, 8.
- Newton (William Waring Hay), Vice-President of the Society, 25.
 Nuraghes of Sardinia, The, 147, 148.
- Ogham Inscription on a Stone found in Broch of Burrian, 346, 349-351.
 Okstrow, Birsay, Orkney, Broch of, 76-78, 86, 87, 132, 176.
 Oldwick, Caithness, Castle of, 110, 111.
 Orkney, Notice of the Brochs of, by George Petrie, 71-94; Brochs of, List of the, 93, 94, 183; Brochs of, Measurements of the, 92.
- Parishes, Statistical Reports on the, of Scotland, 32.
 Petrie (George), Notice of the Brochs of Orkney, with Drawings, Plans, and Measurements, 71-94.
 Portraits of Distinguished Scotsmen, 33.
 Pottery found in the Broch of Burrian, 363, 364.
 Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 6, 7.
 Priory of Restennet, on the Early History of the, 285-316.
 Promontories, Fortified, in the Outer Hebrides, 406.
- Quigrich, or Crozier of St Fillan, Notice of the, 339, 340.
- Rattar (Raudabiorg), Broch of, 156, 157.
 Redland, Firth, Orkney, Broch at, 84, 85.
 Restennet, Priory of, On the Early History of the, 285-316; Charters of the Priory of, 311-316.
 Richard (Bishop of Dunkeld), Builds Choir of Inchcolm, 51.
 — of Aberdeen founds Chapel of Blessed Virgin on Inchcolm, 55.
 Robertson (Joseph), Secretary to the Society, 17.
 Ross-shire, Brochs in, List of the, 192-194, 198.
 Royal Institution, Museum of the Society in, 24, 31-32.
- St Blane, Chapel of, at Kingarth, Bute, Notice of, 317-335; Churchyard of, Separation of the Sexes Buried in the, 334, 335.
 St Carraig, Eilan Mòr, Chapel of, 170, 171.
 St Columba, Londonderry, Stone of, 113.
 — Brotherhood of, Dissolved, 57.
 St Columba's Abbey, Inchcolm, Account of, 45-70.
 St Fillan, Notice of the Quigrich or Crozier of, 339, 340; Bell of, 420, 421.
 St Flann, Flannan Islands, Chapel of, 170.
 St Patrick, Birthplace of, Inquiry into, 261-284; the Existence of, not doubtful, 263-271; Statements in Old Manuscripts about, 271-278.
 Sardinia, Nuraghes of, The, 147, 148.
 Scotland, Geographical Illustrations of, 36.

- Scott (Dr William Henry), Curator of Coins; 25.
 Seal of the Abbey of Inchcolm, 52, *note*.
 Seals, Catalogue of Ancient Scottish, 35,
 Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,
 8-18.
 Sexes, Separation of the, in Burial, 334, 335.
 Shetland, Brochs in, Lists of the, 179-183, 211, 212;
 Measurements, &c., of the Brochs of, 92.
 Shield, Wooden, found in Blair Drummond Moss,
 217; Wooden, found at Kiltubride, Ireland, 218.
 Shields, Ancient, Notes on, by James Drummond,
 213-224; of Bronze found at Yetholm, 215.
 Simpson (Professor James Y.), Vice-President of the
 Society, 8.
 Skene (William Forbes), Vice-President of the Society,
 8; Secretary of the Society, 16.
 Smellie (Alexander), Secretary of the Society, 9,
 10, 17.
 — (William), Secretary of the Society, 9, 40;
 Account of Society of Antiquaries by, 1.
 Smith (Dr John Alexander), Secretary of the Society,
 18.
 Stephens (Prof. Dr George), On a Runic Door from
 Iceland, by, 249-260.
 Stevenson (Rev. Dr William), Vice-President of the
 Society, 8.
 Stewart (James), Lord Doune, 57; Acquires Lands of
 Beith and West Aberdeen, 57.
 Stirkoke, Old, Caithness, Broch of, Notice of the,
 140, 141, 142, 143.
 Stirlingo, Firth, Orkney, Broch of, 87, 88.
 Stoer, Sutherlandshire, Broch of, Stone Lamp
 found near, 109.
 Stone Inscribed with Oghams, found in Broch of
 Burrian, 346, 349-351.
 — Sculptured with Human Feet, from Clickemin,
 Shetland, 113, 203.
 — Sculptured with Human Feet, in Londonderry,
 113.
 — Sculptured, in the Abbey of Inchcolm, 69, 70.
 — Implements of, found in Broch of Burrian,
 351-353, 364.
 Stones, Sculptured, of Scotland, 34.
 Stuart (Dr John), On the Early History of the Priory
 of Restennet, 285-296.
- Sualsburg, Westrogothia, Sweden, Ruined Tower of,
 149, 159.
 Sula Sgeir, Orkney, Chapel on the, 171, 172; Notice
 of, 247, 248.
 Sutherland, Brochs in, List of the, 188-192, 198.
 Tappock, Stirlingshire, Broch at, 197.
 Targets, Highland, Notes on, by James Drummond,
 213-224.
 Teampull Chalumchille, Benbecula, Notice of,
 239-243; Mhichael, Grimsay, North Uist, Notice
 of, 244, 245; Rona, Lewis, Chapel of, 171; Rona,
 North Rona, Notice of, 246, 247; na Trionaide,
 North Uist, Notice of, 225-239.
 Thomas (Captain F. W. L.), Notices of three Churches
 in North Uist, Benbecula, and Grimsay, by, 225-
 248; On the Duns of the Outer Hebrides, by,
 365-415.
 Tower of Coningsburgh, Yorkshire, 162, 163.
 Towers, Ruined, of Ymsburg and Sualsburg, 149,
 159; of the Caucasus, The, 149, 150; Round, in the
 Valley of the Danube, 149; Round, of Ireland,
 151, 152.
 Traill (Dr William), Results of Excavations at the
 Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, by, 341-364.
 Treasurers, Lord High, Accounts of the, of Scotland,
 35.
 — of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 19, 20.
 Turnbull (William B. D. D.), Secretary of the
 Society, 17, 42, 43.
 Turner (J. H.), An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St
 Patrick, by, 261-284.
 Vice-Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of Scot-
 land, 7, 8.
 Whalsay, Shetland, Fortified Islet in, 406.
 Wilson (Dr Daniel), Secretary of the Society, 17, 18.
 Writers, Historical, of Scotland, 36.
 Yarhouse, Caithness, Broch of, Notice of the, 132-
 142 156, 173.
 Yetholm, Bronze Shields found at, 215.
 Ymsburg, Westrogothia, Sweden, Ruined Tower of,
 149, 159.



APPENDIX.

LIST OF DONATIONS

PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF SCOTLAND,

MDCCCXXX.-MDCCCLI.

[Continued from the Appendix to the "Archæologia Scotica," Vol. III. p. 148.]

1830. By Captain H. L. RICHARDS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Dec. 13. A collection of Egyptian Antiques, principally from the collection of the late Mr Salt, comprising a variety of Ancient Amulets, an ancient Seal, various hieroglyphic Ornaments, taken from a sarcophagus at Thebes (among which are some closely resembling masonic emblems), &c., as more fully described in an accompanying list sent by Captain Richards. Also the following Coins, viz., two small Copper Coins, much defaced, found by him in the ruins of Alexandria; two Copper Coins from the Mediterranean, one of them a Coin of one of the Ptolemies—*obverse* the head of Jupiter Ammon, *reverse* an eagle; a good specimen of a Phœnician Coin—*obverse* a well-executed head, apparently female, *reverse* a horse, above which is a star; two Roman Copper Coins, one of Antoninus Pius, the other of Maximin, found under the root of a tree near Plymstock, Devonshire.

By Lieutenant-General AINSLIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage, 4to, London, 1830. A Private Copper Medal of the Dauphiness, struck upon the occasion of her visiting La Vendée in 1823. A Cast of the Seal of Edward the Black Prince.

By JAMES DENNISTOUN, Esq., younger of Dennistoun.

Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, by David Moysie, 1577-1603, 4to, Edinburgh, 1830, being the Donor's contribution to the Bannatyne Club.

1830. By Sir GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, Bart.
 Dec. 13. A MS. Rental of the Earldom of Ross, and Lordship of Ardmanach,
 apparently in the reign of James VI.

By STACEY GRIMALDI, Esq., F.S.A.
 Origines Genealogicae, 4to, London, 1828, by the Donor.

By JOHN BENJAMIN HEATH, Esq.
 Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of
 London, 8vo, printed, not published, London, 1829, by the Donor.

By JAMES NAIRNE, Esq.
 A Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland,
 from August 1637 to July 1638, by John, Earl of Rothes, 4to, Edinburgh,
 1830, being the Donor's contribution to the Bannatyne Club.

By JAMES MURRAY of Ninewar, Esq.
 A Vase found in a stone coffin at the bottom of a large cairn, on the farm
 of Harelawside, Berwickshire.

By ROBERT MUNDELL, Esq.
 A Vase, entire when found, but which has since fallen to pieces; found 9th
 January 1829, in the garden of Wallacehall, Dumfriesshire, parish of
 Closeburn, about one foot from the surface of the ground.

By the COMMISSIONERS OF THE IMPROVEMENTS.
 An Iron Helmet, much corroded, and the upper half of a Quern, both found
 in the wall of the Five-Gun Battery of Edinburgh Castle, lately taken
 down. Also a small Balance of Copper, the scales wanting, found below
 the foundation of the Five-Gun Battery.

By Mr WILLIAM GROSART, Falkirk.
 A Sword, apparently that of an English officer, found on the field the day
 after the battle of Falkirk in 1746.

By Mr WILLIAM ANDERSON, Writer, Edinburgh.
 A large Web of Cloth, manufactured from the bark of the bread tree in
 Otaheite.

By Mr PETER BLACK, Writer, Edinburgh.
 A Copper Coin of Louis XIV. of France, 1651.

1830. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq.
Dec. 13. The Household Expenses for one Year of Philip, 3rd Lord Wharton, read by the Donor to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4to, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1829.

By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
Their Transactions, Vol. III. Part 3, new series, being the concluding Part of the 3rd vol., 4to, Philadelphia, 1830.

By the BANNATYNE CLUB.
Memoirs of his own Life and Times, by Sir James Turner, 1632-1670, 4to, Edinburgh, 1829.

By C. G. STEWART MENTEATH, Esq. of Closeburn.
A Cannon Ball of iron, cased with lead, found near Caerlaverock Castle.

By Mr TETLY, Banker, Thirske, Yorkshire.
The following Coins, viz., a Silver Penny of Canute, in fine preservation; a Silver Penny of Edward II.; a Groat of Queen Elizabeth; a Shilling of Charles I.; and a Crown, gun money, of James II.

By M. BERTRAND DE DOVE, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
Description Géognostique des environs de Puy en Velay, 8vo, Paris, 1823, by the Donor.

By Mr GREGORY, Secretary.
Fragments of Scottish History, edited by J. G. Dalzell, Esq., 4to, Edinburgh, 1798. Military Memoirs of the great Civil War, edited by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., 4to, Edinburgh, 1822. Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, translated from the Latin of Dr George Wishart, &c., 8vo, Edinburgh, 1819. The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, published from the original manuscript in the Advocate's Library, by the Messrs Haig, 4 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1824. The Popular Rhymes of Scotland, with Illustrations, by Robert Chambers, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1826.

By Mr SAMMONS.
A Silver Coin of Louis XIV., 1674.

1831. By the BANNATYNE CLUB.
Jan. 10. The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I. in 1436, to the year 1561, by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, 4to, Edinburgh, 1830.

LIST OF DONATIONS.

1831, By J. WHITFOORD MACKENZIE, Esq., W.S.
 Jan. 10. A Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to James VI., in the year 1611, 4to, Edinburgh, 1830, being the Donor's contribution to the Maitland Club.

By Captain J. E. ALEXANDER, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 Notice of a Visit to the Cavern Temples of Adjunta, in the East Indies, 4to, London, 1829, read by the Donor to the Royal Asiatic Society.

By A. M. ANDERSON, F.S.A. Scot.
 "The discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is likely to be swallowed by another french marriage if the Lord forbid not the banes," 1579. Also a Dollar Note of the Banks of Buenos Ayres, with the Portraits of Bolivar and Washington.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 "A New Map of Scotland, with the Roads," published about the year 1680.

By Mr ROBERT KERR, Writer, Edinburgh.
 Commission of Colonel of the Columbian Irish Regiment, granted to William Pinxton O'Reilly, by "Gregorio Magregor, General de Brigada, &c.," afterwards so notorious as Cazique of Poyais.

By Professor RAFN of Copenhagen.
 Ancient Sagas of the Scandinavian Countries, published from ancient MSS. by the Donor, 2 vols. 8vo, Copenhagen, 1829, in the original Icelandic. Also a General Report on the Works and Transactions of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, during the years 1825-1826-1827, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1828, in Danish. On the Royal Society of Ancient Northern Literature in Copenhagen, in German, by Lewis Giesebrecht, 8vo, Stettin, 1828. Several Copperplate Facsimiles, very well executed, of Parts of the old Icelandic Skinbooks.

By Mr J. H. SCHRÖDER of Upsal.
 The Lord's Prayer and the Creed, in Old Swedish, 8vo, Upsala, 1829.

By Colonel GORDON of Park.
 A Lithographic Facsimile of a Charter by King Alexander II., to Wabram de Normanville, of certain Lands in the County of Banff; presented through John Gordon of Cairnbulg, Esq.

1831. By Mr A. MACDONALD, Curator.

Jan. 10. A Copy without the contractions of above mentioned Charter. Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers, and of their Stipends, after the period of the Reformation, from an original MS. drawn up about 1567 or 1568, 4to, Edinburgh, 1830, being the Donor's contribution to the Maitland Club. A Table of the Reigns of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, from David I. to James VI. inclusive, exhibiting the first and last days of each year of their respective reigns.

Jan. 24. By Mrs GREGORY, 10 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.

Two very fine Engravings of Sculptured Stones in Ross-shire, the one at Hilton, and the other at Nigg; from drawings by the late Charles Petley, Esq. of Riverhead, Kent.

By JAMES DOBIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Examination of the Claim of John Lindsay Craufurd to the Titles and Estate of Craufurd and Lindsay, 4to, Edinburgh, 1831, by the Donor.

By ROBERT PITCAIRN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Several Celts of Metal and Stone, and the Brazen Head of an Ancient Spear, all found at different times in this country; two old Keys, curiously wrought; and some Relics of Waterloo.

By Captain MACDONALD, Inch Kenneth.

The following Coins, viz.:—one of Edgar and three of Ethelred II., Kings of England during the Heptarchy; one of Sithric III., King of the Ostmen of Dublin in the tenth century; and three other Coins not yet described, all found, along with a number of others, by Captain Macdonald in Inch Kenneth, a small island near Iona.

By Mr GREGORY, Secretary.

Vols. 15, 16, 31, 32, and 42 of Constable's Miscellany, being Mr Robert Chambers' History of the Civil Wars and Rebellions in Scotland from 1638 to 1745, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1828-29.

Feb. 14. By the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Their Transactions, in 16 vols. 4to, Dublin, 1787-1830.

By Sir JAMES M. RIDDELL of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, Bart.

Twenty-three small Silver Coins, with Inscriptions in an Oriental character, from the ruins of the Tatar settlement of Bulgaria, on the Wolga.

1831. By JOHN GREGORY, Esq., Advocate.

Feb. 14. The following Coins, viz.:—One Roman Silver, of the Emperor Philip the Arabian; a Silver Fourpence of James II., 1687; a Silver Fourpence of William III., 1702; a Spanish Dollar, 1734; a small Spanish Silver Coin, much defaced; a small Russian Silver Coin of the Empress Catherine, 1785; a large Russian Silver Coin of the Empress Catherine, 1787; a Guinea of the United States of America, 1795; a Gold Coin, $\frac{1}{4}$ Mohur of the British East India Company; a Frank of Napoleon, 1808; also a Restoration Medal of Charles II.

By JOHN D'ALTON, Esq., Dublin.

Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, No. 10, 8vo, Dublin, 1782.

By the Reverend JAMES CHAPMAN, Edinburgh Castle.

A Rib and some of the other Bones of a Child, discovered in August last, in the wall of the Palace, Castle of Edinburgh.

Feb. 28. By the Honourable the BARONS OF EXCHEQUER.

A Gold Coin, in very fine preservation, of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, found in 1829 on the farm of Hattonmill, near Arbroath, Forfarshire.

Nine Scottish Silver Coins of James V., Mary, and James VI., and three Groats of Henry VIII. (front face), part of a very large number found near Arthur Seat, in forming the new Railway betwixt Dalkeith and Edinburgh.

Two Groats of Henry VIII. (front face), found in 1830, in digging out the foundation of a church in the town of Haddington at the east end of the Town House.

One Groat of James IV., three of James V., six of Henry VIII. (profile), and four Silver Pennies of Henry VIII., found in digging a foundation in the village of Clifton, in the county of Edinburgh.

By Dr CARSON, F.S.A. Scot.

An ancient Key of large size, supposed to have been the key of the church of Lochmaben, before it was burnt, anno 1598, found in the wall of the old church in 1819.

The following Coins, all found in Spain, viz.:—One Roman Copper of the Emperor Claudius; one small Roman Copper of the Emperor Constantine; one small Roman Copper of the Emperor Claudius Gothicus; an ancient Spanish Copper Coin of a town in Arragon.

A very ancient Spanish Denarius, found near Tarragona—*obverse*, apparently the head of Hercules; *reverse*, a man on horseback, armed with a spear; inscription on the *reverse* said to be "Salamanca."

1831. By Lieutenant NUNN, Staff Adjutant, Edinburgh.
 Feb. 28. Silk Handkerchief of the year 1710, on which is printed an account of the four great Battles of Barcelona, Oudenarde, Hochstadt, and Blenheim.

Mar. 14. By Mrs THOMSON BONAR, Atholl Crescent.

The following Coins, thirty-one in number, viz., Silver Denarii of the following Roman families:—

Antonia.	See Morell, Tab. VII.	4	p. 28.
Cipia.	Ibid.	1	p. 88.
Junia.	„	1 3	p. 221.
Lucretia.	„	1	p. 252.
Marcia.	„	II. 8	p. 268.
Pomponia.	„	I. 1	p. 343.
Rutilia.	„		p. 370.
Scribonia.	„	3	p. 375.
Sempronia.	„	I. 1	p. 378.
Sicinia.	„	1	p. 390.
Titia.	„	3	p. 418.
Tituria (2).	„	1 and 6 R.	pp. 419. 421.
Vibia.	„	I. 8	k, p. 443.

One Silver Denarius, uncertain, but very near those in Morell's *Incerta*, Tab. III., c. p. 464.

Another, also uncertain, not described by Morell—*reverse*, a figure kneeling on one knee between two armed warriors; at the top, Roma.

Two small Bronze Coins of the City of Rome. See Morell, I. 4. p. 475, and III. 7. p. 477.

One Silver Denarius of King Juba.

One Sesterce, Silver, of Augustus. Legend on the *reverse*, Asia Recepta; not described by Mionnet or Morell.

One large Brass of Caius Asinius Gallus, temp. Augustus or Tiberias. See Morell, 2. p. 36.

One middle Brass of Drusus Cæsar, son to Tiberias.

One large Brass of Nero Claudius Drusus, father of the Emperor Claudius.

One ditto of Agrippa, wife of Germanicus.

One ditto of the Emperor Caligula.

One ditto of the Emperor Titus.

One middle Brass of the Emperor Nerva.

Two ditto of Philip the Elder.

One small Greek Copper Coin of Argos.

One Silver Greek Coin of Naples.

By Mr JOHN HENRY SCHRÖDER, Ph.D., Librarian of the Royal Academy of Upsal, &c.

Memorabilia Templi Cathedralis Upsaliensis, Subjuncta descriptione Historica-Antiquaria, Stockholm, folio, in 5 numbers, Lithog. 30 Plates.

1831. *Dissertatio Topographico Historico de Parocchia Bishopskulla in Uplandia.*
 Mar. 14. Auctor Johannes Rodell, 4to, Upsal, 1830.
Itinera et Labores Johannis Gabr. Sparfvenfeldii, ex autographis Illustrata.
 Auctor S. N. Bergstedt, 4to, Upsal, 1830.
De Universitate Parisiensi, a Suecis, Medio Ævo frequentata, Dissertatio,
 Auctor E. M. Olde, 4to, Upsal, 1830.

By JAMES NAIRNE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Mortar with a Dutch Inscription, and bearing the date 1601.

By GEORGE JERDAN, Esq., Kelso.

Copies of two Papers written by the late King Charles II., together with a copy of a Paper, written by the late Duchess of York; published by His Majesty's command, folio, London, 1686.

April 11. By Lieutenant-General AINSLIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Bibliotheca Belgica sive virorum in Belgio vita, &c., cura et studio Johannis Francisci Foppens, 2 vols. 4to, Brussels, 1739.

By M. AUGTE, LE PRÉVOST, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Memoirs sur quelques monuments du Department de l'Eure et particuliere-ment de l'arrondissement de Bernay, 4to, Caen, 1829, with Plates.

By the MAITLAND CLUB, through JOSEPH BAIN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight; with an Appendix of Selections from the Poems of Sir John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, and of Thomas Maitland. Edited for the Club by Mr Bain, 4to, Glasgow, 1830.

By WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., Glasgow.

Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse pendant les campagnes 1548 and 1549. Par Jean de Beaugue, 4to, Edinburgh, 1830; reprinted by Mr Smith, as his contribution to the Maitland Club.

By the Honourable LORD MEADOWBANK.

Impressions in Wax of some Anglo-Saxon Coins, lately discovered near the Fitful Head, in Shetland; with fragments, much corroded, of others of these Coins, and the depositions taken by the sheriff-substitute relative to the discovery.

A Piece of elegant Mosaic, picked up in Pompeii.

1831. By Mr W. B. ALLAN, Surgeon.
- April 11. An ancient Cup of Baked Earth (Steatite), dug from the foundation of a very ancient building, lately discovered under ground, at a spot called the How of Hoesa, in the island of South Ronaldshay, Orkney.
- April 25. By THOMAS SIVRIGHT, Esq.
Plaster Cast of a very fine antique Bronze Statue, about eighteen inches high, in the possession of Mr S., supposed to represent a gladiator.
- May 9. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
Scandinavisk Museum, 1798 to 1803, 8vo, Copenhagen, six parts.
An Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, by the Earl of Balcarres, 8vo, London, 1714; with a Key. And Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's Accession to the Union in 1707, 3rd Edition, with an Appendix, 8vo, London, 1714. Both these bound in one volume.
An Account of the Rebellions in 1715-16 and 1745-46, so far as relates to the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, &c. Collected and published by Mr Sykes of Newcastle, 8vo, Newcastle, 1831.
Angelsaksisk Sproglære, tilligemed en Kort Læsebog, ved R. K. Rask, 8vo, Stockholm, 1817.
- By Miss ALISON, 44 Heriot Row.
A very fine Silver Penny of Alexander III. of Scotland.
Four English and one Irish Silver Pennies of Edward I.
- May 23. By M. JOUANNET of Bordeaux, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
The nine following Brochures, all by the Donor:—
Notice sur la Cathédrale de Bazas, 8vo, Bordeaux, 1821.
Notice sur quelques produits naturels des Landes de la Gironde, 8vo, Bordeaux, 1822.
Notice Nécrologique sur M. Joseph Teulère, 8vo, Bordeaux, 1825.
Dissertations sur les inscriptions funéraires découvertes en Septembre 1826, près de l'ancien Lysée, dans le mur de l'Antique enceinte de Bordeaux, 8vo, Plates, Bordeaux, 1827.
Notice sur Sourzac et St Louis communes de l'arrondissement de Mucidan, Map, 12mo, Perigueux, 1829.
Considérations générales sur les terrains tertiaires du Département de la Gironde, Premier Essaie, 8vo, Bordeaux, 1830.
Lettres de Madame S—— a sa fille écrites en 1828, avec Notes par M. Jouannet, 12mo, Perigueux, 1830.
Notice de l'Église de Sainte-Croix, 8vo, Plates, Bordeaux.
Notice sur les armes et autres Instrumens en Pierre et en Bronze, large Plate, 8vo, Bordeaux.

1831. By JAMES LOGAN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 May 23. The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners as preserved among the Highlanders, &c., 2 vols. 8vo, large paper, London, 1831. Numerous Plates and Cuts, by the Donor.

By DAVID LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 The Will of King Alfred, 4to, Oxford, 1788.

Dec. 12. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem.
 Holberg's Danish History, 8 vols. 8vo, Copenhagen, 1808-1812.
 Publications of the Scandinavian Literary Society from 1805 to 1826, in 21 vols. 8vo, Copenhagen. The 13th vol. contains an Index to the 12 preceding volumes, and also to the Scandinavisk Museum, of which the present work is a continuation, and which is in the Society's Library.
 Three Catalogues of the Books published in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the years 1814, 1815, 1816, 8vo, Copenhagen.
 Catalogue of the Library of Dr Birgern Thorlacius, containing many MSS. *de rebus borealibus*; which was sold at Copenhagen, September, 1830.

By the Reverend JAMES MORTON, Corr. Mem.
 The Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, with Engravings by W. H. Lizars, 5 parts, 4to, Edinburgh 1831. The Sixth Part to complete the work.

By ARTHUR TREVELYAN, Esq.
 Le Nouveau Armorial Universel; contenant les armes et Blazons des Maisons Nobles et illustres de France et autres Royaumes et Etats de l'Europe, &c., folio, Plates, Paris, 1662.

By the MAITLAND CLUB.
 Descriptions of the Sherifdoms of Lanark and Renfrew, compiled about the year 1710 by William Hamilton of Wishaw, now published by the Club, 4to, Plates, Glasgow, 1831.

By JAMES MAIDMENT, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 The Chronicle of Perth, 1210-1688, 4to, Edinburgh, 1831, being his contribution to the Maitland Club.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, London.
 Archæologia, Vol. XXIII. Part 1, 4to, London, 1831.

By J. G. WILKINSON, Esq.
 Extracts from several Hieroglyphic Subjects found at Thebes, 8vo, Malta. 1830, Lithog. Plates.

1831. By JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq., Cor. Mem.
 Dec. 12. An Inquiry into the State of Literature and the Arts among the ancient
 Tuscans, by the Donor, 4to, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1831.

By ALEX. G. GROAT, Esq. of Newhall.
 Thoughts on Orkney and Shetland, by the Donor, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1831.
 Not printed for sale.

By W. WARING HAY, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 A Bronze Tripod, apparently a culinary utensil, found in 1824, 3 feet
 below ground on the farm of Long Yester, in the vicinity of the ancient
 Castle of Yester (Hob Goblin Hall), East Lothian.
 A Key of curious workmanship, found 1779-80 among some rubbish in the
 green at Falkland Palace.
 A Leaden Medal of Pope Alexander IV., who succeeded to the Papal Chair
 1254, and died 1261, found in 1830 at Holyrood House, when prosecuting
 the repairs of the Palace.

By Mr M. PATERSON, 12 Union Place.
 An old Andrea Ferrara Sword, with a basket hilt differing from those on
 Highland Swords.
 A Stone Bullet and an Iron one, both found in the ruins of Castle
 Campbell.
 Specimens of Vitrified Matter from Dun MacUisnechean (Beregonium),
 near Lochnell, Argyleshire.
 Specimens of Vitrified Matter from Carnaciun, Deeside, Aberdeenshire.

By H. H. DRUMMOND, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Fragments of an ancient Wooden Wheel lately discovered at Roseburn
 Lane, Blair Drummond Moss, 10 feet under the surface, and similar to
 one nearly entire in the Museum of the Society, formerly presented by
 Mr Home Drummond. Several well-formed Arrow-heads were found
 near the Spot.
 Specimens of Burnt Wheat and Rusted Iron, from a Roman fort on the
 line of Agricola's Wall, near Castle Cary; also similar Specimens from
 the Roman Camp at Comrie, more particularly from that part of it called
 the Horse Camp.
 An ancient Quern or Hand Mill, rudely fashioned, from a section of an
 oak tree, found 4 or 5 feet under the surface in making a drain at a
 place where a burn seems formerly to have run, about a mile and a half
 from Blair Drummond House.

By Captain MACDONALD, Killichonate.
 A Groat of Robert III., found with about thirty others of the same kind, in
 a cavity under a stone on the farm of Killichonate, parish of Kilmonivaig,
 Lochaber.

LIST OF DONATIONS.

1831. By Mrs FAIRLIE, 6 Grosvenor Gate, London.

Dec. 12. A Piece of Ribbon said to have been given by Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, to a lady of the Purves family in Berwickshire.

By Mr JOHN TOLMIE, Uganish, Skye.

A Celt of brown polished stone and two Flint Arrow-heads of different shapes, all found in the Isle of Skye.

By Bishop Low, F.S.A. Scot.

A Jacobite Medal. *Obverse*, the youthful head of Prince Charles Edward, with a star in front; legend, MICAT INTER OMNES. *Reverse*, the head of his brother Prince Henry (afterwards Cardinal York); legend, ALTER AB ILLO. Also a Copper Coin of Charles II.

By the Reverend ABNER W. BROWN, Pytchely, by Kettering, Northamptonshire.

An engraved Order for admission to the Trial of Simon Lord Lovat, in 1746, granted by the Duke of Ancaster, Great Chamberlain.

By Sir GEORGE CAYLEY, Bart., Corr. Mem., through THOMAS ALLAN, Esq.

A short Roman Gladius (or rather Pugio), of bronze or brass, in the most perfect preservation, and with a very fine edge; found in a bed of gravel under moss near the celebrated Kirkdale Caves, Yorkshire.

A large Brass Coin of the Emperor Hadrian, found in the immediate vicinity of the Gladius, along with which was also found the Jaw of a Man, with the teeth very well preserved.

1832. By RICHARD WHARTON DUFF, Esq.

Jan. 9. A number of Scottish and other Coins of various types and ages.

By M. PATERSON, Esq.

A Roman Consular Coin of Silver found near Carlisle.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem.

Professor Magnussen's translation of the Edda, 4 vols. 8vo, Copenhagen, 1821-23; together with several Danish Antiquarian Historical Tracts.

De Literis inventis libri sex. Auctore. Gul. Nicols, 8vo, London, 1711.

The History of the Origin and Progress of Ecclesiastical Revenues, translated from the French, 8vo, London, 1685.

1832. By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq.

Jan. 9. A Stone Instrument, about 10 inches long, differing from any in the Museum of the Society, found in the parish of Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, about 300 yards from the cairn said to mark the spot of Macbeth's death.

Two Rings of Copper, also found in the parish of Lumphanan, and of a very uncommon shape.

By the COMMITTEE OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Mylne's Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium, new and improved Edition, with Facsimiles, Appendix, and Index, 4to, Edinburgh, 1831.

By the Reverend JAMES MORTON, Corr. Mem.

Part 6th and last of his Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, with Engravings by W. H. Lizars, 4to, Edinburgh, 1831.

Jan. 23. By WILLIAM M'DOWALL of Garthland, Esq., through THOMAS MAITLAND, Esq.

The Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden, 4to, Portrait, Edinburgh, 1832, being the Donor's valuable contribution to the Maitland Club.

By ARTHUR TREVELYAN, Esq.

The Consolations of Philosophy, from the Latin of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius, by Richard, Lord Viscount Preston, 2nd Edition, small 8vo, London, 1712. This copy belonged to, and was used in Newgate, by John Thornton of Netherwilton, in the year 1716, when under sentence of death for his accession to the Rebellion 1715.

By Mrs L. MACKINNON, Corry, Isle of Skye.

An Ornament of smooth polished stone of a greenish colour, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 2 in breadth and $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch in thickness; convex on the upper side and concave in the lower, with a small hole drilled at each of the four corners. This ancient ornament was found in a rudely vaulted place of interment, discovered some years ago in a tumulus on the shore of Broadford Bay, near the House of Corry. In the vault were found a stone coffin, the remains of a human skeleton, and some bones of an animal or animals, but of what species is uncertain.

1832. By ALEXANDER MACKINNON, Esq., Corry.

Jan. 23. An Ornament of the same kind of stone, and of the same thickness in the middle as that last described, but becoming thinner towards the extremities. The length of this ornament is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the breadth at the centre nearly an inch, and at the extremities about half an inch. At the centre of each extremity a small hole is drilled. This was found in the shore of Broadford Bay, at no great distance from the tumulus above described.

By Lieutenant-Colonel MILLER, Corr. Mem.

A finely formed and barbed Arrow-head of Flint and a fragment of what is supposed to have been a glazed Sepulchral Vase; found near what is supposed by the Colonel to have been the site of the celebrated Battle of the Mons Grampius, viz., Merlsford, at the foot of the Lomond Hill, in Fife.

By JOHN ALEXANDER, Esq.

A British Silver Coin, the Sixpence of James I. and VI., dated 1613.

By Captain DONALDSON BOSWELL, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

A small Sepulchral Vase, found on his property of Wardie, near Newhaven. Also specimens of the ancient Sea-Dyke lately discovered at Wardie; and of several kinds of Roman Cement from various places abroad, to be compared with the Cement of the Dyke at Wardie.

Feb. 13. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem.

Casts of the Seals of the following individuals:—

Two Seals, Hugh Courtenay, 4th Earl of Devon, obt. 1422.

Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March, killed 1398.

John de Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter, beheaded in 1400.

Sir William Neville, Reg. Richard II.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, attached to a deed of date 1377.

N.B. The above six Seals are all from Deeds in the possession of Sir John Trevelyan.

Sigillum Collegii Cantuarie, Oxon, 1393; from an impression in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Seal of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, 1683; from the original Matrix in the Ashmolean Museum.

By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq.

A Coin, middle brass, of Domitian, found in the vicinity of Aberdeen 1828.

A Coin, large brass, of Hadrian, found in 1827, on the estate of Phesdo, in the Mearns, in the vicinity of a Roman fort called the Green Castle.

A Coin, large brass, of Antoninus Pius.

1832. By J. G. WILKINSON, Esq.
 Feb. 13. *Materia Hieroglyphica*, by the Donor, 2 Parts and Appendix, 4to, Malta, 1828; with Atlas of Lithog. Plates.

By Monsieur MAUGON DE LA LAUDE, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., &c.
Essais Historiques sur les Antiquités de Département de la Haute Loire, by the Donor, 8vo, St Quentin, 1826.

By ROBERT ALLAN, Esq., Advocate.
 Several Specimens of Votive Offerings, of Terra Cotta, found with many others in excavating an ancient place of worship at Calvi, near Naples.

- Feb. 27. By GEORGE FOSTER HAY, Esq.
 A very curious Collection of Antiques, in Terra Cotta and Rock Crystal, brought by the Donor from Mexico.

By GEORGE MELVILLE, Esq., Jun.
Airs for the Flute, with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, published at Edinburgh 1735, and dedicated to Lady Garlies, by Alexander Baillie, the engraver of the work.

By ALEXANDER DOWNIE, Esq., Student of Divinity.
The Book of Common Prayer, in English and Irish, 8vo, London.

- Mar. 12. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem.
The History of Danish Poetry (in Danish), by Professors Nyerup and Rahbek, 5 vols. bound in 4, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1800-1819.

By DUNCAN STEWART, Esq.
The Moral Fables of Robert Henryson, reprinted from the edition of Andrew Hart, 4to, Edinburgh, 1883, being the Donor's contribution to the Maitland Club.
The Journal of Mr James Hart, one of the Commissioners deputed by the Church of Scotland to congratulate George I. on his Accession to the Throne of Great Britain, 1714, 4to, printed at Edinburgh 1832.

By RICHARD DUNCAN, Esq.
Notices and Documents, illustrative of the literary History of Glasgow during the greater part of last Century, 4to, Glasgow, 1831, being the Donor's contribution to the Maitland Club.

1832. By JAMES USHER, Esq.
 Mar. 12. A Roman Camp Kettle of bronze, found at Thirlestane Castle, near Lauder, Berwickshire, in 1830.
 A Roman Vessel of bronze, found at Quarryford, East Lothian, in 1829.
 Another Roman Camp Kettle, mutilated, found at Huntly Wood, near West Gordon, Berwickshire, in 1830.
 The Head of a small Axe or Securis of bronze, found on the property of William Oliver, Esq. of Langraw, Roxburghshire, in 1830.
- Mar. 26. By Mrs GREGORY, 10 Ainslie Place.
 A Drawing of the beautiful antique Golden Brooch, belonging to Sir William M'Leod Bannatyne, which was lately exhibited to the Society.
 By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Newcastle.
 Archæologia Æliana, Vol. II. Part 3, and last, 4to, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1832.
 By the SOCIETY OF ARTS, Edinburgh.
 Specimens of Lithographic Printing executed by Mr Samuel Leith, Lithographer, Banff, for which, *inter alia*, he obtained the Society's first lithographic prize this season.
- April 9. By Mrs GREGORY, 10 Ainslie Place.
 A Drawing of the curious antique Bowl, lately exhibited to the Society, belonging to Sir William M'Leod Bannatyne, and which has been for at least three centuries an heirloom in the family of Bannatyne of Kames.
 By GEORGE ROBERTSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Some Casts in plaster, from the ornaments of Elgin Cathedral.
 By Mr THORL. G. REPP, F.S.A. Scot.
 A Historical Treatise on Trial by Jury, Wager of Law, &c., formerly in use in Scandinavia and in Iceland, by the Donor, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832.
 By Mr T. MELVILLE, Jun., Raeburn Place.
 Discours de la Nature et des effets au Luxe, par le P. G. B. Rare, having been suppressed, 8vo, Turin, 1768.
- April 23. By Captain DENNISTON, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 The Battle of Craignilder, a very ancient Gallovidian Ballad, arranged for publication, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Donor, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832.

1832. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 April. 23. Deutsche Grammatik, von Jacob Grimm, 8vo, Goettingen, 1819.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 May 14. A Work by Professor Nyerup of Copenhagen on the popular Tales, &c., of Denmark and Norway, 8vo, Copenhagen.

By JOHN SMITH, Younger, Esq., Glasgow.
 Dec. 10. Extracts from the Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow from January 1573 to October 1580, 4to, Glasgow, 1832; being that gentleman's contribution to the Maitland Club, together with Casts of the Bishop's Seals.

By JOHN G. KINNEAR, Esq.
 "Hymns and Sacred Songs by Alexander Hume," being Mr Kinnear's second contribution to the Bannatyne Club, 4to, Edinburgh, 1832.

By WILLIAM MOTHERWELL, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 Scottish Proverbs, collected and arranged by Andrew Henderson, 4to, Glasgow, 1832.

By WILLIAM TETLEY, Esq., Banker, Thirsk.
 "An Universal History, with Maps and Chronological Tables," 7 vols. folio in 9, London, 1736.

By JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Recueil Général des Pieces obsidionales et de nécessité, et Recreations Numismatiques, par feu Tobiescu Duby, 4to, Paris, 1786, numerous Plates. And Francisci Haræi Annales Ducum seu Principum Brabantiae totiusque Belgii, folio, 3 vols. in 2, with Plates, Antwerp, 1623.

By JAMES CLELAND, Esq., LL.D., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark for the Census of 1831; with population and statistical Tables relative to England and Scotland, classified and arranged by the Donor, 2nd Edition, folio, Glasgow, 1832.

By JOHN RICKMAN, Esq., Clerk Assistant to the House of Commons.
 Population of Great Britain, 1801-1831, folio, London, 1832.

By THOMAS GORDON of Cairness, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 History of the Greek Revolution, by the Donor, 2 vols. 8vo, Maps, Edinburgh, 1832.

1832. By ANDREW DUN, Esq., W.S.

Dec. 10. Biblia integra Johannis Frobeni, 12mo, Basle, 1495.

Novum Testamentum Latinum, 12mo, cir. 1540.

The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reign of David I. to the Union of the two Kingdoms, by George Craufurd, Esq., folio, Edinburgh, 1726.

By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Junior, Esq., W.S.

A Genealogical Account of the Family of Johnston of that Ilk, formerly of Caskieben, by the Donor, 4to, Edinburgh, 1832.

By JAMES USHER, Esq., W.S.

A true Description of his Maiesties Royall Ship the Sovereign of the Seas, built at Woolwich in Kent 1637 (imperfect), 8vo, London, 1638. And two Coins, viz., an Edgar, found at Bonjedward (Anglo-Saxon), and a Robert, found at Jedburgh (Scottish).

By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, through WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Esq.

Vol. IV. Part 2, of their Transactions, 4to, Philadelphia, 1832.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Den af Hans Henrik Frost, Justitsraade, etc., efterlade Mynt og Medaille Samling, two Afdeling, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1826-1827.

By Monsieur HERAULT, Ingenieur en Chef au Corps Royal des Mines, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Tableau des Terrains du Department de Calvados, 8vo, Caen, 1832.

By WILLIAM KNIGHT, Esq., Resident Engineer to the New London Bridge.

Coloured Engraving, from a Drawing by the Donor, of the Old and New London Bridges.

By Mr JOHN GRAY, Edinburgh.

Box of Dutch Gold Weights, found in the ruins of an old house in Glasgow.

By COSMO INNES, Esq., Advocate.

Etchings by the Donor of the following Seals, viz. :—1. Countess of Ross, anno 1396. 2. Alexander de Yle Dominus Insularum et Rossie, 1440. 3. Johannis de Yle, Comes Rossie et Dominus Insularum, 1460.

1832. By the SECRETARY.

- Dec. 10. A rare Silver Denarius of the Emperor Macrinus, valued by Mionnet at four francs; legend, *obverse*—IMP. C. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINUS AUG.; *reverse*—JOVI CONSERVATORI. See "Mionnet de la Rareté" etc., p. 206.

By Captain DENNISTON, H.P. R.A. Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

A Groat of Robert III.

By GEORGE KINLOCH of Kinloch, Esq.

- A splendid Spear Head of bronze, found in the lands of Denhead, parish of Coupar-Angus; along with the Spear Head was found a short Sword, which was broken by the boys who discovered them. There was presented by the same gentleman an Arrow Head of bronze, found on his property of Blacklaw, parish of Bendochy.

By the Reverend JAMES INGLIS, Minister of Kirkoswald, Ayrshire.

- An ancient Military Weapon of bronze, supposed from its resemblance to one of the forms of the Malay Kris to have been a poniard or short sword. This was found in a flow-moss, about 3 feet under the surface, and among the remains of many large oak-trees on the farm of Rotten Moss or Moss-side, about half a mile westward from the ruins of Corseragwell Abbey.

By the Reverend Dr BRYCE of Calcutta, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

- A New Zealand Idol, rudely carved in wood.

1833. By ANDREW GRIEVE, Esq., W.S.

- Jan. 14. An antique bronze Seal, discovered some months ago among some rubbish near St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, being the Signet of one of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, and supposed to be of the fourteenth century; along with a fine impression of the Seal in red wax, legend (round the Holy Lamb and Pennon), S. AERNAVLDI LAMETH.

By W. B. D. D. TURNBULL, Esq., Advocate.

- The Blame of Kirke Buriall tending to persuade cemeteriall civilité, by Mr William Birnie, Minister of Lanark. Edited by the Donor, 4to, London, 1833.

By Professor C. C. RAFFN, Copenhagen.

- Faereyinga Saga eller Faeröboernes Historie i den Islandske Grundtext med Faeröisk og Danske oversættelser. Edited by the Donor, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1832.

1833. By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq. Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Jan. 14. Faerøiske Quaeder om Sigurd Fafnersbane og Hans Æt; med et Anhang; samlede og oversatte af Hans Christian Lyngbye, sognepraest i Sjesing; med en Indledning af P. C. Müller, Dr og Prof. i Theol., 8vo, 1822.

By Mr WILLIAM THOMSON, James Court, Lawnmarket.

The half of an iron Cannon Bullet, found about five years ago lodged in a cleft of the Castle Rock under the apartments of Queen Mary, weighing 8 lb. 6 oz., which had probably remained there since the attack on the Castle by Oliver Cromwell; also an Iron Grape Shot, found in 1825 on the field of Sheriffmuir.

Jan. 28. By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF FRANCE.

The Mémoires of that learned Body, Vol. IX., 8vo, Paris, 1832, with folio Atlas of Lithog. Plates.

By the ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, &c., Bordeaux.

Procés Verbal of the Public Meeting of that Academy, 5th July 1832, with continuation of their Mémoires, 8vo, Bordeaux, 1832.

By Monsieur HERAULT, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Four Roman Imperial Denarii, silver, found in the forest of Gouffern near Argentan, Dept. de l'Orne, three of them being of Antoninus Pius, and the fourth of Hadrian.

By Captain H. L. RICHARDS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Impression of a brass ecclesiastical Seal in the best preservation, lately found in repairing the parish church of Bodmin, in Cornwall; legend, SIGILLUM FRIS, JOHANNES DE LAPOBIA. Also a number of Coins, Roman, Egyptian, British, Spanish, Dutch, French, North American, Brazilian, Buenos Ayrean, in all thirty-seven; collected from various sources, as detailed in the Captain's letter accompanying his Donations.

By FRANCIS CAMERON, Esq.

A curious old Arm Chair, principally composed of straw and rope, which according to tradition, as given in Mr Cameron's letters, was used by Oliver Cromwell when dwelling in the house of Mr Riddell, an opulent merchant in Leith.

By J. G. BURTON, Esq., Advocate.

A Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain; by William Burton, Batchelor of Lawes, folio, London, 1658.

1833. By the Reverend W. J. D. WADDILOVE of Bracon Grange, Corr.
Feb. 11. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Thirty-eight Anglo-Saxon Coins, being a specimen of upwards of 10,000 of these coins found in a metal casket in the churchyard of Hexham, in the month of October last; together with a full descriptive catalogue of those sent, a drawing of the casket with measurements; and a fragment of the casket itself. Also a series of the Coinage of Charles III., King of Spain.

By W. WARING HAY, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

An antique Bronze Chain Bracelet or Clasp, supposed to be Monastic, found in the ruins of the Cistercian Convent near Haddington, commonly called the Abbey.

By Lieutenant C. SHAW, H.P., R.A.

Commission of Adjutant in the 60th Regiment to his father Alexander Shaw, dated at Head Quarters on Staater Island, 6th October, 1761 and signed "JEFF AMHERST."

License by Field Marshal Wade, dated at Inverness 8th August 1737, to Thomas Shaw in Kinrara, to wear a gun, sword, and pistol, on the recommendation of the Laird of Mackintosh.

Bank Note by George Keller and Company, Merchants in Glasgow for £6 Scots., or 10s. sterling, dated Glasgow, 3rd October 1764. Also Annual Report of the Naval and Military Library and Museum, London, 1832.

By ROBERT BALD, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Wooden Lock of ingenious contrivance and of considerable antiquity, from the Island of North Ronaldsay, in Orkney.

By THOMAS GORDON of Cairness, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Feb. 25. Two Silver Coins of the Order of Ægina, one of them having the device of a Land and the other that of a Water Tortoise. They were found in 1823, with about 3000 others, in a cave in the Island of Elis.

By JOHN GORDON of Cairnbulg, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Cast from a curious old Bronze Crucifix, richly wrought, found in the Abbey of Aberbrothock.

By the ST VIGEAN'S LODGE OF FREEMASONS, ABERBROTHOCK.

An antique ecclesiastical Seal, discovered upwards of sixty years ago in the Abbey of Aberbrothock, which in terms of a minute of the St Vigean's Lodge, has been deposited in the Museum through Alexander Macdonald, Esq., Arbroath, to be returned upon demand by the Master and Wardens at any time hereafter. Legend on the Seal, "S. D. W. MATH. MONAC. D. ABERBROTHOC;" that is, "Sigillum Domini W. (Wilhelmi) Matthei (son of Matthew) Monaci de Aberbrothoc."

1833. By WILLIAM AULD, Esq., 67 Great King Street.

Feb. 25. A Cannon Ball about 7 inches in diameter, which was fired from Edinburgh Castle in 1715, and lodged in the barn-door of Mr Shiells, farmer, Broughton; thus passing over the site of the present New Town, and supposed to have been directed against some straggling Highlanders from the Rebel Encampment at Leith.

By the COMMITTEE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

Mar. 11. A Diurnal of remarkable Occurents that have passed within Scotland since the death of King James IV. till the year 1575. From a manuscript of the 16th century, in the possession of Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Bart., printed for the Club, 4to, Edinburgh, 1883.

By Mr GREGORY, Secretary.

The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, containing descriptions of their scenery and antiquities, &c., in Letters to Sir Walter Scott. By John M'Culloch, M.D., F.R.S., &c., 4 vols. 8vo, London, 1824.

By THOMAS HAMMOND, Esq., through JOHN ANDREW, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Four Imperial Roman Denarii (Silver), viz., Vitellius, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius—all in tolerable preservation.

By the Honourable the BARONS OF EXCHEQUER.

Mar. 25. An antique Seal or Private Signet of one of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, which was found some months ago in digging a drain across the Parliament Square. The Seal is made of bronze, and has this inscription round the Lamb and Pennon, the well-known badge of the Order of St John "S. ARNAULDI LAMETH." *N.B.* The above Seal was on a former evening of this session presented to the Society by Andrew Grieve, Esq., W.S., by whom it had been purchased from the finder, and to whom the thanks of the Society were formerly returned; but was reclaimed from the Society by the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, in order to vindicate the right of the Crown to articles found in the above manner. This point having been obtained, the Barons directed the Seal to be placed in the Museum of the Society.

By Mr WILLIAM TURNBULL, Bridgend, Dalkeith.

A large ancient Stone Hammer or Axe, found by John Turnbull, forester, while making a drain on the estate of Alexander Gordon, Esq. of Deebank, near Kirkcudbright. Also a quantity of Charred Wheat from the Lake of Dalswinton, where an immense mass of this substance has been lately discovered.

1833. By the Right Honourable the EARL OF GLASGOW.
 April 8. Registrum Monasterii de Passelet, 4to, Edinburgh, 1832, being his Lordship's contribution to the Maitland Club.

By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Esq.

Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax, 4to, Edinburgh, 1833, being that gentleman's contribution to the Maitland Club.

By Monsieur THEODORE LICQUET of Rouen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 Rouen Précis de son Histoire, &c., 4to, Rouen, 1831.

By WILLIAM TROTTER, Esq. of Ballindean, F.S.A. Scot.

The Cap worn by Sir Walter Scott, when a member of the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry, with a note detailing how this relic came into his possession.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Casts in Sulphur of the following Seals from the original impressions attached to Deeds in the Charter Chest at Monymusk, Aberdeenshire:—

S. Villielmi Forbes de Corsende, 1557.

S. Ro (Forbes) Commendatarii de Monymos, 1585.

S. Adami Gordoune (of Auchindoun), 1571.

S. D. Tome Gordone (of Cluny), 1592.

S. Johannis Urrie (bearing a lion rampant crowned), 1597.

S. Gilberte (?) Colleson (of Aberdeen), 1574.

Obverse and reverse—Sigillum commune Monasterii de Monymusk, 1586.

S. Commune domus Sci Westan Juxta Saltii, taken from a recent impression in sealing wax.

Sulphur Casts of a Gold Coin which was found in digging a grave in the Churchyard of Monymusk, 1823, and which, according to Mr Marsden, the learned author of *Numismata Orientalia*, to whom an impression of it was sent, appears to be a coin of Yûsuf ben Tâshfin, (conqueror of Alphonso VI., king of Castile and Leon, in 1086), of the Morabelin or Almoravid dynasty of Africa and Spain, whose reign commenced in A.D. 1069. The coin was struck at Morocco A.D. 1097.

Copy of a Charter of Resignation by Robert Bruce, dated at Berwick-upon-Tweed 16th November, 21st year of his reign, 1327, "Rogerio filio Findlai," of the Barony of Drumeiller (Drumelzier) "quæ fuit Willelmi Fraser Militis," from the original Charter now at Monymusk.

1833. Copy, Bond of Friendship and Alliance, dated at Belchastell (in Strathspey)
 April 8. 1st November 1590, between John Earl of Athole, James Earl of Murray, Symon Lord Fraser of Lovitt, John Grant of Freuchuie, John Campbell of Calder, Thomas Stewart of Grantullie, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurcus, Sutherland of Duffus, and Archibald Grant of Bellinlone, predecessors of the Grants, Baronets of Monymusk.
- May 20. By JAMES M. HOG, PATRICK F. TYTLER, and ADAM URQUHART, Esqs.
 Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland 1689-1691, by Major-General Hugh Mackay, commander of His Majesty's forces; with an Appendix of original Papers, 4to, Edinburgh, 1833, being the contribution of those gentlemen to the Bannatyne Club.
- By the COMMITTEE OF THE MAITLAND CLUB.
 The Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Part I., 4to, Edinburgh, 1833.
- By Lieutenant CLAUDIUS SHAW, H.P., R.A., F.S.A. Scot.
 A portion of an Elk's Horn, bearing marks of artificial cutting, and found three years ago 13 or 14 feet below the surface of Church Street, Inverness.
- By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq.
 Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Philosophiske og Historiske Aftandlinger, 1st and 2nd vols., 4to, Copenhagen, 1823-24. (Transactions of the Danish Royal Society.)
- By the Reverend WILLIAM NICOL, Jedburgh.
 Two Groats of James V. and a small Silver Coin of Henry VIII., turned up, with a considerable quantity of the same kind, by the plough on the farm of Sconie, near Jedburgh.
- By the Reverend ANDREW SMALL.
 A portion of Roman Cement, from the station at Caerpow, in Strathearn.
- June 3. By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.
 Archæologia, Vol. XXIV., 4to, London, 1832.
- By (the late) Professor RASK of Copenhagen, Honorary Member S.A. Scot.
 The following works by the illustrious Donor in the Danish Language:—
 On the Doctrine of Singalese Letters, 8vo, Colombo, 1821.
 Lappish Grammar, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1832.
 Northern Anthology, 8vo, *ibid.*
 Norse (*i.e.*, Icelandic) Grammar, 8vo, *ibid.*
 Commentatio de pleno systemate sibilantium in linguis montanis (*i.e.*, Armenias, Ibericis, &c.), 4to, *ibid.*
 On the Etymological Part of English Grammar for Danes, 8vo, *ibid.*

1833. By GEORGE SHAW, Esq., Saddleworth.

June 3. Cast in Sulphur of a Roman Fibula, found at the Station of Castle Shaw, in Saddleworth.

By Lieutenant-Colonel G. MILLER, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Various Fragments of Pottery, some of them glazed, found in and adjoining to two cairns recently discovered within about 300 yards of Merlsford, on the river Eden, Fifeshire, with the fragment of an iron spear head, and of what appears to have been a small fibula of bronze.

By JAMES TOD GOODSIR, Esq., Dep. Assist. Commissary-General, New South Wales.

The Skull of a New Zealand Chief; also the following Curiosities from the South Sea Islands, viz., two Wooden Barbed Spears; another Wooden Spear of great length, armed in a singular and most formidable manner with shark's teeth; and two large and beautifully carved Paddles.

By Sir THOMAS D. LAUDER, Bart.

The Fragments of a Wooden Platter, found 5 feet below the surface on the farm of Dall, parish of Abernethy, in casting a drain, 1825.

By JAMES STEWART MENTEITH, Esq.

The Sole of a Roman Sandal, found at the Station Alione, near Whitlow, in the parish of Kirkhaugh, Northumberland, where many other Roman remains have lately been found.

Dec. 9. By PATRICK ROBERTSON, Esq., Advocate.

Lord Eldin's MS. Parliament House Book.

By Mr STEWART, Junior, Blair Manse.

An ancient Highland Dirk, found in an old wall, in the village of Balluan, and parish of Blair Athole, in the month of June 1832.

By the ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS OF STOCKHOLM.

Volumes X. to XIII. inclusive, Diplomatarum Suecanum et Runlara.

By Mr ROBERT CHAMBERS.

Instructions to be observed by the Officers of Excise, printed at Edinburgh, 1707.

1833. By GEORGE KINLOCH, Esq.
 Dec. 9. Babel, a satirical Poem on the General Assembly of 1602, by the celebrated Dr Archibald Pitcairn, being Mr Kinloch's contribution to the Maitland Club.
 Appendix to the Prefatory Notice to Mr James Melville's Diary.

By JOHN A. CAMPBELL, Esq.

A Headpiece or Helmet, dug out of a mound in the Citadel of North Leith, adjoining a row of houses which were formerly used as barracks in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

1834. By ROBERT TYTLER, Esq., M.D.
 Jan. 13. Three Silver and sixty-three Copper Hindu Coins.
 An Inquiry into the Origin and Principles of Budaic Sabaism or Adoration addressed to the Almighty, &c., printed at Calcutta, 4to, 1817; and the Copper Plates from which the illustrations of this Volume were taken, four in number.

By PETER CLARK, Esq., Auchterarder.

A printed Declaration signed "Mar," by order of James R., stating "that it was absolutely necessary for our service and the public safety that the villages of Auchterarder and Blackford should be burned and destroyed," and calling upon persons concerned to prepare estimates of their several losses and sufferings.

- Jan. 27. By Colonel GORDON of Cairness, F.S.A. Scot., through Mr GORDON of Cairnbulg, F.S.A. Scot.
 Description of ancient Coins from his own cabinet, illustrated by fourteen engravings on stone, containing nearly 120 specimens, beautifully executed by Mr Leith, Banff.

By JOHN ANDERSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Danish Coin, and Fourpenny Piece of George II.

- Feb. 10. By Lieutenant-Colonel GEORGE POLLOK, C.B., Bengal Artillery.
 Two Burmese MS. Books, one of which was taken from the Bundoolah's house at Donabuc, and the other taken at Pagham Mew.

By ANDREW DUN, Esq., W.S.

A Medal of Louis XV., struck in 1732.

1834.
Feb. 24.

By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES OF COPENHAGEN.

Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed, being the Transactions of that Society, 1st vol. in 2 parts, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1832-33.

Vejledning til akra sproget tha Kysten Ginea med et Tillæg om akvambuisk, by R. Rask, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1828.

Singalesisk Skriftlaere, by Rask, 8vo, Kolombo, 1821.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Member.

An Etching of Antiquities found in stone coffins in Chichester Cathedral in 1829, in which two Bishops of that See had been interred in the 12th Century. Also an Etching of an Inscription, engraved on lead, found in September 1830 in the Burial Ground of Chichester Cathedral, where Godfredus, 2nd Bishop of Chichester, was interred.

By the Reverend ALAN STEWART, Minister of Kineff, through G. L. DOUGLAS, Esq., Sheriff of Kincardineshire.

A Vase with a number of Bronze Rings of various sizes, two of them entire, the rest in fragments, with a Spear Head of bronze, found in 1831 in trenching a field on the top of a cliff near the site of the old Castle of Kineff.

By Mr JOHN FORD, Manchester.

Six Numbers of a Series of Views of old Halls and Castles in Lancashire and Cheshire, from drawings by N. G. Philips, Esq.; with a portrait of the late Mr W. Ford, his father.

By PETER BUCHAN, Esq., Peterhead.

A succinct Survey of the famous City of Aberdeen, being a reprint of a work under that title printed at Aberdeen in 1685.

By JAMES DENNISTOUN, Esq., younger of Dennistoun.

Extract from a Notarial Protocol Book belonging to the Burgh of Dumbar-ton, regarding a conference between the burghs of Renfrew and Dumbar-ton for the settlement of certain disputes betwixt them.

An Account of the Expedition to destroy the Boats on Loch Lomond in 1715.

By Mr THOMSON, 6 James Court.

An old Carved Candlestick of Wood, which was used by Lady Fraser of Lovat when she resided in Blackfriars Wynd.

1834. By A. T. IRVINE, Esq., Schivas.
 Mar. 10. A Bronze Sword, found in a bog 7 feet below the surface at Schivas, Aberdeenshire.

By Lieutenant-Colonel MILLER.

Some fragments dug up at Carpow, the supposed site of the city of Victoria, one of which has the appearance of this inscription V.I.C., and is supposed by Colonel Miller to be part of the name of Victoria.

By R. CHAMBERS, Esq.

Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion 1745. Edited by R. Chambers, Esq.

- Mar. 24. By H. HOME DRUMMOND, Esq. of Blair Drummond.
 Facsimile of a Stone on the west parapet of the Bridge of Teith, from which it appeared that the Bridge had been erected in 1535, by Robert Spittal, Taylor to the Maist Royal Princess Margaret.

- April 28. By Mr GREGORY, Joint-Secretary.

Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, by G. Brunton and D. Haig, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832.

Catalogue of Scottish Writers, printed from Wodrow's MSS. and Literary Correspondence, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1833.

Some remarkable Passages in the Life of John Spreull, Town Clerk of Glasgow, 1635-1664, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832.

The Autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald, Knight, with some account of the MSS., 8vo, Edinburgh, 1833.

Memoirs by James Burns, Bailie of the City of Glasgow, 1644-1661, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832.

- May 19. By Professor TRAILL, of Edinburgh.

The fragments of a Sepulchral Urn of Stone, of very large size, found in Orkney. The bottom of it was broken by a pick axe at the time of the discovery. Its mouth and sides were then entire, but have since been broken. It measured 6 feet in circumference at the mouth. Its form was singular, measuring 2 feet in its widest diameter and 1 foot 8 inches in another. Its sides were 1½ inches thick. The tumulus near the surface of which it was found is called Wilkie's Knowe, and is on the property of George Traill, Esq. of Holland.

- Dec. 22. By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES COPENHAGEN.
 Their Transactions, Vol. II. Part 1, 8vo, Copenhagen, 1833.
 Færeyinga Saga, in Icelandic, with Translations in the Færoese, Danish, and German Languages, royal 8vo, Copenhagen, 1883.

1834.
Dec. 22. By Monsieur LECOINTRE DUPONT of Alençon, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Letter of Louis XIV. to the Marechal de Catinat, 2nd November 1693, with facsimile of a long postscript Autograph of his Majesty. Lith. Alençon, 1832, from the original.

By the IONA CLUB.

Their Transactions, Vol. II. Part 1, Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, edited by the Club. Vol. I. Part 1, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1834.

By the Reverend WILLIAM LEVEN, M.A., Junior Minister of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam.

The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam, &c., 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832, by the Donor.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.

Archæologia, Vol. XXV. 4to, London, 1834.

By the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Population Abstracts, 3 vols. folio, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 2nd April 1833.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NORMANDY.

Their Memoirs, Vol. V. and VI., 8vo, Caen, 1830-33, with corresponding Atlases of folio Plates in Lithography.

By Monsieur DE CAUMONT, Secretary, S.A. Normandy, and Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Congrès Scientifiques de France, Premier Session, tenue à Caen en Juillet, 1833, 8vo, Rouen, 1833.

By Monsieur C. N. ALLON, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Etudes sur les Casques du Moyen Age, Première Partie, 8vo, Paris, 1833, by the Donor.

By Monsieur ED. LAMBERT of Bayeux.

Mémoire sur un Piedestal Antique de Marbre connu sous le nom de marbre de Torigny, Plates in Lithog., 8vo, Bayeux, by the Donor.

1834. By the MAITLAND CLUB.

Dec. 22. Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and most eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland, by the Reverend Robert Wodrow, printed from his MSS. with Appendix and Notes to Vol. I. (in two parts), Glasgow, 1834.

By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Their Transactions (New Series), Vol. IV. Part 3, 4to, Philadelphia, 1834.

By Mr WILLIAM SMITH, Senior, Montrose.

A Vase of red clay, one of four of the same description, found in April 1833, below the foundation of the old steeple in Montrose, beside the skeleton of a human body, two of them being at each side of the head, and two near the feet.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Taylor's and Skinner's Survey and Maps of the Roads of Scotland, London, 1776.

Some Remarks on the Taste and Effects of collecting fragments of ancient Architecture, in a letter addressed to the Marquis of Lansdowne, by William Twopenny, Esq., 8vo, London, 1832.

The Trial of Captain John Porteous, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, 8vo, London, 1736.

In Hundrad Silfurs cum Kristni Saga, Hafn. 1773, editum per G. P., 8vo.

Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence displayed, or the Folly of their Teaching discovered, from their books, sermons, and prayers, &c., 12mo, London, 1748.

Memoirs of the Life of John Gordon of Glencat, Aberdeenshire; by John Gordon, A.M., 12mo, London, 1734.

Stammbäume der Nordischen Götter Göttinen, entwerfen, von Fred. Dav. Graeter, Lithog.

A Medal struck on the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Francis the Second of France in 1558. Struck in copper from the original die preserved in the Mint at Paris.

A Four Double and a One Double Piece (of copper) of Guernsey.

By the Reverend JOHN JAMIESON, D.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Remarks on the Antiquity of the earliest Scottish Coins now extant, 4to, London, 1834.

By GEORGE MEIKLE, Esq., M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Two Indian (Hindoo) Idols and nine Sacred Paintings, highly ornamented.

1835. By THOMAS THOMSON, Esq., President of the Bannatyne Club.

Jan. 12. Instrumenta Publica sive Processus super fidelitatibus et homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliæ factis, A.D. 1291-1296. Presented to the Bannatyne Club by the Right Honourable William Adam and the Right Honourable Sir Samuel Shepherd, 4to, Edinburgh, 1834.

By Mr FORREST, Auctioneer, Edinburgh.

A large antique Table of Oak.

By Mr R. GILFILLAN.

Mr Switzer's Dissertation on the Cythisus of the Ancients, 8vo, London, 1731.

Jan. 26. By the MAITLAND CLUB.

Their Miscellany, Part II. 4to, Glasgow, 1834.

By T. Y. ACKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A. London.

A descriptive Catalogue of rare and inedited Roman Coins, by the Donor, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1834.

Feb. 9. By Lieutenant SHAW, F.S.A. Scot.

A Seal found by him lately on the Island of Lochleven, and bearing the arms of Douglas of Lochleven.

Feb. 23. By MOSES STEVEN, Esq. of Polmadie.

Illustrations of Scottish History from the 12th to the 16th Century, from MSS. in the British Museum and Tower of London, 4to (L.P.), Glasgow, 1834.

By Dr RAMSAY, 15 Melville Street.

A very singular antique Copper Vase, in the shape of a twenty equal-sided crystal, said to have been found in the foundation of the New London Bridge.

By Mr DOUGLAS, Shipmaster, Leith.

A Fragment of a Shell, thrown from that very remarkable military engine, the Monster Mortar of Antwerp, into the citadel, during the siege of 1832.

1835. By THOMAS SUTHER, Esq., Raeburn Place.
 Mar. 23. Four rare Tracts, being—1st, a Warning Piece to the General Council of the Army, printed at the Crown in Pope's Head Alley, 1659.
 2nd, The Parliament's Plea, printed in the year 1659.
 3rd, The Declaration of the Officers of the Army opened, examined, and condemned, printed in the year 1659.
 4th, The Legacy of John Wilmer, citizen and late merchant of London, printed at London, 1692.

By W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq.

A Piece of ornamented Leather, from the hangings of Culross Abbey.

By the SOCIETY.

Part I. of the New Series of Vol. V. of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia.

By Mr THOMAS THORPE, Bedford Street, London.

Descriptive Catalogue of Battle Abbey Charters, Grants, and Deeds now on Sale.

By JAMES SWAN, Esq., W.S.

Two original Manuscript Volumes (found in the repositories of the late Mr Hamilton Bell, W.S.), of the earlier Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

April 13. By JOHN BRITTON, Esq., F.A.S. London.

Nos. 1, 2, 3 of his History and Description of the late Houses of Parliament, and a Portrait of the Author.

April 27. By JOHN GRAHAM DALZELL, Esq.

A brief Analysis of the Chartularies of the Abbey of Cambuskeneth, Chapel Royal of Stirling, and Preceptory of St Anthony at Leith.

By Sir PATRICK WALKER, Knight.

Letters to King James the Sixth, from the Queen, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth and her husband, and from their son Prince Frederick Henry; from the originals in the Advocate's Library.

1836. By Lieutenant-General AINSLIE.

Jan. 25. Nine Duplicates, from the General's Cabinet of Anglo-French Coins, with the respective values marked by the Donor.

1836. By Captain DENNISTON, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot, Creetown.
 Jan. 25. Two Silver Coins of Edward I., II., or III., found on the farm of Glassnock, in the parish of Kirkcowan. Also a military Instrument used for various purposes called the *Petronel*, used by cavalry, and bearing the date 1607.

By JOHN ANDERSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Seven original Presentations by the Lovat Family to Altarages at Inverness.

By JOHN CUMMING, Esq., 11 Great King Street, Edinburgh.

A Dutch New Testament of the early part of the 17th Century, with all the Psalms set to Music, 12mo, Amsterdam.

By J. W. MACKENZIE, Esq.

Philotus, a Comedy, reprinted from an edition of Robert Charteris, being Mr Mackenzie's contribution to the Bannatyne Club, 4to, Edinburgh, 1836.

By ALEXANDER MACGRIGOR, Esq., Glasgow.

Reports on the State of certain Parishes in Scotland, in pursuance of an Ordinance in 1627, 4to, Edinburgh, 1835, being Mr MacGrigor's contribution to the Maitland Club.

By the Honourable the BARONS OF EXCHEQUER.

Two Silver Pennies of Alexander III.; Three of Edward I.; Three of Edward I. or III.; Five of Edward I.; Seven of Edward II. and two of Edward III.; found about a year ago in an old quarry at Stanley, in Perthshire.

By ROBERT ALLAN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Two ancient Sling Stones, found in Calabria.
 Part of a Spade dug up at Pompeii in 1830, to the iron of which ashes are still attached.

By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF FRANCE.

Mémoires et Dissertations publiées par la Société, Nouvelle Serie, Tom. 1^{er}, 8vo, Paris, 1835, Plates in Lithog.

By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN.

Historisch Antiquarische Mittheilungen, &c., 8vo, Copenhagen, 1835, Plates.

1836. By ALEXANDER GROTE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., one of the Editors.
 Feb. 8. Mackenzie's Grievances and Oppression of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland.
 Svo, Edinburgh, 1836. Reprint of the work originally in 1750.

Mar. 14. By the COUNCIL OF THE IONA CLUB.
 Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Part III.; and Transactions of the Iona Club,
 Part II*a*.

By Mr THOMAS PLEWS, Druggist, Edinburgh.
 An ancient Bronze Brooch (one of two found with a skeleton near North-
 allerton), nearly similar to two pairs of Brooches in the Society's Museum,
 and supposed to be Scandinavian.

Dec. 12. By Monsieur A. DEVILLE, Corresponding Member of the Society.
 Histoire du Chateau et des Sires de Tancarville.

By the COMMITTEE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB.
 The Bannatyne Club Miscellany, Vol. II., and Nichol's Diary; both lately
 printed by that Club.

By WILLIAM SMELLIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Two Specimens of the Vitrified Fort of Craig Phadrig.

By GEORGE STEUART, Esq.
 Some Coins, chiefly Italian.

By WILLIAM SWANSON, Esq., Edinburgh.
 A Copper Medal, representing the Taking of Portobello.

By ———
 A Case of Poisoned Arrows.

By THOMAS INGLIS, Esq.
 A Pair of Indian Mocassins, worked by a young Indian Girl.

By JOHN YONGE ACKERMAN, F.S.A.
 The Numismatic Journal, Parts I. and II., edited by him.

By J. G. WILKINSON, Esq.
 A Copy of his Survey of Thebes and the Pyramids.

1836. By ANDREW DUNN, Esq.
Dec. 22. A Sepulchral Urn, found in the parish of Cairnie, Aberdeenshire.
1837. By the SECRETARY, W. F. SKENE, Esq.
April 10. A Copy of his work on the Highlanders of Scotland, in 2 vols. 8vo.
- By Captain HUGH STUART, R.N.
An Idol of Green Stone (Tiki-tiki), from New Zealand.
- By Dr HUIE, F.S.A. Scot.
A Roman Coin.
- May 2. By KIRKMAN FINLAY Esq. of Castle Toward.
"Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts in the College of Arms and the British Museum, illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, 1543-1568," 1 vol. 4to, being the Donor's contribution to the Maitland Club.
- By Dr HUIE, F.S.A. Scot.
A Chinese Firescreen, containing a characteristic painting on marble of beautiful execution.
1838. By Her Majesty's COURT OF EXCHEQUER, through Mr HENDERSON,
Jan. 22. the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer.
Two Foreign Dollars, dated 1622, 1663, found in the county of Elgin.
A Gold Roman Coin of the Emperor Trajan, found in a moss near Dumfries.
A Copper Pin, found in a moss in the parish of Inverkeillor, in Angus.
A French Coin, found at Sheriffbrae, Leith.
A Silver Coin of William the Lyon, found in the shire of Peebles.
A Silver Coin of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.
A Medal of Remus and Romulus, struck at Nuremberg in the year 1615; another Nuremberg Coin, and an old French Copper Coin, found in digging the foundation of the Statue of King Charles the Second in Parliament Square.
Three Silver Pennies of Edward the — of England, and one of Alexander the Third of Scotland, found in Wigtownshire.
Twenty small Coins, chiefly billon and copper, of Mary Queen of Scots, found at Montrose.
Twenty-three Gold Coins of the reigns of King James the First and King James the Second of Scotland, part of a parcel found in 1815, near the House of Cadder, in the shire of Lanark.
Thirty-eight Silver Pennies of various reigns.
A Silver Penny of the reign of Alexander the Third of Scotland.

1838. A massive Silver Chain, weighing about ninety-three ounces, found in Jan. 22. digging the Caledonian Canal, in the year 1808.

Two Gold Nobles of the Kings Richard the Second and Edward the Third of England, lately found in the Cathedral of Glasgow.

The Head of an ancient Battle-Axe, lately found in Sutherland.

One hundred Copper Coins, chiefly in the reign of King James the Second of Scotland.

By JAMES ALLAN MACONOCHE, Esq., the Sheriff of Orkney and Shetland.

An ancient Pundlar Weight, used by the county of Orkney.

By the late Sir DAVID ERSKINE of Dryburgh, Knight, F.S.A. Scot.

A Sextant, inscribed with the name of Thomas Lord Erskine, the Lord High Chancellor of England, and used by that nobleman when he was a midshipman in the Royal Navy of Great Britain.

By the Reverend ALEXANDER GRAY, D.D., Minister in Kincardine, in Perthshire.

A Set of ancient Fetters, found in the year 1827 by Hall Pringle when he was improving the field in front of the farmhouse of Hatton, in the parish of Largo, and in the neighbourhood of Lundie House, and of the Castle of Pitcreevie, in Fife.

By Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL, Knight, Senior Vice-President of the Society.

Three ancient Brass Weights.

By J. DENNISTOUN, Esq., Captain to L. M.

Two Silver Pennies, found on the Farm of Glassnoch, in the parish of Kirkcowan, Wigtownshire.

By the COMMITTEE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

Davidis Buchanani de Scriptoribus Scotis Libri duo nunc primum editi, Edinburgh, 1837, 4to.

By GEORGE MACINTOSH, Esq., the younger of Campsie.

Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland, printed for the Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1837, 4to.

By the FYENS STIFTS LITTERGERE SELSKAB.

Stemmer fra Den Danske Kirkes Reformationen Tid. Odense, 1836, 4to.

1838. By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
 Jan. 22. The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. V. Part 3,
 Philadelphia, 1837, 4to.

By M. ACHILLE JUBINAL, Membre de la S.R. des Antiquaires de
 France.

Un Sermon en vers (Siècle XIII^e), publié pour la première fois; par M.
 Achille Jubinal, Paris, 1834, 8vo.

Le Sermon de Guichard de Beaulieu (XIII^e Siècle), publié pour la première
 fois, Paris, 1834, 8vo.

Specimens of a forthcoming work, "Les Anciennes Tapisseries."

By the SOCIÉTÉ ROYAL D'AGRICULTURE ET DE COMMERCE DE
 CAEN.

Memoires de la Société Royale d'Agriculture et de Commerce de Caen,
 Tome IV^e, Caen, 1834, 8vo.

Extract des seances de la Société depuis 1831, jusqu'an 1836, Caen, 1836,
 8vo.

By WILLIAM DUNCAN, Esq., Castlegate, Aberdeen.

Description of the Coast between Aberdeen and Leith, by the Donor,
 Aberdeen, 1837, 8vo.

By J. Y. ACKERMAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

The Numismatic Journal, Number IV., April 1837, London, 8vo.

By CHARLES ERSKINE, Esq., Broomrig, Dollar.

The Caledonian Mercury, of 14th June 1733.

By Dr RICHARDSON, Bedford Square, London, and NICHOLAS
 CARLISLE, Esq., F.S.A., Somerset Place, Strand, the Executors
 of the late Reverend ROBERT BLAIR, D.D., Rector of Burton,
 Saint Andrews, in the county of Norfolk, and Member of this
 Society.

A Work in Spanish, "Theatro Critico Universal," in 9 vols. small quarto.

Feb. 19. By His Grace the DUKE OF SUTHERLAND.

"Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis e pluribus Codicibus consarcinatum
 circa A.D. MCCC, cum continuatione diplomatum recentiorum usque ad
 A.D. MDCXXIII, Edinburgh, MDCCCXXXVII," one vol. in quarto, being his
 Grace's contribution to the Bannatyne Club.

1838. By Lady HASTINGS, through HENRY JARDINE, Esq.
Feb. 19. A Burmese Violin.
- Mar. 19. By W. B. D. D. TURNBULL, Esq., one of the Secretaries for the
Foreign Correspondence of this Society.
Via Appia Illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuam, 1 vol.
- By WILLIAM COURTHOPE, Esq.
Synopsis of the extinct Baronetage of England, containing the date of the
creation, with the succession of Baronets and their respective marriages
and time of death; by the Donor, London, 1835, 1 vol. 8vo.
- By JAMES IVORY, Esq.
The Seven Sages in Scottish Metre, by John Rolland of Dalkeith, Edin-
burgh; reprinted (1837) from the Edition of 1578, being the Donor's
contribution to the Bannatyne Club.
- April 23. By Lieut.-Gen. AINSLIE, F.S.A. Scot.
Impression of an Anglo-French Coin (Silver), of Richard I. of England,
struck at Issondun, Berri, France, 1195.
- By JOHN STUART, Esq., Advocate, Aberdeen.
Stone Vessel, found near a Druidical Circle in the farm of Crookmore, Aber-
deenshire, parish of Tullynessle.
- By Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.
An old Weight, found by a workman in a well near the Canongate Church-
yard, on Friday 20th April 1838.
- By Mr WARING HAY; DAVID LAING, Esq., the Treasurer of
the Society; WILSON DOBIE WILSON, Esq.; ALEX. MAC-
DONALD, Esq., the Curator; ALEX. G. GROAT of Newhall,
Esq.; Dr KEITH; Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL; CHARLES
KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, Esq.; JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq.
A Cast in Plaster of Paris of the sculptured Representation of the Murder
of Archbishop Sharp, on the monument of that Prelate at St Andrews.
- June 4. By DAVID MANUEL, Esq., St Andrew Square.
A Pair of ancient Spurs, said to have belonged to Archbishop Sharp.

1838. By the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.
 June 4. The Seventeenth Volume of their Transactions.
- By W. B. D. D. TURNBULL, Esq., one of the Foreign Secretaries of
 the Society.
 Engraving of an Inscription found at Babylon.
- By JOHN BRITTON, Esq.
 History and Description of Cassiobury Park, 1 vol.
- By W. B. D. D. TURNBULL, Esq.
 Fragment of Oak Lintel.
- By ARTHUR BURNETT, Esq., Advocate.
 An ancient Iron Candlestick, long preserved in a farmhouse in Dumfries-
 shire, and said to have been used by King Robert the Bruce.
- By Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.
 A Bust of Sir John Graham Dalyell, one of the Vice-Presidents of this
 Society.
- By M. DE PLANCHE, through JAMES LOGAN.
 Suite des Etudes sur les armes et armoires de Moyen Age.
1839. By EDWARD W. A. DRUMMOND HAY, Esq., Consul-General to the
 Jan. 28. Empire of Morocco.
 Six Sculptured Stones, from the ruins of a palace of the ancient Yncas of
 Peru.
 One large flat Sculptured Stone, a fragment of Moorish antiquity.
- By the AUTHOR.
 Ancient Scottish Melodies, from a Manuscript of the reign of James VI.,
 by William Dauney, Esq., Advocate, 1 vol. 4to, Edinburgh, 1838.
- By Captain DAVID MACADAM, Royal Marines.
 A large Urn and several other Specimens of ancient Pottery, found at
 Athens in 1836.
- By Captain M'KERLIE, of the Ordnance Department, Edinburgh
 Castle.
 A large Sculptured Stone, from the ruins of an ancient gate in the Castle.

1839. By Mr JOHN MENZIES, Potterrow, Edinburgh.

- Jan. 28. A Pair of old Jack-Boots, supposed to be of the time of Charles the First; the heels, apparently of leather, are of oak cased over with leather; see oak pegs recently put in.
- A number of Provincial Copper Coins, issued by different individuals from 1790 to 1820.
- A Piece of the old Yew Tree in the Churchyard of Fortingall, in Perthshire, mentioned by Pennant in his Tour in 1772, cut by Mr Menzies in 1788, when residing there. Pennant says the circumference of the tree is sixty feet. Mr Menzies visited Fortingall in 1836, and found the tree much in the same state as it was when he saw it in 1788; it is enclosed in the family burying-ground of the late Major-General Stewart of Garth.
- An old rustic Highland Mull.
- An old Snuff Horn, made by Charles Stewart, the old tinker of Aberfeldy.
- A fragment of a Minute Book, which appears to have belonged to the Darien Company, picked up by Mr Menzies in a snuff shop, about thirty years ago.
- Pair of Highland Pistols, which belonged to Mr Menzies's grand-uncle, who was out in the '45.
- A Flask, once the property of the gallant Major Pearson of the 95th Regiment, who fell at Jersey in 1782. This flask the Donor got from Mrs Macara, wife of the Reverend Duncan Macara, Minister of Fortingall, whose son Sir Robert Macara fell at Waterloo, and who was at the descent of Routin Court, an ensign and assistant surgeon in the 95th foot.
- A Gorget, worn by Captain Edgar, of the 25th Regiment, at the battle of Minden.

By JAMES SMITH, Esq.

- An ancient Stone Vessel, found in Athole.
- Two Highland Purse Clasps.
- A Stone, used as a charm in Athole.
- An old Spindle.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.

Archæologia, Vol. XXVII., London, 1838, 4to.

By the SOCIETY.

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. IV. Part 1, Philadelphia, 1838, 4to.

By the SOCIETY.

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XVIII. Part 1, Dublin, 1838.

1839. By the SOCIETY.
 Jan. 28. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for 1837-1838, Part 2, Dublin, 1838.

By the SOCIETY.
 Second Annual Report and Proceedings of the Botanical Society, Edinburgh, 1838, 8vo.

By the SOCIETY.
 Report by a Committee of the Society of Arts in Scotland, on the best Alphabet and Method of Printing for the Use of the Blind, 1837, 8vo.

Mar. 11. By WILLIAM MACDONALD of Garthland, Esq.
 Chronicon de Lanercost, 1201-1346, 1 vol. 4to, being his contribution to the Bannatyne Club.

By DUGALD LAMONT, Esq., Staff Assistant-Surgeon in the Army.
 Two Greek Inscriptions, copied by himself from tombstones in the Ionian Islands.

By Mr WELLWOOD of Pittiver.
 Three Copper Roman Coins.
 One French Coin of the reign of Henry III.

By Mr MENZIES, Potterrow.
 The Matrix of the Common Seal of the Town of Dumfries, inscribed SIGILLUM COMMUNE BURGI DE DUMFRIES.
 An impression from the SIGILLUM BURGI DE EDINBURGH BARONIE SUI DE PORTSBURGH.
 The Assembly, or Scotch Reformation, Edinburgh, 1776; the Planters of a Vineyard, a Comedy, and a Sketch of the Scenery near Callander, Stirling, 1803, bound in 1 vol. 12mo.
 Six Silver Coins of different reigns.

May 20. By WALTER TREVELYAN, Esq.
 Several Pamphlets connected with the Archæological Institute of Rome, and a notice of a Museum of Antiquities, now on sale at Rome, collected by Mr Dodwell.

By JOHN MITCHELL, Esq., of Laverock Bank.
 A beautiful Gold Coin of James II., and several packets of Copper, and a few Silver Coins, found at Leith.

1839. By M. MONSUEURQUE, Corresponding Member.
 Mar. 11. *Cronique Metrique du Jordan Fantosme sur la guerre qui eut lieu entre Henry II., Roi d'Angleterre et le Roi d'Ecosse en 1173 et 1174.*
1840. By the Editor, JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq., Cambridge.
 Jan. 20. *Rara Mathematica*, being a collection of Treatises on Mathematics, 8vo, London, 1839.
Reliquiae Antiquae, Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Nos. I. and II.
- By JAMES MITCHELL, Esq., Corresponding Member.
 A General Map of Great Britain, containing the Military Operations of 1745 and 1746.
- By DAVID LAING, Esq., Treasurer.
 Cast of a Medal of Francis and Mary, struck in the year 1558.
- By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES.
 Reports of the General Anniversary Meetings in 1838-1839.
- By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
 Printed Notices of their Proceedings, from April to August 1839.
- By Mr ALEXANDER STEWART.
 The Irons with which John Stewart of Kynochan, in Perthshire, was loaded in Preston Gaol, after the turn-out in 1715.
- By General DURHAM, Largo.
 Report by Mr George Buist on the Silver Fragments in the General's possession, commonly called the Silver Armour of Norrie's Law, Nov. 1839.
- By the COMMITTEE OF THE MAITLAND CLUB.
 Acts and Statutes of the Lawting, Sheriff and Justice Courts within Orkney and Zetland, from 1602 to 1644.
- Mar. 30. By the COMMITTEE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB.
 The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Vol. I.
- By ALEXANDER WELLESLEY, Esq., Advocate, F.S.A. Scot.
Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kinlos; *Naperus de Arte Logistica*.
- By CHARLES K. SHARPE, Esq.
 A Cast from the Capital of a Pillar in the Old College Church.

1840. By GEORGE LINDSAY, Esq., Barrister, Cork.
Mar. 30. A copy of his Work on the Coinage of Ireland.

By WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq.
Anecdotes and Traditions, illustrative of early English History and Literature, published by the Camden Club, and edited by Mr Thoms.

By Mr HENRY FORBES, Jeweller, Edinburgh.
Two old Keys, the one said to be of the Scottish Mint, South Gray's Close, the other found in the Ruins of Craigmillar Castle.

May 4. By His Grace the DUKE OF ARGYLL.
Letters to the Argyll Family from Elizabeth Queen of England, Mary Queen of Scots, James the Sixth, Charles the First, King Charles the Second and others, from the originals.

By DAVID D. BLACK, Esq., Town Clerk, Brechin.
The Laws and Acts of Parliament, by Sir John Skene.

By JAMES CLELAND, LL.D.
The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, 1840, 8vo.

By W. B. B. TURNBULL, Esq.
The Third Annual Report of the Botanical Society.

By WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Esq.
Third Part of Vol. VI. of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

By Mr FERGUSSON, Albany Street.
The Handle of a Highland Broadsword, found in the field of battle of Prestonpans.

Dec. 14. By DAVID D. BLACK, Esq., Town Clerk, Brechin.
A Rock, with three Spindles.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, London.
Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. VI., Plates xviii. to xxv., folio.
Archæologia, Vol. XXVIII. 4to.

By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF FRANCE.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France.

1840. By DAVID ALEXANDER, Esq., 31 Saxe Coburg Place.
 Dec. 14. Four Views of the Sculptured Stone at Forres.
 Two Views of a Stone, in the field near the Church of Mortlach, and one which formerly stood at the Kaim of Duffus, now in the grounds of Sir William C. G. Cumming of Altyre, Bart.
 Fragments of a Stone, found in 1823, near the old Church of St Giles Elgin, now in the Elgin Cathedral.
 Views of Pillars and Tombstone in the Parish of Dyke.
 Mantelpiece in Unthank Manse, Elgin.

By Sir JOHN G. DALYELL.

A Piece of the Wreck of the "Royal George."

By Lieutenant-General GORDON, Royal Artillery.

A Table made from the Roof of King John's Palace at Eltham, Kent, coeval with William Rufus.

By JAMES STUART MENTEITH, Esq., younger of Closeburn.

Inscription on Sir J. Ratcliffe, in the old Church at Keswick.

By M. KRAG, Parish Priest of Vaaga, in Gulbrandsdalen, Norway.

Traditions relative to the Fight at Kringlen, 26th August 1612.

By Mr WILLIAM GROSART, Grahamston, by Falkirk.

A Piece of Wood from the first steamboat in the world, built at Carron about 1791 by William Symington, under the patronage of the late Lord Dundas.

By CHARLES JOHN PALMER, Esq., F.S.A.

Illustrations of Domestic Architecture in England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Transactions of the Society, Vol. VII. Part 1.

By Mr ALEXANDER DONALDSON, near Village of Scone.

Impression from the Chapter Seal of Dunkeld.

By the MAITLAND CLUB.

Vol. II. of their Miscellany.

1840. By HENRY MARSHALL, Esq., M.D., Inspector of Hospitals.
 Dec. 14. Six ancient Coins, found buried in the ruins of an Ancient City discovered near Calpentyr, in Ceylon.
1841. By Her Majesty's COURT OF EXCHEQUER, through JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., Remembrancer.
 Feb. 22. One Roman Coin, Copper, supposed to be Tiberius, found on the banks of the Clyde, near the mouth of the Cart.
- By JAMES HAY, Esq., Leith Links.
 Ten Silver and twelve Billon Coins of various Reigns, found at the Trinity House, Leith.
- Mar. 19. By the BANNATYNE CLUB.
 Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrences, both in Church and State, from October 1680 to April 1686. By Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall. The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Vol. II.
 Roman de la Manekine, par Philippe de Reimes, Trouvère du Treizième Siecle, Publié par Francisque Michel.
- By the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.
 Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XIX. Part 1.
- By Mr PETER BUCHAN.
 The Eglinton Tournament, &c., 12mo.
- May 17. By the DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTION.
 Constitution and Byelaws of the National Institution for the promotion of Science, established at Washington, May 1840; and
 A Discourse on the Object and Importance of the Institution, by the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War.
- By Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.
 A Stock of a Pistol, taken out of the "Royal George."
- June 21. By Lord FRANCIS EGERTON.
 Charters of Holyrood, being a volume entitled "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg," printed as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, at the expense of Lord Francis Egerton.

1841. By the SOCIETY.

June 21. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. VII. Part 2, and their Proceedings from November 1840 to February 1841.

By the AUTHOR, through PATRICK NEILL, Esq., LL.D.

Contributions towards a History of Swansea, by Lewis V. Dilwyn, F.R.S., Mayor of Swansea, royal 8vo.

By the AUTHOR.

Illustrations of the Affinity of the Latin Language to the Gaelic or Celtic of Scotland, by T. Stratton, Grad. Univ. Edinb., royal 8vo.

Dec. 13. By the CLERKS OF THE JUSTICIARY COURT.

Coining Implements, found in the possession of a person in the act of preparing base coin on Arthur's Seat in the year 1814.

Two Spring Guns, set in the Earl of Home's Planting, by James Craw, a gamekeeper. A person was mortally wounded by one of them. The Court fixed it as law that setting such implements amounted to murder. This case occurred in the year 1826.

The Dark Lantern used by Deacon William Brodie in breaking into the Excise Office, Edinburgh.

The Keys found in the possession of Deacon Brodie, and used by him in effecting sundry housebreakings. He was executed in Edinburgh 1st October 1788.

By Sir JOHN ROBISON, K.H., 13 Randolph Crescent.

Eight Silver Coins, viz., two Pennies of William the Lion; a Groat of Robert II.; a Groat of James V.; a Penny of Edward II.; two Pennies of Henry III.; New England Coin, 1612, Shilling.

By Miss WALKER, Drumsheugh.

A Pike manufactured by John Orrock, Water of Leith, at the time of the Friends of the People, 1793.

Two Heads of Pikes supposed to have been with bands of the rioters at Kilsyth.

Handcuffs used on the person of Watt, when a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, beheaded 1794.

Part of the Gun Barrel belonging to George Gilchrist, executed for robbing the Glasgow stage coach (of which he was a proprietor), of about £5000, belonging to the Commercial Bank. About £900 was found inside the barrel, the reason for its being cut.

1841. By BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq.
 Dec. 13. Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, being a copy of his contribution to the Roxburghe Club, 1841, 4to.

By Monsieur FRANCISQUE MICHEL, F.S.A. London and Edinburgh.
 Rapports à Monsieur le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur les anciens Monuments de l'Histoire et de la Littérature de la France, &c., 1838, 4to.

By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, W.S., F.S.A. Scot.
 An Abridgement of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1424-1707, Edinburgh, 1841, royal 8vo.

By WALTER BUCHANAN, Esq., Glasgow.
 Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales' Expedition to Scotland in the year 1745, being a copy of the donor's contribution to the Maitland Club, 4to.

By the GLASGOW AND CLYDESDALE STATISTICAL SOCIETY.
 Constitutions and Regulations of that Body, 1836.

By the ANTIQUARIES OF NORMANDY.
 Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, for the years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1836.

By JAMES S. ROBERTSON, Esq., W.S.
 The Great Seal Press, used when His Grace the Duke of Gordon was keeper, and supposed to have been made in the reign of Queen Anne.

By the CAPE CLUB.
 The Cabinet, with the Records, Documents, and Paraphernalia of the Body, to be deposited until revived.

By P. DUDGEON, Esq.
 Buddhist's Prayer-Book, from the Honam Temple, near Canton.

By HAMILTON BOYLE, Esq., of the Royal Bank.
 Horæ Beatæ Virginis ad usum Ecclesiæ Romanæ (on vellum), printed at Paris, 1488, 8vo.

By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.
 Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus, London, 1841.

1842. By Sir JOHN ROBISON.
 Jan. 24. Indian Idol.
 Horse Equipments, found in making a cut in the road near Dunstable.
- Feb. 28. By THOMAS HAY, Esq. of Perth.
 Copy of a Genealogical Tree of the Hay Family.
- By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE.
 Catalogue of the Antiquarian Society's Library, Newcastle ; Parts I. and II.
 of Archæologia Eliana ; and the Statistics of the Newcastle Society of
 Antiquaries.
- May 2. By WILLIAM SWANSON, Esq.
 Piece of an iron Bolt, blown out of the "Royal George."
 Two Music Books by Domenico Corri, containing engravings of various
 ancient Musical Instruments.
- By A. G. GROAT, Esq.
 A Work entitled "Sketches from John o' Groats, in Prose and Verse," by
 James T. Calder.
- May 23. By Mr MACDONALD, in name of the MAITLAND CLUB.
 A Work entitled "Notices of Original unprinted Documents, preserved in
 the office of the Queen's Remembrancer, and Chapter House, Westminster,
 illustrative of the History of Scotland, printed for the Maitland Club,
 1842."
1843. By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
 Feb. 27. Vol. XXIX. of the Archæologia, 4to.
- By ROMEO ELTON, M.A.
 Historical Discourse of the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of
 Rhode Island.
- By JOHN HENRY SCHRÖDER.
 Incunabula Artis Typographicæ in Suecia, 4to.
- By THOMAS BROWN, Esq.
 Reminiscences of an Old Traveller, throughout different Parts of Europe,
 8vo.

1843. By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
Feb. 27. Vol. VIII. Part 1, of their Transactions.

By O. TYNDALL BRUCE of Falkland, Esq.
Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia, 4to, printed for the
Members of the Bannatyne Club.

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Two Halberts.

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First and Second Bulletins of the National Institution for the Promotion of
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A Model of an Esquimaux Canoe, made by a native from the skin of a seal,
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Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, 2 vols. 4to, printed for the Maitland
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The Volume edited by his Father, of the Parliamentary Records of Scotland,
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Conversations of Drummond and Ben Jonson, 8vo, printed for the
Shakespeare Society.

By Colonel BIRCH, R.A., Dublin.
Elemens de la Grammaire Chinoise, par M. Abel Remusat, Paris, 1822.
Institution or Principall Groundes of the Lawes and Statutes of England,
imprinted at London by Richard Tottell.
Corona Tragica, Vida y Muerte de la Reina de Escocia Maria Estuarda, by
Lope F. de Vega Carpio, Madrid, 1627.
Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ, auctore P. Premare, at Malacca, 1831.
A Hebrew Bible in 8 volumes, the 1st volume lost.
A Snuff-Box, with a Portrait of Prince Charles on glass.

1843. By ALEXANDER CHANCELLOR, Junior, Esq.
Feb. 27. An Iron Bullet found at Dunoon Castle.

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A Piece of a Vitrified Fort at Bute.

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Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. VIII. Parts 2 and 3, and Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Society.

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Their Transactions, Vol. XXX. Part 2.

By the MAITLAND CLUB.
Vol. III. of their Miscellany.

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Historical Inquiries on the Roman Monuments, &c., in Scotland, by Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt., folio.

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 May 13. A Diploma in favour of the late Dr Andrew Duncan, signed by the celebrated Franklin and others.
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 Specimens of the Silver Coins recently found near Closeburn.
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 Recess. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. I.
 Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis.
 Acta Dominorum Auditorum, &c.

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A Walking Cane, made of a piece of the jaw-bone of a sperm whale and the head part of its tooth, by a sailor on board of a South Sea whaler in the South Pacific Ocean.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NORMANDY.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2^{me} Serie, 3^{me} volume, Paris, 1844.

By Dr J. T. BODEL NYENHUIS, Leyden.

Dissertatio Historica—Juridica de Juribus Typographorum et Bibliopolarum in Regno Belgico. Leyden, 1819, 8vo.

By the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings of the Society, Nos. 30 and 31.

By ALBERT WAY, Esq.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

By Dr HUIE.

Céramonies et Coutumes qui s'observent aujourd'hui parmy les Juifs, &c., par le Sieur de Simonville, La Haye, 1682, 12mo.

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Jan. 19. A Private Engraving of the Ancient Monument in the churchyard of Auldbar.
Mar. 30. By DAVID BALFOUR of Trenaby, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
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 Mar. 38. Statements of the Education, &c., adopted at the Asylum for the Blind,
 Glasgow.

By PETER FORBES, Esq., Wine Merchant.
 Diploma in favour of Mr Robert Robinson, as a member of the Revolution
 Club, Edinburgh, 26th April 1757.

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 Vol. IX. Part 2, of the Transactions.

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 The Derivation of many Classical Proper Names from the Gaelic.

By JOHN HOWELL, Polyartist.
 A small Bronze Figure of Mercury.

June 1. By the EXCHEQUER, by order of the LORDS OF H.M. TREASURY.
 Two Bronze Swords dug up in forming the new carriage drive round Arthur's
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Austrian Dollar,	1.
Austrian Half Dollar,	1.
Queen Elizabeth,	4.
James VI.,	2.
Charles I.,	1.

Eleven Silver Coins, found on the Estate of Closeburn.

Groat, David I.,	1.
Groats, Edward III.,	2.
Pennies, Edward I. and II.,	8.

One Gold Coin, found in Burnet's Close, James VI.
 Twelve Roman Coins, found at Sauchie, in the county of Stirling, brass.
 Three Roman Silver Coins, found within the Moss of Cowie, Kincardine-
 shire—Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Crispina.
 Three Silver Coins, in bad condition, found at Chapelwell in the County of
 Elgin.
 Silver Groat of Robert II., found within the burying-ground of the Abbey
 at Dunfermline.

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 Various Articles—Native Ornaments of Hindostan.

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 intimating sales to take place under judicial authority.
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 The Head of a Bronze Battle-Axe, found on the estate of Vogrie
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 Fifteen Pieces of ancient Plates, &c., formerly in the possession of the family
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 An ancient Dutch Figure, who has appeared at the doors of three different
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 High Street as a grocer; and (3) in the West Bow as a flaxdresser, hold-
 ing two bunches of flax.
 A Sword, found in a cellar in the Canongate in the year 1788 (a Malay
 Kris).
- By Mr LAING, Treasurer.
 A Fire Racket, used in Edinburgh about the beginning of the present
 century.
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 A Stone Bullet, found at the Trinity Hospital, 3 feet below the surface, and
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Several interesting specimens of Mural Tiles, recently discovered in the ruins of the Convent (Cistercian) of the Blessed Virgin at North Berwick.
- Dec. 20. By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.
Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ sub Regibus Angliæ, 2 vols., London, 1840.
- By WILLIAM DALGLEISH, Butler to the late Sir W. Scott, Bart.
A curious Stone (a large Pebble), found on the banks of the Tweed, by the late Duchess of St Albans (Mrs Coutts).
- By EDWARD WEST, Auctioneer.
A curious Purse and Diploma of Membership of Revolution Club, 1769.
- By A. HUME, LL.D., F.S.A.
The Antiquities of Hoylake, Cheshire, London, 1847.

1847. By JOHN BELL, Esq., Dungannon.

Dec. 20. A Plaster Model of a bronze Spear Head, and Shrine Ornament, found in his neighbourhood.

By General BIRCH, Dublin.

A Donation of Books, including *Voyage en Ecosse 1806-08*, par L. A. Necker de Saussure, Geneva, 1821, 3 vols.

Reports of Chancellor Sir Henry Hobart, London, 1658.

Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, Oxon, 1698.

Rerum et Urbis Amstelodamensium, Hist. Amst. 1611, and fourteen other volumes.

1848. By the BANNATYNE CLUB.

Jan. 24. Carte Monialium de North Berwick Prioratus Cisterciensis. Edinburgh, 1847.

By Mr D. WILSON, Secretary.

A Skull and Sword, with the words IN SOLINGEN and the initials J. G. L. on the blade, found in an ancient grave near a ruin exhibiting Norman ecclesiastical features, on the west side of the harbour of North Berwick.

Feb. 28. By Mons. W. B. RALLY.

Museum Francisco-Carolinum, Linz., 1840.

Bildung eines Museums, 4to, 1836.

Die Donaureise von Regensburg bis Linz., 12mo, Wien, 1840.

Der Führer in Salzkammergute, 12mo, Wien, 1841.

By Mons. G. GROEN van Prinsterer.

Handboek der Geschiedenis, 2 vols. 8vo, Leiden, 1846.

Ongeloof en Revolutie, 8vo, Leiden, 1847.

By ANDREW DUN, Esq., W.S.

A Work on Astrology, originally belonging to the Hawthornden Library, and bearing the signature of the Poet Drummond.

By A. B. GROSART, Esq., Glasgow.

An iron Casting, broken in three pieces, containing a defaced inscription, and figures in the Roman costume, in low relief, found while making some repairs in Westfield House, an ancient mansion in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, formerly belonging to the Earls of Callander (this proved to be part of a Dutch Stove).

1848. By Captain JOHN THOMSON.
- Feb. 28. A collection of New Zealand Spears, Clubs, &c., and two New South Wales Boomerangs.
- Mar. 13. An additional collection of South Sea Spears, Clubs, Bows, &c., with the Model of a Native Boat.
- April 3. By ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
A copy of Virgil, with copious references, 1638.
De Humana Physiognomoniam, Joannis Baptistæ, 1650.
- By JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., Queen's Remembrancer.
An ancient Iron Chisel in the shape of a Spear Head, recently discovered concealed in the vent of Queen Mary's Room in the Castle.
- May 1. By GEORGE SETON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Advocate.
A series of Rubbings of ancient Sepulchral Brasses, from Merton College and New College, Oxford.
- By ALFRED LANCEFIELD, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
One of the Gurgoils from Trinity College Hospital, demolished in 1845.
- By J. M. BROWN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Surgeon, R.N.
The Branks, an ancient Scottish instrument of punishment, to remain in the Museum till the Society obtains a better specimen.
- May 15. By ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
A contemporary copy of the Rolls of the Scottish Parliament, called the 18th of April 1693.
- By D. WILSON, Esq., Sec. S.A. Scot.
A Breastplate of Iron, recently dug up near the Battlefield of Bothwell Brig.
Also a Scottish Tally-Stick, bearing the date 1692.
- June 1. By the Right Rev. Dr GILLIS.
Two Medallions, executed in Silver and Bronze, from designs by Overbeck, at the command of Pope Pius IX., as prizes for competition in the Holy Guild of St Joseph.
- By JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., Queen's Remembrancer.
An Antique Lance Head, recently discovered in digging for a drain in Edinburgh Castle.

1848. By WM. H. MURRAY, Esq.

June 1. Two Models, miniature facsimiles in stone, of two Stone Coffins, discovered during the repairs on York Minster, consequent on the last great fire.

By R. BRYSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A curiously carved antique Ivory Grater, and an old Scottish Fishing-Reel and Case.

By the Author, ROBERT CHAMBERS, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Volume, entitled Ancient Sea Margins.

June 7. By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., A.R.S.A.

An antique Scottish Candelabrum.

By ANDREW KERR, Esq.

A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Dunkirk, dated 24th July 1721.

By W. B. JOHNSTONE, R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

An ancient British Cinerary Urn, filled with burnt bones and ashes, found on the estate of Abden, parish of Kinghorn, and near to Abden House, while cutting through the rocks on the sea-side for the Edinburgh and Northern Railway. When found, it was in an inverted position, and on the flat part of the rock, five feet below the surface.

Dec. 8. By the TRUSTEES OF THE RIVER CLYDE.

An ancient Boat, dug up on the banks of the Clyde, at Springfield, near Glasgow.

By JOHN BELL, Esq., Dungannon.

A variety of Flint and other Stone Celts and Arrow-Heads, from counties Antrim, Tyrone, and the island of Rathlin; and a collection of Coins, found at Dundalk.

By Mr HENRY COURTOIS, Keeper of the Chapel Royal.

The Skeleton of an Owl, found built up in the walls of Holyrood Abbey; and a collection of Coins, dug up in the Royal Vault. The Coins, chiefly copper, not earlier than James VI.

By Mr BELL, North Inchmichael, Errol.

An antique Boat Hook, dug up in the Carse of Gowrie.

1849. By DAVID DOUGLAS, Esq., W.S.

Jan. 15. Silver Brooch, found in excavating the tomb of King Robert Bruce at Dunfermline, bearing the inscription IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM.

By Lieut.-Col. YULE, F.S.A. Scot.

Part of an ancient Drinking-Glass, recently discovered above the oak ceiling of Queen Mary's Room, Edinburgh Castle.

By Mr JAMES JACKSON, Penicuik.

Two Bullets, recently dug up on the Battlefield of Rullion Green.

By DAVID BRYCE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Architect.

A Sculptured Capital, from St Giles Church, Edinburgh.

By D. WILSON, Esq., Sec. S.A. Scot.

An ancient Mason's Chisel, found at the spring of one of the vaulting shafts, Trinity College Church, Edinburgh.

By JOSEPH WALTER KING EYTON, Esq.

Catalogue of the Eyton Library.

By CHARLES NEWTON, Esq., M.A., Brit. Museum.

A Map of British and Roman Antiquities.

By the BANNATYNE CLUB.

Fountainhall's Historical Notices, 2 vols. 4to.

Jan. 31. By Sir CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter.

Layamon's Semi-Saxon Translation of the Brut by Wace, edited by Sir Frederick Madden, 3 vols. 8vo.

By the COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

A Set of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, 3 vols. 8vo.
The Winchester and Gloucester Congresses of the British Archæological Association, 2 vols. 8vo.

By JAMES A. VERNON, Esq., Hillhead.

Large Deer's Horn, found along with a quantity of Skulls and Bones, in an ancient Barrow, in the neighbourhood of Elphinstone Tower, East Lothian.

1849.
Jan. 31. By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., Lond., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
Ancient Bone Skates and Knife Handles, dug up in Moorfields, London.
- Feb. 12. By D. M. MOIR, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.
Rasp of Ring, from the Mansion of Preston, built in 1664, by the father of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston and Fingalton, who commanded the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.
Camp Liqueur and Balsam Chest, of the reign of John Sobieski of Poland dated 1676.
An ancient German Phlebotomus, or Fleam, as represented in Heister's General System of Surgery, 1743, vol. i. plate xi. fig. 3.
Specimens of Cloth, collected by Captain Cook during his Three Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere, with printed descriptive Catalogue, &c., 4to.
Burns' Poems, with Nasmyth's Portrait, printed for the Author, with List of Subscribers, Creech.
- By ROBERT MATHESON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
Two Glazed Floor Tiles, from the Choir of Kirkwall Cathedral.
- By Mr JAMES KEMP.
The Nicene Creed, a specimen of miniature penmanship, written by David Beat, Writing-Master, Edinburgh, 1716; the same who proclaimed the Pretender at the Cross of Edinburgh in 1745.
- By Dr J. H. SCHRÖDER, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
Ostgötha Dialekten; and Glossarii Latino-Svethici, specimen Vetustum.
- Mar. 5. By WILLIAM BAILLIE of Polkemmet, Esq.
An ancient Sword, found in a moss near Polkemmet, Whitburn, bearing on the blade the Campbell Arms, with the date 1543.
- By C. R. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Lond., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
A collection of Roman Pottery, Specimens of Mural Painting, and a variety of Mediæval Remains, chiefly in Leather (several long-pointed Shoes, a Dagger's Sheath, &c.), dug up in London and its neighbourhood.
- By Lieut.-Col. YULE, F.S.A. Scot.
Roman Pottery, including Lachrymatory, Earthen Spoon, and a shallow saucer-like Vessel, dug up at Malta, at a place popularly styled the Jews' Graves.

LIST OF DONATIONS.

By JAMES DRUMMOND, F.S.A. Scot.

A large Amber Bead, found in a tumulus in Ross-shire.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., Leith.

Tirling Pin from the ancient Scottish Mint, Cowgate, Edinburgh.

Mar. 14. By JOHN BRITTON, Esq., F.S.A.

The Authorship of the Letters of Junius Elucidated, 8vo.

By ALEXANDER BALD, Esq., Alloa.

A short Sword, left by a Highlander in the Cambuskenneth Ferry Cobble in 1745.

By JAMES THIN, Esq., 2 Walker Street.

Five Cannon Balls, found on demolishing the Bell Tower, Dunbar Castle, when making the New Harbour.

One Cannon Ball, found in sinking a well on the sloping ground to the south of Edinburgh Castle.

An ancient short Sword, found in the ruins of the Castle of St Andrews.

April 2. By THOMAS STRATTON, M.D.

Derivation of Classical Proper Names from the Gaelic, &c., by the Donor; also seven Volumes, of which five are in the Irish Language, one in the Welsh, and one in the Chippawa Indian Language.

By WILLIAM WALKER, Esq., Surgeon, F.S.A. Scot.

Ancient Lamp and Glass Lachrymatory, found in 1840, in a tomb outside the Porta Latina at Rome.

By D. WILSON, Sec. S.A. Scot.

Facsimiles in Metal of two Pairs of ancient Silver Armillæ, found in Yorkshire.

By JOHN SCOTT, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Captain Porteous's Chair.

By Mr DAVID MOIR, Smith and Ironmonger, Mint.

Pair of ancient Fetter-Locks, found in demolishing the Heart of Mid-Lothian in 1817.

By GEORGE PETRIE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

* Drawings and Sections of the Tumulus called the "Black Knowe," in the parish of Rendall, Orkney, opened 1st February 1849.

1849. By ALEXANDER MACDONALD, Esq., Curator, S.A. Scot.
 April 2. The original Document, along with an accurate copy of the Verdict of the Jury against Halkstoun of Rathillit, finding him guilty of joining the Rebels at Bothwell Bridge, &c., and for art and part of the Murder of Archbishop Sharpe.

By Mrs JAMES JOHNSTONE.

Four large Amber Beads, formerly regarded by the Macdonalds of Glencoe as a charm for the cure of blindness, and worn by the Lady of that Clan on the morning of the Massacre.

- May 7. By General BIRCH, Dublin.
 A Brief History of the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, with forty-three other Pamphlets of the 17th Century, in 1 volume, folio.

By M. BOUCHER DE PERTHES, the Author.

Antiquités Celtiques, 1 vol. 8vo.
 De la Creation, 5 vols. 12mo.

By Lieut.-Col. YULE, F.S.A. Scot.

Specimens of Rocks and Stone, from ancient Buildings and Scenes of historic interest in Greece.

By Mr J. SMELLIE, F.S.A. Scot.

A fine Crookston Dollar, and other Scottish Coins.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, Esq., M.D.

A curious Iron Padlock, in use by the Officers of Excise at Leith about 1700.

By ANDREW DUN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Scottish Tirling Pins.

By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Antique Brace and Bit, found under the flooring on the demolition of an old house in the West Bow.

- June 11. By PATRICK CHALMERS of Auldbar, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

The ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus, &c., being the Donor's Contribution to the Bannatyne Club.

1849. By TITUS HIBBERT WARE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 June 11. Very fine ancient Black Jack, from the collection of the late Dr S. Hibbert Ware, Hon. Mem., and formerly Secretary of the Society.

By ANDREW KERR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Statue of Bishop Reid, a Cast from the original, in the ruins of the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall, Orkney. Also Casts of two curious pieces of Sculpture in the choir of Kirkwall Cathedral, one of which, from the centre mullion of the great east window, represents Religion triumphing over Sin.

By Mr ALEXANDER REDPATH, F.S.A. Scot.

Antique Scottish Brooch of Brass, from the Island of Lewis.

By DANIEL WILSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Rubbing from the Brass of Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, in the Savoy, Westminster.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D.

Iron Cresset, found along with other Roman remains at the Castlecary Station, Wall of Antoninus.

By the SECRETARY.

Two fine Brass Coins of Antoninus Pius, found on the site of the Roman Station at Duntocher.

- Nov. 30. By the Honourable BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

Two complete Demi-Suits of Armour, time of Elizabeth; one Demi-Suit of Cavalier Armour, with Gauntlets; one complete Pikeman's Suit; one Bill, time of Henry VI.; one long Partizan of Henry VI.; one Halbert, time of Elizabeth; two Boar-Spears of Henry VIII.; one Pike, 18 feet long, for the Pikeman of the time of Charles II.

By the SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES OF COPENHAGEN.

A valuable collection of Danish Stone and Bronze Relics, including—
Of Stone.—Seven Hammers; seven Flint Implements (Knives); two curved Flint Knives; one Lance-head, flint; two Flint Knives, with handles, or Flint Daggers; one large Flint Hatchet; one Cast of a splendid Stone Hammer; one Cast of a Flint-Saw, or Notched Lance.
Of Bronze.—One small Torque; one larger Torque (broken in two); one large Torque, imperfect (fully the half wanting); one Spiral Armilla; one Armilla, or flat Arm-ring; four Hairpins; two Buttons or Studs; one

1849. Pincers; one Needle; two Knives; two Celts; four Palstaves, one Lance-
Nov. 30. head; and one large Brooch (*skaalformet Spande*), from the time of
the Vikings.

Dec. 10. By the ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES OF COPEN-
HAGEN.

Antiquarisk Tidskrift, 1843-45.

Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1844 and 1845-47.

Report addressed by the Society to its British and American Members
Islenzkir Annalar, &c.

By ROBERT BRYSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Large Lock and Key of curious workmanship, from an old house in
Jackson's Close.

By A. G. ELLIS, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Two small iron Horse-Shoes, dug up on the field of Bannockburn.

By JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq.

Ancient Scottish Iron Cruisic.

By JOHN LINDSAY, Esq., Hon Mem. S.A. Scot.

Notices of remarkable Mediæval Coins, mostly unpublished.

By Professor P. A. MUNCH, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Den Ældre Edda, and Fagrskinna.

1850. By the CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE INSTITUTE.

Jan. 16. Nos. XIII. to XXIII. of the Journal of the Archæological Institute.

By J. O. HALLIWELL, Esq., F.S.A. &c.

Historia Collegii Cantabrigiæ; Codex Holbrookianus; and the
Connexion of Wales with the Early Science of England.

By C. R. SMITH, F.S.A., &c.

Collectanea Antiqua, Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent.

By Rev. J. JAFFRAY, F.S.A. Scot.

Honorary Burgess Ticket, creating Archbishop Sharpe Burgess and Guild
Brother of Edinburgh, dated June 1662.

1850. By JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq.
 Jan. 16. Fine Mediæval Cruciform Fibula of Bronze, found at Kirkwall, Orkney.
 A small Engraved Copperplate, with the name L × RON, and date 1735, on
 one side, and the following couplet on the other—
 “The Eye finds, the Heart chooseth,
 The Hand binds, but Death looseth,”
 found in Inveresk Churchyard in 1840.

By the BANNATYNE CLUB.
 The Darien Papers, 1697–1700.

By A. B. GROSART, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.
 Iron Dagger, found under a cairn near Chesley Peel, Jed Forest.

By Lieutenant-Colonel YULE, F.S.A. Scot.
 A Cingalese Sannas, or Royal Deed of a Grant of Land, engraved on a long
 narrow plate of copper, with an ornamental border inlaid in silver.

By Lieutenant W. F. B. LAURIE.
 Singular Brass Relic of ancient Orissa, ascribed by the Donor to the Tenth
 Century. It represents a Lion triumphing over an Elephant.
 Also a Copy of his Work on Orissa, &c.

- Feb. 4. By the COUNCIL OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington,
 U.S.A.
 Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, being one of the Smithsonian
 Contributions to Knowledge.

By HORATIO MACCULLOCH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., R.S.A.
 Singular Bronze Relic, resembling a small bent Spear, found in the Isle of
 Skye, along with Bronze Swords and Spear-heads, and the remains of a
 Wooden Box, in which they appeared to have been contained.

By Lieutenant HENRY YULE, Bengal Engineers.
 Two Swords of peculiar form, used by the Kasias, a hill people of the range
 to the south of the Valley of Assam;
 A Spear, used in war and elephant-hunting, by the Nagas of the same
 range; and
 A curious Implement, used in a game resembling golf, by the inhabitants
 of the Munnipoor.

1850. By JOHN BUCHANAN of Carbette, Esq.
 Feb. 4. Singular Bronze and Stone Relics, the former apparently the handle of a Roman Patella, the latter an oval flattened Stone, found near Killearn, Stirlingshire.

By JAMES SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Cast of Sculptured Armorial Bearings, recently discovered on John Knox's House, Nether Bow, Edinburgh; and
 Of the curious Tri-lingual Symbol of the Deity, on the same building.

By the Right Honourable the LORD PROVOST AND THE
 MAGISTRATES.

A Pair of Lochaber Axes, of Muskets, and of Halberts; a Drum, a Pair of Cartridge Boxes, two old Swords (without guards); and an ancient Banner, thought to be the original "Blue Blanket."

- Feb. 19. By C. CUNNINGHAM, Esq., W.S., Conj. Town Clerk of Edinburgh.
 Ancient Spear, found about forty years ago, in the neighbourhood of the field of Bannockburn. (This appears to be an Indian weapon, neat, but probably not ancient.)

By J. J. HUIE, Esq., Walker Street.

Ancient Stone Weapons—A Gouge; an Arrow-head, an imperfect Grooved Implement, &c., from Canada.

Also a curious Sword or Cleaver, having a bird on the back of the blade, and a Sewed Cap, from the West Coast of Africa.

A Chinese Figure of an animal, made of the vine-root.

A Model of a Chinese Lady's Foot, &c.

By the COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of the Archæological Association, Nos. XVII. to XX.

By the SOCIETY.

Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville.

By the AUTHOR.

Description of Roman Buildings, &c., at Cærleon, by John Edward Lee, Esq.

By JAMES J. HUNTER, Esq.

Wooden Jug, made at Gibraltar, by a soldier of the British Army, on its Surrender in 1704, all domestic utensils having been destroyed during the Siege.

1850. By the Most Honourable the MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE,
Feb. 28. President, S.A. Scot.

A Greek Helmet of Bronze, found near Naples, and purchased there by the Marquess in 1828.

Large Roman Amphora; two Bronze Armillæ; Bronze Ring, chain work; two Roman Vase Handles, bronze; Roman As, early type; Egyptian Handle of Vessel, bronze; Stone Vessel, or "Druidical Patera," found near Taymouth; seven Terra-cotta Heads; four small Terra-cotta Figures; two small Etruscan Vases; two Stands of Etruscan Vases (imperfect); two Terra-cotta Jugs (painted); Mummy of a Cat (Egyptian); Mummy of a Cat, in earthenware case; Bronze Ladle (Roman); small Urn of Plain Clay (Roman, from Pompeii); two shallow Bowls, with two handles each (Etruscan); one shallow Bowl, with one handle; one shallow Bowl, without handle; one shallow Bowl, painted—goose in the centre; one shallow Bowl, painted—honeysuckle pattern; one Patera, painted—female head in centre; one Patera, painted—female figures reclining; one Patera, painted—two female heads; one small Perfume Vase; lower part of large shallow Vase, painted; one small Bronze (Roman)—nude figure of a man, of rude workmanship.

Coins.—Two Shillings of Queen Elizabeth (Silver); ten Sixpences (Silver); three James VI. English Shillings (Silver); one James VI. English Sixpence; James VI. Irish Groat and Half-Groat (Silver); nine Roman (Brass). Small Bronze Crosses and other Ornaments, &c.

By JOHN BELL, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Dungannon.

Irish Antiquities.

Twelve Stone Celts, from county Down.

Thirty-six Flint Arrow-heads, from county Antrim.

Twelve Tobacco Pipes, called "Danes Pipes," from the neighbourhood of Dungannon.

Six Glass Beads or Amulets, from the neighbourhood of Dungannon.

Four Chipped Flint Hatchets.

Eighteen Flint Arrow-heads, from county Armagh.

Six Sling-stones of Flint, from county Down.

Twelve Stone Celts, from county Antrim.

Twelve fragments of Urns, from cairns in Ulster.

Three Encaustic Tiles, from a pavement in St Patrick's, Dublin.

Six small Crosses, made at Petego, and sold to the Pilgrims making stations at Lough Derg.

A piece of Concrete, from the top of the ancient Round Tower at Trummery, in the county of Antrim. The marks of wands in it show that the arched top of the tower had been formed on wattles.

By ROBERT CHAMBERS, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A Collection of Antiquities of the Stone Period, from Scania, in Sweden.

1850. By GEORGE SETON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Mar. 11. Rubbings of the Brass of Sir John Ratcliffe and Alice his wife, 1527, from Crossthwaite Church, Cumberland; and of the inscribed Tablet, 1429, in the Chancel Wall, Corstorphine Church, Mid-Lothian.
- By JAMES WILSON, Esq. (the Author).
 Annals of Hawick, A.D. 1214 to 1814.
- By T. B. JOHNSTONE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Greek Coins, found at Antioch (mostly Copper, and greatly defaced).
- By J. W. M'QUEEN, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Specimens of Silver and Copper Coinage, U.S.A.; and of American Paper Money of last Century.
- Mar. 26. By RICHARD SAINTHILL, Esq.
 Olla Podrida; or Scraps, Numismatic, Antiquarian, and Literary; privately printed by the Donor.
- By W. F. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A., the Editor.
Percy Society Publications.
 The Cytezen and Uplondyshman.
 A Dialogue on Wit and Folly, by John Heywood.
 Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume, from the 13th to the 19th Century.
 Lord Mayor's Pageant, and the Civic Garland, edited by the Donor.
- By WILLIAM WALKER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 A Stone Axe of peculiar form, believed to be unique (a South Sea Axe).
- By Sir JAMES RAMSAY, Bart., F.S.A. Scot.
 Facsimile of a Gold Armilla, found on the Moor of Rannoch.
- By A. HANDYSIDE RITCHIE, Esq., A.R.S.A.
 Fragment of fine embossed Samian Ware, dug up in Inveresk Churchyard (the piece referred to in the New Statistical Account of the Parish).
- April 8. By Sir W. C. TREVELYAN, Bart.
 Four Flint Arrow-Heads, from the banks of the Hudson, U.S.
- By EGBERT MOXHAM, Esq., Architect.
 Specimens of Inlaid Tiles, Heraldic and Geometric, of Neath Abbey, oblong folio.

1850. By CHARLES COWAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. Scot.
 April 8. Reports IX. and X. of the Deputy Keeper of Records.

By E. W. BRAYLEY, Esq., F.S.A.
 Library Catalogue of Russel Institution, London.

By Rev. F. MATHER, F.S.A. Scot.
 Catalogue of Divinity Hall Library, United Presbyterian Church.
 Catalogue of Chetham Library, Manchester.

April 23. By Rev. C. J. LYON, M.A., St Andrews.
 Declaration of His Highness (Oliver, Lord Protector) for a Collection
 towards the Relief of divers Protestant Churches driven out of Poland,
 &c., dated at Wilmeston, 16th May 1658.

By DAVID LAING, Esq., Treas. S.A. Scot.
 Knox's History, 2 vols.;
 Calderwood's History, Vol. VIII.;
 Blair's Life; in continuation of the Wodrow Society Publications.

May 6. By JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq., Writer.
 An antique Oak Table.

By the SECRETARY.
 Specimens of Samian Ware, with Potter's Stamps, from Castlecary.

May 16. By J. W. CALVERT, Esq., W.S., through D. R. HAY, Esq.,
 F.S.A. Scot.
 A beautiful painted Etruscan Vase; another Etruscan Vessel, in form of a
 face; a small Vase with handle; and a Lamp.

By ROBERT BRYSON, Esq., F.S.A.
 A remarkable piece of ancient Artillery, consisting of four Guns, constructed
 of iron and copper hoops and staves, united for mounting on one car-
 riage.
 Also a Carronade, of peculiar construction, believed to have been the first
 ever made.

By W. B. JOHNSTONE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., R.S.A.
 A remarkable Double Gun, constructed of hoops and staves of iron and
 copper, from Wemyss Castle, Fifeshire; said to have originally belonged
 to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.
 Casts from the remarkable Sculptures in Roslin Chapel, representing the
 Dance of Death.

1850. By ANDREW KERR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

May 16. Figures of St Olaf and St Magnus, in relief, cast from the originals, recently discovered in the course of excavations in the choir of St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall.

Also, Casts of five Corbel-heads, from the same Cathedral.

By TITUS H. WARE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Volume of original Documents relating to Orkney, from the collection of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware, M.D.

May 21. By HORATIO MACCULLOCH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., R.S.A.

Sketch in Oils of the Ruins of St Blane's Chapel, Isle of Bute.

By J. A. SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Cast of Sculptured Slab, with figure of wild boar, and various Specimens of Roman Pottery; from Red Abbey Stead, near the village of Newstead, Roxburghshire.

By the SECRETARY.

Two ancient Keys, found on the site of the Hospital of Our Lady, Leith Wynd, during the construction of the North British Railway.

June 3. By ROBERT MAYNE, Esq., Melville Street.

Very fine Head of a Battle-Axe of bronze, found in draining the Morass at Bannockburn in 1785.

Large Pair of Thumb-Screws, said to have been used by the authorities of Montrose for extorting confession.

By J. M. MITCHELL, Esq.

Forty ancient Norman Coins, dug up at Vocreville, near Boissey, Department de l'Eure, France, in a small urn.

By Mr J. RITCHIE, Smith.

Pair of Iron Quoits, found under the foundations of a house recently demolished, in the Candlemaker's Row, Edinburgh, which appears to have been built A.D. 1600.

By the COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of the British Archæological Association, No. XXI.

By the COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, Vol. XVII.

1850. By M. CHARMA, Caen.
 June 3. Lanfranc, Notice Biographique, Littéraire, et Philosophique.
 Essai sur le Langage.
- By J. A. SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.
 Upper Stone of a large Quern, found close by the foundations of an ancient bridge, believed to be Roman, at the Red Abbey Stead, near Newstead.
 Skulls of the *Bos longifrons*, and part of the Skull of a Horse, found, in a deep shaft or well, along with Roman Pottery, &c., at Newstead, Roxburghshire.
- By WILLIAM DOUGLAS, Esq., Artist.
 Fine ancient Cross-Bow, with inlaid stock.
- Dec. 9. By WILLIAM MURRAY of Henderland, Esq., F.S.A.
 A curious collection of Reliëts, chiefly in iron, dug up in the ruins of Lochmaben Castle, Dumfriesshire.
- By P. CHALMERS, Esq. of Auldbar.
 A remarkable Fibula, in facsimile, the original of which was found in gold near the Moray Firth.
- By C. R. SMITH, Esq., and F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq.
 The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne.
- By Mr HENRY LAING.
 Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals, 4to.
1851. By the ACADEMY OF BELLES LETTRES, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES
 Jan. 13. OF STOCKHOLM.
 Numi Cufici, and Anglosachsiska Mynt, 2 vols. 4to.
- By Professor P. A. MUNCH of Christiania.
 Symbolæ ad Historiam Antiquiorem Rerum Norvegicarum.
 Die Universitats-sternwarte, &c.
- By CHRISTIAN HOLST, Corr. Mem., Chamberlain to H.M. the King of Norway.
 Ancient Norwegian Knife-Belt, used for wearing the Tolle-knives; and Ancient Baldric, set with brass studs, &c.

1851. By ROBERT BRYSON, F.S.A. Scot.
 Jan. 13. Curious Iron Padlock, formerly attached to the Cage of the Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh.
- Jan. 22. By E. J. JACKSON, Esq., F.R.S.E.
 Upwards of 100 Engravings of Scottish Buildings, chiefly from Grose's Antiquities.
- By JAMES F. MONTGOMERY, Esq.
 Forty-eight Calotypes of Scottish Buildings, Monuments, &c.
- By ALEX. F. IRVINE, Esq., younger of Drum.
 Rubbing of the Mural Brass over the effigy of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum (*ob.* 1411), in the Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen.
- By JOHN BRITTON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Britton's Autobiography, Parts 1, 2, and 3.
- By A. B. GROSART, Esq.
 A perforated Stone Relic, popularly known as an *Adder Stone*; and a Silver Coin of Queen Elizabeth, found at Abbotrule, Parish of Southend.
- By J. A. SMITH, F.S.A. Scot.
 A large perforated Stone, known by the name of *The Witch's Stone*, and formerly used in Roxburghshire as a charm against witchcraft.
- Feb. 10. By the Rev. W. B. JONES, M.A.
 Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd.
- By C. R. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
 Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. II. Parts 3 and 4.
 Iconographia Scotica.
- By the ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA.
 Konge-Speilet.
 Der Syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg.
 Grammatik für Zulu-Sproget, &c.
- Feb. 26. By GEORGE PETRIE, Esq., Corr. Mem.
 Stone Implement, Bone Pin, and fragments of a Cinerary Urn, from a barrow recently opened in Orkney.

1851. By the Rev. P. CHALMERS, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.
 Feb. 26. The History of Dunfermline, 8vo.

By Mr WILLIAM MACCULLOCH, Assistant Librarian.

Model of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, founded at Edinburgh by Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II., in 1462, and demolished A.D. 1848.

- Mar. 10. By D. O. HILL, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 A Series of 100 Calotypes of Scottish Buildings, Monuments, &c.

By J. BUCHANAN, Esq., Corr. Mem.

Title Deed of the Chapter of Glasgow Cathedral, A.D. 1635, with the Seals attached to it; recently discovered in an old house at Glasgow.

By J. MACVICAR, Esq.

Large Cinerary Urn, found at Marshill, Alloa.

- Mar. 26. By TITUS HIBBERT WARE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 Hiccesii Thesaurus Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium, 3 vols. folio, large paper.
 Montfaucon, Monumens de la Monarchie Française, 5 vols. folio.
 Annals of the Four Masters, 3 vols. 4to.

By JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Ancient Iron Crowbar, recently found in demolishing the Stockwell Bridge, Glasgow, built by Bishop Rae, circa 1345.

By ALEXANDER WHITE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Silver Ring-Brooch, found near the Roman Wall at Hexham, Northumberland.

By JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq.

Musical Instruments, formerly belonging to the Band of the Old Edinburgh Volunteers.

By J. BLACKSTONE, Esq.

Ancient Map of Ireland (Reprint).

1851. By WILLIAM H. SCOTT, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
 April 14. *Martini Grammatica Hebræa et Chaldæa*, 1621, &c.; and, the following
 Coins, in addition to a small collection of Modern, Provincial, and
 Foreign Coins—

Constantinus,	2	III.	Æ.
Urbs Roma,	1	III.	Æ.
Crispus,	1	III.	Æ.
Constantinus II.,	1	III.	Æ. struck in London.
Magnentius,	1	II.	Æ.
Constantius Gallus,	1	III.	Æ.
Valentinianus,	1	III.	Æ.

By the COUNCIL.

Vol. VI. *Journal of the British Archæological Association.*

By Sir JAMES RAMSAY of Banff, Bart., F.S.A. Scot.

Choice examples of Art-Workmanship, selected from the Exhibition of
Ancient and Mediæval Art, imp. 8vo.

By JOHN SCOTT, M.D., F.R.S.E.

Comb of carved Ivory, brought from Kandy, when the English entered it
 and expelled the King.

By Sir WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Bart.

One of two modern Stone Vessels, very similar in character, procured by
 the Donor on one of the Faroe Islands, where they are used for carrying
 burning embers, as a sort of chafing-dishes.

By the SECRETARY.

A remarkable Bronze Matrix, inscribed in Hebrew characters, recently
 found in the vicinity of Duddingstone Church, in a newly-ploughed field
 on the south-eastern slope of Arthur Seat, near Edinburgh.

May 12. By the COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE.

Proceedings of the Congresses of the Archæological Institute, Lincoln and
 Norwich, 2 vols. 8vo.

By J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., &c.

Tradesmen's Tokens, current in London 1648 to 1672, 4to, large paper.

By C. R. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

Collectanea Antiqua, Part V.

1851 By Mrs ROBERT CHAMBERS.

May 12. Roman Silver Coins of Antoninus, Trajan, Vespasian, &c.

By WILLIAM WALKER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Bronze Axe-head, or Palstave, believed to have been found in the Parish of Applegarth, Dumfriesshire.

May 28. By the COUNCIL.

Journal of the Archæological Association, No. XXV.

By the SOCIETY.

Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London, 1849-50.

By R. BRACKSTONE, Esq.

Specimens of Irish Bronze Ring Money.

By DANIEL WILSON, Esq., Secretary.

Two ancient Bronze Matrices, found in the ruins of Culross Abbey, one imperfect, a pointed oval, the Virgin and Child, SIGILL : PRIOR : P : : : VC.; the second, round, an angel carrying a large B. HOC · EST · SECRETVM · EV.; the third, a pointed oval, Knight's Seal—a Bird : S · RADVLFI · DE · COVINTR. This was obtained from the same person as the two others, and is therefore supposed to have also been found at Culross.

June 9. By BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., M.P.

One Hundred Copies of his "Journal of a Tour in Scotland in the Summer of 1839," for distribution among the Members.

By Lieutenant F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.

Hammer of Greenstone, and Celt of Nephrite, both found in a barrow in Shetland.

By J. A. SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Skull from a Roman Shaft at Newstead, Roxburghshire, found along with Roman Pottery, Arms, &c.

By AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq.

Casts of a Great Seal of Edward III., used during that King's absence from the realm, from a Seal recently discovered at Winchester College.

1851. By Mrs MYLNE, Portobello.
- June 9. Engraved Wine Glass, formerly belonging to the Duke of Perth, and preserved as a relic of Prince Charles Edward, by whom it was last used, immediately before the Battle of Culloden.

By WILLIAM RENDALL, Esq., Surgeon, Westray.

Bronze Oval Brooch, Ring Brooch, and various Iron Relics, including a Hatchet, Spear-head, and portions of the Umbo of a Shield, all found in one of a group of graves on the Links of Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. Also, a Male Human Skull, from the same grave.

- July 7. *By LORD MURRAY.

A fine Two-handed Sword, which belonged to the Lindsay Family, and was used at the Battle of Methven, A.D. 1306; obtained from a descendant of the family by C. K. Sharpe, Esq.
Also, a Steel Lock or Puzzle, of curious construction.

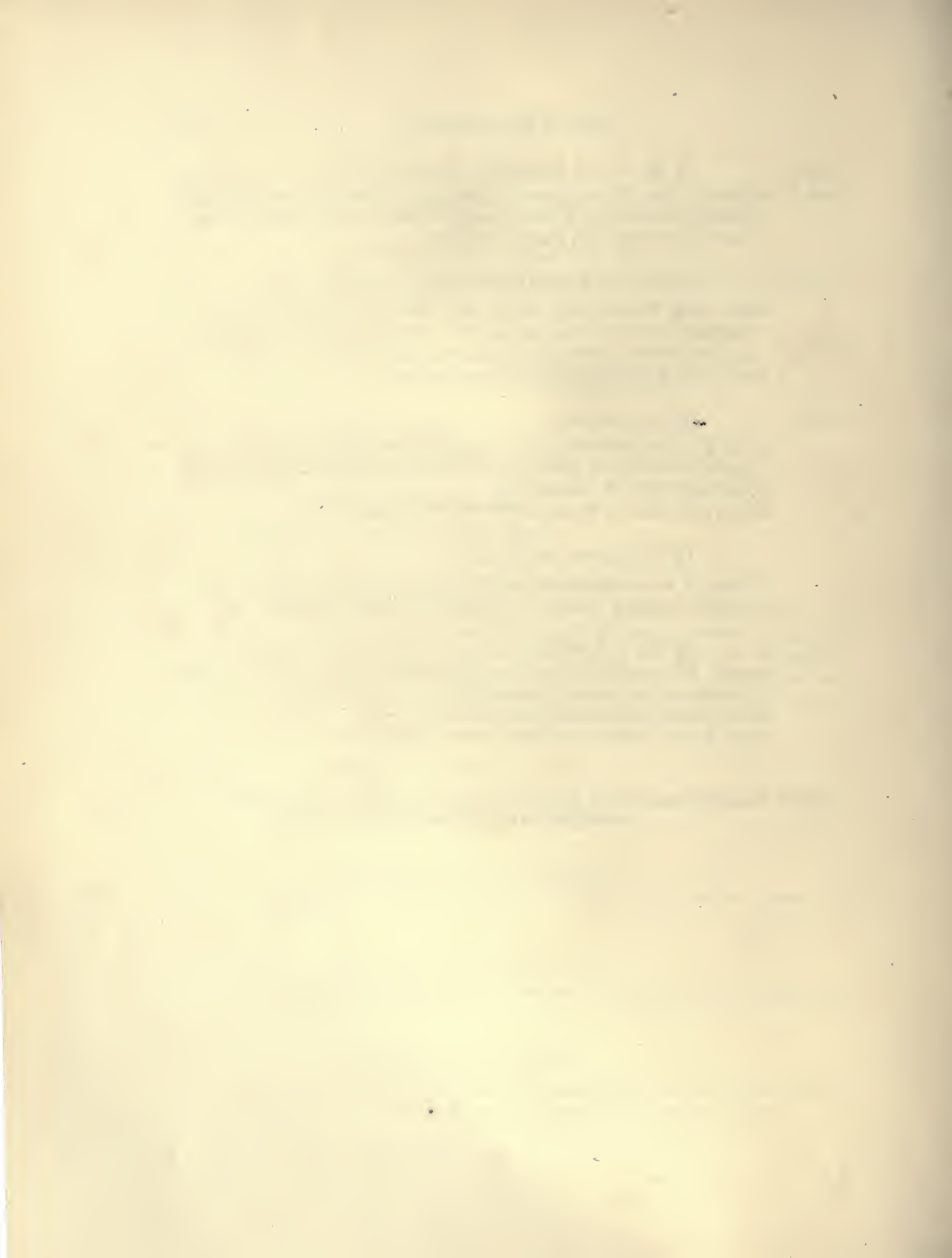
By J. T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq.

Portions of an ancient sculptured Stone Cross, found in demolishing the ancient Church of Hoddam. Also from the Sharpe Collection.

By Rev. J. JAFFRAY.

Ancient Basket-hilted Sword, found in 1843, in the bed of the River Shannon, at the head of Keeltay Falls.
Bronze Ring, called "a Druid's Ring of office."
Small Roman Terra-cotta, a Boar, found at Birrenswark.

** The List of Donations from this date is continued in the *Proceedings* of the Society, at the commencement of the monthly meetings.



HADRIAN

THE BUILDER OF THE ROMAN WALL:

A PAPER READ AT THE MONTHLY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 4 AUG. 1852.

IN REPLY TO

*“The Roman Wall: An attempt to substantiate the claims of Severus to the
authorship of the Roman Wall. By ROBERT BELL.”*

BY THE

REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A., F.S.A.

ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

HADRI



ANVS

LONDON:

J. RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: G. BOUCHIER RICHARDSON, CLAYTON-STREET-WEST.

CARLISLE: A. THURNHAM. MILTON STATION: W. HALL.

MDCCCLIII.

It is with considerable reluctance that I publish this tract. With the author of "An attempt to substantiate the claims of Severus to the authorship of the Roman Wall," I have had much friendly intercourse. Glad should I have been had our contests still been confined to an occasional tilt at his fireside or my own. In the view however of the world of letters, Mr. Bell has "thrown his gage," and "I must take it up." No one who is acquainted with all the circumstances of the case can for a moment doubt that upon me this duty peculiarly devolves.

Last August I read before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne the paper of which this is a revised copy. Since that period I have so frequently met with Mr. Bell's pamphlet in my mural haunts, and have so often heard his statements urged in opposition to the views which I believe to be correct, that if I had before any doubt as to the propriety of meeting him upon the arena which he has chosen, I could not hesitate now.

Truth generally results from discussion. In consequence of Mr. Bell's statements, I have been induced to investigate some points which I had taken for granted before, and have in some particulars modified my views. The result has however in every case been to render me more confident than before that Hadrian and not Severus built our Roman Wall.

*Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
December 17, 1852.*

HADRIAN

THE BUILDER OF THE ROMAN WALL.

THE question, Who built the Wall? is not one of words merely. It bears strongly on the principles and policy of the Roman rule in Britain. According to the popular view, the Barrier is the work of three different eras. First of all, Agricola we are told^a raised a mound of earth, to exclude the Caledonians from southern Britain. This being found insufficient, Hadrian came to the Island, and, as the result of his wisdom and power, another sod fence, with a ditch, was constructed. This too having proved ineffectual, Severus, eighty years afterwards, built a stone wall. If this be a true history of the Lower Barrier, Roman policy in Britain was a weak and feeble thing—a system of shifts and expedients—and altogether destitute of forethought, energy, and power. Conceive however the Wall with its Murus and Vallum, with its stations, castles, turrets and roads, to be one great design, the work of one comprehensive mind, making provision for the attacks of treacherous allies and open foes, and we entertain a thought worthy of Rome, we contemplate a policy which by its decision must have been an effectual and merciful one, and which fully accounts for the thorough and complete hold which the Romans for centuries maintained of this district of the country.

Some writers, persuaded of the absurdity of ascribing the works of the Barrier to three different eras, yet maintain that it is the effort of two. Hadrian they allow drew both the lines of the Vallum, but Severus they contend has the honour of erecting the stone Wall.^b This, though it

^a See Hutton's Roman Wall.

^b See Horsley's Eritannia Romana.

diminishes the difficulty by one grade, does not remove it, and exhibits to us the mighty Hadrian, in the noontide of his age and the plentitude of the empire's strength, adopting a policy which is feebleness itself in comparison with that which the aged, the gouty, the harassed Severus pursues in the ebbing moments of his life, and amidst the distractions of a declining empire. Nevertheless the question cannot be answered by an appeal to fitness and probability, but by an actual examination of the works themselves, of the inscriptions found upon them, and of the ancient writers who describe them.

The Rev. John Hodgson twelve years ago gave to the world a number of weighty reasons which induced him to come (though, as he tells us, slowly) to the conclusion that both the Vallum and the Murus were the work of Hadrian, and a few months since I ventured to publish, in a more popular form, some of the arguments which induced me to adopt the opinion of the Historian of Northumberland. So far as I have had an opportunity of observing, these reasons have been thought satisfactory by antiquaries. In the most recent publications which allude to the Wall—(I refer especially to the works of Mr. Roach Smith^c and Mr. Thomas Wright^d)—the view that Hadrian built the whole is maintained.^e One author however demurs to this decision. Mr. Robert Bell, of Irthington, has published a quarto tract entitled “The Roman Wall: an attempt to substantiate the claims of Severus to the authorship of the Roman Wall.” This work I have read with the greatest interest, and conceiving that the cause of historic truth may be served by an examination of the writer's arguments, I venture to lay before this Society, which has its local habitation in a place which derived its ancient designation from the cognomen of Hadrian, the observations which its perusal has suggested.

^c Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 174.

^d Celt. Roman and Saxon, 99.

^e Since this paper was prepared a second edition of Stuart's “Caledonia Romana” has appeared. In it (p. 88) the following note by the editor occurs ;—“Later writers are nearly agreed in the opinion that Severus did not erect the wall popularly ascribed to him, but only repaired the one formerly built by Hadrian.—*Vide Bruce's Roman Wall, pp. 369-392.* Accordingly the editor has deemed it his duty to substitute throughout this present work the name ‘Hadrian's Wall’ for ‘the Wall of Severus.’”

Mr. Bell begins by saying that "the object of this paper is to investigate the grounds upon which the authorship of the Roman Wall, from the Tyne to the Solway, is attributed to Hadrian, by some, and by others, to Severus." This part of his subject, I feel constrained to say, he has scarcely attempted to accomplish. The arguments on behalf of Hadrian's claims are not brought forward at all, or are not fairly stated. The argument which to my mind is the most conclusive, namely, that drawn from an examination of the works themselves, is only referred to as a matter of merriment; upon the historical part of the question, the passage from Spartian ascribing the Wall (*murus*) to Hadrian is altogether omitted; and upon the subject of inscriptions he confines himself to those which have been discovered in his own locality, where comparatively few have been found, and altogether ignores the numerous lettered stones which Northumberland has yielded to antiquarian research.^f So much for the first object which Mr. Bell proposes to himself; he has however a second design in view, which he states in the conclusion of his opening sentence—"and particularly to record the evidence upon which I place my conviction that the great work in question, is referrible to Lucius Septimius Severus." This design he sets about with hearty good will; with what success we shall presently see. I would however make this observation at the outset, that as his pleadings are purely and professedly of an *ex parte* nature, we are entitled to claim for the advocates of the opposing theory a favourable verdict, should he fail to establish his point.

Mr. Bell's great argument—the one with which he commences the onslaught on the advocates of Hadrian, and with which he winds up the pæan of his supposed victory—is the inscription on an ancient quarry on the banks of the river Gelt.

It is needless to dwell upon the different copies which have been made of this inscription. It is admitted on all hands, that it records the name of a detachment of the second legion, and that it bears date in the consul-

^f The following is the summary way in which he disposes of the inscriptions which have been found in the county which contains the larger portion of the Wall—"So far as Northumberland is concerned, I am not in possession of any local knowledge."—*p.* 6.

ship of Aper and Maximus, that is A.D. 207. For the satisfaction of the reader, who may not have seen any representations of this curious carving, a woodcut of it is here presented, which was drawn by Mr. J. Storey, jun.,



for my work upon the Roman Wall, but which was not used for that purpose, as, through Mr. Bell's kind assistance, that artist was afterwards enabled to make a more accurate sketch, which was executed in lithography, and appears in the first and second editions of the volume just referred to.

Now what is the use which our author makes of this undisputed inscription?

He maintains—

First, That because this vexillation of the second legion inscribed the name of their troop on the face of the quarry, they were at this period (A.D. 207) extensively engaged in working the quarry.⁵

Secondly, That since many inscribed stones found on the line of the Wall mention the second legion, the stone Wall was, for some miles in the neighbourhood of Irthington, built by the second legion. And hence—

⁵ "That Gelt quarry has been worked very extensively by the second legion, in the consulate of Aper and Maximus, is proved by the 'gaping inscription' of Camden."—p. 16.

Thirdly, That the building of the Wall was contemporaneous with the inscription on the Gelt quarry.^h

Let us examine each of these positions.

The second legion had before the time of Severus, as we shall presently see, taken up its head-quarters at Carleon, the *Isca* of the Romans; but that detachments of it visited the north of England at subsequent periods, is proved by several inscriptions besides the one in question. But, because a vexillation of that legion carved some lines upon the face of a quarry on the Gelt, we are not necessarily to infer that they were engaged in *extensive* quarrying operations there. It is possible that they may have been occupied in procuring stone from the spot; but it is just as likely that they were in the locality for some ordinary purpose, and that they carved the name of their vexillation, with the date of the transaction, upon the face of what might then be an old quarry, with the very same view as, in after times, F. GRAHAM, W. HARDCASTLE, T. THOMPSON, W. NELSON, and some others, have inscribed their un-Roman-like names on the same rock. It is true that some parts of the Roman inscription are not easily accessible, but we cannot tell what accumulations of earth and rubbish the river which washes the base of the cliff may have removed since the days of Severus.

With respect to Mr. Bell's second proposition, there never existed any doubt respecting it. It is admitted on all hands, that the second legion was extensively employed upon the Wall, and so was the sixth; and, I may also add, though this has not been always allowed, so was the twentieth. The passage in which Mr. Bell labours to maintain his undisputed position is worthy of quotation, however, as it contains one or two interesting facts, and exhibits the incautious way in which he occasionally reasons.

^h Mr. Bell's words are—"From the foregoing observations, it may reasonably be admitted that the second legion was quartered in Cumberland, in the reign of Severus, as proved by the inscription on Gelt Rock; and that the Wall, in this neighbourhood, was constructed by that legion, is equally clear from the above mentioned stones found in this locality. The *Hadrianites* endeavour to evade this powerful proof that the wall was built by Severus," etc.

“That the stone Wall, for some miles, in our neighbourhood, was built by the second legion, there are many stones, found on the line of Wall, to prove. At Old-wall, Irthington, there is one walled in an old building, standing on the line of Wall, bearing the following inscription—LEG II AVG > IVLI TERTVLLIA—This is a common walling stone, of about ten inches by eight, which has evidently come out of the Wall. I have one in my own possession, a much nicer stone; upon it is the following inscription—LEG II AVG FECIT. This I got from Newtown, of Irthington, having discovered it in the wall of a very ancient dwelling house, situate exactly on the site of the Wall. I gave the old man, to whom the house belonged, a peck of potatoes for it, and had it taken out, and the place walled up again. A few years ago, I saw two stones worked in the same manner, one of them having a similar inscription, the other was a little defaced. I neglected looking after them at that time, and they are now gone; doubtless they have been taken away by some *knowing one*, as they were on the public road-side, in a stone fence on the line of Wall. There is one yet remaining, in a stone wall, near to the station of AMBOGLANNA; but it is illegible from having been so much exposed to the weather.”—p. 5.

To establish his position, the antiquary of Irthington has here produced the authority of five stones. The first two are quite to the purpose. Of the third he seems to have but an indistinct recollection, for, instead of copying it, as he did the two former, he simply says it had a “similar inscription,” without saying to which of the two it was similar, for they are different. Of the fourth his testimony is even less satisfactory, as all he says of it is, “the other was a little defaced.” Of the fifth, which he reserves for the climax of his statement, he gives the definite, though still unsatisfactory information, that “it is *illegible* from having been so much exposed to the weather”! The point which Mr. Bell here labours to establish is, as I have said, universally admitted by antiquaries;—were it not so, he could scarcely expect “the *Hadrianites*,” whom he straightway charges with “endeavouring to evade this *powerful proof* that the Wall was built by Severus,” to bow down before the testimony of defaced and illegible inscriptions.

We now proceed to Mr. Bell’s third position, namely, that because a large portion of the Wall was built by the second legion, and because a vexillation of that legion left an inscription upon a quarry on the Gelt in the reign of Severus—therefore the Wall was built at that period. It is

curious to observe with how much agility Mr. Bell jumps at his conclusions. After having adduced the inscriptions by the second legion just referred to, he says—"From the foregoing observations, it may reasonably be admitted that the second legion was quartered in Cumberland, in the reign of Severus, as proved by the inscription on Gelt rock." The premises do not warrant any such inference.

The inscriptions on the Wall itself do indeed prove that the second legion was engaged in the erection of that structure, and in three instances after-mentioned the name of Hadrian is coupled with that of the second legion on those inscriptions, whilst the inscription at the Gelt merely establishes the fact, that a part of that legion was in Cumberland in the reign of Severus. It is generally admitted that the second Legion, as well as the sixth and the twentieth, was employed on the works of Hadrian, and there is nothing improbable in the idea, that a detachment of this legion, in the reign of Severus, visited these parts, and was engaged in the erection of some new defences on the line of the Wall, or in the reparation of some ruined buildings. Certain it is, that several inscriptions record the restoration of buildings at a period very shortly subsequent to this—namely, in the time of Caracalla and Heliogabalus.

Until Mr. Bell can give us some more satisfactory evidence than the quarry on the Gelt affords, we must refuse to admit, not only that the Wall was built in the reign of Severus, but that the main body of the second legion was quartered in Cumberland at that time.

We might now rest satisfied with having shown that Mr. Bell's inference is not justified by his premises, but we may assume higher ground. From the fact that the Wall was built by the second legion, (with the sixth and the twentieth), I am disposed to deduce the very inference which it is Mr. Bell's object to overthrow, namely, that the Wall was built by Hadrian. Before the time of Severus, the second legion had taken up its head-quarters at Carleon, the *Isca* of the Romans, and wherever it may have been during the wars of this Emperor with the Caledonians, it was at Carleon in the year in which the Wall is said to have been built. Horsley says—

"In Hadrian's time this legion was in Cumberland, at Netherby and Bewcastle,

and in the western side of Northumberland, and so very probably had their share in the work of Hadrian's Vallum (*query* Wall ?) ; or when in the advanced stations of Netherby and Bewcastle they might be posted there to secure those who were employed in that work. In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, they were most probably upon the eastern part of the Roman Wall in Northumberland. From hence, in the same reign, they marched into Scotland, and were employed there in building the Wall, as appears from the express testimony of several inscriptions found there ; *and yet in the same reign they seem likewise to have been at Carleon*, as appears from Ptolemy's testimony, though he confounds the two *ISCAS* and mistakes the one for the other. In Severus's time 'tis very probable they were employed upon the Wall that goes by his name. From Northumberland or Cumberland they marched, probably through Westmoreland, to Carleon, and might leave in their march the inscription we find in Westmoreland, if it be genuine. If this legion had taken up its quarters at Carleon before the reign of Severus and the building of his Wall, yet it might march from thence for this service and for the war carried on against the Caledonians, and then return to its quarters again after both these were at an end. *However, they must have been at Carleon in Severus's life time*, or in the joint reigns of him and Caracalla, in the year 210, as is plain from an inscription found there."—*Britannia Romana*, p. 78.

I have quoted the whole of the above passage from Horsley, that I may not seem to have selected a portion of it unfairly. From it we learn that the second legion was in the region of the Wall in Hadrian's time—that before the close of Antoninus's reign it was at Carleon—and that again in 210 it was at the same place. When Horsley says that it was *probably* brought from Wales to build the Wall, he states what I think is extremely improbable. Was it likely that Severus would build the Wall before he went upon his Scottish expedition, seeing that he had resolved upon the complete subjugation of the Caledonians ?—was it likely that he could spare troops to undertake this labour, whilst engaged in a contest which cost him three years, and fifty thousand men ?—and was it likely that when he returned from Scotland, broken-hearted and in a dying state, he could plan so great a work as the Wall ? or if he did, was it possible for the second legion to have accomplished its share of the labour, and to have returned to its head-quarters at Carleon, before the death of Severus ? The Wall must have occupied several years in building.

The only period during which any great body of the second legion can have been in the region of the Wall, is during the reign of Hadrian.

That most of the inscriptions prepared by this body have been executed before the reign of Severus is, I think, rendered probable by the character of them. This is not an argument on which I lay much stress, and I now only refer to it in consequence of the ridicule with which Mr. Bell treats it. He says—

“ But it is again argued¹ that the character of many inscriptions of this legion, found on the Wall, betoken them to have been earlier than the time of Severus—strange discovery!! I have seen the slab at Netherby, inscribed to Severus. I have not seen any one to Hadrian; but only copies: I possess coins of Hadrian, as well as of his Empress Sabina; of Severus, and of his empress Julia; of his sons Caracalla and Geta; nearly every one of them found on or near the line of the Wall, so that I know they are no counterfeits; but for my part I cannot perceive any especial difference of character between the reign of Hadrian and of Severus.”

What one person cannot do another may sometimes be able to accomplish. Horsley says (p. 188)—“ Now the date of an inscription may be known principally two ways; either by the matter of it, or by the form of the letters.”—again—“ where all these fail we may have recourse to the different shape of the letters, and variety of ligatures by which they are sometimes connected. That there was a difference in the form and cut of the letters in different ages is very evident, though it must be owned that this criterion is in many instances very difficult, and in some perhaps scarce possible to be adjusted with certainty.”

¹ Where he finds it so argued I know not. The only passage which I know of that refers to this topic is the following, which occurs at p. 387 of the first edition of my work upon the Roman Wall;—“ Horsley, speaking of the inscriptions on the Wall which mention this legion (the sixth), says ‘ some of them, from the characters and other circumstances, may be supposed as ancient as Hadrian’s reign.’ ” Surely a sentiment so modestly put, and that by one who was no “ Hadrianite ” cannot have provoked Mr. Bell’s exclamation “ strange discovery!! ” However, as an auxiliary argument, I am willing to adopt the words he imputes to those who differ from him on our present subject of inquiry.

² Bell’s ‘ Attempt to substantiate, etc., ’ p. 6.

Now let any one compare the Milking-gap slab (of which an engraving will be found in a subsequent page) which is known to have been erected by the second legion in the reign of Hadrian, and the Gelt-rock inscription (of which the wood-cut gives a specimen) which is known to have been



written by some of that legion in the reign of Severus, and say if there is no difference in the shape of the characters? Take the letter L. Horsley gives eight forms of it, and he says expressly of the fifth, which is the one on the Gelt inscription, this "was introduced about the time of Severus." He gives also several forms of the G., "the three last" of which, he says, "are not used in the more ancient inscriptions." It is the one immediately preceding these three which has been used at the Gelt quarry.

I do not maintain that the more perfect forms of the letters which were used in Hadrian's time were not used in Severus's days, or even later, just as the Norman arch may be introduced into an early English or decorated building, but I do maintain (so far as my experience goes) that the late forms of the letters do not occur in the earlier inscriptions. When therefore we find the inscriptions of the second legion, the sixth, and the twentieth, discovered upon the line of the Wall, chiefly consist of well-shaped, boldly chiselled characters, to a large extent destitute of ligatures, the presumption is in favour of their being of an early rather than of a late date, of their belonging to the reign of Hadrian rather than of Severus.

The coins of the Romans which circulated in Britain were I believe chiefly struck in the city of Rome. In this case, the form of the letters used would be less liable to variation than in inscriptions written by soldiery long separated from the seat of Empire.

This part of Mr. Bell's argument may therefore, I trust, be considered as disposed of.

But he is not done with the Gelt quarry, he says—

"The *Hadrianites* endeavour to evade this powerful proof that the wall was built

by Severus, by the supposition that the inscription, on the Gelt rock, was made when the Wall was only repaired by Severus, in the year 207. But it must be observed that the inscription is nearly at the top of a rock, and the quarry has been worked to an enormous extent, down to the bed of the river, a depth of at least fifty feet. If Severus only repaired the stone Wall, previously built by Hadrian, the Picts, not being satisfied with breaking it down, must have carried the materials with them into Caledonia; otherwise it could never have cost Severus the enormous labour and expense of merely repairing a few breaches in the Wall.”^k

Again he says—

“That there are no traces of workings in the quarries of this neighbourhood at all commensurate with the quantity necessarily wanted for a work so stupendous, without including the powerful aid of Gelt, may by inspection of the neighbourhood, be ascertained.”^l

Although I am of opinion that but little stone has been removed from that portion of the cliff of the Gelt, on which the vexillation of the second legion have recorded their presence in those parts in the consulate of Maximus and Aper, I have no doubt of the existence of several ancient quarries in its immediate vicinity. This, however, is not the question; but when were they opened, and for what purpose?

If the chief supplies for the Wall were taken from this source, and if the Wall was built by the second legion (among others), as we have seen it was, these quarries must, for the reasons already assigned, have been opened before the time of Severus. It may however well be doubted if the chief supplies for the Wall were derived from this source, as an abundance of stone equally good was to be obtained much nearer at hand. I made the following note the last time I was at Old Wall, which is within a stone's throw of Irthington. The information I derived from the farmers of the place.—“There are some old quarries called the Breaks quarries about a mile and a quarter north of the Wall, from which it is supposed the stones of the Roman Wall were taken. These quarries have, at all events, been extensively wrought in ancient times. The ‘written rock’ of

^k Bell's ‘Attempt to substantiate, etc.’ p. 5.

^l Ibid. p. 16.

Gelt is probably four or five miles south of the Wall." This information agrees precisely with that which I had received from other parties previously, and with that which I have since obtained. Mr. John Gibson, of Hayton, with whom I have corresponded recently, in consequence of his being pointed out to me as a person who had much practical acquaintance with the subject, tells me that "Most probably a great weight of stone went from the Breaks, as the unevenness of the ground shows that there have been some extensive workings there."

Is it likely that the Romans would derive their sole or even chief supplies from the Gelt, when they could get stone equally good much nearer ?

I am glad, upon this subject, to quote the opinion of one so intimately acquainted with it as Mr. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland :— "The quarry at Hellbeck Scar (Gelt) might serve for the largest stones for part of the Murus, and the stations at Brampton, Old Church, and Walton Castlesteads. For the general purposes of the Murus, stone, however, could be got in places much nearer than Hellbeck Scar, as on the banks of the Irthing, and especially at Bleatarn, where there are large ancient quarry holes."^m

The same author speaking in another place of the Gelt rock, says— "That this red rock was quarried by the Romans to be used for buildings between the Irthing and the Gelt, I cannot dispute ; but that it should be brought across the Irthing to build any part of the Wall with, is more than I can believe, after finding that the Murus, for a great way westward, has been built out of the white sandstone quarries of Lannerton ; and that in Laversdale, and at Old Wall and Bleatarn, there are very extensive ancient quarries of red sandstone, of which it has been constructed in that neighbourhood."ⁿ

Had the stone from the Breaks quarries been inferior to that of the Gelt, a sufficient reason would have existed for rejecting what was near, and bringing to the Wall that which was further removed ; but the stone in both places is of precisely the same quality, being in fact derived from the same range of rock.

^m Hodgson's Northumberland, II. iii. 298.

ⁿ Ibid. 441.

To the conclusion which we naturally draw from these premises, that the Romans derived their chief supplies from the Breaks quarries, Mr. Bell opposes his local knowledge. He says—"All the stone-masons in the neighbourhood agree in opinion that the great bulk of the stone of which the Wall is constructed, is Gelt stone." I have not the opportunities which Mr. Bell has of ascertaining the opinion of the people of the district upon this subject; I have however more than once, on the spot, made inquiries respecting it, and have been led to understand that the local testimony was in favour of the Breaks quarries. In recently writing to Mr. Gibson, to whom I have already referred, I asked him if he had seen the stone of which the Roman Wall was built, and whether he thought it had been derived from the Gelt or the Breaks quarries. His answer is—"I have seen the stone of which the Roman Wall was built, but as the Breaks stone and the Gelt stone are both one sort, it is difficult to say which it is, but there is little doubt that stone went from both places to the Wall." Perhaps to this opinion I may be allowed to add the *practice* of the reconstructors of Irthington Church; which stands by the gate of Mr. Bell's residence. The original structure was composed of Wall stones, as the chancel still is. The body of the church has been rebuilt within the last three or four years in a most tasteful and substantial manner. In the work of restoration Mr. Bell bore a worthy part. The church is to the south of the Wall, and therefore nearer to the Gelt quarry than the Wall is. Where was the stone with which the restoration was effected procured from? Not from the Gelt quarry, but from the north side of the Breaks quarries, only a little distance from the old workings! From the care, public spirit, and science, with which the repairs at Irthington have been conducted, I feel assured that had the stone from the Breaks quarries been inferior to that of the Gelt it would not have been used. At all events the chancel of the church stands—composed of Roman stones—and furnishes the ready means of testing the accuracy of the opinion formed by the masons of Irthington, if indeed any just comparison can be formed between stone recently quarried and that which has been exposed to the weather for many centuries.

But I am willing to abandon all these facts, and take simply the circumstance of an inscription having been made in the year 207, on the Gelt quarry, to prove that this quarry was not used for the building of the Wall in the reign of Severus. No one supposes that the Wall was finished A.D. 207. The utmost that the advocates of what I may call the Septimian theory contend for—and they do it chiefly on the authority of this inscription—is, that preparations for the building of the Wall were at this time set on foot. This is what the upholder of the claims of Severus says—

“The Inscription on the Gelt rock having been made A.D. 207, it is therefore objected that the Wall could not have been built by Severus; since he did not arrive in Britain till the year following. Granted he did not! But why could not the great work be commenced and carried on by the Roman engineers and legions, by order of the Emperor, as well in his absence, as if he had been in Britain to superintend? It is well known that Severus, in those days, was a great martyr to the gout;”—p. 14.

The answer to the question here put by Mr. Bell is easily supplied—the country was in too distracted a state to allow of any such operations. Herodian informs us that “whilst Severus was under a mighty concern about the conduct of his two sons, particularly with relation to one another, he receives letters from the governor of Britain, informing him of the *insurrections and inroads of the barbarians, and the havoc they made far and near*, and begging either a greater force, or that the emperor would come over himself.”^o Under these circumstances the governor of Britain would have little leisure to quarry stone in anticipation of the designs of Severus.

But to return to the Gelt inscription. Is it at all likely that at the commencement of a great work like the building of the Wall, requiring a large supply of stone, men would inscribe their names upon the face of the quarry which was to yield it? If they did so, their efforts to procure for themselves immortality would be frustrated by the pressing haste of the next day's work! The fact therefore of such an inscription appearing on the face of this quarry, furnishes incontestible evidence that it has not

^o Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 57.

been wrought subsequent to the year 207—the very year in which Severus first set foot in Britain. When therefore Mr. Bell triumphantly exclaims—“That Gelt quarry has been worked very extensively by the second legion, in the consulate of Aper and Maximus, is proved by the ‘gaping inscription’ of Camden. It is gaping there still, and will continue to gape for as many years to come, if no rude hand deface it”,—he may rest assured that it will not be defaced by “Hadrianites.”

Let us next attend to the historical part of the question. Mr. Bell is so well satisfied with the argument from this source, that he closes his review of it with these words—“I cannot but think it rather an unwarrantable liberty to assume that all the eminent authors were in error, as to the Emperor who built the stone Wall, especially since most of them lived and wrote so shortly after the time.”^p

I trust it will not be an “unwarrantable liberty” to inquire who all these “eminent authors” are.

Two “eminent” historians lived in the days of Severus, and wrote respecting this expedition into Britain, Dion Cassius^q and Herodian. Herodian professes to be an eye-witness of all he wrote, and Dion Cassius gives a very minute account of Severus’s campaign in Britain. Are these writers among the witnesses whom Mr. Bell summons to vindicate for Severus the “authorship” of the Roman Wall? They are not. Doubtless for the reason that they do not give us the slightest intimation that Severus took any part in the erection of the structure which later writers assert to be the great glory of his reign. “It is strange” says Horsley, “that neither Herodian nor Xiphiline should mention the building of a Wall by Severus. Xiphiline says ‘that the Meatae dwell near the Wall which divides the island into two parts’ but says nothing of its being built by Severus.”^r

^p ‘Attempt to substantiate, etc.’ p. 10.

^q A large part of Dion’s history is lost, but we possess an epitome of it made by Xiphiline.

^r *Britannia Romana*, p. 61.

We now come to the “eminent authors” whom Mr. Bell does mention. First in the phalanx stands Spartian. To Ælius Spartianus is usually ascribed a work consisting of several separate pieces commonly classed together under the title of “*Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores Sex.*” The following passage, respecting the difficulty of ascribing each section of this work to its proper author, and of the caution with which its statements should be received, is from the article *Capitolinus* in Smith’s Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.—

“In consequence of the confusion which prevails in the MSS. it is impossible to assign each section with absolute certainty to its real owner, and no trustworthy conclusion can be drawn from the styles of the different portions, for the lives do not exhibit the well-digested result of careful and extensive research, but are in many instances evidently made up of scraps derived from different sources, and possessing different degrees of merit, loosely tacked together, and often jumbled into a rough mass destitute of form and symmetry. Hence we find numerous repetitions of frivolous details, a strange mixture of what is grave and valuable with the most puerile and worthless rubbish, and a multitude of irreconcilable and contradictory statements freely admitted without remark or explanation. We have history here presented to us in its lowest and crudest shape. . . .”

Such is the first of the “eminent authors” referred to in vindication of the claims of Severus.

But supposing that the work popularly ascribed to Spartian was worthy of all credit, what is the nature of its testimony? Mr. Bell quotes the following passage in the life of Severus—“*Britanniam quod maximum ejus imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani munivit; unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.*” (He fortified Britain with a wall drawn across the island, ending on each side at the sea, which was the chief glory of his reign and for which he received the name of Britannicus).

There is another passage in the same work, which has escaped Mr. Bell’s attention;—it occurs in the life of Hadrian, and is as follows:—“*Britanniam petiit; in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.*” (He—Hadrian

—went to Britain where he corrected many things, and first drew a wall eighty miles long to separate the Romans from the Barbarians.)

If Spartian's authority is good in one case, it must be equally good in another. The testimony which he bears in favour of Hadrian, is more valuable than that which he gives regarding Severus, because it is more express. In speaking of Severus' Wall, Spartian simply says it was drawn from sea to sea; he gives us no means of identifying it with the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. For any thing that the passage itself contains, the Barrier of the Upper Isthmus may be intended, as Bede and Buchanan and other authors actually did understand it. The length which he ascribes to Hadrian's Wall, is very nearly the exact length of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.

Before leaving the subject of Spartian it is necessary to advert to a remark which Mr. Bell makes upon the word *murus*.

“A cavil (he says) has been set up about the terms *murus* and *vallum*; but I should suspect few will contend that they are not synonymous terms. A *murus* is a *vallum*, and a *vallum* a *murus*.”^s It occurs to me that Mr. Bell, in so writing, has referencé to the following passage in my book on the Roman Wall. After quoting the testimony of Spartian as to Hadrian's having built a wall (*murumque primus duxit*), I have said—“Mere verbal criticism will not decide the point; but it may be observed, in passing, that although the words *murus* and *vallum* are occasionally interchanged by Latin authors, the term (*murus*) which Spartian uses in this passage, taken strictly, means a *stone wall*.”^t

I am not aware that this statement is in the slightest degree incorrect. The editor of the Delphin Eutropius, whose critical powers are beyond “cavil,” in commenting upon a passage in that author, to which reference will shortly be made, says—“*Muri cespititi proprie valli dicuntur*,” (walls of turf are properly called vallums,) and in proof of his statement, cites the following passage from Bede :—“*Murus enim de lapidibus, vallum*

^s ‘Attempt to substantiate, etc.’ p. 10.

^t ‘Roman Wall,’ 1st edition, p. 373.

vero, quo ad repellendum vim hostium castra muniuntur fit, de cespitibus." (a *murus* is made of stone . . . but a vallum of sods.) An opinion which has the support of such authorities cannot with propriety be denounced as false or frivolous.

The second of Mr. Bell's "eminent authors" is Aurelius Victor, who flourished in the *fourth* century. I may not call in question any of his statements, for Mr. Bell tells us "Victor was honoured with the consulship, and was, *consequently*, a man of respectability." I cannot help, however, remarking that his testimony upon the subject of the Wall is given in precisely the same words as those which Spartian employs, though slightly transposed—" *Muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani.*"

Next comes Eutropius, of whose testimony I will say nothing, except that it ascribes to Severus a Wall *one hundred and thirty-two* miles in length. His words are—" *Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per cxxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.*"

The next "eminent author" is Cassiodorus, who lived about three hundred years after Severus. Mr. Bell is probably not aware of the meagre nature of this writer's chronicles. His history is nothing better than a chronological table, with occasional glosses. It could scarcely be expected that he should tell us that Hadrian built the Wall; for he does not even condescend to such minute particulars as to say that Hadrian came to Britain at all. Severus dying in Britain, his visit to it could not be overlooked, and he gives him credit for having built a wall 132 miles long.

The last of the list of worthies whose statements it is an "unwarrantable liberty" to question, is one whom Mr. Bell denominates Paulus Diaconus. Paul the Deacon, the writer probably here referred to, flourished upwards of five hundred years after the time of Severus. It was therefore a very prudent course in him to borrow his information re-

^a The reading most generally adopted is "xxxii millia passuum." I quote the passage as Mr. Bell has it, who seems to follow Gordon.

specting Severus from previous writers. The passage which Mr. Bell quotes from him, with the exception of the numerals, is word for word the same with that which he has selected from Eutropius. The passage is—
“Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit Severus, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per xxxv millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit.” Such being the case, it cannot be considered a very “unwarrantable liberty” to make a deduction of one from “all these eminent authors.”

One circumstance gives our author momentary uneasiness. His authorities differ widely from one another as to the length of the Wall, and not one makes an approach to its true dimensions. The difficulty, however is with him not insuperable. He says;—

“It will here be perceived that the cxxxii of Eutropius and of Cassiodorus, and the xxxv of Diaconus, do not correspond with the length of the Wall. These I consider mere mistakes of modern printers. If we substitute L for c, in Eutropius, and Cassiodorus; and place an L before the xxxv, of Diaconus; we have the length of the Wall very nearly.”

Transcribers and printers are fallible mortals, but, whenever, through their frailty or other means, a passage becomes so corrupt as to warrant the liberty that Mr. Bell takes with those in question, it must be regarded as of doubtful authority. If one of the writers who mention the length of the Wall had been right in his statement, he would have afforded data for correcting the others; but when all are wrong, we naturally conclude that the authority for their whole statement was of a very vague character, as has already been stated. The only writer who gives the length of the Wall with any thing like accuracy is Spartian, when speaking of the Wall which was built by Hadrian.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks upon the value of these writers, Mr. Bell is well satisfied with their testimony “as to the Emperor who built the stone Wall, especially since most of them lived and wrote so shortly after the time,”—and is further of opinion, that “It may as well be supposed that it will not be known eighty or ninety years hence who built that magnificent structure, the Crystal Palace of 1851, in Hyde Park, London.”

We now proceed to the testimony of inscriptions. During a considerable period of the Roman dominion, it was customary to attach to a building a slab recording the name of the emperor in whose reign it was reared, and that of the prefect or other parties concerned in its structure. This custom was coming into vogue in the time of Hadrian, and was at its height in that of Caracalla. In connection with the Wall in Scotland, we find many stones mentioning the emperor Antoninus Pius, under whose auspices it was constructed. This being the case, we might, on the supposition that Severus subsequently raised the more important work in England, expect to find this emperor's name frequently occurring on the lettered fragments found among the ruins of the Wall. The name of Severus occurs only three, or at most four times, on the stones of the mural region. One example has been found at Hexham ;^v two others have been met with at Old Carlisle.^w It is conjectured that the name of Severus was inscribed upon the upper portion of a slab, the lower part of which alone has been found, at HABITANCUM. Although the practice to which reference has been made was not so prevalent in the days of Hadrian as it afterwards became, there is more frequent mention of him than of Severus in the lettered fragments of the Barrier. Not fewer than ten slabs record the name of Hadrian. It was with some surprise, therefore, that I read the following passage in the "Attempt to substantiate the Claims of Severus":— "So far as Northumberland is concerned, I am not in possession of any local knowledge ; but, as to Cumberland, I would ask—Where are all these inscriptions to Hadrian ? I have seen a great many of the slabs and altars found in Cumberland, but, as I have already mentioned, not one with the name of Hadrian upon it."^x After stating that he was "informed" that one had been found at Moresby, with the name of Hadrian upon it, and that Camden "makes mention of one at Netherby, which Gordon says he could not find there," and which from his "own

^v A cut of it is given in my work on the Roman Wall, p. 340 of the 1st edition; 315 of the 2nd.

^w One of these is now at Netherby, and a cut of it appears in the 'Roman Wall,' p. 360 of the 1st edition; 337 of the 2nd. I know not what has become of the other.

^x Page 6.



J. STOREY DEL.

55-57 TING. NO.

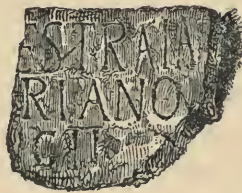
1. Milking-Gap.



J. STOREY DEL.

UTTING. 51

2. Bradley,



3. Chesterholm.



4. Cawfields Mile-Castle.



J. STOREY DEL.

76-77 TING. NO.

5. Great Chesters.



J. STOREY DEL.

UTTING. 52

6. Moresby.



7. Chapel House, Cumb.

knowledge," he "can testify is not there now," he returns to the charge in the following terms :—

"If the slabs or altars to Severus, be scarce on the line of Wall, what can be said for those of Hadrian? It is generally admitted that Hadrian constructed a wall; then might it not reasonably be expected of him; as well as of Severus, that some inscription stating the fact, would have been discovered? Such is not the case with regard to Hadrian."—p. 7.

In reply to this extraordinary statement, I have introduced on the opposite page woodcuts of such of the inscriptions to Hadrian as I have had access to, drawn by a gentleman whose integrity the substantiator of the claims of Severus will not dispute, Mr. John Storey, junr. It is quite true that these inscriptions do not declare in so many words that Hadrian built the Wall; but their presence on the line of the Wall, and in its supporting stations, very emphatically declares that it was erected in his reign. These inscriptions are remarkable for their simplicity, and consist only of the name of the emperor, of the imperial legate, and of the legion or cohort who were engaged upon the work; no verb or participle is introduced upon them. But are we thence to infer that the buildings and forts in which they were found were not built in the time and by the command of Hadrian? As well might we say, that a coin of the present reign had no connection with Queen Victoria, because the legend did not expressly state that it was struck by her authority. It is quite true that some of the inscriptions have been found in stations which may have been founded by Agricola, and that others occur in forts removed by several miles from the Wall. Their presence, at all events, proves the influence of Hadrian in this part of Britain, and shows the preponderance of his influence over that of Severus. Two of the inscriptions, however, have been found upon the line of the stone Wall itself, and at a distance from any station. They are shewn at the top of the page. The one on the left hand (1) was found in the ruins of the mile-castle at Milking-gap. The mile-castle could have had no existence independently of the Wall, which is here at more than an average distance from the Vallum. Both the fragments of the other (2) were found at Bradley, in the same vicinity. Although some of the inscriptions which follow were not found

upon the line of the Murus itself, they were all found within the bounds of that belt of country which I conceive to have formed the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. The fragments 3 and 4 have evidently formed portions of inscriptions similar to that of the Milking-gap; the former (3) was found at VINDOLANA (Chesterholm), where it still remains, the other was discovered on the line of the Wall itself, in the Cawfields mile-castle, and it is now preserved at Chesters. The large slab, No. 5, was found at ÆSICA (Great Chesters), a station which certainly would never have been founded except to accommodate a mural garrison. It also is at Chesters. The fine slab, No. 6, was found at Moresby, and is now at Whitehaven Castle. The next fragment, No. 7, was found at Chapel-house, Cumberland, (where it still remains), which is manifestly the site of a mile-castle.

Slabs inscribed to Hadrian have been found at Bewcastle, Netherby, and Middleby, but they are not known to be now in existence.

The reader will I trust consider that I have now given a satisfactory answer to the question "If the slabs or altars to Severus be scarce on the line of the Wall what can be said for those of Hadrian?"

But if Mr. Bell is incredulous upon some points, he keeps the balance true by being very easy of belief on others. With reference to the inscriptions to Hadrian, which are open to the inspection of every one, he cries "Where are they?"—with reference to an inscription to Severus which, I venture to assert, no one ever saw, and no one ever will see, he in effect says "Should it be slighted on that account?" He fancies he has found a slab which in express terms ascribes the building of the Wall to Severus. But let Mr. Bell announce the fact in his own words.—

"Gordon, in his Itinerary, says, 'Mr. Camden, in the additions to his work, gives the following inscription on a slab to Severus, viz.—SEPT. SEVERO. IMP. QVI. MVRVM. HVNC CONDIDIT.'—and again adds, 'This inscription is not now to be found.'—Possibly not! But is authority so high, as that of Camden, to be slighted on that account?'—p. 7.

Here the substantiator of the claims of Severus flings across the path of our enquiry the ghost of Camden. Shall we venture to question it?

The attempt is hazardous; but the example of Mr. Bell himself, in the earlier pages of his tract, encourages us to do so. The great "nourice of antiquity" though the first to make us acquainted with the inscription on the Gelt quarry, does not give it quite so correctly as through our author's kindness, I have been enabled to give it in my work upon the Wall, and he is in consequence exposed to the following rebuke—"Camden's copy of the inscription is very incorrect. He is also in error in his account of the locality of the rock; for in the first place, he calls it Helbeck. Now Helbeck discharges itself into the Gelt a full quarter of a mile above the written rock"—etc., etc. "It might well be supposed that Camden never saw the rock or the inscription upon it; but even if he did, he must have contented himself with reading it from the bed of the river, not being disposed to hazard his life for the purpose of taking a correct copy."

If the antiquary of Irthington ventures thus boldly to rebuke the glorious Camden, surely we may be permitted humbly to examine the authenticity of the document in question, even though it should be supported by authority so weighty as his.

Probably no one acquainted with the usual style of Roman inscriptions can suffer his eye to rest for one moment upon this inscription *SEP. SEVERO IMP. QVI MVRVM HVNC CONDIDIT* without pronouncing it to be a most extraordinary one, and with the next breath asking—but is it Roman?

The phrase *murum hunc condidit* is most unusual. It might be applied to some minor erection, such as the gable of a cottage, or a garden wall; but it cannot be referred with any degree of propriety to a grand and extensive work such as the Roman Wall—a work which, according to Spartian, was "the great glory" of the reign of Severus. The inscriptions recording the erection of the Barrier of the Upper Isthmus are numerous, and they are minute in their details, but they never contain a phrase such as "*murum hunc condidit*" or "*vallum hoc condidit.*" They contain the names of the emperor and of the cohort engaged, and they specify the number of paces executed, but do not refer to the Wall itself in more specific terms than this, *perfecit opus valli.* Most frequently indeed, the word *fecit*, or *solvit*, or still more frequently the letter F, stands alone, without any reference to the structure at all.

But further, the mode of naming the emperor is peculiar. The legend *SEP. SEVERO IMP.* is probably not to be met with on any undoubtedly authentic document, whether coin, altar, or dedicatory slab. In the age of Severus the names and titles of an emperor were usually given at great length, and upon an occasion like this, when his claim to the “authorship of the Roman Wall”—“the great glory of his reign” was to be asserted, they would have occupied at least half-a-dozen lines. But, how much soever his titles are contracted, they never, I believe, assume the form which they do in the case before us.

But does this inscription come down to us warranted as Mr. Bell tells us it does with “authority so high as that of Camden”? Here are Mr. Bell’s words—

“Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, says, ‘Mr. Camden, in the additions to his work, gives the following inscription on a slab to Severus, viz.—*SEPT. SEVERO. IMP. QVI. MVRVM. HVNC CONDIDIT.*’—and again adds, ‘This inscription is not now to be found.’—Possibly not! But is authority so high, as that of Camden, to be slighted on that account?’—p. 7.

I exceedingly regret that Mr. Bell does not name the page in Gordon’s *Itinerary* from which he takes the preceding passage. At page 84 in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* I find the following sentence, which, though bearing a general resemblance to Mr. Bell’s *quotation*, conveys a totally different meaning. Can this be the passage referred to?

“In the last editions of Camden in the additions to that book, we have an inscription, which, if it be genuine, would put the matter of the Walls beyond dispute; but it is very much doubted of by the learned in antiquity. It is thus—*SEPT. SEVERO IMP. QUI MURUM HUNC CONDIDIT*: For my own part I made enquiry about this stone, but could never see it, nor any one who had ever seen it.”

It thus appears (if this be the passage in question) that the *HUNC MURUM* inscription which was to confound all “Hadrianites” is not in Camden at all, but in the *additions* which were made to his work, upwards of a century after his death. Even Gordon, who is made by Mr. Bell to

act the part of sponsor for the stone, had no faith in it. Do the claims of Severus require to be thus substantiated?

In the latest editions of Camden, published in his lifetime, those of 1600 and 1607, there is no mention made of this inscription, but in Gibson's Camden, in which the "additions and improvements" of the editor are distinguished from the work of the original author by being enclosed within brackets, the following passage occurs, marked in the usual manner:—
 "[. . . and lately, *it is said*, there was found not far from Carlisle a stone with this inscription—' *Sept. Severo Imp. qui murum hunc condidit.*']"^y

It is clear, from this passage, that Camden never heard of this inscription, and that neither Bishop Gibson, nor any other person ever saw it. The only authority for its existence is the above very vague passage, part of the "Additions and Improvements," of the editor.

No one but our author has been deceived by it. Gough, in his 'Camden,' only alludes to it to disown it, and Horsley says he takes no notice of it because he believes it to be "only imaginary."

Before leaving Mr. Bell, in his character of exponent of the views of the great English antiquary, it is necessary to notice another statement which is characterized by his usual inaccuracy. "Camden (says Mr. Bell) declines giving his opinion as to who built the Wall."^z Camden expresses his opinion upon this point as decisively as Mr. Bell; but not in accordance with his views. He was of opinion that six *prætenturæ* were erected in Britain; the first by Agricola, between Edinburgh Firth and Dumbarton Firth;^a the second by Hadrian, from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea; the third, in Scotland, where Agricola had "first set" his "bounds";^b the fourth was the Wall of Severus. Speaking of this Wall, he says—

"When the Caledonian Britons, under Commodus the emperor, had broken through this (the Antonine Wall), Severus, neglecting this farther Wall and that large country between, drew a Wall cross the island from Solway Firth to Tyne-

^y Page 1046 in the edition of 1722; page 188, vol. ii. of the edition of 1772.

^z Page 2.

^a Gibson's 'Camden,' 4th edition, vol. ii. p. 187.

^b *Ibid.* p. 188.

mouth; and this (if I judge right) was along the very same ground where Hadrian had before made his of stakes; in which I have the opinion of Hector Boetius on my side: 'Severus (says he) ordered Hadrian's Wall to be repaired, and stone fortresses to be built upon it, and turrets at such a distance as the sound of a trumpet against the wind might be heard from one to another' and elsewhere: 'Our annals tell us, that the wall which was begun by Hadrian was finished by Severus.' The learned Spaniard, Hieronymus Surita, tells that 'Hadrian's fence was carried on and completed with vast works by Septimius Severus, and had the name of Vallum given it.' Guidus Pancirollus likewise affirms that Severus only 'repaired' Hadrian's Wall 'which was fallen'.^o

After quoting from Spartian, Eutropius, and others, the passages with which we are already familiar, he proceeds to observe—

“But one may gather from Bede that this Vallum was nothing but a wall of turf; and it cannot be affirmed with any truth that Severus's wall was of stone.”

The fifth Præentura, according to Camden, who in this follows Gildas and Bede, was also of turf, and was reared by the Britons on the withdrawal of the Roman troops. The sixth was the stone Wall. Camden says—

“Does not Bede expressly tell us of a wall of stone built in place of Severus's turf-wall? And where I pray should this stone wall be but between Tynemouth and Solway Firth, and was not Severus's Vallum there too? The remains of a wall are all along so very visible that one may follow the track, and in the wastes I myself have seen pieces of it for a long way together standing entire, except the battlements only, which are thrown down.”^a

I have made these quotations from Camden, not only with the view of convincing Mr. Bell that he has committed an oversight in stating that “Camden declines giving his own opinion as to who built the stone Wall,” but also to show that the statements of Spartian and “all” Mr. Bell's other “eminent authors” are not sufficiently clear and satisfactory to lead scholars to a definite and uniform conclusion upon the subject of our present inquiry. It is, at all events, very comfortable to feel that an antiquary

^o Gibson's Camden, 4th edition, vol. ii. p. 188.

^a Ibid. vol. ii. p. 190.

so learned as Camden must bear with us the censure of "taking the unwarrantable liberty to assume" that Severus only *repaired* the Wall which Hadrian raised!

Since historians fail us—since the inscriptions found on the line of the Wall are not so numerous as we could wish—we turn next, for the settlement of our question, to an examination of the works themselves. The argument derived from this source, as has already been observed, Mr. Bell does not state, and he only refers to it incidentally, and with the view of damaging the claims of Hadrian. It may be well, therefore, briefly to set the case before the view of the reader.

If Hadrian erected a wall of turf, as a defence against the Caledonians, we shall naturally expect to find that it occupies the strongest points for resisting aggression from the north. This it does not.

If Severus, eighty years after Hadrian's Vallum had been reared, found it necessary to erect a new and stronger barrier for the same purpose as the former, we shall expect to find him acting independently of the previous inefficient work, sometimes departing widely from it, sometimes cutting across it, and often seizing strong points which the previous mud defence had occupied. This we do not find to be the case. The works are virtually one. The Vallum and Murus run across the country side by side with each other. When they recede further from each other or approach more closely than usual, it is for reasons which the nature of the country renders evident. The Murus almost uniformly falls in with the north rampart of the stations, the Vallum with the south; the Murus takes the high grounds, and seizes those points by which the country to the north can be best commanded, the Vallum affects the low grounds, and is chiefly remarkable for taking up those positions which are best adapted for repelling aggression from the south. The military way runs from end to end of the barrier between the Murus and the Vallum.

Whether the works were contemporaneous or not, this is certain, that had they been so, they could not have been more admirably contrived to form one compact and united defence against aggression, from whatever source it might come; and that if the vallum was reared with the view of

being an independent barrier against the north, it was admirably calculated to defeat its own ends, by giving up all the strong points of the country to the enemy, and by leaving nearly all the stations exposed to attack.

As the reader will probably require independent testimony in corroboration of some of these statements, I shall adduce the evidence of two men who, whatever faults they had, were at all events not "Hadrianites."

A writer in Gibson's 'Camden,' who made a tour of the Wall in 1708, "on purpose to survey it," says^e—

"Throughout all this length the ground whereon the Wall runs is admirably well chosen; for it is all along built on the highest ground, and sometimes makes little turnings on purpose to take it in, so that the country on both sides generally falls lower than the Wall. And it is wonderful to observe the many great and towering mountains it runs up and down; in which respect the advantages it has are many and considerable compared with the mud and earthen wall of Hadrian and Severus; ' for that is generally carried along through bottoms and low grounds (as being more convenient for the digging of that stuff and matter whereof it was composed ^s) whereby it had this vast disadvantage, especially in Northumberland wastes, that the enemy by possessing the hills which adjoin and overtop it, might thence easily annoy the Roman garrisons on the south side.' "

Horsley who entertains the same views as Mr. Bell, says—^h

"Again, the Stations too, as well as the military way, are generally (tho' not always) included between the two walls and ditches (or between the works of Severus and Hadrian as they are now called), the stone Wall of Severus frequently falling in with the north rampart of the station, as the turf Wall of Hadrian does with the southern. Besides this, *the advantageous ground is often left on the north side of Hadrian's Vallum*, which in one place, near Halton Chesters, is just carried round

^e Gibson's 'Camden,' vol. ii. p. 193.

^f This author evidently agrees with Gildas and Bede in supposing that the stone Wall was subsequent to the age of Severus.

^s The writer here states his *own* opinion. The Romans however studied strength and utility in their fortifications rather than "convenience for digging the stuff."

^h Britannia Romana, p. 124.

the south skirt of a tumulus or small hill, making a sudden turn, seemingly with design to avoid passing over it. Now *if this was intended to be the most northerly fortification, and to be a fence against the northern enemies, this conduct seems to offend against right reason*, as well as against the rule of Vegetius 'that care should be taken to have no neighbouring hill larger than the fortification, which being seized by the enemy might be of ill consequence.' *And it must be owned that the southern prospect of Hadrian's work and the defence on that side is generally better than on the north, whereas the northern prospect and defence have been principally or only taken care of in the Wall of Severus."*

Should these statements appear to the reader as conclusive as they do to my mind, he will wonder how the substantiator of the claims of Severus meets them.

The first shaft which he discharges is barbed with an exclamation of frequent occurrence in the *Æneid* of Virgil, and with which young adventurers in Latinity are tolerably familiar. But let Mr. Bell speak for himself—

"It seems not sufficient for the supporters of Hadrian, to suppose that he constructed both the walls. They even assert, that, from evidence which may be obtained by traversing the line of the Wall, it is perceptible, that not only were both the walls, with their fosses or ditches, but also all the stations, outposts, etc., but so many parts of one grand whole, the work of one mighty engineer, and that engineer, Hadrian. *Mirabile dictu!!* It would only have been a very slight stretch further, and supported by authority equally as good, to have supposed that every other Roman work, in Britain, was by the same master mind!"—*p. 11.*

It would have been just as well if Mr. Bell, before making himself merry at the expense of those who have traversed the mural belt in its length and breadth, and have studied, *on the ground*, both in sunshine and shade, the relations of the several parts of the great barrier, had taken the trouble to cast a passing glance upon its more important parts.¹ Until he do so, he will find that those who have had long companionship with the

¹ "So far as Northumberland is concerned, I am not in possession of any local knowledge."—" *An Attempt to substantiate. etc.*" page 6.

the Solway Firth and the German Ocean at Tynemouth.¹ This being the case, the whole of Mr. Bell's chain of suppositions falls to the ground.

Here we might leave the assertor of the claims of Severus. The case against him may however be made yet more complete. It is evident to many who have traversed the Wall, that the stations have been adapted to the Wall, not the Wall to the stations. The following passage is from the pen of the Rev. John Hodgson, than whom no one was better qualified to pronounce an opinion upon the subject:—

“The *whole chain* of works is carried from sea to sea in the highest, the most defensible, and the shortest course that could be found for it ; and from the straightest track it could take, it never bends or turns, but for the evident purpose of taking the most advantageous ground for the purpose for which it was constructed. Through the whole breadth of Northumberland it traverses the brows of ridges, and thus avoids, as much as possible, interruptions from brooks and valleys. For the stations on its line not only commanding positions have been chosen, but, in every instance, dry and fertile spots ; barren sites have been carefully avoided ; but still these sites have been plainly selected in reference to the defence which they and the road between them should receive from the Vallum and the Murus ; and, as if from the first it had been intended to be the great feature and the main member of the whole, the Murus, through the whole line, takes its position on the most commanding ground on the brows of ridges overlooking the country on the enemies' side to the north ; while the Vallum, as the weaker work, and designed only to protect the garrisons in their stations or marches against revolts, or predatory attacks of an allied population, or from mixing with the people, is of frailer materials, and often on a less defensible line than the Murus. BORCOVICUS and ÆSICA, I would say, are manifestly coeval with the Murus. There could be no other reason for placing them where they stand, any more than there could for building the castles and towers in the Murus between them than as fortresses for garrisons stationed to protect the general line of fortifications, of which the Murus made the principal part. The area of HUNNUM has been irregularly formed, partly within and partly without the murus, in evident accommodation to its line ; and indeed, in every view I can take of the subject, all the stations that lie in the *inter-val* of the two Walls seem so plainly to have had their sites chosen and adapted for receiving protection from the

¹ Page 12.

Murus and the Vallum, that I can see no probable way of accounting for the origin of the fourteen that lie between them, but by concluding that all, or the greater part of them, are coeval in design and erection with the Walls."

Hist. North'd. II. iii. 277.

Not to omit a single argument adduced by Mr. Bell, I proceed to notice another position of his, by which he thinks to carry confusion into the camp of the "Hadrianites," and by which, at all events, he contrives to obtain another reference to the famous rock on the Gelt.

"But that both the walls, forts, outposts etc., were one grand design, and built by one Emperor, may clearly be disproved by existing evidence, independently of reference to authors. I would recommend any one, who entertains that opinion, to visit the station of AMBOGLANNA, and carefully examine for himself the north west corner of the station, the Wall of which, at that place, is standing in good repair, and I should think, in nearly its original height. The Wall runs up to the corner of the station, and abuts against it; not walled into it; clearly proving that the station was built before the Wall. The workmanship of the two is also very dissimilar; the station wall is composed of stones much smaller, and more nearly square; and the work altogether, is not so well executed as that of the Wall. This is quite as strong a proof that the stone Wall and the stations were made at different periods, as the 'Written Rock' is, that the Gelt quarry had been worked in the reign of L. S. Severus."^m

After having so often been compelled to demur to Mr. Bell's statements, it is exceedingly agreeable to be able for once to admit the correctness of his facts. But he ought to have been aware that the circumstance to which he here calls attention was not unknown to the advocates of the claims of Hadrian, and that they explain it upon principles different from his. He was bound, in common courtesy, to have replied to their reasonings, or to have forborne to bring forward a refuted argument.

AMBOGLANNA is not the only case in which it is apparent that the station was built before the Wall. BORCOVICUS presents the same features."ⁿ

^m 'Attempt to substantiate, etc.' p. 13.

ⁿ See cuts of both stations in my work on the Roman Wall.

The explanation is easy. When the Roman soldiers took up their position on the mural line, with the view of building the Wall, the first thing they did was to build the stations. Having done this, and so provided for their immediate safety, they next proceeded to draw the lines of the Barrier. The first operation was the one which required the most haste. Small stones are more easily quarried and more easily carried than large ones.^o Hence the peculiarity of the masonry of the stations. So soon as the cohorts had erected places of retreat in time of danger, they proceeded with the remainder of their task—the Wall—more deliberately, and built it with greater care.

Let not the reader, however, entertain an exaggerated view of the difference between the masonry of the Wall and that of the curtain walls of the stations. The stones in the lower courses of the station walls differ very little, if at all, in size and character from those in the great Wall. The ramparts of *BORCOVICUS*, which have recently been laid bare, can scarcely be distinguished from the adjacent *Murus*.

In connection with the name of *Agricola*, Mr. Bell adduces two further objections to the *Ælian* theory. He shall state them himself.

“There is no merit due to *Hadrian*, for selecting a tract for his Wall; it was already selected for him, by one much more skilled in military affairs than he, especially in British warfare. *Agricola* was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: for his first rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain, under the conduct of *Suetonius Paulinus*, long before he himself undertook the administration of British affairs. *Lollius Urbicus*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, took the same advantage of *Agricola*'s line of forts, between the *Frith of Forth* and the *Clyde*, as *Hadrian* did on the *English Isthmus*. Then how did it happen that *Lollius Urbicus* did not construct two walls, running nearly parallel to each other, having before his eyes the example of the redoubtable *Hadrian* on the *English Isthmus*? *Tacitus* says, the country as far as the Romans advanced,

^o The stones would probably be conveyed from the quarry to the works by gangs of impressed labourers passing them from hand to hand, or carrying them on their backs or shoulders.

was secured by forts and garrisons, for the purpose of keeping in check the already conquered provinces. It therefore appears that L. Urbicus did not see the use of two walls; probably concluding that, if he could not be supported by these forts and garrisons, against revolt in his rear, without the further defence of a rampart that he was a 'little too far north.' It would scarcely be considered that the Roman army, cooped up in limits as narrow as that between the two ramparts, with a fierce enemy in front and rear, are in a desirable situation. The same may be said of the English Isthmus."—*Page 12.*

I will reply to Mr. Bell's query by putting another. If Agricola, who was so eminently skilled in military affairs, and so well acquainted with the character of the Britons, was satisfied with erecting, according to Mr. Bell's own view, chains of forts across the two isthmuses, why should either Hadrian or Lollius Urbicus have erected a wall at all? If Lollius Urbicus is not to be questioned for departing from the example of Agricola in one respect, neither is Hadrian, for doing so in another.

But I am willing to meet the objection in a more direct manner. Mr. Bell seems to mistake the object of the two lines of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. It was never intended that the Roman army should be "cooped up" between them, and no writer that I am aware of, has so stated it. The Barrier, with its Murus and Vallum, its roads, forts, and stations, was intended to facilitate the movements of the troops in their various operations against the enemy. Within its walls the imperial troops might concentrate their forces when contemplating an aggressive movement either to the north or south, and here too they might find shelter in case of a temporary reverse. When the Wall was built, the stations at Risingham, Rochester, Netherby, and others to the north of it, were not given up. Neither when the Antonine Wall was erected, were the garrisons of Hadrian's barrier abandoned. I am disposed to look upon the Antonine Wall as an outwork merely of Hadrian's barrier, and have little doubt that when the Roman power in Britain was at its height, the stations of both Walls were occupied with troops, and that the roads communicating with them and their intermediate forts were kept in order. Should this supposition be entertained, and I think facts warrant it, the

peculiar character of the Antonine Wall need not be a matter of surprise.

Most fortunately, we are now arrived at the last of Mr. Bell's objections. He shall as usual state it himself.

“To the testimony of ancient authors, the decided opinion of the most eminent of the modern, with the local evidence already advanced, may be added the powerful support of universally received tradition.

The Ancient Britons called the stone Wall *Mursever*, *Gualsever*, or *Galsever*, which words can only admit of one meaning. The inhabitants on or near the line of Wall, invariably hold the opinion, even at this day, that the sod wall was the work of Hadrian, and that of stone the work of Severus; and whatever arguments may be advanced now, in modern days, in contradiction to the generally received tradition, unless founded upon something tangible, will never be credited.”—Page 16.

Who are the principal authors that in modern times have treated of the Wall? Camden, Gordon, Horsley, Stukeley, and Hodgson. Every one of these names commands our highest respect. Shall we venture to assert that the two, Gordon and Horsley, who happen to agree in opinion with Mr. Bell, have the pre-eminence in merit over all the rest—that they are, to use Mr. Bell's own words, “the most eminent of the modern authors” upon this subject? I should be sorry to throw Camden into the shade, whether or not my opinion was honoured by the sanction of his authority; and those who would esteem at a low rate the last of the historians of the Wall—the Rev. John Hodgson—cannot have enriched their minds with the vast stores of his industry and learning.

To all the other “claims” which Mr. Bell presents on behalf of Severus to the “authorship” of the Roman Wall “is to be added” the powerful support of universally received opinion.

This argument Mr. Bell chiefly founds upon the fact mentioned by Camden, that the Wall was called “by the Britons, *Gual-sever*, *Gal-sever*, and *Mur-sever*.” The “claims of Severus” did not require that Mr. Bell should tell us, as Camden does, that it was called “by the English and those that live about, the *Picts-wall*, or, the *Pehits-wall*.”^p

^p Gibson's 'Camden,' ed. 4. vol. ii. p. 187.

Mr. Bell slightly errs therefore in saying that the tradition is *universally* in favour of Severus. It is very remarkable to what an extent works of magnitude and feats of strength were, until a late period, ascribed by the inhabitants of the mural district to the Picts.

But if the universal voice of the ancients is in favour of the claims of Severus, may we not expect to find those claims recognized in the earliest of our historians? Gildas, who lived before the time of Bede, knows nothing about this "universally received opinion." Bede, the most renowned of Saxon writers—who was very far from despising the traditions of the Fathers, who was born in the parish of Wallsend, and lived and died in a monastery built out of the spoils of a mural garrison^a—knows nothing of this "universally received tradition"; but, on the contrary, stoutly resists the notion of Severus being "the author" of the stone wall.

After all, if "universal tradition" should have ascribed the Wall to Severus, it cannot be considered, taking into account the vast lapse of time, to have greatly erred. An error of eighty years in a period of seventeen centuries cannot be considered as a very great traditional error. Besides, there are peculiar reasons why Severus should be remembered by the Ancient Britons. His onslaught on the natives of Caledonia was very savage. He could not have sacrificed fifty thousand of his own men without inflicting horrors upon the aborigines, which would gain him a name that would last through many centuries. His last command is said to have been given, in the words of Homer, which Cowper thus translates—

. . . . Die the race!
May none escape us! neither he who flies,
Nor even the infant in the mother's womb
Unconscious.

It cannot be any thing marvellous, therefore, if all the Roman transac-

^a There can be little doubt that there was a garrison at Jarrow whereby the soldiers at Wallsend were enabled to correspond with the occupants of the large camp at Shields Lawe, commanding on the south the entrance into the estuary of the Tyne.

tions in northern Britain, whether effected by Agricola, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, or Severus, should by the popular voice be ascribed to the last and greatest oppressor—Severus. In the same way the vergers of our cathedrals pour down upon the head of the most eminent of the actors in the sad drama of the civil wars—Oliver the Protector—that concentration of wrath which is due to the whole series of mutilators—whether cavaliers, roundheads, or churchwardens—who have flourished from the days of Henry VIII. almost to the present hour.

Let the opinion of the people on matters of antiquity be received with respect; but if we give it implicit credence, we must admit that the White Tower of London, and most other Norman structures in this country were reared by Julius Cæsar, and that every holder of a queen Anne's farthing is the possessor of untold wealth.

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EDINBURGH REVIEW, JULY, 1851.—It is one of the satisfactory results of the antiquarian agitation of late years, that many such local investigators have been brought into existence, and that their number is multiplying daily. We have a substantial proof of this in the four books now lying before us; and we certainly know of no instance in which any one year, or even, we may venture to say, any ten years, have produced an equal number of similar publications distinguished by so much merit. Mr. J. Collingwood Bruce, who has spent several years in investigating the gigantic remains of the Walls of Hadrian, has ably illustrated it in the book of which the title heads the present article.

CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL, JUNE 7th, 1851.—There has appeared, within the last few months, a new and comparatively popular account of this singular structure (The Roman Wall), to which we would draw the attention of our readers, being convinced that it will amply repay a perusal.

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 1851.—Your council would recommend that the cordial thanks of this meeting should be voted to Mr. Bruce, for a book, which tends so greatly to enhance the archæological reputation of the north.

JOURNAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, VOL. VIII. p. 105.—Following the impulse of a fresh interest in remains of the Roman age, recently excited amongst English archæologists, Mr. Bruce has now supplied a desideratum in antiquarian literature, by producing a Treatise, in which he has happily combined much of the information gathered by previous writers, with a mass of original and personal observations.

LITERARY GAZETTE, APRIL 26th, 1851.—But we are most pleased with the chapter headed "The question, who built the Wall?" which is very sensibly and logically discussed.

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES, Vol. I. p. 193.—We have, in the elegant volume before us, a well-digested compendium of those earlier works, together with a statement of the author's personal investigations, and of the more accurate inductions which he is thereby enabled to draw—the whole presented to us in a clear and succinct manner, doing credit alike to the author's literary taste and his antiquarian study.

NEW MONTHLY, FEBRUARY, 1851.—It well deserves our notice, as one of the best books of the kind that has appeared for many years, and for the attractive style in which it has been got up.

MORNING POST, FEBRUARY 3d. 1851.—We cannot enter into a minute examination of the many curious questions discussed by the author, but it is right to say, that a more popular and untechnical, but at the same time a more useful dissertation on a national subject of antiquity, we have never seen issued from the press. It is abundant in illustration, and judicious in its general treatment.

TAIT'S MAGAZINE, MARCH, 1851.—He has prosecuted his investigations *con amore*, and probably with greater accuracy than any of his predecessors.

ART JOURNAL, MARCH, 1851.—Mr. Bruce has done his work honestly and well.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY, 1852. In taking leave of Mr. Bruce's work, we may express a hope that our brief notice of some of its attractions may promote its circulation. The author's style renders it highly readable, the facts he has collected will make it useful for reference, and its portability, and the clear arrangement of the subject-matter, should introduce it as a companion to all who may desire to study fully one of the noblest monuments of our country.

SCOTTISH GUARDIAN, MAY 16th, 1852.—A learned antiquarian work, written in a fascinating style.

MORNING CHRONICLE, AUGUST 11th, 1851.—This is an extraordinary book on an extraordinary work, made through an extraordinary country. The main value of the book consists in the flood of light it throws on our scanty knowledge of Roman life in Britain.

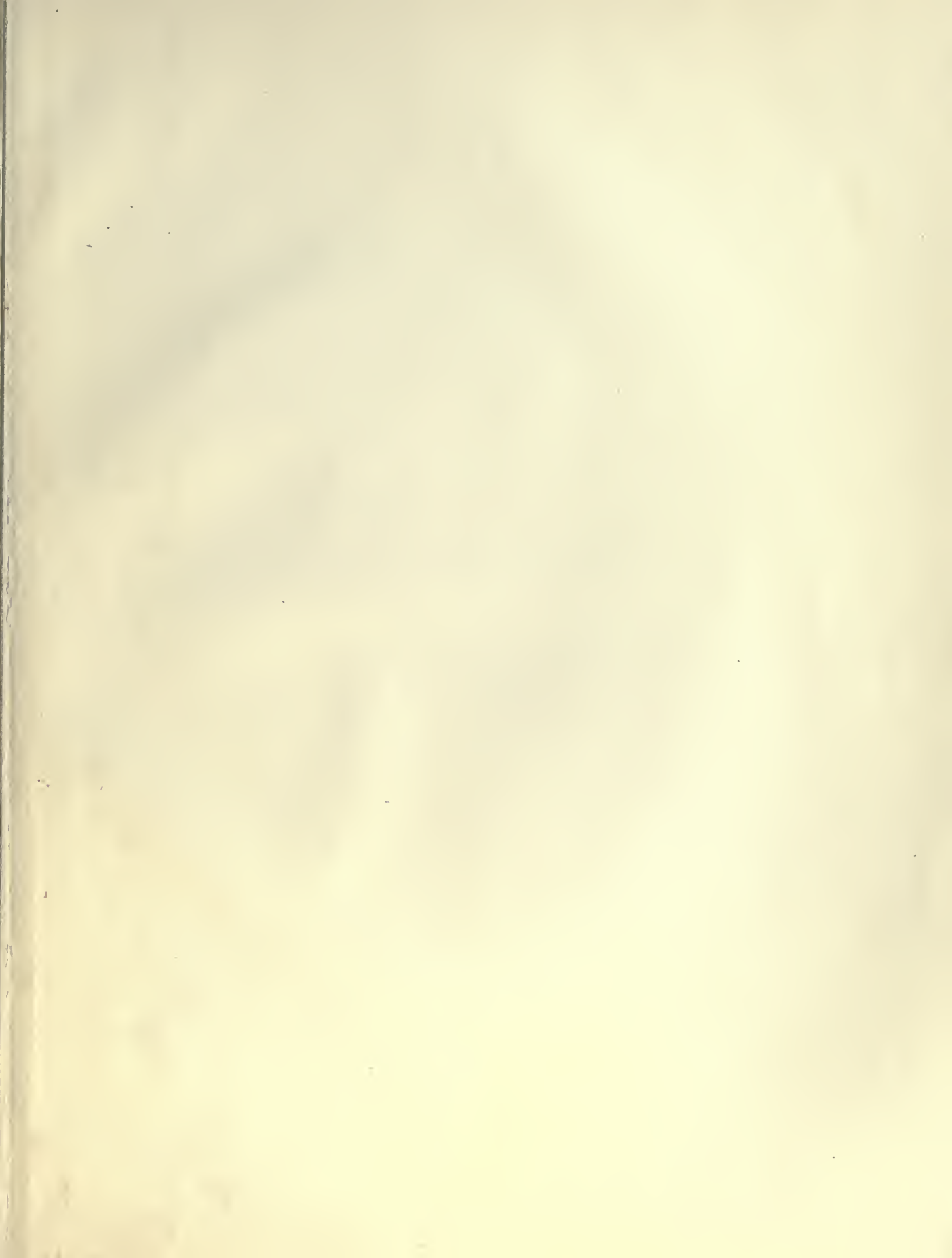
JOURNAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, Vol. III. p. 66.—Giving a circumstantial account of the present state of this great and interesting series of remains, which will be found of immense use, not only to those who may be induced to visit and examine the Wall, but also to those who may desire to be better acquainted, by their own firesides, with national memorials of such historical importance.

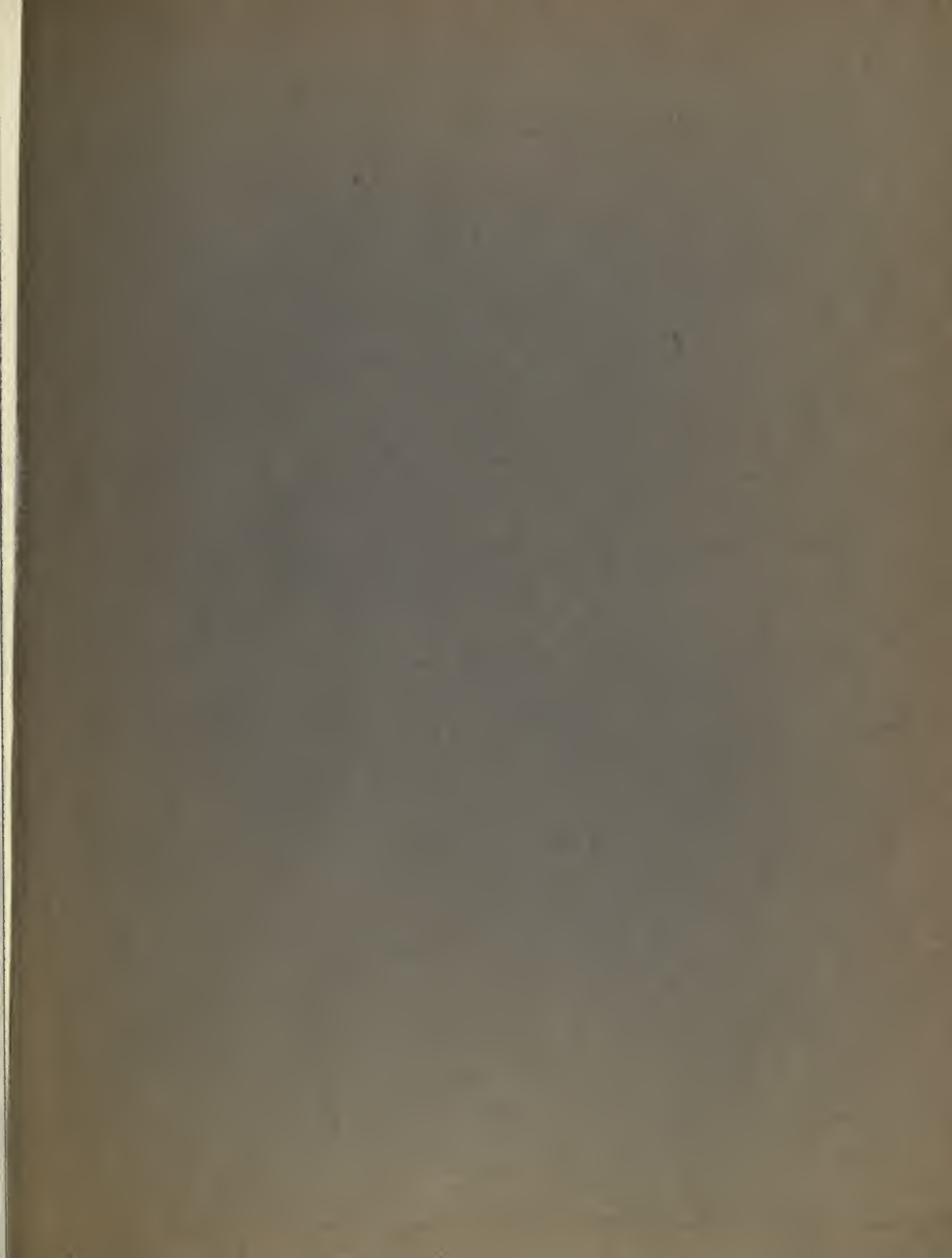
SPECTATOR, JANUARY 18th, 1851.—The Roman Wall is a very elaborate and painstaking work, on one of the most interesting of British antiquities. Mr. Bruce is a man of learning, whether as regards Roman history in connection with Britain, or the works of archæologists upon our Roman remains, especially those which relate to his immediate subject.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, OCTOBER, 1851.—Although the brief space of one week was all the time I could afford to an investigation which would have repaid a much more extended survey, I was enabled practically to test the accuracy of Mr. Bruce's examination, to derive the greatest assistance from his labours (taking his book as my guide), and to concur with him in the conclusions to which his researches have led as to the period at which this gigantic fortification was constructed.—(*Notes of a Tour along the Roman Wall by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.*)

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