HISTORY OF

SCOTTISH SEALS

BY WALTER·DE·GRAY·BIRCH·LL·D·F·S·A

ECCLESIASTIC AND MONASTIC SEALS

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FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,
WITH UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS
DERIVED FROM THE FINEST AND MOST
INTERESTING EXAMPLES EXTANT.

BY

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IN this division of the work an endeavour will be made to present to the reader some remarks on the most prominent and important Ecclesiastical and Monastic Seals of the country, many of which are of great beauty and pleasing design, and all evince the highest historical interest. They begin in the early days of the twelfth century, with simple unpretentious work; their best period is the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and they gradually decline in charm and attraction as they verge towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after which epoch the seal, as a vehicle for artistic expression, and claimant for admiration, on the score of masterly combination of

design with execution, was, to all intents and purposes, a thing as unattainable as the re-erection of a ruined cathedral or the restoration of an ancient picture.

Scotland was particularly fortunate in possessing among her prelates of the Church many dignitaries of notable taste, who selected for their seal artists men fully up to the foremost mark of their age in this respect, and capable of producing work not the least inferior to English and French contemporary execution.

The See of St. Andrews has bequeathed to posterity to-day a fine series of the seals of her bishops and archbishops. One of the earliest is that of Bishop Robert, attached to a document bearing the date of A.D. 1140. The simple figure of the bishop, standing full length, and facing to the front, lifting up the right hand in the act of pronouncing the benediction, and holding in the left hand the curved crozier or pastoral staff —symbolical of his pastoral office—is strictly conventional, and was repeated, with unimportant variations and subordinate additions derived from sacred emblems, heraldic allusions, or architectural detail, all through the lengthy period already mentioned; it even appears on the most modern example of episcopal seals. Earnâld, the successor of Bishop Robert in the See of St. Andrews, on elevation to which he had surrendered

the abbacy of Kelso, followed the same style on his seal, but his seal exhibits an improved method of design and execution. His counterseal was an antique oval engraved intaglio gem. Bishop Richard, whose seal is extant on a deed dated in A.D. 1173, is depicted therein much in the same manner as his immediate predecessors, but the vestments which he wears are ornamented with embroidery, an indication of that improvement in the arts and sciences which was beginning to manifest itself at the close of the twelfth century. It is to be noticed that these three prelates style themselves EPISCOPI SCOTTORUM, *Bishops of the Scots*, without reference to the exclusive church jurisdiction over the See of St. Andrews. The crozier, with its crook turned towards the bearer, has been declared by some, who love to observe in minutest details some veiled significance, to indicate that it marked the right of exercising spiritual jurisdiction within the bounds of the see or province over which the bishop presided; whereas the use of the crozier, with the curve turned outward, or away from its holder, represents, according to the same expounders, a wider power, and more extended influence, reaching beyond the confines of the see, and pointing to the possession of primatial rather than episcopal functions by the dignitary thus depicted.

Bishop Richard's seal is interesting from the fact that the prelate has impressed on the back of the original example his gem-ring. The fashion of using an antique gem or precious stone, engraved in intaglio with a classical or mythological subject, set in gold or silver, as a finger-ring, with a text or motto round the rim, had become a very favourite custom in the early middle ages. A large number of valuable rings fashioned after this model, used not only by dignitaries of the Church, both regular and secular, but by nobles and landowners, still exist, to the adornment and enrichment of our museums and private collections; and an equally large number, now no longer extant, are known only by the impressions which have been made from them upon the seals attached to mediæval charters and other documents. This ring-seal of Bishop Richard measured about one inch and a quarter by thirteen-sixteenths of an inch. The design on the gem is that of a two-horsed chariot, or classic *biga*, turned to the right, and the date is not improbably to be attributed to the second century of the Christian era. How it fell into the hands of the bishop is, of course, a matter for conjecture: he may have acquired it in Rome, if he attended the Papal Court personally on the occasion of his consecration to the See; he may have seen

it in the possession of the engraver who was employed to make his seal; or, as Abbot of Kelso, it may have been brought to his notice by travellers to whom an abbey was ever a wonted asylum of safe refuge from an unsafe and often dangerous world without the walls of privileged sanctuary. The legend which the gem-seal bears is—

FRACTA . REVELO . SECRETUM,

which was a favourite inscription on seals, and is capable of two interpretations. It may be translated—"When broken, I disclose the secret"—appropriate enough, if a closed letter or document were so sealed with it that the seal must be broken before the secret of the contents could be read. It may also be read—"I, the *secretum*, or privy seal, reveal things broken;" that is, if this document has been tampered with, or attempt made to transfer the seal to another document (a not infrequent practice), the broken state of this impression will reveal the action of the forger, and enable the fraud to be detected.

The death of Bishop Richard gave rise to disputes which led to the presence of Alexis, or Alexius, afterwards appointed Cardinal of Santa Susanna in the Papal Court, in Scotland. He has left an impression of a remarkable seal attached to a charter in the Cottonian collections of the British Museum. It bears a

dexter hand and vested arm issuing from the dexter, and holding up a slipped branch of palm, myrtle, or olive, not improbably emblematic of that ecclesiastical peace which he had come from afar to re-establish in the realm of Scotland. The last twelfth century seal of the See of St. Andrews is that of Bishop Roger, son of Robert, Earl of Leicester. He was Lord Chancellor in 1178, and appears on his seal of Bishop Elect, attached to a document about 1188. As Bishop Elect, that is, during the interval between nomination and consecration, he could not properly be represented with the crozier, nor with the uplifted hand of blessing. He is, therefore, rightly depicted as seated, holding a lily-flower in the right hand, and a sacred book in the left hand. The fald-stool on which he sits terminates, like that of some of the French Royal Seals, in animals' heads. The legend is—

ROGERUS . DEI . GRACIA . ELECTUS . SANCTI . ANDREE.

After his consecration a seal was prepared and used, about A.D. 1193, showing the conventional figure of the bishop in plenary power, with appropriate vestments, the uplifted hand, and the crozier, and standing on a curved dais or footboard, and the legend declares him to be *Scottorum Episcopus*.

William Malvoisine, his successor, employed on a seal, attached to a deed of the year 1237, the same conventional manner of representation, but added in the field of the seal two estoiles, or heraldic stars, wavy. His legend here also is couched in the same terms, as Bishop of the Scots. The progress of embellishment is enhanced by the use of an interesting counterseal, or reverse, on which is shown a patriarchal cross between two similar estoiles, and the sacred letters, alpha and omega, pointing symbolically to our Lord. The legend, however, refers to the Blessed Virgin—*Ave Maria Gracia Plena*. This bishop had used, ten years previously, a smaller seal, on which is given his effigy, half length, turned to the right, with legend—

SECRETUM . SANCTI . ANDREE.

This may have been the privy seal, or *secretum*, of his chapter rather than his own personal seal. Bishop David Benham continues the same design, but substitutes for the two estoiles one wavy estoile of six points, and a crescent below it. This particular emblematic device of crescent and star, or sun-star, and moon, has been reasonably supposed to indicate the heavens, or firmament, in which, at the Creation, the Creator placed these luminaries. Another explanation is that by these is pointed out

the vanquishing of the Turks by the Christians during the progress of the Crusades, the Turkish emblem being the crescent, which succumbs to the sun of righteousness. Bishop David's counterseal is devoted to representing his eponymic patron, Saint David, seated on a throne, and below, under a triple arch, a figure of the bishop adoring his guardian saint, with the imperfect legend in which occurs the phrase, *Domine, David, ave*, etc. Bishop Abel, whose date is about 1253-4, used the episcopal figure, with embroidered vestments, and adds the crescent and sun-star, already explained.

Bishop Gameline's period was rich in details of adornment, hence we find him represented on his seal turned to the right, and with the field, or background, replenished with trefoils and quatrefoils, a peculiarly Scottish form of embellishment. The counterseal of this bears, among other representations, that of the crucifixion of the Patron Saint of the Scots, St. Andrew, placed on a cross saltire, between two executioners, fastening his limbs to the cross beams with cords: overhead is a trefoiled canopy of Gothic architectural detail, from out of which is issuing an angel holding a crown for the martyr's head. An appropriate legend, in rhyming pentameter verse, unfortunately imperfect, surrounds this interesting design.

William Wisehead, 1273-9, imitates the Crucifixion scene employed by his predecessor, with variant details. There is also extant a seal of this ecclesiastic before his elevation to the See. It bears the curious allegorical design of a fox courant in front of a tree of three branches on which two birds are perched.

Bishop William Fraser's seal introduces the period of greater elaboration, and of the introduction of armorial bearings. His first seal, used in A.D. 1281, presents the prelate to us attired in embroidered vestments, with mitre, crozier, and uplifted right hand of blessing: he stands on a carved pedestal. The background, diapered lozengy, symbolises the fishing net of St. Peter, wherein to catch souls; and the cinquefoil, set in each opening of the meshes, alludes to the armorials of the Fraser family. On each side is placed a shield of arms, charged with three roses, for the same family. His second seal is known to be attached to a deed dated in the year 1292. This demonstrates a still further advance in the art of seal design, by presenting the figure of the bishop within a carved Gothic niche, provided with slender shafts at the sides, and a crocketted canopy. Each of these seals possesses a similar counterseal, which appears to have, therefore, not been altered when the change from the first to the second obverse was made. The dominant figure in the

counterseal is St. Andrew, crucified, with a hand issuing from a carved canopy overhead, and placing the crown of martyrdom on the head of the saint. Over the shields of arms of Fraser, at the sides, are set, on the dexter side, a crescent moon ; on the sinister side, an estoile, or sun-star, of which some notice has been already taken.

The closing years of the thirteenth century introduce to our notice the very beautiful seal of Bishop William de Lamberton, formerly Chancellor of Glasgow. From an impression of this episcopal seal, attached to a deed dated in the year 1305, it is evident that a departure was made from the conventional character of a bishop's seal. Here, on an arch, below which is placed a half-length effigy of the bishop, is set the representation of St. Andrew, crucified, on his saltire-shaped cross, between, on the right side, a mullet, that is, a five-pointed star, and a fish holding a ring, in reference to St. Kentigern of Glasgow, and on the left a hand of blessing, a bird—also connected with Glasgow—and a crescent. Over the saint's figure is the hand setting the crown upon the saint's head, and issuing from a carved canopy, charged with a lamb, or Agnus Dei, by way of a rebus, upon the surname of the bishop. The legend discards the formula *Episcopi Scottorum* for *Episcopi Sancti Andree*, which

was constantly used from this time forward. The counterseal, or *secretum*, retains the type of the crucified saint, and adds two shields of arms and three escallops.

Bishop James Bene, or Bennet, employed on his seal, an impression of which occurs under the date of 1329, the same design of the martyrdom, with four executioners, two of whom are standing on ladders to enable them to reach up to the victim's hands. Gordon, we are told, calls the figures on the ladders a male and a female devil; but it is difficult to see how this can be substantiated. The middle of the fourteenth century shows another fine seal of this series, used by Bishop William Landells, 1342-1385. St. Andrew, on his cross, is placed here between two shields of the Royal Arms of Scotland, one differenced, as mentioned below. The subordinate effigy of the bishop, placed in base under an arch, is accompanied by a shield of arms of the Landells family, bearing an orle, and another of the Royal Arms of Scotland, differenced with a staff and sceptre in saltire over all, an heraldic arrangement evidently significant of the see, and one which must be accepted as the first shield of arms of the See. Bishop Walter Trayl's seal, extant in the year 1385, contains the same motive of the martyrdom of St. Andrew, but enclosed in a carved Gothic niche, enriched with

architectural canopy and tabernacle work at the sides. The shields, which are introduced in the base at each side of the episcopal effigy, are the Royal Arms of Scotland and the family of Trayl, viz., in chief two mascles, in base a slipped trefoil. The delicate counterseal of this fine seal exhibits a half-length figure of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Saviour, placed within a carved Gothic niche with buttressed sides. In front of the Mother is a shield of the family arms of Trayl, supported by two lions *sejant guardant addossed.*

Bishop Henry Wardlaw's seal demonstrates the culminating excellence of the seals of the bishops of St. Andrews. It is to be regretted that the impression by which it is recorded is so imperfect. The very early years of the fifteenth century did not suffice to detract in any way from the transcendental treatment of the architecture, whereas in later seals of this century a distinct deterioration may be noticed. In this the designer has traced a very fine architectural niche, probably enriched with an elaborate niche (now wanting in the impression), and still retaining the subordinate niches in the open work at the sides. The central and paramount figure is that of the Patron, St. Andrew, in the conventional form of a crucified martyr on the cross to which his name has always been applied. At his sides

are two angels, holding shields of arms of Scotland, in the upper side niches, and figures of St. Paul and St. Peter, each accompanied with their customary emblems, on the lower niches at the sides. The effigy of the bishop, under a round-headed arch in the base part of the seal, is placed between two shields of arms attributed to two families of Wardlaw.

Bishop James Kennedy's seal, of A.D. 1450, is a fine example of elaboration. The carved Gothic shrine, enriched with a canopy of architecture, encloses in a small niche the figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child. The principal figure is that of St. Andrew, crucified on a saltire cross, supported or set up on a shield of arms of Scotland, ensigned with a crown. Side niches contain effigies of saints, and the representation of the bishop is in a niche in the base of the seal. He is looking up in adoration of his patrons, and beside him are two shields of arms, that on the sinister being for Kennedy, viz., three crosses crosslet fitchées; that on the dexter, similar, within the royal tressure flory counterflory, derived from the royal arms of the realm; and apparently the use of this tressure corroborates the suggestions made above, that the earliest arms of the See of St. Andrews were connected with those of the kingdom. This bishop also used a "sigillum rotundum" in 1453, which bears

the same details of St. Andrew crucified, and the Kennedy family shield of arms charged with the honourable episcopal addition of the royal tressure, and supported by two kneeling angels.

Patrick Graham, the last of the bishops, followed in his seal the example of his predecessors by employing the representation of St. Andrew, the royal arms, and the addition of the tressure to the family arms; but in place of the figures of the Blessed Virgin and the Child, he introduces a similitude of the Holy Trinity.

The bishops now are replaced by archbishops, and the seal of Archbishop William Schivez claims our attention. It shows an elaborate architectural design, composed of three Gothic niches. In the centre stands St. Andrew, no longer crucified, but beatified, holding his saltire cross and a book. On the left is St. Michael, the archangel, holding a long cross and the scales, typical of the last judgment; on the right is a sainted bishop. In a small canopied niche overhead is a group emblematic of the Holy Trinity, and the shield of arms of Scotland finds a place above. In the lower part of this design, under three round-headed arches, is the archbishop, between two saints, one of whom, from the fawn which accompanies him, may be intended for St. Giles, to whom that emblem has been attached

by the hagiographers. His "sigillum rotundum" shows St. Andrew's effigy, and the family arms of Schivez of Mureton, viz., three mountain-cats passant in pale.

The sixteenth century seals of this province are introduced by that of James Stuart, second son of King James III., Papal Legate, Commendator of Holy Cross, etc. The art has, however, begun to fail, and the comparison of the details here with those of previous seals indicates only too clearly the greatness of the decadence. St. Andrew, the Holy Trinity, and Michael, the archangel, it is true, re-appear, and in base the archbishop kneels in adoration of these celestials, between figures of St. Benedict (perhaps) and St. Giles; but the pinnacles and crockettings are too heavy, and the balance of proportion between the principal motives and the subordinate details has not been well maintained. His smaller seal bears the shield of Scotland on an archiepiscopal cross, ensigned with a duke's coronet, and with two unicorns for heraldic supporters. Several seals of this prelate are extant with variant details of small importance.

Archbishop Alexander Stuart, natural son of King James IV., Lord Chancellor, Primate of all Scotland, Legate Apostolic, imitates the foregoing large seal of Archbishop James Stuart.

His seal as Cardinal is also an adaptation or imitation of the same. As Commendator of Dunfermline, he used a seal on which, *inter alia*, appear representations of St. Andrew, the Blessed Virgin, and two of the national flowers, the thistle, slipped and leaved. Archbishop Andrew Forman used, in A.D. 1517, in his seal a figure of St. Andrew standing behind a large saltire cross, between effigies of St. Paul and St. Peter, each indicated by his appropriate and customary emblems. The family arms of Forman and Horsburgh are also introduced, with the motto—

DEFENDE ME DEUS.

In his "sigillum rotundum," in addition to similitudes of the Blessed Virgin and St. Andrew and the coats of arms, we see St. Mary Magdalene, with her emblem, the Box of Precious Ointment. Archbishop James Beton, in 1527, employed a poorly-executed copy of the above-mentioned "sigillum rotundum" of Archbishop Forman, but with the substitution of the shield of arms of Beton and Balfour quarterly, behind which is a scroll, bearing the motto: *Misericordia*. There is a counterseal belonging to this seal, bearing a similar shield of arms on a St. Andrew's cross and crozier, surmounted by a scroll inscribed with the same motto.

David Beton or Betoun, Cardinal Archbishop and Legate, has left to our notice a very interesting seal and counterseal, attached to a document dated in 1542, of which Laing prepared casts, now in the British Museum. Here the large obverse of the pointed oval seal, measuring nearly four inches by two and a half inches, bears, within a row of three niches, enriched with carved canopies and tracery, full-length figures of the Virgin and Child, St. Andrew, and a sainted bishop holding a staff. Below is set a fine shield of arms bearing, quarterly, Beton and Balfour. The whole design is on a long cross, and ensigned with a cardinal's hat. On a double scroll above the shield is inscribed the cardinal's motto—

INTENTIO . INTENTIO.

In the legend this prelate styles himself "Totius Regni Scotie Primas Legatus Natus." The counterseal is circular, and has a diameter of little more than one inch. It bears an ornamental shield of the above-mentioned arms, accompanied with the cross, the hat of the cardinalate, and the motto already described. Archbishop Beton also used the "sigillum rotundum," of which earlier examples have been alluded to. In this instance its design resembles in general aspect that found on the foregoing

seal of dignity, with the same motto and a similar legend. The same prelate, after his appointment to be Presbyter Cardinal of St. Stephen in Celio Monte in the Papal Court, employed, in 1545, a seal not very dissimilar to, but somewhat larger than, that already described, with the exception that the figures in the side niches are there replaced by representations of St. Peter and St. Paul, each apostle being, as is usual in art, accompanied with his accredited emblems. The legend introduces the newly conferred title, with the words, "TT. S. Stephāi in Celio Monte S.R. E. Pbri. Car., etc."

Archbishop John Hamilton, Legate a Latere in 1548, uses the same style of seal, employing effigies of St. Andrew and St. John the Baptist in place of the saints previously represented. His shield is quarterly—1.4. three cinquefoils for Hamilton, 2.3. a lymphad for Arran. This prelate's motto is—

MISERICORDIA . ET . PAX,

and his legend is somewhat unconventional—

S . R . D . IOHIS . S . ANDRE . ARCHIEPI . REGNI .
SCOTIE . PRIMAT . CV . PTATE . A . LATERE .
S . SEDIS . APLICE . LEGATI .

which in full signifies "Sigillum Reverendi Domini Johannis Sancti Andree Archiepiscopi Regni Scotie Primatis cum potestate a latere Sancte Sedis Apostolice Legati." This appears to be the last of the Gothic seals of the archbishops of Glasgow, and an impression is extant attached to a document dated in 1553. The "sigillum rotundum" of Archbishop Hamilton bears the same designs, set in three niches, with tabernacle work at the sides, carved after the newly introduced style of the Renaissance, and accompanied by the badly spelled motto—

MESERECO . ET . PAX.

Later seals perpetuate these designs with figures of St. Andrew and shields of arms. The last to be mentioned is the seal of Archbishop James Sharp, 1661-1679, wherein the prelate stands holding in his hands the saltire cross of St. Andrew and a crozier. The legend makes reference to the restoration of the cathedral under the auspices of King Charles II., in 1661.

The subordinate dignitaries of the cathedral have not left many seals behind them. The seal of Laurence, the official, 1202-1233, shows the impression of an antique oval intaglio gem, engraved with the figure of a goddess; that of Master

Andrew, a later official, 1245, shows his effigy, with book in hand. The office seal of the officials in the fifteenth century bore the head of a bishop or archbishop above a shield of arms of the See. The official seal of the Commissary, in the time of Queen Mary, bore a slipped thistle-flower, ensigned with a crown, between the initials of the Queen, M.R. On the official seal of the Vicar-General of St. Andrews, we observe a figure of the patron saint upon a background replenished with trefoil sprigs, the return to the use of this emblem, of which some notice has been taken in the chapter devoted to the seals of the kings, at so late a period being very remarkable.

The Chapter Seals show views of the cathedral. The first seal occurs in 1251; a later type in the same century, apparently altered as a third seal, in use in 1450; a fourth, copied from the third, in the sixteenth century. The central tower of St Rule appears on all, with varying emblems, among which are noticeable—the Divine hand of blessing, a saltire and a cross in the first seal; in the second and third the saltire cross and hand of blessing, a crescent and an estoile, and in base a triquetra or interlaced ribbon of three pointed loops in triangle, perhaps emblematic of the Holy Trinity, and decidedly interesting for the employment of knot work, which appears to have been so

popular in Scotland upon ecclesiastical memorials of departed members of the Church, and which has recently formed the subject of a work by Mr. J. R. Allen, F.S.A. Scot. In the fourth and latest seal, the base contains a flower-pot, not infrequently an emblem of our Lord, "The Vine," the foliage springing from which replenishes the background of the seal. A few seals of members of the chapter are preserved, among them that of Thomas Stuart, a natural son of King Robert II., in 1443, where the design is that of an angel, supporting a shield of Royal Arms of Scotland, with over all a bend compony counter-compony, an interesting variation of the family arms of the Stuarts.

The See of Aberdeen contributes many very good examples of seals of Scottish prelates to our study. Among them one of the best is that of Henry Le Chen, 1281-1328. Here is represented the favourite design of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in a wavy aureola of the pointed oval, or vesica shape, accompanied by eight angels issuing from clouds, and swinging their censers. The Virgin wears the nimbus, and carries in her right hand a palm branch, and in her left a book. Above is a half-length figure of the Almighty Father, holding a crown as if about to place it on the head of the Virgin. In the background

are seven estoiles. Above the whole design is placed a conventionally-designed canopy of ecclesiastical architecture. Below it is an arched niche with arcaded sides, with which is the mitred figure of the bishop kneeling in adoration, as if praying in the words of the legend—

PRESVLIS . ESTO . PIA . MEMOR . ASCENDENDO . MARIA.

The same Divine personage forms the subject of the seal of Alexander Kinnynmont, who occupied the See from about 1337 to 1382, but here we have another episode in the life. The archangel Gabriel holds a scroll inscribed with the eternal words, AVE MARIA, at her Annunciation. St. Andrew and St. Joseph are at her side, the mitred bishop kneels below, under an arch, and between two shields of arms. Bishop William Elphinstone has left impressions of three seals, one appertaining to his office of vicar-general, in 1486, where the figure of St. Andrew, shield, of arms, and a *bâton*, emblematic of official jurisdiction, supplying the design; another, the "sigillum rotundum," shows figures of the Virgin Mary holding the Child, and of St. Kentigern with his emblem, a fish. This occurs in 1490. His third seal is entitled "sigillum autenticum," and was

used in 1501. Here, as in the former example, the Virgin and Child, and St. Kentigern, with the ring and fish symbolically associated with him, form the principal subjects. Bishops Gavin Dunbar, 1518-1531; William Stuart, 1532-1545; and William Gordon, 1546-1577, introduce the Virgin and Child into their respective seals. Later bishops of Aberdeen appear to have abandoned the representation of sacred persons in favour of heraldic design. The use of effigies of Divine Personages was discouraged about this period. The Chapter Seals include that of the cathedral, used in the fourteenth century, where the one side shows the Virgin and Child in a Gothic niche between the Sun and the Moon, with other details of no exceeding interest; but the reverse, or counterseal, is worthy of notice as bearing on a platform a representation of the Nativity of our Lord, with the star of Bethlehem shining overhead. Here the rhyming hexameter, which seems to have severely taxed the ingenuity of its author, quaintly describes the situation—

SIGNANT . STELLA . THEOS . PRESEPE . PARENS . ASINVS . BOS .

The bishops of Brechin have also bequeathed to antiquaries of to-day a goodly number of seals. These, for the most part,

pourtray the Holy Trinity, treated in various conventional and artistic ways. That of Albinus, or Alwin, 1248 to about 1256, bears the episcopal figure with embroidered vestments, standing in profile, and holding his staff with the curve turned outwards. The attitude here recalls those of Roger of St. Andrews, 1193, Walter of Glasgow, 1227, Clement of Dunblane, 1233, and Bricius of Moray, 1208. From the recurrence of this very beautiful design, it would appear, as I have shown in the British Museum catalogue, that all these seals, and possibly others not extant, were the work of the same engraver, or derived from the same source. In the field are a crescent and a colon of two pellets. Bishop William, about 1289-90, employed the design of Our Lord in glory, with the orb of the universe, and pronouncing benediction, and in base the bishop himself in adoration. In some seals, as in that of Patrick of Leuchars, 1354-1376, the Trinity is set in a niche, and the bishop kneels in adoration beneath an arch. This style is followed by Bishop John de Carnotto, 1429-1456. Bishop George Shorsewood, who held the office of Lord High Chancellor, varied this design by representing on his seal the *Pietá*, or Virgin Mary holding the dead figure of her Son after the descent from the cross, His left foot being placed upon a sphere or orb of the world, emblematic

of the victory of Our Lord, who has purchased the world with His death. Laing, strangely enough, considers this scene to be a Trinity also. Bishop Balfour, 1466-1500, and later prelates revert to the representation of the Trinity, but Bishop Andrew Lamb uses the Agnus Dei, or Lamb of God, in allusion to his name. The Chapter Seal is known by a fine impression attached to a deed dated 1509 in Laing's collections. Here we see a finely-designed group of the Holy Trinity with the curious detail of the Almighty Father wearing the cruciferous nimbus more usually connected with the Son.

Of Caithness we have not many extant seals of bishops. Bishop William, 1261, uses the episcopal effigies of conventional character with a *secretum* counterseal in which, among other details, is the figure of an ecclesiastic, half-length, lifting up his hands in adoration, and set in a boat-shaped vessel seen from the prow, which I have conjectured to be in allusion to the incident of Canon Gilbert and Hugo, Cardinal of St. Angelo, papal legate, as narrated fully in Hutton's additions to Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, a manuscript (add. 8143, fol. 95) preserved in the British Museum. Bishop Alan de Sancto Edmundo, 1289-1292, introduces into his seal figures of St. Columba as a bishop with extended jurisdiction, and the Virgin

and the Child. Thomas Murray, who sat from 1348 to 1360, uses the episcopal figure, and adds lateral shields of arms bearing on the dexter side three mullets for Murray, on the sinister a lymphad within a royal tressure flory counterflory, perhaps for his See, but called by Laing for his See of the Isles, while Burke blazons the arms of Caithness, a galley in full sail. Andrew Stuart, 1490-1518, continues this design with substitution of the arms of Stewart quartered with a lymphad for Caithness, and in fess point an annulet. There appear to have been two bishops of this name consecutively, 1490-1518, and 1518-1542. This seal probably belongs to Andrew Stuart the First. Bishop Robert Stuart, 1542, Canon of Canterbury, and afterwards 6th Earl of Lennox, used a seal when "Bishop Elect and Confirmed," and a later seal as bishop with an accompanying motto, ILLUMINA. His signet of arms bears also a coronet between the initial letters R. S. set between small flowers which perhaps allude to the well-known heraldic roses of Lennox. George Gladstanes, 1600-1604, and John Abernethy, 1622-1638, use their respective armorial bearings on their seals, and Patrick Forbes, 1662-1680, who reverted to the effigy of a mitred bishop in addition to his family arms, appears to have given offence in respect of the effigy, for the impression, of which there

is a cast among the more recent acquisitions of the British Museum, has been purposely obliterated by the pressure of some one's thumb when it was just freshly made.

The Chapter Seal, the brass matrix of which appears to belong to the thirteenth century, is very beautiful. It is pointed oval in shape, measuring about three and a quarter inches long by two inches broad. The Virgin Mary, half-length, with crown and nimbus, holding the Infant Saviour, who wears the cruciferous nimbus, is shown within a trefoiled canopied niche. At her side are the heads of St. Columba as a bishop, and of St. David as a king. Above these, two angels issue from the arch, and stretch out their arms. These, also, have the nimbus of sanctity on their heads. Set above all, in three small niches, are the heads of three sainted bishops connected with the ancient history of the See. Below, also under a trefoiled arch, is a company of nine persons—perhaps a choir or chapter procession—each one vested in ecclesiastical or collegiate habiliments, and holding a book.

The counterseal of this (if we may trust Laing's statement that it is the counterseal) shows the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, with the archangel Gabriel holding the inscribed scroll, as before described. In a small niche above the group is seen the

Holy Spirit, in the likeness of a dove, descending on the Virgin. In the hexameter legend the Virgin describes the uses of the seal for her collegiate church—

COLLEGIU[M] . CO[N]SIGNO . MEU[M] . CATANE[N]SE . MARIA.

It is curious that there is a silver matrix of late date at Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire, which bears an imitation of this design rudely executed in flat relief, and provided with a repetition of the legend found on the Chapter Seal.

The See of Dunblane supplies some bishops' seals of good design. The earlier examples give figures of bishops as usual. Those of Bishop William, about 1284 to 1293, and Bishop Robert de Prebenda, 1258-1282, show, among other details, representations of St. Laurence, with his accustomed emblem, and of St. Blaan, the patron saints of the See. There is also the seal of an uncertain fourteenth century Bishop Walter, which contains figures of St. Blaan and St. Laurence and a saint with book or wallet, with other emblems and shields of arms. The Chapter Seal, which probably belongs to the thirteenth century, in like manner reproduces a figure of St. Laurence, and refers to the two saints in the legend.

Dunkeld contributes to our study, among other seals of

bishops, a good seal attributed to Bishop Richard de Prebenda, 1210 (unless it be the *secretum* of the chapter) bearing a half-length figure of St. Columba with crozier curved outwards, and pronouncing a blessing, and also a fine one of Bishop John, 1356-1369, with figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Katharine; and another of Bishop Nicholas, about 1402-1411, with the Virgin and Child, two bishops, and the Blessed Trinity. George Crichton, who occupied the See from 1527 to 1543, places on his seal a figure of St. Columba, with episcopal vestments, and a nimbus, lifting up the right hand in the act of pronouncing the benediction. In base he sets his shield of arms, bearing a lion rampant for Crichton. The brass matrices of the seal of the Chapter of Dunkeld are still extant, and indicate a fine design and beautiful execution. They measure nearly three inches in diameter. On the obverse, or principal side, we see a Gothic niche of three heads, surmounted by a canopy of handsome carved work. Therein is placed a shrine, or reliquary, perhaps indicating the form of one kept among the treasures of the church. On each side is an angel swinging a thurible and kneeling on a shield of Royal Arms of Scotland. The base of the design consists of a row of three arches, containing as many figures of dignitaries of

the Chapter, clad in ecclesiastical vestments, and elevating their hands in veneration of the sacred contents of the coffer or reliquary above them. The legend reads—

SIGILL' . COMMUNE . CAPITULI . ECCLESIE . DUNKELDENSIS.

The reverse has, with corresponding detail of treatment, the central figure of the patron saint, Columba, with mitre and pastoral staff, on a throne, and lifting up the right hand in the act of blessing. The inscription, S. COLUMBA, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the figure. The throne consists of the heads and legs of animals, and may be compared with that used by some of the earlier kings of France. At each side is a niche, with pointed arch, containing a half-length angel swinging a censer, and a shield of arms of Scotland. The lower part of this design is also provided with an arcade, where four columns give five niches, each containing a monk, one of whom holds the Book of the Columban Rule, one a staff, one a key, and two with books. The legend, as usual a rhyming hexameter, is a prayer to the patron—

SANCTE . COLUMBA . TUIS . PASTOR . BONUS . ESTO . MINISTRIS.

The Chapter of St. Giles, Edinburgh, gives us an interesting

seal, attached to a document dated 1496, among Laing's impressions. Amongst other details it represents St. Giles, full-length, with nimbus, book, and pastoral staff, pierced with an arrow, and accompanied by a hind leaping up at his feet. Three early bishops of Moray have left impressions of their seals. Bishop Bricius, about 1203 to 1222, uses an antique intaglio gem to seal his counterseal, on which is engraved The Goddess Fortune, holding Nike or Victory in her right hand and a shield in her left. Bishop Archibald, 1293-1298, reproduces the episcopal effigies. Bishop John de Pilmor, 1326-1362, also uses an antique oval intaglio gem for his counterseal. The use of these gems, which is abundantly exhibited by seals in the middle ages, seems to indicate the love for antique precious stones by men of culture and position. They are found on the seals not only of ecclesiastics of high dignity, but on those of knightly rank and of noble lineage. It has been thought by some that these gems found their way to our shores after the intercourse with the East, stimulated by the Crusades; others see in them the simple operation of the laws of supply and demand, and conjecture that they formed part of the stock-in-trade of the goldsmith and the jeweller, much in the same way as they do to-day. Set in gold or silver, and being practically indestructible, many fine examples

of the gem ring have long survived their owners, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, to adorn our museums and antiquarian collections, and to show that the taste of the mediæval *cognoscente* was by no means inferior to the modern antiquary. The subject engraved upon Bishop Pilmor's seal appears to be a crescent set on a column between two wheat-ears, and the legend which accompanies it is as follows—

EX . SPICA . TRITA . TANTA . COLUMNA . SITA.

But both the design and the explanatory pentameter verse leave us in doubt as to its true signification. The design on the obverse of this seal interests us, being a representation of the Holy Trinity between four circular plaques, containing the customary emblems of the Four Evangelists, a concise depiction of the tenets of Christianity. The Holy Trinity reappears on many other seals of prelates of this See, in company with figures of bishops, the Virgin and Child, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalene, Michael the Archangel in combat with Satan, or shields of arms. James Stuart, Bishop of Moray, has left the impression of a seal attached to a document dated 1459, where the shield of arms seems to be a compounded armorial bearing, referring not only to the family of Stuart, but to the See of

Moray, which owes its foundation to King Malcolm III. Henry Hervey, an Archdeacon of Moray, had a seal, of which Laing had an impression, from a document dated 1438, now in the British Museum, bearing the interesting design of St. Nicolas, Bishop of Myra, miraculously restoring to life three youths from a boiling cauldron into which their mutilated bodies had been cast. This legend was a very favourite one in the middle ages, and indeed the saint himself possessed a world-wide reputation as a miracle-worker, being especially venerated by sailors and those whose business took them to sea. His life and wondrous work form the theme of numerous stained glass windows, carved fonts, illuminated manuscripts, and other survivals of mediæval times.

St. Magnus of Orkney appears on the seals of some of the bishops of that See. Bishop Thomas of Tulloch reproduces the saint holding a sword, 1422-1446, and Bishop Andrew Honeyman, in the seventeenth century, also figured the saint. Both these are probably suggested to their respective users by the device given on the fourteenth century seal of the Chapter, the brass matrix of which is still extant. This, which measures in diameter two inches and three-quarters, gives a sectional view of the cathedral, an edifice of pleasing design and proportion,

perhaps inspired by a Norwegian prototype, provided with a lofty central tower between two spires and side turrets. In the front are seen three trefoiled niches, with canopied heads, wherein are placed figures of the patron, Saint Magnus, standing on a bracket and holding a book and a sword, between two attendant monks, each kneeling on a small corbel.

The See of Ross, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Boniface, shows us in the seal of Bishop Robert, at the close of the thirteenth century, figures of these two patrons. Bishop Robert, 1269-1270, uses the episcopal effigy, and on his counterseal places a bust of St. Boniface, with mitre and vestments, accompanied by the inscription—

+ . SCS . BONIFATIVS.

A subsequent bishop, Alexander, about 1357 to 1370, reproduces figures of the Virgin and Child between Michael, the archangel, and St. Andrew, each with his customary emblem. There is also a somewhat similar seal attributed to Bishop Roger, about 1338. Bishop John Fraser, about 1485 to 1507, shows St. Peter with his key and patriarchal cross, and later seals do not call for any special remarks.

Glasgow, as might be expected, contributes a very fine series

of seals of bishops to our series. They run through all the phases of artistic delineation employed in this respect. The earliest show us full-length figures of the prelates, arranged in the proper vestments of their rank. Such is that of Bishop Joceline, 1175-1198, where he is pourtrayed with mitre and staff, lifting up his right hand in blessing. The counterseal, like other counterseals already noticed, is from the bishop's finger-ring, the impression of an antique oval intaglio gem bearing the well-known classical device of two birds on the rim of a vase or cup, from which they are drinking. The late Archbishop of Glasgow, Monsignor Eyre, who has written on this series of Glasgow Seals in the "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society," notices this seal with much interest. Florence, or Florentius, who was Bishop Elect, varied his attitude on the seal in accordance with established use, and represents himself as seated on a chair before a lectern, and holding a rod or staff. Bishop Walter, 1207-1232, is shown partly turned to the right on his seal, and uses a counterseal in 1227, on which he appears as King William the Lion's chaplain, with appropriate legend. Bishop William de Bondington, his successor, 1232-1258, copied the design found on the obverse of his predecessor's seal, and adds a smaller counterseal, on which we may observe one of the

earliest art representations of St. Kentigern, the patron of the See. The saint, with mitre and pastoral staff, with its crook turned outwards to symbolise extent of Christian rule and influence, but without the nimbus, is standing on a platform, blessing, with upraised right hand, a bishop who is kneeling before him, with hands uplifted in veneration. The legend explains the scene—

ORA . PRO . NOBIS . BEATE . KENTEGERNE.

Bishop Robert Wyschard, or Wishart, 1271-1316, commences a new era of ornamental seals. For his first seal, employed in 1292, his effigy, conceived in conventional style, is accompanied with a fish on the one side and a bird upon a branch on the other, in allusion to the well-known legend of St. Kentigern's miraculous action in connection with these creatures. Archbishop Eyre considers that the central figure of the bishop is not that of the occupant of this See, but of St. Kentigern himself. On one impression the Bishop has used the gem ring seal of John the Physician, *Joannes Medicus*, the design of which is a nymph standing and fastening her sandal, in front of a Priapus, a design not infrequently found in classical gems. The smaller seal, or counterseal, of Bishop Robert contains,

within two Gothic niches, the figures of two saints: on the left St. Kentigern, on the right St. Laurence, with his customary emblem. In base is a figure of the bishop adoring his patron. In his second seal, of which an example has been preserved by Laing, from a document dated 1315, the allusions to the legend are more numerous, the *cultus* of the national saint having evidently become at this period more popular. The bishop, in the act of blessing, here stands upon a lion crouching under an elaborately decorated Gothic canopy, and carries the mitre, the embroidered vestments, and the ornamental crozier or pastoral staff. On his left is a bust adorned with the nimbus, below which is a bird; on the right is another bust, below it a fish with a ring. The busts may be those of St. Kentigern and St. Laurence or St. David: the bird, the fish, and the ring relate to the history of St. Kentigern. This legend is depicted with great minuteness on the reverse, or counterseal, which shows a kind of section or erection of Gothic architecture in three stages, viz., a double niche in the highest part, two in the middle, and one in the base. The central figures are those of Queen Languoreth of Cadzow and her consort, each crowned, the former holding a gem-ring, the latter his sword; above is a monk presenting to St. Kentigern a fish holding a gem-ring in its

mouth ; in base is Bishop Robert kneeling in adoration of the saint. The legend describes the tableau—

REX . FVRIT . HEC . PLORAT . PATET . AVRVM . DUM . SACER . ORAT.

"The king's enraged, the queen in tears,
While the saint prays the ring appears."

For an account of this episode in the mythical history of Scotland the reader may consult MacGeorge's "Old Glasgow," p. 25, and the already mentioned treatise of Archbishop Eyre, who gives a somewhat different explanation of the event, and discusses the identity of the portraiture of the two busts. It is curious that there is another counterseal, from a different matrix, derived or imitated from the above, but the treatment of the details do not agree ; the architectural parts are not so elaborate, and the busts of the two saints, with the nimbus, have been omitted. But the descriptive legend is the same as in the previous example. This is preserved among the Doubleday Series of Seals, and appears to have been unknown to Laing and Archbishop Eyre.

There is a curious seal of uncertain ownership, which may belong either to Bishop John Wishart, 1318-1326, or Bishop

John Lindsay, 1326-1335. It depicts St. Kentigern, in the vestments of a bishop, with his mitre and crozier, pronouncing a blessing, within an elaborate niche. In the base is the Bishop of the See, kneeling in veneration of the saint. On the carved tabernacle work, at the sides of the niche, are two shields of arms, those on the dexter side being the Royal Arms of Scotland; those on the sinister side are indistinct. The legend refers the seal to a Bishop John. Archbishop Eyre attributes these to Bishop John Lindsay, 1322-1325, against the authority of Keith, who records 1325 as the date of Lindsay's entry into the See. The archbishop describes the arms as dexter, a lion rampant debruised of a bend, for Abernethy, and sinister a bend. The connection of the Abernethy arms with the See at this period is not very clear, but the bend may be used in reference to the arms of the family of Lindsay, which rightly bear a fess chequy, and the arms of Abernethy are quartered by some members of this noble family.

Bishop John Lindsay uses a seal, in 1333, where the emblems customarily connected with St. Kentigern are depicted in propinquity to the usual figure of the bishop, and two shields of arms, one of which, bearing a bend, perhaps for the family of Lindsay, seems to connect the seal with the preceding example.

In Bishop Walter Wardlaw's seal, which is found by Laing attached to a document dated 1371, a new method of illustration is adopted, the figure of the bishop being discarded and replaced by representations of Divine personages. In this case the bishop introduces a group of the Virgin and Child, with two bishops, one of whom is kneeling, the other standing. It may be that this is a presentation of the prelate by his diocesan patron and protector, St. Kentigern, to the notice of the Blessed Mother. Half-length figures of angels are placed in two side niches, and in base is a shield of the family arms of Wardlaw, on a fess, between three mascles, as many crosses crosslet. This is supported by two animals somewhat resembling lions.

A subsequent bishop, William Lauder, 1408-1425, uses a seal which exhibits the elaboration which had come into fashion with the opening years of the fifteenth century. The principal group here, within a canopied Gothic niche, is a conventional representation of the Blessed Trinity, consisting of the Almighty Father with radiant nimbus, the Crucified Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the mouth of the Father. This is one of the many ways employed by the artists of the middle ages to picture the mystery of the Trinity. The overhead canopy contained a figure which is too indistinct to be positively identified,

but which has been thought to be the Divine Mother. At the sides, in niches, are two kneeling worshippers, and above these, in niches of less dimensions, are saints standing on brackets. The extremities of the sides of the design are filled with two shields of the Royal Arms of Scotland. In the base is a niche or doorway showing the Prelate of the See, with his mitre and pastoral staff, kneeling in adoration of the heavenly personages, between two shields of arms, of which that on the dexter side is missing; that on the sinister bears a griffin segreant, the family arms of Lauder.

Bishop John Cameron, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in 1428, has left an interesting seal attached to a deed dated 1439, wherein he reverts to the use of the effigy of St. Kentigern, adding thereto, upon a staff, a shield of arms bearing three bars for the Cameron family. Here also are set two fish embowed, each with a ring, in reference to the romantic legend with which the saint is associated. This seal, which is the "rotundum" or "round seal," may be probably that employed by the bishop for State rather than Ecclesiastical affairs. Andrew Muirhead, who occupied the See of Glasgow from 1454 to 1473, and Robert Blacader, 1484-1488, employ the symbolical figure of St. Kentigern, with his fish and his ring,

and in company with shields of their respective arms; but John Laing, who sat on the bishop's throne from 1473 to 1483 puts upon his seal three niches bearing representations of St. Kentigern, between Michael the Archangel and St. Katharine, with her wheel of martyrdom. Blacader, the last of the bishops and first of the archbishops, 1488-1508, varied his seal but little on assumption of the archiepiscopacy, a fact notified by the change of legend to—

SIGILLUM . ROBERTI . ARCHIEPI . GLASGUENSIS.

Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, 1524-1547, employs the same allegory of St. Kentigern, with ring and fish, with a shield of the family arms of Dunbar, and the impression attached to a document, dated in 1536, is provided with a small secretum counterseal of arms, the shield having behind it a long cross for the archbishop, and below it a fish for St. Kentigern, the ring here being omitted.

The illustrious James Beaton, 1551-1603, uses a seal similar to the preceding in design, with an ornamental shield of arms, quarterly, of Beaton and Balfour in base. The impression preserved in the British Museum, a cast from an original found by Laing attached to the document dated 1566, has a counter-

seal of a shield of these arms, surmounted by a cross, or archbishop's staff, and in base a fish and ring for St. Kentigern. The philosophic apophthegm or motto employed here in place of a legend is—

FERENDVM . VT . VINCAS.

James Boyd, Archbishop from 1573 to 1601; William Erskine, 1505-1587; Andrew Fairfowl, 1661-1663, and Alexander Cairncross, 1684-1687, in turn present on their seals the undying legend with which the patron saint is ever associated, accompanied by shields of their respective arms. It may be, also, that the seal of Archbishop James Law, 1615-1632, with its ornamental tree, but without the saint, the fish, or the ring, nevertheless alludes to the See of Glasgow, the armorial bearings of which are thus blazoned: a tree with a bird on the topmost branch, in base a ringed fish, in the field a bell. The art of these latter seals is poor and jejune in comparison with the more elegant and pleasing conceptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Cairncross's motto—

PRO DEO REGE ET ECCLESIA SACRA,

is characteristic of the period during which its owner occupied the See.

The Chapter Seals of Glasgow present many interesting features. The earliest of the impressions which are extant was used about the year 1180, and may even be somewhat earlier in point of execution. It is pointed oval, and measures about two inches and three-quarters long by two inches wide. The design is an Agnus Dei, or Lamb of God, with banner-flag and pendants, usually employed as an emblem of St. John Baptist, but it is not clear why the emblem of that saint should have been employed on a Glasgow seal. In the base is a ring, symbolical of St. Kentigern, the patron saint, with a chain or twisted cord attached to it. It may be that the Agnus Dei represents the Province of York, and the chained or corded ring the subordination of Glasgow to that Primacy. The legend here is—

SIGILL . CAPITULI . ECCLESIE . GLESGVENSIS.

The second seal of the See, used from the latter part of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, as shown by extant examples attached to documents, and perhaps both earlier and later than the dates mentioned, illustrates the doctrine of transubstantiation on the one side, and the adoration of the patron on the other. In the former is a view of the cathedral church, with a central spire, and at each end of the gabled roof

a cross. Overhead are a radiant sun and crescent moon, indicative either of the heavens or of the tutelary presence of the Sun of Righteousness and the Divine Mother. The lower part of the edifice is open to view the interior through three arches. In the central niche, or compartment, is an altar, and upon it a chalice. From above there issues a Divine right hand of blessing reaching down to touch the cup; in the niche on the right is a priest reading at a lectern, in that on the left a priest in adoration of the sacrament. In the latter is a half-length figure of St. Kentigern, with mitre and vestments, giving a blessing; below, under a canopy, a group of the members of the chapter, kneeling, with uplifted hands, in prayer or veneration of their protector. At the sides the inscription—*Sanctus Kenteg'nus*—is engraved, and the legend repeats the prayer of the suppliant dignitaries—

KENTEGERNE . TVOS . BENEDIC . PATER . ALME . MINISTROS.

Other seals relating to the chapter take their *motifs* from Kentigern's legend, and reproduce the effigy of the saint, the tree, and the bell, the bird and the fish, and the ring, with which he is associated in the annals of the earliest conversion of the Caledonians.

One Chancellor John, who flourished in the fourteenth century, introduces two eyes above a figure intended to represent himself kneeling to receive a blessing from his patron. Other members of the chapter are content with heraldic bearings, but John de Carrick, on a seal attached to a document dated in 1371, places on his seal St. John Baptist between St. Kentigern and St. Katharine, with the Virgin Mary and the Child above them, his own figure between two lions sejant guardant addossed, a fish and ring, and a branch with a bird. Here again the presence of an effigy of St. John Baptist requires explanation.

The seals of bishops of Argyle and Lismore are not numerous. That of Bishop Alan, 1250-62, recently acquired by the British Museum, bears on the obverse a figure of the bishop, giving benediction and standing between two panels, in which are the heads of two patron saints, and there is a third head below. The pointed oval counterseal here is of much interest, it bears a sainted bishop, three-quarters length, under a carved arch with beautiful canopy of architectural detail, and in base, under an arch of three cusps, the bishop adoring his patron in the terms of the accompanying legend—

REGNET . PAX . ENSIS . MI[III] . SERVIAT . ERGADIENSIS.

That of Bishop Martin, 1352-1362, which is of good art, shows three figures, a bishop between two female saints, in a galley. An uncertain bishop of the fourteenth or fifteenth century introduces the Virgin and Child, a sainted bishop, probably the Patron of the See, St. Andrew with his saltire, the bishop himself adoring these figures, and a shield of arms bearing a unicorn sejant. The workmanship here has been attributed to a foreign hand, and the owner may have been provided by Rome at the time of the disastrous "chasm in the See" between 1362 and 1425. The unicorn sejant does not appear to have been used as an heraldic charge in Britain, but foreign armorials include this fabulous creature; unless, indeed, it refers to one of the Royal Supporters of Scotland. Later seals are of no especial merit, either for design or workmanship. That of Arthur Ross, Bishop of Lismore (Argyle) 1675-1679, is remarkable for its motto—

SIT . CHRISTO . SUAVIS . ODOR.

The chapter of this See has no less than four seals consecutively in use, each representing, in all likelihood, John, "the Englishman," Bishop of Dunkeld, who originated the See, but their design calls for no special remark beyond pointing out the

rudeness and quaintness of the work which was done by Scottish seal engravers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A few of the seals of the bishops of Candida Casa, or Whithorn, in Galloway, are extant.* There is the seal of Bishop Gilbert, 1235-1253, among the more recent acquisitions of the British Museum, which has some special interest: on the one side we see the figure of the bishop wearing the mitre, with a cross upon his breast, and a crozier in his left hand, standing on a corbel and lifting up his right hand in the act of pronouncing a blessing. The reverse has a beautiful counterseal impression of a small pointed oval ring of precious metal enriched with light wavy lines in the spaces at top and bottom between the letters of the legend and the gem itself, in which has been set an antique oval gem carved in intaglio of the early Christian period, probably about the first or second century after Christ. The design is that favourite one of the Agnus Dei, reguardant, wearing the nimbus, and holding a long cross after the classic

* The See was appointed to be one of the suffragans of the Archbishopric of Glasgow by Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., dated at St. Peter's, Rome, 9th January, 1491-2, according to Sir A. H. Durbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 215.

conventional manner. This gem is a *jasp* or *jaspis*, which, according to the philosophy of the early middle ages, possessed the marvellous power of arresting any flow of blood, and its virtue is set forth in the legend of this counterseal in the hexameter verse—

+ IASPIDIS . [EST] . VIRTVS . FVSVM . SEDARE . CRVOREM.

The second word is indicated by an arbitary sign ÷

A successor of Gilbert, named Henry, 1255-1292, uses more elaborate workmanship in his seal. Here, too, we find the episcopal effigy, with vestments enriched with embroidery, lifting up his hand in blessing, and placed between the familiar accompaniments of the crescent moon and wavy sun-star. The counterseal bears the figure of the owner, kneeling in veneration before a standing figure of the sainted bishop, Ninian, commonly called Ringan, founder of this See of Galloway, who is blessing the suppliant votary, over whose head is a cross. The bishop's prayer to the saint is couched in the rhyming Leonine hexameter verse which found favour with prelates of Scotland in the middle ages—

S[AN]C[T]E . P[RE]COR . DA . NE . TIBI . DISSPLICEAR . NINIANE.

Dissplicear is apparently an error for *displiccam*. That

of Thomas, who dated from about 1296 to 1304, is executed in a fine style of work. It is pointed oval, and measures about two inches and a half in height by upwards of one inch and a half in breadth. It bears a conventional representation of the bishop, with his mitre and pastoral staff, and wearing vestments, adorned with embroidery, lifting up his right hand to give a blessing, and standing on a pedestal beneath an ornamental canopy. His name at the beginning of the legend runs across the field of the seal—

THOMAS . DEI . GRA . EPISCOPVS . CANDIDE . CASE.

Bishop Thomas Spence, 1451-1458, shows the figure of a bishop or saint holding a fetter or manacle in the right hand, and at each side in a niche is a fetterlock for two feet. This alludes to St. Ninian and his miracles.

Another bishop of this See, Henry Wemyss, a natural son of King James IV., 1526-1541, introduces into his seal the effigies of the Virgin Mary with the Child, Michael the archangel, and an uncertain bishop with heraldic bearings belonging to him, in the base. The legend indicates this prelate as bishop of Candida Casa and of Stirling. Bishop John Paterson, 1674-9, introduces

a figure of St. Ninian on a mount, in a shield of the arms of the See, and gives his motto as—

PRO . REGE . ET . GREGE.

The Prior and Chapter of Candida Casa employed, as already described, in the thirteenth century, a pointed oval seal, showing the elevation or view of the church, with an arch or crescent in the base. This priory was of the Premonstratensian Order, and dedicated to St. Ninian and St. Martin. The legend here is—

SIGILLUM . PRIORIS . ET . CAPITULI . CANDIDE . CASE.

The bishops of the Isles, in like manner, have left but few seals for our notice. Two of the seventeenth century remain, with much the same dominant *motif* in their designs. That of Andrew Knox, 1606-1622, shows the prelate seated in an open boat, with book in his hand, passing over the waves ; below is a shield of his arms. That of Robert Wallace, 1661-1669, represents a galley or lymphad, in which is seated the bishop, who is being rowed over the sea by three or four mariners, his flag flying at

the stern of the boat. Over the bishop's head is set a shield of arms of the family, viz., quarterly, a lion rampant for Wallace, and a fess chequy for Stuart.

The Episcopal Seals of Scotland are a fine series, and, in like manner as the Royal Seals, closely illustrate the rise, progress, culmination, and decadence of the seal art in that kingdom. Those of the eleventh and twelfth century show us simple figures of bishops standing, holding the pastoral staff, or crozier, and elevating the right hand in the act of bestowing a benediction on the flock, or in some other simple and graceful attitude indicative of their sacerdotal functions, with a legend descriptive of name and title, or couched in a poetical or didactic utterance. The counterseals of this period sometimes appear to be derived from the ring-seal of the prelate, or to be the impression of an antique Roman intaglio gem-stone set in a rim of precious metal. The next century shows the bishop's seal advanced considerably along the lines of fine art. The elaborate corbel of carved work, the canopy of architectural details, gradually becoming more and more intricate, and replenished with tracery; the emblems introduced at the sides, the ornamented back-grounds, and the enrichment of the vestments worn by the principal figure represented on the seal, all combine to exhibit

the progress which not only the seal engravers' art, but many cognate arts, were evincing in the century.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show still further advancements, and the whole surface of the seal's face forms a picture of great beauty for its harmonious balance, its well-studied proportions, the easy pose of the central figure, the light fancy of the subordinate details, the heraldic shields and imagery, with its numerous allusions to See and Saint, to family, and to tradition. The culmination reached, we notice in the sixteenth century the insidious commencement of decline. Harmony of proportions becomes neglected, the want of balance manifested, carelessness of treatment in the details, which are introduced into the *ensemble* presented to the eye, and a falling-off of the consciousness on the part of the designer that he was master of his subject. Add to this, the change in men's minds on the subject of religion, and the widened basis from which all expression, artistic and pictorial, was to spring, led the way to wide divergence from the conventionalism of the preceding ages. It was now no longer imperative to follow the old lines, and, consequently, the knowledge of how to represent things conventionally was giving way to the desire to indicate innovations. The dislike which arose at this time of repre-

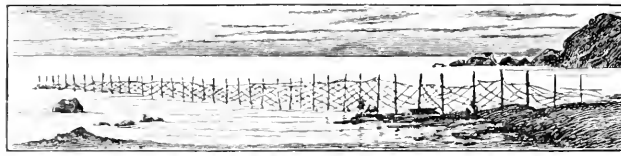
senting the human figure was also a factor which operated in many quarters, hence the seal becomes, very often, purely heraldic, or illustrative of some trite text, or scriptural event. The seals of the following century sink lower as works of art, and are practically worthless specimens of the skill of the designers, though, perhaps, as historical records they are not without their value.

It is not improbable that the earliest seals of bishops demonstrate, to some extent, a Gallic influence in the same way that this same influence is seen on the English seals of a corresponding epoch. We know that the intercourse between France and Scotland was vigorously maintained up to the beginning of the latter half of the fifteenth century, and it could not but result that Scottish arts should reflect a certain degree of the pre-excellence to which the Continent had reached at the time. But later, the seals of the bishops appear to have been designed and executed by natives, with the result that French elegance gave way to the less polished, but perhaps more virile, treatment brought forward by indigenous exponents of art workmanship.

Seals of capitular bodies are among some of the most notable of Scottish seals, both for their antiquity and importance. In this class no conventionalism has been observed; a local

tradition, a patron saint, an historical event, or a passing fancy suffice to mark the theme for the design on the seal. An appropriate inscription, not infrequently in rhyme, explains the allegory or rounds the moral set forth on the face of the seal. Among the many extant examples of this class, I may make mention of those of the following sees which possess beauty or interest of more than ordinary kind :—St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, St. Giles of Edinburgh, Moray, Orkney, Ross, Glasgow, Lismore, and Candida Casa, otherwise known as Whithorn.

The lower dignitaries of the Church are not so numerously represented among the seals as are the bishops, but a considerable number of examples remain, the art of which is quite equal to that shown on similar seals in England. The smallness of their dimensions, and less durable character, may well account for the lack of preservation of these very interesting classes, which exhibit a great range of style and free scope for the tastes of their respective owners. Among them, some belonging to the following sees may be mentioned as typical or prominent examples :—St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunkeld, Moray, and Glasgow.



CHAPTER VI.

Seals of Monastic Orders, Monasteries, Religious Houses, Colleges, and Ecclesiastical Institutions.

THE seals of monastic establishments in Scotland, as in England and other countries, do not follow any strict conventional pattern. Their form may be circular, or of the shape known as pointed oval, or vesical, a very beautiful geometrical figure produced by two segments of circles meeting at an acute angle, and resulting in a shuttle-shaped form arising from the combination of the two equal segments of circles with diameter of the same length. Some see in this figure a fanciful resemblance to a fish, which is the emblem attributed by the mystics and ecclesiologists to our Lord, because the initial letters of the five Greek words which, when translated, signify "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour," may be written together to form one other Greek word, meaning a fish, Ι . Χ . Θ . Υ . Σ · ;

in Latin characters, *Ichthys*. The designs found generally on seals of this class consist of representations of events in the life of our Lord, of the Divine personages, of saints, with or without their emblems, and emblems without their respective saints, of heraldic and armorial groups, and of a large variety of other appropriate conceptions. The Virgin Mary and the Divine Child, Jesus, with or without attendant angels, form a group which is perhaps more constant in its occurrence than any other; and it is not unreasonable to expect this, as the Blessed Virgin stood in the relation of patroness to so many ecclesiastical foundations, as well in Scotland as in other Catholic countries. Not only does this design occur in many of the "Common Seals" of such institutions, but the principal officers who either held perpetual seals of office, or personal seals ceasing to be used after their voidance of the several dignities, employed the design in grateful recognition of their allegiance to their sainted protectress and patroness.

It is to be regretted that many seals of the monasteries, which at one time or another replenished the fair realm of Scotland, have disappeared, as it were prey swallowed up in the universal ruin which overtook all these corporate bodies in the seventeenth century. Some few, indeed, probably secreted by careful hands

at the time of the overthrow of their houses, have occasionally been recovered, and some have been found among the debris of destroyed houses of religion ; but by far the larger number have been lost or destroyed, and thus many a beautiful work of art is now for ever lost to the antiquary and artist. Of those which remain, we will now take notice of the best examples, passing them in the order of alphabet, and noticing their principal features of interest.

Aberdeen has preserved impressions of three seals relating to the Carmelite Priory in that town, which occupied the important position of being the Provincial House of the monks of the Order of Mount Carmel, in Scotland. One of these seals, attached to a document dated 1411, bears a representation of the Resurrection of our Lord, set in a carved and canopied Gothic niche or tabernacle, enriched with seven pinnacles, a number not without significance of meaning. From the legend it is abundantly clear that the seal belonged to the Prior Provincial of the Order. A later common seal of the Carmelites of Aberdeen, made in the fifteenth century, bears the magical pentacle of Solomon (sometimes called "Solomon's Seal"), a star-like figure of five equi-angular points in outline, composed of as many lines of equal length united at their extremities, a symbol believed by

the astrologers and soothsayers of the middle ages to be endowed with many virtues and cryptic potencies, and in this case having its powers enhanced by the addition of the letters M·A·R·I·A set between the points, in reference to the Virgin Mary. A third seal, attributed to use by the Chapter of this Order, bears the name of William of Moray—"Willelmus de Moravia"—and was attached to a deed dated in 1437. This bears, within a church-like building, and under a triple arch, a figure of our Lord on the Cross, while below, in two little niches, are set figures of the Virgin with the Child, and a saint, conjectured to be St. Basil, the ancient propounder of the Rule of the Order. To these three may be here added a seal attached to a deed of the date of 1492, which shows a representation of St. Andrew, the apostle, and patron of the realm of Scotland, crucified upon the saltire cross perpetually associated with his martyrdom, and placed between a crescent moon and an estoile, or sun-star, symbols possibly indicative of the celestial or upper air of the empyrean firmament of heaven, or of the celestials who reign there, and between two conventional trees, or thistle-flowers, emblematic of the Scottish nation. The legend here is—

S. COMUNE FR'M CARMELITAR' SCOCIE.

i.e., *Sigillum Commune Fratrum Carmelitarum Scocie*, which sufficiently explains its import and use. A later Prior Provincial of the Order used a seal in 1544, of which the dominant motive is the Virgin Mary, crowned as queen of Heaven, and holding the Child. On her left is an ecclesiastic, or monk, kneeling in adoration; and below is a shield of arms, charged with a mullet in chief, and the letters V.S. in base. The legend declares this to be the seal of the Provincial of the Carmelites of Scotland.

There was also in the town of Aberdeen a House of the Preaching Friars, or Dominicans, the seal of which appears to show that it was dedicated to St. John Baptist. This is a pointed-oval, or vesica-shaped, seal of bold dimensions, bearing a figure of the patron saint standing, wearing the nimbus, and holding his customary emblem, the *Agnus Dei*, or Lamb of God, upon a roundle or plaque. At each side of the figure is a small tree, which symbolises the "wilderness," usually associated with the saint in accordance with the New Testament narrative. An impression of this interesting seal is found on a document dated in 1381, and the art it exhibits is customary with this date.

The town of Aberdour, in Fifeshire, was the site of a nunnery of obscure history. It does not appear whether it belonged to the Franciscan or Claresse Nuns, but the legend, indistinct and

imperfect as it is, seems to point to the Franciscans, while the central figure in the design may be either that of the Virgin Mary, or of St. Clare, the eponymic patroness of the Order of Claresses.

At Abernethy, in the counties of Fife and Perth, there was a collegiate house dedicated to St. Bridget, which possessed a common seal of considerable merit and numerous features of interest. This was circular in form, and on the obverse it bears a shield of arms, charged with a lion rampant, debruised by a bend, or ribbon, the armorial bearings of the family of Abernethy, which derives its name from the town. On the reverse we see a representation of St. Bridget, the patroness, wearing the nimbus of sanctity, and holding a pastoral staff, or crozier, with the crook turned outwards, significant of external jurisdiction as opposed to mere domestic or local influence, which would be indicated (theoretically, of course, and not always adhered to) by the curve of the staff being turned inwards towards the bearer. At the side of this saint of wide renown, celebrated for the reforms she introduced into the religious rules of the Church, stands a cow, her emblem. The legend is taken from Psalms liv. 15—

IN DOMO DEI AMBULAVIMUS CUM CONCENSU.

"We took sweet counsel together: and *walked in the House of*

God as friends." This seal has formed the subject of some valuable remarks by Laing, Turnbull, and other antiquaries. The impression was attached to a deed of 1557, but the matrix is probably of the fifteenth century. William Schaw, one of its provosts, has left an example of his private and personal heraldic seal, charged with the arms of Shaw, three covered cups, in chief a mullet. It is of the date above mentioned.

Arbroath, in county Forfar, otherwise known in olden time as Aberbrothock, a Tyronian Abbey, dedicated to the world-renowned St. Thomas à Becket, the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, is rich in seals of a fine character. The common seal used by the abbot and convent dates from the thirteenth century, and appears to have been made by the same hand which designed that of Middleton Abbey, in Dorsetshire, because the remarkable legend, which will be described further on, is identical in each case. In this seal of Arbroath we see, on the obverse, a spirited representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saint of the house, in the act of dramatic renown which took place as here shown at the steps before the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral, the grouping arranged, for artistic effect, under a trefoiled arch, resting on slender pillars, and furnished with a canopy composed of three

small pinnacled turrets and four gable ends. The legend on the side of the seal reads—

SIGILLUM . ABBATIS . ET . CONVENTUS . SCI . THOME . MARTYRIS . DE . ABERBROTHOK.

Southey's stirring ballad of the Inchcape Bell alludes to the Abbot of Aberbrothoc or Arbroath. The reverse of this very beautiful specimen of seal art is equally remarkable. Here is seen an arched shrine, or reliquary, with its richly-carved doors thrown open, furnished with scrolls of ornamental metal work, and covered by a canopy of turrets and gables in keeping with similar details of the obverse. Therein is a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, seated, holding the Child, and in her right hand a beautifully-drawn sprig, or branch, of foliage with a wavy stem. This style of branch especially belongs to the thirteenth century. Over the head of the Divine Infant is the star of Bethlehem, the *Lux Mundi*, or Sun of Righteousness, in the form of an estoile of six wavy points, or rays, a form of symbolism which was favoured by the Christian artists of the early middle ages as signifying light and beauty. The legend is very curious. It is a rhyming Leonine distich, and consists of an invocation to the Virgin, with a punning reference to Eve, whose name *Eva* is

Ave, the first word of the salutation, written in reverse order of the letters, and to the woe, *ve*, of mortality inherited by all mortals as a consequence of the disobedience of our legendary first parents—

PORTA . SALUTIS . AVE . PER . TE . PATET . EXITUS . A . VE .
VENIT . AB . EVA . VE . VE . QUIA . TOLLIS . AVE .

an elaborately-constructed elegiac stanza, which may be translated thus :

"Hail, thou Gateway of Salvation!
Granting refuge from damnation.
Though from Eve we trace our woe,
Hail, for thou hast laid it low!"

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary of Middleton, in Dorsetshire, already mentioned, placed around its seal, which bears a view or representation of the Abbey Church in the thirteenth century, the same curious legend on the reverse side. This peculiar coincidence on seals of monastic institutions, situate so far apart, seems to point, as has been said, to the supposing that the same engraver was employed upon the two seals, or that the Order of Benedictines possessed at the time a

member who occupied himself with the task of writing these elaborate compositions. It is well known that in the middle ages monks and other ecclesiastics devoted their time of study to the construction of ingenious tables of verses and similar matters, many of which still remain in books and manuscripts that once belonged to the religious houses which sheltered the authors.

One of the abbots of Arbroath who flourished at the close of the thirteenth century, has left us a very elegant seal, attached to a document bearing the date of 1286, now preserved among the Harley Charters of the British Museum. It shows the not uncommon design of the Blessed Virgin Mary, sitting with the Child, and attended with angels in adoration; but it also bears the far less common design of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saint of the abbey, whose fame as a statesman and as a martyr had penetrated to the ends of the world. In the lower part of the seal is set an effigy of the abbot, kneeling in veneration to the saints above him. A long interval separates us from another interesting seal of the abbey. In 1608 a document was issued, to which was attached the seal of John Hamilton, the last Commendator, second son of the Duke of Chastelherault, and afterwards Marquess of Hamilton. By

this time ecclesiastical emblems had been discarded. Opposing Church factions and prejudices rendered it imprudent for any one to place figures of Divine personages upon seals, and, as a last resort of art, heraldry afforded almost the only means of exercising artistic talent. The Commendator's seal bears the quartered arms of Hamilton and Arran, ensigned with a coronet, and set between two small branches of foliage. The spelling of the name of the monastery also had undergone a change. Here, in its later form, it is Arbroath; in the previous seal of the thirteenth century it is Aberbrothoc. Two monks, of all the numerous throng who owned allegiance to St. Mary and St. Thomas of Arbroath, have left their seals on record. They are: Robert de Lambile, the thirteenth century brass matrix of whose seal was found in the ruins of the abbey, and is now preserved, it is said, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Montrose, bearing a figure of a kneeling monk, with a sun of righteousness over his head; the other, also of the thirteenth century, appertained to Brother W. Matthew, a brass matrix found at Arbroath, and now believed to be in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Here, under a canopy of triple arcades, we observe a figure of the patron martyr, the renowned Thomas of Canterbury, lifting up the

right hand conventionally in the attitude of one pronouncing a benediction, between two kneeling angels, one of whom holds a censer and a palm branch, the other the quatrefoil flower of Divine love, and a palm branch; in base, under a smaller canopy, is the figure of the monk, half-length, in profile to the left. The legend in this case leaves no doubt that the seal belonged to the above-mentioned monk, for the legend reads—

S. F. W. MATH'I MONACI D' ABIRBROTHOT.

The former seal is, to some extent, of doubtful identity, as the legend does not absolutely associate Robert de Lambile with the monastic profession.

Ardchattan is an interesting convent. It was one of the very few in Scotland which owed allegiance and origin to the Convent of Vallis Caulium, or Val-des-Choux, the Vale of Cabbages, or, as some imagine, the Vale of Owls, in the eastern central district of France, the "Rule" of which has been recently edited for the late Marquess of Bute, by the author of this book, who visited the remains of the mother house, and prepared collections for its history, the intended publication of which was frustrated by the ever-lamented death of that strenuous and

noble antiquary. The convent was, like others of the Val-des-Choux order, dedicated to St. John Baptist. It was situate in the district of Lorne, in Argyle, and there is not very much definitely known of its history. Keith, Turnbull, Gordon, Walcott, and other writers of the monastic antiquities of Scotland, say very little of its fortunes and misfortunes. Beaulieu and Pluscardine were its fellow-subjects to the parent house in France, which, while being favoured in that kingdom and the vicinity of its establishment, succeeded only in maintaining these three houses in Scotland, and in England had no foothold at all. In the seal of this community we see the effigies of the patron saint, holding, on a plaque, the Agnus Dei, with which he is ever to be associated. The legend declares this to be the seal of the convent—

DE ARDKATAN IN ARCADIA.

Although known by the fine impression attached to a deed, dated in 1564, the matrix of this seal is nearly three hundred years older in point of age.

The town of Ayr contributes a curious seal of her Dominican Friars, as used by the prior of that house, an early fifteenth century seal, showing St. Katharine, the patroness of the priory,

accompanied with her customary emblems, the wheel and sword, which mediæval hagiography indissolubly connects with this virgin saint and martyr. Below, under an arch, is seen the prior, kneeling in adoration.

The Cistercian Order found universal favour in Scotland: numerous and powerful abbeys flourished throughout the kingdom, and among them that of Balmerino or Balmerinach was one of pre-eminence. It was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Edward. We have still extant a fine impression of a very richly wrought seal of this house, on which is depicted, in a niche enriched with a canopy of Gothic architecture and open work at each side, a standing figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned queen of Heaven, with the Divine Child, and in base, below the principal subject, is set a shield of the Royal Arms of Scotland. We owe this seal to Laing's indefatigable research among the collections of original documents relating to Scotland. The legend indicates that it is the "Common Seal"—*Sigillum Commune*—of St. Mary of Balmerinach. The impression is attached to a deed dated in 1530, but the date of the making of this beautiful matrix is considerably older. In the thirteenth century the Abbot of "St Edward's in Scotland," which was another title of this abbey, used a seal, one impression of which

still remains, whereon is shown the abbot's figure, in monastic vestments, and holding a pastoral staff and a book of the Cistercian Rule, stands on a fluted platform or pedestal, accompanied at the sides with a fleur-de-lis, and three estoiles.

The Carmelites of Banff used, in the fourteenth century, a seal charged with the design of the Annunciation of the Virgin. Beaulieu, akin to Ardchattan, in being one of the very few Scottish houses of the Vallis-Caulium order, used the design of the Virgin and Child, with a monk adoring them. At Berwick-on-Tweed the "Minister" of the Friars of the Holy Trinity, or Trinitarians of St. Mathurin, used a seal which is remarkable as embodying in some degree the peculiar dogmas of that order in a representative form. Here we see the Saviour, seated in judgment on the world, with both His hands uplifted, the feet set on a rainbow bearing an indistinct inscription. At the sides are human hands issuing, grasping the cross, and other conventional emblems of the Passion; below these is the minister, or master, kneeling in veneration of the Divine Judge. Blantyre, an Austin Canons' Priory in Clydesdale, Lanark, possessed at the end of the sixteenth century a curious seal used by Walter Stuart, the Commendator of the House, and Lord Privy Seal. The design here, as is generally the case with seals of very late

date, is heraldic, with a label inscribed with a text from Habak. iii. 18, somewhat imperfect, which appears to have been—

EXALTABO . IN . DEO . JESU . MEO.

when complete. The blending of the Biblical with the heraldic is quaint, and yet quite in harmony with the peculiar feelings of that age.

Brechin Maison Dieu, or Hospital, in Forfar county, shows us, in the seal of the Preceptor, William Carnegie, a figure of the Virgin Mary with the Child, standing on a crescent and surrounded by a radiance, a form usually employed to signify the Assumption.

Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, in county Clackmannan, possessed an important Abbey of Canons-Regular, dedicated to St. Mary. Laing preserves a valuable seal of the Abbey, showing the Virgin and the Child set beneath a carved Gothic canopy of finely-proportioned architecture, with a choir, or chapter, of six canons assembled in adoration of their patroness in the base, under an arch, representing their church. The name of the house is given in the legend as Kambuskinel. Two abbots of this monastery are known by their seals—John, in 1292, and Patrick, in 1400. In each case this dignitary has

selected a figure of his patroness as the most appropriate design for his seal. In later times, we find a "seal of the office of the officiality of the abbot of Kambuskyneth," which, like so many other ecclesiastical and monastic seals of Scotland, bears a figure of the Virgin Mary and the Child, with the addition of an heraldic design. Candida Casa, otherwise known as Whithern or Whithorn, a monastery of the Premonstratensian Order, dedicated to St. Ninian and St. Martin, in the southern parts of Wigtownshire, the ancient Galloway, or Galwidia, is represented by an early pointed-oval seal, on which is depicted a view of the church belonging to the priory. It is, however, difficult to determine whether this, like other representations of Religious Houses and Churches, is a correct delineation of the particular building to which it belongs, or is a merely conventional representation of an imaginary edifice. The legend here declares that the seal is that of the prior and chapter. Mention has already been made of the few seals of the bishops of the diocese of Whithorn, the extent of which is perhaps coincident with the shire, but there are not many records which throw light on the point. The records of the Province of York, and principally the archbishops' registers, throw some light upon the mediæval history of the bishops and priory of Whithorn, and it

appears that for some time at least there was a close bond of union between Whithorn and York.

Coldingham, in Berwickshire, is a Benedictine Nunnery of much interest. It was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, one of the most notable of the northern British saints. Its common seals show the Virgin and Child. Several seals of the priory are extant. In an early one is a figure of the prior seated on a chair, and reading a book at a lectern. This is of the late twelfth century. In two of the later seals St. Cuthbert's effigy is introduced in addition to the usual figures of the Virgin and Child. One of these, of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, attributed by some to John de Aclif, prior in 1391, puts into the mouth of the suppliant monk, who is kneeling under an arch and adoring the saint, the rhyming legend or prayer—

VOS SANCTI DEI SITIS AMICI MEI.

Robert Blacader, Prior of Coldingham, Commendator, and Apostolic Prothonotary, used in 1519 a fine seal bearing the Virgin and Child, a shield of the family arms, and other emblems, set on a crozier between two sprigs of foliage. Coldstream, a nunnery of the Order of Citeaux in county Berwick,

varies the style of monastic seals by using the design of a salmon, hauriant in pale, with a hook in its mouth. This is placed between two quatrefoils, with a crescent enclosing an estoile and a wheel. These emblems probably refer to the *stream* or to the patron saint. Crosraguel, that is, Crux Regalis or Cross Royal, an abbey of the Cluniac order in Carrick, the southernmost of the three divisions of Ayrshire, possessed several seals, which have also figured in the "Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel," one of the many valuable monographs dealing with Scottish monastic institutions. The principal seal shows the Virgin Mary seated on a throne, and holding the Child. Overhead is an architectural canopy set on delicate columns. Under an arch of five cusps in base we see a group of monks, turned to the right, adoring the Divine personages.

The Cistercian abbey of Culros in Perthshire uses the usual design on the common seal, but in its counterseal, that is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, there is an unusual device, sometimes occurring in English monastic counterseals, namely, a hand, lying fesswise and grasping the crozier of an abbot. This is combined with the crescent moon and wavy-pointed sun-star, the significance of which emblems has been already explained. Another Cistercian abbey, that of Cupar in Angus,

counties of Perth and Forfar, repeats the use of the effigy of the Virgin Mary with the Child, a favourite device of the Cistercian Order. Here the Infant Saviour grasps a branch of lilies (His Mother's plant, symbol of unsullied purity) in the right hand, an elegant design, eloquently speaking to those who can interpret aright the symbolism of the middle ages. Beneath the group, and under an arch, which stands for the abbey itself—in obedience to that canon of art which allows a part to signify the whole—the abbot with his staff, kneeling in veneration, and placed between two shields of arms. No less than three seals of this type, of varying dates, are extant, and they bear witness to the universal approval of the design. It is curious that on the counterseal of one of the abbots of Cupar, at the end of the thirteenth century, there is found the same design as that already described as in use at Culros, the hand holding a crozier, but here the places of the crescent and star have been taken by two fleurs-de-lis. So late as 1532, the abbot used the effigies of the Virgin Mary and Child, with a shield of his family arms upon a crozier.

Another Cistercian abbey, Deer, situate in the district of Buchan, county Aberdeen, famous for the "Book of Deer," one of the oldest records of Scottish history, abandons the

representation of the Divine Mother and Child in favour of figures of the abbots. Of Dryburgh, an abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, dedicated to the Virgin, in Teviotdale, county Berwick, numerous seals are known. The designs are the hand holding a crozier, the Virgin and Child, and the abbot with crozier of authority and open book of the Rule of the Order; and in late instances, heraldry replaces the rejected hagiography of earlier centuries. The seal of Abbot John, which occurs on a document dated in 1404, among Laing's invaluable series of Scottish seals, represents the Holy Family; in a gothic canopied niche, with elaborate carved work at the sides, are figures of the Virgin with the Child, and St. John Baptist, accompanied with the Agnus Dei, his usual emblem, and the palm branch of martyrdom, with the abbot in base under an arch, kneeling in adoration of the group.

The Franciscan Minorite Friars of Dumfries employed in the seal of the house a figure of the patron, St. Francis, holding up what appears to be a crucifix, somewhat indistinct on the impression attached to a deed of 1490. St. Francis also finds a place on the seal of the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, of Dundee, county Forfar; this, too, is dated 1490. In each case a friar is shown adoring his patron saint. The seal of the

Provostry of the Chapter of Dunbar reproduces the effigy of a female saint carrying a *flagellum* and book, accompanied by two shields of arms, one bearing a lion rampant within a bordure charged with eight roses, the other being the family arms of George Dunbar, Earl of March, the founder of the house. Dundraynan or Dundrennan, a Cistercian abbey in Galloway, employed on its counterseal, of which a good example has been preserved showing that it was made in the fourteenth century, the type, already described as in use with other monasteries, of the hand holding an abbot's crozier or staff, and placed between the sun-star and crescent moon, with which our readers are already familiar. The abbot's seal shows the effigy of that dignitary, standing on a corbel, with his crozier of authority and book of Rule, between two cinquefoil flowers. The glorious Abbey of Dunfermline, in Fifeshire, a Benedictine House dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Margaret, made use of a very early seal, about the year 1200. The design is peculiarly interesting. It comprises a view or elevation of a more or less conventional character, intended to represent the church or some prominent part of the monastery, but with a chalice set on a plinth, within a large opening enriched with an arched canopy. Above it is the Divine Hand of Blessing, from which issue streams of rays

signifying a transmission of spiritual benediction into the cup. By this beautiful yet simple symbolical design, we are to read four things: the Benediction or Blessedness of the Benedictine Order, the Hand of the Father, the Cup of the Blood of the Son, and the Irradiation of the Holy Spirit, which three latter types combine to emblematise the Holy Trinity of the Dedication. The legend — *Sigillum Sancte Trinitatis* — leaves no doubt as to the pictorial significance of the seal. The later seal of the Chapter of Dunfermline is not inferior in point of interest. The matrix of this is still extant, and appears to date from the fourteenth century. Its large size (two inches and three quarters in diameter), and its excellent state of preservation, combined with the wealth of its design and the curious nature of the legend on the reverse, render this one of the most remarkable among the monastic seals of Scotland. On the obverse is a representation of the church shown by a kind of section through its axis, which enables us to see the altar with a chalice upon it, and a priest and acolyte before it. Behind these figures stands St. Margaret, the Queen and Patroness, reading at a lectern, and attended by a monk, also reading at a second lectern. Above, over the roof of the church, which is furnished with a central tower or lantern, are two birds, the sun-star and

crescent moon. The design of the reverse consists of four angels — meaning the Evangelists or the Gospels — holding up within the mystical vesica or pointed-oval entablature the Saviour-Judge seated, on the Judgment Day, upon a rainbow, with the open Book, the nimbus marked with the Cross of Redemption on His head, the uplifted hand of blessing or cursing, and other attributes between the Sun-Star of Righteousness, the Crescent Moon for the Virgin Mary, the quatrefoil flower of Divine Love, and the cinquefoil of the five wounds—the price of Redemption. The background is filled up with sprigs of trefoiled foliage, an emblem perhaps indicative of the Trinity, which we have seen employed on the national seal used by King Edward I. for Scotland at the close of the thirteenth century. It may be that this side of the seal is not the work of the same artist who designed or executed the obverse. Here again we meet with one of those curious rhyming legends, written in Leonine verse, which have already attracted us. It consists of an elegiac distich—

MORTIS . [VE]L . VITE . BREVIS . EST . VOX . ITE . VENITE .
DICET[VR] . REP[RO]BIS . ITE . VENITE . P[RO]BIS.

Some of the words are contracted, and the arbitrary sign ÷

stands for *est*. This, when properly punctuated, is to be read as—

MORTIS VEL VITE BREVIS EST VOX "ITE: VENITE."
DICETUR REPROBIS "ITE"; "VENITE" PROBIS.

which may be thus rendered into English—

Brief is the voice of Death or of Life: or "Go" or "Come" shall be uttered. "Come" shall be said to the worthy, and "Go" to the bad shall be muttered.

Abbot Ralph in 1292 used a seal in which the dominant motive is a figure of the Almighty, wearing, by some curious fancy of the designer, the cruciferous nimbus usually given to the Son, and supporting a figure of Christ on the cross. The subordinate accompaniments are a sun-star and a crescent enclosing a pellet or roundle. The abbot himself kneels below and worships the figure, under an arch inscribed ECCLESIA CHRISTI.

The Collegiate Church of Dunglas in East Lothian is known to have used as late as 1604 a figure of the Virgin Patron and Child.

Edinburgh gives us many seals. St. Katharine of Siena appears on the seals of the Convent of St. Katherine. She holds a crucifix and a human heart, at her feet lies Satan vanquished. Holyrood, or St. Cross, Austin Abbey, has a very early but pleasing representation of a church of cruciform plan

with a domed central tower. This seal was used in 1141. A thirteenth century seal shows the Lord on the Cross between the Divine Mother and St. John the Evangelist. On another seal, used about 1550, but probably of earlier date, is shown our Lord crucified between the sun and the moon, over his head the tetragram I.N.R.I. on a scroll. This design is set between two side niches containing the Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene. Below in a niche is the Virgin with the Child on a shield of Royal Arms of Scotland, supported by a crozier on the dexter, and a stag contourné having the Holy Rood between its attires on the sinister side, each supporter being as it were ensigned with slipped thistles. There are other seals of the abbey with interesting details. That of Abbot John, which occurs on a document dated 1371, represents the Coronation of the Virgin, the Lord crucified between the Virgin and St. John, and the abbot adoring the celestial personages. The College of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, appropriately reproduces conventional representations of the Trinity, one of which is accompanied with the inscription—

SANCTA . TRINITAS . VNVS . DEVS.

The Dominican or Preaching Friars, and the allied Convent

"de Castro Puellarum," use the device of the Coronation of the Virgin. In the former case the prior's seal has a variation of the design in so far that the coronation is effected by an angel in the presence of the Father; in the latter the Father Himself places the crown on the head of the Virgin. The Cistercians of Elcho, in Perthshire, and the Premonstratensians of Ferne, in counties Ross and Cromarty, use the design of the Virgin and Child. The Preaching Friars of Glasgow have the figure of a saint with nimbus, palm branch, and chalice containing three ears of corn. St. Nicholas Hospital in this city gives us a small seal of rude work, showing the patron saint performing the miracle of restoring three youths to life, a very favourite motive in the legendary art connected with this saint. Glen Luce, called Vallis Lucis, a Cistercian abbey in Wigtownshire, used a seal with the design of a Gothic church containing the Virgin and Child with attendant angels, and a shield of the arms of Galloway, a lion rampant crowned. The Cistercians of Haddington adhere to the usual design of the order, the figure of the Virgin and Child. Holywood, a Premonstratensian abbey in Dumfriesshire, depicts, by way of a rebus, an ornamental and symmetrical oak tree in fruit, with a bird perched on a branch thereof, and between two wavy estoiles.

In an abbot's seal the same tree appears, in combination with a dexter hand issuing from the heavens, and grasping a crozier. A somewhat later abbot's seal shows the abbot himself holding in the right hand the tree with the bird thereon, in the left a crozier; all between the now familiar adjuncts of star and crescent. Icolmkill, also known as Hy and Iona, a celebrated Cluniac abbey, dedicated to St. Columba, in Argyllshire, one of the most interesting and romantic spots in Scotland, had a seal of the thirteenth century, on which was represented the patron saint worshipped by two Cluniac monks. Inchaffrey, the Island of Masses, Insula Missarum, an Austin Abbey dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and St. John the evangelist, in Strathearn, Perthshire, has left us still its original brass matrix, which presents one of the most beautiful designs of this series of monastic seals. On the one side we have the eagle emblem of the evangelist, with nimbus on its head, and in its claw a scroll bearing the inscription of part of the first verse of the Gospel: "In the beginning was the word."

"IN . PRINCIPIO . ERAT . VERBUM."

All this is set within a cusped border, and in the field or background are two vine leaves, four cinquefoils, and five quatre-

foils, all with emblematic significations, which "speak to those," as Pindar sings, "who understand." The reverse of this seal, which is of considerable dimensions, being nearly two inches and three quarters in diameter, contains a representation, conventional for the most part, of a monastic church with central and side towers, and having a large arched opening in the midst, wherein is placed a standing effigy of St. John the patron saint, with nimbus of sanctity, palm-branch of martyrdom, and book of Gospel to indicate his evangelistic mission. This seal was reproduced in a somewhat less elaborate style at a later period. The fourteenth century seal of the abbot shows a good style of art in its representations of the patron saint and a bishop, the Virgin and Child, and the abbot adoring them. There is also a curious amber matrix described by Laing as having been found in St. John's Churchyard, Perth, bearing an eagle displayed, with accompanying legend declaring that it belongs to Alan, a canon of Inchaffrey, whose date is placed between 1250 and 1270. Another Austin abbey of renown is that of Inchcolm, Insula Sancti Columbæ, or Insula Æmona, in county Fife, the seal of which shows a conventional church with many fine details, and its counterseal gives a galley on the sea, a design repeated on the abbot's thirteenth century seal, with the addition

of a yard and furled sail to the mast and two figures in the ship. A third Austin House of Canons is that of Inchmahome, also called Insula Sancti Colmoci or Inchmaquhomok, in Menteith, Perthshire. Here is depicted, on the common seal, the Virgin Mary as queen of heaven, crowned, holding a sceptre and the Child, and below, beneath an arch, St. Colmoc, the patron saint, vested as a bishop. The matrix of this seal appears to belong to the fourteenth century. In the British Museum is preserved a brass matrix, apparently a recent copy, badly executed, of this elegant design.

The Inverness Dominicans or Preaching Friars possessed a good seal, on which was engraved a representation of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, standing on a platform, and holding his customary emblem, the knife of his cruel martyrdom. It is known by an impression attached to a document dated in 1436.

Jedburgh, or Jeddeworth, in Roxburghshire, employed a very beautiful seal for the purposes of its chapter. The diameter is three inches, and it dates from the fourteenth century. The subject depicted is the favourite one of the "Coronation of the Virgin" in a canopied niche, accompanied with several subordinate emblems. The reverse of this gives the scene of the "Salutation of the Virgin," between four saints or angels,

and in the field are two wavy trees of conventional form. As the trees occur on the obverse, it is clear that they allude in some way to circumstances attending the foundation or environment of the monastery. It is to be much regretted that the legend around the design, which was a rhyming Leonine hexameter verse, is so imperfectly preserved in the impression acquired from Laing's collections by the British Museum that it cannot be read satisfactorily. Among several seals of this house, a few may be mentioned here. Abbot John in 1532 used a seal on which is engraved the rare subject of the "Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt." Andrew Home, Commendator of this abbey in 1561, combines with the figures of the Virgin and Child the armorial bearings of his lineage. There are two seals from distinctly different matrices attributed to this dignitary; one, however, is a copy with variant details of the other.

Kelso, or Calchou, has left us many good seals. This was a Tyronensian or Cistercian house of great repute, dedicated to St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist, in Teviotdale, Roxburghshire. Some of its seals have, like those of other Scottish religious houses, been figured in monographs and editions of chartularies and registers for the learned and literary societies of

Scotland. The first seal bears the Virgin and Child, and was a fine example of twelfth century Scottish seal art, now unfortunately only known by an imperfect impression among the charters which formerly belonged to Lord Frederick Campbell, and now deposited among the manuscripts in the British Museum. A cast from a better impression of this early seal shows that the standard of excellence for Scottish seals had become very high in the twelfth century, The second seal, which occurs attached to a document dated 1330, also represents the Virgin and Child, in a canopied niche adorned with fine architectural details, and on its reverse are three carved niches containing effigies of a saint between two monks holding long candles on tripod stands. The national emblem, a thistle, is introduced into the lower part of the design, and overhead are the sun-star and crescent, of which some account has been given before. Yet a third common seal of this monastery, apparently belonging to the fourteenth century, perpetuates the favourite design for Cistercian seals. Here we observe the Virgin Mary, crowned, standing in an elaborately-detailed niche with buttresses and crocketted canopy, and holding on her arm the Divine Infant, who has a ball in the right hand. In the background are two rose-trees in flower, the

rose, like the lily, symbolising the purity and sweetness of the mother, who is the "*Rosa Munda non Rosa Mundi*" of mediæval lore. The reverse of this very beautiful seal contains a figure of the second patron, St. John the Evangelist, standing on an eagle, and holding the silently eloquent emblems of a scroll and palm branch. The legend, from the opening sentence of his Gospel, explains the design—

IN . PRINCIPIO . ERAT . VERBVM . ET . VERBVM . ERAT . APVD . DEVM .

In the sixteenth century a poor copy of this seal appears to have been made in commemoration of the fact that the Cardinal de Guise held the Commendatorship of Kelso by appointment from Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager of Scots, after 1542. Into the field of the seal, the brass matrix of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, the initial letters C (reversed) and G have been introduced. A still later copy is extant in the form of a brass matrix, formerly belonging to a Mrs. Lawrence, found in Carmarthenshire; it is known by a plaster cast among the seal impressions in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. The official seal of the Abbot of Kelso, which is contained among Laing's collections,

by him found appended to a document dated 1292, shows a figure of the Virgin with the Child at her breast, set in a canopied niche and attended by two angels swinging thuribles. The arch below is inscribed for the Abbot of CALCHOV, and represents this dignitary, with his mitre and crozier, kneeling before an altar on which is placed a chalice. Behind the celebrant abbot is a divine "hand of blessing," pointing upwards. The legend embodies the prayer of the abbot to the Virgin, and takes the form, with which we are now familiar, from its use in previous instances, of a rhyming Leonine hexameter—

VIRGO . TVVM . NATVM . LACTANS . FAC . ME . SIBI . GRATVM .

A good example of mediæval Latin, not quite correct grammatically, but full of pious sentiment. This seal was copied, about 1404, by Patrick, the then abbot, who omitted the crozier and the hand of blessing and replaced them with three estoiles.

The scene of the Virgin giving her breast to the Son, which is not uncommon among seal artists, occurs in another seal among the collections of the British Museum, with the appropriate verse in rhyming pentameter, "Lactans Virgo Deum protege sancta reum."—a sentiment which may be compared appropriately with that on the seal of the abbot of Kelso. The

last seal which we take notice of in respect of this abbey is that of James Stuart, a natural son of King James V., who held the appointment of Commendator of Kelso and Melrose. Here, within a niche of late architectural design, as was the taste of the middle of the sixteenth century, to which date this seal belongs, when Gothic art had fallen vanquished before the hollow allurements of the Palladian, pseudo-Italian, or so-called Renaissance style, is represented, by some strange error on the part of the engraver, in place of the representation of St. John the Evangelist or his emblems, an effigy of St. John Baptist with the Lamb of God. This can only be accounted for by supposing that some confusion must have existed between the Evangelist and the Baptist in the mind of the designer.

Kilwinning, dedicated to the Virgin and to the eponymic patron St. Winnin, in the Cunningham or northern district of Ayrshire, a Tyronensian house, represents on its seal its two protecting saints. The slipped trefoils with which the obverse is ornamented have a national signification even more ancient than the thistle-emblem for Scotland; and the figure of St. Winnin, the abbot, with his crozier and Book of Rule, is probably unique in Scottish art.

The Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss, or Kilflos, which also

bears the attractive appellation of "Cella Florum" after the fashion of Cistercian nomenclature that preferred descriptive names to those of mere locality, was dedicated, as is usual in this Order, to the Virgin Mary. The design of this seal is that of the adoration of the Child by the three Magi, attended by an angel, half length, swinging a censer over the group. Late as it is in point of use, its origin must be conceded to an older century. Several seals of the abbots are extant, and in most of them the Virgin and Child are the dominant characteristics. Leith Preceptory, in Mid Lothian, a hospital of Canons of St. Anthony of Vienne, possessed an interesting seal, found in use during the early years of the sixteenth century, on which was a representation of the patron saint, accompanied with his customary emblems—a book, a cross tau (that is, a cross of T-shape without the upper part of the vertical beam), and a pig. The Department of Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum possesses a brass matrix, apparently of the thirteenth century, about two-and-a-half by one-and-a-half inches in dimensions, the device on which is an ornamental niche with carved supports and T-cross in the semi-circular pediment or tympanum. In this niche is enshrined a figure of St. Anthony, with the concomitant nimbus of sanctity, and carrying a book and a cross tau. He is accom-

panied with a pig, with a bell fastened round its neck. There is floral decoration at the sides and base of the design, and the legend declares that this is the Common Seal of St. Anthony's Preceptory near "Leicht." Lincluden Nunnery, in Dumfriesshire, subsequently converted into a Provostry or Collegiate Church, uses the design of the Virgin Mary on the seal of its provost in 1463. The same design is found on the Common Seal of the Carmelite Friars of Linlithgow. In this last-mentioned town was a leper-house, dedicated to St. Michael, the seal of which exhibits a representation of the archangel piercing with his spear a prostrate Satan, and holding a shield of the Royal Arms of the kings of Scotland. Though this is a very late seal in point of workmanship, it preserves the national taste for rhyming verse, and its legend propounds the following wish—

COLLOCET . IN . CŒLIS . NOS . OMNES . VIS . MICHAELIS.

The reverse of the seal of the burgh bears the same design.

Lindores, or Lundores, a Tironensian Abbey of St. Mary and St. Andrew, in Fifeshire, gives us several fine seals. On the earliest is the Virgin with the Child, and holding a model church and flowering branch. On a later seal is the Virgin with the Child, adored by an abbot with crozier, and scroll inscribed with

the first two words of the invocation to the Virgin issuing from his lips; while on the right a group of four monks stretch forth their hands and chant from another scroll the opening words of the hymn, "Salve Sancta Parens." The reverse of this finely-designed seal is even more interesting than the obverse. It shows us the scene of the martyrdom of St. Andrew, who is being fastened to a saltire cross by a man upon a ladder on the right, tying the left hand of the martyr with a cord. On the left hand side is a group of seven monks and others listening to the teaching of the apostle, who, according to a tradition, hung for two days on the cross before his death, during which period he exhorted the bystanders to adopt the Christian faith. The star and crescent motive enters into the subordinate design of this seal. Here we find a crescent and five estoiles, to which are added other two stars outside the cross, and in base a suppliant ecclesiastic between a sun-star and a crescent moon. The legend explains the picture—

BIDUO . PENDENS . IN . CRUCE . BEATVS . ANDREAS .
DOCEBAT . POPVLVM.

This creation, attributed to the fourteenth century, probably owed the inspiration of its designer to Abbot Thomas's seal,

which occurs about 1270, where, in three upper niches, are figures of the Virgin Mary and two angels; in the centre, four executioners binding the martyr to his cross; and in base, the abbot venerating his patron under a gothic arch.

The seal of the Cistercian Nunnery of St. Mary of Manuell, in Muiravonside Parish, near Linlithgow, contains a representation of the Virgin and Child. That of the celebrated Melrose Abbey, in Teviotdale, also shows St. Mary, with the Child wearing a nimbus, between accompanying half-length figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; and in base, the effigies of an abbot with his crozier, and kneeling in adoration, who, from the initial letter W near him, has been conjectured to be St. Waltheus the Abbot. In two smaller seals of the abbey, the arm and hand holding a crozier, with which our readers are already familiar, occurs; one is a counter seal of 1292, the other, the *sigillum minus* of the abbot, of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans of Montrose, in Forfarshire; the Austin Canons of Monymusk, in Garioch, county Aberdeen; and the Cistercians of Newbattle, in Mid Lothian, all use the transcendant design of the Virgin and Child, emblem alike of the esoteric purity of their faith, and intrinsic simplicity of their private life and manners. The reverse of the seal of Monymusk carries a representation

of the church, or monastery, which is of cruciform plan with a central turret or lantern seen in perspective. The seal of the Abbots of Newbattle are of no especial interest, but the *secretum* and the counterseal of the abbey have the arm and hand holding a crozier, which, as we have seen in examples already described, was a favourite design, and probably indicative of the Divine authority held by the head of the institution which uses it. Although the Cistercians of North Berwick, county Haddington, in their first seal, of the thirteenth century, placed a bishop seated on a throne, with mitre, book, and sceptre, on the top of which is a dove, yet, in later seals, they followed the more usual style of using the representation of the Virgin and Child.

Paisley Chapter Seal is another one of remarkable interest. This was the Cluniac Abbey of "Passelet," dedicated to St. James the Apostle and St. Mirinus, in Renfrewshire, close to Glasgow. Here are depicted the apostle with pilgrim's staff and wallet, appropriate emblems referring to the Great Pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostella presided over spiritually by the guardianship of this sainted Protector and Prince of Pilgrims. The adjuncts of subordinate adornments are curious and numerous in this scene. They

consist of a crescent moon for the Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven, lesser only to the resplendent Sun of Righteousness, two saltire crosses of St. Andrew of Scotland, a fleur-de-lis, two estoiles, seven crosses fleury, and two sprigs of foliage. The reverse side of the seal depicts St. Mirinus, with mitre, and vested in ecclesiastical robes; a staff is in his left hand, and he lifts up his right hand in the conventional attitude of one about to pronounce a benediction. The accessories here are a fleur-de-lis, a crescent, an estoile and two saltires, with sprigs of foliage and flowers. Each side, in addition to the above representation, is enriched with two shields of arms, those of Stuart and of Lennox. The designer did not fail to obtain a rhyming verse for the legend, after the approved pattern. Here we read an ingenious invocation, *more Romano*, to St. Mirinus—

XPISTVM . PRO . FAMULIS . POSCE . MIRINE . TVIS.

St. Mirinus appears on the shield of Abbot George Shaw about 1490, standing as celebrant before an altar on which is a crucifix, with chalice, and behind it a crozier. The heavens open overhead and disclose a celestial figure descending on the abbot. A later seal, that of Abbot Robert Shaw, about 1498, gives St.

James with nimbus, staff, and escallop shell—particular symbol of St. James, and still so used as a cockade for the servants of those who owe suit and service by office or right to the sovereign of Great Britain's "Court of St. James."

The Trinitarian Friars of Peebles use the design of a cross on a plinth or grieces. The Friars Dominicans of Perth use the effigies of the Virgin and Child, or of St. John Baptist and St. James, their patron saints. The Carthusians of Perth, the "*Domus Vallis Virtutis ordinis Cartusie in Scocia*," selected the subject of the "Coronation of the Virgin," to which was added in base an effigy of King James I., who founded the monastery in 1429, kneeling on a cushion and worshipping the heavenly group. Pittenweem, removed from the Island of May, an Austin Priory of St. Mary, in county Fife, represents on its seal the effigy of St. Augustine, the patron of its Order, between the explanatory initials S. A., for "*Sanctus Augustinus*." Pluscardine, in Moray, one of the three Scottish houses of the remarkable Order of Val-des-choux, or Vallis Caulium, whose head was in France near Dijon and Chatillon-sur-Seine, possessed a curious matrix of the fourteenth century on which was contained the "Descent into Hell," a very rare subject on seals. Here we see the Saviour, in his mystical or post-resurrection state, wearing

the nimbus, and provided with a long staff cross, in the act of rescuing two human figures, perhaps Adam and Eve, from the conventional and realistic "Jaws of Hell." In the field of this tableau are introduced two heraldic mullets or five-pointed stars, in allusion to the dominant armorial charge of the noble family of Murray. Alexander Seton, prior of this house, possessed a "Sigillum Rotundum," whereon were engraved three canopied niches containing effigies of St. Andrew with his ever-attendant saltire cross, between St. Mary the Virgin holding the Child, and St. Margaret holding a book and sceptre. In base are the armorial bearings of Seton, and other details subordinate.

South Queensferry, or "Portus Reginæ," in county Linlithgow, was the seat of a house of Carmelite Friars, whose seal shows the Virgin Mary as the crowned Queen of Heaven, standing on a crescent moon, which possibly corroborates the suggestion already made here, that the crescent is a symbol of, and frequently stands for, the Virgin. Another variant type connected with the Virgin is indicated by the seals of the Royal Collegiate Church of the Blessed Trinity and the Virgin Mary of Restalrig, or Rastalryg, in Mid Lothian, near Edinburgh, where, in addition to the accustomed effigy, under a carved canopy, we find a shield of arms in base, the heraldic bearing

whereon is a vase or pot with three branches of lily flowers springing from out thereof. This blazon seems to point unmistakably to the Virgin, to whom the mediæval heralds—who had not hesitated to assign armorial bearings to Adam and Eve, to our Lord, and to the patriarchs and prophets of the Old and apostles of the New Dispensation—would have been indeed wanting had they failed to grant corresponding heraldic honour. Connected with Restalrig is the armorial seal, under date of 1543, of Master John Sinkler, the Dean, afterwards Bishop of Brechin, the prelate by whom the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Lord Darnley was solemnised.

St. Andrews, in Fifeshire, sheltered an Austin Priory of Regular Canons, whose priors employed on their seals the effigy of the premier saint of their country. Here is set St. Andrew on a saltire, or X-shaped cross, at one time accompanied with two attendant angels, holding candles on candlesticks; at another time the candlesticks are introduced into the design, but the angels are omitted. The same saint is adopted in the seal of the Dominicans, or Preacher-Friars, of this city in the fifteenth century. But these friars had also another seal on which is represented the Coronation of the Virgin in a canopied niche. The legend of this seal is either blundered, or obscurely

read. One of their Common Seals, of 1559, bears the Virgin Mary and Child, with a shield of arms in base, bearing the boar passant of St. Dominic, and thus constituting the arms of the priory. In another Common Seal of the sixteenth century the crucified figure of St. Andrew is accompanied with the Agnus Dei reguardant. The Chapel Royal of St. Mary at Kirkheugh, St. Andrews, had a seal in use, in 1575, on the one side of which was represented the Virgin with the Child and two attendant angels or worshippers. The Latin legend describes this as the "Chapter Seal of the Church of St. Mary, Chapel of the Lord King of Scots." On the other side is an effigy of a king with sceptre and orb or mound, and seated on a throne; the background being filled up with fleurs-de-lis, which appertain rather to the Virgin than to the king, although that emblematic flower may have pointed appropriately enough to the tressure in the armorials of the Scottish sovereign.

The Cistercian Priories of St. Bothan, county Berwick, and St. Leonard, near Perth, have left us seals of the thirteenth century, charged with representations of the Virgin with the Child. Scone, a famous Abbey of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, in Perthshire, dedicated to the patronage of the Blessed Trinity and St. Michael the Archangel, had some very

beautiful seals. There is one impression of a very archaic matrix attached to a document of 1237, among Laing's matchless collections, which shows a curious conventional form of the Abbey Church adorned with a central tower and side pinnacles. On the roof are set figures of the Almighty Father and the Son. The fanciful idea of the Divine Protector sitting on the roof of an ecclesiastical or monastic edifice, which they are specially invoked to uphold, is not altogether uncommon in mediæval art. Burton-on-Trent Abbey, in Staffordshire, for example, has, for a seal design, the Virgin Mary seated on the roof of the Abbey Church. The later seal of Scone appears to have been made in the fourteenth century. Laing has preserved a good example from a deed of 1560. This is of the large dimensions of three inches and a half. The obverse contains a representation of the Coronation of the King of Scots, which ceremony took place as a rule at Scone on the celebrated stone, although there were numerous exceptions to the rule in the later mediæval times, as, for example, in the cases of James II., who was crowned at Holyrood, 25th March, 1437; James III., at Kelso, 10th August, 1460; James V., at Stirling, September, 1513; Mary, at Stirling Castle, 9th September, 1543; James VI., 29th July,

1567, at Stirling Parish Kirk. James IV. appears to have been the last of the Kings of Scots whose coronation took place at Scone, which event is usually attributed to 26th June, 1488, although other dates have been mentioned by histories in regard to it. As a matter of fact, on the marriage of David, eldest son of King Robert I., and heir-apparent to the throne, to Johanna, sister of Edward III., King of England, which was solemnised at Berwick-on-Tweed, 17th July, 1328, one of the stipulations in the nuptial contract was that the "coronation stone"—*lapis ille grandis*—which had been sent to Westminster Abbey by Edward I., King of England, who was at Scone, 8th August, 1296, should be returned to Scotland, but the Abbot of Westminster refused to allow the removal, and the stone remains to this day in Westminster Abbey, and plays a part in the Coronation of the Emperor Kings of Great Britain. This is the stone which tradition declares to be the one which Jacob used as his pillow, as recorded in Holy Writ. Here, in the seal, sits the King on his throne, crowned and sceptred, surrounded by seven great officers of state, one of whom is a bishop or archbishop, engaged in the several offices connected with the coronation. Below are three shields of arms of the Realm of Scotland, Athole, and Strathearn, and the background

is replenished with quatrefoils. The reverse is a scriptural combination of the enthronement of the Blessed Trinity, supported by the emblems of the Four Evangelists, and accompanied by St. Michael the Archangel overcoming Satan, supported on each side by the mystical figure, winged, and standing on a wheel, as related in the vision of Ezekiel the Prophet. The group of Michael and Satan finds a place also —as befits the place of dedication—in the thirteenth century seal of the abbot.

Seton, or Seatoun, Collegiate Church, represents the Virgin and Child, with heraldry, on its seal. Soulseat, called also Salsideum, Sedes Animarum, or Viride Stagnum, a Cistercian Priory of St. Mary and St. John Evangelist, at Inch, near Stranraer, in Galloway, departs from the Cistercian rule of figuring the Virgin and Child on the seal, and in place thereof represents a curiously beautiful tree of three branches, on which are perched two birds, each of which has a small sprig of foliage in the beak, while at the foot of the tree are two smaller birds, each set on a stump or cut branch. Some writers—among whom is Cardonnel, author of the "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland"—seek to show that this house was not Cistercian but Premonstratensian, and the device on the seal appears to

negative the Cistercian origin of the institution. Yet another noble Cistercian Abbey of Galloway is that of Sweetheart, otherwise styled Douce-Quer, Suave-Cordium, Dulce Cor, or New Abbey, in the parish of New Abbey, Galloway, county Kirkcudbright, and not far from Dumfries, where a seal was in use in 1559, representing the Virgin and Child, each crowned, upon a back-ground replenished with flowers. The Premonstratensians of Tungland, in Galloway, perpetuated the use of the vested arm and dexter hand grasping a crozier, between two branches, a crescent moon and sun star, which we have already seen was a favourite combination of the thirteenth century, and not devoid of signification.

Our list closes (although there are many seals which want of space would not permit of mentioning in this review of the leading designs of Scottish monastic seals), with a fourteenth century seal of an uncertain Cistercian house in Scotland, where the Virgin and Child are attended by a priest celebrating mass at an altar on which is placed a chalice. The legend declares this to be the seal of the Prior of the Valley of St. Katherine, but the only reason for attributing it to a Scottish house is that it is included among the later Laing collections in the British Museum. Laing also obtained a very interesting

seal attached to a document dated 1292, which undoubtedly appertained to a certain Reginald, who was either a bishop or an abbot in Scotland. Its inclusion among the collection of that antiquary attest this, and the style both of design and legend corroborates the conjecture. Here the Virgin and Child are placed between two sainted bishops or abbots, with mitres and croziers, lifting up their hands in the act of pronouncing benediction, all set in three niches, over which is a carved canopy, the architectural details of which resemble those of a church or abbey. Below is an ecclesiastic under a trefoiled arch, adoring the celestial personages, and having his name REGINALDUS at the sides. The legend is distinctly Scottish, and follows with faulty step in the third foot the rhyming Leonine hexameter scansion, which has been already the subject of our attention. It reads—

× PROLES . MATERQUE . ME . SALVENT . PRESUL . UTERQVE.

This account of Monastic Seals would be incomplete without some reference to those of the several Orders of Monks and Friars who peopled the Religious Houses which owned the seals thus described. Unfortunately very few such seals have

been preserved. The Dominicans, also called Black-Friars or Preaching-Friars, used for their Vicars General the design of St. Andrew, as referring to the realm wherein they exercised their spiritual jurisdiction. For their Priors Provincial the figure of St. Dominic was employed. In one case a late seal of this functionary, attached to a deed dated 1519, gives the patron saint with a crucifix, and behind him a dog running with a fire-brand, symbolical of the holy fervour with which the Dominicans were credited, and not without allusion to the nourishment and dissemination of the flame of heavenly inspiration, which, long before the epoch of Christianity, had engaged the attention of classic philosophers. Both the Vicars General and Ministers Provincial of the Franciscans, Grey-Friars, or Minorites of Scotland, used the effigy of their patron, Saint Francis, in the latter case in juxtaposition with that of St. Andrew. The Trinitarian Friars, employed in the redemption of the captives, use one or other of the numerous mediæval representations of the Blessed Trinity upon the seals of their Vicar General, Minister Provincial, and Visitor. The Carmelites, or White Friars, had on their seal for the Provincial General in 1492 a figure of St. Andrew on his saltire cross between a crescent and star and two thistles—truly a thoroughly

Scottish conception—but rejected this in 1544 for a figure of the Virgin Mary holding the Child.

Among the Military Orders which had establishments within the realm of Scotland was that of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose Preceptory at Torphichen in West Lothian (county Linlithgow), possessed several curious seals. The dominant idea is that of St. John Baptist holding his symbol, the Agnus Dei, generally on a plaque or roundle, the earlier examples also carrying the crescent and wavy sun-star, or the rose, the latter accompanied with heraldry.

Here we close our survey of the Seals of Religious Houses in Scotland. They form a class by themselves, different from the contemporary Seals of English Houses by their greater simplicity and chasteness, but equal to them in taste and feeling, and indicating very considerable merit for the invention of their designs, many of which (while all are distinctly appropriate and well chosen) show anxious care, true artistic spirit, obedience to the accepted canons of balance and symmetry of grouping, subordination of attributes to the dominating central figure, and an ever-present master-spirit of religious knowledge and tradition. To this we owe the beautiful effigies of the Queen of Heaven with the Child, which occur so frequently, the

introduction of emblems and symbols of accepted and universal meaning, the cleverly constructed legends and inscriptions, and, in a word, the conception of the *ensemble*. Looked at from the mere standpoint of relics of an antiquity that has passed away for ever, they possess a priceless value as showing what could be produced in ages generally considered to be inferior to the present; but when we add to this the sacred inspiration which created them, and the loving energy which produced them, we owe to these examples of Scottish art a debt of admiration which it would be difficult to repay adequately.

ECCLESIASTIC AND MONASTIC SEALS OF SCOTLAND.

PLATES NOS. 54 TO 126.

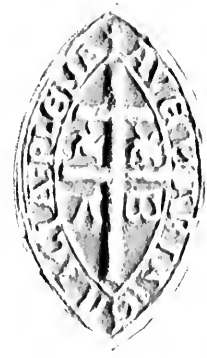
Plates Nos. 1 to 53 were published in Volume I. under title of "Royal Seals of Scotland."

No. 54. Seal of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews.
(1163-1177.)

No. 55. Roger, Bishop Elect of St. Andrews.
(About 1188.)

No. 56. Obverse of the Seal of William Malvoisine, Bishop of St. Andrews.

(1237.)



No. 57. Reverse of the Seal of William Malvoisine, Bishop of St. Andrews.

(1237.)

No. 58. First Seal of William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews.

(1281.)

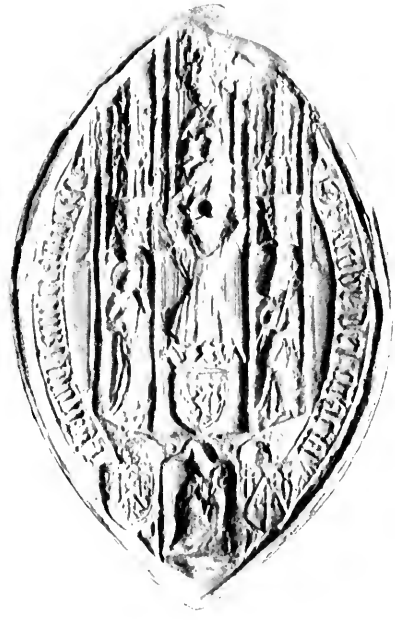
No. 59. Obverse of the later Seal of William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews.

(1292.)

No. 60. Reverse of the later Seal of William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews.

(1292.)

No. 61. Seal of William Landells, Bishop of St. Andrews.
(1331.)



No. 62. Seal of James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews.
(1450.)

No. 63. "Sigillum Rotundum" of Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

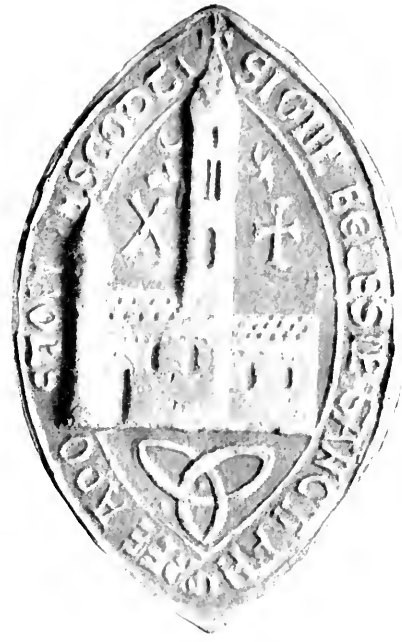
(1506.)

No. 64. Seal of Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline.

(1512.)

No. 65. Seal of David Beton, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews.

(1545.)



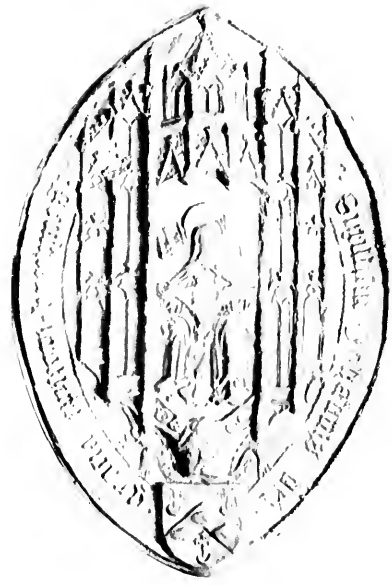
No. 66. Later Seal of St. Andrews Cathedral.

(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 67. Seal of Henry Le Chen, Bishop of Aberdeen.
(1292.)

No. 68. Reverse of the Seal of the Chapter of Aberdeen.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 69. Seal of George Shorsewood, Bishop of Brechin.
(1461.)



No. 70. Seal of John Balfour, Bishop of Brechin.
(1476.)

No. 71. Seal of the Chapter of Caithness.

(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 72. Seal of Richard de Prebenda, Bishop of Dunkeld, or Secretum of the Chapter of Dunkeld.

(1210.)

No. 73. Obverse of the Seal of the Chapter of Dunkeld.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 74. Reverse of the Seal of the Chapter of Dunkeld.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 75. Seal of the Chapter of Orkney.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 76. Reverse of the Second Seal of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow.

(1315.)

No. 77. Seal of William Lauder, Bishop of Glasgow.
(1417.)

No. 78. Seal of John de Carrick, Chancellor of Glasgow.
(1371.)

No. 79. Obverse of the Seal of Alan, Bishop of Argyle.
(1250-1262.)

No. 80. Reverse of the Seal of Alan, Bishop of Argyle.
(1250-1262.)

No. 81. Seal of a Bishop of Argyle.

(Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century.)

No. 82. Obverse of the Seal of Gilbert, Bishop of Candida Casa.

(1245-1253.)

No. 83. Counterseal of Gilbert, Bishop of Candida Casa.
(1235-1253.)

No. 84. Obverse of the Seal of Henry, Bishop of Candida Casa.

(1259.)

No. 85. Reverse of the Seal of Henry, Bishop of Candida Casa.

(1259.)

No. 86. Seal of Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa.
(1302.)

No. 87. Obverse of the Seal of Arbroath Abbey.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 88. Reverse of the Seal of Arbroath Abbey.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 89. Seal of Brother W. Mathew, Monk of Arbroath.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 90. Seal of the Convent of Ardchattan.
(1564.)

No. 91. Seal of Balmerino Abbey.

(1530.)

No. 92. Seal of the Minister of the Trinitarian Friars, Berwick-upon-Tweed.

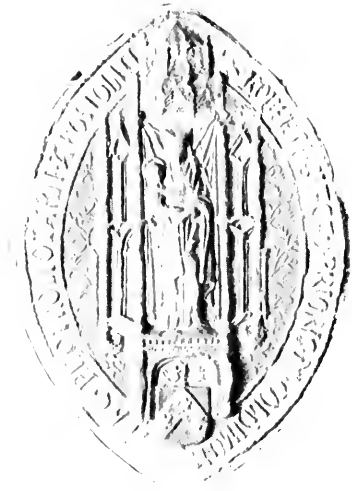
(Fifteenth Century.)

No. 93. Seal of Cambuskenneth Abbey.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 94. Seal of the Prior and Chapter of Candida Casa.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 95. Common Seal of Coldingham Nunnery.

(1536.)

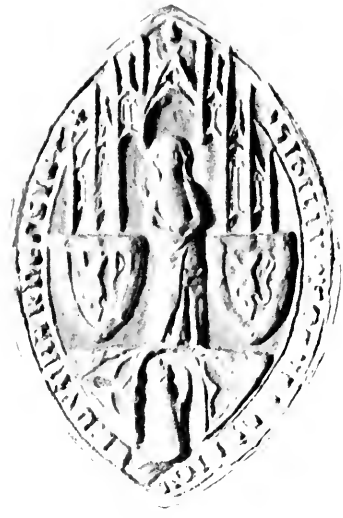


No. 96. Seal of Robert Blacader, Prior of Coldingham and Apostolic Prothonotary.

(1519.)

No. 97. Common Seal of Deer Abbey.

(Thirteenth Century.)



No. 98. Common Seal of Dunbar Provostry.
(1453.)

No. 99. First Seal of Dunfermline Abbey.

(About 1200.)

No. 100. Obverse of the Later Seal of the Chapter of Dunfermline Abbey.

(About 1200.)

No. 101. Reverse of the Later Seal of the Chapter of Dunfermline Abbey.

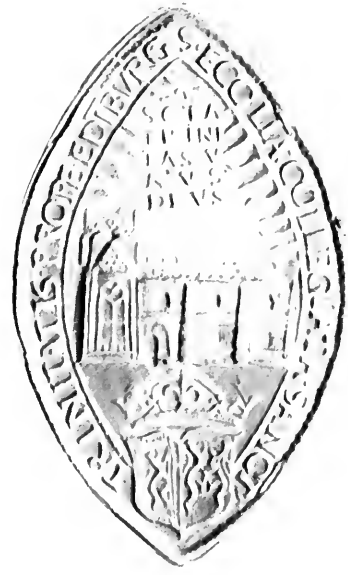
(About 1200.)

No. 102. Seal of Ralph, Abbot of Dunfermline.
(1292.)

No. 103. Seal of St. Katherine's Convent, Edinburgh.
(1562.)

No. 104. First Seal of Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh.
(1141).

No. 105. Later Seal of Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh.
(About 1550.)



No. 106. Later Seal of the Collegiate Church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh.

(1574.)

No. 107. Seal of the Preceptory or Hospital of St. Nicholas, Glasgow.

(1567.)

No. 108. Common Seal of the Abbot and Convent of Holywood, 1557.

(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 109. Obverse of the Seal of Inchaffrey Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 110. Reverse of the Seal of Inchaffrey Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 111. Obverse of the Seal of Inchcolm Abbey.
(1577.)

No. 112. Reverse of the Seal of Inchcolm Abbey.
(15??.)

No. 113. Official Seal of the Abbot of Jedburgh or Jeddeworth.

(1572.)

No. 114. Obverse of the Third Seal of Kelso Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 115. Reverse of the Third Seal of Kelso Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 116. Seal of the Preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith.
(Thirteenth Century.)

No. 117. Seal of Linlithgow Leper House.

(1357.)

No. 118. Obverse of the Seal of Paisley Abbey.
(1520.)

No. 119. Reverse of the Seal of Paisley Abbey.
(1520.)

No. 120. Seal of Pluscardine Priory.
(1455.)

No. 121. Seal of John Hepburn, Prior of the Austin Canons of St. Andrews, etc.

(1504.)

No. 122. Obverse of the Later Seal of Scone Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 123. Reverse of the Later Seal of Scone Abbey.
(Fourteenth Century.)

No. 124. Seal of the Vicar-General of the Scottish Dominican Friars.

(Fifteenth Century.)

No. 125. Seal of the Provincial of the Scottish Carmelites.
(1544.)

No. 126. Seal of Sir James Sandilands, Knight, Preceptor of Torphichen.

(1550.)