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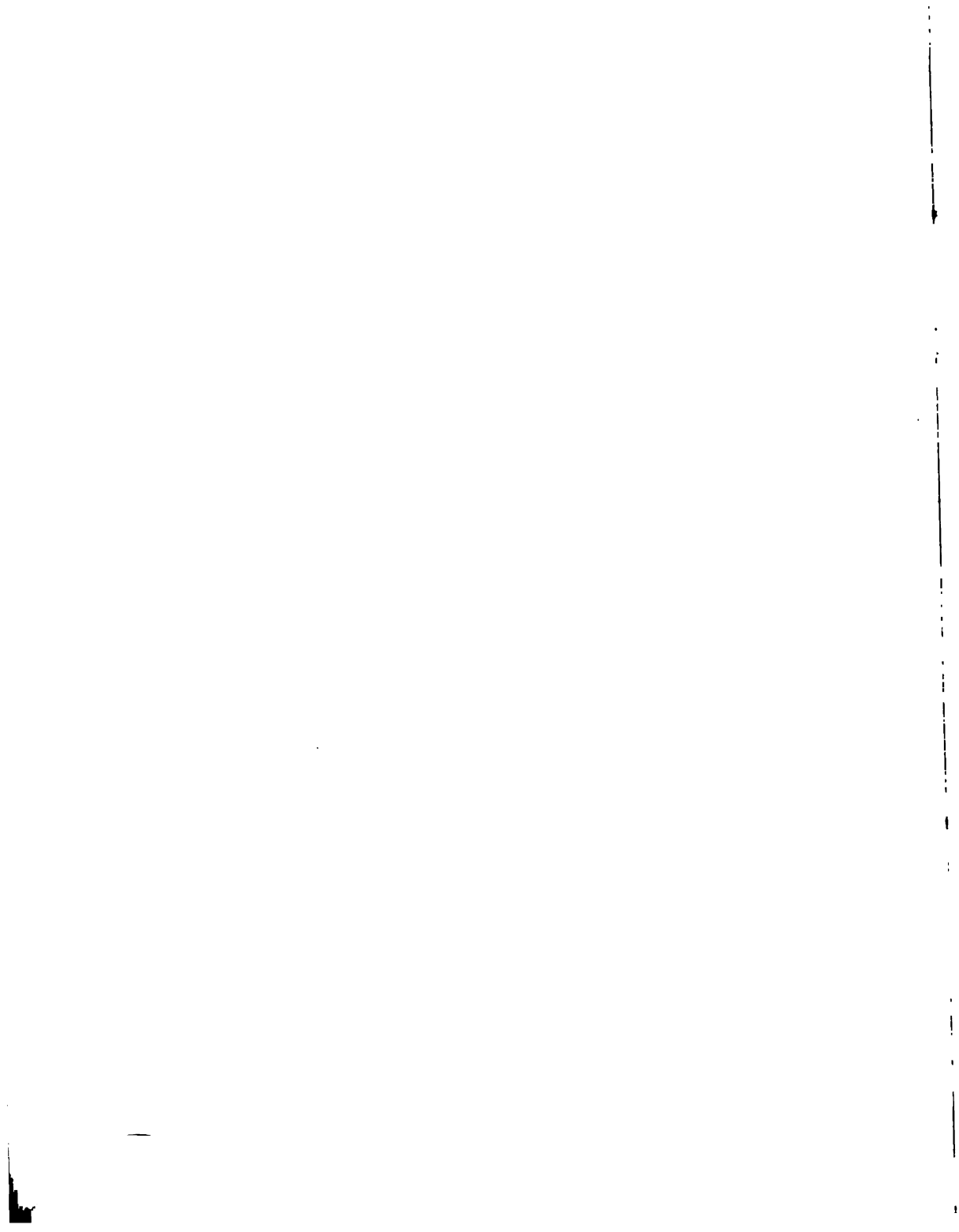
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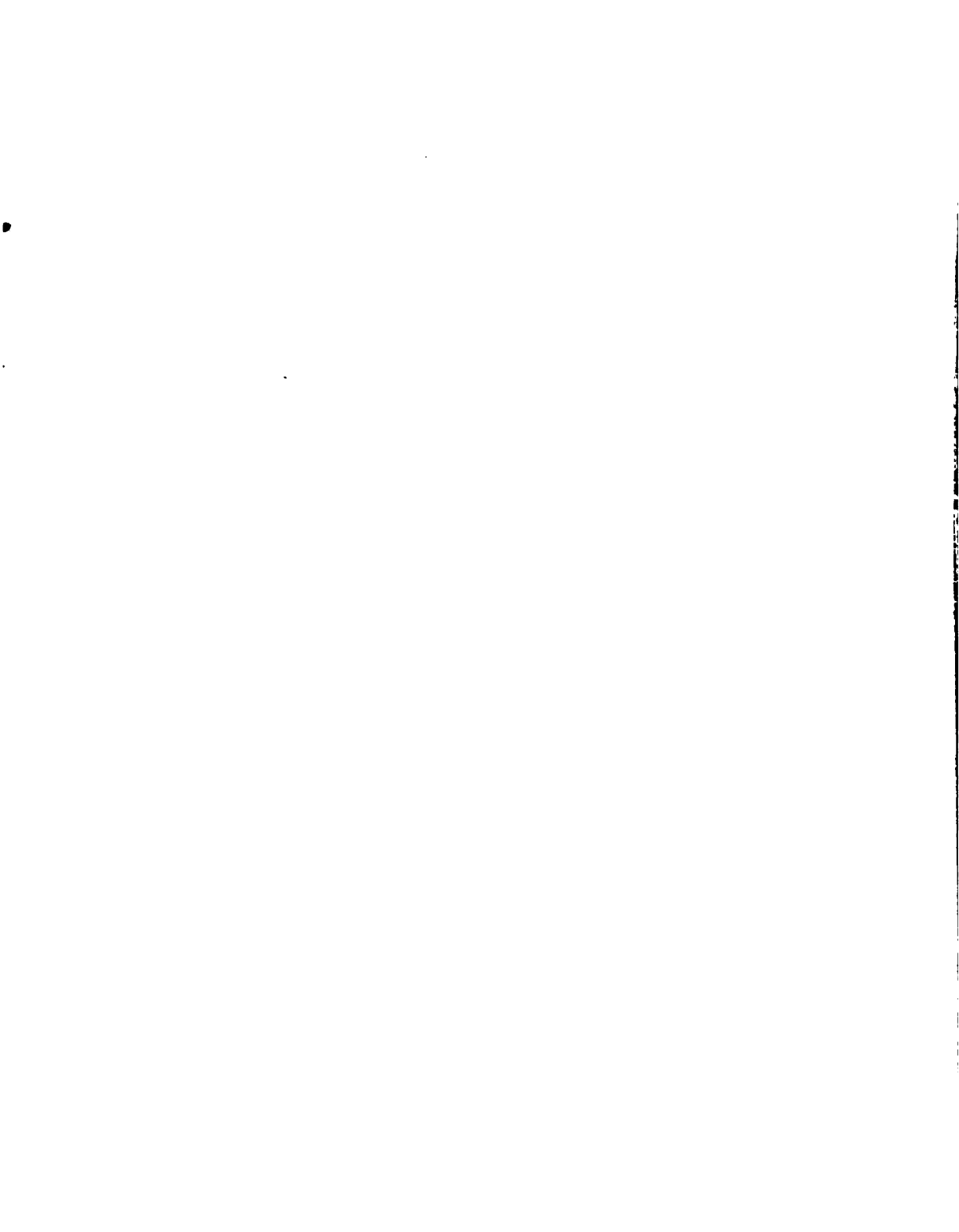
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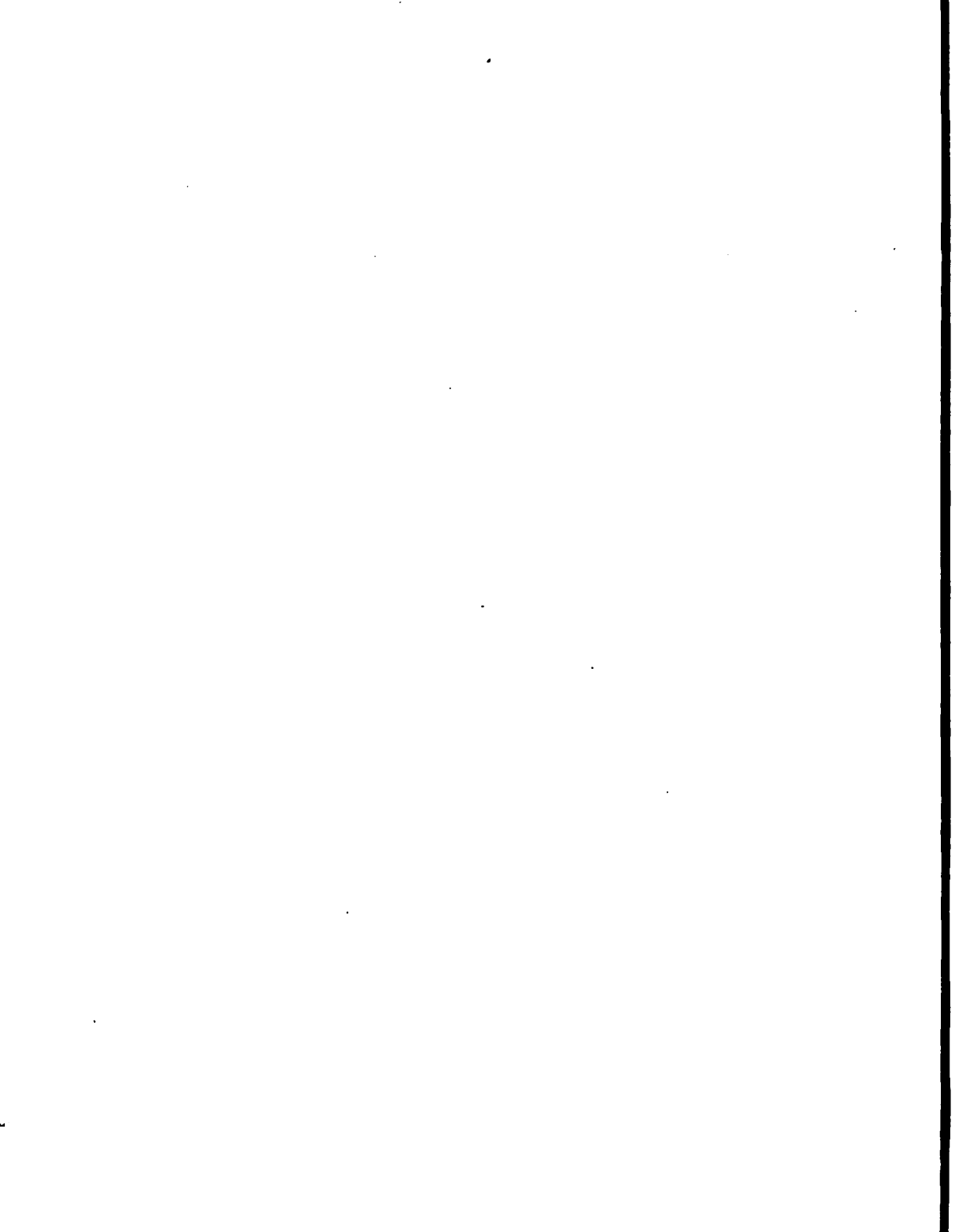












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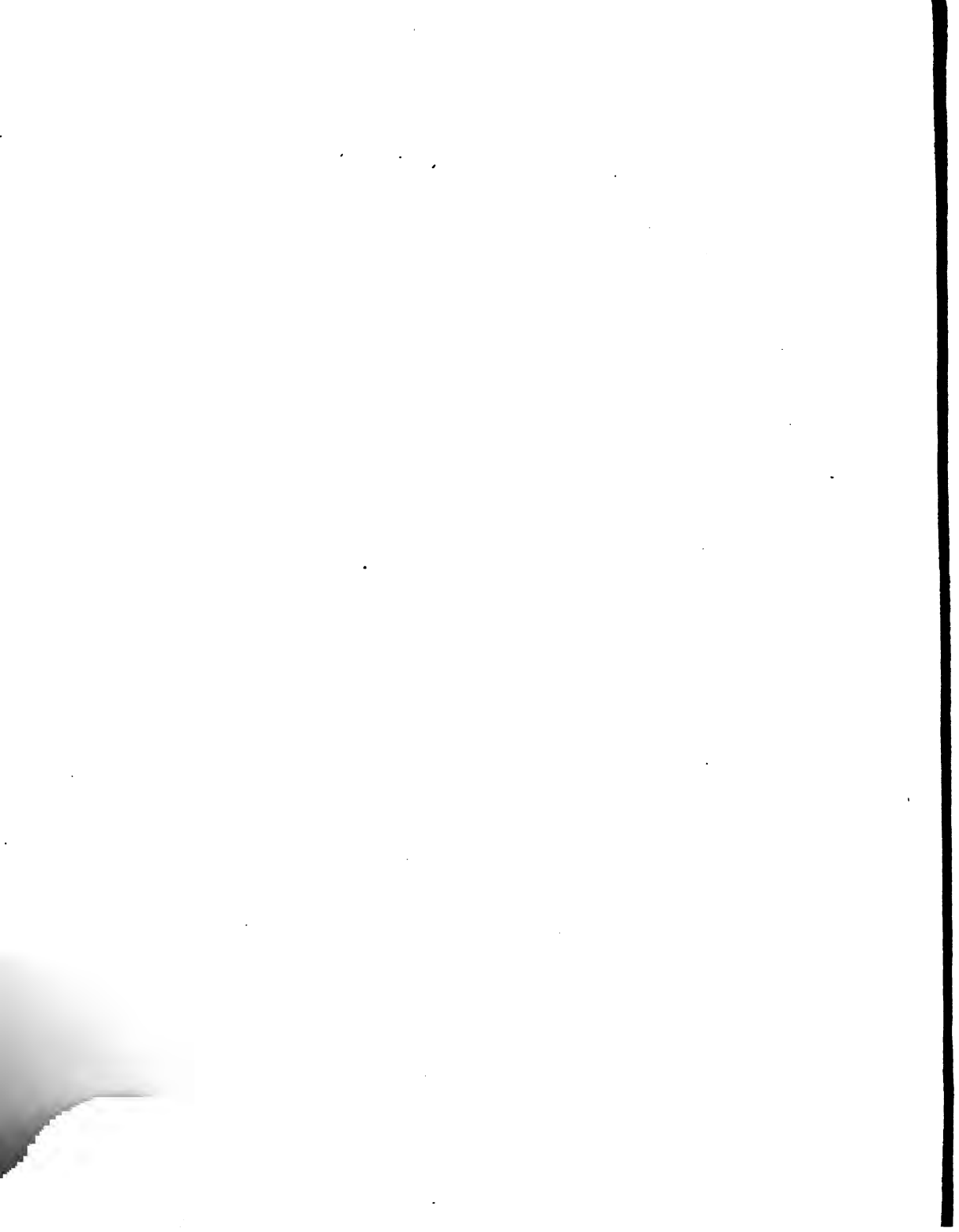


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† Contributed by Lieut.-Col. W. Ross King, F.S.A. Scot.

†† Contributed by Professor George Stephens, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

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NOVEMBER 30, 1873.

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JUNE 30, 1874.

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 1873. SHIELDS, JOHN, 11 Melville Street, Perth.
 1860. SIM, GEORGE, 9 Lauriston Lane,—*Curator of Coins*.
 1865. SIM, WILLIAM, of Lunan Bank, St Bernard's Crescent.
 1871. *SIMPSON, ALEX. R., M.D., Professor of Midwifery, University of Edinburgh, 52 Queen Street.
1864. SIMPSON, Rev. ADAM L., Friars' Gate, Derby.
 1870. SIMPSON, GEORGE BUCHAN, Seafield, Broughty-Ferry.
 1864. SIMPSON, GEORGE W., Artist, 54 Frederick Street.
 1857. SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER, 133 George Street.
 1833. *SKENE, WILLIAM FORBES, W.S., Inverleith Row.
 1870. SMALL, DAVID, Solicitor, Gray House, Dundee.
 1873. SMALL, JOHN, M.A., Librarian to the University.
 1874. SMART, JOHN, 8 Baxter's Place.
 1844. *SMITH, DAVID, W.S., 64 Princes Street.
 1847. *SMITH, JOHN ALEXANDER, M.D., 7 West Maitland Street.
 1858. SMITH, ROBERT M., Bellevue Crescent.
 1874. SMITH, J. IRVINE, 21 Northumberland Street.
 1874. *SMITH, R. ANGUS, Ph.D., 27 York Place, Manchester.
 1867. SMITH, WILLIAM, junior, Alma House, Morley, near Leeds.
 1866. SMYTHE, WILLIAM, of Methven, Methven Castle, Perthshire.
 1855. SNODY, ANDREW, S.S.C., Gayfield Square.
 1874. SOUTAR, THOMAS, Banker, Crieff.
 1864. SOUTAR, WILLIAM SHAW, Banker, Blairgowrie.
 1873. *SPOWART, THOMAS, of Broomhead, 7 Coates Crescent.
 1872. *STAIR, Right Hon. The Earl of.
 1858. STARKE, JAMES, Advocate, Traquair-holme, Dumfries.
 1874. STEEL, GAVIN, of Holmhead, Lanarkshire.
 1872. STEEL, NIEL, Merchant, Constitution Terrace, Dundee.
 1872. *STEVENSON, ALEXANDER SHANNAN, Tynemouth.
 1874. *STEVENSON, ARCHIBALD, 2 Wellington Terrace, South Shields.

1867. STEVENSON, OHN J., Architect, 3 Bayswater Hill, London.
 1855. STEVENSON, THOMAS, C.E., 17 Heriot Row.
 1867. *STEWART, Captain CHARLES, R.A., The West Hall, High Leigh, Cheshire.
 1874. STEWART, CHARLES, Sweethope, Musselburgh.
 1848. *STEWART, HOPE J., Clearburn House, Prestonfield.
 1871. *STEWART, Major J. M. SHAW, R.E.
 1867. *STRATHMORE, Right Hon. The Earl of, Glamis Castle, Forfarshire.
 1850. *STRUTHERS, Rev. JOHN, LL.D., Minister of Prestonpans.
 1853. STUART, JOHN, LL.D., General Register House,—*Secretary*.
 1845. *STUART, Right Hon. Sir JOHN, Loch Carron, Ross-shire.
 1867. *SUTHERLAND, His Grace The Duke of, K.G.,—*President*.
 1851. *SWINTON, ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, of Kimmerghame, Advocate.
 1863. SWITHINBANK, GEORGE E., LL.D., Tynemouth Lodge, Anerley, S.E.
1873. TAYLOR, JAMES, D.D., Secretary, Board of Education for Scotland.
 1860. TAYLOR, JAMES, Starley Hall, Burntisland.
 1870. TRESDALE, Rev. FREDERICK D., Gordon Villa, Inverness.
 1870. *TENNANT, CHARLES, of The Glen, Innerleithen.
 1870. THOMAS, Captain F. W. L., R.N., Rosepark, Trinity.
 1872. THOMSON, CHARLES WYVILLE, LL.D., Regius Professor of Natural
 History, University of Edinburgh.
 1867. THOMSON, LOCKHART, S.S.C., Coates Crescent.
 1847. *THOMSON, THOMAS, W.S., 1 Thistle Court.
 1874. THOMS, GEORGE HUNTER, Sheriff of Orkney, 52 Great King Street.
 1862. *TREVELYAN, Sir WALTER C., Bart., Wallington, Northumberland.
 1865. TROUP, WILLIAM, Eastwell, Bridge of Allan.
 1867. TULLIS, WILLIAM, Markinch, Fifeshire.
 1869. *TURNBULL, JOHN, of Abbey St Bathans, W.S., 49 George Square.
 1865. TURNER, WILLIAM, M.B., Professor of Anatomy, University of Edin-
 burgh.
 1866. TWEDDELL, GEORGE M., Stokesley, Yorkshire.
1862. *VEITCH, GEORGE SETON, 2 Oswald Road, Grange.
 1873. VEITCH, JOHN, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic, University of Glasgow.
1874. WALKER, ALEXANDER, 25 Dee Street, Aberdeen.
 1874. WALKER, ALEXANDER, of Findynate, St Andrews.
 1859. *WALKER, FOUNTAINE, Ness Castle, Inverness-shire.
 1871. *WALKER, PETER GEDDES, 2 Airlie Place, Dundee.
 1848. *WALKER, WILLIAM, F.R.C.S.E., 46 Northumberland Street.

1861. WALKER, WILLIAM STUART, of Bowland.
 1872. WARDEN, ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Marybank House, Broughty-Ferry.
 1849. *WARE, TITUS HIBBERT, 20 Derby Road, Southport, Lancashire.
 1873. WATSON, JOHN KIPPEN, 14 Blackford Road.
 1871. *WATT, ARCHIBALD A., 7 Airlie Place, Dundee.
 1856. WEBSTER, JOHN, Advocate, 42 King Street, Aberdeen.
 1872. *WEMYSS AND MARCH, Right Hon. The Earl of.
 1870. WHITE, JOHN, of Drumelsier and Netherurd, Noblehouse.
 1869. WHITE, Captain T. P., R.E., Ordnance Survey.
 1867. WHITE, ROBERT, Procurator-Fiscal, Forfar.
 1870. *WHYTOCK, ALEXANDER, George Street.
 1871. WILLIAMS, WILLIAM EDWARD, Architect, 8 Amhurst Villas, The Downs, Hackney.
 1871. WILSON, ANDREW, S.S.C., 4 York Place.
 1872. WILSON, GEORGE, S.S.C., 14 Hill Street.
 1860. WILSON, WILLIAM THORBURN, Burnside, Rutherglen.
 1870. WILSON, CHARLES E., LL.D., H.M. Inspector of Schools, 19 Palmerston Place.
 1861. *WILSON, WILLIAM, of Banknock, Stirlingshire.
 1870. WINGATE, JAMES, Linnhouse, Hamilton.
 1852. *WISE, THOMAS A., M.D., Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, London.
 1863. WISHART, EDWARD, 22 Baltic Street, Leith.
 1867. WRIGHT, ROBERT, D.D., Manse, Dalkeith.
 1871. WYLLIE, ANDREW, Esq., Prinlaws, Leslie, Fife.
 1866. YOUNG, ROBERT, Writer, Elgin.
 1867. YULE, JOHN, Newburgh, Fife.

LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,

JUNE 30, 1874.

[According to the Laws, the Number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1849.

Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG of Riccarton, Bart., Lord Clerk Register.

1851.

Right Hon. The EARL STANHOPE, D.C.L., President of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

1853.

DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., Professor of English Literature, Toronto, Canada.

1855.

Major-General Sir HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., London.

1857.

5 WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., Lusk, Dublin.

1860.

Right Hon. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

Dr RICHARD LEPSIUS, Berlin.

The Chevalier G. H. PERTZ, LL.D., Royal Library, Berlin.

1861.

JAMES FARRER of Ingleborough, Yorkshire.

1862.

- 10 His ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES.
Dr FERDINAND KELLER, Zurich.
The PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

1864.

- Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Deputy-Keeper of Her Majesty's Public
Records, London.
ALEXANDER J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P., London.

1865.

- 15 Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire.

1868.

- THOMAS CARLYLE, Esq., Cheyne Row, Chelsea.

1869.

- JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., Oxford.
M. FRANCISQUE MICHEL, Paris.

1871.

- GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq., Professor of the English Language and Literature,
University of Copenhagen.

1874.

- 20 Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., High Elms, Kent.
J. J. A. WORSAAE, Councillor of State, Director of the Royal Museum of
Antiquities, Copenhagen, Inspector of the Archæological Monuments of
Denmark.
SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Public Record Office, Dublin.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., Nash-mills, Hemel-Hempstead.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

NINETY-THIRD SESSION, 1872-73.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 30th November 1872.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President, in the
Chair.

The Office-bearers of the Society for the ensuing Session were
elected as follows :—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY,
K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D.

Councillors.

Right Hon. EARL of DALHOUSIE, K.T., &c. } *Representing the*
JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq. } *Board of Trustees.*

The LORD ROSEHILL.

Captain T. P. WHITE, R.E.

BARON GRAHAM, Esq.

D. MILNE HOME, LL.D., &c.
 ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq.
 FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq.
 R. W. COCHRANE PATRICK, LL.B., &c.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, LL.D., General Register House.
 ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D.
 DAVID LAING, Esq., LL.D., } *for Foreign Correspondence.*
 WILLIAM FORBES, Esq., }

Treasurer.

DAVID DOUGLAS, Esq., 88 Princes Street.

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A.
 ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE SIM, Esq.

Librarian.

JOHN TAYLOR BROWN, Esq.

Auditors.

JAMES D. MARWICK, Esq.
 GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq.

Publishers.

MESSRS EDMONSTON and DOUGLAS.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, *Keeper of the Museum.*
 GEORGE HASTIE, *Assistant.*

The Chairman intimated that the Society had lost by death thirteen of the Fellows and one of the Honorary Fellows during the past year, viz :—

	Elected
JOHN ADAMSON, Esq., Newburgh, Fife,	1864
CHARLES W. BOASE, Esq.,	1871
Lieut.-Col. PETER BARCLAY, H.E.I.C.S., Coates Crescent,	1857
ROBERT COX, Esq., W.S., Rutland Street,	1850
GEORGE CORSANE CUNINGHAME, Esq., 55 Melville Street,	1865
Colonel JOSEPH DUNDAS, of Cayton Hall, Falkirk,	1864
JOSEPH WALTER KING EYTON, Esq., London,	1841
ALEXANDER GOODSIR, Esq., formerly Manager of the Royal Bank, 18 Regent Terrace,	1846
JOHN MACMILLAN, A.M., Emeritus Master and Examiner of High School of Edinburgh,	1846
HENRY MEREWEATHER, Esq.,	1871
JAMES DYCE NICOL, Esq. of Ballogie, M.P., Aberdeenshire,	1857
HEW SCOTT, D.D., Minister of Anstruther-Wester, Fifeshire,	1864
WILLIAM E. HOPE-VERE of Craigie Hall, Esq.,	1860
<i>Honorary.</i>	
His Majesty the KING of SWEDEN and NORWAY,	1860

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were admitted Fellows :—

- WILLIAM BOYD, Esq., M.A., Solicitor, Peterhead.
 JAMES GARDINER, Esq., S.S.C., 30 East Claremont Street.
 JOHN HEUGH of Holmewood, Esq., Kent.
 ALEXANDER LEITH of Freefield and Glenkindie, Esq., Aberdeenshire.
 Rev. THOMAS M. LINDSAY, Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free
 Church College, Glasgow.
 HUGH GORDON LUMSDEN of Auchindoir and Clova, Esq.
 Lieut.-Col. HENRY WILLIAM LUMSDEN.
 WILLIAM MARTIN, M.D., Haddington.
 WILLIAM M'COMBIE of Easter Skene, Esq., Aberdeenshire.
 E. WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Esq., Nether Seale Hall, Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
 JOHN SMART, Esq., 8 Baxter's Place, Edinburgh.
 JOHN SHIELDS, Esq., 11 Melville Street, Perth.

The Annual Report for the year ending 30th September 1872, submitted to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury through the Honourable the Board of Trustees for Manufactures for Scotland, was read by the Secretary as follows:—

“During the year the Museum has been open to the public as usual, and the following table shows the number of visitors for each month, distinguishing between day visitors and visitors on the Saturday evenings:—

1871-72.	Day Visitors.	Sat. Evenings.	Total.
October	4,585	705	5,290
November	shut.	...	...
December	6,863	1,261	8,124
January	17,917	576	18,493
February	3,659	904	4,563
March	4,120	1,007	5,127
April	3,772	555	4,327
May	7,111	571	7,682
June	9,995	630	10,625
July	17,615	1,014	18,629
August	23,498	1,523	25,021
September	10,866	933	11,799
Total	110,001	9,679	119,680
Previous Year	108,409	11,099	119,508
Increase	1,592	...	172
Decrease . . . . .	...	1,420	...

“The donations during the year to the Museum and Library have been 184 articles of antiquity, and 55 books and pamphlets, exclusive of the extensive collections from the Broch of Burrian in Orkney, presented by Dr William Traill of Woodwick, and a collection from the Broch of Lingrow, also in Orkney, obtained for the Rhind Excavation Committee by Mr George Petrie, Kirkwall, which have also been added to the Museum since the date of the last Report.

(Signed) “JOHN STUART, *Secretary.*”

MONDAY, 9th December 1872.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A ballot having been taken, JOHN R. FINDLAY, Esq., 8 Rutland Square, was admitted a Fellow of the Society.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By WILLIAM TRAILL, M.D., of Woodwick, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Collections from the Broch or Pictish Tower of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, comprising—

Objects of Stone.

Oblong water-worn Pebble of Claystone, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, abraded at both ends by use as a pounder.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of hard Claystone, 6 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, greatly abraded at both ends by similar use.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of indurated Claystone, 7 by 2 inches, abraded and broken at both ends by similar use.

Oblong smoothed and water-worn Pebble of Grey Sandstone, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, similarly worn at both ends.

Whetstone, being a rounded oblong Pebble of fine-grained reddish Sandstone, 6 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Flattish boat-shaped piece of Steatite, 5 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across the middle, and 1 inch thick, tapering to both ends, and having a small hole partly drilled through one end. One of its flat sides is marked transversely, as if by cuts of a sharp instrument.

Flattish circular Pebble of Quartz, 3 inches diameter and 1 inch thick, marked on the surface with streaks as of rusty iron.

Oblong Pebble of brownish Sandstone, having incised on both sides figures of crossed triangles, as represented in the annexed wood-cut. A

somewhat similar figure, formed of intersecting triangles, occurs, with the comb and shears, on a stone at St Andrews, Fifeshire.—*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. plate ix.

Five pieces of black vesicular Lava, irregularly conical in shape, having small holes pierced through the narrow ends. They vary in size from 3 inches in length, by about 2 in breadth and thickness at the bottom, to not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, by less than 1 inch square at the bottom.



Stone with incised figures of crossed triangles, 6 inches in length.

Twenty-two Whorls or Discs of Stone, perforated in the centre. The smallest is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with a perforation $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. The largest is 2 inches diameter, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, the perforation in the centre being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. A number of these seem to have been whorls for the spindle. Some of the smaller ones may have been meant for table-men. One is ornamented

with radiating lines, and has a channelled edge. Another has been used for some purpose by which the sides of the hole have been worn by the friction of a thread or fine cord passing through it.

Ball of Sandstone, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, having a socket-hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, tapering to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch at the bottom, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep.

Twelve Pieces of Fractured Flints, none of which show any traces of artificial working.

Seventeen Pebbles of various sizes, very smooth, round, and highly polished.

Objects of Bone.

Sixteen Whorls of Bone, mostly made of the head of a femur of an animal, pierced with a hole in the centre, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. A few of the smaller ones may have been table-men.

Awl or Borer, made of the leg-bone of an animal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Awl or Borer, made of the leg-bone of an animal, 7 inches in length.

Awl or Borer, made of a splinter of bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Implement of Bone, 5 inches in length, made by cutting the leg-bone of a sheep obliquely across, so as to produce a long, thin segment. It has been broken at the point.

Implement, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, made from the radius or wing-bone of a bird by cutting the bone obliquely across near one end, and grinding



Bone Implement, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

the section smooth. It is not clear to what useful purpose this curious implement may have been applied, but it is found, on trial, that it can be used as a pen for writing with.

Eight Pins made of bone, varying in length from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with flat heads, made from the natural articulating ends.

Three similar Pins, broken.

Seven Pins of bone, varying in length from 5 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with flat triangular heads fully $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch wide, and perforated. The head of one, which is here figured, is ornamented with a number of small holes.



Bone Pin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Two Pins, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with crutch-like heads.



Crutch-headed Bone Pin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Two Pins (broken), one with the head ornamented with a cluster of small holes.

Pin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, ornamented on one side with incised markings, some of which resemble runes.



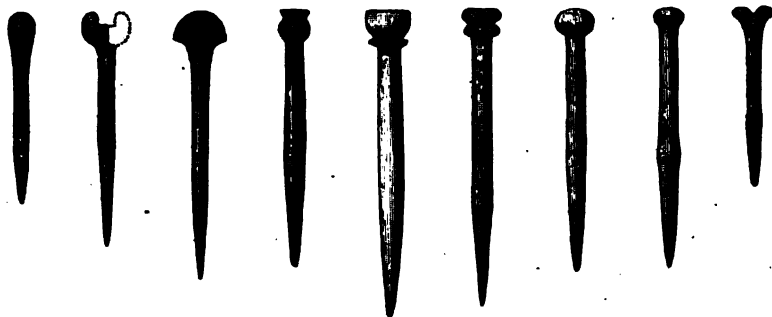
Bone Pin, ornamented with rune-like marks.

Pin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with flat head, and swelling in the middle.



Twenty-five Pins, varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 1 inch in length, finely

made, with ornamental heads, one or two with a band above or below the head.



Bone Pins, with ornamental heads. (Actual size.)

Eight Pins, varying from $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches to 1 inch in length, with flat, circular, or spade-like heads.

Two Small Pins, 1 inch and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, with bifurcated heads.

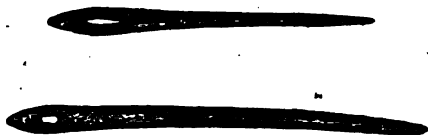
Pin, 2 inches in length, the head being neatly carved into two horses' heads, looking opposite ways.



Bone Pin, with carved head. (Actual size.)

Thirty Pins, broken or without heads, from 4 inches in length.

Three Needles, with elongated eyes. One is broken, the other two are $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long respectively.



Bone Needles. (Actual size.)

Small Pin, 1 inch in length, with perforated head.

Five Pegs of hard, solid bone, from 3 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter.

Portions of two Slips of Bone, flat on the one side and convex on the other, one having three pegs driven through it in holes at equal distances from each other, and the other two one peg only.

Slip of Bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness, sawn flat on one side, the other slightly convex, and having two holes $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, neatly bored, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from either end.

Two thin Slips of Bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 2 inches in length, by about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, pared smooth on both sides.

Handle of Deer's Horn, being part of a tine, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, having in each end a tapering, square-shaped hole, as if for the insertion of a tang of a metal implement.

Handle of Deer's Horn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, having similar holes at each end, and one end split by use.

Handle of Deer's Horn, apparently of a knife, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, with the tang of an iron implement remaining in the socket.

Handle-like Implement of Deer's Horn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, having an oblong cavity in one end, which is discoloured by oxide of iron. A small hole is pierced transversely through the implement, as if for suspension.

Handle-like Implement of Deer Horn (?), being the end of a tine, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a round hole, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, pierced transversely at about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the wide end.

Two Knobs of Bone, 1 inch in diameter, one having the remains of an iron tang in it.

Pin, made of Bone, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, having a squarish head, with rounded top, about 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, projecting from one side of the pin only, the shape of which is flat, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. A hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter pierces the head of the pin perpendicularly in the centre, coming out alongside of the shaft.

Three pieces of Bone, two being portions of the shank-bones of a sheep, and one a piece of hard bone, pared to a cylindrical form, and worn smooth at one end by the friction of a thread or cord passing round them.

Half of a square-shaped Stud or Button of Ivory, with a small hole for the shank, discoloured by oxide of iron.

Two Studs or Buttons of Bone, made from short sections of the leg-bone of a sheep. One has the iron shank still in the hole, and has been pierced with another hole in the side.

Two Broken Buttons, similar to the former.

One piece of a Shank-Bone, cut off to be made into such a button.

Three Oblong Dice, each made of a piece of sheep shank bone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. The one here figured is ground flat on one side, on which there are six points; on the convexity of the bone there are five points; on the flatter part of the bone (which is broken), there are



Die made of the leg bone of a sheep. (Actual size.)

no markings to be seen, but a portion of one near the centre shows there was at least one number on that side; on the remaining side the number seemed to have been four. In the second die the surface is so much gone that the numbers cannot be distinguished. Of the third die there is only one side remaining, on which there are four points. Dice of this form are also found in graves of the Viking period in Norway.

Tool of Bone, 4 inches in length, having a rounded point, with two grooves cut in it, leaving prominent parallel ridges about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch apart.



Tool of Bone. (Actual size.)

Thin Disc of Bone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, with two small holes through the centre.

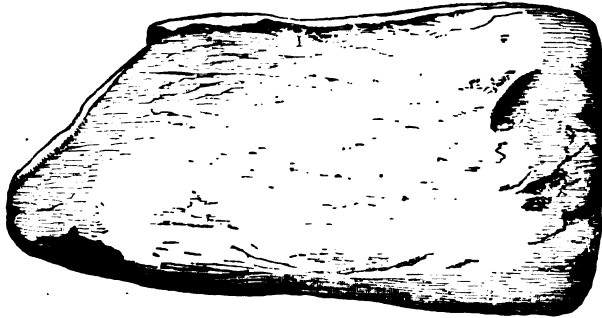
Thin Disc of Bone, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a dot and circle in the centre, and two small holes midway between the centre and circumference.

Broken portion of an oval-shaped piece of Bone, polished, and having two holes drilled in it.

Oval Object of Bone, probably of whale, 3 inches long by 2 inches wide, and 1 inch thick, having a square hole through the centre, as if for the tang of some iron implement.

A similarly shaped Object of Bone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, with a square hole through the centre.

Implement made from a flat piece of the bone of a whale (?), $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, rubbed smooth at both ends, and along the sides, probably a "weavers' rubbing-bone," for smoothing the web after it was woven.



Rubbing bone made of the bone of a whale, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Similar Implement of Bone, 8 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, broken on the edges.

Similar Implement of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, rounded at the corners, and having the ends and edges rubbed smooth and polished by use. In shape it is somewhat curved, as if made of the hard outer layer of a large jaw or rib-bone, probably of a whale.

Similar Implement, 5 inches by 4, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, with rounded edge, worn and polished by use.

Similar Implement, being an oval disc, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its greatest diameter, and less than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, with part of its edges smoothed and polished by use.

Similar Implement, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, having one of its ends rubbed smooth and polished by use.

Similar Implement, 6 inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad, fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, roughly made, and bearing no marks of smoothing on its edges by use.

Large Implement, made of the bone of a whale, shaped somewhat like the blade of a spade, 10 inches in length by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. Notches, 2 inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, are cut into its upper part on either side.

Implement, made of the bone of a whale, 10 inches long, 6 inches broad, and nearly 1 inch in thickness, having two holes, one round, and 2 inches in diameter, the other oval, and 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, cut above each other, the lower hole being near the centre, of the length of the implement.

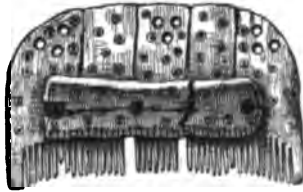
Triangular-shaped piece of spongy bone, 8 inches long, and 5 inches broad at the wide end, having two holes, one 2 inches wide, narrowing to 1 inch, and the other 1 inch wide, narrowing to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, pierced through the bone near the broad end.

Piece of Bone, 7 inches long by 2 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, with a groove $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and triangular in section, cut round its length.

Piece of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, and 1 inch in thickness, roughly shaped to a rectangular form, sawn across at the one end, and hacked at the other.

Piece of Bone, 8 inches long, 5 inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, formed of a portion of the circular articulating surface of a vertebra of a whale, having an oblong hole, 3 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, cut obliquely through it in the centre, and a smaller round hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter above it. The sides of the implement (if it be so) have been cut away with a saw. The lower part is broken.

Comb of Bone, with rounded back, ornamented with a profusion of small "cup and circle" markings. The comb is formed of fine thin slips



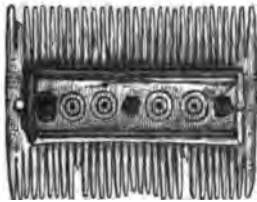
Comb of Bone. (Half actual size.)

of bone about 2 inches in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, laid together lengthwise, and held in their places by two slips laid transversely across them, fastened together by four iron rivets. The entire comb measures 3 inches by 2 inches, and besides the ornamentation of the cup and circle markings, the two end slips and the centre slip are ornamented on the

upper part by three small holes arranged triangularly. The teeth of the comb have been very regularly cut with a fine saw, and the saw-marks are distinctly seen on the slips forming the outer frame, which holds the comb together, showing that it was constructed before the teeth were cut. (See woodcut.)

Similar Comb with round back, wanting most of the teeth. It is fastened with three iron rivets, and has a small hole in the centre of the back, as if for suspension.

Double-edged Comb of bone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 inches, formed of four slips of bone inserted between two transverse slips, held together by three iron rivets. The transverse slips are ornamented by a single line incised along each border, and four sets of two concentric circles, with central dots, ranged at equal distances along the middle of the slips. The teeth are widely but regularly cut, narrowing towards the points, and those towards either end of the comb shorter than those in the middle. In cutting the teeth the saw has only touched the binding transverse slips in one or two



Comb of Bone. (Half actual size.)

places. A hole for suspension is pierced in the middle of one end of the comb. (See woodcut.)

Double-edged Comb of bone (broken), $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 2 inches in breadth. The six slips of bones of which it was composed remain attached to the transverse slips which are fastened by five iron rivets,

placed at equal distances. On the upper and lower side of each of the rivets is an ornamental dot and circle marking about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, and a similar marking in the centre of each of the broad terminal teeth at either end of the comb. The transverse slips are regularly marked on both sides by the saw. The teeth are well cut, and regular in length and thickness. They show very strongly the marks of wear, chiefly towards the bases of the teeth, as minute transverse lines are worn deeply into the corners of the teeth, sometimes completely encircling them. These marks are different from those on the long-handled combs, which are chiefly towards the apices of the teeth, indicating a different method of use.

Portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, being one of the endslips, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, ornamented by four very deep and regularly cut sets of two concentric circles, with central dot, and having the remains of an iron rivet.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, similarly ornamented, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, 1 inch in width, unornamented, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in width, ornamented with two cup-shaped hollows on either side, and pierced with a hole for suspension.

Similar portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width, having part of both the transverse slips attached, in which there are the remains of three rivets of copper or a coppery-like bronze. This comb has been pierced with two holes for suspension, both of which are much worn on the side from which the comb has hung.

Slip of Bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, being part of the toothed portion of a double-edged comb, having a rivet-hole pierced through one side.

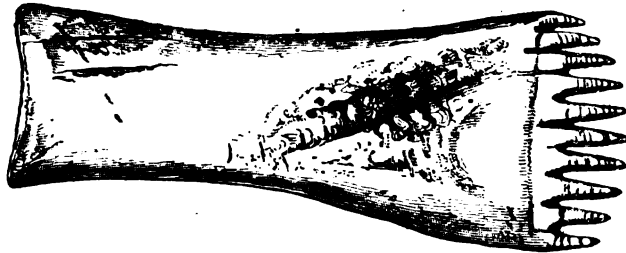
Slip of Bone, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, being part of the toothed portion of a double-edged Comb, having remains of an iron rivet in one side.

Portion of a double-edged Comb, being part of one of the transverse slips, with two iron rivets, and a portion of the toothed part of the comb still adherent. The transverse slip is ornamented by cup and circle markings arranged in pairs.

Portion of a double-edged Comb of bone, being part of one of the trans-

verse slips, with one iron rivet and the mark of another, and part of the toothed portion of the comb adherent. The transverse slip is ornamented by saw-cuts along the edges, and groups of three at equal distances passing obliquely across the middle of the slip.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn (see the accompanying woodcut), 5 inches in length, 2 inches wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are ten in number, are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch apart, and strongly marked towards the apices by use, probably as a weaving implement. (See paper by Mr Anderson, in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 548.)



Long-handled Comb of deer's horn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Long-handled Comb of bone, 5 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are ten in number, are scarcely $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, and so strongly marked by use that some of them are almost cut through.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are eight in number, are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, bearing no marks of use beyond a slight polish.

Long-handled Comb of bone, 4 inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth, which are eight in number, are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, and bear no marks of use beyond a slight polish.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth have been ten in number, but only the stumps remain.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide at the base of the teeth. The teeth have been thirteen in number, but are quite broken away.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 2 inches wide at the base of the teeth. The comb is imperfect at the lower end, so that the number of teeth cannot now be ascertained.

Portion of handle of long-handled Comb, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Piece of Bone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at each end, 1 inch wide in the middle, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, probably a long-handled comb in process of manufacture previous to the teeth being cut.

Long-handled Comb of bone, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth. This variety of comb differs from those previously described, in being shorter and thicker, and having longer and stronger teeth set wider apart. This specimen has nine teeth $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, some of them being as much as $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at the base, where the bone is hollowed out to a gouge-like form. It is ornamented by two deep saw-cuts drawn diagonally across the back in the form of a St Andrew's cross. The butt-end of the comb is much polished by the friction of some soft substance.

Long-handled Comb, made from the lower part of a shed antler of red deer, 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth, which are twelve in number, and fully 1 inch in length. The butt end of the comb is formed of the burr of the antler, and, as in the previous comb, the horn is hollowed out into a somewhat gouge-shaped form at the base of the teeth. A hole nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter has been made at one corner of the comb for suspension.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the base of the teeth, which are eight in number, somewhat rounded and sharp-pointed, and fully an inch in length. Like the previous two, this comb is gouge-shaped, the softer interior of the horn being removed, in this case perhaps by decay.

Long-handled Comb of deer's horn, almost precisely similar in form to the last, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width at the base of the teeth, which seem to have been twelve in number. Only two now remain entire, and they are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length.

Long-handled Comb, 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the base of

the teeth, which are twelve in number, and have been fully an inch in length. The upper part of the handle of this comb is rudely ornamented with a line cut across it parallel to the line of implantation of the teeth, and between this line and the butt end of the comb two lines cross each other diagonally like a St Andrew's cross. Below the crossed lines two other lines run diagonally across the teeth.

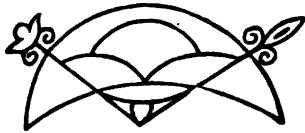


Fig. 1. Symbol or Ornament on Sculptured Stones.

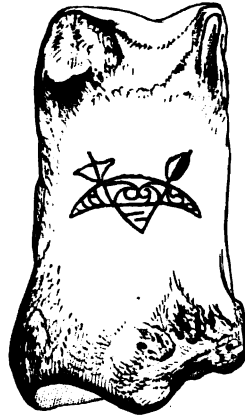


Fig. 2. Bone with Incised Ornament similar to that of the Sculptured Stones. (Natural Size.)

Part of the handle of a long-handled Comb of deer's horn, 2 inches in length.

Long-handled Comb of bone (perhaps imperfect), 3 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across the base of the teeth, which are fully an inch in length, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch apart.

Portion of the toothed end of a long-handled Comb of bone, 2 inches across the base of the teeth, which are sixteen in number, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and cut with a very fine saw.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, convex and smooth on one side, concave and

roughly dressed on the other, having the one end sawn off square, and the other brought to a blunt rounded edge.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, 15 inches in length, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, tapering to a point, and triangular in section, the back being rounded, and fully $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick.

Piece of the Bone of a Whale, 13 inches in length, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, roughly cut to shape with a sharp implement.

Phalangeal Bone of a small Ox, having incised on the centre of the convex surface the "crescent-shaped ornament," traversed by the "double sceptre" (see fig. 2, on opposite page), similar to that which is of such

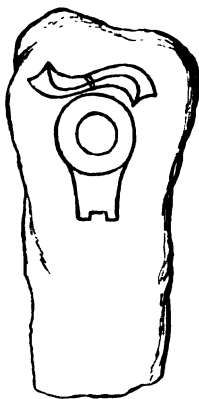


Fig. 3. Sculptured Stone, Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire (45 inches long).



Fig. 4. Bone with Incised Figures. Reverse Side. (Natural Size.)

common occurrence on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (see fig. 1). The symbol or ornament represented in fig. 1 is copied from the standing stone at Crichtie, Kintore, and is the commonest and most widely distributed of all the symbols of the Sculptured Stones. It occurs with a great variety of detail, but the general form is much the same, and the figure given above has an almost exact resemblance, with the exception of one or two additional flourishes, to that on the stone from Firth,

Orkney, now in the Museum. On the opposite side of the bone to that represented in fig. 2 there is incised another figure or symbol (see fig. 4), which is also characteristic of the ornamentation or symbolism of the Sculptured Stones. This peculiarly shaped symbol is sculptured on the stone at Kintradwell, in Sutherlandshire (see fig. 3). Other symbols of the Sculptured Stones have been observed on the terminal rings of a silver chain found in Dumfriesshire, and of a silver chain found in Aberdeenshire, and on a silver ornament found in the tumulus of Norrie's Law, Fifeshire. (See a notice of these silver chains in the present volume of the Proceedings, by Dr John Alexander Smith.)

Phalangeal Bone of an Ox, having on one side incised marks showing no distinct form.

Phalangeal Bone of an Ox, one of the articular ends of which is hollowed as if to receive the tang of some metal implement.

Articles of Bronze.

Bronze Pin, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with globular head, unornamented.

Bronze Pin, 2 inches in length, with round head, flattened on the top, and having a flat band on the side, which is ornamented with cross-hatched lines. Half-way along the length of the pin are two bands of ornamentation in parallel lines.

Broken portion of a Bronze Pin, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

A number of minute Fragments of Bronze, probably of a small Fibula.

Articles of Iron.

Small square-sided Bell of Iron, which bears indications of having been "brazed" or coated with bronze. It measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, 2 inches in breadth, and 1 inch in width, and has had a small looped handle on the top. It is made in the usual way in which these small early square bells have been made, of a piece of thin sheet iron bent into the required shape, and clamped together.

Lozenge-shaped Piece of Iron, with tang, the lozenge-shaped part being $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide in the middle, and the tang 2 inches in length. It is probably a spear or dart head, but it is so thickly encrusted with oxidation, that it is impossible to tell whether the edges have been sharp or not.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head of Iron, with remains of tang for insertion in the shaft. It measures 2 inches in length by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in greatest breadth.

Knife-blade of Iron, with thick rounded back, and tang for insertion in the handle. It measures 4 inches in length by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in greatest breadth of blade, the point being long, and tapering gradually from the middle of the rounded back.

Knife-blade of Iron, with thick back, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with tang for insertion in the haft, 1 inch in length.

Portions of two other Knife-blades or Spear-heads of Iron, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, encrusted with remains of vegetable fibre.

Portions of Knife-blade of Iron, with tang $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length.

Hollow tapering Object of Iron, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, probably the ferule of a spear-shaft.

Iron Ferule, apparently of a Spear-shaft, 3 inches long, and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter.

Iron Ferule, apparently of a Spear-shaft, broken on one side, and showing remains of the wooden shaft, with a rivet passing across it.

Four Broken Rivets of Iron, three with square heads and one round.

Two Broken Rings of Iron, an inch in diameter.

Five Pieces of Iron Implements of indeterminate character.

Portion of the point end of an Iron Tang, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, with the wood adherent in which it has been imbedded. As it has been driven in parallel to the grain of the wood, it might probably be the tang of a knife-blade or spear-head, with remains of the shaft in which it was inserted.

Pottery.

Portion of the side of a large Vessel of reddish Clay, hand-made, but smoothed inside with a tool, the marks of which are still perceptible. The vessel has had a slightly everted lip, and has been slightly bulged towards the middle of its height. The clay is well burned, and free from grit.

Portion of the same vessel, showing part of the lip.

Part of the bottom and sides of a globular flat-bottomed Vessel of reddish Clay, well smoothed on both the inside and outside surfaces, but imperfectly fired. The flat bottom is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, and in

form and texture the vessel has resembled the modern Lewis "Craggans," though somewhat better made.

Two portions of the sides of the same, or a similar vessel.

Portion of a flat-bottomed Vessel of reddish Clay, with straight sides, the interior retaining marks of smoothing by a tool.

Portion of a flat-bottomed cup-like Vessel of brownish sandy Clay, thick, and imperfectly fired. The bottom seems to have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Small portion of the bottom and side of a coarsely-made Vessel of reddish Clay, thick and gritty, and imperfectly fired.

Portion of the side of a bowl-shaped Vessel of reddish sandy Clay, with part of a neatly-moulded lip.

Portion of the side of a straight-sided Vessel of reddish Clay, with slightly bevelled lip, clean on the inside, much blackened and encrusted on the outside.

Portion of a straight-sided Vessel of brownish Clay, fine in texture, and very thin, being only about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with straight edge. It is greatly blackened and encrusted on both sides.

Portion of a large Vessel of Red Clay, smoothed by hand on both sides, and having an everted lip.

Portion of the bottom of a cup-shaped Vessel of reddish Clay. The bottom of this vessel seems to have had a diameter of about 2 inches. The clay is fine in texture, and perfectly free from grit. The vessel appears to have been made very thin, and whether from an accidental circumstance, or in order to stiffen the soft clay and enable it to sustain its own weight, it has been mixed with grass. The sole fragment of this vessel which has been preserved has split in consequence of this admixture, and the ribbed impressions of the leaflets of the grass are preserved in the clay like the prints of fossil leaves.

Twelve fragments of hand-made Pottery, varying from about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness.

Four fragments of a Vessel of reddish Clay, showing a slightly everted lip, with an ornamental border of short oblique indentations.

Fragment of a Vessel of greyish Clay having an everted lip, and underneath it an ornamental border of oblong projecting knobs, and remains of an incised chevron pattern underneath.

Animal Remains.

These consist of the bones of the horse, the ox, the sheep, deer, dog, birds, and fishes, &c., and are described in detail in Dr Traill's paper in the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v, now in course of publication.

2. By His Grace the DUKE of SUTHERLAND, K.G., &c., F.S.A. Scot.

Plate of Bronze-like metal, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and about $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in thickness, being one of two similar plates found in the Broch or Pictish Tower of Carn Liath, in Dunrobin Park, Sutherlandshire. It is covered on both sides with hammer marks, and may be the form in which the metal was imported. Crucibles for melting metals were found in the Pictish Tower of Cinn Trola, about four miles distant; and the inference is, that it was imported and manufactured into ornaments, implements, &c., by the natives. This metallic plate is figured in connection with Rev. J. M. Joass's paper "On the Brochs of Sutherlandshire," Plate XVI. "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v.

[As it was considered desirable that the composition of the metal of this curious plate should be accurately ascertained, it was submitted to Dr Stevenson Macadam, who has communicated the results of his analysis in the following note to Dr John Alexander Smith:—

"ANALYTICAL LABORATORY,

"ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, 31st December 1873.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have carefully analysed the plate of malleable metal, and find the composition to be as follows:—

Copper,	.	.	.	.	82.25
Zinc,	.	.	.	.	15.84
Tin,	.	.	.	.	1.46
Lead,	.	.	.	.	0.21
Loss,	.	.	.	.	0.24
					100.00

"It is therefore more *brass* than *bronze*, though the proportion of zinc in modern brass is much higher, being about one-third the weight of the metal."

"The first account of the alloy of copper and zinc transmitted to the present times was written by Aristotle. He states that the people

who inhabited a country adjoining the Euxine Sea prepared their copper of a beautiful white colour by mixing it and cementing it with an earth found there, and not with tin, as was seemingly the custom. Strabo also alludes to the preparation of an alloy of copper and zinc by the Phrygians, from the calcination of certain earths found in the neighbourhood of Andêra; and other authors, in the time of Augustus, speak distinctly of cadmia and its property of converting copper into *aurichalcum*, under which title the zinc alloy was subsequently known. Several writers of the Christian era who have referred to this compound are not more explicit than their predecessors; still, it is evident from various recent analyses of old alloys, that zinc was contained in many of those prepared about the commencement of the present era.—*Muspratt's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 535.”]

(3.) By JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Double Whistling-jug, with round ornamental head, resembling that of the Puma, dug up in a burying-place of the Incas near Truxillo in Peru, in 1841, 7 inches in height.

Perfume Vessel on stand, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, also dug up in the same burying-place near Truxillo.

Hank of Thread, from the same tombs.

Double Whistling-jug, 5 inches in height, with bird's head, and ornamented with scroll pattern and the Greek fret, found in a burying-place of the Incas near Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru.

These articles were purchased by Mr Gibson from Mr James M'Kean, seal-engraver. The two former were sent home from Peru by Mr M'Kean's brother in 1841, and the third was brought home by him on his return from Peru in 1852. It was long an heirloom in the family of Nunez, and was said to have been preserved by successive generations of that family for upwards of two hundred years. It was finally bequeathed by the last representative of the family to the mother of the manager of their estates, from whom it was obtained by Mr M'Kean.

(4.) By CHARLES WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D., Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh.

Polished Celt of grey Flint from Denmark, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 3 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick.

Polished Celt of grey Flint, with roughly-dressed edges, from Denmark, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 2 inches in greatest width, and 1 inch in thickness.

Perforated Hammer of Greenstone, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, concave on the sides, and convex on the broader faces, each of which is ornamented in the middle with a conical knob or boss. In its general outline it resembles the hammer figured on Plate XXII. vol. ix.

Crescent-shaped Scraper of dark grey Flint from Denmark, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in greatest width.

Spear-head of Chert (North American), $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in greatest width at the base, with a tang of about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length for attachment to the shaft. It is carefully worked on both sides to a sharp and somewhat serrated edge. The point is slightly broken.

Seven Arrow-heads with barbs and stem, the largest $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, the smallest 1 inch in length.

Two Arrow-heads of black Flint, with tang, rudely finished, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length respectively.

One lop-sided Arrow-head, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length.

Four leaf-shaped Arrow-heads, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Five Arrow-heads, hollowed at the base for insertion of the shaft, 2 inches to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length.

Sixteen Flakes, more or less worked to shape, chiefly in a leaf-shaped form.

One hollow Scraper, being a circular disc of flint, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, with a concave hollow 1 inch across, worked in one side. This class of implement is not common, but specimens occur occasionally in England and Ireland. They were probably used for scraping the shafts of arrows, spears, and other circular objects of wood or bone.

Sixteen small Flakes of Obsidian.

Celt of Greenstone, partially polished, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at the cutting end.

(5.) By Mr HUGH CAMPBELL, Timekeeper, Edinburgh Tramway Company.

Clay Urn of the "drinking-cup" form, 8 inches high, found in a cist with flint implements near the King's Well, Fallaws, Monikie, Forfarshire, in January 1869. An account of the discovery of this cist and urn is

given by Andrew Jervise, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., in the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 166. The cist, which was of rude red sandstone flags, measured 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, and 18 inches in depth. It contained a skeleton entire, which lay from east to west. At the feet of the skeleton stood the urn which is now presented to the Museum, and in the bottom of the cist were five worked flints. One remarkable feature of this cist was that in the bottom lay a slab of red sandstone, 2 feet 3 inches long and 1 foot 8 inches broad, "which," says Mr Jervise, "was scooped out in the middle, in the same manner as the stones which are often found in and near Picts' Houses, and which are supposed to have been used for grinding barley." This stone is now also in the Museum, having been presented by the Earl of Dalhousie, F.S.A. Scot., through James Neish, Esq. of the Laws, a Fellow of the Society.

(6.) By Mr JOHN CAIRNS, 6 Caledonian Place.

Martyre de la Roynie d'Ecosse, Dovariere de France, Contenant le vray discours des traizons à elle faictes à la suscitation Elisabet Angloise, &c. A Edimbourg, Chez Iean Naffild. 8vo. 1587.

(7.) By THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq., V.-P. S.A. Scot., one of the Authors.

The Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland. 4to. 1872.

(8.) By the Right Hon. the MASTER of the ROLLS.

Registrum Abbatiz Johannis Whethamstede. 8vo. 1872.

Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria. Vol. I. 8vo. 1872.

Matthew Paris. Chronica Majora. Vol. I. 8vo. 1872.

Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to King Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1872.

(9.) By ALEX. JOHNSTON WARDEN, F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

The Burgh Laws of Dundee, &c. 8vo. 1872.

(10.) By R. W. COCHRANE PATRICK, Esq., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Notes on the Annals of the Scottish Coinage. Nos. 1 and 2.

There were also exhibited :—

(1.) By ANDREW HEITON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Darnick Tower, Perth.
Two Silver Penannular Brooches, said to have been found in Perthshire.

The first of these brooches, in style and beauty of workmanship, strongly resembles the larger of the two brooches figured and described in the Proceedings, vol. viii. Plate XVI. p. 306. The second, which differs considerably in style, is also remarkable for its beauty and fine preservation. Detailed descriptions of these interesting brooches are unnecessary in the meantime, as they would be unintelligible without figures.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF AN EARLY MS. OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE, THE PROPERTY OF ALEXANDER PRINGLE, Esq., OF WHYTBANK. BY W. F. SKENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

Since the volume containing the Latin text of Fordun's Chronicle has been printed and circulated, another early MS. has been communicated to me through Mr Douglas the publisher, by Mr Pringle of Whytbank, to whom it belongs. I was not aware of its existence, and regretted that it had not been made known to me in time to have included it in the account of the MSS. which I have from time to time laid before the Society, and which I prefixed, in the shape of a preface, to the printed text. Fortunately, an examination of the MS. has relieved me of the feeling of regret, which I also had, that I had not known of it in time to use it in collating the text. I think, however, it is desirable that I should at all events communicate a short account of it to the Society, so as to add it to the notices of the other MSS. of Fordun which have already appeared in your Proceedings.

It is a MS. of the fifteenth century, written on parchment, and apparently not in the same hand throughout, the latter part being, so far as I can judge, written in a different hand from the former. The initial letters are rubricated throughout, but the larger initials at the

beginning of Books I., II., III., and IV., have been cut out, to which extent the MS. has been injured. In other respects it is in good preservation. The titles of the chapters are also rubricated as far as the twelfth chapter of Book IV., after which they have been left blank, and are written in a later hand.

The oldest name on the MS. is "Hen. Sinclar episcopus de Ross." It occurs at the top of the second folio, and also at the end of the MS. He was of the Rosslin family, was Bishop of Ross from 1560 to 1564, and the MS. appears to have belonged to him. The next name is "W. Santclair of Roislin Knecht." It occurs at the end of Book I., and also at the end of the MS., after the Bishop's signature, where the date is added, "Anno Domini Mv^olxxv" or 1565. He was the Bishop's nephew, and a well-known collector of MSS. His name appears on several of the MSS. of Fordun. The next name on the MS. is the following:—"Liber Magistri Roberti Elphinstone," also at the end of the MS. On the next blank leaf is "Mr Alexander Thomesone Pastor Edinensis 1636;" and on the first page is "Ex Libris Dⁿⁱ Guil. Cunninghame de Caprintoun." From the Caprington family it passed to the present possessor, Mr Pringle of Whytbank, through his mother, who was one of the co-heiresses of the last Sir William Cunynghame of Caprington.

In the list of MSS. of Fordun extant in 1701, which was made out by Father Thomas Innes, and is printed at the end of my first paper in your Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 239, is the following:—"Scotichron per Patr. Russel Carthus. 7 libris penes Wil. Cuningham." This is the MS. in question, as it also contains seven books, and it is here attributed to Patrick Russell, because after Book V. occurs the following colophon:—"Predictos quinque libros Dominus Johannes Fordoun presbyter compilavit. Residuum vero quod sequitur continuavit Dompnus Patricius Russail Monachus Vallis Virtutis ordinis Cartusiensis et ad finem perduxit, additis tamen interim et incertis nonnullis ab incerto autore prout et in prioribus quinque libris." This colophon is written in a later hand, and has been added subsequently to the transcription of the MS. It is precisely the same which is also added in a later hand to the Donibristle MS., a very different MS., as it contains the whole sixteen books. I have already shown that the Carthusian MS. in the Advocates' Library is the real compilation of Patrick Russell, and that the

colophon properly belongs to the Harleian MS., which appends a continuation, taken from the Carthusian MS., to the five books of Fordun, and where a similar colophon in the same handwriting as the continuation is to be found. As the Donibristle MS. bears on the last page a memorandum to the effect that it "is sene oure be Williame Sanclair of Roialin knyght," and his name also appears on this MS., it is probable that Sir William Sinclair caused this colophon to be added to both MSS. It is singularly inappropriate to this MS., as it contains the original work of Fordun only, without any continuation.

I have examined the MS. very carefully, and I find that it corresponds closely with the Wolfenbüttel MS., and is in fact an exact counterpart of it. The contents are exactly the same, and any mistakes of the transcriber of the Wolfenbüttel MS. are here repeated. The handwriting is of the same period, and I should have been inclined to think that they might possibly have been two transcripts of the same original, were it not for two circumstances which point to this MS. having been transcribed from the Wolfenbüttel MS.

In my account of the Wolfenbüttel MS. I mentioned that "in the first thirty-three chapters, which are beautifully written, the initial letters and the titles to the chapters are rubricated; but the rubrical initial letters and titles are after that omitted, a blank space is left for them, and the writing becomes less careful: At the end of Book II., chapter 52, we find the sentence—'Deo dicamus gratias. Plume me fault pour meulx escripre et du vermceil pour rubrichier;'—that is, 'I have not a pen that will write better, nor vermilion for rubricating.'" Now, in this MS. the initial letters and the titles of the chapters are carefully rubricated throughout this part of the MS.; but, notwithstanding, the apology is carefully repeated, as if the scribe had been copying mechanically a MS. in which he found it, for though applicable to the Wolfenbüttel MS., it is quite inappropriate to his own transcript. He adds, however, in rubrical letters, "quod L. . laday," which is evidently meant for the name of the writer of the Wolfenbüttel MS.; but though the first letter appears to be an L, the next letter is erased, and the word "laday" partially so. He then adds, also in rubrical letters, "Explicit liber secundus. Graces a Dieu."

After the table of contents of the Third Book he repeats the expression

in the Wolfenbüttel MS. of "Quod my gray gusse penne," and adds in rubrical letters, "Expliciunt tituli capitulorum libri tercii;" and at the foot of the page, "Incipit liber tercius Cronicarum per magistrum (mā) A. L." At the end of the Third Book is in rubrical letters, "Explicit liber tercius per moy L. . . ." Here the name had been written in full, and has been erased. After the table of contents of Book IV. we have in rubrical letters, "Expliciunt tituli capitulorum libri quarti;" and at the foot of the page, in rubrical letters, "Incipit liber quartus Cronicarum. Dieu en soit loué;" that is, "God be praised for it." The rubrical titles cease with chapter 12 of this book, and the handwriting changes in the middle of chapter 41, after which we find no more of these rubrics. The scribe seems to have been a foreigner, from the use of these French expressions.

In the subsequent part of the MS. the antiphon "Tu autem Domine," which occurs in that part of the Wolfenbüttel MS., is omitted, and the expression at the end of Book V., chapter 9, "and yai ware hande for hande;" but other expressions are copied. That part of the Wolfenbüttel MS. which forms Appendix I. in the printed volume breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence, and so does this MS. In the Wolfenbüttel MS., in that part which forms Appendix III. of the printed volume, the scribe in copying has transposed a leaf, and the same mistake has been made in this MS.; but the leaf has been cut out for the purpose of putting it in its proper place, and is now loose. At the end of the MS., on a blank page, is the following in large letters:—"Servire deo regnare est, quod J. de L.," which probably gives the initials of the scribe.

It is obvious that this MS. is an exact counterpart of the Wolfenbüttel MS., and is a transcript made about the same time. The text corresponds so exactly that it would not have afforded me any variant readings had I had it to collate when I was editing the Latin text; and its value consists in this, that we have in this country a duplicate of the Wolfenbüttel MS. from which I took the text of Fordun, and which, from its being in a foreign library, is not readily accessible.

II.

NOTE OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT ST MARGARET'S INCH, IN THE LOCH OF FORFAR. BY JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., SECRETARY S.A. Scot.

The Loch of Forfar was in early times a sheet of water of considerable extent. It was in the centre of a rich country, which from the earliest times had been chosen as one of their settlements by the Pictish kings, and this occupation was continued by their successors the kings of Scotland. One of the royal castles was placed on an island in the east end of the loch, and continued to be one of the royal residences in the thirteenth century. On the north side of the loch, and about midway between the opposite ends, is the small projecting ridge which has long been known as St Margaret's Inch. It was described by Dr Jamieson in a paper read to this Society, and printed in the second volume of the "Archæologia Scotica" (p. 14). It is there stated that it is wholly of an artificial nature—vast piles of oak having been driven into the loch, on which were heaped prodigious quantities of stones, the whole having then been covered with earth.

Dr John Ogilvie also describes the discovery of the Inch in a letter to the Society dated in 1781. He states that it was on the partial drainage then made by Lord Strathmore that the Inch became visible, adding that it was discovered to be built upon great quantities of stone raised up upon oak trees sunk down and surrounded by some oak piles with sharp points uppermost. Part of the whinstones removed seem to have been bedded with heather—some of it remarkably fresh, other parts of it petrified.¹

In 1864 the water of the loch having become unusually low, a projecting ridge from the west end of the Inch was discovered, which was styled a causeway, although it was found to lead into the centre of the loch where the water is deepest. In the autumn of last year (1868), Lord Strathmore, the owner of the loch, resolved to make some excavations in the Inch with the view of determining its real character. Having been present at these operations, I took notes of the details, and I now submit the results to the Society. They afford another instance of the little reliance which can

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1780-81.

be placed on the descriptions of early remains given by the observers of last century, so far as relates to details. St Margaret's Inch is the highest part of a narrow ridge of natural gravel which runs out into the loch, and the so-called causeway is the continuation of this ridge as it dips into the deep water. We made sure of this by making various sections across the ridge, which showed its real character.

At some early period a settlement had been formed on the highest point of the ridge, and to make it available for this purpose the following steps were adopted :—First, a deep trench was cut across the ridge where it joins the shore, so as to insulate the promontory. Next, as the round and narrow ridge did not give much of an available flat surface, it was widened on the north side at the base by a considerable extent of piling, within which trees were disposed, with their branches, and piles in a transverse direction, and on them a quantity of black soil was laid. Some of these trees were found to be birch and others oak ; and the soil appeared to have been the debris of a midden, being mixed with bones, charred wood, and ashes. This secured a narrow flat space at the base of the ridge, and on cutting through it inward we reached the core of gravel of the original ridge.

The higher surface of the Inch had been obtained by bringing soil from the shore, and spreading it across the gravel ridge, especially towards the west end, where the widest level space was attained. Pits were dug at various spots of this surface, when it appeared that towards the east end there was nothing except the natural gravel, while the formation became to be of dark and travelled soil towards the west. In some of the holes bits of pottery and bones of animals were discovered. The south side of the ridge is flatter than the north, and did not require to be widened or made up by piling, but there are rows of oak piles driven into the ground along the margin, and big stones are laid in the same line, both being obviously intended to resist the force of wind and water.

In the case of the stockaded island on Loch Canmore in Aberdeenshire, which has also been described as artificial and resting on piles, I found, on recently inspecting it, that it is wholly natural, and that the only piles which occur about it are a few lines at the west end, designed, as at St Margaret's Inch, to strengthen the marginal border against the force of the prevailing winds. The relics which have been found on St Margaret's Inch

at different times are evidences of the various kinds of occupation to which it has been adapted. At the first drainage of the loch in 1781, the objects brought to light included silver ornaments like ear-rings; about 30 or 40 disks of bone, some of them plain and others finely carved; tusks of boars, wolves, and deers' horns of a great size. Dr Jamieson refers to certain vessels of bronze as having been also found and deposited at Glammiss Castle. All these are relics of an early period, and agree in character with those found in many of the Irish crannogs.¹ At a time long after the period of this first settlement we find the Inch in the possession of the Abbey of Cupar-Angus, when two monks resided in a cell subject to that house. In the year 1234, King Alexander II. granted for their support common pasture in his lands of Tyrbeg for six cows and a horse, with fuel.

In the year 1508 the chaplaincy of St Margaret's Inch was conferred on Sir Alexander Turnbull, he being bound to personal residence, to see to the building and repair of the chapel and houses, to make plantation of trees within and without, and to make works of stones for the defence and safety of the loch and its trees, lest the trees be overthrown by the violence of the water.²

Among the charters at Glammiss is one by Thomas Ogilvie of Craigs, to Patrick Lord Glammiss, dated 16th May 1605, conveying "the island in the Loch of Forfar, of old called the *chappel of the Holy Trinity*, and now St Margaret's Inch, with the pasturage of six cows and a horse on the lands of Turfbeg, and that piece of land on the north of the said isle without the loch called Garthe, together with the fishing on the Loch of Forfar, and other privileges therein specified, as the same was possessed by the monks of Cupar, and thereafter by Andrew Turnbull, chaplain, paying to the Earl of Athol L.4 scots of feu, and 60 dozan of pikes and perches for the said fishing in the month of March in name of kain." It would thus appear that the name of the island, which arises from a supposed connection with St Margaret, is not the oldest one, and at the date of this charter in the beginning of the seventeenth century was of no great age. In order to adapt the Inch for this second purpose, much disturbance of the surface had taken place, and in this way the tumbled and confused

¹ Notices of Scottish Crannogs, Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 114.

² Ibid., vol. vi. pp. 143, 144.

appearance of the soil is to be accounted for. The stones of the buildings formerly on the Inch were carried off for materials to a neighbouring farmstead, but a fragment of a pillar, probably of the fifteenth century, and a bronze hinge, were turned up, both probably relics of its ecclesiastical occupation. Some sort of building continued to be on the Inch towards the end of last century, and a structure described as an oven was almost entire, while the surrounding ground was full of trees and used as a garden.

In conclusion, I may state that the adaptation of natural ridges in lakes or natural islands approached by causeways, for purposes of defence, was not unusual in other parts of Scotland and in Ireland, while in the latter country the artificial island was most commonly resorted to.

III.

NOTE ON RUDDIMAN'S TABLE OF THE VALUE OF THE SILVER MONEY
COINED IN SCOTLAND. BY R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A.,
LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

Every one who has paid any attention to the study of the ancient coins of Scotland must have felt the difficulty of reconciling the values and weights given by the writers on Scottish Numismatics with the coins themselves. These values are founded, with some unimportant alterations and additions, on the tables given by Ruddiman in his preface to Anderson's "Diplomatium et Numismatum Thesaurus"¹ (Edin. 1739). Recent research has brought to light some important information which was not available at the time when he wrote, and it is now proposed to consider the effect which this will have in modifying the statements and calculations contained in these tables.

In the first place, if we consider his statement of the various values of the money coined out of the same weight of silver at different times, it will be seen that considerable alterations must now be made. A reference to the table will show that from 1107 to 1296 the author calculates as if the pound weight was equal to the pound current, or, in other words, as if 240 Scottish pennies exactly balanced the standard of weight in the

¹ See Anderson's Dip. Scot., Pref. p. 81.

early Scottish mints. But it is laid down in the assize of David I.¹ that the Scottish pound weighed fifteen ounces or twenty-five shillings, and was made up of 9600 wheat grains, or 7200 grains Tower weight, or 6750 grains Troy weight. Consequently, the pound with which Ruddiman commences his table was not the Scottish standard of weight, but the lighter English one of 12 ounces only.

In a comparative statement of the value of the coin it would have been of little moment what unit of weight was chosen, so long as the same amount was preserved throughout. The rate of deterioration could have been equally well shown either with the English pound or the Scottish pound. But it is evident that if one standard of weight is given at one time and a different one at another, the true proportion is not preserved. And this is what is done in the table now under consideration. For in 1367 we find that the pound weight of silver was coined into twenty-nine shillings and four pennies. And in an Act of the same year,² it is ordained that "*de libra ponderis jam fiant viginti novem solide et quatuor denarii numerales,*"—which is evidently Ruddiman's authority for his statement. But the pound weight referred to in this act is the Scottish pound of fifteen ounces, and not the pound of twelve ounces, which was never the standard of weight in the Scottish mints in early times. Ruddiman says, in a note on this section,³ "*Dicendum ergo videtur Scotos eo tempore in nummis pendendis libra Anglica, non sua, fecisse usos.*" But this is entirely an assumption, not only unsupported by any evidence, but exactly opposed to the facts of the case. We know from original records that the Scottish pound was used in weighing money in the time of Robert Bruce,⁴ and that the English pound was not in use in the time of James II.;⁵ nor is there in any Act or record anything to prove that it ever was recognised as the standard of weight in the Scottish mint. And consequently the rate of deterioration is not truly shown by Ruddiman. For the same weight of metal which in 1367 was coined into twenty-nine shillings and four pennies, produced in Robert I.'s time twenty-six and threepence,⁶ and in David I.'s, twenty-five shillings. And the pound which is given in the tables as producing twenty shillings in 1296

¹ Scots Acts, i. p. 309.

² *Ibid.*, i. 144.

³ *Dip. Scot.* p. 71, note.

⁴ *Jac. V.*, 2, 6, MSS. Advocates' Library.

⁵ Chamberlain Rolls, 1438.

⁶ Scots Acts, i. 309.

and twenty-one in 1329, produced in 1367, not twenty-nine and fourpence, but twenty-three shillings and fivepence and three-fifths.

Again, in 1393 we find in the tables the value of the money coined out of the pound of silver set down as thirty-two shillings. But in the Act of 1393 it is ordered¹ that "de sex unceis puri argenti viginti unus solidi erunt fabricati." And if six ounces were made into 252 pennies, each ounce must contain 42; and, therefore, even the English pound of twelve ounces would value two pounds two shillings, instead of one pound twelve; and the same weight of silver which in 1367 was coined into twenty-nine shillings and four pennies, in 1393 produced fifty-two shillings and sixpence; and consequently the rate of deterioration given in the table is altogether different from what it really was. It will be noticed that the expression in the statute is "puri argenti," here meaning fine silver. There is reason to believe, as will be seen afterwards, that in David II.'s time the currency was baser than it had been before his reign, but as Ruddiman gives the same purity down to the time of James V., this circumstance cannot have affected his reasoning.

In 1424 we find the value of the pound of silver set down at thirty-seven shillings and sixpence. But that this is not correct is manifest, not only from what has been stated above, but for other reasons. And, *first*, because if it were so, it would make the Scottish coinage of Jas. I. equal in value to that of England, which we know from the indentures of the English mint varied from thirty shillings the Tower pound in 1412 (13 Hen. IV.), to thirty-seven and sixpence in 1416 (4 Edw. IV.) Now the groats of the fleur-de-lis, the only ones which are generally appropriated to James I., rarely exceed 35 grains Troy weight, or about one-half of what they should weigh if the pound of silver was at the value given by Ruddiman. And, *second*, that the Scottish coinage of this period was not equal to the English is plainly apparent from the outcry made by the English Parliament against the money of Scotland. In 1390² the northern coinage was reduced to one-half in England, and this agrees with the values we have elsewhere indicated; for the pound of the Tower standard was coined in England up to the 13th year of Henry IV. (1412) into 25 solidi, while in Scotland in 1393 the same weight of silver was struck into 42 solidi. The remonstrances of the English Parliament were

¹ Scots Acts, i. p. 209.

² Ruding's Annals, vol. i. pp. 244, 253, 207, 270.

repeated in 1411 and 1415, and in 1423 all manner of Scottish silver money was banished out of the realm of England,—an extreme measure, which would never have passed if the money of the two countries had been equal in weight and fineness. It is true that the first Money Act¹ of James I. recommends that the king “gar amende the moné and ger stryk it in lik wecht and fynes to the moné of Inglande;” but it is added that he is only to do this “quhen him lykis, and thinks it speidfull and profitable for the realme.” And the coins which have hitherto been assigned to this reign show conclusively that the recommendation was not carried out.

There is yet another reason apart from all this for doubting Ruddiman's value at this period. In Nicolson's Scottish Library, in the valuable chapter on coins and medals, frequent reference is made to Sir James Balfour's MSS. on the prices of the money in Scotland. I am indebted to Mr Hill Jamieson for a copy of this MS., now preserved in the Advocates' Library, which is highly interesting, and entirely confirms the values indicated above. It is entitled “Prysses of the cunzie in the hail tyme of Ja. 1, Ja. 2, Ja. 3, Ja. 4, Ja. 5, and Queene Mary;” and in it Balfour gives the value of the money coined out of the ounce of silver in the time of James I. as 5s., which would raise the pound of twelve ounces to L.3 instead of 37 shillings and sixpence. Balfour considers that at this time the standard of fineness was equal to that of England. After this period the Acts which regulate the coinage during the reigns of the Jameses and Queen Mary sufficiently show the values of the coins at the rate of deterioration, by regulating the number of groats to be struck out of the ounce and the value at which the groats were to be current. It will not therefore be necessary to pursue this part of the subject any further.

It is necessary to observe that certain alterations took place in the standard of weight in the Scottish mints. It has already been seen that in the earliest times of which we have any authentic record,² the pound used weighed fifteen ounces, each equal to 450 grains Troy. There is no

¹ Scots Acts, ii. p. 6.

² The old pound of Caithness was probably an earlier standard, and is conjectured to have contained 16 ounces. (Robertson's Historical Essays, p. 68.) It was to be used in buying and selling in all Scotland, according to the Assize Regis David (Scots Acts, i., p. 12.)

authority for Ruddiman's statement that the English Tower pound was ever used in these times in weighing money. But it appears from the moneyer's accounts still preserved in the Chamberlain Rolls that, at some time prior to 1436, a pound of sixteen ounces had been introduced. The expression, "libra continente sedecim uncias ponderis de Troya," constantly occurs after this date both in the published Rolls¹ and in the later unprinted ones still preserved in the Register House. This change took place in all probability during the earlier part of the reign of James I. In 1425,² in the Parliament held at Perth, it was enacted that a "stane" be made—"quhilk sall way xv. lele Troyis pundis," and that the "stane be dividyt in xvj lele Scottis pundis." . . . In the "assisa de ponderibus" of the same Parliament it is ordained that the "stane" is to "contein xvj pundis Troyis; ilka Troye's pund to contein xvj unce," &c., &c. . . . It is difficult to know what to make of these statements. At first I was inclined to think that possibly the figures might have been wrong in the printed Acts, especially as in Sir T. Murray's edition the stone is said to contain 15 pounds; but among other obligations for which I am indebted to Mr Thomas Dickson of the Register House was the opportunity of examining the original record, where the figures are most certainly those given in the folio edition of the Acts.

Another change is to be noticed in the weight of the ounce. Originally the ounce weighed 450 grains Troy. In 1565³ we learn from an Act of Council given in the appendix to Keith's History⁴ that the Mary Ryal was ordered to be coined—"the fynes of eleven deniers fyne, and of wecht ane unce Troie wecht," and the two-thirds of it are to be "of wecht equivalent, to witt xvj deniers and the third part viij deniers." From this it appears that the denier of Paris had supplanted the grain as a weight, and the ounce of twenty-four deniers is equivalent to $(24 \times 19.7) 472\frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy, and heavier than the early ounce of

¹ Vol. i. p. 396.

² Scots Acts, ii. 10; see also an Act passed in 1555 (vol. ii. p. 496), where it is implied that the Lanark stone was introduced at this period; see also Acts, vol. ii. pp. 226, 246, 376, 496, 540.

³ In 1554 we find in the Treasurer's accounts the expression "lie drop wecht" used of Scottish gold. This drop was equal to $29\frac{1}{4}$ grains Troy.

⁴ Keith's History, App. p. 118, quoted by Cardonnel. The original will be found in the Reg. Sec. Con. Acta, vol. 1563-7, p. 151.

King David. At what period this change was introduced cannot be determined exactly. Snelling is of opinion it was in use in the reign of James III., but his reasons for this are founded mainly on the weights of the coins of an incertain issue. In a treatise on the "Ancient Metts and Wechts" of Scotland, written by Alex. Hunter, and printed in 1624, the stone weight of Lanark is said to consist of 16 pounds, each pound of two marks, each mark of eight ounces, and each ounce of 576 grains. I am indebted to Mr E. W. Robertson, amongst many other favours in connection with this subject, for pointing out that the grain of the Lanark stone is the grain of Paris. But it is very probable that the stone weight of Lanark was introduced in the year 1425, and it certainly was in use in 1552, when it is specially mentioned¹ in the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs. And in 1578 it is more particularly ordered that each Troy weight "keip the just wecht of xvj unces for the pund conforme to the Frenche wecht."²

In 1587 a commission³ was given to sundry persons—amongst whom was Sir Archibald Naper, General of his Highness' Cunzie House—to inquire concerning the laws and acts relating to weights and measures, and to make and establish a weight and measure to be common and universal among all the lieges for buying and selling. This commission reported that having considered the ancient laws and Acts of Parliament anent metts and weights in bygone times, and among others the pound Troy and the stone proportionate thereto, they find that, "maist wisely," the proportion and grounds of all these have been so established of old, that, each controls the other, and accordingly agree that the same shall be observed in all time coming. They accordingly establish the stone of 16 pounds Troy,⁴ of which each Troy pound is to contain 16 ounces as the universal weight. This was confirmed in 1607; and in 1618⁵ another Act was passed for settling weights and measures, which provides "that there shall be only one Just Weight through all the parts of this kingdome, which shall universallie serve all his majestie's lieges (by the which and no other) they shall buy and sell" . . . "to wit, the frensh Troy Stone

¹ Vol. i. p. 2.

² Ibid. p. 76.

³ Scots Acts, vol. iii. p. 437.

⁴ It is to be noted that the Troy weight here and elsewhere mentioned is the French Troy standard of 472½ grains to the ounce.

⁵ Scots Acts, iv. p. 585.

weight, containing *sexteine* Troy Pounds in the stone and *sexteine* Troyes Unces in the Pound, and the lesser weights and measures to be made in proportion conforme thereto."

This Act was confirmed in 1621¹ and in 1625.² From another passed in June 1686,³ it appears that a scale of weights was then in use in the mint divided into seconds, primes, grains, and deniers corresponding to the French standard, and with the denier equal to 19.7 grains modern Troy standard. As the ordinary weights in common use are also given, it appears that the drop weight mentioned by Nicolson in his weights of the Scottish gold coins was merely a different subdivision of this scale, with the drop equal to one and one-half deniers, or to 29.53 grains modern Troy standard, the ounce and the pound being the same in each. The seventeenth article of the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland provides that from and after that date the weights and measures then in use in England were to be the standard in the United Kingdom.⁴

There is then no reason to believe that the English Troy standard was ever used in the Scottish mint. From a MS. preserved in the British Museum,⁵ it appears that the "ounce english doth overpoyse the ounce Scottish viij graynes and three quarters english, and after yt. rate xij oz. english doth overpoyse xij ounce scotish iiij penny wt. ix graynes English."

Nor is Ruddiman altogether accurate in his view of the fineness of the silver coin. For it will be observed, on referring to the table, that he gives the sterling standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. from the earliest period down to 1529. There is reason to believe that this statement is not warranted by the evidence available. For it is probable, as will be afterward seen, that the standard of purity in the Scottish coinage was originally finer than the English. In 1355, we find in Rymer's *Fœdera*⁶ a precept of Edw. III. of England, which says—"Antiqua moneta scotiæ ejusdem ponderis et allaise sicut fuit moneta nostra sterlingi anglia ante hæc tempora esse consuevit—propter quoad in regno nostro anglia habuit cursum suum"—but that lately it had become of baser alloy and less weight than the English.

¹ Acts, vol. iv. p. 614.

² Ibid. vol. viii. p. 604.

³ Cott. MSS. Otho Ex. 241.

⁴ Ibid. vol. v. p. 186.

⁵ Ibid., vol. xi. p. 451.

⁶ Vol. v. p. 813.

This debasement was sanctioned by an Act of Parliament in 1367, when we learn that the pound of fine silver “minuatur in pondere decem denariis ponderis;” and yet the money to be coined was ordered to be as fine as that of England, which would seem to imply that previously the standard had been finer than that of England. I am again indebted to Mr E. W. Robertson for an important and interesting note on this point, which I cannot do better than transcribe:—

“The fineness of old French silver was originally $\frac{23}{24}$, according to Le Blanc; that is to say, 1 denier of alloy to 23 deniers of pure silver in the ounce. The ounce was that of the old Byzantine standard (still used in the Swedish mint), weighing 405 grains Troy; and as the denier weighed 16·875, this ounce of fine silver contained 388·125 grains of pure silver to 16·875 of alloy. The sterling standard of fineness doubled the alloy, but spread it over a rather larger surface of silver. 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver in the lb. gives 18 dwt. of alloy, or three half-pence in every ounce; and then three half-pence = 33·75 grains Troy, or $2 \times 16·875$. Thus an ounce of sterling silver weighing 450 grains Troy contained 416·25 of pure silver to 33·75 of alloy, or in the proportion of $13\frac{1}{2}$, instead of 24. But an ounce weighing 450 grains Troy of the French standard of fineness would have contained $\frac{1}{24}$, instead of $\frac{1}{12}$, of alloy, or, in other words, $450 (\frac{23}{24}) = 431·25 = 18·75 = 431·25$ of pure silver; that is to say $(431·25 - 416·25)$, 15 grains more of pure silver than the sterling standard. When David II., in order to assimilate Scottish currency to the English standard of fineness, deducted 10 dwt., or 225 grs. Troy, from the pound of fine silver weighing 15 oz., each ounce must have been mulcted of 15 grs. of fine silver; in other words, Scottish fine silver before the change in question must have been of the old French standard of $\frac{23}{24}$, or 11 oz. 10 dwt., instead of the sterling standard of fineness, 11 oz. 2 dwt.

“When the old Register of the French Mint (quoted by Du Cange) was compiled in the fourteenth century, and all the money in the world was alloyed, and its value raised or depressed by the Marc de la Rochelle dit d’Angleterre, in other words, the sterling standard of *two* deniers of alloy in the ounce was universal. When two deniers instead of one was deducted from the Paris ounce of 24 deniers, the standard of fineness became $\frac{22}{24}$, or 11 oz. fine and 1 oz. of alloy. . . .

“David II. accordingly, when he altered the standard of Scottish fine

silver from 11·10 to 11·2 (or from the old French to the sterling standard) seems to have only followed the steps of the continental mints.²

In 1393 we have the first mention in the records of a base or billon coinage authorised by Act of Parliament. A statute then passed enacts¹:—
 “ Et erunt denarii fabricati in quibus quatuor denariis erit tantum argentum sicut in uno grosso sed ponderabunt sex denarios *causa latii quod imponitur*. Etiam erunt obuli fabricati de eadem materia et ponderacione proportionabiliter secundum quantitatem denarii : et quinta pars hujus monete erit fabricata in denariis et obulia.”

From this time down to 1423 the remonstrances of the English Parliament show that some portion of the coinage of Scotland was below the English standard. In 1525 it appears from a record preserved in the Books of Council and Session, and quoted by Lindsay,³ that in the agreement between the Lords of Secret Council and James Atchison the groat was only to be x^d fine, and not xi^d fine, as given in the table.

In 1555,³ it is ordered that the silver coin (probably the testoon) be xi^d fine, and the same standard was fixed for the Ryal of 1565.⁴ But in the same reign, in 1558–59, the 12^d groats were only vi^d fine. In 1571–76 Ruddiman reduces the standard to ix^d and viij^d fine, and this is called in question by some of the later writers on Scottish numismatics. But there is satisfactory evidence to show that at the time in question some part of the currency was very much debased. In the “ Diurnal of Occurrences,”⁵ it is stated that in May 1572 ½ merk and 40^d pieces were coined in Dalkeith only vi^d fine.

In 1579 the standard was recalled to xi^d fine, at which it seems to have remained till the Act of 1686.⁶ It will thus be seen that considerable modifications must be made on Ruddiman’s Tables before they can be accepted as accurate. There are some other points in connection with this subject which are far from clear ; but I refrain from entering on these at present.

¹ Scots Acts, p. 207.

² View of the Coinage of Scotland, p. 130.

³ Haddington MSS. Advocates’ Lib.

⁴ Act of Council given in Keith’s App.

⁵ Maitland, Aw., pp 297, 298.

⁶ By the Act of 1686, eleven deniers two grains is declared to be the standard of fineness of Scottish silver coin in all time coming.

IV.

NOTE OF A FINE "CELTIC CINERARY URN" FOUND IN A CIST NEAR DARN HALL, PEEBLESSHIRE, AND EXHIBITED BY LORD ELIBANK. BY LIEUT-COL. G. G. FRANCIS, HON. SEC. FOR SOUTH WALES TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON; CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

Visiting Lord Elibank at his charming place, I was surprised at finding on the floor of the drawing-room a fine specimen of a Celtic cinerary vase in good preservation, but the history of which was quite unknown to either Lord or Lady Elibank.

Inquiries amongst the servants tended to show that it had been brought to the house by a labourer a few years back.



Urn found at Darn Hall, Peeblesshire. (5½ inches in height.)

On speaking to the overseer of the estate, it turned out that he was present at its discovery two or three years back, during the removal of some gravel from a part of the estate known as "The Skim Park;" that three stone coffins were found near one another; that this vase was in the *middle* one, and contained, when first discovered, some dust and fragments of bones; that not much interest was taken in the find, but one of the

men took "the pot" away with him. Nothing else was found that was considered curious.

I, however, felt considerable interest in the urn, and readily obtained permission of my noble hosts to properly label it and secure it under glass. With their kind consent I have brought it over to our Society's rooms at Edinburgh for exhibition at this meeting. Having accomplished this, I shall feel that I have done my duty as an Antiquary of Scotland and London.

[This fine specimen has since been presented to the Museum by Lord Elibank.]

MONDAY, 13th January 1873.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

After a ballot the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows:—

JOHN BALFOUR of Balbirnie, Esq.
 CHARLES DE FLANDRE, Esq., 15 Dundas Street.
 CHARLES AUGUSTUS HOWELL, Esq., C.E., Fulham.
 ALEX. ORROCK, jun., Esq., 12 Lonsdale Terrace.
 ROBERT REID, M.A., Esq., Ifley, Oxford.
 THOMAS SPOWART of Broomhead, Esq., Dunfermline.
 JAMES CUNNINGHAM, Esq., W.S., 50 Queen Street.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were announced and exhibited, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By J. G. SINCLAIR COGHILL, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

A complete suit of Japanese Armour, as recently worn by the retainers of the Daimios. This suit, which was used at the battle of Osaka in 1868, consists of helmet and visor, cuirass of breast and back plates, with laminated skirts of plates overlapping each other horizontally to cover the lower part of the body. The thighs are protected by short, trouser-like pieces of mixed scale and ring armour, and the legs below the knees are

covered by greaves of plate having knee-caps of quilted work. The arms are enveloped in sleeves of mail, having wrist-plates and plates to cover the back of the hand and first joints of the fingers. The helmet, which is a deep globular skull-cap, has a neck-guard of laminated semicircular plates. The visor, which has the form of a grotesquely fierce-looking mask, is entirely separate from the helmet, and is meant to be fastened by a cord round the head. A gorget of laminated plates, falling down from the lower part of this mask over the upper edge of the cuirass, protects the hollow of the neck. The suit is made of thin plates of iron, thickly coated with a black varnish, and the different pieces are strung together with tapes.

- (2.) By Mr JOHN KELLY, Farmer, North Milton, Glenluce, through
Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Wedge-shaped Hammer of coarse-grained siliceous sandstone, 10 inches in length, with rounded butt, and haft-hole nearer the thick end than the cutting end. The haft-hole, which is 2 inches diameter, has been made from both sides, and appears to have been picked out and not bored. The implement is slightly unsymmetrical.

- (3.) By Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Arrow Head of brown flint, with tang, and slightly barbed, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length.

Arrow Head of brownish flint, leaf-shaped, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Four Flint Flakes, two of which have secondary working on the edge.

Three scraper-like Discs of worked flint, about half an inch diameter.

Small Bead-like object of lead half an inch in diameter, with hole through the centre.

All these were found in the neighbourhood of High Torrs, Old Luce, Wigtonshire.

- (4.) By Mr JAMES BRYCE, Farmer, through JAMES GILCHRIST, Esq.,
Banker, Carluke.

Slab of coarse-grained red sandstone, measuring about 4 feet by 3, and about 5 inches in thickness, having on one side several rude sculpturings of spirals, triangles, &c., found covering a short cist in a cairn on the farm of Wester Yird Houses, Carnwath Moor.

Portion of the Clay Urn found in the cist underneath the above-mentioned stone. (For description and figure of the stone and fragment of urn, see the subsequent paper by D. R. Rankin, Esq.)

(5.) By DAVID GRIEVE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Human Skulls taken from a mound at Boyndie, Banffshire, in 1853. This mound was traditionally represented as covering a trench in which were deposited the remains of those slain in the reputed battle between Indulf, king of Scots, and the invading Danes, about A.D. 962. The enclosure in which the mound was situated is known as the "Ardanes Field."

The following particulars in reference to the skulls are quoted from notes made on their first examination by Mr Grieve :—

"The number of skulls removed from the trench (with permission) was twenty-one. Three of these were deposited in the Banff Institute of Science, five were retained by Mr Grieve, and the remainder reburied. (The skulls now presented to the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland are of the number retained by Mr G.)

"A careful measurement of these twenty-one skulls gave the following average results:—

	Inches.
Extreme circumference	29 $\frac{2}{8}$
Length along the vault from the junction of the nasal and frontal bones to the foramen magnum	15 $\frac{1}{8}$
Breadth of the anterior part of the coronal bone	4 $\frac{3}{8}$
Breadth across the vault, measured from and to the meatus auditorius externus	13

"Attention was particularly drawn to the large proportion of abnormal or misshapen skulls found in the number examined."

(6.) By ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Medal in silver of the Duke of Cumberland. *Obverse*, bust of the duke in armour, bareheaded, and the inscription GVIL CVMBERR. DVX EXERCIT. M. BRIT. IMP. Below the arm, M. HOLTZHEY FEC. *Reverse*, above a representation of victory the words, RESTITVTORI QVIETIS, and underneath REBELL. AD INNERNVM DEVICT. MDCCXLVI.

- (7.) By Miss DICK, Craig Kennochy, Burntisland.

Letter, with Autograph Signature of Napoleon I. :—

“ Monsieur de St Vallies, je recois votre lettre du 14 novembre par laquelle vous me faites connaitre la derniere reunion qui a eu lieu au Senat. J'approuve les pensions accordes par le councils d'administration, parce je prie Dieu Mounsiour de St Vallies qu'il vous ait en sa sainte gard. A. Burgos le 20 Novembre 1808.

(Signed) “ NAPOLEON.”

- (8.) By Mr PATRICK RITCHIE, F.G.S.E.

Stone Mortar, with Ears, resembling the modern mortar, dug up at Drumahough.

- (9.) By the Most Hon. the Marquess of BUTE, F.S.A. Scot., through WILLIAM FRASER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Editor.

Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, A.D. 1147-1535. Grampian Club. Edinburgh, 1872. 4to.

- (10.) By Rev. Professor WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St Kentigern, his Friends and Disciples, translated from the Aberdeen Breviary, and the Arbuthnott Missal; with an illustrative Appendix. Edinburgh, 1872. 8vo. Privately printed.

- (11.) By Rev. Professor LORIMER, D.D., London, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Editor.

A Directory of Church Government, drawn up and used by the Elizabethan Presbyterians. Reprinted in fac-simile from the edition of 1644.

- (12.) By Rev. J. A. LEGH CAMPBELL, F.S.A. Scot.

Historical and Architectural Notes of the Parish Churches in and around Peterborough. By Rev. D. SWEETING. London, 1868. 8vo.

- (13.) By the SOCIÉTÉ POLYMATHIQUE DE MORBIHAN.

Bulletin de la Année 1871.

(14.) By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

Report of the Sepulchral Monuments Committee. Fol. 1872.

(15.) By the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

The Smithsonian Report. Washington, 1870. 8vo.

There were also exhibited—

(1.) By J. G. SINCLAIR COGHILL, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

A large collection of Japanese Weapons, principally swords and daggers, and a collection of native drawings of the heraldic crests or insignia of the Daimios.

(2.) By the Hon. Mrs. SWINTON.

Brass Matrix of a Seal of Godfray de Ros, found on the banks of the river Nairn.

(3.) By W. T. BLACK, Esq.

A large collection of Photographs illustrative of the scenery and antiquities of Italy.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES FROM NASSAU. By CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.,
F.S.A. Scot.

1. *Identity of design between some Bronze Ornaments and the British Rock Sculptures.*—In the Wiesbaden Antiquarian Museum, among a number of bronze relics of great interest, I was particularly struck with some labelled "from German graves in Bauwald," which I suppose is in the Nassau. The relics were bronze ornaments, eleven in number, all of the same size, and appeared to have been cast in the same mould. I made a careful sketch of one of them, from which Mr. Sharbau has made the enclosed drawing. (See the accompanying woodcut.)

The shape of the ornaments is a disk with a handle, being in outline

very like the "mirror" on some of the sculptured stones. But there is no further resemblance, for the disk, which is about the size of a penny piece, has a central boss, one-sixth of an inch high, which is surrounded by five concentric ridges or circles, and the ridges are connected by a radial ridge. The handle is plain. Along with the disks were two long, plain, bronze-wire pins.

It will be seen at once, by turning to Sir J. Y. Simpson's "Archaic Sculpturings" (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. viii. App.), that the design on the bronzes is exactly that of "Type 4 of Cup and Ring Cuttings," and indeed the mould in which the bronzes were cast must have been identical in design—but not in size—with those found engraved on rocks in the British Isles.

These Wiesbaden relics will, I believe, bring the rock sculpturings within the Bronze period, but the actual date and duration of that period must be left for a more learned antiquary to determine.

Judging from the additional information which the relics supply, the rock sculpturings are simply ornamental designs which were in use when the ring cuttings were made, and, having been executed only to exercise the skill of the engraver, have no—or a very distant—symbolical meaning.

In the design under consideration, I cannot help supposing that a shield has been imitated, the raised boss representing the boss of the shield which covered the handle, and the radial ridge being the cord or strap by which the shield was hung when not in use. This is much more apparent in the rock cuttings.

2. *Probable Meaning of the "Spectacle Ornament" of the Sculptured Stones.*—In the same Museum there appeared to me a strong confirmation of Dr Stuart's opinion that the spectacle ornament of the sculptured stones was a decoration, for on the effigy of a Count of Katzenellenbogen of 1276 or 1315, there is the exact likeness of the spectacle ornament. It was, in fact, the representation of two hemispherical jewels, about the



Bronze Object from a German Grave. (Actual size.)

size of half an egg, connected together by a strap, which was 6 or 8 inches long. The strap went across the chest, just below the clavicles, and the jewels acted as buttons to keep a very scanty cloak, or rather cape, upon the Count's shoulders.

3. *Modern use of Pre-historic Decoration.*—In Nassau the people still build "frame" houses, but in Hereford and Worcester shires, although the method of construction is known (*viz.*, one side of the house is bolted together on the ground, and then reared upright in one piece), I could not learn that any had been made for two or three generations. In frame houses the panels are filled in with basket-work, which is daubed with clay.

Once when rambling among the "vils" of the heights of Nassau, I drew up in front of anything but a savoury dwelling, and gazed hesitatingly. There was a vague idea that I had seen the like before, and a further cogitation brought up the recollection of the chambered cairns of Gavr Innis and New Grange. On the panels, while the clay was moist, scores (etchings) had been made, and the combination or effect was to reproduce the æsthetic whole of the graved stones of those noted tumuli. There were bands of parallel lines, circumflex bands of various orders, but there were no spirals. My first idea was to take a rubbing, but this was too absurd upon a work of art which had been accomplished by "Hans" perhaps last winter. I must therefore be content to refer to Plate XXX. of the comprehensive memoir on "Archaic Sculpturings" (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. vi. Appendix), where, in fig. 7, they are completely anticipated.

It is not proposed to enter on the question of the archæological value of the coincidence of the Nassau peasant exactly reproducing the designs of the ancient tumuli, but I record the fact.

It would seem that the smooth clean surface of the clay irritates the peasant to exercise the faculty of design, and—but my information rests upon a twofold translation—a piece of wood, say 4 inches broad, is notched into six or eight teeth; with this "formula" the æsthetic builder goes over the surface of the moist clay, scoring bands of lines, sometimes straight, sometimes waved, "as fickle fancy pleases." With such an instrument, revolving on a centre, concentric circles would of course be described, but I did not see any. It is quite possible they will be found if sought for.

II.

NOTES ON FEUDALISM IN JAPAN. BY J. G. SINCLAIR COGHILL, M.D.,
F.S.A. SCOT.

In the course of two visits of some duration which I paid to Japan in the years 1865 and 1869, I was very much struck with certain political and social relations, presenting conditions almost identical with the feudal institutions once prevailing for so long a period in our own country, and in western Europe generally, the last potential form of which was only abolished by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747, but remains of which still linger in our laws, more especially in connection with the conveyance and tenure of land. As this feudal system, as hitherto existing in Japan, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, as a consequence of one of those sweeping revolutions only possible under an Oriental despotism,—but, strange to say, in this instance comparatively bloodless,—I have thought a few notes on such a subject might prove interesting to this Society.

The group of islands forming the Empire of Japan holds a geographical position off the eastern seaboard of the Asiatic continent, corresponding to that of the British Islands off the western coast of Europe, but within latitudes giving a much warmer climate. Japan further resembles our own country in the variety and extent of its coal and other mineral resources, and in the manufacturing skill of its artizans, both in metals and fabrics.

As regards race, the Japanese are of mixed Turanian or Tartar and Malay blood, on an aboriginal stock, which latter still exists pure in considerable numbers, in the most northerly island of the group named Yesso, where they receive the name of "Ainos," differing remarkably from the modern mixed race, being low in stature, dark in complexion, flat and prognathous in countenance, and the face and body more covered with hair than any other race in the world, the modern Japanese being singularly smooth-skinned. The Aino skull also presents a markedly primitive contour.

The Malay element prevails among the lower orders, and the extent is shown by the close resemblance of the Japanese language to the Malay original. The Turanian element prevails so far among the nobility as to

determine a marked distinction between the two ; but while adopting the language of the majority, they have imported Chinese characters to represent the native sounds, and indeed have brought with them all the influences derived from the literature and religion of their powerful neighbours on the continent adjacent.¹

The present Royal Family, the ruling member of which is styled Mikado or Emperor, is lineally descended from Zinmu, who founded the dynasty in B.C. 665. This dynasty thus claims authenticated occupation of the throne for 2400 years. Certain it is, however, from undoubted historical evidence, that the usurpation of executive power by the Tycoons of various families lasted some 800 years, and was only terminated by the revolution of 1868 I previously referred to, which restored the line of the Mikados to supreme political power, and relegated the line of the Tycoons by the abdication of Stotzbashi, the last of that dignity, to their original position as Daimios or Princes of Mito or Tokugama, that being their territorial and family designation respectively. Up to the time of this change the Mikado held his court at Miako near Osaka, on the inland sea in the centre of the principal island Nippon, invested with a sort of sacred character, while the executive power was in the hands of an hereditary official called the Shiogoon or Tycoon, literally commander-in-chief, whose principal residence was the fortress in Yedo, the largest city in the empire, situated in the north-east of Nippon on the coast.

The nobility and officials of the Mikado's court were entirely distinct. The former were the descendants of the ancient noblesse, whose ancestors had been stripped of their territories in the struggle that brought the Tycoonate into existence. They still, however, retained their position, and constituted the three highest and first part of the fourth order of the Japanese nobility ; the Daimios, or first of the Tycoon's nobles, only taking rank immediately after them. This nobility consisted, in addition to the four families of the blood-royal called Shi-sin-wo, of a body of nobles termed Koongays, possessing 137 titles in 22 families. From the changed circumstances of the state, few of this old nobility now possess large estates, while a large number of them have been obliged to pursue certain

¹ We have here the same phenomenon as resulted in England when the Normans accepted, with certain modifications, the Anglo-Saxon, expressing its sounds, however, in the Roman characters of their original Latin tongue.

avocations, principally in connection with literature, music, and the fine arts, not deemed servile or beneath their dignity. While the daughters of these decayed houses were largely sought for as governesses or in marriage in the Daimio families, the sons were frequently adopted or connected by marriage with these *parvenus*.

The nobility of the Tycoon's court styled Daimios comprised 266 titles in five ranks, viz.,—1. Sen-Kay (three families literally, and corresponding to the Mikado's Shi-sin-wo); 2. Kokushiu; 3. Kammong; 4. Fudai; and, 5. Tozamma. The Tycoon himself only ranked at the Imperial Court as the premier Daimio, unless titles of distinction, which were personal, not hereditary, were conferred on him by the Mikado, the sole fountain of honour.

The origin of this dual form of power is singularly curious and interesting. In the reign of the Mikado Go-Zira-Kawa, in the latter part of the twelfth century (1189), Yoritomo, a noble of the Minnamoto family, who held the principal military command, and who was both an able general and politician, in consequence of the imperial family being weakened by long internecine strife, seized the reins of government, reduced the holder of the imperial dignity to the position of a mere puppet, while he rendered the supreme executive power hereditary in his own family. His successors, particularly Taikosama, and Jyeyas, who succeeded to the Tycoonate A.D. 1598, by force of arms and confiscations possessed themselves of vast territories, with a portion of which they liberally endowed their own family and those allied to it. They also bestowed extensive estates on those who had distinguished themselves as partizans, while, with good policy, they allowed many of the territorial magnates, too powerful to be disturbed, to retain their possessions on condition of their accepting rank at their court; and to complete the system, numerous official positions and charges were assigned in hereditary possession to the favoured adherents. All the conditions of a purely feudal system thus developed themselves from these strange political circumstances. The rank of the several Daimios was settled by Jyeyas, and their territories carefully surveyed with a view to estimate their revenues and exact military service from the vassals in proportion to their resources. Official lists of the nobility continued to be published annually both at Miaka and Yedo, for the several orders, with their rank, pedigree, alliances, coat of arms, income, and feudal dues,

&c., and gives a strange insight into the history and resources of these feudal magnates. Thus the Daimio or Prince of Owarrri, the premier noble of the Tycoon's court, pays feudal duties on an income of 610,500 kokus of rice, or L.610,500; while the Prince of Kanga, a Kokushiu, or noble of the second rank, has an annual income of L.1,627,000, while none retain rank under L.10,000 a year. Many of the Daimios have vassals owning large estates under them called Byshinga. An inferior order of official gentry are the Hattamoto, largely employed in state duties; next to them are the Gokenum, and next below them the Yaconins, corresponding to the retainers or men-at-arms of the feudal chiefs, or the Dhuinewassals of the Celtic tribe system. Each Daimio has a following of these gentry, who have the privilege of wearing two swords in their girdle, which no merchant, farmer, or artisan dare do. They travel at a privileged rate, and have an immunity from almost all the burdens, fiscal and otherwise, imposed on the classes below them. They are to be met with at every turn strutting along with all the consciousness of superiority, their chief's crest embroidered on the sleeves, back, and breasts of their overcoat, and on their sword and accoutrements. The relations of the Daimios to the state are strictly feudal. They merely hold the land on tenure from the Tycoon. If they engaged in rebellion or committed any crime warranting confiscation of their fiefs, they could save the principality to their heir by committing suicide or shaving the head and becoming a monk. The feudal service was therefore regarded as strictly personal. Each of the Daimios was obliged to have a palace in Yedo, in which his wives and family had to reside in his absence as hostages, and in which he had to spend six months of every year, paying an annual homage to his liege lords. In the official Book of Honours, the details of the various ceremonies are given, also the presents (fines) to be paid to the superior on marriage, births, coming of age, &c.¹ Many of the Daimios, as well as the Boongays, had palaces in Osaka; but there the Tycoon had an immense fortress, the Cyclopean masonry of which excited my intense admiration, to overawe them; while the Mikado lived a few miles off at Miako, in a temple-like residence, in harmony with the sacred character which it suited the hereditary policy of the

¹ The Tycoon retained, and occasionally exercised the power of removing a Daimio from one domain to another of the same or even inferior value.

Tycoons to invest the ancient imperial line. The Daimios, with a view still further to prevent them combining their powerful resources against the ruling power, were not allowed to visit one another, and their summonses to the capital to pay homage were so timed as to prevent neighbouring Daimios either being in the capital, or on their estates at the same time. Nothing struck me more in the East than the imposing extent of the palaces in the Daimio's quarters in Yedo and Osaka, or the magnificent style in which they journey to and fro. On the tokaido or public road the Daimio and his retinue have to draw up to allow one of superior rank to pass, and the ceremonies connected with the intercourse of the various classes with one another are laid down in the official guides with the greatest minuteness, and scrupulously exacted from one another in practice. On their estates the Daimios live in large castles strongly fortified, having lofty granite walls sloping inwards, and always surrounded by a deep moat, with the town adjacent to one side only. They form everywhere a most striking feature in the Japanese landscape, and relieve the eye from the oppressive exuberance of a tropical vegetation. You can always tell in whose territory you are travelling, from the coat of arms and insignia of the local magnate on the guard-houses, police-stations, and shops patronised by his excellency; the latter always have a gigantic lantern on either side of the door, with the crest emblazoned thereon. The crests are either floral or geometrical in design. Most of the nobility have two, one official or titular, the other the family cognisance. The badge, in gold lacquered wood, is always borne on a spear in front of the cortege when travelling, and planted on a stand before the inn where the halt takes place. I have not been able to ascertain whether there is any order of chivalry beyond the distinction of bearing a leopard's skin over the saddle. This honour can only, it is said, be borne by eight of the nobility at one time. The heir of the Daimio had always to be reinvested on the death of his predecessor, and the right of selecting an heir by adoption is enjoyed, and frequently exercised, with the permission of the Tycoon. Whether it is the effect of this long continued system or not, the Japanese present a marked improvement on any other Eastern nation in their extreme courtesy to each other and to strangers, in their treatment of the female sex, in their personal bravery and contempt of death, and a general nobleness of bearing and character which strikes a stranger at every turn.

This political and social condition which I have endeavoured to describe has been very much modified by the revolution of 1868, which was a natural reaction of the feudal barons against the burdens and restrictions which they had borne so long. The possession by each of them of large standing armies, Satsuma alone having 30,000 men, besides a squadron of armed steamers, rendered their success easy. A league of southern Daimios was formed, and declared for the Mikado. They marched on Yedo, gathering forces as they went. The Tycoon after a feeble show of resistance surrendered; but a large body of the Tokugawa clan, the retainers of his family, went off with the fleet to Yesso, where they held out gallantly for nearly eighteen months. The Tycoon now resides in his feudal castle in Mito. The Mikado rules in Yedo. The Daimios have disbanded their armies, and have surrendered *pro rata* a large portion of their revenues for the expenses of the State. While a representative government is in course of formation, the railway and the telegraph will still further change the future of this most interesting of all Eastern states.

III.

NOTICE OF SCULPTURED STONES AT LAGGANGARN, MULL OF SUN-
NONESS, AIRRELICH, AND CASSENDEOCH, WIGTOWNSHIRE. By
REV. GEORGE WILSON, GLENLUCE, CORR. MEM. S. A. SCOT.

Laggangarn Stones.—These stones are on a low grassy knoll about 100 yards east of the farm-house. They are all of greywacke. Only seven remain *in situ*. I observed three used as lintels in the farm buildings of Laggangarn, and two which have been gate-posts at Kilgallyoch, across the Tarff, about half a mile to the east. Two more are lying at Pultadie, about two miles to the west. They have been dressed for gate-posts. I have not seen them, but have got the dimensions of both, and a rubbing of the one which is sculptured. I believe it was used as a lintel over the kitchen-fire in the former house at Laggangarn, which was pulled down about eighteen years ago. An examination of the ground-plan suggests the idea that there have been two circles of stones; but I have heard no tradition to that effect. The two sculptured stones of which I send a sketch are at the west end; and I believe the Pultadie stone stood

beside them. They are 2 feet apart. The crosses are hollowed out of the stone, the groove being about an inch wide, and from a quarter to half an inch deep. The upper limb of the large cross on the northmost stone (fig. 1) is carried across a ledge on the surface about an inch wide. This stone has been split for the purpose, the back showing the natural smooth surface. The bottom of the shaft of the cross is open, the two

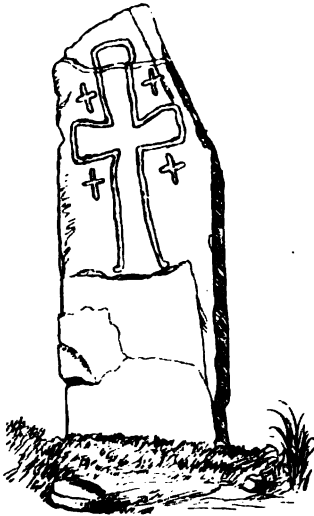


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Sculptured Stones at Laggangarn.

lines diverging a little, and being rounded off somewhat like inverted commas. The shaft of the large cross on the other stone (fig. 2) is so weather-worn it cannot be traced all the way. Each stone has four small crosses, one in each angle of the large cross. The Pultadie stone is of finer material, and the cutting is deeper and sharper. The shaft is a single grooved line, 19 inches long, with a short cross line, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches

long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the top, and another 3 inches long about 3 inches from the bottom, and two longer ones in the middle, which have been dressed off at both ends when the stone was shaped for a lintel or gatepost. An old man, lately dead, remembered seeing thirteen stumps, and said the two carved stones had *sunk* a good deal. I suppose the turf may have risen round them. The late Mr Peter Douglas of Glenluce told me his mother remembered when fourteen stones were standing. A man, M'Millan, tenant of the farm about 100 years ago, used several for lintels in the new buildings he erected. Soon after he was bitten by a mad dog, which he caught by the tail as it was going in at the dog-hole in the house-door, and brained it against the door cheek. He took hydrophobia, and, at his own request, was smothered under a feather-bed in a paroxysm of his disease! In the following autumn his sister-in-law, who had helped to smother him, slipped on some frozen straw in the barnyard, and suffered compound fracture of an arm, of which she died. The neighbours looked on these deaths as judgments for the desecration of the "stanin stanes." Let all greedy builders take warning!¹

The following are the measurements of the stones :—

	Height.		Breadth.		Thickness.	
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
No. 1. Sculptured stone, . . .	6	9	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8
„ 2. Sculptured stone, . . .	5	9	2	3	1	0
„ 3. Plain, erect, . . .	2	0	0	0	0	0
„ 4. Plain, slanting, . . .	3	0	2	0	0	0
(A small one beside it.)						
„ 5. A smaller stone, . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
„ 6. Irregular in form, . . .	3	0	3	0	0	0
„ 7. Irregular in form, . . .	3	0	3	0	0	0
Pultadie, sculptured stone,	4	6	0	8	0	10
Pultadie, other stone, . . .	5	1	0	8	0	10

*Sculptured Stone at Mull of Sunnones.*²—This stone was built into the dry-stone wall of a field on the south-east slope of the Mull of Sunnones.³

¹ Sir Andrew Agnew gives a more striking version of this story at p. 209 of "The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway."

² This stone has now been presented to the Society's Museum by the Earl of Stair.

³ The common spelling is Sinniness; but I prefer that of Pont's map.

It was first noticed by an old man who was mending the wall many years ago, and its existence was known only to a few persons. No one knows where it came from. There were two large cairns in the immediate neighbourhood. It is a slab of greywacke, sculptured on the natural surface, which is slightly concave. The lower part has been broken off and lost. Length, 27 inches; breadth, 15 inches; thickness, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the top slanting from left to right. On one side a cross is cut in hollow



Sculptured Stone from Mull of Sunnness, now in the Museum.

lines like those on the Laggangarn stones; but the pattern is different, and appears to be new in Scotland (see fig.) The cross is 12 inches across, and is broken off at $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. The shaft has a transverse bar at the top 2 inches long. The horizontal bar has a spatulate hollow at each end. At the intersection there is a lozenge with a hollow in its centre. All round this central cross two lines are cut. The top inclines some-

what to the right. The space under the left horizontal limb is filled in with rectangular lines. But the peculiarity of the pattern consists in *six* hollowed dots arranged in two triplets in the space on each side above the transverse limb. The stone from Eilan More, Argyllshire, now in the Museum, figured in Dr Stuart's work, vol. ii. p. 60, plate ciii., has three dots on each side. A line enclosing the cross runs across the top and down the right side, but is a good deal broken away on the left.

Sculptured Stone at Airrelich.—This is a piece of greywacke, 12 by 8 inches, built into one of the pillars of a new cart-shed. Mr Brown, the tenant, tells me it was found in lifting the foundation of an old out-house used as a potato store. There are traces of various buildings near the present steading, and one spot is called Barhabble or *Kirkhabble*. It seems to be part of a cross, and differs in pattern from that at Monreith House, as the interlacing lines do not cross this space between the two rows of circles. I owe the sketch drawing now exhibited to the kindness of Herbert Maxwell, Esq. of Airlour.

Cassendeoch Stone, Barlockhart, Old Luca.—This is a greywacke slab, 34 inches long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ thick, sculptured on two sides, showing marks of a pointed dressing-tool. The sculpture on the front is split off aslant at the top, except on the right hand, where part of the outside groove remains, which seems to have formed a parallelogram, 19 by 8 inches, bounding a sort of cross *in relievo*. At two-fifths from the top is a rounded transverse bar resting on the points of two segments of circles set back to back, and each embracing two concentric segments. The reverse bears traces of a groove at the top and sides, enclosing a kind of St Andrew's cross, about 14 by 8 inches, having the lower limbs curved inwards, and between the points of the upper limbs a segment of a small circle, open to the top, with a central dot. This side is uneven, and shows a large splinter and fissure.

Cassendeoch is a small hill a mile and a half south-east from Glenluce, in the bifurcation of the old country roads to Wigtown and Portwilliam. At the foot of its southern slope is the supposed site of Cassendeoch homestead, the land being now part of Barlockhart farm. The stone was found there in a field wall about 1858, carried to Barlockhart, used for eight years as step-stone to a pig-sty, and then set on a wall at the home-

stead gate pillar. Cassendeoch is about a quarter of a mile north of the site of *Kirkchrist Chapel*, in the Jerusalem Fey, on Kilfillan farm, so that the stone may have belonged to it. The site of a chapel on Balcarrie is a little more than a mile off. This stone is now in my possession, and is to be placed in Glenluce churchyard.

IV.

NOTICE OF A SCULPTURED STONE CIST-LID AND CLAY URN FOUND IN CARNWATH MOOR. BY D. R. RANKIN, Esq., CARLUKE.

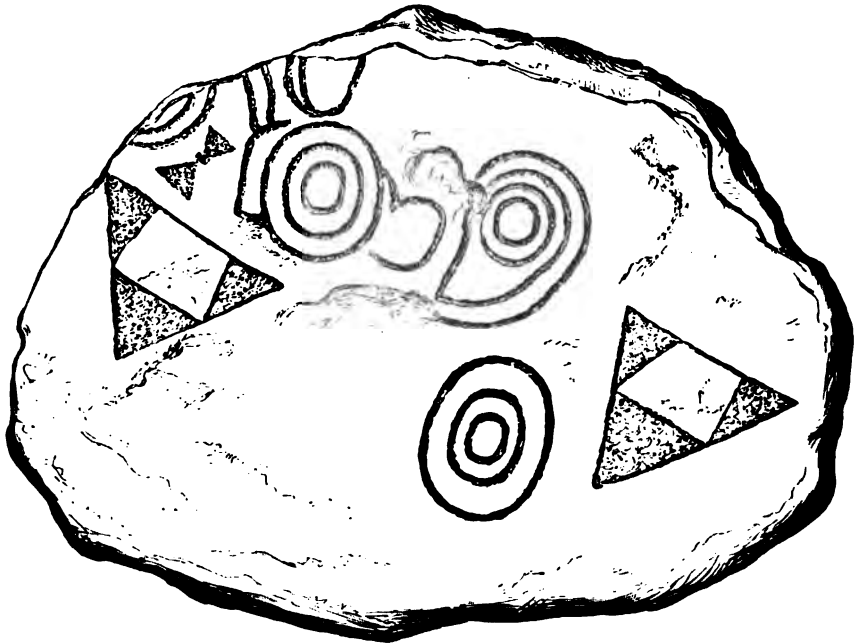
Having been informed by a friend that, when on a visit in Carnwath district in June last, he had seen part of a fine urn, and the sculptured lid of the cist in which it was found, and having notified the fact to the Society of Antiquaries, I was afterwards induced to proceed, in company with three young promising inquirers, to examine and report upon these ancient remains.

Four miles north from the village of Carnwath, on the Edinburgh road, and a little to the west, is the farm of Wester-Eird-House, or Yird-Houses, the property of Mr Somerville, occupied by Mr James Bryce. No one who has crossed the dreary Lang-Whang need be informed that the country around is wild, moorish, and much of it still in a state of nature, in one of her rougher aspects. A short way north from the farm-steading, where stood the cairn in which the cist was found—notwithstanding that there had been successive clearances—all around seemed to be a stony wilderness, so numerous were the boulder masses. Several cairns on the farm are still, apparently, undisturbed; and on the adjoining lands the existence of many cairns is reported to be well known.

Some years ago, in clearing a few acres of the land of these blocks of stone, with which fences were constructed, some cairns were removed without anything being found except red clay or earth in the bottom of each—seen nowhere else on the farm. About two years ago, while engaged in a similar operation—a further clearance—the farmer and his son came upon the cist, the subject of these remarks.

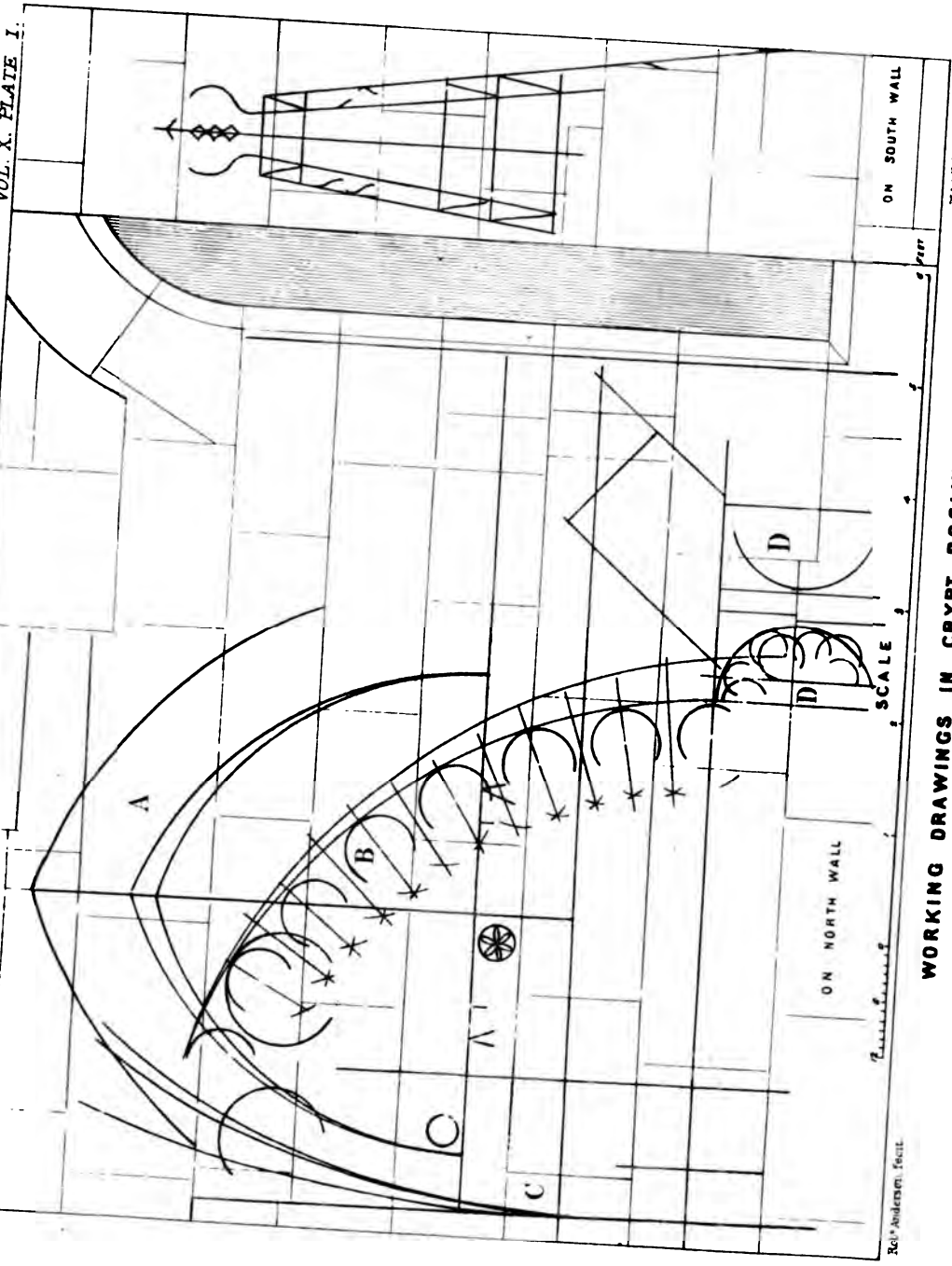
Mr Bryce, knowing the purpose of our visit, very kindly resigned his

ordinary duties, and cheerfully pointed out the site of what he called the humplock, which would be about 21 feet in circumference, and not exceeding a man's height in the centre. He also indicated the precise spot and position of the cist, which was of the short kind, formed, as is common, of two side and two end stones, with the lid, all rough and unhewn. The cist lengthways lay north and south, and the urn stood mouth upper-



Sculptured Cover of Stone Cist at Carnwath (4 feet 3 inches long).

most in the west corner, filled with a quantity of black earth. No bones or fragments were observed. At the time of the discovery all the stones of the cist with the urn—to which we now directed attention—were carefully conveyed to the farm-house, as if acknowledging, in the best manner, the claims of science. Probably, however, the antiquary must



WORKING DRAWINGS IN CRYPT, ROSLIN CHAPEL.

Ed: Anderson. Scot.



credit the preservation of these interesting relics to that intuitive reverence for the manes and sepulchres of the dead which impels some to act rightly, who were little likely to be actuated by scientific motives.

The urn, at first entire, was unfortunately broken, but a fragment, sufficient to determine its character and form, and the sculptured lid of the cist, have been handsomely presented to the Society by the discoverer.

The urn, which is of the ordinary "drinking-cup" type, and elaborately ornamented, was about 9 inches high. The sculptured symbols on the under or inside of the lid of the cist, which is a roughly shaped slab 4 by 3 feet, and from 4 to 6 inches thick, well represented in the annexed woodcut, must, for the present, remain unexplained, as the key has not yet been discovered. Although different as to details, with its triangles, ovoids, and circles, this curiously incised record, of very remote date, is of kin to the Coilsfield stone, described in Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. i. p. 480.

V.

NOTICE OF WORKING DRAWINGS SCRATCHED ON THE WALLS OF
THE CRYPT AT ROSLIN CHAPEL. By ROBERT ANDERSON, Esq.,
ARCHITECT, F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE I.)

In a few words I wish to bring to your notice a number of markings on the walls of what is generally known as the Crypt at Roslin Chapel, and which on close examination I found to be working drawings.

The one I first observed was on the south wall, and is the rough indication of a working drawing for a pinnacle. Observing others on the north wall of a different nature, I made an accurate survey of each wall, laying down all the stones exactly, and examining every one. The result of this is shown on the sketch I now lay before you. (Plate I.)

Various other lines may be observed on the north wall, but these have apparently been rubbed out previous to drawing the ones shown on the sketch, and nothing can be made of them.

These markings consist of—1. A drawing of a pinnacle. It is not possible, from its very incomplete state, to identify it with any of the pinnacles

now existing, but it evidently has reference to one or more of those on the buttresses of the south side. There are no other drawings on this wall.

2. A pointed arch, A. This has reference to the arches of the windows of the retro-choir, the part representing the gusset of masonry between the extrados of the window arch and the vaulting. (Plate I.)

3. A vaulting rib, B, with cuspings. This is one of the cusped vaulting ribs of the retro-choir, as it agrees with them in size and number of cusps.

4. Various lines, C, having reference to vaulting, but as they are incomplete they cannot be identified with any part of the building.

5. Two circles, DD, one of them cusped. These are drawn from centres on the same level, and evidently refer to one thing; but as there are no circles cusped in this manner now to be seen about the building, I can scarcely say what they were intended for. Probably the parapet of the aisle, a portion of which still remains, is very ornate, and no doubt the design of each compartment was treated differently.

The other markings are too incomplete to say anything definite about them. The question is, "How came such drawings to be made on these walls?" They are undoubtedly of the same age as the building, and probably the handiwork of the master mason who built this wonderful chapel. They therefore indicate that the crypt was built before the chapel. Every one acquainted with the practical details of carrying on a building such as this knows that the full-sized drawings are made on a horizontal, scarcely ever on a vertical surface, and as these drawings are all incomplete, and do not accurately agree with any part of the structure, it is highly probable that they are mere trials or tentative drawings to solve questions in construction, that were being worked out on the floor of this crypt, which no doubt served as the drawing-board for all the work that has so long been the admiration of visitors to this interesting spot.

MONDAY, 10th February 1873.

BARRON GRAHAME, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., in the Chair.

After a Ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

R. ANGUS SMITH, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S., &c., Manchester.

WM. R. M'DIARMID, Esq., Whitehill, Dalbeattie.

JOHN SMALL, Esq., M.A., Librarian of the University, Edinburgh.

CHARLES RAMPINI, Esq., Advocate, 21 St Bernard's Crescent.

DAVID SEMPLE, Esq., Writer, Paisley.

P. H. M'KERLIE, Esq., Bayswater, London.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By the ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND, through their Secretary, Rev. JAMES GRAVES.

Specimens of Pottery from the Crannog of Ballydoo Lough, county Fermanagh, Ireland, comprising :—

Portion of Pot-like Vessel, with ear, being part of the rim and bulging

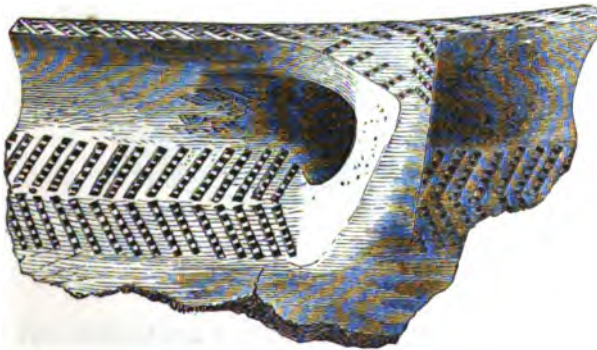


Fig. 1. Fragment of Pottery from Ballydoo Lough Crannog, †.

side of a vessel of coarse, dark-coloured, hard-baked clay. The thickness of the vessel at the brim is about half-an-inch, the top of the brim is

flattened and surmounted with obliquely impressed rows of markings with a square-ended punch applied while the clay was soft. Below the rim, on the upper part of the globular bulge of the pot, is a chevron pattern formed of rows of impressed markings similar to those on the rim. (See figure 1.)

The mode of ornamentation presents some resemblance to that on silver articles in the Cuerdale hoard, dating somewhere about the 9th century; but, on the other hand, it is not very unlike that of the early sepulchral urns usually found associated with weapons of stone. Mr



Fig. 2. Fictile vessel from Ballydoo Lough Crannog (restored).
(13 inches diameter.)

Albert Way, to whom some of this pottery was submitted, says in a note to Mr Wakeman:—

“Your samples seem to come nearest to our Anglo-Saxon, which is, of course, black or dingy brown paste, full of small grit or particles of stone, to give some greater consistence to the ill-compacted clay. There certainly appears to me to be some resemblance, though not identity, between

your ware and the vessels found so abundantly with us; but your forms are much better, the contour more graceful. The two wares are perfectly distinct, although there may be some indications that might suggest the idea that the two are not far apart as regards period. The little ears are also peculiar. The impressed ornament is not of the earliest period with us. I should not, however, ascribe these remarkable wares to a very early age; for instance, to that in which the use of bronze was prevalent. I have sought in vain for data on which to ground any reliable opinion as to the date of this very curious pottery."

Portion of the Lip of a Vessel, which in the texture of the clay, and also in its style and shape of ornament, somewhat resembles the Lewis craggans, described and figured in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 205, except that the ornamentation is bolder and more regular, consisting of short oblique lines drawn deeply in the soft clay with some pointed instrument.

Portion of a similar Vessel like the pot first mentioned, ornamented, but much smaller.

Three Fragments of the Side and part of the Bottom of three plain Vessels, not differing greatly in colour and texture of clay from the others.

A Description, with plans, of the Crannog of Ballydoo Lough, from which these relics came, is given by Mr W. F. Wakeman in the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland for 1871, vol. i., 4th series, p. 360.

(2.) By Rev. JOHN SOUTAR, Inverkeithing, through ANDREW JERVISE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Stone Ball, 3 inches diameter, of a coarse gritty felstone, with seven flat circular projecting knobs cut on its globular surface. Similar balls are described in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 102, vol. v. p. 340, and vol. iii. p. 439.

(3.) By Dr G. FITZJAMES COLBURN, Newark, New Jersey.

Arrow Head of brownish flint, 3 inches in length, found in Monmouth County, New Jersey, U.S.

(4.) By THOMAS EDMONSTON of Buness, Esq.

Two Models of Shetland "Casies," or peat-creels of straw.

(5.) By Mr J. MILNE, Photographer, Abbey House, Arbroath.

Photograph of a Bronze Alms Dish said to have belonged to the Abbey of Arbroath.

(6.) By ALBERT WAY, Esq., A.M., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Photograph of a Gold Ornament recently dug up at Chatham, apparently a bracelet, weighing over 22 oz., and having its surface worked spirally into grooves and ridges.

(7.) By Mrs SCOTT, Mansion House Road, through GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Curator of Coins.

The New Testament, Coverdale's revised edition, printed at Paris 1538, for R. Grafton & Co., London. 8vo. This edition is very rare, the copies, it is said, having been seized at Paris, and destroyed by the Inquisition.

(8.) By ARTHUR LAURENSEN, Esq., Lerwick, the Author.

Two Norse Lays : "The Home-bringing of the Hammer," &c. Translated from the Old Norse. Kirkwall, 1872. 8vo.

(9.) By the COMMITTEE OF THE SCOTT CENTENARY EXHIBITION.

Catalogue of the Exhibition held at Edinburgh in July and August 1871, on occasion of the Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of Sir Walter Scott. Edinburgh, 1872. 4to.

(10.) By DAVID SEMPLE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Poll Tax Rolls for Renfrewshire, 1695; privately printed. 1872. 8vo.
Saint Mirin : an Historical Account of Old Houses, Old Families, and Olden Times in Paisley. Paisley, 1872. 8vo.

(11.) By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE.

Lapidarium Septentrionale. Part iii. Folio. 1871.

(12.) By the ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF KENT.

Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. viii., 1872. 8vo.

There were also exhibited :—

- (1.) By the HERITORS AND KIRK-SESSION OF THE PARISH OF FORGUE,
through ALEX. MORRISON, Esq. of Bognie, F.S.A. Scot.

Silver Chalice, with the following inscription :—“GIFTIT · TO · GOD · AND ·
TO · HIS · CHVRCH · BE · IAMES · CREIGHTOVN · OF · FRENDRAVEHT · TO · THE ·
KIRK · OF · FORRIG · 1633.”

Silver Salver, with the inscription round its edge :—“GIFTIT · TO · GOD ·
AND · HIS · CHVRCH · OF · FORGUE · BY · JAMES · VISCOUNT · OF · FRENDRAVGHT ·
LORD · ORICHTONE ;” and having a Coat of Arms in the centre with the
motto, “GOD · SEND · GRACE.” (See subsequent paper by Dr Stuart.)

- (2.) By the Rev. DAVID ARNOT, D.D.

Silver Flagon of the High Church, Edinburgh, inscribed :—

“ Praefecto Ballivis Concilio et Comitatu
Edinburgi Regni Scotorum Acropolis
Georgius Montaignus nuper
Decanus Westmonasteriensis
nunc Episcopus Lincolnensis
Libens merito donavi
Anno MDCXVIII.”

Silver Chalice of the High Church, Edinburgh, inscribed :—“GIVEN BY
THE PAROCHINERS ON THE NORTH QUARTER FOR THE COMMUNION, 1643.”

- (3.) By the SENATUS ACADEMICUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN,
through Professor STRUTHERS.

Silver Chain, with Ornamented Disc and Tassel, found in 1735 under
the flooring of Marischal College Library, Aberdeen. (See subsequent com-
munication by Dr John Alexander Smith on “Ancient Silver Chains.”)

- (4.) By Sir J. NOEL PATON, Kt., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Jousting Helm, middle of Thirteenth Century.

Jousting Helm of Sir Richard Pembridge, middle of Fourteenth Century.

Jousting Helm, last quarter of Fifteenth Century.

Jousting Helm, end of Fifteenth Century.

Detailed descriptions and drawings are given in the communication by Sir J. Noel Paton on the Jousting Helm of Sir Richard Pembridge in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ANTIQUITIES NEAR LOCH ETIVE, PART III.—
CONTINUED. BY R. ANGUS SMITH, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.C.S., CORRES.
MEMB. ROYAL ACADEMY OF BAVARIA, F.S.A. SCOT.

I am again bringing before the Society the vitrified fort of Dun Macuisneachan, often called Beregonium. That latter name has no local habitation in this district; it is entirely from uncertain books. We must either consider that Boece obtained his accounts from earlier writers, or manufactured his names and the events connected with them, or that they are a confused mixture of names and dates relating to real men, places, and events. As he seems to indicate the former, it is not easy to contradict him; but even if in the West Highlands, we have no reason whatever to put Beregonium at Loch Etive. Pinkerton, in his determined way, makes Boece merely blunder (nothing very rare) in placing Beregonium in the West Highlands, and also misspelling it so as to make it like a new place. But it is quite clear that no mere mistaken abstract from Ptolemy, the geographer, can be the origin of Boece's frequent allusions to the place. The *Rerigonium* and *Περιγονιος κολπος* of Ptolemy have been generally placed in Galloway; and if we remove the Latin termination *ium*, leaving *Rerigon*, we can easily bring from it Ryan and Stanraer. Although some doubt this, they give nothing better. Camden inclines to think the mistake to be in Ptolemy or his transcribers, and puts the town in Carrick, where Bargeny is found. These two meanings have gone into various books, and every writer on the subject has heaped fancies on one or the other. One opinion, possible enough, is, that P was taken from the Greek Rho, and P would easily run into B. Traditional names keep to Uisneach, whilst Beregonium and Evonium are ignored: without more evidence, we must do the same. If Boece tells

us fables, he is guilty of something worse than a clerical error; if he has told lies of his own invention, his crime is of the very worst. It is extremely probable that his narratives are the results of a long series of errors, perversions, and imaginings. However fabulous his story may be, I purpose giving quotations from him regarding Beregonium; it is useful to see the tendency of this use of the word and its attachments. If it is all invented, we can only say that we like to see the places around which rumours have clustered. Seeing it is put in a district or at least near one called Morven, we might imagine that Beregon had something to do with Berg, and that it was some Norse translation of the Gaelic word made in Scandinavian times.

I have for convenience given the version by Hollinshead, but comparing it with the Latin original. Sometimes I have made alterations. The references will easily be made under the name of the kings, which are better guides than the pages, since there are various editions.

1st, "Fergus was no sooner come into Albion than that, in a Parliament called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might maintain themselves against their enemies."

After uniting with the Picts, they fought against the British King Coil at Doon, in Ayr, then "departed to their homes, and Fergus returned to Argile."

Here it is said the places took the names of their first governors; here also Fergus made laws for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. "He built also the castle of Beregonium, in Loughquabre, on the west side of Albion over against the Western Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of justice, that both the Albion Scots and also those of the same isles might have their access and resort thither for redress of wrongs and ending of all controversies."

After that came Feritharis, then Mainus, thirdly Doruadille, "who in the 28 years of his reign departed this world at Beregonium."

In the time of Reuther, Doualus, governor of Brigantia, who had set Doualus up, was routed by Ferquhard, son-in-law of Nothatus, "governor of Lorne and Cantire" (or gentis novantiæ princeps) "they encountered with Doual in battell, whose host, twice in one day, was put to flight near to the citie Beregonium, with the loss of eight thousand men." Brigantia is called Galloway; certainly confusing.

When the Britons rose, they drove the Picts from the Mearns and Lothians, and then passed into the Scottish kingdom, waiting the Scots at Kalender. "This discomfiture put the Scottish nation in such fear and terror, that they utterly despaired of all recovery, where contrariwise the Britons were so advanced in hope utterly to expel all aliens out of their isle, that they pursued the victory in most earnest wise; they forced Reuther and all the nobility of the Scottish nation, that was yet left alive, to flee for safeguard of their lives into the castell of Beregonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold. The Britons being satisfied of the repair of their enemies to Beregonium, environed the castell with a strong and vehement siege, until that the Scots within were constrained for want of vittels to eat each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them."

Reuther then passed to the "iles" and then to Ireland, afterwards returning to Albion by Loch Bruum, gaining a victory at Reuthirdala. In the end, "Reuther departed this world at Beregonium, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign."

Things went more quietly, and there are curious episodes about religion and Spanish philosophers and stones set up. We then find that Conanus was made governor in place of a degraded King Thereus; when the king died, Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in Parliament at Beregonium, where by common consent Josina, brother of Thereus, was chosen king."

"When Josina had reigned twenty-four years, he departed out of this world at Beregonium, being a man of very great age."

During Josina's reign, "two men of a venerable aspect, although shipwrecked, and almost naked, came to the king at Beregonium, accompanied by some of the islanders." They were said to have been Spanish, and to have been driven out of their way when going to Athens. These people told them not to worship the immortal gods in the shape of beasts and fowls, but putting aside images, to worship the living God with fire and prayers, building a temple without an image ("oportere itaque relictis simulachris viventem cœli Deum igne precariisque verbis, fano ac templo ad id constituto sine forma colere)."

Finanus followed him; after he reigned long, he went to Camelon, and died when on a visit to "the king of the Picts as then sore diseased."

"His bodie was conveyed to Beregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors."

Hollinshead leaves out the ambassadors sent from Egypt to inquire into the condition of Albion, and I suppose he is ashamed of them. Still he mentions that some improvements were taken from the Egyptians.

Durstus was disreputable, and the neighbouring princes interfered; he promised better behaviour, swearing before a statue of Diana, and invited many to a feast. "After they had entered Beregonium, and the king had received them into the citadel, an armed ambush came upon them." They were all slain. The wives of the murdered persons came to Beregonium, and aided in raising indignation; after great tumult, Durstus was slain.

Afterwards Ewin, the uncle's son of Durstus, was made king, being brought out of Pictland. He was proposed by Coranus of Argyll, who spoke strongly of the horrors of the last reign at Beregonium.

Ewin was brought from Pictland "in a kingly dress to Beregonium, amongst the acclamations of the people. The guard at Beregonium first denied him entrance; but when they saw such a crowd round the walls, and themselves unable to resist, they came into the power of Evanus," or Ewin. "Evanus was put on the royal seat on entering Beregonium, and at his order the nobles touched his hand and swore sincere obedience. He was the first of the Scottish kings who required this."

We are told that "he built a castle not far from Beregonium in a very stedy place, and called it after himself, Evanium, now commonly called Dunstafage, or Stephan's camp" (a better sounding derivation than the common one). He died at Dunstaffnage, and Gillus raised "sundry obelisks" at his grave near that place.

In the time of Gillus, Cadall, the governor of the Brigantes (Galloway, in Hollinshead), got into his hands without a struggle both Evonium (Dunstaffnage) and Beregonium. The young Ederus was taken to Epiake, in Galloway. Here we are again curiously brought into contact with the south, and almost doubt our former northern opinions. To choose a king, Cadall came "to the continent to Beregonium." He had been among the islands. Ewin married the daughter of the king of the Picts, and returned to Evonium (Dunstaffnage) with his wife.

We are told that he visited the part of his dominion which the Irish Sea surrounds, and in that journey built Inverlochtie, a place long frequented

by merchants from Spain and Gaul. In the east he built Inverness. Then he went to Epiake, where, in the market-place, he put up an image in all respects resembling his friend Cadall. Does this take us to Gallo-way? Now, considering this is said all to have happened before Julius Cæsar, perhaps enough has been extracted. If none of these people ever existed, why should we discuss their names and the names of their towns? We may find some day a clue to these relations, and meantime I have given here an account of the nature of some of the interest around this place. If we knew the place to be Beregonium it would certainly be most interesting. It may, however, be simply a name of later times like Bergion, mentioned by George Buchanan, who does not condescend to mention Beregonium, and does not believe that Boece is right in calling Evonium Dunstaffnage. Dr Samuel Ferguson tells me of a place alluded to in early poetry in Mull called Eman, perhaps Emhan, pronounced Evan. After all this what shall we do? we can only go back to the first idea and the latest tradition, and call the place Dun Macuineachan. If we could find that many of the bones were human, and had been gnawed, we might turn again towards Beregonium.

It was important to find if any traditions remained, but I can find only traces. The fort has been called, although rarely, Ban Tighearna, or the Lady's Fort; one entrance, as already mentioned, is called Sraida Bhan Tighearna, or the Lady's Street, and may point to Deirdre, who was so renowned from Loch Eive to Lochness. No names around, so far as I know, favour Boece's account; many favour the Uisneach story. (See note at end.)

Exactly opposite Bunawe, near the houses belonging to the Duranish quarry, is a point called Ruagh nan Draighean, said to mean Thorn Point. On this are some very ruinous remains near the shore; the later remains further up are not meant. The *remains*, as they are called in the chart, are apparently of irregular bothies, some naturally placed stones doing duty, and some of the walls being curved, others straight. These have been dwellings, but we can scarcely say how rude at this time; we know that stones may somewhat change their places where soil and vegetation and heavy rains are, not to speak of the inclination of the hilly ground. The tradition attached to this is, that a daughter of the king of Ulster came to live there, having run away with a son of the Earl of

Ardchattan. Now, I suppose there has been no Earl of Ardchattan, but that is of little consequence. A lady having run away from the king of Ulster and come to this place may fairly be looked on as a part of the tradition, and a very old one it is, and, when coupled with the names of places already spoken of in former papers, remarkable enough.

I mention also that the Uisneachs when hunting put up booths, which attracted the attention of at least the narrators by having three apartments,—one for sleeping in, one for cooking in, and one for eating in. One booth is alluded to as having been on an island, and the name of the island remains; it is Eilean Uisneach or Uisneachan. A chart lately published gives 'Uiseagan, but this is evidently wrong, as we may judge from the Old Statistical report, as well as present inhabitants of the district. The latter would mean the Island of Larks, a name most inappropriate, we may say absurd, since it is only a rather flat rock covered with smaller stones, and a few reeds and briers, certainly not for larks. There was a pile of stones of considerable length, but so irregular that I was not certain that it was a heap caused by the fall of any structure, although it was about the length of a couple of cowhouses of a size common enough. Mr Campbell of the Ardchattan school was with me, and assisted in considering the subject. We made passages through the heap, and believed that we came to the rough loose hollow that would be made when mere boulders are used for building; but the chief indications of residence were pieces of wood which had been cut into pegs, and various pieces of charcoal and bones. It was such a ruin as might come from "the booths of chase" divided into three. But a still better proof of continued or frequent habitation was outside the island, there being a distinct road out of it, and on to the land,—a line of stones now in ruins, leading to a good landing. It is easy still to see them out of the water; they are not entirely dry, I believe, at any time of the tide, but they were intended to support a dry walk to all appearance. The island is scarcely a hundred feet in any direction, a mere lake-dwelling, a place protected by the water on all sides, but only partially at this entrance.

Caoille Nais or Nathois.—A couple of miles from Bunawe is a beautiful wood, on a very diversified surface, with pleasant open spaces, having a fine view of Cruachan. This is called Caoille Nais, or the wood of Naisi. He was the eldest of the sons of Uisneach, and husband of Deirdri. The

person staying in one of the houses told me that he generally spelt the word Nāish, pronouncing both vowels. All these different spellings bring the one result in pronunciation.

Near it in Glen Lonnen is a place called Ardeny. A brother of Naisi was Ardan. Mr Duncan Clerk of Oban thinks the words related.

On the west of Ardnamuchnish, and about two miles from the Dun in question, is a little bay called Camus Nathois or Nais, on which stands one of the houses called Balure, about a mile from Lochnell House (ruins).

It would be difficult to prove more effectually the presence of the names connected with this story of the sons of Uisneach. In one country, Ireland especially, is the story, in Scotland the names are on the soil. We find that the two fit.

It has been objected that Dun Macsniochan cannot be said to be the fort of any family or person, because it really would mean the fort the son of Snioch, and if it were Dun Macuisneachan it would mean the fort the son of Uisneach, both which are absurdities. To get over this difficulty, Mac has been supposed to mean Machar, a field, and the rest some descriptive adjective; but the objection, although it may be founded on a correct knowledge of the language, on which I can give no opinion, is not founded on custom. Mr Skene has been satisfied apparently to regard this as a grammatical error, and introduces Mhic. However, I can, from my own observation, say that such correctness is not required in common speech where names are used. I may give another example as sufficient—Dun Mac Raoul in Loch Feochan, a small rock on the shore, and called also Ronald's Fort. Here, at least, the people do not think it an error to use the words so, and to translate them so. Another may do no harm,—the island Macniven at Bunawe. Again here the Admiralty map-maker has been guided by some untaught sound, and, without looking at the older works, has written Camus n'Fhais, or Bay of the Wilderness, a place from which the wilderness is shut out, and must always have been for ages. There is a wish to account for the absence of the *u* of Uisneach. We have the desire to shorten words of such length, but the *u* did exist in the traditional story of the hero connected with the Dun, as related to the poet Hogg, who has given a whole volume to it. His poem, Queen Hynde, is void of historical knowledge, and I know no incident that can be taken from it useful to our purpose, but we have the hero called

M'Houston, which seems some corruption of Macusanach. He afterwards found there was some error, and preferred Uiston. This use of *ton* was an error natural enough to a Saxon ear, and very improbable in the Celtic mouth, but it shows that the *ui* which we now miss in the name existed in Hogg's time in the mouths of the people, although it has left the fort. Older writers also make blunders, and the word Uislem has been used. The Ettrick Shepherd brings the hero from Ireland, but makes the lady Scottish, and his events are wilder than even those of Boece.

The same poet rather startled me by giving a quotation from a "Runic ode," beginning, "Before Berigholmi did we fight with spears," and referring that to Beregonium. In a little volume of last century I found the ode which begins so; but on looking at the Scandinavian, it was Borgunder Holme, why translated Berigholmi who can tell? Consulting the *Regesta Geographica*, in the *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, we find Borgunder Holmi as the Island of Bornholme. By degrees we get rid of nonsense.

Some people have imagined derivations of Beregonium from the Gaelic. But why trouble ourselves? I often imagine that, from some fluid character in the language, we may twist it in any way; and herein lies the reason that it produces more of the philological mania than other tongues. Still, it is well to record what one hears, and I mention "Barr Gaineamh," "height of the sands," as a derivation given by a good Celtic scholar. Under the fort there is sand on the shores. In any case I fear this derivation cannot be listened to.

Amongst other records existing in the names of places, I have received an account of one from Ireland. Mr Wm. H. Patterson tells me that a friend of his "was at Ballycastle, where an old man pointed out to him a rock to the east of the harbour, which he called Carraig-Uisneach; and on inquiring the reason of the name, he was told a story similar in most respects to the Bardic legend about the elopement and the flight to Scotland of *Gardrei*. This rock, they say, is where the clan Uisneach landed, and near which they were murdered on their return from Scotland. The old man also told my friend that *Gardrei* was subsequently confined in a castle, the remains of which are now called Dunaney Castle, in a glen close to Ballycastle. You will see that Ballycastle is directly opposite Raghery Island, to which you remember Dardrei counselled the clan Uisneach to retire, till Ireland seemed more safe for them. Can this

story, still lingering about Ballycastle, be an echo of the event itself—a very treacherous murder, and a kind of event that would be long remembered.

Here again the Uisneach names hold their ground, but not a syllable of Beregonium has yet been found about Loch Etive.

I took some time to find the Grianan Dartheil, and I at last applied to my friend Mr Hosack, who desired some persons living in Glenetive to seek the information. It came at once in a very satisfactory state.

Mr Angus Buchanan says, "I know the place full well as the Grianan, but I know nothing of its antiquities."

Mr John Gourlay of Inverharnan says, "I know the rock known by the name of Grianan; it is at the north end of Benketland, on the south side of the river (Etive, I suppose), on the march between Glenketland and Dalness. There is likewise a spot on the opposite side of the river, *i.e.*, the south, known as Deardine or Dearaduern, or something like this. Grianan is a high rock nearly perpendicular, and is seen to advantage from the road after passing Dalness on the way up the glen. As far as I can learn, Deardine is a patch or portion of the hill right opposite."

It is seen, then, that the rock was not a place for Deirdri to live upon, but one called after her, as, for example, Arthur's Seat, and in similar instances. But there is an interesting point here. In looking for one spot we have found another, so that Deirdri is named twice in the glen, whilst she is spoken of dimly but without name on the loch; and the children of Uisneach are distinctly mentioned in the island.

I trust these little gleanings will not be despised. They were got only after three years of failure, and seem to be disconnected from the story in the minds of every one. Having examined the question as books and tradition speak, I began to dig. I did this unwillingly, lest a new disturbance should be added to the many that have hidden the places from us. The first point worthy of mentioning is the wall of Dun Macuisneachan itself. It is of a height of 5 or 6 feet in some places, and vitrified outside chiefly. I touched it tenderly. Inside the vitrified wall was a regularly built wall, but without mortar. The stones were flat. The inside wall is built of pretty regular stones, the outside of rubble concreted by fire. I found this at two points, not daring to go round it all. It would seem to imply that the more refined houses were built within the less refined, the first

standing in place of our plaster, whilst more covering may have been upon it than there is now. Among the stones that fell from this built wall was a piece of a sword a few inches long, the tang for the handle, and a part of the blade. It is of iron, and presents nothing unusual in shape. It is excessively rusted, and the layers begin to separate. It is made of pieces, thin and imperfectly welded together; two pieces at least are prominently exposed by a split.



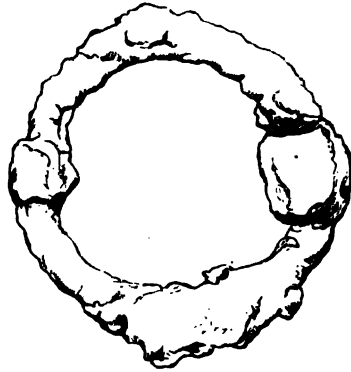
Portion of Sword found in the Vitrified Fort of Dun Macuisneachan
(6 inches in length).

This was in the northern part, looking towards the ruined Lochnell house. In the compartment enclosed by this wall, a trench about 18 inches deep brought out the rock, and nothing important was found, but the natural ground was reached. A few remains of burnt bones were also found.

The second compartment from the sea was most fully protected, and I expected to find most there, and dug it first. It showed a wall crossing the fort, and was properly a partition not vitrified. The inside of the compartment had rubbish in the middle to the depth of 7 feet. There were bones found at more than one depth, and especially at about 4 feet, with abundant pieces of charcoal. The bones were of the present breed of cattle and horses.

At the depth of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet was found an iron brooch or fibula of the ring pattern. It is very much corroded, but there is no difficulty about the intention. We have silver brooches exactly the same used at the present day. It is in principle the Tara brooch. There are two iron fibulae in the Dublin Museum. I know of no iron brooch exactly like this. (See annexed fig.) Some call it a mere ring; I think otherwise.

Amongst several delusions removed by digging, I may mention one that was very attractive in the neighbourhood. On going up to the summit of the Dun, there was a nearly level spot, which when struck gave a sound as if it were hollow below, and the treasures of the six kings, with other fairy tales, easily arose to the imagination of the boys who showed the spot. I sounded carefully and dug on the centre; when a few turfs were removed the sound changed, and a pickaxe brought us soon to the solid rock. The sound was caused entirely by the conformation of the turf, its porosity and shallow character, the blow reverberating from the rock. That removes one of the wonders from the story of the herd-boy.



Iron Brooch found in the Vitrified Fort of Dun Macuisneachan
(2½ inches diameter).

I failed hitherto in finding the long flat stones which were said to be under the soil in the field with the standing stones near the shore.

No one who sees the arrangement of the vitrified wall will doubt that it has been done on a system.

If the combustion had been that merely of the wood framing, as one may say, customary in houses built according to Cæsar in Gaul, we should expect vitrified walls in France as in Scotland, but we hear of few there.

These buildings are not all near the sea, the Hill of Noath, for example, and others, so that we do not look to sea-weed as essential.

Still further from the sea is the Bohemian one spoken of in Dr Stuart's papers.

The time of vitrification cannot be ascertained, but the time of occupation is certainly in the period when the making of iron was well known, and the building of walls in regular courses. The several apartments also speak of a period of complex life.

The connection of several with one name rather indicate the construction and vitrification to have been at the period when that family flourished, about the time of Christ according to Irish sources.

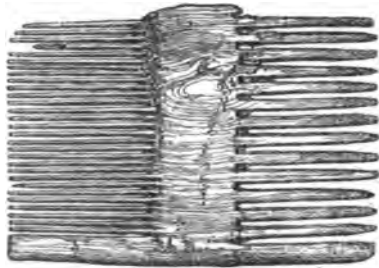
The same cutting gave a piece of mica, very bright and clear, among the rubbish, which consisted of stones broken off the wall, both vitrified and non-vitrified. There was a piece of bronze thread or wire made by hammering. This was at the depth of about half a yard, but there were no bronze instruments and no stone ones except a quern. This was of an extremely rude kind. Another, rather better, had been found near the surface a few years previously. This does not tell much as to age. Querns were used in this century within fourteen miles of Glasgow. The iron instrument marks the age best, and the iron brooch may be a mark for something.

I do not know when iron was introduced here. Dr Todd tells us that bronze swords were used by the Irish in the tenth century, but does not give his authority; and in "The wars of the Gædhill with the Gaill," the superiority of the Danish armour, offensive and defensive, is given as a reason for the success of that people. If some were bronze, certainly all were not. This is one of the many points which must be left open in the story which I am telling. It must be built up by degrees. We cannot tell who owned the brooch, whether it belonged to Deirdri (Darthula), who lived there, or one of her successors, for we cannot suppose that the house would be left quite uninhabited. The remains show a succession of occupations, judging from the different depths of the charcoal and bones.

A stone is found at Barcaldine, not at the old castle, but in the way towards the new house, in a field called Achaw, which the Rev. John Sutherland, who lives there, says is a contraction for Achadha a Chath, the Field of the Battle. Its height is 8 feet. "It stands on the left hand of the road leading to the farm-house of Auchinreir, about three-quarters

of a mile from the point at which this road leaves the main road. The stone is composed of the common slaty schist of the place, has no markings of any kind upon it, and there are no indications of any remains in the neighbourhood," *i.e.*, the immediate neighbourhood.

I shall now pass on to the lake-dwelling as I did before. A little more was exposed this year, and a third fire-place found at the north-western end. On each side, a little towards the front, was a raised seat. This was a bank of earth on which were placed flattish stones. These were the arm-chairs of the inhabitants. Amongst the rubbish outside the wall were found two or three piles, the meaning of which is not yet made out. Two broken combs made of wood were obtained, one of which is shown in the annexed woodcut.



Wooden Comb found in Lake Dwelling.

A piece of wood with a cross burnt on it caused a good deal of interest. This kind of cross is not uncommon in the older Irish forms. It is a Greek cross with crosslets, and has been imagined to indicate a time before the Latin Church entered. It is, however, an old form also in Iceland, which puts aside all this speculation, already shown by Dr Stuart to be incorrect. Indeed, we may see almost exactly the same forms in his work, "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

The present Icelandic forms show that identity required, and the purpose may be identical also; but we know that religious forms sometimes degenerate into such things as witchcraft and charms. Mr Hjaltalin

tells me that they make in Iceland exactly the same cross, but without the circle, on a piece of paper, as a charm when going to wrestle. It is put in the shoe with these words :—

“ Ginfaxi under the toe,
Gependi under the heel,
Help mé the Devil,
For I am in a strait.”

These words at the beginning may be very old, the meaning not being clear I am told. Mr Hjaltalin also refers to “Travels, by Umbra,” for several varieties of crosses like these.

It may be repeated that I did not consider the lake-dwelling to be very old.

The moss at Achnacree was cutting when I was there, and a little boy came over with a small bronze instrument, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. This article is technically described as a socketed celt of the ordinary form, with side loop. The boy said it had hurt his foot when walking amongst the peat. I offered him a little for it, but he evidently thought it was gold, and said he would ask his father. The father told him that he must give it for nothing. I mention this to show that there was no wish to deceive me, and such instruments are quite unknown to the people here. This was found when the peat had been cut down 6 feet, and on the moss alluded to by Dr Wilson as “the Black Moss,” under which remains of fires had been found. This piece of bronze looks as if cast yesterday; it is an undressed casting, the mark of the spaces between the parts of the mould being seen. It has also the yellow golden look which Mr Franks tells me is found on bronze which has lain under moss. When the district was under the Bronze age the moss was probably not here; there may have been woods or fields. This is the only very ancient implement that I know of connected with this part of the district, excepting one or two flint arrow-heads, evidently imported. In the absence of other evidence, we may believe that the cairns around were built by men, such as those who used this hollow spear-head, the chambered cairn excepted, which is considered of the Stone age; but the proof of this has lately seemed insufficient to me.

South of Loch Etive, above Connel Ferry, we come to a small brook

called Lusragan, and a few houses with a mill called Clachaleven. To the east, in a field above the road, is a large standing stone, and around it marks where others, well remembered, lately stood.

To the west of Connel Ferry there are marks of a circle, which, since I mentioned it last year, has been enclosed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Dunstaffnage. Last summer a stone cist was found on the neighbouring farm of Salmore, in a mound of some prominence. The cist was lightly esteemed, and in a few minutes the pieces were built into a wall. The place being near to the Inverary high road, it is not easy to preserve anything.

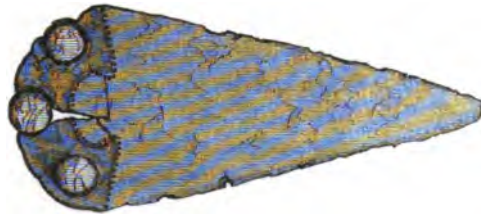
The old kirk of Kilmaronock, about two miles above Connel Ferry, is scarcely known except as a stead.

Loch Nell District.—I mentioned that there were several cairns at Cleigh, at the exit of Loch Nell; all, however, have been more or less opened. Within them, in at least three cases, there are stone cists, apparently very small for the size of the cairn. This is, of course, independent of the megalithic burying-place mentioned in a former paper.

The cist of one of these cairns appeared imperfectly opened; it had on one side a rock in its natural situation, and around there were some pieces of slate, which apparently had been used as a covering. The covering was off, and the cist filled with stones. On removing these there was found earth mixed with fragments of bone. This was removed to the depth of the stone sides, about 2 feet in all, and in one corner, which had previously been undisturbed, was found the very fine bronze dagger here figured. Here again we have the Bronze age, but not the Stone, although it is rather higher ground than the moss. There was another cairn close to this described a little to the south; both had been encircled by standing stones, and are on the farm of Molee, close to that of Dalineun. This cairn is in the neighbourhood of the megalithic double burying-place, with the graves and remains of cairn, described in an earlier paper (the *u* not sounded, but causes the *e* to take the sound of *e* in there). A name ought to be given to it better than the tomb of Cuchullin, I propose "the double cairn of Lochnell."

Going up to Cleighnamacry, by crossing the loch, we came again to the "Pillar of Diarmid," and the grave. I said in one paper that the latter was oblong, but on clearing away the brambles it appeared to be

very nearly a circle. We had the curiosity to try if any burial was there, and opened the centre, when a woman came to me with great anxiety and said, "They are lifting Diarmid;" but there was no danger,—we did not find him, or any remains whatever. We filled up the hole, and desired a farmer near to make the sod look as natural as possible. This he gladly agreed to. It was near this point that I had the pleasure of taking some walks with Mr Clerk of Oban, who took me and some



Bronze Dagger found in a Cist at Cleigh, Lochnell. (5 inches in length.)

friends up an adjoining hill to see a spot called Cleigh na h-annait. I suppose the meaning of this will be disputed. It is apparently an old burying-ground, with a rough stone wall round it, but remarkable for having two small cairns in it,—a curious meeting of heathen and Christian burial, if cairns were always heathen; but that and many other things we must leave open.

On going up this hill I was struck by hearing the farmer who came with us telling a boy to take the sheep up Ben Gulbhain.

Campbell of Islay has taken away all hope of obtaining any real spot for Diarmid's boar-hunt; and it is probable that he has taken the right view when he says (p. 54, vol. iii. of "West Highland Tales"), "I am inclined to believe that there was a real Diarmid, in whose honour poems have been composed by many bards, and sung by generations of Scottish Highlanders, and that to him the attributes of some mythic Celtic Diarmid have been attributed." Every story becomes mythic when the fancies or reasonings of men are applied to it long, and the mythic quality is no proof of non-existence, but only of age and the play of tradition.

We are shown a place at Lochgilp where the boar-hunt took place, and when we come to Lochnell we see another, and on reading Campbell's tales we are told of several. It is, however, interesting to put these together, and Mr Clerk of Oban has collected a number of names relating to the stories, which, so far as I know, make this quite the chief centre of the romance,—we must scarcely say tradition.

We have Diarmid's Pillar so called; and then we have—

Tobair nam bas toll, the well of the hollow hand or leaky palms, where the water was obtained which might have restored Diarmid. The version here is, that the water was to be brought in the hands of the most beautiful women; but the road was rough and the day warm, so that it was all lost before it reached the sick man.

The hill *Tor an Tuirc*, the boar's hill. Boar, not in the plural, Mr Clerk says; so that it was one particular boar.

Ault ath-Carmaig. Grainne was said to be a daughter of Cormac; but then St Cormac was famous in Argyle; a choice of derivation.

Drum na Shealg. The hunting height.

Sron t-Soillear. The nose of the light, the exit from the wood.

Mr Clerk tells me also of Bar Guillein, after, he thinks, Cuchullin, who seems to be remembered in the district. Gaelic scholars may decide.

According to Mr Clerk of Oban, there are some other interesting names in Glenlonnen; Dee-Choimhead, a remarkable hill, as if a protective god, and also called the protector of Muckairn—Sior Choimhead Muckairn. Another one is Sron-na-Teinne, the point of fire. For Gaelic scholars.

I met with some instances of tradition, pure so far as I know, which would easily account for any story coming from Ireland. The boatman who took me and some friends to Loch Feochan showed us the house on the banks of that loch in which he had lived till lately, on land which his fathers are said to have possessed for nine hundred years. The story is, that they came from Connaught, and that some of the earliest were doctors, and mixed herbs in holes still existing in the stones. His name is M'Connochy.

Another place where Diarmid killed his boar, and where there is a pillar called Diarmid's, is in Glenlyon. I met a resident from that place who informed me that the family left Ireland and settled for a while on the west of Loch Fine, and then moved up Glenorchy and on to Glen

Lyon, joining then the Macnabs at Loch Tay. I mention this to show how strong tradition is here and in neighbouring places still.

Stone Cist at (Aville) Athbhile.—At Athbhile, about a mile above Cleinamacry in Glenlonnen, there is a bridge over the stream; as the name shows, there was a ford there. A short distance from the bridge, and in a field higher up the stream, is a mound which appears to be natural. Mr Clerk showed me there a flat stone; it was discovered not long ago, and when found by Donald Sinclair, care was taken not to disturb it as his son avers. Here was an opportunity, then, of seeing a place for the very first time opened up. It is now called Kist a Chlachan. The slab was raised with great difficulty by the strength of at least three pairs of strong arms, but the hole was found nearly filled with earth, and in the earth the skeletons of several rabbits. There was a small hole in the side under the slab affording entrance. The cist was 36 inches long, 20 broad, and 25 deep. There were small pieces of bone found mingled with the earth, but merely such as weighed only a few grains. The mound was probably an eskar to begin with, a deposit caused by earth and floods. Double burials, one over another, are not found in these regions, to account for the height. Although nothing was found artificial, the spot itself is interesting, and the cist large and important looking.

Eskars.—This word (Irish, *Eiscir*, a ridge, I suppose), seems lately to have come into use by geologists, meaning a heap of gravel or earth left in a meaningless way, apparently by water or by glaciers. In the Highlands of Scotland such heaps may be found, I suppose, in millions. Perhaps even Glenorchy alone, such of it as stretches from Dalmally to Tyndrum, might count many thousands. It is wholly composed of small heaps, and, looking down on it when the sun makes the suitable shadows, we see it is everywhere spotted with them. They are all rounded at the top, all sharpness of form being removed. In the Lament of Deirdri, as translated by Mr Skene, Glenorchy is called "The straight glen of smooth ridges." The man that spoke of the smooth ridges must have seen Glenorchy, although why "the straight glen" I do not know.

Of course, the shape of these eskars is not always the same, especially if interfered with by a stream, and curves are not at all uncommon. Mr Clerk showed me one in Glenlonnen with three curves; another had, I

think, four, but it was cut in two; and single curves are very common. It would require little imagination to form a serpent out of such; but any artificial formation of serpent I have not seen, and it is a pity to introduce new fancies into a region already sufficiently perplexed by them.

The shapes of certain animals occur frequently. The lion couchant, it has been remarked, is known in many countries. The serpentine windings of an eskar need not be wondered at, any more than we wonder at the windings of a Meander or the river Forth.

It is very important, in considering the folk-lore of a place, to look at the natural appearances. When staying at Lochanabeich, near Connel Ferry, and looking at every spot around, listening also to every tale, however absurd, I met some instances of this which may be profitably brought forward.

At Achnaba, already mentioned, there is a large hollow of about two acres, so far as I remember, but it may be much less; it has somewhat the form of the lair of a cow, as if in lying down a gigantic animal had left its impression. This is a sufficient reason for calling the place Achnaba, "the field of the cows." (I called it in a former paper "the field of the cow," using the singular, but in all these translations of names I seek help, and perhaps do not quite put down what I am told.) If we go a little farther on, keeping to the same farm, there is a deep round hollow in the same bed of gravel. It is not easy to see how it was formed by nature, but there it is, and the idea has suggested itself that it is a cheese mould, which it resembles. Of course, we at once see that only the two-acre cow could give milk for this half-acre cheese. But who took care of these cows and made the cheese? Here we have only to look to the side of the river Awe, and we see the Cailleach Bheur sitting on the top of a hill—the old woman Beur, who easily came down, since she crossed Loch Etive with one stride.

Now there may be something mythological in Cailleach Bheur, and she may be a representative of lightning sitting on the tops of the hills, but it is clear that we require no abstruse ideas to explain the cow and the cheese form; these are only plays of the fancy, and the story is as little believed by the teller as stories are by their inventors at present. Let us see anything like a living form of gigantic size on a hill, and it is natural to give it the gigantic work to do,—the cow and the cheese follow. The

flooding of the valley, forming Lochawe, by Beur's neglect, is perhaps an old geological fancy.

As I shall now probably leave altogether this subject, I am inclined to add a remark made to me by Mr Duncan Clerk of Oban, to whom I am indebted for many kindnesses. After saying that the word Glenetive means the Glen of Storms or the Wild Glen, according to the Highland Society's Dictionary and the "New Statistical Account," he says—"It occurred to me that it was somewhat different from the names of other glens, inasmuch as they are generally made to point out some physical feature, such as in Glenkinlas, Glenlonnen, and others. The scenery about Glenetive is wild and grand in the extreme, and the names might have been chosen to be in character. Larigoilt, on the top of it, is the Pass of Terror; and Ben-t-shaimhlaidh, beside it, is the Mountain of Ghosts; Buachaille Etive, the larger and less, are the guardians of the glen personified."

There is one spot on the south point of the island of Kerrara, and opposite to Dunolly, which seems to be worthy of attention. It is called Cleigh Bhearnaig. Mr Clerk took me to it, and said that he believed the name was given from a remarkable gap or notch in the rock near. It certainly looks as if cut down with a great hatchet, after which the sides separated somewhat. The word Bearn means gap or notch.

There is an enclosure of above an acre in extent. There is a wall round about it, in ruins certainly, but sufficiently high to render climbing over the stones in some places necessary. Within it are several oblong remains of houses of a size common enough, and at the extreme north there is a solid part consisting of a building raised above a projecting rock a few feet high. The ruin gives the idea of a tower for watching. At the south-west corner there is a collection of stones, so placed as to suggest a grave, but the enclosure has been a place for living in, and not for the dead. I have not information to guide me farther in this, than to say that it has the character of the dwellings of the ecclesiastical communities mentioned by Dr Petrie as being a number of small buildings surrounded by a wall. The little remaining solid portion may have been a rude round tower. However, I fear we removed some of the little which remained. It may be known to others if an ecclesiastical establishment ever existed at this place; and if not known, it will be an interesting subject of inquiry.

The Rev. Arch. Clerk of Kilmallie says that there was a large circle in the immediate neighbourhood (of Dun Macuisneachan), out of which a large two-storied house there was built. The place was called "Clagh nan Druidhneach," "the Druid's burying-place." It was denounced and satirised by a local bard called James Shaw, in a song still well known in the district. I was told that some of the stones were taken from the fort.

P.S.—I had gone so far, when I was informed by Thomas G. Rylands, Esq., Highfields, near Warrington, that by a study of Ptolemy's Geography he had discovered certain fundamental errors of calculation, two especially, which accounted for the remarkable eastward direction given to Caledonia. After making the corrections, Mr Rylands finds that the north is made consistent with the south of Britain, and many stations turn out to be remarkably well placed. Rather against general opinion, however, the Novantes, by his calculation, are put in Skye, and the Berigonium of Ptolemy at the north of the island. This certainly brings it nearer to the Beregonium of Boece, and we do not know what strange novelties may come out of the new discovery. However, I cannot alter anything I have said, as in any case, if there were a Beregonium, there is no reason whatever for putting it at Loch Etive, unless we attach importance to the words of Boece, who puts it near Evonium, which he calls Dunstaffnage. But Evonium is itself questionable enough; and even if it were from Eman, it is not on that account the same as Dunstaffnage. Again, Boece's Berigonium is before Deirdri, and Ptolemy speaks of later times. Dates, however, are poor arguments here, where facts themselves require first to have a proved existence. Certainly Pliny (b. iv. cap. 30) mentions Bergos as in the west; some have supposed him to mean Barra, and others have gone east to Bergen for it.

II.

NOTICE OF TWO ANCIENT SILVER CHALICES AND A SILVER BASIN BELONGING TO THE PARISH OF FORGUE, ABERDEENSHIRE, AND OF THEIR DONORS, JAMES CRICHTON OF FRENDRAUGHT, AND HIS SON, THE VISCOUNT FRENDRAUGHT. BY JOHN STUART, ESQ., LL.D., SECRETARY.

In the volume of the Proceedings of the Society for 1862 will be found a paper by Mr Sanderson containing much useful information on the subject of communion vessels and the manufacture of Scottish plate, from the year 1682, when the Hall marks began to be recorded.

From the frequent occurrence in our early records of the names of Scottish goldsmiths, and from the lists of silver vessels and ornaments, not merely for ecclesiastical but for domestic use, which still remain in the archives of Scottish families, it seems likely that many examples of early native art are yet to be found, if we had satisfactory means of distinguishing their work from that of the foreign artists who undoubtedly supplied a considerable part of the early demand. With this view, it may at some other time be an object worthy of the Society to invite an exhibition of early plate.

In the meantime, I am desirous of drawing attention to three chalices and two patens, belonging to the parish of Fergie, which, through the good offices of Mr Morrison of Bognie, are now exhibited to the meeting. Of the smaller chalice little has to be said. It appears to be of a date considerably earlier than the others, and may have been in use before the Reformation. The letters I V F are stamped upon it, and on the paten belonging to it, with great rudeness, and on the latter are the letters I H S, with a cross engraved in a later style.

On both the larger chalices is the inscription:—"GIFTIT · TO · GOD · AND · TO · HIS · CHURCH · BE · JAMES · CRICHTOVN · OF · FRENDRAVHT · TO · THE · KIRK · OF · FORRIG · 1633."

The basin or paten, which measures 13 inches in diameter, is of beaten silver, having the Crichton Arms engraved on a boss in the centre, with the following inscription round the edge:—"GLFITIT · TO ·

GOD · AND · HIS · CHURCH · OF · FORGUE · BY · JAMES · VISOOUNT · OF · FRENDRAGHT · LORD · CRICHTONE.”

The letters T K on the chalices are the initials of an Edinburgh silversmith of the day, while the letter G is that of the tradesman by whom the plate was assayed. The marks on the basin indicate its being of foreign work.

It appears from the facts collected by Mr Sanderson that the chalices presented by James Crichton are of a form which was very usual about the date of the Forgue ones, but did not continue long in use. It had little in common with the shape of the earlier vessels used for communion purposes, and little to recommend it in any way, the cup being broad and shallow like that of a champagne glass.

By the kindness of the Rev. Dr Arnot, the meeting will have the opportunity of examining the beautiful flagon presented to the church of St Giles by Montagu, Bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1618, and a chalice given to that church by the parishioners in 1643, and a basin.

While the Forgue chalices are interesting as specimens of the ecclesiastical taste of the day, they are perhaps more interesting from their probable connection with a striking incident in the history of their donor.

I ought to say that the parish of Forgue lies on the north border of Aberdeenshire, where it joins the neighbouring county of Banff. In early records it appears as the parish of Ferindrach or Ferendracht, but for more than five centuries it has borne its present name of Forgue.

In early times the Barony of Fren draught belonged to a knightly family who took their name from the lands. One of them, Duncan of Ferindrach, knight, swore fealty and homage to King Edward I. of England on his subjugation of Scotland in the year 1296.

Soon after this the lands passed into the family of Fraser of Forglen, by the marriage of Margaret of Ferendracht to James Fraser, for which a dispensation by Pope John XXII. was granted in the year 1322, and about the end of the 14th century the heiress of that house carried the lands by marriage to her husband, Alexander Dunbar, second son of Alexander Dunbar, Earl of Murray. James Dunbar, who succeeded to the Earldom of Murray, was the issue of that marriage; and Janet Dunbar, his eldest daughter and one of his co-heiresses, having taken to her husband James, second Lord Crichton, conferred on him the

barony of Frendraught, and thus founded the family of Crichton of Frendraught.

This fair inheritance descended in the ordinary line of succession for two centuries, when the lands came to be vested in James Crichton, the donor of the chalice to the church of Forgue. In the year 1641, James, the son of this baron, was advanced to the dignity of the peerage by the title of the Viscount Frendraught. This took place during the lifetime of his father, to whom it is said the honour was offered in the first place, but who declined it, preferring, according to Spalding, to be called Laird, but who as a Covenanter may have been actuated by other motives in his refusal.

To understand the position of the Laird of Frendraught, and the motives which may have induced him to present the chalice at the period referred to, it is necessary to give some account of a fearful tragedy which happened in his family, and which, both at the time when it occurred, and to the end of his days, exercised a most powerful effect on his fortunes. It has been recorded with picturesque detail by John Spalding of Aberdeen, a contemporary annalist, and also by Sir Robert Gordon in his History of the Earldom of Sutherland. I quote as follows from the "Memorials" of the former:—

"ANNO 1630.—Vpone the first of Januar 1630 the laird of Frendraucht and his complices fell in ane trubill with Williame Gordon of Rothimay and his complices, quhair the said Williame wes vnhappely slayne being a gallant gentilman, and on Frendracht's syde wes slayne George Gordoun brother to James Gordon of Lesmoir, and diuers vtheris wes hurt on both sydis. The Marques of Huntly and sum weil set freindis satlit this feid, and Frendracht ordanit to pay to the ladie relict of Rothimay and the barnes fyftie thousand merkis in compositioun of the slauchter, quhilk as wes said wes treulie payit.

"Vpone the 27 of September 1630, the laird of Frendraucht haueing in his company Robert Crichtoun of Condlan, and James Leslie sone to Johne Leslie of Petcaple, with sum vther seruitouris, the said Robert efter sum speiches suddantlie schootis the said James Leslie throw the arme. Thay war partit and he convoyit to Petcaple, and the vther Frendracht schot out of his company. Like as Frendracht vpone Tuysday the 5 of October had confeirens with the Erll of Morray in

Elgyne, and vpon the morne he cam to the Bog of Geicht, quhair the Marques maid him welcum. Petcaple lovpis on about 30 hors in jak and speir (heiring of Frendrachtis being in the Bog) vpon Thursday the 7 of October and cam to the Marques, who befor his cuming had discretlie directit Frendracht to confer with his lady. Petcaple haulie complaines of the hurt his sone had gottin in Frendracht's company, and rashlie avowit to be revengit befor he went home. The Marques alledgit Frendracht had done no wrong, and dissuadit him fra ony trouble. Petcapill displeissit with the Marques suddantlie went to hors, and that samen day rydis his awin wayis leaveng Frendracht behind him in the Bog, to whom the Marques reveillit what confeirens was betuixt him and Petcaple, and held him all that nicht, and wold not let him go. Vpone the morne being Frydday and aucht of October, the Marques causit Frendracht to brakfast lovinglie and kyndlie. Efter brakfast the Marques directis his deir sone Johne Viscount of Aboyne with sum servandis to convoy Frendracht home to his awin hous, if Petcaple wes laid for him be the way. Johne Gordoun eldest sone to the lait slayne laird of Rothimay hapnit to be in the Bog, who wold go also with Aboyne. Thay ryde but inteirruptioun to the place of Frendracht, or sicht of Petcaple be the way. Aboyne tuke his leive from the laird, bot vpon no conditioun he and his ladie wold not suffer him to go nor none that wes with him that nicht, bot earnestlie vrgit him (thogh aganes his will) to byd. Thay war weill intertaynde, souppit mirrellie, and to bed went joyfullie. The Viscount wes laid in ane bed in the old tower (going af of the hall) and standing vpon volt, quhairin thair wes ane round hoill devysit of old just vnder Aboyne's bed. Robert Gordoun borne in Sutherland his seruitour, and English Will his page, wes both laid besyde him in the samen chalmer. The laird of Rothimay with sum seruandis besyde him wes laid in ane vpper chalmer just above Aboyne's chalmer, and in ane vther rounge aboue that chalmer wes laid George Chalmer of Noth and George Gordoun, ane vther of the Viscountis seruandis, with quhom also wes laid capitene Rollok then in Frendrachtis awin company. Thus all being at rest, about midnight that dolorous towr tuke fyre in so suddant and furious maner, yea and in ane clap, that this noble Viscount, the laird of Rothimay, English Will, Collein Ivat, ane vther of Aboyne's

seruitouris and vther tua being six in number, war cruellie brynt and tormentit to the death but help or releif, the laird of Frendracht, his ladie, and haill household looking on without moveing or sturring to deliuer thame fra the furie of this feirfull fyre as wes reportit.

“ Robert Gordoun, callit Sutherland Robert, being in the Viscountis chalmer escaipit this fyre with his lyf. George Chalmer and Capitane Rollok being in the third rounge escaipit also this fyre, and as wes said Aboyne might haue saiffit him self also if he had gone out of durris, quhilk he wold not do bot suddantlie ran wp stairis to Rothimayis chalmer, and walknit him to rys; and as he is walkning him the tumber passage and lofting of the chalmer haistellie takis fyre, so that none of them could wyn down stairis agane: so they turnit to ane wyndo luing to the clois quhair thay piteouslie cryit help, help, mony tymes, for Godis caus. The laird and the ladie with thair seruandis all seing and heiring this wofull crying bot maid no help nor maner of helping, whiche thay perceaving, thay cryit often tymes mercie at Godis handis for thair synis, syne claspit in vther armes and cheirfullie sufferit this cruell martyrdome. Thus deit this noble Viscount, of singular expectation, Rothimay a brave youth, and the rest be this dulefull fyre neuer aneuche to be deplorit, to the gryt greife and sorrow of thair kyn, freindis, parentis, and haill countrie people, especiallie to the noble Marques, who for his goodwill gat this rewaird. No man can expres the dolour of him and his lady, nor yit the greif of the Viscountis awin deir ladie when it cam to hir eiris, whiche scho keipit to hir deing day, disdayning euer the company of man thairefter in the rest of hir lifytyme, following the love of the turtle dow.

“ Howsone the Marques gettis word, he directis sum freindis to tak wp thair ashes and brynt boneis quhilk thay culd get, and as thay culd be kend to put ilkanes asses and bones in a kist, being six kistis in the haill, which with gryte sorrow and cair wes had to the kirk of Garnullie, and thair bureit. In the meintyme the Marques writtis to the Lord Gordoun then duelling in Innerniss of this accident. It is reportit that vpone the morne efter this wofull fyre, the ladie Frendracht, dochter to the Erll of Sutherland, and neir cousing to the Marques, buskit in ane white plaid and ryding on ane small nag, haueing ane boy leiding hir hors without ony mae in hir company: In this pitifull maner scho

cam weiping and morning to the Bog desyring entrie to speik with my lord, bot this wes refusit, so scho returnit bak to her awin hous the same get scho cam comfortles."

The popular suspicion was strongly fastened on the Laird and Lady of Frendraught as the authors of the tragedy, and more especially the latter. We discover from many different sources the strength and diffusion of the feeling, and one of the most striking references to it I may here quote from a contemporary writer. The Lady of Frendraught, being a Roman Catholic, employed as chaplain a priest of that church, who resided in the house of Frendraught at the time of the fire. On the death, in 1637, of the one then in her service, she applied to Father Blackhall, a missionary priest in the north, to come and fill his place. In his "Brief Narration," which contains a wonderful picture of society in Aberdeenshire in the time of Charles I., he thus refers to the circumstance:—

"My Ladye of Frendret did send to me praying to me to be her ordinary, for the frere whom she had before, was lately departed from this lyffe. I refused absolutely to see her, because she was suspected to be guiltye of the death of my lord of Aboyne, who seaven yeares before was burned in the Castel of Frendret. Whether she be guiltye or not God knoweth, for that hath not been yet discovered."

It was probably under the knowledge of the suspicions current in the country that the Laird presented himself before the Privy Council of Scotland, and declared "that immediatly after that unhappie and deplorable burning of his toure of Fendraucht, and of some noble persons and others being thairin, committed be some devilish and odious plotters agains him, his lyfe and estate, in the moneth of October last, the said James Crichton of Fendraucht, pairtlie out of greese of mynde, and pairtlie for ischewing anie sudden violence whilk might be used agains him, he addrest himselfe to the brugh of Perth, where George, Viscount of Dupline, Lord High Chancellor of this kingdome, had his residence; and there humbelie desired the said Lord Chancellor to protect him from all violence and injustice, and to tak diligent tryell of the committers of the said haynous fact, and offered himselfe readie to undergoe whatsoever tryell for anie appearance of suspicioun which might arise agains him, upon the occasioun of the burning of the persons foirsaid

within his towra. Likeas, now, the said laird of Fendraucht being cum to the burgh of Edinburgh with the said Lord Chancellor, and being personallie present this day in counsell, he repeated his former declaratioun in presence of the whole counsell, and humbelie intreated thame to make diligent search and inquisitioun for trying the actours and committers of the said odious and treasonable fact, and for his awin part, to testifie his innocencie, was content to act himselfe; lykeas, be thir presents he actit himselfe to compear personallie before the saids lords whenever he sall be lawfullie charged to that effect, under the pane of ane hundreth merkes. The lords of secreit counsell having heard the relatioun of James Crichtoun of Fendraucht . . . finds and declares, that the said Lord Chancellor in his accepting of the said James Crichtoun in his hous and companie, and keeping him till the day that the said James exhibite himselfe personallie before the counsell, did good and acceptable service to his Majestie, and conformed himselfe to the credite and deutie of his place and office in everie point."

After various proceedings, the Privy Council, on the 4th of April, granted commision to William Earl Marischal, Patrick Bishop of Aberdeen, John Bishop of Murray, James Lord Ogilvie, David Lord Carnegie, and Colonel Harie Bruce, "or anie three of them conjunctlie, to make their address to the Place of Fendraucht, . . . and there to sight and view the house of Fendraucht, and to consider the frame and structure thereof, and how and by what means the fyre was raised within the same, and if the fyre was accidentall or done of sett purpose by the hand of man, and if there be any possibility or probability that the fire could have been raised be anie persons without the house, and that they report their proceedings."

On the 20th of April the Commissioners gave in the following report:—

"At Fendraucht the threttene day of Aprile, the yeere of God jaj vi° and threttie ane yeeres, we under subscriyvers, for obedience of ane ordinance and warrand gevin be the lords of his Majesteis most honourable priue counsell, made our addresse to the hous of Fendraucht, and considerit the frame and structure thairof, for tryell how and be what meanes the fire wes raised within the same, and whether the fire wes accidentall, or done of sett purpose be the hand of man; and if

there be ane possibilitie or probabilitie that the fire could have been raised be ane persoun without the hous, and having seghted and examined the samine, with ane voice and consent resolwes as followes : We finde be all likliehoode, that the fire whairby the hous wes brunt wes first raised in ane vault, whairin we find evidences of fire in thrie sundrie parts ; one at the farthest end thairof, another towards the middes, and the third on that gavell which is harde by the hole that is under the bed whiche wes in the chamber above. Your good lordships will excuse us if we determine not concerning the fire, whether it wes accidental or of sett purpose by the hand of man ; onelie this muche it seemeth probable unto us, after consideratioun of the frame of the hous, and uther circumstances, that no hand without could have raised the fire without aide from within. In witnes whairof, we have subscribed thir presents with our hands: Patrick Aberdene, John bishop of Moray, James Lord Ogilvy, Carnegy, Henry Brus."

The Council seem to have been at a loss how to act, but, according to Spalding, the Commissioners' Report had the effect of strengthening the suspicions of the Marquis of Huntly against the Laird as "the foyer and devyser of the fyre."

In June 1632 the Council received the King's directions, "that for better cleering of the truthe touching the burning of the toure of Frendraught, and that justice may be executed upon whosoever sould be found guiltie of so odious and barbarous a fact in the most exemplarie maner, they wold imploy one day in every week upon the exact tryell of the samen."

John Meldrum, a former servant of Crichton's, had been imprisoned on suspicion at an early period, and at last was brought to trial before the Lords of Justiciary. The following extract from the dittay will explain the grounds on which he was tried :—

"That the said Johne Meldrum, in the moneth of September, in the yeir of God 1630 yeires, haifeing, under silence and clud of nycht, come to the medow of Frendraucht, pertening heritabillie to Sir James Creichtoun of Frendraucht ; furth of the quhilk medow he thiftuouslie staw, reft, and away tuik, be way of maisterfull thift and stouthrief, tua gray stanned horssis pertening to the said James Creichtoun of Frendraucht, quhilk war than pasturand thairintill, worth the sowme of twa thou-

sand merkis money, and war transported and cayreid away be him in maist thiftious manner.

“The said Johne Meldrum being conscious to himself of his guiltines thairof, and to eschew his lauchfull tryell and deserved puneishment for the samyn, directit and imployit diuerss persones his freindis, and weill willeris to the said laird of Frendraucht, quha in his name earnestlie delt with him to desist and leave af that rigorous and violent cours, offering to mak restitutioun bak againe to him of the saidis horsais, upone conditioun that he wald give satisfacioun to the said John Meldrum for the loiss and skaith whilk he had sustened in the said laird of Frendrauchts service. The whilk conditioun being altogidder refusiet be the said laird of Frendraucht, the said Johne Meldrum thairupon consavet ane deidlie haitrent, malice, and ilwill agains the said laird of Frendraucht; and in all pairtis and companies quhair he come, oppinlie, with grit attestationes, thrainted and avowed that he sould be about with Frendraucht, and that it could coist ane of thame twa thair lyves, and to do to him ane evill turne besyde. And for this effect the said Johnne Meldrum presentlie tuik his recours to James Grant callit of Carroun, ane notorious soirnar, outlaw, theif, and rebell, keipit dyuerss trystis and meittingis with him, craveing the said James his assistance and help, to be avendget upone the said laird of Frendraucht, and in end the said Johne Meldrum haifing convocat to himself certane brokin men, all fugitiues and rebellis, his complices and associattis, upone the aucht day of October, the yeir of God jai vic and threttie yeiris under silence and clud of nicht, betwix twelff hours at nycht and twa eftir mydnycht, come to the place of Frendraucht, and supponeing and certanely persuading himself that the said James Creichtoun of Frendraucht wes lying within the tour of Frendraucht, quhilk was the only strenth and strongest pairt of the said place, the said Johne Meldrum with his saidis complices, in maist tresonabill and feirfull maner, haifing brocht with thame ane hudge quantitie of powder, pik, brumstone, flax, and uther combustabill uatter provydit be thame for the purpois, pat and convoyit the samyn in and throw the slittis and stones of the volt of the said grit tour of Frendraucht, weill knawin and foirseine be the said Johne Meldrum, quha with his complices at that instant tyme fyret the samyn pik, powder, brumstone, flax, and uther combustable

matter above writtin, at dyurse places of the said volt ; quhilk being sua fyret and kindlet, did violentlie flie to ane hoill in the heid of the said volt and tak vent thairat, the whilk hoill of the said volt and vent thairof being perfytlie knawin to the said John Meldrum, be reasons he had remained in houshald with the said laird of Fren draucht, as his douiefull servand, within the said hous and place of Fren draucht for ane lang tyme of befoir, and knew and was previe to all the secreitis of the said house. And the said volt being sua fyret, the haill tour and houssis quhairof immediatly thaireftir, being foure hous hight, in les space than ane hour tuik fyre in the deid hour of the night, and was in maist tresonabill, horrible, and lamentable maner brunt, blawin up, and consumet, be occasioun quhairof, the said umquhile Johnne Vicount of Melgum, and umquhile Johnne Gordoun of Rothiemay, with some of thair servandis and followeris (quha the day befoir had come to the said place of Fren draucht, in companie of the said laird of Fren draucht to his said place, to guaird and defend him frome the violence and invasioun of his unfreindis, and quha that nycht lay and remanit within the said tour of Fren draucht) war in that deid hour of the nycht, being sleiping in thair beddis securelie for the tyme within the said tour, maist crewellie, be the violence of the said fyre, without ony help or remeid, brunt to deid within the said tour be the fyre kindlet and arrysing furth of the said volt, and the samyn toure, with the haill houssis thairof, togidder with the saids umquhile Johnne Vicount of Melgum, Johnne Gordoun of Rothiemay, with thair servandis, than being in thair companie thairintill, was pitiefullie brunt, consumed, and destroyed be the said Johnne Meldrum and his complices, and he is airt and pairt of the burning thairof, and of the cruell and execrable daith and destructioun of the honorabill persones foirsaidis, and thair servandis above nominat, than being within the said tour." (Spalding, vol. i. pp. 390, 391.)

The Justiciary records contain a full report of the trial, the evidence of the witnesses, the pleas of counsel, and the verdict, which declared him to be "guiltie, culpable, and convict of the foreknowledge, counsell, airt and pairt, of the treasonable burning of the said house of Fren draught." His sentence was to be hanged and dismembered ; and after his conviction, the Lords of Privy Council appointed the Bishops of Dunblane and Ross, Mr Harry Rollock, Mr David Mitchell, and

Mr Thomas Sydserf, to enter into conference with the prisoner, and to use their "best travallis and endeavours for bringing him to a confession of the truth of that foull cryme whairwyth he is convict, and discharging the jayler of the tolbuith, his servants, and all others quhatsomever to be present at the said conference, requiring the said Bishop of Dunblane to tak the faithfull promise of the rest of his brethren not to reveale what the said John shall delyver unto them."

While John Meldrum was thus executed as having fired the tower from the outside, John Tosh, the master of household of the Laird of Fren-draught, was tried as the author of the calamity, on the opposite and inconsistent theory that he had set fire to the building from the inside, and without any suggestion of complicity between the two prisoners.

The dittay against John Tosh sets forth his having been in company with his master at the Bog of Gight at the time of his visit to the Marquis of Huntly already referred to, and having heard the marquis's purpose to send an escort with the laird on his return home to Fren-draught, consisting of his eldest son, the Laird of Rothiemay, and other friends:—

"And the samyn overtour being hard and knawin to the said Johne Tosche, quha than was present attending upoun the said laird of Fren-draucht his maister, and how that his said maister was to stay that nycht with our said trustie coussing and weil belouit counsellor, George Marqueis of Huntly, &c., and nocht to cum away from him quhill the morene thaireftir, being the aucht day of the said moneth of October, the said Johne Tosche thairupoun dispatchet himself away fra the said place of the Boig vpon the said sevint day of October, and with all post dilligence came to his maisters hous of Fren-draucht, quhair at his cumming thairto he acquentit the ladie Fren-draucht of his maisters stay with our said trustie coussing that nycht, and how that upoun the moirne thairefter he was to cum hame with the convoy, guaird, and companie of the said Lord Vicount of Melgwme, sone to our said trustie coussing, and remanent persones foirsaidis; Lykas, according to the said repourt and declaratioun sua maid be him, the said laird of Fren-draucht his maister haiveing remanet all that nycht with our said trustie coussing, weil and louinglie interteinet be him and his ladie within thair said place of the Boig, quha upone the moirne thaireftir tuik his guid nycht or fairweill, being the aucht day of the said monethe of October,

and coming to the convoy and companie of the said Lord Vicount of Melgwme, the said laird of Rothiemay, and thair servandis and followeris above writtin, saillie hame to the said laird of Frendraucht, the said John Vicount of Melgwme being altogidder resolut at that time, with his companie, to return bak to his father to the said place of the Boig, nawayis myndfull to have stayit in Frendraucht that nycht; he, nochtwithstanding thair of, be the earnest requeist, prayer, and intercessioun of the said laird of Frendraucht and his ladie, was forcet and compellit, in loveing and freindlie forme as appeirit, togidder with his hail companie above writtin, to stay and abyde with thame that nycht, and to soupe with thame; and eftir supper thair beddis being prepairit and maid within the chalmeris of the toure of the said place, and thay in peaceable and maist loveing maner as appeirit, being laid down to rest thameselfis that nicht thairintill, expecting na evill, harme, iniurie, or violent deid to be offerit or done to thame, or any of thame, within that place. It is of veritie that the said Johnne Tosche, far by the harmeless and innocent persones foirsaidis thair expectatioun, upon quhat devilische instigatioun altogidder unknawin to thame, or to the saidis complineris freindis and kyndismen, in the deid hour of the nycht, when all the peple and servandis of the place war at rest, past secretlie to ane chalmer quhair ane Thomas Joss, ane of his fellow seruandis within the said place, and ane keiper of the key of the voltis, quhilkis war directlie benethe the toure quhairin the said Lord Vicount of Melgwme, the said laird of Rothiemay, and thare cumpanie lay, and secretly staw and brocht away with him the key out of the said Thomas Joss his breikis and poutches thair of, the said Thomas being in his bed and fast on sleip for the time; and thairefter came to the said volt or laiche seller benethe the said toure, and haueing openet the dure thair of, and drawin in and convoyit thairintill certane faggottis, tymber, powder, flax, and other combustable mater, provydit and prepared by him, he the said Johnne Tosche, out of ane devilische and disperat humour, fyret the samyn; be the fyreing and kyndleing quhair of, the said loftingis above the said volt, speciallie the chalmeris of the said toure quhairin the said Lord Vicount, the laird of Rothiemay, and thair servandis and followeris, to the number of sax persones, Cristiane suillis, war maist petiefullie brunt to deid. And sua the said toure of Frendraucht was maist barbarouslie fyret and

brunt, and the noble man, gentillmen, and utheris foirsaidis, than being thairintill, maist lamentable brunt quik to deid be the said Johnne Tosche; and he is airt and pairt thairof comittit upon set purpois, provision, precogitat malice, and foirthocht fellonie, in hie and manieifest contempt of our auctoritie and lawis, and in evill example of utheris to commit the lyk, gif the samyn be sufferit to pas over unexamplarie puneist." (Spalding, vol. i. pp. 386, 387.)

The counsel for Tosh objected to the dittay being remitted to the knowledge of an assize, "because the pannel being examinat upon the poyntis of the said dittay be the lordis of his Majesteis Previe Counsell and thair commissioneris, and being put to the tortour thairupon, first to the tortour of the buittis upone the first day of Apryle, 1631, next to the tortour of the pilliewinkis upon the twelf day of July last, the pannall, in all his suffering of bayth the saids tortours, constantly, and upon his grit aith, declairit that he was nawayis the burner of the hous of Fren draucht, actor nor accessorie thairto, or that he knew ony thing anent the burning of the said hous, nor quha war the dooaris thairof; be the quhilk constant denyall, suorne and reiterat in the first and repeited tortour, the pannell hes sufficiently purget the suspitiones, presumptiones, and all probatioun quhatsuevir agains him of the said fact and deid quhairupone he wes tortouret, and hes evacnat the samyn, approvein his innocencie of the said fact and deid quhairupon he wes tortouret, and evincet the treuth thairof, in respect quhairof he aucht to be assoilzeit."

This plea, after much learned discussion, was sustained; and although many additional arguments were adduced by Sir Thomas Hope, the Lord Advocate, against it, the justices-depute and assessors adhered to their former deliverance, so that Tosh was discharged, being ordained, however, in the words of Spalding, "to sit at the cross of Edinburgh with the myter on his heid be the space of twa houris for some speiches he had spoken agains the Marquess."

After the fire of Fren draucht the fortunes of the powerful house of Crichton seemed to wane, and in no long time were extinguished. This partly arose from the adherence of the family to the cause of the Stuarts, and partly from the plunderings, wastings, lawsuits, and fines which resulted from the fire.

The viscount accompanied the Marquis of Montrose in the last ill-fated

expedition which he undertook for his royal master. He was with him at Inverharrow when Montrose was defeated by the Covenanting troops in 1650, and the great general's horse having been killed under him, he was remounted on that of the viscount. Lewis, the last viscount, went to France to join King James VII., for which he was attainted, and he died without issue in 1698.

James, the second viscount, was married to Christian Urquhart, daughter of Sir Alexander Urquhart of Cromarty. After his death, that lady was married to George Morrison of Bognie, whose descendant now enjoys the barony of Frendraught.

While the Laird of Frendraught was thus plunged into many and various troubles, his lady was not without her trials, as will appear from the following summary of the dealings of the Presbytery of Strathbogie with her (Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, pp. xvi-xviii):—

“After the fire, the Laird of Frendraucht removed to his House of Kinnairdie, the lofty remains of which are perched on a knoll rising abruptly from a haugh on the winding banks of the Deveron, about three miles north-east from Frendraucht. The Lady Frendraucht was at this house when she seems to have refused to attend the parish church of Aberherder. Her husband was, however, an active member of the covenanting forces in the district. After a conference with her minister, we find that the lady ‘had resorted to the church, and promised so to continue.’ She and her daughter, Elizabeth, are then summoned for not hearing the word, and not communicating. After a long interval, she is ordered ‘to be dealt with,’ and her final answer obtained. It was then reported, that ‘she promised to heir the word,’ and an endeavour is to be made to get her ‘to keip familie vorship vith the rest of the familie.’ She again promises to hear the word, and the General Assembly is consulted about her. In answer to another attempt, she says ‘she will go to the church to which her husband goes, which is not within the bounds of the Presbytery of Strathbogie.’ She gets liberty from the Commissioners of the General Assembly to be ‘ane ordinary hearer at Forge for a time.’ In 1647, it appears that the House of Frendraucht had been re-edified, and that she lived there ‘for the most part.’ In 1648, she is ordained to be summoned for ‘her avowed papistrie, receipt of masse priests,’ &c. In 1649, several steps are taken towards her

excommunication. She, however, afterwards attends family worship in her own family, and 'promised to heir sermon.' In September 1649 it is stated by the minister of Abercherder, that she had heard three sermons, 'and so, as he thought, shoe intended to continow ane hearer.' The Presbytery were not satisfied with her hearing a sermon 'now and then,' and thought not 'that kynd of heiring satisfactorie,' and therefore required her to subscribe the Covenant, to show her conformity with the Kirk of Scotland; this she refused to do, and her excommunication was ordered to be pronounced. In October 1649, she promised 'to tak the Covenant and consider the same.' In March 1650, we find that she was 'ane ordinare heirer of the vord, but vas not fullie satisfied for subscryving the Covenant, and that the Laird mad vther ministeris to conferr with her.' In June of the same year, she subscribed the Solemne League and Covenant, and abjured 'Poprie in the seuerall headis and articles in the National Covenant.' About a year afterwards, it would appear that another conference took place, at which she satisfied the brethren; but, in 1652, we find that she had 'relapsed to poperie,' and that 'she was obstinate, declaring himself to be none of our church, and shee would neither hear herselfe nor suffer hir daughters to heare; professing, moreover, that shoe repented of her former repentance more than of anie sinne that euer shoe committed, and thought shoe had reason to repent all hir lyfe time for subscryving the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant.' She was ordered to be excommunicated."

I ought to state that when James Crichton presented the chalices in question to the church of Forgue, he at the same time made a like gift to the neighbouring parishes of Inverkeithny and Aberchirder, where parts of his great estate were situated. The chalices thus presented bear inscriptions similar to those of the parish of Forgue.

When the circumstances of the laird's position are considered, and the period of his sufferings, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the tragedy of the fire may have prompted him to the act, while his elevation to the peerage may have led the son to follow the example of his father when he presented the massive basin inscribed with his arms.

I may state, in conclusion, that the popular feelings on the burning of the tower of Frendraught were enshrined in a ballad which, as I can

bear witness, continued to be sung till late times in the district to a plaintive tune. According to Motherwell,¹ the ballad "has a high degree of poetic merit, and probably was written at the time by an eye-witness of the event which it records; for there is a horrid vivacity of colouring and circumstantial minuteness in the description of the agonies of the unhappy sufferers which none but a spectator could have given."

On this last point a passage from Blakhall's Breiffe Narrative may be quoted. When speaking of the Viscount Melgum and the Laird of Rothiemay, he says :—

"They two being at a window, and whilst their legges were burning, they did sing together 'Te Deum,' which ended, they did tell at the window that their legges being consoomed even to their knees, recommending their soules to God, and the nobleman his wyffe and chylde first to God and then to the king; the baron was not married. They not able to stand longer, fell downe among the fire and were not heard to say any more." (P. 125.)

The fire of Frendraught is the subject of two poems by Arthur Johnstone under the following titles :—"Querela Sophiæ Hayæ Dominae de Melgein de morte mariti," and "De Joanne Gordonio vice-comite de Melgein et Joanne Gordonio de Rothiemay in arce Frendriaca combustis."²

The version of the ballad by Motherwell is as follows :—

"The eighteenth of October,
A dismal tale to hear,
How good Lord John and Rothiemay
Was both burnt in the fire.

"When steeds was saddled and well bridled
And ready for to ride,
Then out came her and false Frendraught,
Inviting them to bide.

"Said—'Stay this night until we sup,
The morn until we dine;
'Twill be a token of good 'greement
'Twixt your good Lord and mine.'

¹ Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern, p. 161. Glasgow, 1827.

² Delit. Poet. Scot. vol. i. pp. 585, 587.

“ ‘ We'll turn again,' said good Lord John—
‘ But no,' said Rothiemay—
‘ My steed's trapan'd, my bridle's broken,
I fear the day I'm fey.' ”

“ When mass was sung, and bells was rung,
And all men bound for bed,
Then good Lord John and Rothiemay
In one chamber was laid. ”

“ They had not long cast off their cloaths,
And were but now asleep—
When the weary smoke began to rise,
Likewise the scorching heat. ”

“ ‘ O waken, waken, Rothiemay,
O waken, brother dear,
And turn you to our Saviour,
There is strong treason here.' ”

“ When they were dressed in their cloaths,
And ready for to boun ;
The doors and windows was all secur'd
The roof tree burning down. ”

“ He did him to the wire-window
As fast as he could gang—
Says—‘ Wae to the hands put in the stancheons,
For out we'll never win.' ”

“ When he stood at the wire-window,
Most doleful to be seen,
He did espy her, Lady Frendraught,
Who stood upon the green. ”

“ Cried—‘ Mercy, mercy, Lady Frendraught,
Will ye not sink with sin ?
For first your husband killed my father,
And now you burn his son.' ”

“ O then out spoke her, Lady Frendraught,
And loudly did she cry—
‘ It were great pity for good Lord John,
But none for Rothiemay.
But the keys are casten in the deep draw well,
Ye cannot get away.’

“ While he stood in this dreadful plight,
Most piteous to be seen,
There called out his servant Gordon,
As he had frantic been.

“ ‘ O loup, O loup, my dear master,
O loup and come to me ;
I ll catch you in my arms two,
One foot I will not flee.

“ ‘ O loup, O loup, my dear master,
O loup and come away,
I ll catch you in my arms two,
But Rothiemay may lie.

“ ‘ The fish shall never swim in the flood,
Nor corn grow through the clay,
Nor the fiercest fire that ever was kindled,
Twin me and Rothiemay.’

“ ‘ But I cannot loup, I cannot come,
I cannot win to thee ;
My head’s fast in the wire-window,
My feet burning from me.

“ ‘ My eyes are seething in my head,
My flesh roasting also,
My bowels are boiling with my blood,
Is not that a woeful woe ?

“ ‘ Take here the rings from my white fingers,
That are so long and small,
And give them to my Lady fair,
Where she sits in her hall.

“ ‘So I cannot loup, I cannot come,
I cannot loup to thee—
My earthly part is all consumed,
My spirit but speaks to thee.’

“ ‘Wringing her hands, tearing her hair,
His Lady she was seen,
And thus addressed his servant Gordon,
Where he stood on the green.

“ ‘O was be to you, George Gordon,
An ill death may you die,
So safe and sound as you stand there,
And my Lord bereaved from me.’

“ ‘I bad him loup, I bad him come,
I bad him loup to me,
I’d catch him in my arms two,
A foot I should not flee.

“ ‘He threw me the rings from his white fingers,
Which were so long and small,
To give to you his Lady fair,
Where you sat in your hall.’

“ ‘Sophia Hay, Sophia Hay,
O bonny Sophia was her name—
Her waiting maid put on her cloaths,
But I wat she tore them off again.

“ ‘And aft she cried, ‘Ohon ! alas, alas,
A sair heart’s ill to win ;
I wan a sair heart when I married him,
And the day it’s well return’d again.’”

MONDAY, 10th March 1873.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

After a ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows of the Society, viz. :—

JAMES A. BEVERIDGE of Brucefield, Esq., Belgrave Crescent.

THOMAS HILL JAMIESON, Esq., Keeper of the Advocates' Library.

JAMES TAYLOR, D.D., Secretary to the Board of Education for Scotland.

JOHN VEITCH, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, University of Glasgow.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

- (1.) By Right Hon. LORD ELIBANK, through Lieut.-Col. G. G. FRANCIS, F.S.A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Urn of peculiarly elegant shape and ornamentation, found in a cist at Darnhall, as noticed in the previous communication by Colonel Francis, at p. 43 of this volume. It is of a brownish clay, fine in texture, and having almost the regularity and finish of a wheel-made vessel. The ornamentation with which the whole surface is covered consists of a series of impressions as of the teeth of a comb disposed in horizontal or vertical bands or panels, and in some parts crossed so as to present a reticulated appearance. A band of triangular or lozenge-shaped indentations surrounds the upper part, and the slightly bulging middle of the vessel is ornamented with panel-like spaces, alternately raised and depressed. Indented vases of almost similar form, but of a different quality of ware, were manufactured by the Roman potters at Durobrivæ, in Northamptonshire. No other specimen of an indented urn from a British burial is known.

- (2.) By Admiral Sir ALEXANDER MILNE, K.C.B., Inveresk.

A Sarcophagus of white marble, 29 inches long by 10 inches broad, and 17 inches in height. The top is roof-shaped, with projections at the corners, but otherwise it is quite plain. It was brought from the Necropolis at Rhodes.

- (3.) By J. C. WINTOUR, Esq., A.R.S.A., through JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Two Globular Beads of Spar, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, found in a grave at Strathfleet, Sutherlandshire.

- (4.) By PETER MILLER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Small Punches, found in taking down the Old Scottish Mint. They are 4 inches in length. One is intended for striking the figure of a crown, another of a shield, and the third of two small shields placed side by side.

A Medal in lead or pewter, bearing on the obverse the portrait of Pope Gregory, with the inscription "GREGORIUS XIII. PONT. MAX. AN. I." On the reverse, a heap of slain, over whom a destroying angel with sword in hand chases a number of fugitives, and the legend "VGONOTORUM STRAGES, 1572." This Medal was also found in the Old Mint.

- (5.) By MR JAMES MILNE, Photographer, Abbey House, Arbroath.

Photographs of Two Carved Door Panels of Oak in the Abbot's House, Arbroath, one showing a finely executed figure of an angel, the other filled with a boldly cut stem of the Scotch thistle.

- (6.) By MR JAMES VEACOCK, 41 Rose Street.

A Bracelet formed of Boars' Tusks, strung together side by side, formerly worn by the higher classes in Owhyhee. A similar bracelet is in the Museum among the relics of Captain Cook's expedition, which were presented in July 1781 by Sir John Pringle, Bart., having been given to him by Captain Cook's widow.

- (7.) By W. M. WYLIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

An example of Phalæreæ and other Antiquities from Switzerland. 4to. Pp. 13.

- (8.) By THOMAS STRATTON, M.D., the Author.

The Affinity between the Hebrew Language and the Celtic, &c. Third Edition. 8vo. 1872.

(9.) By the Right Hon. the MASTER of the ROLLs.

The Black Book of the Admiralty. Vol. I. Imp. 8vo. 1873.

Calendar of State Papers. Ireland, 1603-1606. Imp. 8vo. 1873.

(10.) By WILLIAM FALCONER, M.D., the Author.

Dissertation on St Paul's Voyage from Casarea to Puteoli. Third Edition. 8vo. 1872.

(11.) By the SOCIÉTÉ POLYMATHIQUE DE MORBIHAN.

Bulletin de la Société Polymathique de Morbihan, Premier Semestre. 8vo. 1872.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES ON THE NAMES OF CLAN CHATTAN, AND WHAT THEY INDICATE. BY JOHN MACPHERSON, M.D. COMMUNICATED BY JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., SECRETARY.

It being a sort of standing joke in Scotland, that though most people have heard of the Clan Chattan, no man knoweth who its members are, I thought that I might attempt to elucidate the subject, by making a list of such names belonging to the clan, as I might come across, in reading a few works of some authority on such matters. This paper, accordingly, consists mainly of an enumeration of names, which is very dry indeed, but which nevertheless is interesting, in so far as it serves to point to differences of origin of different branches of the clan.

It is probably a mistake on my part to have entered on the subject at all, having had no access to any new sources of information, and being in complete ignorance of the Gaelic language; but a non-intelligent acquaintance with that speech has hitherto served rather to obscure such subjects; and I have the advantage, I venture to hope, of being indifferent to points of Highland honour, I should say—pride. "Tros Tyriusve" are alike to me. It is possible, that the mere statement of facts that I am about to make may induce those who are really competent to examine the

subject, free from family prepossessions, and not putting too much faith in Highland traditions, which have ever varied, or in Celtic etymologies, which often prove to be Will-o'-the-Wisps.

There has always been something peculiar in the relations of the clans forming the confederation of Clan Chattan. There was no other confederation of exactly similar character. Its history is on this account the more worth investigating, and also because there have always been more or less distinct traditions of its not having originally occupied the ground which it possessed at the end of the 16th century. On the details of its internal organisation I shall not attempt to enter.

The old or mythical history of the Clan Chattan is, that a certain number of the Catti of Tacitus (whose name survives in Hesse Cassel and Katzenellenbogen, where there has been the same play on the word Cat as in Scotland) were driven from central Germany to the Lower Rhine; that from thence they reached the north of Scotland, which, after them, was called Caithness; that they gradually moved south, and called the next district Sutherland; that, finally, they moved further south and settled in Inverness-shire,—“Those who came not into Badenoch (in Inverness-shire) went by other names.” It need scarcely be said, that there is not a shade of historical evidence for all this; nor need I point out the improbability, or rather the impossibility, of its being true. Only two deductions from the story are of any importance,—that Caithness was inhabited by a people called Cati or Catho, and that there has been a notion from an early date that the Clan Catan has not always been in Inverness-shire.

But if there is no evidence of Clan Catan having reached its present seat from Caithness, I think that we shall find a very strong presumption, that at least a portion of it, and the one from which it derived its name, reached it from a very opposite quarter.

I. *Name Chattan.*—No one is now satisfied with the derivation of Clan Chatain, or of the word Catan, from the Catti, or from the men of Sutherland or Caithness, or from the wild cat of the country, or from the word Catanach, believed to mean Bellicosus. The following is the opinion now generally entertained as to the origin of the name:—

The confederation of clans known under the name of Clan Chattan,

also as Clan na Càit, seems to have been a particularly ghostly one, and derives its name from a saint, either born in Bute or a Dalriad. If he was a Dalriad, there are very insignificant traces of him in Ireland. He lived and died a saint or devotee in Bute. Of himself personally little is known.¹ His exact chronology is not precisely ascertained, but Colgan assigns the year 560 as that of his death. Only one place in Ireland is named after him, the townland of Kilkatan, near Londonderry; but he gave his name to Kilchattan and Suid Chattan in Bute. He seems to have been a very insular saint, for he had churches named after him in the islands of Colonsay, Gigha, and Liung. It is possible that the church of St Keith in Isle Taransay, near Bernera, in the outer Hebrides, may have been dedicated to him. His remains rested either in Bute, or at Scarinch in the island of Lewis. The traces of him on the mainland are scanty. He is found as patron saint of Abbey Ruthven, not far from Perth; and the priory of Ardhattan in Argyleshire was doubtless named after him, for it is found, curiously, that another name for that place is Bal Maodan; and Maodan is believed to have been father of St Katan.

Further north than Ardhattan the name does not seem to have travelled; and I am assured that the names Corieviechattan in Glen Fine, and Achatriechattan in Glencoe, have no reference to him. The name is not to be found, as affixed to any place within the limits occupied by Clan Chattan in later times.

In earlier days it was extremely common to assume the name of a patron saint, and to call yourself his servant or gillie; and just as we have among Mussulmans, Gulam Mahomed, servant of Mahomed, so we have among the Celts, Gilliechattan, Gilbride, &c., devotees of St Katan, St Bridget. There is, therefore, no reasonable doubt that the great name of Gilliechattan Mor was derived from the saint of Bute.

The date when the Clan Chattan was first spoken of is uncertain. The earliest official document which recognises the Clan Chattan is of the year 1467; but Bower, writing about 1440, speaks of Clan Chatan in 1429. Bellenden, in his translation of Boece, about 1525, is the first

¹ He is said to have written meditations, secret confessions, and his apparitions. I am sorry to say there was some scandal about his sister, who became the mother of Saint Blane.

who talks of the clan having been at the Inches in Perth in 1396, and this probably owing to a misprint in the original, of Clan Quhete for Quhele. He calls it Quhattan.

II. *Names of Individuals of the Clan.*—Our first inquiry shall be, of what names the clan consisted.

The following list of names, selected from official documents and from lists of Inverness people, gives a fair specimen of the names probably prevailing among members of the Clan Catan up to the end of the 16th century.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1219. Gilpatrick MacEwen. | 1502. Donald Macgilliduff. |
| 1234. Ferquhar, son of Seth. | do. Macficar. |
| Gillespie MacCombi. | Angus MacThomas. |
| 1338. Skaith, son of Ferquhar. | 1502. Angus Macquean. |
| 1375. Sha Mackintosh. | Ferquhar MacGillespie. |
| 1382. Ferquhar Mackintosh. | Findlay MacGillipatrick. |
| 1396. Sha, son of Ferquhar. | Andro Makayn. |
| Christie, son of John. | John Maceyrmit (Diarmid ?). |
| 1404. Gilmore Macphail. | Donald Macandro. |
| Bride, son of Christie. | 1517. M'Kinla. |
| Eugene, do. | Williamson. |
| John Brideson. | Glass. |
| Paul Duff. | 1522. Duncan Makfarson (Isa). |
| Gilbride Macmichael. | 1538. Duncan MacBehan. |
| 1427. Gillies, son of Farquhar. | 1543. M'Gillies. |
| John Clericus. | M'Quean. |
| Ferquhar, son of Bean. | M'Ane. |
| Duncan Macgilliglass. | M'Fail. |
| MacGillamie. | M'Wlmoir. |
| Gillespie, son of Christie. | Williamson. |
| Duncan, son of Ferquhar. | M'Thomas. |
| Finla Carpentarius. | M'Farson. |
| 1436. William MacWilliam. | M'Robert. |
| 1446. Alexander Makfarson. | 1546. William Mackintosh of Dun- |
| Robert Farquharson. | achten. |
| Alexander Farquharson. | 1591. Andro Macferson of Cluny. |
| 1481. Bean Makfarson. | William M'Ane. |
| 1485. Donald Macgilliereoch. | M'Farquhar. |
| 1495. Thomas Fersynsone. | M'Thomas. |

III. *Its Sixteen Races.*—Our next inquiry shall be, how those or similar names were aggregated.

It has usually been considered that Clan Chatan consisted of sixteen tribes or septs: in all such questions much depends on the family prepossession of the compiler of the list, much also on the period to which the list refers. What is a mere family in one generation becomes a sept in another one; or what may have been a great name may dwindle down into insignificance, like the names of MacHeth or MacWilliam. The following is a sort of average list of the chief septs belonging to Clan Catan some 250 years ago, arranged without much reference to their relative importance:—

Shaw.	Davidson.	Macbean.	MacIntyre.
Mackintosh.	Clarke.	MacCombie.	MacWilliam.
Farquharson.	Macphail.	MacQueen.	Clan Tarel.
Macpherson.	Macgillivray.	Gillies.	Tarlich.
			Ay.

Other smaller names, very distinctly connected with the clan, are—

Macgillicatan.	Gilliepatrick.	Gow.	Some Fergussons.
Cattenach.	Gilliekyrich.	Tosh.	Spalding?
Gillespie.	Macgillonie.	Macduff.	MacPhies.
Gilchrist.	Gillienaom.	Macewen.	Mackinla.
Gillanders.	Gillieglass.	Macgilligin. ¹	M'Ritchies ¹
Gillelmoire.		Ceann Tighe.	MacLauchlans.

Names sometimes assigned to Clan Catan:—

Camerons.	Sutherlands.	Keiths.	Dallas.
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We may next glance at the geographical distribution of some of these names.

IV. *Their Geographical Position.*—At the close of the sixteenth century, and in the early part of the seventeenth, the country, from close to the town of Inverness up to Strathnairn and Strathdearn, and as high as Rothiemurcus, was occupied by the Macintoshes and their immediate followers,

¹ I have never met with any mention of the MacRitchies as belonging to any clan, but they use Clan Chattan arms. Macgilligin is doubtful, but is a clerical name.

—such as the Macgillivrays, Macbeans, Clan Tarel, Clan Tarlich, and others.

In and about Rothiemurcus was the ancient race of Shaw, holding a less prominent position than it seems to have done at an earlier date.

Coterminous in one sense, though separated by a mountain range, and closely allied in blood to Shaws and Mackintoshes, was the powerful race of Farquharson, occupying Braemar, Glengairn, and the upper portion of the valley of the Dee. They seem to have migrated from Spey-side several generations before the date commonly assigned. To the south were associated with them the Clan Thomas in Glenshee and Glen Isla, some of the Perthshire Fergussons, and the Mackintoshes of Glentilt,—all Perthshire clans, but bordering on Inverness, Aberdeen, and Forfarshire; possibly also the MacHardies, numerous in the heights of Aberdeenshire.

Returning to the valley of the Spey, we find, west of the Shaws, and especially occupying the district of Badenoch, the race of the Macphersons, with the allied tribes of Gillies and Gillespie, and the clan Dhai or Davidson, already in a state of decay.

A small race, called the Macewens, appears to have hung on loosely to the Macphersons or to the Shaws.

Further west, and separated by other clans from the Macphersons, near Loch Arkeg, lay certain lands held by the Mackintoshes. But the occupants of these lands, the Camerons, did not bear the more usual Clan Catan names.

The Clan Catan thus occupied nearly the whole of the eastern half of Inverness-shire, considerable portions of the higher districts of Aberdeen and of Perth shire, and smaller ones of Forfar, Banffshire, and Nairn.

But the phrase Clan Catan, as used in Scotch Acts of Parliament, seems to have designated chiefly the clans close to Inverness, and bordering on Nairn and Moray. Mackintosh and Clan Catan were synonymous. The only Macintoshes ever enumerated separately are the Mackintoshes of Glen Tilt; while Farquharsons, Clan Thomas, and Macfersons are often mentioned apart from Clan Catan,—not that Mackintosh did not always assert, and was not usually able to maintain the *hegemony* of the whole race, the Macphersons alone proving recalcitrant, when they found themselves strong enough to venture to be so. The Clan Catan are represented by

Leslie in the middle of the sixteenth century as occupying Badenoch and various other districts, Mackintosh being dux of their tribe.¹

The geographical disposition of the clan is thus summed up in Blæv's "Theatrum Orbis" in 1646:—"Tribus hæc Cathansea appellata per Strathnairnam sparsa est, etiamque in multis inferioris Moraviæ locis. Badenoch etiam ea propago tenet, sub nomine tribus Pharsanson, etiamque Marriam superiorem sub nomine filiorum Ferchardi."

V. *Names according to their Great Divisions.*—The threefold division, which it will be convenient to follow in the distribution of the names of various septs may possibly appear, to those familiar with the subject, to be somewhat arbitrary. The synonyms have sometimes arisen from phonetic causes, sometimes from mistakes of transcribers or of printers, and often from ignorance of the Gaelic language.

1. *Strathnairn and Portions of Lower Moray.*

	Synonyms.
Mackintosh,	Maktoth, Cattanach, Clan Quhattan.
Macgillivray,	Gilbride, Brideson, Brison, Macgillireoch?
Mac Bean,	Behan, Betahan.
Mac Queen,	Reabhain.
Mac Phail,	Paul.
Mac Gilliglass,	Glass.
Mac Gilliduff	Duff, Macduff.
Mac Phee,	Mac Duffie.
Mac in Tyre,	Filius, Carpentarii.
Shaw,	Sheagh, Mac Shegh, Sheaghan, Sha, Ha, Hay, Kay?
Clan Tarlich,	(Macleans?) nearly destroyed at Petty, 1452.
Clan Taral,	This and preceding clan supposed to have something to do with the name of Harold.
Clan Ai,	Extant in 1609.
Mac Lachlan,	A few.
Clan Tighe,	In Glenbeg.
Gow,	Gowie, Smith, Clan Mhic Ghobhair.

¹ Whether the Mackintoshes had anything to do with the Thanes of Fife, or were primarily Shaws, and in either case connected with the east of Scotland, or the first of them was Toschach of Clan Chattan, as their name (which, I understand, means, not thane, but military leader, the second person in a clan), if not assumed, seems to denote, they came eventually to represent Clan Catan, as it was known in connec

2. *Inhabiting Upper Marr, or near it.*

Synonyms.

Farquharson,	Macfarquhar, Clan Fiunla or Iaunla, or Yan Lea ? (1340).
M'Combie,	Mac Omsie, Mac Thomas.
Fergusson,	In Perthshire.
Mackintoshes,	In Athol.
Shaw,	Some on Deeside.

3. *Inhabiting Badenoch.*

Macpherson,	Phersynson, Macinparson, ¹ Clan Muriach, Vurich M'Urich, M'Currie, Currie, Murdochson.
Gillespie,	Servant of bishop.
Gillies,	Jesus, servat of Elias. This and preceding very com- mon names of individuals.
M'Clerich,	Clarke, filius Clerici.
M'Ewan,	M'Niven, M'Aodhan.
Gow,	Smith, Sliochd Ghoba Chruim.
Mac William,	Williamson, Mac Gillamie.
M'Catton,	Very rare.
M'Gilkyrich,	"Once a strong people in Badenoch."

Some Macgilonyes, Macgillipatricks, and M'Gilchrists might probably be added to this third list.

These seem to have been Mac Lachlans scattered near Inverness, in Badenoch, and in Lochaber.

VI. *Their Feuds.*—I had hoped that an examination of the feuds, either between Clan Chattan and other races, or its internal feuds, might throw some light on the relations of the different sections of the clan, but I have been disappointed in this.

It is agreed on all hands, that during the first half of the fourteenth century Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and Shaws, or the races who afterwards went by those names, were all engaged in uprooting the Comyns. It is further agreed, that Clan Chattan was from about the year 1350 involved in sanguinary contests with the Clan Cameron, defeating them with the eastern and more civilised districts. "Lachlan MacLachlan vich Donald MacEandhu, *alias* Clan Chattan."

¹ Other names of this class, well known, are Mac Nabb, son of Abbot; Mac Taggart, son of priest; Mac Vicar. The Macpherson story of a papal bull to enable the parson of Kingusie to marry in those days is in no way required.

at Invernahavon (the date usually assigned for which battle is 1370), and about 1428 having destroyed almost the whole race.

About 1380 Mackintosh was plundering on Deeside as low as Birse. Later fights of the Mackintoshes or Clan Chattan with the Munroes, or their more immediate neighbours in Nairnshire, have no particular bearing on the divisions of the clan. The "hornings" of Macphersons or Mackintoshes, for attacks on low-country neighbours, throw no light on our subject.

Coming next to internal feuds, there is no very early evidence of fighting between Macphersons and Mackintoshes, or those who afterwards passed by those names.

As to the battle of the Inches, I shall only say that it seems now to be generally admitted, that the fight was between two tribes of Clan Chattan. Some elementary facts must be admitted by all, and are not open to doubt, as that the fight originated from Clan Quhwel having taken a part in the raid on Angus, that the combatants were Clan Quhwill and Clan Ha, under the leaders Sha Beg, son of Farquhar, and Christe Johnson. For 125 years after the fight history merely mentions that there was a feud between two kindred tribes, and that the representatives of Government, the Earl of Crawford, acting on the side of Angus, and the Earl of Moray, acting on the side of the districts of the Spey, thought it expedient to foment the quarrel, with a view to the best men of the two tribes slaughtering each other. That the supremacy of one clan over another was to be determined by the fight, is first suggested by Boece about 1520.

Whoever may have been the combatants at Perth, it is generally admitted that the Macphersons refused to co-operate with the Mackintoshes at Invernahavon, and they certainly took the opposite side to them, when they held out the castle of Ruthven in 1595.

The Macphersons and Shaws seem at one time to have had constant fights with a robber sept of the same race, Mac Ewen. There were fights as well as great amity between the Macphersons and Shaws, but these are matters rather of tradition than of history.

Crossing the Grampians, Miss Taylor's Traditions of Braemar attribute to feuds in Glen Tilt the settlement of some families in Braemar in the fourteenth century. Somewhat later, she says, there were feuds for

two generations between the Shaws of Rothiemurcus and their cousins the Farquharsons on Deeside, terminating in the slaughter of Shaw on the Quoich. The cis-Grampian tribes had quarrels among themselves, which culminated in the final fight of the Farquharsons of Broughdearg and of the M'Combies in Forfar in 1673.

All this shows that, besides the existence of a rivalry from an early date between Mackintoshes and Macphersons, no degree of consanguinity prevented feuds between the various tribes of Clan Chattan.

The children of St Cathan, "the hail kin of Clan Chattan," were by no means a happy and united family.

VII. *Difference of Race shown by Genealogies.*—The threefold division appears to have been the result partly of geographical position and partly of difference of race. There is every reason to suppose that the Mackintoshes and Shaws and Farquharsons were of the same stock. They all asserted a common origin. The two last appear to have used the name of Mackintosh almost indiscriminately with their own names, and the tie between the Shaws and the Farquharsons was a particularly close one; but the intervention of the highest range of mountains in Scotland necessarily led to the separation of the first from the second division of Clan Chattan.

With the third it was different. The families of Mackintosh and of Macpherson have always proclaimed that there was a radical distinction between them. If we take their genealogies as laid down by the rival families in "Douglas' Baronage," we find these names:—

Mackintosh.

Shaw.

Do.

Ferquhar.

William.

Sha.

Ferquhar.

Angus (1291 married daughter of Dougal Phaol).

William.

Lauchlan.

Ferquhar.

Macpherson.

Gillichattan More.

Diarmid.

Gillichattan.

Diarmid.

Muriach.

Gillichattan.

Dougal Phaol.

Ewan.

Kenneth.

Duncan.

Donald Phaol.

These genealogies (and I do not enter into questions as to their value) are extremely different. The Macpherson one at once points to Argyleshire and to the patron saint. Probably every one of the names, up to Dougal Phaul, is an Argyleshire or a western one. If we take the other genealogy from Skene's MS., [which makes the two races the same before the date of Gillichattan More, and which supports the clerical character of the race, by giving the name of Diarmid the Reader, and its western origin, by the name of Nachton,] the contrast is not so striking; but a Donald of Cowal is set down in the Macpherson genealogy,—a point of importance, as indicating a migration of the tribe,—Cowal being, as is well known, the furthest part of Argyleshire from Inverness-shire, and immediately opposite the island of Bute.

The difference of race has been already partly indicated by the great preponderance of clerical names among the Macphersons and the septa most closely allied to them.¹

VIII. *Clan Chattan Names beyond their usual Limits.*—We may pursue the subject further by endeavouring to trace some of the Clan Chattan names as they occur in districts not occupied by the clan at later periods.

What may be considered the most characteristic name of the Clan, Macgillichattan, was only feebly represented by M'Cattan or Cattenach in Inverness-shire. For the name itself we have to look to the home of St Katan.

The name of Macgillichattan remained, according to the author of the Macpherson MS. of 1660, common in Bute up to that day. There are numerous traces of the names of *Clan Chattan* septa in Bute, Arran, Argyleshire, and the *Western Islands*. Undoubtedly the most curious of all is that at Kilbride in Arran, which existed as lately as the beginning of last century. The custody of a certain green stone of miraculous virtue, called Baul Muloy, or stone of Molinga, a saint "who was chaplain to Macdonald of the Isles," was the peculiar privilege of a little family called "Clan Chattans, followers of the Lord of the Isles."²

¹ Mr E. W. Robertson's supposition, that the Macphersons may have been Cowarbs of St Katan, is an ingenious conjecture.

² On my visiting Kilbride, to make some inquiries in 1869, the old tradition of the stone seemed to be forgotten. Mac Bride and Currie are Arran names. Kilbride receives its name from the saint of a considerable branch of Clan Catan. It was curious to find, close to St Katan's home in Bute, a Kilscoy Castle, evidently

The name of Macpherson appears never to have been uncommon in the west. A Macpherson held lands in Bute about 1500; in 1524 a Duncan Makfarson was with other people at the burning of lands in Colonsay. In 1566 Malcolm Macpherson was parson of Harris. In 1614 there was a Malish Maulferson in Islay. There were from an early period families of Macpherson in Glen Orchy and Glen Fine. There were septs of Macphersons in Strontian and in Skye. The origin of the former is uncertain, but the latter have the tradition that they came from the south with the Lords of the Isles, as they were driven north. They are not aware of any connection with Badenoch.

Or if we take the other and very common form of the name, Mac Vurich, which has been corrupted into Mac Urich and Currie, we have the Mac Vurichs following the Clan Ranald branch of the Macdonalds as their bards. In 1595 there were Mac Murichs, followers of Campbell of Craignish. Macmurich was a well-known name in Jura, and is at present, in the form of Currie, not unusual in some of the adjacent islands.

The Macgillivrays, too, were followers of the Lords of the Isles, and were in considerable force in Mull. They were known as Gilbridea. There were Macewens or Macqueens in Islay and in Skye—the latter boasting of their fellowship with the Macdonalds. Mac Clerich was a name common beyond the western boundaries of Clan Chattan, chiefly among the Camerons, but also in Argyleshire, in Cowal.

Another clerical and possibly Clan Chattan name, Mac Vicar, was not uncommon in Argyleshire. The chief sept of the Mac Lachlans was in Cowal, and there were a good many of the name in Clan Chattan, whether of the same stock or not. Macphail was a common name about Ardchattan, and the head branch of the Macintyres was in its neighbourhood. Mac Phees, Macphais, and Macintyres occur in Rothesay and Strontian, beside Macphersons.

The only Clan Chattan names that were uncommon in the west were Shaw, and still more Mackintosh. There seem, indeed, to have been some Shaws among the Mac Leods,¹ but it is doubtful whether they came

Gillespie, another Clan Catan name,—not that both of them was not also common in many other clans.

¹ I am aware of the Shaws of Menteith and of Greenock, but I do not understand that they claim kindred with the northern Shaws.

from the east. Almost a solitary instance of the name of Mackintosh in the west is found in the name of the family of Clan Kattans who kept the stone. They were called Morison or Mackintosh, but this proves little at a time when Mackintosh and Clan Chattan were synonymous.

I am quite aware that this argument may have been pushed too far; that what I have reckoned characteristic patronymics, might spring up anywhere, and that doubtless the names of small septs of other clans also could be found separated from the original stock. Nevertheless, from the facts that have been just recorded, it would appear that either a great many who had Clan Chattan names never entered into Badenoch or the country east of it, or that the Clan Chattan, and especially the Macpherson branch of it, were constantly sending colonies to the west. Of the two opinions, the former appears to be far the most probable.

IX. The Clan followed the Lord of the Isles.—With respect to the keepers of the stone being followers of the Lords of the Isles, whether a western origin can be assigned to a great portion of the clan or not, it is a matter of fact that Clan Chattan followed the Lord of the Isles up to the year 1429, Mackintosh having fought for him at Harlaw in 1411; and although Macpherson of Cluny maintained in 1680, that the Macphersons fought against Donald and the Mackintoshes at Harlaw, and that Macpherson of Invereshie was killed at the battle of Inverlochy, fighting on the side of Lord Mar, it does not seem probable that the Macphersons could at that date have absented themselves from the standard of Mackintosh, even if their feeling of loyalty towards the Lord of the Isles had died out. The Mackintoshes boast of charters bestowed on them, as heads of Clan Chattan, by the Lords of the Isles, even after their defection in 1429. While Clan Chattan followed the Lord of the Isles, the neighbouring tribes of Grants, Robertsons, and Macgregors—the more aboriginal tribes in short—never followed him.

X. Traces of Irish Origin.—The question would be very materially affected, if it could be proved that any portion of Clan Chattan was of Irish origin.

St Katan's name has been considered to point to a Dalriad origin. The Irish name Macgillipatrick was not unknown among Clan Chattan. Among Irish names known to prevail anterior to the year 1550, appear a few common among Clan Chattan—as MacBride, Macintyre, Mac-

nevin, Gilmichael. Still, one cannot build much on names that occurred in a great variety of tribes. But a MS. printed by Mr Skene for the Iona Club expressly says that a portion of the Macphersons are of the O'Dohertys¹ of Ireland.

In 1869 I made a few inquiries on this subject in the north of Ireland, of which the following is the result. Innishowen, in Donegal, is the country of the O'Dohertys and of the M'Laughlins.² Those names are common in the district, but I heard of no Clan Chattan ones. A little south of Innishowen is the townland of Kilkatan already mentioned. I found occasionally in the north of Ireland the name Macilhatten, possibly the modern analogue of Macgillichattan, Gillespie, Gilbride, and Macbride too; and Macgilvray and Macgilligin are to be found, and M'Currie is not very uncommon. Further traces of Clan Chattan names I did not find. Any Mackintoshes or Macphersons appear to have been of comparatively recent settlement. On the whole, in the absence of anything more positive, the evidence of any portion of Clan Chattan being of Dalriad origin is very imperfect.

XI. *Comparison of Armorial Bearings.*—The earliest records of Highland armorial bearings are to be found on the seals of some of the greater families, and on some early stone monuments. The commonest Hebridean one was the Lymphad, as it is seen at Iona. I believe that the tree occurs on some old monuments. Although the arms of most Highland families only date from near the close of the seventeenth century, yet the arms assumed at that period show pretty clearly what notions the different races then had about their descent. The Clan Chattan arms proper appear always to have been a lymphad, a cross-crosslet fitché, and a hand grasping a dagger. They closely resemble those of most Hebridean or west coast families.

But many of the Clan Chattan families had a lion rampant gules (they were not always very particular as to its being *gules*), which was meant

¹ Though O's are rare in Scotland, I find the name of an O'Doherty in Argyleshire in 1629. At an earlier date the Campbells profess to have married the daughter of a Paul O'Duine. What was the O'Neil of Corse O'Neil and Kincardine O'Neil in Aberdeenshire?

² It should not be forgotten that the Scotch Mac Lauchlans occupied Cowal, which is probably one of the original seats of Clan Chattan.

to indicate descent from Macduff; and the Mackintosh genealogy professes to state at what period it added the Clan Chattan lymphad to its former arms. If we divide the septs according as they assumed the lion or not, we have these results :—

A Lion.	No Lion.
Macintosh.	Macpherson.
Mac Bean.	Gillies.
Shaw.	Gillespie.
Macduff.	Macgillivray.
Farquharson.	Macintyre (some).
Mac Combie.	
Mac Ritchie.	
Mac Lachlan. ¹	
Fergussons (some).	
Mac Ewens „	
Macphie „	

It is curious to find that neither the Banffshire Duffs nor the Tosachs have the lion or any portion of the Clan Chattan arms proper.

Of those using the lion, Mackintosh and Macbean alone assumed the lymphad. The Macgillivrays, though so closely connected with the Mackintoshes, and even at some times leading the clan, never assumed the lion, and were content with the hand and dagger and the cross, without the lymphad. The Macintyres, Argyleshire people, did not assume the lion, but used the ordinary Clan Chattan coat.

Of those having the lion, the Shaws and Farquharsons assumed a tree (possibly they, like the Macgregors, who also had a tree, regarding themselves as Autochthones, or sylvan Scots); but the Shaws also used the hand and dagger.²

It is remarkable that the Macqueens, who, though professing to come from Skye, were close followers of the Mackintoshes, have no sign of Clan Chattan in their arms.

¹ The Argyleshire Mac Lachlans have two of their quarters the same as Mackintosh, the lymphad and the lion gules.

² Both they and the Macphersons have the story that this refers to the slaying of a certain Black Comyn. Many years ago, when walking down Glen Tilt, I came on a stream which was called the "Burn of the Bowels." On inquiring as to the origin of the name, I was told that the Black Comyn had been slain there.

No Davidsons indicate descent from the Clan Dhail of Badenoch by their arms.

The cat was used as a crest by most of the Clan Chattan families, but not by all. Differences as to the cat being sitting, or leaping, or rampant, show nothing. It does not appear till near the middle of the seventeenth century. The Sutherlands were first to assume it.

The chief fact apparent from the foregoing analysis is this, that a certain number of the families, those bearing clerical names especially, never used the lion, and the general result appears to be, that, so far as they go, the armorial bearings favour the idea that a portion of Clan Chattan must have come from the western coast, and that some change eventually led to the arms of Clan Chattan being, in the case of many of its tribes, associated with those of families of different origin.

XII. *General Results*.—The conclusion to which the foregoing inquiry appears to point is this, that the Clan Chattan originated in Bute or in the adjoining parts of Argyleshire about the seventh century; that they were gradually pushed northwards, especially after the total defeat of the Lord of the Isles in 1165, or after the resettlement of Argyle in 1220; and that by some process of displacing of other tribes, or “how otherwise,” they had reached Tor Castle, near Fort William, before the date, probably in the end of the thirteenth century, when the Mackintoshes, or those who afterwards got that name, obtained the *hegemony* of the clan, by a marriage with the heiress of Dougal Phaul, the then head of the race, and transferred it to the east. In whatever points they differ, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons seems always to have agreed as to the fact of the marriage; but the story would be more satisfactory, if so many difficulties in Highland succession were not solved by similar stories of marrying heiresses. The former say they got the leadership by this marriage, while the latter have always maintained that they carried on the male line. Whether, as many think, it was only after the defeat of Donald Balloch, or about 1431, that the Mackintoshes got the leadership, is immaterial for our purpose.

Their family and their clan names, the difference of their armorial bearings, and the unwillingness with which the weaker followed the stronger clan, all indicate that the two races considered that there was a radical difference between them.

Their clerical and western names, and their geographical position, all seem to point to the Macphersons representing the original western race; while the Mackintoshes and Shaws were probably aboriginal races which always occupied the eastern districts. It may be said generally, that in the course of about seven hundred years the head-quarters of the race of Clan Chattan moved from near Bute to near Inverness, or about 120 miles. While the whole subject is involved in much obscurity, these observations are offered with much diffidence. They may perhaps suggest lines of inquiry to some who have the leisure, which I have not at present, to pursue them to satisfactory conclusions.

I must add a few words concerning two Clan Chattan names.

1. *Clan Chewil*.—I hope that it may be possible to say a few words about Clan Chewell without arousing Celtic susceptibilities, as I shall express no opinion as to the modern names of the contending parties, or the result of the duellum at the Inches in Perth.

We find in the list of those put to the horn in the Act of the Scottish Parliament, "Slurach, tum fratres ejus, tum omnes Clan quhwil," the cause for their outlawry being the slaughter of the Sheriff of Angus and others at Glasclune.

On looking at that list, there will appear strong grounds for identifying Clan Chewell with clans near the heights of Angus, and occupying parts of Perthshire and of Aberdeenshire. These are some of them :—

- (1.) The phrase "omnes" seems to indicate several septs.
- (2.) Next because the name follows those of the neighbouring clans of Perthshire, Duncanson (or Robertson), and Macnair, and is followed by the name of Mowatt, which was at that time known on the Upper Dee, if not at Abergeldie, not very far from it.
- (3.)^{*} Because the Earl of Crawford, holding lands in Upper Forfar, was directed to act against them.
- (4.) Because the town of Aberdeen was directed to act against them, in any case probably a "*brutum fulmen*," but ridiculous, if Clan Chewell was on the other side of the Grampians.
- (5.) Because some of the chiefs of that district, however designated at that time, were closely connected by marriage with the Duncansons, the leaders of the raid.

- (6.) We may assume (but this is comparatively unimportant) that Slurach was the head of all of Clan Chewell.
- (7.) I believe there is no such Celtic word as Slurach ; it is probably a transcriber's mistake for Sheach, and we know that the name occurred at that period among people near the heights of Angus.¹

Is there anything in later accounts to make it improbable or impossible that Clan Chewell were the tribes just indicated? All writers agree in saying that Clan Quhele fought at the Inches in 1396. Its leader was either Sha, son of Ferquhar, or Christie, son of John, probably the former. In either case, there is nothing inconsistent with the accounts we have just had of Clan Chewil. Our next notice of Clan Chewell is in Major, who wrote about 1520. He says that the tribes Chattan and Kael deserted the Lord of the Isles in 1427; that they were of the same blood, following one head of the race. After what we have seen of the geographical distribution of Clan Chattan, there is nothing surprising in finding that on the great occasion of a rising of the Lord of the Isles, its eastern tribes should join the standard of the head of Clan Chattan. Major places the names Clan Chattan, Clan Kael, and Clan Cameron in close connection. We do not hear of Clan Chewil again, even in unauthentic history, for a long period, not till 1594. But then it is very distinctly mentioned, and apparently for the last time, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament which enumerates most of the clans.

Some interesting results are gained by placing in juxtaposition the names of clans or of broken men, as pointed out in Acts of Parliament in 1392, 1587, and 1594. The two last are nearly the same, yet they deserve to be enumerated separately.

¹ Another interpretation might make Slurach and his brothers stand for one sept, the Haas, or Shas, of the Inches; while *omnes* Clan Quhwil, taken apart, would make Clan Chewel, the other sept of the fight.

1392.	1587.	1594. Broken Men	1594. General List.
Duncanson. (Donnachie).	Clan Donnachie.	Menzies.	Clan Donnachie.
Macnair.	Menzies of Athol.	Fergusson.	Chattan.
Brierson.	{ Clan MacThomas (in Glen Shee).	Spalding.	Chewil.
Ayson.	{ Fergusson.	Mackintosh (in Athol).	Chameron.
Clan Quhewil.	{ Spalding.	M'Thomas (in Glen- shee).	
Mouat.	{ Mackintosh (in Athol).	Farquharson (Braes of Mar).	
	Clan Chameron.	Next, crossing the Grampians—	
	* * *	M'Inpherson.	
	* * *	Grant.	
	Clan Quhattan.		

The close proximity of Clan Quhewil to Clan Donnachie, or the Robertsons in Athol, is thus maintained for two centuries. In 1392 we have Clan Chewil immediately after the Duncansons, Macnairs, &c.; and in 1594 we have only Clan Chattan intervening between Clan Donnachie and Clan Chewil.

In the list of 1587 Clan Chewil is not mentioned separately, but Clan Chattan is, and is so, a long way apart from the tribes next Clan Donnachie, which I have included in a bracket. If we remove Clan Chattan from its place in the list of 1594 (and it most certainly cannot represent the bracketed tribes), and add the Farquharsons to the list of 1587, the names stand thus :—

1587.	1594.
Clan Donnachie.	Clan Donnachie.
Menzies.	
M'Thomas.	
Fergusson.	
Spalding.	Clan Chewil.
Mackintosh (in Athol).	
Farquharson.	
Clan Chameron.	Clan Chameron.

I think this comparison affords a very strong presumption that the

Clan Chewil of 1594 were the set of tribes, the "omnes clan Chewil," already very plainly identified by the list of 1392, as having been engaged in the fight at Glasclune. I trust that I have made myself intelligible in the above comparisons. The majority of Gaelic scholars consider Chewil to be a form of Doughail or Dougal, when Dougal is made to do duty for the Camerons, and even for the Macintoshes or Macphersons through Dougal Phaol, according to the view the etymologist takes of the battle of the Inches. Others tell us that Chewil or Quhewil means proud. Possibly the derivation which makes the name run thus—Chewil, Kaul Ianla, Fiunla—is not much better.

2. With respect to the name of Gow or Smith, of which there seem to have been two septs in Clan Chattan (and the name Gow is common all over the Highlands), tradition says that it is derived from the Smith who fought at the Inches, and tradition equally says that he returned with the victors to Badenoch, to Strathnairn, and to Donside. Which of these traditions is the most probable? Wyntoun does not allude to the extra combatant. Bower says he was a man of Perth, of moderate stature. The continuation of Fordun in the Bodleian says he was a man of the same parentela as the missing man. All accounts of him say that he bargained for payment and future support; none say anything of his having gone off with the victors.

As tradition has turned the sellularius into a bandy-legged smith, it seems most probable that the popular version of him has arisen from the Macphersons having in their early genealogy a certain personage called the Gow Chrom, or Crooked Smith, a great mechanical genius.

Names sometimes considered Clan Chattan ones.—(1.) The main reason why the Sutherlands have sometimes been considered to belong to Clan Chattan, has been that, in common with them, they have for the last two hundred and forty years used the crest of a cat, and that their head has been popularly believed to be called the Great Cat.

There was usually friendship between the Sutherlands and the kin of Clan Chattan, but never anything more; the two races did not adjoin each other; they never acted in concert. The Sutherlands, or natives of Sutherland, were called Kathoo; their earl, the Morweir Cattey, was not the Great Cat, but the Maormor of Kathie or Sutherland.

Whether the original name of Kathoo can have been in any way con-

nected with the wild cat of the country, is not a question of much importance, but doubtless the assumption of the cat as a crest was in the case of the Sutherlands a play on the sound of Kathoo, as it was in the case of the Inverness-shire tribes a play on the sound of Katan. The Sutherland arms had not the most remote analogy with those of Clan Chattan.

(2.) Probably on account of the sound of their name, for the idea does not seem to have been supported by any argument, the Keiths have sometimes been supposed to have been members of the Clan Chattan confederation. One of the Earls Marischal in 1715 even advanced a claim of consanguinity, to influence some of the Clan Chattan tribes during one of the rebellions, and Keith of Ravelston had a lymphad in his arms. When Mackintosh and Macpherson of Cluny were disputing in 1672 about precedency, Earl Marischal supported the claims of Cluny as being allied to him, and the Earl of Wemyss advocated those of Mackintosh, in token of their both being descended from Macduff. But such matters of compliment never prove much.

(3.) If any Duffs or Macduffs were members of Clan Chattan, they were very unimportant ones. The name was once a great one in Fife and in the upper parts of Morayshire and of Banff. The name lost its importance five centuries ago, but has remained in these two last districts, but scarcely as attached to Celts. There were a good many Duffs, probably much more Celtic, near Dunkeld. Some of the southern Clan Chattan came near them.

(4.) The Camerons have sometimes been supposed to have been members of Clan Chattan: they lay west of the Macphersons, and latterly separated from them by the Clan Ian or Clan Ronald of Lochaber. They occupied lands about Loch Arkeg, of which the Macintoshes were the owners, with whom in consequence they had many deadly feuds. These were the lands near Tor Castle, which, according to tradition, Macintosh got by marrying the daughter of Dougal Phaol. These local fights are well known in clan history; and there is a tradition of a fight between Mackintoshes and Camerons even in Fortingall in Perthshire. It is difficult to determine the relations between Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan. The name Cameron, well known in early times in the low country, somehow came to be attached to a race of Macmartins dwelling about Loch

Eil. The name M'Clerich was common among the Camerons as well as among the Macphersons. Macphail was a Clan Chattan name, and certain Macphails were followers of the Camerons. The Macbeans, who lived about Inverness, had the tradition that they were originally Camerons or Macgilonys. There were families of Camerons on Speyside and on Donside, in close connection with Shaws and Farquharsons. There is a curious tradition, that at one time the Camerons, being greatly reduced in numbers by war, got a supply of Farquharsons from Braemar as colonists. Another tradition is, that the Camerons are the remains of the Comyns, who were displaced by Clan Chattan; but why should the Macphersons have been their friends and the Mackintoshes their enemies, when the whole Clan Chattan race detested the Comyns? The tradition or assertion that the Camerons fought at the Inches is an additional complication; while the crown-stone of confusion is laid by Major's saying, according to the common version, that Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron followed one leader, the head of the race.

However, this difficulty has been removed, by its being discovered that Major in reality talks of Clan Katan and Clan Kael, not Clan Katan and Clan Cameron, as having the same leader. Nevertheless, it is very remarkable that, writing in 1520, Major talks of Clan Katan, Clan Kael, and Clan Cameron together, just as the Act of Parliament of 1594 places them in the same concatenation. Although the arms of the Camerons do not indicate any relationship with Clan Chattan, yet the connection of the two clans is worthy of further investigation.

(5.) The Dallases of Cantray, though not of Clan Chattan blood, usually followed their neighbour Mackintosh.

Authorities.—Books of Spalding and of Iona Clubs; Shaw's Moray; Pennant's Tour; Martin's Western Islands; Sir R. Gordon's History of Sutherland; Douglas's Baronage; The Statistical Account of Scotland; Mr Fraser Mackintosh's Antiquarian Notes; Mr Skene's Highlanders. I have derived assistance from replies kindly made to me by Dr John Stuart, Mr Skene, Mr G. Burnett, Dr Reeves, and especially by the Rev. Dr Thomas Maclauchlan; also by my *phylarch*, Cluny Macpherson. I have also seen two MS. histories in the possession of Cluny, about 200 years old.

II.

Ø REMARKS ON THE OGHAM INSCRIPTION OF THE NEWTON PILLAR-STONE. BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M.R.I.A., F.S.A. Scot.

As the inscriptions on this remarkable monument have engaged the attention of philologists, not only of our own country, but also of the continent, I have been led to give some attention to that particular one which lies within the range of my own investigations for some years past; I allude to the lines of Ogham characters cut on this stone. The original locality and discovery of this monument having been already described in the "Proceedings" of our Society, I shall not here repeat them. The stone is an irregular monolith of boulder formation, being 6 feet in height, and 2 feet in its greatest breadth; its material is of hard, close-grained quartzose gneiss, many specimens of which are to be found in the vicinity. On the upper part of one of its faces it bears an inscription, boldly and deeply incised, occupying six lines, and consisting of forty-four characters; these are of so remarkable a type as to have puzzled every philologist and palæographer who have taken it in hand. The late Alexander Thompson, Esq., of Banchory, circulated a description of this monument, accompanied by photograms, among all antiquaries of repute, many of whom have responded by submitting their renderings of the principal legend. Yet none appear to have hit the truth. Readings of the inscription have been given in Hebrew, Phœnician, Greek, Latin, Arian, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon. Though unable to decipher this inscription, I am of opinion that it is inscribed in debased Roman letters, of a type frequently found in ancient inscriptions, its peculiarities being much influenced by the hardness of the stone at the time of cutting, and the subsequent weather wear of ages.

The inscription alluded to contains one remarkable character, known as the Filfot, Thors Hammer, and the Buddhist Cross. It has been found in the cave temples of India, on Bactrian coins, on Byzantine coins, on Gnostic gems, and, finally, on an Ogham-inscribed stone found at Aghish, and now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy; in the light of this latter fact, its appearance on an Ogham monument in Scotland will not create much surprise.

The Ogham inscription occupies nearly the entire of the left hand angle of the stone, reading from the top downwards—contrary, no doubt, to the almost universal rule, yet not without one or two precedents; and commencing again at the bottom, on a natural ridge, and a little to the right of and parallel with the principal line of characters. The angles upon which the inscription appears are exceedingly rough and irregular, and in many parts so ill-defined that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain the relations of the groups of scores to them, which greatly embarrass the reading of the legend. Another difficulty is, that, as in all Scottish examples, the vowels are long scores, similar to the consonants, and not being sufficiently distinguished from them in formation, much uncertainty is created as to which are vowels and which are consonants. Dr Moore's description of the legend is as follows:—"It will be immediately seen that to represent the inscription on the stone by merely drawing the strokes which form the letters on a straight line or stem, as in the alphabet, would be really to misrepresent it. The line is, in fact, very irregular, and as nearly as possible like the drawing, which is from a tracing of the line formed by the edge of the stone, as it appeared to the writer when examining the stone with a view to determine for himself the places of the letters previous to any attempt to decipher them. Probably, as in other instances, there was originally a shallow line cut on the stone as the stem-line of the letters; but time and exposure have so far obliterated it that it cannot be distinctly traced in any part of the inscription. It is evident, therefore, that the inscription cannot be truly represented on paper by mere straight lines. Of course, the apparent uprightness, or the obliquity of the letters in respect to the stem-line, must depend on the bend of this line, in relation to the irregularities and unevenness of the stone itself. With the aid of a magnifying lens, however, the photographs pretty faithfully represent the inscription as it appears *in situ*. By this means it will be seen that some of the letter-lines are not in reality so oblique as they seem. Though there is no stem-line, it is not difficult to determine the relative position of the letters in relation to its supposed place, since the letters in general are unmistakably situated as respects their relation to the mesial line. There are longer spaces between the words than between the letters. Of course, the reading of Oghams must depend on the side on which the

reader is supposed to stand. The Ogham before us is inscribed on the left-hand angle of the stone; therefore the lines on the left of the stem-line could not be seen while standing to the right of that line. Hence it is evidently intended that the inscription is in both its lines to be read as if seen from the left. It follows that the letters on the right of the stem-line must be regarded as above the line, supposing it placed horizontally." (Ancient Pillar-Stones of Scotland, p. 60.)

Dr Moore having established to his satisfaction that the main inscription is in Arian characters, expressing Hebrew words, gives the following rendering:—

"In the tomb
With the dead (is) Aittie—

The light of the darkness of a perverted people,
Who shall be consecrated pure priest
To God? Like the vessel
Of Prayer my glory covered me." (*Ibid*, p. 48.)

Dr Moore goes into an elaborate argument to establish the correctness of his reading, and detects in the phraseology Boodhistic allusions.

The Ogham he subjects to a similar process, and in his particular mode of reading, endeavours to connect it with the main inscription, as follows:—

"Ioddie ueai n' nggedd' Ka Kadun Baal Neka Iaddi."
(When Baal ruled Jutland, and the coast before thee, Iatti was smitten.)
(*Ibid*, p. 67.)

I find a difficulty in reconciling to my mind the probability of Boodhist priests coming from the far east to the far west, to the cold and then almost uninhabited wastes of the north of Scotland, and inscribing Hebrew words in the Ogham character of the Gaedhil of Erinn. Dr Moore's copy of the inscription is not correct, and I fear that a foregone conclusion has influenced the position of the scores in the legend.

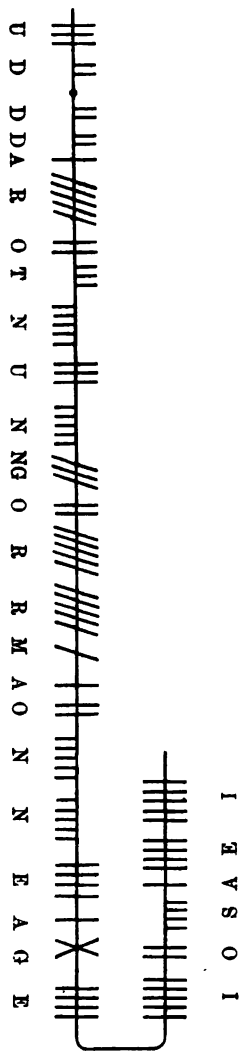
W. F. Skene, LL.D., in an interesting paper contributed to the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. v., has given a rendering of the Ogham legend. His view of the mode of reading it is, that on account of the return line of characters of foot of the stone, it

should be read from the top downwards, and then follow the second upwards. If his view be correct, it would be the only instance of its kind, as all other known Ogham inscriptions read from the bottom upwards, without an exception; nevertheless, I must admit that it has a more readable aspect when taken in this sequence, and as I have no doubt that this legend is much later than the Irish and Welsh examples, it may be that the scribe who carved it knew nothing of the ancient rule, or may have thought fit to depart from it. Dr Skene considers the inscription to be bi-lingual, the main one being in debased Roman letters, and both expressing Gaelic and Roman forms; he, however, states his inability to translate it. He gives the following copy of the Ogham legend:—

These letters he places in the following form (see woodcut):—

UD DDAROT NUN NGORRMAONN EAGE JOSAEI.

The main inscription he conceives to be, to a great extent, identical with the Ogham, but declines the responsibility of a translation; he, however, appears to think that GORRMAON is a proper name, and may have a reference to a certain Gormund mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as living in the sixth century, or to a Guthrun, a Danish chief, mentioned by Loeppen-berg and other writers as having lived in the ninth century, and who is variously named Gudrun, Gormont, Gurmond. These ingenious speculations, however, must fall to the ground, from the fact that there is no such combination of letters as would form GORMAON, upon the stone, and that Dr Skene's rendering of the Ogham inscription is founded upon an unfaithful copy



of the legend. For this I do not blame the learned Doctor; the inscription is of such a complex and difficult character that the most experienced Oghamist may fail in even making a correct copy, or rather in ascribing to the existing characters the values originally intended.

The following copy of the Ogham has been arrived at by me after several examinations of the plaster and type-metal casts in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and after repeated studies of a paper cast presented to me by Dr Ferguson of Dublin, as well as of several photographs and drawings. I, however, rely entirely on the casts for the accuracy of my copy. The irregular surface of that part of the stone which bears the Ogham is the main source of difficulty, as it is in ridges and hollows, the scores not following any defined ridge or angle. A careful scrutiny, however, by the experienced Oghamist, and a study of the characters one by one, comparing their relative positions, will enable him to arrive at the original values of most, if not all, of the characters. The copy which I have made is entirely independent of any theory respecting the stone,—in fact I have none, neither do I pretend to give a rendering of either of the inscriptions; my sole anxiety has been to arrive at the accurate values of the letters. In the following page I show the inscription, reading from the top downwards, as I consider that Dr Skene has hit on its true sequence.

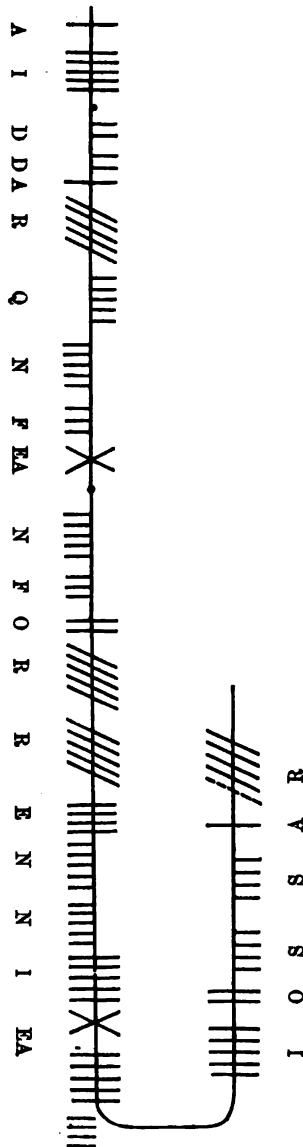
The scores towards the top are short, being from an inch and a quarter to two inches in length. Towards the bottom their dimensions increase to two and three inches. The first and second characters are well defined and distinctly grouped; we have then a distinct dot on the low ridge, here used as a stem-line; the third and fourth are distinctly marked, and above the ridge; the fifth, sixth, and seventh are also well defined,—under these the ridge runs into a rounded surface, but their relative positions to the medial line is well preserved and beyond dispute; again the surface runs into a small ridge, under which are placed the eighth and ninth, also well marked; then we have strong indications of the cross character which stands for the diphthong *ea*, in the scale found in the Book of Ballymote. The character is not well defined, it is true, but an examination of the cast in certain lights reveals it. We have then a point upon the angle; letters eleven and twelve are below the ridge, and are distinctly marked and grouped; after this the ridge is lost in a hollow, the thirteenth and fourteenth are well defined and drawn across the

hollow, which rises again into an irregular ridge, running nearly to the end of the inscription; the characters following, to the twentieth, are all well-marked and grouped; the two following are faint and difficult to determine; there are some indications of scores below these, but nothing reliable. The return line of letters stand on a rude stem-line,—they are coarsely and carelessly formed, but distinctly grouped; the last four characters are faint, being much worn; one score of the last letter is doubtful. I have been uncertain as to the value of the twenty-first character, whether an I or R, as the scores are slightly oblique, and it may be a consonant. I have thus endeavoured to give an accurate copy of this inscription; as I before stated, I have no translation to offer of it,—I will leave that to others:—

AIDDABCUN FEAN FORRENNI EA(I OF E)S IOSSAR.

I would, however, make one suggestion: there is a combination of letters, FORRENNI, identical with a recognised Gaedhelic name, Fereni, mentioned in the Ann. 4, Mas. A.D. 432, as being an ancestor of St Patrick. Names of a similar type, as Fearon, Foran, and Forannan, are common in our annals and hagiologies.

The last six letters form a proper name of a very peculiar type, *Iossar*; its presence depends upon the true value of the last character; a careful study of the cast gave me five scores oblique to the stem-line, one



of them being faint and much worn. Dr Skene's copy gives five scores vertical across the line, which would be an *1*. If there are but four scores vertical, it would read *Iossas*, the name of Jesus in a Gaedhelic form. If, on the contrary, it should be found to be an *2*, as I have presented it to be, it would give us the name of an old Gaedhelic and Phœnician divinity, found also in Ogham on a gold double-cupped patera formerly in the possession of Mr Burton Conyngham, and engraved by Vallancy in the fifth vol. of his "Collectanea," p. 90. In this instance the form is *Uoser*. The above-named writer states that *Aesar* and *Aosar* frequently occur in ancient Irish MSS., and are always translated *God*. We certainly find *Easar* in most Irish dictionaries so translated. There is strong evidence that *Easar* was a Phœnician divinity. A base of a marble candelabrum was exhumed some time since in Malta, and is now deposited in the museum at Paris; it bears a bi-lingual inscription in Greek and Punic, a translation of which is given in Kenrick's "Phœnicia," p. 172, as follows:—

- "To our Lord, to Melkarth, Lord of Tyre. The man offering is
Thy servant Obed-Asir and my brother,
Both a son of Asir-Shamar, the son of Obed-Asir; when he hears
Their voice, may he bless them!"

According to Kenrick, *Obed* is a very usual prefix to Punic names, and signifies a *slave, servant, &c.*, being identical with the same word in the Hebrew, as *Obadiah*, the servant of *Jah* (*Jehovah*). It is also cognate with the Gaedhelic prefix *Gilla*, as *Gilla-Da*, servant of *God*; *Gilla-Iosa*, servant of *Jesus*; *Gilla-Muire*, servant of *Mary*. This custom of individuals and families adopting the names of favourite deities was very general in the east, of which we have many examples upon Egyptian and Syrian monuments. *Obed-Asir* will therefore be the servant of *Asir*, who, according to Kenrick, is *Osiris*. There is nothing unlikely in this; the leading Egyptian deities were received and adopted by other ancient nations, and we may therefore presume that *Easar*, *Asar*, *Uoser*, *Iossar*, are forms of *Osiris*, which *Hellanius* states was pronounced *Usiris* by the Egyptian priests. It is curious that this name was also adopted by the ancient Gaedhil as a personal or family one. By reference to a quotation from the "Annals of Tighernach," translated by the late Dr O'Donovan,

and published in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i. p. 109, we find as follows:—"A.D. 651. The two sons of Blathmac, son of Hugh Slaine, viz, Donchad and Conall, were mortally wounded by the Lagenians in Maelodrans Mill. *Oisir*, the son of Oiserge, was mortally wounded by Maelodron." Here we have most undoubtedly the name of the Egyptian deity; its appearance as a proper name among the Gaedhil, at a remote period, will not surprise us if we can give credence to the bardic accounts of the sojourn of that people in the land of the Pharaohs, in their migration towards Spain and Western Europe.

III.

NOTES OF ROCK SCULPTURINGS OF CUPS AND CONCENTRIC RINGS, AND "THE WITCH'S STONE" ON TORMAIN HILL; ALSO OF SOME EARLY REMAINS ON THE KAIMES HILL, &c.; NEAR RATHO, EDINBURGHSHIRE. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., V.-P. S. A. Scot.

Rock Sculpturings on Tormain Hill.—Last summer, by the polite invitation of Mr James Melvin, Bonnington, Ratho, I accompanied him and a friend to examine the sculptured markings which I have now to bring under the notice of the Society. These rock sculpturings were found on removing the shallow soil or turf from the rock on the summit of Tormain Hill, which is partly included in Mr Melvin's farm of Bonnington, and partly in the adjoining property of Hatton. Tormain is a low hill, with long sloping sides on the west and north, and is more abrupt to the east and south; it rises to a height of 480 feet above the level of the sea. Looking from Edinburgh along the wide valley to the westward, two short, steep, and abrupt hills are seen rising up on its southern side, somewhat in front of the Pentland range of hills; these prominent hills are the well-known Dalmahoy and Kaimes hills, which rise to a height of 800 feet above the sea-level. Now, about two miles in front of the Kaimes Hill, to the north, there rises up the lower eminence of this Tormain Hill, on the very borders of the low country; indeed, it is the most prominent object in the district to the west of Corstorphine Hill on the north, and the Dalmahoy Hill on the south, until we reach the Bathgate Hills or Binny Craig, in Linlithgowshire to the west.

From the summit of Tormain Hill Mr Melvin informs me that portions of no less than twelve counties may be seen on a fine clear day.

The rock of which the hill is composed is a coarse-grained greenstone, familiar to us from a great part of the streets of Edinburgh being causewayed with it, for which purpose, however, it has now been found not to be perfectly suitable, from the unequal manner in which it wears when exposed to the action of the weather and much carriage traffic. The groups of cup and circle cuttings (of which a few diagrams were exhibited) belong to the same series of rock sculpturings which have been found in so many different parts of the country, and have been so fully detailed by the late Professor Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., in his elaborate memoir published in the Proceedings of the Society for 1864-65. They occur on this hill cut on the surface of the natural rock, where it has been exposed on the summit of the hill, and although they are not deeply cut, being probably smoothed a good deal by time and weather, still they appear to be decidedly different in their character from the ordinary unequal surface caused by simple weathering, and to be due, like the many other examples described, to artificial rock cuttings, probably of a comparatively early period. Mr Melvin has been long cognisant of the existence here of the cup-like depressions, but it was only after a visit from Sir James Y. Simpson, when preparing his memoir already referred to, that Mr Melvin discovered the additional rings or circular cuttings which are cut on the hardest and most enduring portions of the rock. Sir James was to have returned to examine them just before he was seized with his last and fatal illness. I have now, therefore, brought them under the notice of the Society, as an addition to those described by him in his memoir. This group of rock sculpturings consists of cups and circles, several cups with two or more circles surrounding them—one cup, indeed, has four concentric circles, and a little below this there is a group of three cup-like hollows near the highest summit of the hill; this last has, however, been altered in our own day by the officials of the Government Ordnance Survey combining them into one figure, by drawing from cup to cup their well-known and characteristic mark of the Queen's "broad arrow."

Mr Melvin tells me he has examined the tops of all the other rocky eminences in his district for traces of these cup and ring markings, but as yet without any success; only he thinks, as those on Tormain Hill so long

escaped notice, others may exist on some of the hard whinstone summits, though still it may be lying hid under their covering of thin earth and adhering lichens. It adds considerably to the interest attached to those old rock cuttings on Tormain Hill to find in the vicinity, as I shall immediately describe, traces of a large and early occupation of the district. Several querns have been found upon the hill turned up by the plough, and a few broken pieces are still lying about.

The "Witch's Stone."—On the north-west slope of this same Tormain Hill, about 200 yards below its summit and at an elevation of 435 feet above the sea, lies the large mass or group of stones which has long been known by the name of "The Witch's Stone." It consists now of a large sloping cap-like mass of greenstone, measuring 11 feet in greatest length, by 10 feet or so in breadth across the top, about 2 feet 3 inches in depth, and about 33 feet in circumference. Along the greatest length of the upper surface of this large sloping stone there is cut a regular series of twenty-three shallow cup-like depressions. This large cap-stone rests apparently on three blocks of stone, and two other smaller portions have fallen out from below it in front, at the highest end of the mass; which measures there about 8 feet in height. Below these different portions of stone there appears to be a large foundation-stone underlying them all. Indeed, looking at the stones as a whole, they suggest the probability of this great mass being, or rather having been, one large block of stone, which has by weathering separated into three beds, the upper or cap-stone, the middle bed with the broken portions of rock now fallen from it, and the lowest bed the foundation-like stone below. The whole is formed of one kind of rock, and were the pieces that have fallen out of the end of the middle bed replaced, the solid mass would be again complete. I fear, however, there would then be no room for an interior chamber of any kind, and the conviction is rather unwillingly forced upon you, that instead of being a cromlech, as it has been described, it is simply a very large boulder-stone which has begun to fall to pieces under the long-continued influence of the weather. I may mention that Mr Melvin agrees with me in this opinion.

Dr Daniel Wilson was, I believe, the first who described and figured this mass of rock as a cromlech, in his valuable "Prehistoric Annals of

Scotland ;" but even he was apparently moved to this more by the fact of the existence of the row of cups or hollows cut along its surface, suggesting the hand of man on it, than by the appearance of the stones themselves. He says, in the first edition of his valuable work, were it not for the remarkable line of perforations along the centre of the cap-stone, the whole might have been ascribed to a natural origin. Looking into Sir J. Y. Simpson's memoir "On Ancient Sculpturings," &c, published in our Proceedings, vol. vi., 1864-66, I find that although he has there figured "The Witch's Stone" as a cromlech in Plate IX., he adds a note to his description, to say he has since visited this group of stones, and altogether doubts their being a cromlech, but considers them to be either a large boulder or an outcrop of the greenstone rock (p. 22).

Sir James gives the following detailed description of the cup-cuttings on its surface :—"Its upper surface has sculptured along its median line a long row of some twenty-two cup-cuttings, and two more cup-cuttings are placed laterally, one, half a foot to the left of the central row and at its base ; the other, two feet to the right of the tenth central cup, and near the edge of the block. The largest of the cups are about three inches in diameter, and half an inch in depth ; but most of them are smaller and shallower than this."

This great stone is, however, of much interest from this series of cup-cuttings on its surface, and its being in the immediate neighbourhood of those sculpturings on the rock *in situ* at the top of the hill, which I have just described.

In July 1869 I paid a visit to an old friend in his summer quarters in North Wales, and as the district was new to me, I visited with great pleasure most of the objects of interest in the vicinity. At the village of Bettwa-y-Coed I was much struck with a series of deep cup and circle cuttings spread irregularly over the surface of the large natural rock which rises from the bed of the river, just above the bridge. Returning shortly afterwards to the village of Llanfairfechan, on the northern coast of Caernarvonshire, I strolled along a footpath on the high bank of the stream, overlooking the picturesque old village, lying almost hid from view, and away from the lower and new series of houses and villas of the modern village of Llanfairfechan, near the sea-shore. Here I stumbled on a large rounded boulder-stone which had a long series of

cups cut along its surface, in the line of the greatest diameter of the stone, and each of these cups had a distinct channel connecting them all together. The cups themselves were, however, deeper and more cylindrical in character than any I had seen elsewhere. I hailed a passing villager, and asked if he could tell me anything about these curious rock cuttings. He knew them well: it was old, he said, and was a "stone gun;" it had been last used a few years before, when it was fired on the son of a neighbouring proprietor coming of age. The plan of firing it was this—a charge of powder was placed in each of the deep cups, which were then firmly rammed down or stopped above, a train of powder was laid in the connecting grooves between each, and at the proper time a light applied to the end of the train fired the volley; which could be repeated, of course, as often as required. The villagers were quarrymen, working and blasting the rock in the adjoining stone quarries, and the stone gun seemed a simple way to them of firing a *feu de joie* or salute, when occasion called for such a demonstration. It was a lesson of caution to me not to be led away by appearances, without investigating as far as possible all the circumstances connected with any object apparently of rude antiquity. The Society, I trust, will pardon this digression, suggested by "The Witch's Stone," with its row of sculptured cups along its rounded summit: these latter, however, are more shallow depressions, and their use or meaning, like the other rude cup and circle markings, if anything more, than apparently an all but universal style of simple early ornament among men of almost every clime,—I fear, remains still to be explained. The name of "The Witch's Stone" is not an uncommon designation of other large or remarkable boulder-stones in different parts of the country.

Mr Melvin, at my request, since this paper was read, has made a more careful examination of "The Witch's Stone," by digging under its lowest slab or foundation-stone, to see whether it was an outcrop of the rock of the hill itself, or simply a very large erratic or boulder-stone. I am now, therefore, able to give a more definite statement on the subject. Mr Melvin writes me:—"I satisfied myself that 'The Witch's Stone' is a boulder, and is not quite the same rock as that of the hill (I send you a portion of each); the difference is apparent." [This difference has been since considered due to weathering, and the stone at least resembles that of the hill.] "Besides, I dug under the lower portion or sole, and found it

to rest on drift, or the upper boulder-clay, over three-fourths of its length ; the other fourth rests on the rock of the hill. The lower block of stone, which is flat above, is, however, irregularly, but much rounded off below the surface, and is smooth where it is embedded in the clay or drift. I could not observe any striæ or groovings on it, but it has been ground round by rubbing."

This large mass of greenstone is, therefore, beyond all doubt, not a mere outcrop of the rock of the hill itself, but from the shape, and relations of its under surface, is probably a travelled boulder ; and if it does not belong to the hill itself, there is plenty of very similar greenstone rock to the westward, from which it might have come, and all the more likely, perhaps, from its being left stranded, as it were, on the north-west face of this Tormain Hill.

I asked Mr Melvin to give me some idea of the weight of this mass of stone, supposing it to have been a single boulder, and he therefore goes on to say :—"The block, when laid where it is, must have weighed about seventy tons. At present it consists of six pieces, all of which fit into one another, and have fallen asunder by the weather. The top may weigh fifteen tons ; the main side support, twenty tons, one small support, three tons, two pieces which have fallen out, three and four tons respectively (these last have all belonged to the middle bed of the stone) ; while the sole seems, so far as we traced it, to be of larger dimensions than the top, say twenty tons ;—in all, say sixty-five tons. Another block has, however, probably fallen away from the north face of the stone, and has been removed ; to all appearance it would be in two or three pieces, and may have weighed other five tons ; so that we may assume the weight of the whole mass of the stone to have been about seventy tons. Of the locality from which it has come I am not certain. One block, equally large, but much sunk in the clay, I removed from the farm of Starlaw, which is eight miles to the south-west (two miles east from Bathgate), it was of very much the same variety of greenstone, and must have come from some of the outbursts of rock further west. I think it resembles closely some of those Linlithgowshire traps westwards of where they smell so strongly when rubbed. Another boulder-stone of even a larger size was broken up for building purposes by my father some sixty years ago, on the farm of Ratho Mains, one mile east of this hill."

Mr Melvin informs me the field where this "Witch's Stone" lies has long been designated "Knock-about," which may probably suggest the early Gaelic name connected with this great stone or *cnoc*, meaning a rock or knoll. The name of the hill itself, *Tornain*, suggests possibly an older and British origin and etymology of a similar kind, and, indeed, very little changed even at the present day,—*Tor-maen*—"The Hill of the Stone," being probably the ancient British descriptive name of this locality, referring to the presence of this great stone, the prominent character of which on the hillside may have suggested at that early date the distinctive appellation for the hill itself.

The Stancross.—At no great distance, Mr Melvin informs me, from the field of "The Witch's Stone," another enclosure to the south-east is designated "The Stancross," and here an upright block of sandstone, which stands 5 feet in height above the ground, and has been used as a gate-post, has cut on its face a long-shaped rectangular cross about 3 feet 6 inches long, of which Mr Melvin has since kindly sent me a rubbing. The cross is well defined on the stone by a groove or border of an inch or two in breadth round its margin. The head and foot of the cross taper slightly, becoming narrower towards the transverse arms, which spring at about 18 inches from the top, and also taper or expand gently outwards on each side to a length of about 8 inches, and at their junction with the stem or upright part of the cross there is cut the usual curve or circular rounded hollow which is common on crosses of a considerable antiquity. The name given to the field is stated to be old, and the cross itself was all but unknown to any resident in the neighbourhood, although some of them had been born and lived there for eighty years, a wall having been built, and hid the cross. They could not tell why the field had got the peculiar name.

Although of very considerable antiquity, this rude stone cross belongs, of course, to a comparatively recent date as compared with the other remains of early antiquities which I have attempted to describe.

The Kempflat.—Another field at no great distance to the west is styled the "Kempflat," where the remains of what may have been an ancient earthen dyke or rampart are still to be traced. Mr Melvin writes me:—"The earthen mound is placed on the summit of a sharp greenstone ridge, about 12 chains in length, varying from 4 feet to 8 feet in height, and

from 10 feet to 14 feet broad at the base, tapering up to 6 feet or 8 feet on the top. It seems to have suffered little change for many generations, as the turf covering is thick and old, while the trees with which it had been planted have preserved it for nearly a century."

The Kaimes Hill.—The rock sculpturings on Tormain Hill are not, however, the only remains of early antiquities in this locality, for, as already referred to, there rises, a little to the south of Tormain Hill, the well-known Kaimes Hill, to a height of 800 feet above the level of the sea, on which a camp was long ago described as existing, and the following description of it is published in vol. i. of the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1845, in the description of the parish of Ratho, Edinburghshire, by the Rev. James Clason, &c., under the date of 1839. He describes the South Platt Hill at Ratho Hall, in the northern part of the parish, as having been formerly the site of an ancient encampment:—"The Kaimes Hill, which is in view of this part, is the site of another encampment of similar construction, and apparently of the same era. Of this encampment the remains are visible. The space occupied by it is about three acres in extent, and includes the summit, with a considerable part of the eastern declivity. The area is surrounded by a double fosse and rampart, founded in one place with stones and black earth, except on the north side, where the rock is so precipitous as to form of itself a sufficient defence. The access to the camp is from the east, two large stones still marking the place of entrance. On the very summit of the hill there is a cairn of stones, concave in the centre, which is covered with turf greener than the ground around it. Toward the north-east, in a small valley immediately under the brow of the hill, there are to be seen at least ten circles formed with stones, indented or laid in the ground. These, which are all within the line of the defences, and in the most sheltered place of the encampment, are not improbably the remains of huts, raised for the purpose of accommodating the sick and wounded during the period of the hill's occupation. At their extremity is still a spring, which was no doubt of use to the army generally, and might, in conjunction with the shelteredness of the position, afford a strong motive for such erections in this particular spot. The appearance of the ground in some of these circles, a few of the stones being covered with a rich moss and bearing

some stalks of stunted nettles, renders it possible that some bodies may be here interred. It might contribute to the advancement of antiquarian lore if some of these circles were dug up and examined. The situation of this encampment, by whomsoever occupied, must have been a place of considerable strength and of great utility, commanding as it does an extensive prospect on all sides, and consequently not liable to the danger of sudden surprise." (P. 92.) Mr Clason follows Chalmers in his "Caledonia," in the suggestion that the name of the parish of Ratho is apparently nearly allied to the British Rath, or Rathau in the plural, and the Celtic Rath; may it not be connected with some of those ancient artificial works by which it was defended? More recently it has been marked on the Ordnance Survey Map of the county that a Fort exists here; the cairn already referred to is also figured in the fort.

I walked over the Kaimes Hill along with Mr Melvin and friend, and found it more interesting than either of these notices would suggest. It appears, indeed, to have been probably the site of an early British occupation of considerable importance, and was probably a town corresponding to other ancient sites which occur in different parts of the country. The Kaimes Hill is very steep towards the north and west, but less so in the other directions; on its east side you still can trace the remains of three lines of stone walls or ramparts, through which are a series of entrance openings or gates, and the ramparts still in part surround the hill, being especially distinct to the east and south. One of these entrances leads to a natural shelf near the upper part of the hill on its front to the north, where you find the remains of a rampart running along the brow of the hill, and on this natural shelf itself are to be seen traces of some fourteen or more hut circles, varying from 18 to 30 feet in diameter. A fine spring of water rises towards the western extremity of this shelf, and runs down the side of the hill. Above this shelf you see at least traces of other walls or ramparts and hut circles, generally taking advantage of the various heights and hollows over the top and round the brow of the hill, perhaps to the extent of some eighteen or twenty more hut circles, which are more or less distinctly indicated. Mr Melvin informs me the whole upper part of the hill is composed, he conceived, of columnar close-grained basalt, though he finds it has more lately been described as greenstone by Professor Geikie. This rock is lying above sandstone strata which

dip to the south. Mr Melvin says the surface of the hill has never been under the plough, nothing having ever been attempted there in the way of cultivation, and little change has therefore come over it since he first knew the locality, now some forty years ago. The walls round the hill-top form a parallelogram, rounded at the corners, of about 14 chains in length from east to west, by about 6 chains from north to south, and the space enclosed may amount to about 8 acres. The actual space now occupied by the hut circles is, however, much less. The fine spring of water already referred to rises about the centre of the north wall of the enclosure. Probably the existence of this spring had much to do with the selection of this commanding and elevated spot as a place of residence and security. The closely adjoining eminence of Dalmahoy Hill, to the east, which is about the same height and of a similar character, and therefore from its abruptness could have apparently been even more easily defended, has no spring of water on its summit or sides, and Mr Melvin tells me it shows no traces of any early remains. Mr Melvin also informs me that the stones forming the old lines of defence of the Kaimies Hill are chiefly whinstone boulders; some, however, are angular, as if they had been quarried, while a few sandstone blocks occur among them, and still fewer, any of the travelled older rocks of the district. Advantage has been taken in several places of depressions in the rocks to aid the line of defence. The hut circles are chiefly seen in the spots most sheltered from the south-west winds. The floors of the hut circles are covered by about a foot of soil, and appear at some places as if they had been flagged or roughly paved with thin stones, generally in those very partially examined by us, of sandstone, which in some places seemed to show marks of being blackened, possibly by fire.

Standing Stone at Lochend, &c.—There are other early antiquities still remaining in this district, especially in the valley of the Almond river. On the northern border of the parish of Ratho, at Norton, there is a standing stone five feet high. In the adjoining parish of Kirkliston, about two miles to the north of Tormain Hill, a quarter of a mile from the Almond, and a little to the west of the farm-house of Lochend, on the south side of the Edinburgh and Bathgate road, and about eight miles from Edinburgh, there is another large standing stone, also of coarse

greenstone. It bears no inscription or sculpturing of any kind; and measures about 10 feet in height from the surface of the ground.

Tumulus at Old Liston.—Immediately to the west of Lochend, just referred to, at Old Liston, there is a tumulus, apparently of earth, still of a considerable size, which we also visited. It lies a little to the south of the Edinburgh and Bathgate road, and is now enclosed by a low wall; this enclosure measures about 31 yards in diameter. Three large standing stones still retain their old position, as part, probably, of a stone circle which had formerly enclosed this tumulus or mound, at some considerable distance from its present circumference. One of these stones, a large unhewn greenstone block, about 8 feet high, stands on the north-west of the mound; another block, about 7 feet high, on a corresponding position to the south-west; while the third rises on the east side of the tumulus. These blocks are all of greenstone, which is believed to resemble that of the Kaimes Hill, some five miles distant, but where the rock is of a somewhat columnar character, and therefore could have been obtained without difficulty in large monumental-like masses.

Dr Daniel Wilson, in the chapter on Sepulchral Memorials of his "Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," refers to this tumulus; he states that—"In a large encircled barrow, called Huly Hill, opened in 1830, at Old Liston, a few miles to the west of Edinburgh, a bronze spear-head was found, along with a heap of animal charcoal and small fragments of bones, but neither cist nor urn." I quote from the first edition of 1851. From the slight details given, I should suppose that the examination of the tumulus had not been very minute, and that it still remains ready to reward the careful explorer with fuller details of its long-buried contents.

IV.

ON SOME RUINS AT ELLIDA VATN AND KJALARNES IN ICELAND.

By R. ANGUS SMITH, PH.D., F.R.S., &c. (PLATE II.)

In June and July of this year (1872) I had the privilege of sailing in the yacht *Nyanza*, belonging to my friend Mr Young, and of floating in the harbour of Reykjavik for a couple of weeks. During this time we found long journeys unpleasant and too laborious to make, and,

unlike tourists generally, we confined ourselves to a circuit of a few miles. One of the first sights that caught my eye, after gazing in a bleak morning on black shores and unclad hills, was a small island, almost approachable with dry feet from the town during low water. It is called Effersey, because, as is supposed by Mr Thorsteinsen, the Sheriff, it is just beyond the reach of an arrow from the mainland. There were two ruinous heaps upon it visible from the vessel, but the island was uninhabited. I had frequent opportunities of going there. We let down the gig, and were rowed over in five minutes. Some of us fished round the shores, and looked after a seal which sometimes showed itself, or looked at the solitary nest of an eider duck, the last of the season. In these hours it was easy to become acquainted with ground about one quarter of a mile long and not so much broad. I fear it is not even recognisable on the large Danish map. There are on it several remains of houses, having the thick walls of the Iceland fashion, and small interiors. These, I was told by the Sheriff, had been fishing-stations—places for the abodes of fishermen and for salting and drying fish—not later than last century. Five rings or circles of stones, set apart, particularly fixed my attention. They were like the stone circles of the West of Scotland, made with very small stones, but still more like those figured by Waring as in Sweden. I did not measure each circle; but they were 10 to 15 feet in diameter, and one a good deal more. They were clear and unbroken. In speaking of stone circles, it is not at all decided by what name we should describe them. To be more precise, people generally say circles such as are called Druidical. Now, it is better to have a proper word and no such periphrasis suggestive of a theory which seems untenable; and after trying many, I have come to the conclusion that stone circles is the simplest and best compound.

The closeness of these circles to a fishing establishment, and also to a kind of landing-place, suggested something connected with drying; but although this fancy came into the heads of my Iceland friends, none could explain how the circle could be used. No erection could be put over the stones; they had not sufficient surface above, and no traces of such a foundation as could support an erection could be seen. I opened the ground in the centre of one, but found nothing but earth. This, however, proves nothing. The stones were not a foot above the ground,

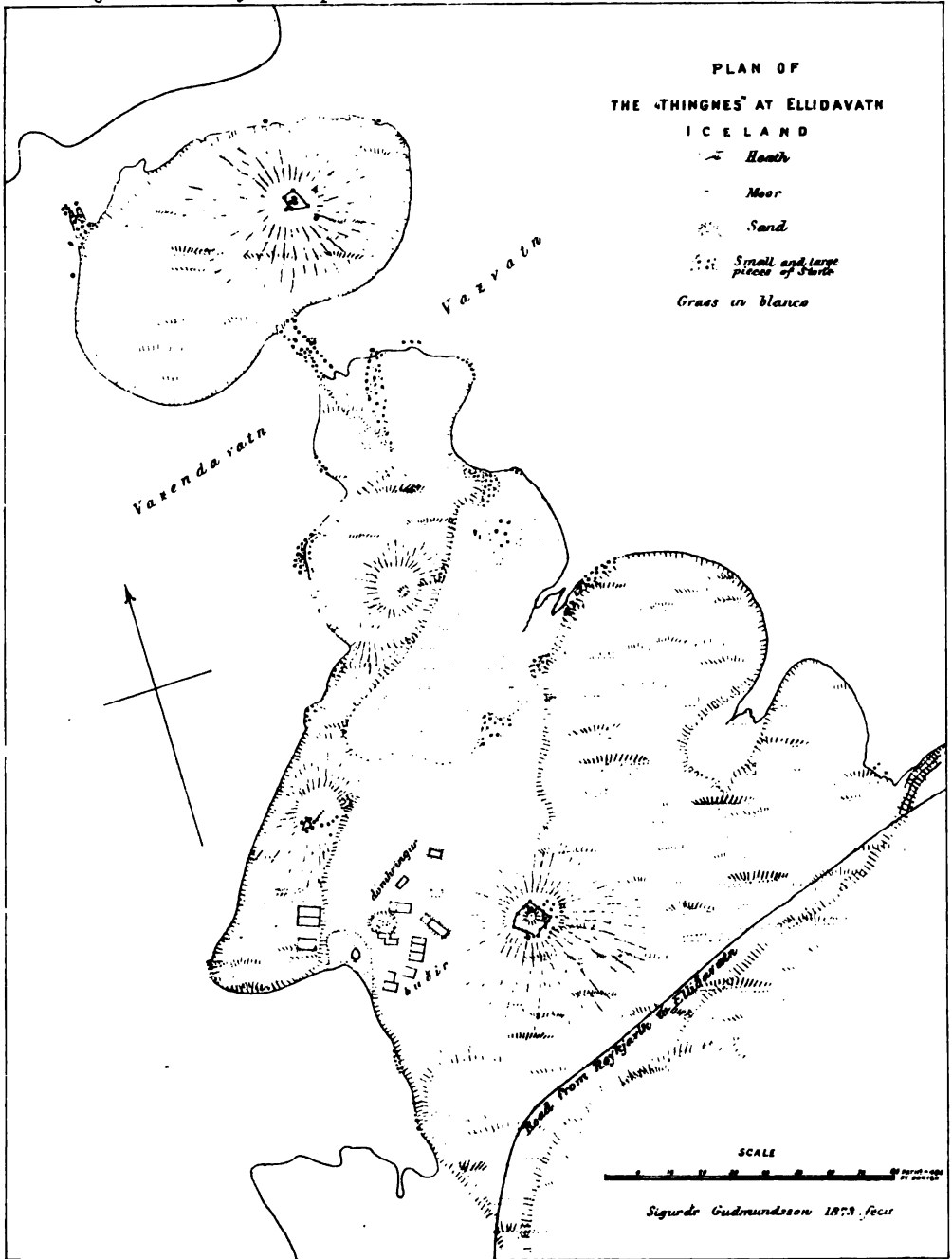
and in some cases nearly level with it ; but there they were, making stone circles. Some of these circles cut each other : on this I have no remark. Allowing for a moment that some easy explanation might occur, I wandered to other parts, and at the extreme west, and close to the sea where it rolls in towards the bay, were two cairns. Cairns they were unmistakably ; one becomes used to the appearance of such even in decay. Every person I spoke to of them in the town stoutly denied the existence of any such thing close to Reykjavik ; but they were easy to distinguish, from the great heaps of stone that seem to have been driven far up the shore by violent waves. One of these cairns was almost levelled with the ground, scarce a wreck remaining above ; and yet we could see it had been higher, perhaps opened. No one would have believed me had I not obtained abundant proof. On removing a few stones, it became clear that not only had it been a cairn, but it contained a stone kist, proving fully the correctness of the diagnosis. This cist or kist was rude enough, because it had been made with stones that were not flat, and had not been subjected, so far as I saw, to any process of flattening. It was small, and no cover was upon it, and nothing but stones in it,—desecrated long, long ago, before the fishing-station became large, in all probability. I am exceedingly sorry that a photograph which I attempted of this place with great care has not turned out well. I give a rude sketch instead. The other cairn was close to this, but much more decided in its external appearance, although hitherto unobserved, I am told. An opening was made in it, but nothing was found. The stones around seemed to indicate the rude remains of a circle of much higher and more pointed stones than those before mentioned, which being low and of the boulder class, had not been disturbed. I conclude it had been a cairn with a circle. I could not be sure that the cairn with the kist in it had had a circle round it. A rough sketch taken at the time is given ; I fear the digging somewhat disturbed the appearance. On opening this latter cairn, a bone was found of about 7 inches in length, having an aperture through its diameter, carefully made, at one end near the joint, whilst the whole had been carefully cleaned,—the core cleared out the whole length. It was not old, and had not been buried in the cairn, but it was a novelty to me, and I took it to the town. Inquiring of a gentleman there, his

wife said nothing, but went out, and brought one exactly the same, with thread wound round it. Wood is scarce here, and so we have bone instruments. But why the hole? Mr Ion A. Hjaltalin kindly writes an explanation:—"Usually they have two holes—one in the end, and another right through the bone, near the joint. These holes are made to suck out the marrow, which is taken out at one end. The transverse hole is merely to make a draught. Sometimes also they use the bones for needle-cases, putting the needles in through the hole in the end, and then putting a stopper into it. There is a superstition connected with these sheep bones. You must get the marrow out either by sucking it or by splitting the bones longitudinally; but if you break them right across, your sheep will break their legs."

This is the first time that I have met with the practice of splitting bones as a European habit, although I believe it not to have ceased at an early time, seeing that I had proved the results in a lake dwelling which did not speak of high antiquity.

In the cemetery at Reykjavik I observed several circles over the graves, made of small stones, which seemed to be like drawings I had seen of Swedish burying-places, and very like the habit, very old and widespread, of making circles of white pebbles. Mr Hjaltalin tells me that the habit has come from Denmark, and that these small circles are made to imitate garlands, which indeed they much resemble. Circular heaps are sometimes found in churchyards marking the graves of criminals or suicides, and may suggest heathen burials, although not so.

This little find on the little island is not unimportant. It *shows* that we may miss the objects before our face, and that we need *not* despise the smallest spots. But it also tells us that this mode of burying is as late as the ninth century at any rate, if we did not *know* it from history. At this time a cistvaen was made rudely, a *cairn* was built, and a circle of pointed stones was put round it. If we take Burnt Njal, we find that after Iceland had been well colonised a larger *cairn* was made, and, as a mark of honour, Gunnar was buried sitting. Still later, Grettir the Strong went into the *cairn* of a Norwegian king, and found him sitting. From all this I simply conclude that large *cairns*, small *kists*, and stone circles are not necessarily very old. I dare say this is well known to the members, but I believe the knowledge not to be widespread, and that the



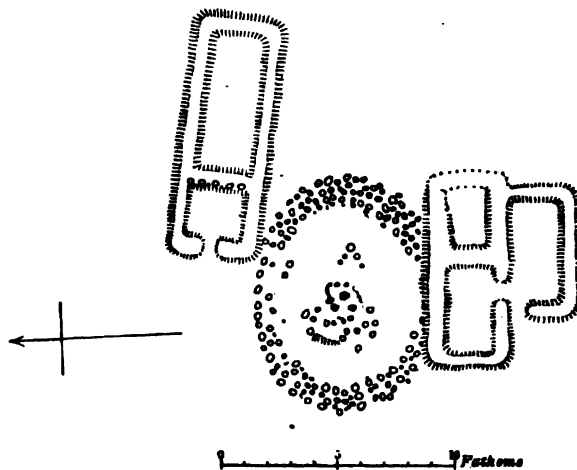


observations are worth recording. I had nothing to prove these remains to be older than Norwegian occupation. Poor as they are, they are greater than the mass of the people could obtain, and the poorest may exist contemporaneous with the richest, as we see at this day.

When making inquiries at Reykjavik, I was told of an old Thingstead at Ellida Vatn, a small lake a few miles off. We decided to go, having a guide, Zoegge the dark-haired, a fine man, but less known than the brother, and having also the company of Mr Gudmundsson, the artist and keeper of the museum. The ride is often taken by pleasure parties. On the farther margin of the lake is a small peninsula or ness, and at the neck is a collection of ruins. One sees the foundations of many dwellings, oblong like houses or booths, whilst there are many standing stones not very high, and a round wall or foundation of a round building. Mr Gudmundsson has been good enough to make a drawing, or rather plan, for me (see Plate II., and the annexed plan). There are foundations of eighteen so-called booths. Close to them and amongst them is a round wall, levelled now with the surface of the grass, but I do not know what depth or height it may have been; at any rate, it is about 5 feet in thickness, and the space enclosed is 22 Danish ells in diameter, each equal to two Danish feet. I had never seen a circular wall (it appears on survey to be oval) of such dimensions, and marvelled. Mr Gudmundsson called it a Domring. I could not contradict, but wondered again at my ignorance. This circle was built solid,—it was not an open or so-called Druid's circle; it was like the other house walls of Iceland, to all appearance made to hold a roof and to keep out bad weather. If a Court, or Thing, or Domring, surely it must be different from others. This, however, was not all the surprise, because in the middle of this large circle was another circle about 12 feet in diameter. This was an open one of the kind called Druid's. Although imperfect, no doubt entered my mind as to the form intended, and it was as unexpected as bewildering. In the very middle, again, was a large stone, rather out of its place, but somewhat tabular. Here, then, was a stone circle enclosed with a strong wall such as people build to hold roofs. Surely this stone circle must have been of value. (See plan, p. 156.)

At no great distance were three or four places which showed stone

circles in decay. I say three or four—I think four—but there were only two which appeared decidedly to have circles in the eyes of my companions, and I shall therefore not insist on more; at the same time, they had not before seen stone circles, and could not recognise them when in ruins so easily as I believe I could. Of the two there appeared little doubt. One of these less distinct places had a small circle and another concentric, and I believe a third outside, but so much in ruins that I am willing to leave part uncertain. They were small, and stood on a small eminence. Another of these places with uncertain circles could be seen below.



Ground Plan of Domring (so called) and the nearest booths.

The booths or houses were in some cases 17 yards by 5. The whole would seem to have been a collection of important public places with booths near. I suppose it is agreed that there were several courts near each other, and it seems not out of the way to suppose these concentric circles to have marked such places. I know the reasoning against this; but I must ask, Why the carefully-enclosed circle and centre stone, clear enough to see? and why the other concentric circle, if less clear? I

never before had seen a so-called Druid's circle inside a house, because this is probably the real meaning of the thick enclosing wall. It was also unlike anything either seen or read of by me, and on inquiry I saw it necessary to look up a number of points.

Why are these booths there, or are they booths? and why so many in this sequestered place? Inquiry showed that history could not assist. The place is called Krossnes and Thingnes, and on the large map of Iceland, Kjalarnesthing. Are we to disbelieve these names except the first, which is descriptive of the land, as the map shows? I was then referred to the Saga regarding Kjalarnes, but then it seemed clear that only the limited Kjalarnes, under Mount Eaja, was alluded to. Here we are some miles away from Esja. Again, it seemed the belief that the whole of the circle of the bay of Reykjavik was called Kjalarnes at times, all being in the land where the first *keel* landed—the origin of the name, some people say, is “the promontory of the keel.”

Not finding the recorded history, we must pursue the natural history of the subject; and so it seemed next right to go to Kjalarnes, and find out what remained in that place, where we are told that both a temple and a court were erected. Does the place suit the description? We accordingly decided to sail to Kolla Fiord; and before going there I may give a part of the Saga, to show the nature of the interest to be had in looking in that direction. The translation is made by Mr Hjaltalin, of the Advocates' Library, who kindly undertook to read out a few chapters in English, translating every word carefully, whilst I was careful to write down every word as we went on, receiving his comments and explanations, for which I am certainly much indebted, as my readers will be, since this Saga has not hitherto been published in English.

Kjalnesing Saga.

I.—Helgi Bjóla, the son of Ketill Flatnefr, took possession of the whole of Kjalarnes between Leyruvogr and Botnsá, and lived at Hof at Kjalarnes. He was a very useful man during the time of the old religion. He was not a great worshipper, but quiet and gentle towards all. Helgi married Thórny, the daughter of Ingolfr, at Reykjavik, who first settled in Iceland. Their sons were Thorgrimr and Arngrimr. They were both large men and strong, and the most active-looking men. Helgi distributed the land of which he had taken posses-

sion among his crew. To Thrádr he gave Thranderstade; to Eylifr, Eylifsdal; to Hækingr, Hikinigsthal (Hækingisdalr); to Tindr, Tindstadir; and to every one he gave the place which he liked most.

A man is named Erlig (Örlygr), an Irishman both by his father and mother. Ireland was Christian at that time, and was ruled over by Konfögr, the king of the Irish. Erlig (Örlygr) offended the king, and then he went to see his kinsman, Bishop Patrick, and asked for his advice what he should do. But he told him to go to Ireland, for, said he, a great number of powerful men have gone there. But I would advise you to take with you three things—consecrated earth, which you shall put under the corner pillar of the church, a mark of the cross, a plenarium, and a consecrated iron bell. You will come to the south of Iceland, and then you shall sail round to the west. A large fiord goes into the country from the west, and far in the firth you will see three lofty mountains divided by valleys. You shall direct your course to the last mountain, where you will get a good harbour, and there lives a wise chief called Helgi Bjóla, who will receive you, because he is not a great worshipper. He will give you a dwelling-place under the mountain of which I told you before. Build a church there, and bury your men, and dedicate the church to St Columba. Now, farewell, said the bishop, and take good care of your faith, though you will be living among heathens. After that Örlygr prepared to go, and it is to be said of his voyage that everything went as the bishop had told him. He landed in the Therneyarsund, and went then to see Helgi Biola, who received him well. Örlygr erected a farmhouse and church under the mountain of which the bishop had told him, and lived there afterwards to old age.

II.—During the latter portion of the reign of Konfögr, the king of the Irish, a vessel with Irishmen on board arrived at Leyrufvágr. A man is named Andridr, a young man and unmarried, large and strong; with them (the Irishmen) was a woman, by name Esja, a very wealthy widow; there was also a man, by name Kolli. Helgi received all of them. Kolli he placed in Kolla Fiord; but as Erlig was old and without children, he gave up his land and farm to Esja who took up her residence at Esjuberg. All these people were said to be baptised, yet many said that Esja knew many old tricks. Andridr went to spend the winter at Hof, and he and Helgi's sons became foster-brothers. Andridr asked Helgi to procure him a dwelling-place and a wife. He was very wealthy. At that time the whole of Kjalarnes was overgrown with wood, and those were the only clearings where the people cleared the place for a farmhouse on a road. A large road went along the hill from Hof. In the spring Helgi and Andridr went there, and when they arrived at the hill, Helgi said, Andridr, here I will give you land, and I wish you to build a farmhouse here.

It seems to me that my sons wish to press you. After that Andridr built a farmhouse across the road, and called it Brautaholt, because the wood was so thick that they thought it less trouble to build a farmhouse there (i.e., on the road). Andridr made there a splendid farmhouse. A man is named Thormóthr, who lived in Thormódsdal; with him lived his sister, by name Thorðr, who was good-looking and wealthy. Helgi wooed this woman for Andridr, and she was betrothed to him. This summer also Arndys, the daughter of Thórðr, Skeggi's son, at Skeggjastadir, was betrothed to Thorgrimr, the son of Helgi. Both weddings were to take place together at Hof, and the guests were treated with great energy. There were a great many people. After the wedding, Thuridr went to Brautaholt and took the management of the household duties, and it soon became evident that she was a very pushing woman. They had a large number of live stock, and the sheep went in the wood by themselves, over the ness. This autumn Andridr missed a dark grey heifer, three winters old, which was called Maus. This heifer was found three winters afterwards on a ness west from Brautaholt, and then she had two calves, one a year old, another six months old. They therefore called the ness Musarnes. The first winter that Andridr lived in Brautaholt, Helgi Biola died, and it was thought the greatest loss, for he was very popular. In the spring the brothers divided their patrimony; Thorgrimr retained the paternal seat and the chieftainship, because he was the elder of the two, but Arngrimr got the outlying farms. He began farming close to the fiord, and called the place Saurbaer. He married a woman by name Olóf, from Borgarfjord. They had two sons: one was named Helgi, the other Vakr. They became brave men, but were not of a large stature. Thorgrimr began farming in the spring at Hof. His farm soon became very magnificent, as there were many things to support him, also friends and kinsmen. He became a powerful man in the district, and ruled over the whole, all the way to Minna-brann, and this was called Brunndæla-godord (chieftainship). He was called Thorgrimsgothi. He was a great worshipper, and built a temple on his farm a hundred feet long and sixty feet broad; all the people were to pay a tax towards it. Thorr was most worshipped there. It was made round within like a skull-cap. It was hung with tapestry, and there were windows in it. Thor was standing in the middle, and the other gods on both sides. In front of Thor stood an altar, finely made, and covered on the top with iron. There was to be the fire which should never go out—we call that consecrated fire. On that altar a large ring, made of silver, was lying. The temple priest wore it on his hand at all public meetings. By it all people were to swear on giving evidence. On that altar stood a large bowl of copper, into which the blood of cattle or men sacrificed to Thor was to be poured. This they called hlaut (blood), and hlautbolli (blood-bowl). From this bowl men and cattle which were sacrificed and feasted

on were to be besprinkled, when there were sacrificing feasts. But the men who were sacrificed were thrown down into a pool close to the door. This they called blotkelda. The cross beams which were in the temple were put in the hall at Hof when Olaf built it. He had them all split, yet they were thick enough. Thorgrim instituted a spring meeting at Kjalarnes, close by the sea, and the ruins of the booths may still be seen. All minor matters were to be decided there, and only such cases were to be brought to the Althing as could not be decided or compromised here. Thorgrim and Arndys had a son, by name Thorsteinn. He was soon a very violent man, and considered everything low beside himself. Kolli lived in Kolla Fiord, as has been said before. He married a woman by name Thorgerdr, the daughter of Eylifr, in Eylifsdal. They had a daughter, by name Oláf, and her beauty became a common talk. She was therefore called Oláf the Beautiful.

III.—When Andridr and his wife had lived some winters at Brautaholt, they had a son who was poured over with water and called Búi. He greatly surpassed other young men, was larger and stronger, and finer to look at. Eeja lived at Esjvberg, as has been said before. She offered to foster Búi, the son of Andridr, and he grew up with her. He was called somewhat wayward in his youth; he would never worship, and said it was not manly to bend knees to such things. He would not carry a weapon, but a sling, which he tied round himself. There was a woman, by name Thorgerdr, who lived at Vatn, which was afterwards called Ellida Vatn; a son of hers, by name Kolvidr (Coalwood) grew up with her; he was soon a large man, with black hair, and ugly. He laid himself down in the kitchen, and gnawed the bark of wood, and took care of his mother's cattle. Thorgerdr was very sorry for this, yet Coalwood had his way. Thorgrimgothi took much notice of those men who would not worship, and they were severely treated by him. He and his son Thorsteinn spoke threateningly concerning Bui, as he would not worship, and called him the dog Bui. Bui was then twelve winters old, and Thorsteinn eighteen. Thorsteinn summoned Bui to Kjalarnesthing for heresy (wrong faith), for which the penalty should be outlawry. Thorstein carried out the case, and Bui became an outlaw. Bui pretended not to know of it, and went about as before. He went frequently to Brautaholt to see his father and mother, and still he did so. From all this, great coldness arose between the people. Once in the spring, Bui, it is said, went to Brautaholt: he always went alone, and did not carry more weapons than before. He had his sling tied round himself. Thorsteinn saw where Bui went, and recognised him. Then he went to his father and said, "How long is this to go on, father?—that the dog whom I made an outlaw last summer shall pass the farm here in full liberty, as if we had no charge against him. I think if your neighbours are suffered to do this, that

others will not think much of breaking your commands, and will care nothing for what we say." Thorgrimir said, "There is much in what you say; but what will you do now?" Thorsteinn replied, "It is a plain thing to me: I wish you to give me men, and I will slay Bui when he goes home, because I think it will be a long time till his father offers to make a compensation for him." Father and son agreed about this, and they kept watch when Bui went home. Bui staid some nights at Brautaholt, and when he prepared to go home, his mother Thuridr came to him and said, "I wish, my son, you would not go so incautiously; I am told that Thorsteinn has been threatening you. I wish you would take with you at least two men, and carry some weapons." Bui replied, "It is my duty to do your will, but it will be difficult for my foster-mother to keep more such as I am; but as to Thorsteinn and me, it is difficult to see which of us will be able to tell the news, even if he has a larger attendance, and this time I shall go as I intended." Then Bui went his way along the sea-shore, and Thorsteinn became aware of it. He and eleven others took their weapons. When Bui saw the pursuit, he was on a hill, and there he stopt and gathered together some stones. Thorsteinn and his men ran over a brook when they heard the sound of Bui's sling, and a stone soon hit one of Thorsteinn's men on the breast and killed him on the spot. Bui sent some more stones, and killed a man with each. Then they were close to him, and he left the hill and walked down on the opposite side. An eminence separated them, and at the same time darkness fell on, and they could not see farther than their toes. Thorsteinn said, "Here is a heavy road to pull when we have to fight against a dog and a witch, and let us return this time, but I should wish that I and Bui should meet in that way another time, so that we could not both of us tell the news." Then they turned back, carrying the men with them, and were very badly satisfied with their trip. It was also the talk of people that they had succeeded very poorly.

IV.—Bui now went home, and Esja his foster mother was at the door and saluted him, and he received her greeting well. Esja said, "Did you not think a while ago that you were too few men?" Bui said more were not wanted. Esja said, "You were not quite alone in the play." Bui said, "I am glad to enjoy good health." Esja said, "Do you not think you will be tired of Thorsteinn's pursuit?" Bui said, "That would be known if I could expect any assistance." Esja said, "We must often venture many things." Thus the talk ended, and the winter passed on. Late one evening Bui went to Brautaholt and spent the night there. In the morning, before daybreak, he was up and turned to the east of the hill. He could clearly see the farm-house at Hof. The sky was clear and bright. He saw a man dressed in linen clothes only come out of the house at Hof. He turned to the gate, and walked along the road to the temple. Bui thought he

recognised Thorsteinn, and went to the temple; and when he came there he saw that the yard and the temple were not shut. Bui went into the temple, and saw that Thorsteinn lay down on his face before Thorr. Bui went slowly up to him, and took hold of him in this way: one hand he placed under his knees and the other under his shoulders, and lifted him up, and drove his head down on a stone so hard that the brain was scattered about the floor, and he died instantly. Bui carried him out of the temple and threw him into the yard. Then he turned back into the temple, and took the consecrated fire and made it burn up. Then he carried it about the temple and set fire to the tapestry, and the flames spread rapidly from one to another, and in a short time the whole of the temple was in flames. Then Bui went out, locked the temple and the yard, and flung the keys into the flames; then he went his way. Thorgrimr awoke in the morning, and looked out and perceived the flames in the temple. He called on his servants, both men and women, to bring pails of water and save the temple. He also called his son Thorsteinn, and he was nowhere to be found. When they came to the yard gate, they could not easily get through, as it was locked, and the temple as well, but they could not find the keys anywhere. They had to break the gate open, because the wall was so high that it was impossible to get over it anywhere. When they had broken open the gate and were inside the yard, they saw Thorsteinn lying dead. The temple was locked, and nothing could be seen that was within. Then they made hooks, and at last the temple was pulled to pieces, and thereby some of the timbers were saved.

Now, it is to be told of Bui, that he came to a farm called Holar and declared himself to be the slayer of Thorsteinn,¹ and then he went home. Esja was on the west side of the farm, and saluted Bui, who received her greetings well. She said, "Have you been chased by Thorsteinn this morning, or have you now thought of my egging?" Bui said he would not deny that the Hof people might think they had suffered some loss. Esja said, "Have you declared the killing?" He said he had done so. Esja said, "I am not powerful enough to keep you here without hiding, because I know Thorgrimr will be here to-day." Bui said, "I suppose you had better do as you wish." Then they walked from the farm up to the mountain and across the river; then they went up a narrow path to a peak called *Laug ar-gnipa* (Bath-peak). There they came upon a fine cave; there was a beautiful room, and under it was a brook. In the cave there were provisions, drink, and clothing. Esja said, "You will have to be here for a while," and Bui said "he would do so." Esja went home and made fires in the house with wet sweepings, which made a great deal of smoke.

¹ If a man told within the next two farms that he slew a man, it was a homicide; otherwise, it was a murder.

The Saga continues, but the rest has no interest for us in this inquiry. Bui leaves the country, and goes through many adventures.

There are said not to be the remotest signs of the temple spoken of in this Saga at Hof, and we did not look, but we went to the shore of Kolla Fiord under Eeja, which is in a small degree a jokull, and showed deep ridges filled with snow, and no doubt also with ice. There was a little grass on the shore, and at the extreme head of the fiord a good deal, and a farm-house, but the upper land, and much of the lower was almost as void of vegetation as a pane of glass. The shores on the south were heaps of large stones, as if in gigantic cartloads; on the north side there was a little level ground, and the sea was evidently diminishing it. A low flat shingle was shown us as the place where once stood the Kjalarnes Thing, as smooth now as any shingle is whereon the waves have acted for many years. We passed off the stones and found a little grass under the hill, and here were the remains of what might have been, and what are considered to have been, two booths.

If we suppose the Sagas to be absolutely correct, that at Krossnes was not alluded to. That is on the shores of a lake, this is on the sea. In minute details they do not correspond. I should certainly conclude that the Saga did not relate to Ellida Vatn. Let us see what is to be learned from it.

It is clear that sacrifices were made both of men and animals, and the remains were buried in the temple or at the door. It is clear, also, that the temples were made with a round portion, if all were not round. We must conclude, therefore, that to find remains within or at the circumference of a circle is no proof of ordinary burial. Remains of victims thrown into holes in the rough manner alluded to might account for many cases where the bones lie in great disorder, and are not found within the circle.

In the Eyrbyggja a temple is described as built by Thorolf, and of a great size ("ingentis magnitudinis"), which this was not. In the centre was the Pulvinar (a place for holding the images), "ac ara altaris instar," the altar for sacrifice probably. In Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities" we are told that "ara" and "altare" were often used as the same, but "altare" had a greater importance, properly speaking. At this temple of Thorolf's was an aspergillum for sprinkling the blood of animals, while

blood was held in a bowl; and there was also a ring, which was held by the person taking an oath.

With all these facts, in conjunction with the narrations, we may fairly conclude—

1st, That open circles were built at a period as late as the Norse occupation of Iceland.

2d, That the character of that at Krossnes is too remarkable to allow us to suppose that the place was unimportant.

3d, That if the open circles were not considered symbolical, they were at least held as very important.

4th, That the stone in the centre, in conjunction with the other details, seems to answer the description of the Blood Stone.

5th, That to find human remains is no proof of a regular burying-place; but if the remains have been thrown down irregularly, they point to the rough usage given them after sacrifice.

6th, Many places which we call burial-places only may have been places of sacrifice, and this may account for the irregularity in the disposition of the remains. On the other hand, it may be that in all the cases the burial was the chief point and the sacrifice only an accompaniment. If the body for burial be lost, the circle may still exist with the sacrificial remains only, whether human or not, which had been tossed aside. Much interesting matter on this subject is to be found in Dr Thurman's "Ancient British Barrows," Society of Antiquaries, London, 1869.

With these ideas, and the facts before us, it was difficult to resist the opinion, when looking at the large saucer-like stones in New Grange, in the Boyne valley, that they were intended for bloody rites. For liquid they are apparently intended. Then, what liquid? They are not such as one would use for a large amount of liquid, but quite such as would be found convenient for retaining a small amount, whereas the surface being large leads us to suppose it was required to hold a large object. This is an old idea, but ideas rot and fructify anew, when there is life in them.

When opposing many absurd and unfounded legends, or perhaps fabrications about the Druids and the supposed Druidical use of circles, an opposition has arisen to all idea of any religious use for any one of that class of buildings or monuments; and whilst many false views

have been thrown down, it may happen that a good deal of sound material has also fallen in the confusion of the struggle. Man has no doubt spent much time in putting his dead into lasting resting-places, and in this showing his great love of his relatives, I will not say species, but that love has not distinguished him so much as his love of, or at least attention to, spiritual beings. For this he has not spared any even of his most intimate friends. It is very hard to suppose that one idea, the love of friends, so much weaker than the other at certain stages of civilisation, should have so outlived it. However, this is not an argument. The connection of booths and temples, and we might also add of round buildings, is interesting. Although Stukely may have first connected the idea of temples of a Druidical kind with certain remains, he by no means introduced the opinion that stone circles were temples. This is very old indeed, and if Hector Boece is put out of court as a historian, he cannot be put out of court as a gossip, and he distinctly says it was the vulgar idea of his time:—"Enormous stones placed in circles, and vulgarly called the ancient temples of the gods,"—"Ingentia ea saxa ducta in circos, prisca deorum Fana vulgus appellat."

Whatever he may say, the Iceland Sagas seem clear enough on the circular form, and one object of this paper is to show that the open stone circle, our common one, is found conjoined with the closed one as well as not conjoined, and may be seen in Iceland to-day. I never travelled over Iceland, and do not know its antiquities; I give what I saw, and connect it with what I know elsewhere. We need not attempt to make very early times refined.

Having advanced this length, I had the fortune of some guidance from two great Icelandic authorities, who will keep me right, at least in the history, although I fear I am still inclined to keep to my opinion that these accumulations represent the ruins of either courts or temples, at least one of them being the remains of a very important place, throwing light on our own stone circles. And first let me quote Mr Vigfussen, joint-author of the "Icelandic Dictionary," p. 101:—

"Dom-hringr, *m.*, doom-ring, judgment-ring (compare also *ve-bond*, the sacred bounds or bar) The courts of heathen times were surrounded by the dom-hringr, about a bowshot from the centre, where the benches were placed; no evil-doer might enter this hallowed ring, or commit an act of

violence within it; if he did so, he was called a vargr i veum (lupus in sanctis). The English law term 'bar' answers to this old word; compare Greek, *δρυφακτοι*; Lat., *cancelli*; the Gothic *staua-court* and judge, properly means a staff bar. The bar was, according to *Egils Saga*, *l.c.*, a pole of hazel-wood, *hesli-stengr*. Classical passages referring to this: *Thar sér enn dom-hring thann, er menn voru daemdir i til blots, í théim-hring stendu Thórs Stein, &c.*, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, chap. x. *Thar stendu enn Thors Steinn . . . ok thar hja (better) er sa dom-hringr er (in which) menn skyldi til blots daema*; *Landnama*, 98. Another classical passage is *Eg. chap. lvii.*, beginning; comp. also *Fas. III.*, *Gautret's Saga*, chap. vii., *Edda*, 10, though the ring is not expressly mentioned in these two last passages; *hann gengr i dom-bringinn ok setzk nidr, Band. 6*; *en their eigu at risa or dominum ok sitja i dom-hring innan medan um tha sök er daemt, Gragas. i. 78*; comp. 17, 26; in early heathen times this sacred circle was formed by a ring of stones, comp. *dom-steinar*; no doubt some of the so-called Celtic or Druidical stone circles are relics of these public courts, *e.g.*, the stones of *Stennis* in the Orkneys; comp. *Scott's last note to the Pirate*, referring to this subject; even in later times, when the thing was obsolete, the name remained."

It may be remarked that the distance of the ring from the centre of the circles in question does not coincide with the distance mentioned in this article, and indeed a bowshot is a distance incredibly great. The bystanders in the court in *Burnt Njal* hear the pleading and make their remarks. The whole outer ring at *Ellida Vatn* is 44 feet. This account suits the oval place, leaving the bowshot out, but it does not explain the inner circle or the centre stone as a part of a court. Therefore, I fancied it nearer to a temple than a court; but I have no strong feeling on the subject, and shall be satisfied to have the matter cleared. I came to the subject without a theory.

When deliberating, I received a very full and complete letter from Professor Maurer, of Munich, who is the highest authority I suppose on Icelandic history. He finds no reason at all for believing any court to have been here, and considers it must have been at *Esja*, already described. He has kindly allowed me to print his remarks, and although they arrive at conclusions which do not appear consistent with what I have seen, I do so with much pleasure. I must really beg pardon

of several men of great standing as antiquaries for thinking differently from them, when the subject is so new to me and foreign to those things on which I have all my life been writing.

Letter from Professor R. Maurer, of Munchen.

“Kjalarnes is now and was in old times that piece of land which lies north of Reykjavik, and on the southern and western sides of Esja. I leave the question whether a smaller part of this district ever bore the name. Not only the Kjalarnes Saga, but the *Islendinga Bok* and the *Landnama*, the most trustworthy sources for the history of Iceland, tell of the Kjalarnes Thing; but it is true the accounts do not quite agree. According to the *Islendingabok* and *Landnama*, Thorstein, the son of Ingolf, established the Thing at Kjalarnes, and associated with him are put Helgi Bjola, who lived at Hof, and Orlygr Gamli, who lived at Esjuberg. Although it says also that Thorstein and his father Ingolf, and his son, Thorkell Mani, lived at Reykjavik, and the other two chiefs in the circle of Kjalarnes, there is no room left for the unquestionable assertion that the court was established at Kjalarnes. The Kjalarnes Saga, on the other hand, makes the establishment to be by Thorgrim Godi, and differs so far from the first description that it may be a later remembrance of the circumstance, which might become necessary when the Reykjavik people transferred the authority to the Thing Valla; but even this Saga places the court at Kjalarnes, and when it is added, “*Sudr vedisjoinn*,” it is meant that it is south of the temple at Hof, in the direction of the sea. Not a trace is to be found in old sources of the Kjalarnes court having been held elsewhere than at this place, and the name would be unintelligible if this were not the case.

“Till lately no one has doubted this, since the very well-informed Lögmadr Eggert Olafsson, in the journey of himself and Bjarni Pálsson, p. 111, speaks of the Thingstead at Hof in Kjalarnes as an established fact (1752–57, *Resp.* 1772). It first occurred to the known poet, Ionas Hallgrímsson, who worked on a description of Iceland never published, and took the idea that the Kjalarnes Thing might have been at Ellidavatn, because he there saw so many booth remains, and he was perhaps inclined to this by the belief that the place must be sought nearer to Reykjavik. This, if I am not mistaken, was told me in Iceland by the

Conferenz Rath Bjarni Thorsteinson ; so also we are told by Brynjulfsen in his memoir (sufficiently uncritical), um godord fornöld buaaskipun a Thingvöllum Ny Felagsrit, xiii. § 38. On this mere suspicion of a late time stands all the evidence of a Thingstead being at Ellida Vatn. The reputed remains of this Thingstead are, in my opinion, only those of stables and houses which were kept here by the Baron Hastfer in 1758, at his model sheep farm (Erz. Iohnse Iaardatal a Islandi, seite xciv. anm. 2, dofter.) True, one can no more see with certainty the remains at Kjalarnes, which, however, would sink rapidly in marshy ground, or easily be washed away if near the sea.

“This is my opinion, drawn from old sources, so far as I know them, and also by actually seeing the places and making inquiries there. That under such circumstances I think it hopeless to look for a temple or a Dom-ring at Ellida Vatn is easily understood.

“*P.S.*—I may remark that the name Kjalarnesthing on the map is founded only on the conjecture of Ionas Hallgrimsson.”

Finding that Hallgrimsson had written on the subject, and that his work was only in MS., I asked Mr Hjaltalin for advice, and he wrote to Denmark, receiving a copy of the part alluded to from the President of the Althing. This he also kindly translated from the Danish :—

From the Autograph Diary of Ionas Hallgrimmsson, 1841. Communicated by H. Ion Sigurdsson, President of the Althing and the Icelandic Literary Society at Copenhagen. Translated by Mr Ion A. Hjaltalin, Advocates' Library.

“Last winter, when I began in earnest to inquire after the place where the old Kjalarnesthing had been, there was no one who could give me information about it. People said, indeed, that there were remains of a Thingstead somewhere on the Kjalarnes, to the west of the farm Moar near the sea-shore, but that no ruins of booths were to be seen there. Besides, he it remarked, the place is called Leidvöllr (the Plain of the Leid, or the district meeting after the Thing). This naturally led me to think that the Kjalarnesingar had in their time held the yearly Leidarthing on this spot, but that it was not therefore decided that the district Thing (court or meeting) had ever been there. About the same time I

learned that at Ellida Vatn (an inland lake full of fish, situated above the Seltjarnarnes, on the old boundaries of Kjosarsýsla and Gullbringu Sýsla, and in the centre of the district Kjalarnesthing) there were to be found many and important ruins on a ness going into the above-mentioned lake, half-way between the farms Vatnsende and Vatn. After previous inquiry, I went from Reykjavik to this place in the evening of the 20th of June, as I intended next day to do some digging, hoping by such means to attain some result with respect to the original purpose of the ruins.

“Next morning, the 21st June, I began the work, assisted by four hired labourers, my attendant, and a couple of friends—eight in all.

“The owner of the ground, Ion Ionsson, of Vatn, was present himself and gave me permission to dig where and how I liked, limited only by the reasonable condition that he himself should be at liberty to dispose of what might be found of antiquities. There was therefore nothing to hinder the success of the work according to the small power at my disposal.

“The first ruin dug up was apparently an old booth, and indeed one of the largest that I remember to have seen at any Thingstead in Iceland. Its dimensions were as follows:—

Length,	. . . . .	32 feet.
Breadth (inside)	. . . . .	14 „ at lower end.
Do. do.	. . . . .	13 „ at upper end.
Thickness of Wall,	. . . . .	6 „

It was built of good, partly selected, but rough stones. The entrance at the lower end on the middle of the cross wall was about three feet. From the quantity of stones fallen down, the height of the wall may be concluded to have been about three ells, or six feet. The inside area of this ruin is therefore somewhat about 100 square ells. It is at least the broadest booth that is to be found at any of the old Thingsteads of Iceland. I say booth, for so it is without any doubt. The digging has shown to demonstration that it has not been any building intended for animals. I took with me specimens of the hard trodden-down crust of the floor to prove this assertion.

“Then the work was begun immediately on the north-west side of the ruins, on an elevated spot (póll), where there was a heap of stones of such a shape as to induce me to believe that it was the work of man. By

joint efforts large stones were removed, but this toilsome labour led to no results.

“ From this we removed to the most remarkable spot on the Thingnes—a circle of stones—the Domring (or court ring). The circle must have been nearly correct, as its ruins are still round, and the diameters from north to south and from east to west are equal, namely, 43 feet. At the bottom, the wall has been two ells (four feet) broad, and, to judge from the quantity of stones fallen down, of about the same height; or, in other words, it would have reached a man of middle stature to the breast. This was also the proper height, in order that the wall without being easily jumped over, should not obstruct the public (from seeing). We can fancy them standing round the circle, leaning with their arms round the sacred hedge within which laws were read (aloud), public information promulgated, and judgment pronounced in many cases in which all present took a lively interest. It may be remarked that this Domring is contiguous to two booths, so that the above-mentioned ruin which we dug up forms a part of the north side of the ring, whilst the side walls of three united ruins enclose it on the south-east side. In the centre of the court ring there is a heap of stones, which cannot have come from the surrounding walls: its purpose is uncertain, and will remain so until a complete and careful digging can be made. By the attempts already made about one-third of an inner stone circle have appeared, which seems to indicate that the circle has been complete in olden times, and was then probably the seat of the judge.

“ After this, at the request of the landowner, the upper ruin, a little above those already described, was dug out. We were not successful in finding antiquities. The only thing found was a small sharp-edged basaltic stone, which certainly does not belong to the basaltic masses of the neighbourhood.

“ Besides the work mentioned, some other ruins were hastily examined, in order if possible to discover a fire-place, but without success. A careful digging up of the ground next the larger booth (Butharhladid, booth-yard) did not lead to the wished-for results. It was thought probable that some of the sweepings of the booth might have contained some article about which its former inhabitants were indifferent, whilst I, under the present circumstances, would have received it with eagerness as a

proof of the correctness of my subjective conviction. One thing, however, has been completely and abundantly disproved by this work, viz., the possible use of these ruins for stables, or at any rate for night quarters for sheep or cattle; for it is well known throughout Iceland that no such house does exist without a dunghill ("havgur") immediately before the door or the entrance; but no vestiges of such were to be discovered.

"Altogether the ruins are about twenty, and the above-mentioned circles besides. What could their purpose have been? Their number, shape, the quality of the floor, &c., all indicate that they must have been the abode of many men. The situation of the place, the name Thingnes, the stone circle, &c., seem further to indicate that in its time it has been a Thingstead. On the other hand, it will be difficult to show any other or reasonable purpose which these ruins served. But if it has been a Thingstead, it must have been an important one, and probably no less than a considerable district Thing; it will not be possible in the whole of Iceland to show such ruins where the district Things were held formerly, Thingey in Skjalfandaflyot alone excepted. Now, there was not in the whole district any Thing except Kjalarnes Thing. The conclusion is—Kjalarnes Thing has been held sooner or later, perhaps always, in Thingnes, at Ellida Vatn.

"I very much regret that from the want of the most simple instruments I was unable to make a map of this remarkable place. Continued rain throughout the afternoon prevented me from making a preliminary sketch.

"The owner is willing to undertake, or cause to be undertaken, further explorations, if the necessary expenses are paid by some one."

A copy of the same document was correctly written out and partly rewritten by the author himself. Here it is in its second form:—

"Thingnes in Ellida Vatn (Monday, 21st June 1841), where the old Kjalarnes Thing is supposed to have been.

"After a previous inquiry, by which I became subjectively convinced of the correctness of my supposition, I have now arrived at the spot with my attendant engaged for the summer, student Gunnar Hallgrímsson, and

four labourers, in order to try by digging whether I should succeed in gaining any result, either finding antiquities, or, by clearing out the ruins, forming an idea of their form and shape, obtain a knowledge of their former purpose. I myself will make use of the day partly in describing the supposed Thingstead, to which great historical interest is attached, as it is the oldest one in the country.

“The work is in full progress, and the landowner, Mr Ion Ionsson of Vatn, is present, and has given an unlimited permission to dig where and how I please, on condition—a matter of course—that he shall be at liberty to dispose of what may be found of antiquities; there is therefore nothing to hinder the work progressing well in proportion to the small means at my disposal.

“One ruin has already been dug up; from that it appears to demonstrate that it has not at any time been a sheep-pen, or in any way a building intended for animals. I took with me specimens of the trodden-down floor, which are to prove my assertion. What, then, could these eighteen or twenty enclosures¹ have been intended for? standing in an outfield, where it can be proved there never was a farm; further, on a ness going out into a lake full of fish, and this ness called even to-day Thingness, and been called so from time immemorial. No one who has seen the older Thingsteads of Iceland will doubt that these are booths—dwelling-places for those who frequented the Things, over which they used to stretch a tent or a roof of wadmel. But why so many, and so large? It must have been a district Thing, and then undeniably Kjalarnes Thing, as no other district Thing ever was held in the whole of this district.”

(Here follow the measures exactly as in the former description.)

“We now began to work on the north-west side of the ruins, on an elevated spot, where there was a heap of stones, which seemed likely to be a cairn. A row of stones continued about seventy feet, and vestiges of a side wall led us to believe that the whole was the work of men. By joint efforts large stones were removed, but this toilsome labour led to no result. Such places require great labour. With some hesitation, I concur in the opinion of Director Ion and Hr. Hakonson that this deceptive heap of stones was possibly produced by the frost from one year to

¹ Enclosure—Danish Tomt, Icelandic Topt, a building without a roof.

another. The stone is dolerite (the newer lava found in ravines). From want of time and labour, this work could not be continued. As I do not venture to expend any of my natural history fund for an antiquarian research, I must trust to the assistance of some friends"—and so on. (The rest is nearly word for word as before, and need not be repeated.)

As to a farm, we learn in Iohnsen's "Iardatal," lib. xcvi. 214—Ellida Vatn :—"Here a sheep farm (Schæferi) was established in 1758. It was formerly a king's farm, from the monastery of Vithey."

I shall not attempt to dispute, but I think that I saw the place in a condition more favourable than had been seen by any of the gentlemen mentioned. A good deal of material must have been removed, since I saw what they did not. The place was decidedly to all appearance not solely for animals, although animals may have been kept at the booths. They could not have required the making of the ring. It is a remarkable spot. It is clear also that the idea of its being a Thingstead is not new, from its name and the common reports, which led Hallgrímsson to it, exactly as they did me.

It has been remarked that Kjalarnes is exactly Callernish—the same word; but it is curious that there should be a cross at both,—one natural, however, and the other artificial. The name of that in Lewis is evidently Norse; I suppose "the cold promontory." The cross may be an accidental circumstance, but it shows at least that when the Norse came to Lewis they did not use any word to designate the stones there standing, taking the natural rather than the artificial appearances as marks.

It opens another question regarding sacred buildings, and there is in my opinion much to learn. I cannot pretend to teach, but accident has thrown this and some other things in my way, and I do not think it right to let the matter pass without calling the attention of abler Scandinavian investigators than I can pretend to be. The prevalence of curvilinear lines in sacred buildings in the East is mentioned by Fergusson in his "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 81, and every one can find many examples for himself. If this be so, the cause will probably be found in the fact of its being the earliest shape of buildings, and for sacred purposes we keep the ancient as approaching the sacred by the reverend character given by age. My belief is, that the round form may therefore

have been used for all purposes in early times, and that it would probably be kept longer for sacred purposes. This I would conclude by reasoning chiefly, but observation does not appear against it.

However, on the chief point of this paper tradition speaks, but history is silent, and my observations seem to favour the first. Who will decide?

After returning from Iceland, it appeared desirable to have a more complete plan, and I requested Mr Sigurdr Gudmundsson, of Reykjavik, to prepare one. He has done so, and sends the following letter with it:—

“I hereby send you an accurate plan of Thingnes, which is very near to the farm of Ellida Vatn. The plan is all made trigometrically. At first I thought the scale would be too small” (the lithograph makes it still smaller), “but it could not be larger, as the ground is so extensive; otherwise I think it sufficiently exact, as one can see on it every whole and even a half-fathom. It is impossible to measure the Buthir more exactly than from the middle of one wall to the middle of the other; this would at most make a difference of one fathom to a fathom and a half if the foundations of the booths were dug up. The paper in the plan is not so good as I would wish it, because this is the draft itself made on the spot, &c. The drafts are always the most exact, although they are not so fine.

“To compensate for the small scale, I have made another plan of the Domhringur and of three Buthir: the walls of the Domhringur are mostly a fathom in breadth, made of small stones, three to four in the breadth of the wall, and sometimes five. Some of these stones are scarcely to be seen, being covered with (earth or) grass. I think it is not possible to get a more accurate measurement of the Domhringur unless it is all dug up.

“I have measured the distance of all the larger stones on the spot, and made a red line between those which I thought most remarkable. You can, if you like, take the line away. (See p. 156.) It would be better if I sent you the whole plan of the territory of Ellida Vatn.

“The following passage will contain all the historical information belonging to this oldest Thing-place of Iceland, from the old sagas:—

“I shall make a few remarks about this place, which is, historically speaking, covered with a veil of obscurity; but for all that it is probable that this is the oldest Thing-place (place of assembly) in the country. That it is old is proved both by the Domring and the number of booths.

There is an obvious confounding of the Thingplace in Landnamabok, namely, Kjalarnesthing and Krossnesthing. (See p. 38.) 'Peirra sön (5 Ingólfs Arnassonar og Hallœigar) var Thorsteinn er thing let setja a Kjalarnesi (variant Krossnesi) adr althing var sett.' Another recension of Landnama says Thorsteinn Ingólfsson was the first who, before the Althing was established, caused a Thing to be set in Kjalarnes, according to the counsels of Helgi Biola and Erygr of Esjuberg, and other wise men; wherefore (?) the hallowing of Althing is attached to that Godord (p. 335.)

"It is very improbable that a son of the first Landnamsman should go so far as to institute a Thing in the district (Godord) of another chief, the consequence of which was that he himself could scarcely hallow (*i.e.*, solemnly open) it, to do which was considered a great honour; secondly, it is scarcely said that the hallowing belonged to the Godord here mentioned, viz., the Kjalnesinga or the Bryndolagodord, for it is notorious that this honour belonged to the successors of Ingolf on Seltjarnarnes. Thormodur Thorkelsson Mani was the principal Godi in the year 1000, and Magnus the Good, son of Gudmundr Griss, was chief Godi in the thirteenth century, and resided in Seltjarnarnes. Here is therefore evidently some discrepancy, and likewise, too, in Kjalnesinga saga and Hardar saga. It is worth noticing that the promontory is very like a cross, and may have been named from that; it is probable also that it is the very thing mentioned in Gretti's saga, p. 15 (ch. x.).

"But whether this is the case or not, I consider this the oldest Thing-place, and the next in time to be that at Kjalarnes, on Kollafjord. It would be desirable to have the small sketch printed, but if it is already done, it is necessary to state where it is. It is under Kleifar, beneath Mogitza, at Kollafjordur. From the point where the remains are to be seen, a considerable part has been taken away in the memory of the living.—Yours faithfully,
"SIGURDR GUDMUNDSSON."

These remarks by Mr Gudmundsson must be revised by the light of the observations of Professor Maurer.

I am not interested in knowing which is oldest, but only in knowing that such a circle was important and enclosed, and that there were several places around which seem to have been stone circles, and,

besides, straight lines also of open stone, parts being apparent for a short way. One of these apparently elaborate circles, with parts of straight lines, is on a rising ground suited for circles, most unsuited, and indeed impossible, for cattle booths in such a climate, where protection from wind must be sought.

I shall conclude with the remarks made by Mr Ion A. Hjaltalin, himself an Icelander and a scholar:—

“To my mind the strongest proof of there having been a Thing at Ellidavatn lies in the name Thingnes. We have in Iceland a great many local names composed of ‘thing,’ *e.g.*, Thing-eyrar, Thing-vellir, Thing-skali, &c., and we know that in all such places Things were held at one time or another. If a Thing had never been held at the Thingnes in question, it would be the only exception.

“The evidence of the Sagas against Thingnes as a Thingstead does not appear to me in any way conclusive; and if was a Thingstead at all it was that of Kjalarnes Thing.

“In order to make the following remarks clearer, it is perhaps not unnecessary to observe that a *Thing* means in Icelandic—(1.) An assembly, gathering, meeting; (2.) A district or county over which the authority or jurisdiction of such an assembly extends. Thus Kjalarnes Thing may be—(a), An assembly, meeting at Kjalarnes; (b), An assembly for the county of Kjalarnes, meeting anywhere within the boundaries of the district or county over which the jurisdiction of this assembly extended; (c), The county of Kjalarnes. The Kjalarnes Thing in the last sense extended much further than the peninsula of Kjalarnes.

“The Icelandic Sagas which mention Kjalarnes Thing are—the *Islendinga-bók*, the *Landnáma-bók*, and the *Kjalnesinga Saga*. Even in these it is mentioned only in a very brief manner. Their statements do not at all disprove a supposition which to me seems a probable one, *viz.*, that the Kjalarnes Thing might actually have been at Ellidavatn, and afterwards removed to Kjalarnes.

“The *Islendinga-bók* was not written till late in the eleventh century, or early in the twelfth. If we suppose the Thingstead was removed to Kjalarnes shortly after the establishment of the *Althing* (928), we can easily imagine the author talking of the locality of the Thing as it was in his days, without mentioning its former removal, especially when we

remember that the copy of the *Islendinga-bók* handed down to us is, according to several trustworthy authorities, only a condensed epitome of a larger work. Besides, the author may have been misled by the name *Kjalarnes Thing* (the county of *Kjalarnes*), and taken it for granted that the Thingstead must have been at *Kjalarnes*, because the county was so called, as, for instance, the county of *Thórsnes* was called *Thórsnes Thing*, because the Thingstead was at *Thórsnes*. This may also account for the fact that Icelandic scholars, with the exception of *Jónas Hallgrímsson*, have always taken it for granted that the Thingstead was at *Kjalarnes*, and never troubled themselves about the place at *Ellidavatn*.

"The *Landnáma-bók* is of much later date, and its statement about *Kjalarnes Thing* is a mere repetition of *Islendinga-bók*.

"*Kjalnesinga Saga* is the latest of all; and we cannot wonder if its author was not acquainted with the Thingstead at *Ellidavatn*, even although it had been there originally."

I trust the description of the place and the collection of these authorities will not be found uninteresting.

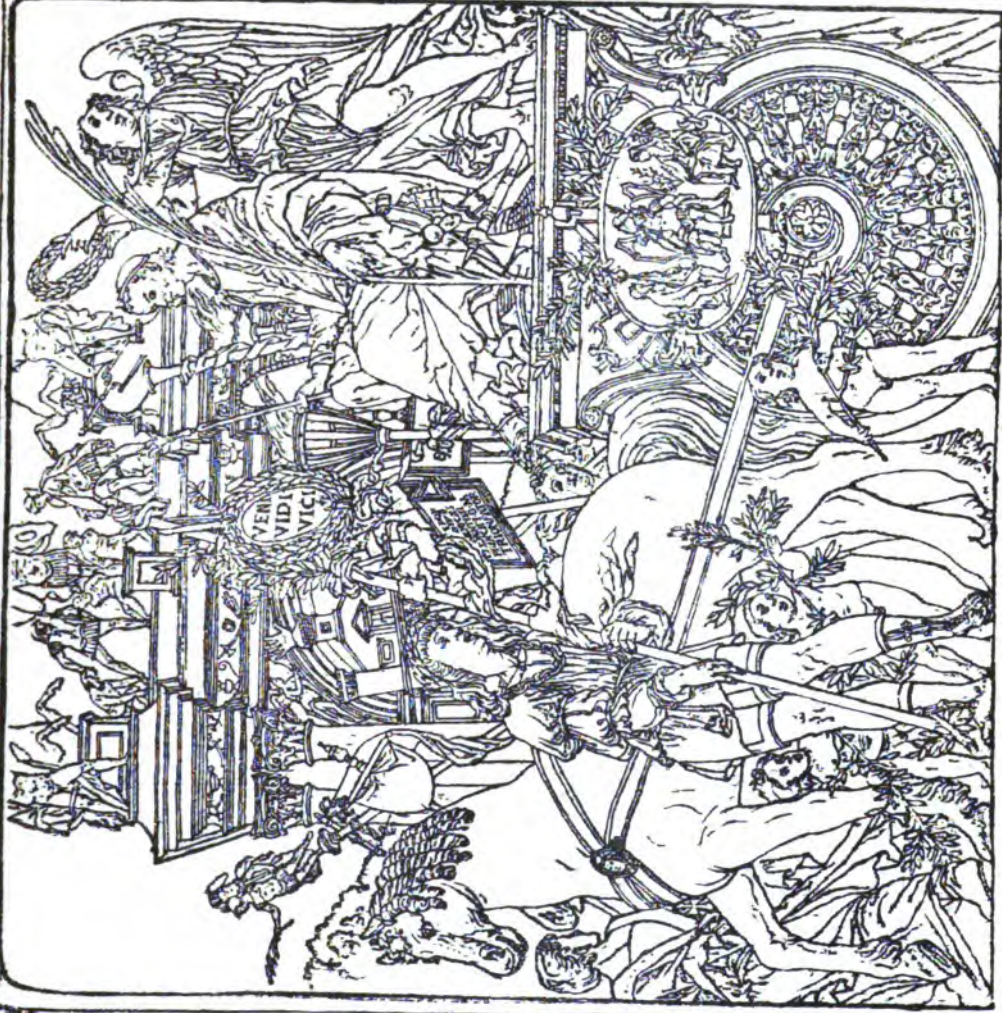
V.

NOTICE OF SOME MEDIEVAL TRIUMPHS AND PROCESSIONS. BY
JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATES III.-VI.)

Some time ago I was asked by a friend to look over his engraved portraits and prints, illustrative of the life and actions of one whose history has become of world-wide celebrity, a sort of hero of romance, more perhaps from his misfortunes than from any real greatness of character. This collection is one of the most extensive and curious ever brought together in connection with one individual, and although I take no little interest in my friend's hero from a national point of view, and have many portraits and prints illustrative of his history, yet from the great extent of the collection and the constant recurrence of the same principal figure, it became, to me at least, sadly monotonous, and, if truth must be told, somniferous. As with individuals, so it is with societies such as ours; it is quite possible, by travelling too often over the same road, that, however beautiful and interesting at first, it may

become dreary and unpleasant if we do not now and then make a diversion up a hill, down a valley, or into some side way, in search of fresh scenes and new excitements. It is generally acknowledged that more variety in the nature of the papers read and discussed at our meetings would be a decided advantage. Yet it is true that if we have had too little variety, the members of the Society have themselves to blame, for most of us have individual archæological hobbies,—some collecting objects of antiquarian and historical interest; others during their reading making valuable notes; while others, again, collect the traditions of localities with which they are connected by birth or association. Now, if communications in any of these directions were occasionally submitted to the Society, there would be no lack of variety, and additional liveliness and interest would be imparted to our meetings, while information of a kind which would be of no small value to all interested in the history of our country, would be accumulated and rendered accessible. Having, in my own way of collecting, acquired a few rather curious mediæval triumphs and processions, it occurred to me that (in pursuance of the advice tendered above to other members of the Society) a notice of some of these might prove both interesting and instructive, illustrating as they do, in a way of their own, the varieties in costume and armour, with some of the habits of the people of various nationalities in their everyday life at different periods. With these I would class representations of tournaments, funeral processions, and dances of death, with other cognate subjects suggested by them. Triumphs and processions may be said to be in one sense the same, though I would draw a line of difference between them, by classing under the former all such as are imaginary, although done at the time when the scene is supposed to have taken place. These are quite as useful and instructive so far as costume and armour are concerned, but not so interesting as the other class, which represent real scenes, and have been figured by some one who witnessed the pageant, perhaps who had a share in it. The prints which are exhibited are also interesting from an art point of view, as illustrations of various styles of engraving on wood by block printing, as in the work of Andreani, by line after the designs of Albert Durer, Hans Burgmair, and Lucas Cranach, and etching on copper by Hogenberg's procession.

I. The first to which I would call attention is a series of prints of





"The Triumph of Julius Cæsar," after the famous pictures by Andrea Mantegna. During the fifteenth century a great impulse was given to the study of art in its more classical aspect, from the importation into Italy at that time of many of the precious remains of Greek sculpture, and by none was this more taken advantage of than by Andrea de Mantegna, who was born near Padua in 1431. This great artist commenced his professional career so early that he painted an altar-piece for the church of St Sofia between his seventh and tenth year. He died in 1505. The pictures from which these prints are taken were painted by Mantegna for the Marquis of Mantua, by whom he was knighted on their completion. They were carried off by the Germans when they plundered the city, and are now preserved at Hampton Court. In none of his works is his classical training more apparent; they are generally considered his masterpieces, and Vasari thus describes them:—"Here are seen in most admirable arrangement the rich and beautiful triumphal car, with the figure, who is vituperating the triumphant hero; as also the kindred, the perfumes, the incense-bearers, the booty and treasure seized by the soldiers, the well-ordered phalanx, the elephants, the spoils of art; the victories, cities, and fortresses exhibited in admirably counterfeited forms on huge cars; the numerous trophies borne aloft on spears, are infinite in variety of helmets, corslets, and arms of all kinds, with ornaments, vases, and rich vessels innumerable. Among the multitude of spectators there is a woman who holds a child by the hand; the boy has got a thorn in his foot, and this he shows, weeping, to his mother, with much grace and in a very natural manner." (See Plate III.)

This series of woodcuts is the work of Andrea Andreani (*b.* 1560, *d.* 1623), and are admirable specimens of the "block prints" of this well-known engraver. This process is quite different from ordinary wood-engraving, which is done by lines and cross hatching, the effect in this style being produced by a series of tints, imitating what is artistically called "washing," the result being a picture in chiaroscuro as if from a drawing in monochrome. The set consists of ten plates, one of them being dedicatory. I believe this series of prints is not often got in complete sets, and seldom with the pilasters, the want of which can easily be understood, as they were done on separate blocks, and are very apt to go amissing or get destroyed. They are executed in a most masterly and bold style, the

drawing admirable, as well as the expressions of the heads. They were published in 1598, and dedicated to Vincentio Conzaga, Duke of Mantua. Previous to the execution of the pictures at Mantua, Mantegna did four etchings of some of the subjects of the Triumph, one of the four being a replica, but the reverse way. These prints, like all Mantegna's etchings, are of the very greatest rarity, and I am indebted to Mr Laing for having it in my power to show them to this meeting. In another way they are interesting, seeing Mantegna was one of the first who practised the art of engraving in Italy.

II. The study of the antique about this time took other forms, such as the decoration of the façades of many of the principal and public buildings in Rome and other Italian cities, in imitation of the marble friezes of the Greeks and Romans, in monochrome. This style of art seems to have been first practised on an extensive scale by Polidoro of Caravagio (*b.* 1499, *d.* 1543) and Maturino of Florence (*b.* 1490, *d.* 1530), who worked together, and may be said to have carried it to its greatest perfection. Vasari is rapturous in his admiration of the productions of these great artists, of whom he says—"In this branch of art it is indeed certain that none have ever shown equal mastery, none have ever exhibited so much beauty of design, so fine a manner, such perfect facility, and such remarkable promptitude, as have distinguished these masters. Their works are considered with increased admiration by all artists each time that they behold them, and every one is struck with astonishment at the manner in which nature in this our age has caused her wonders to be placed before us by such men." As might have been expected from the manner in which they were nearly all executed (*tempera* upon the plaster), their exposure to the atmosphere, and their occasional barbarous destruction, these splendid works of art have nearly all disappeared. Fortunately, many of the finest of these have been preserved to us in engravings by Cherubini Alberti, Gottius, Santi Bartoli, and others. One of these sets by Bartoli (*b.* 1635), in a series of eight oblong plates, etched in a clear and masterly manner, is shown; it is named "*Ægyptorum sive Afrorum Perigrinatio*," and is dedicated to the most noble and learned John Peter Bellorius. The Wanderers are represented journeying with their wives and families, accompanied by horses, camels, mules, and asses, laden with movables of every description; in their train also are oxen and pigs, all

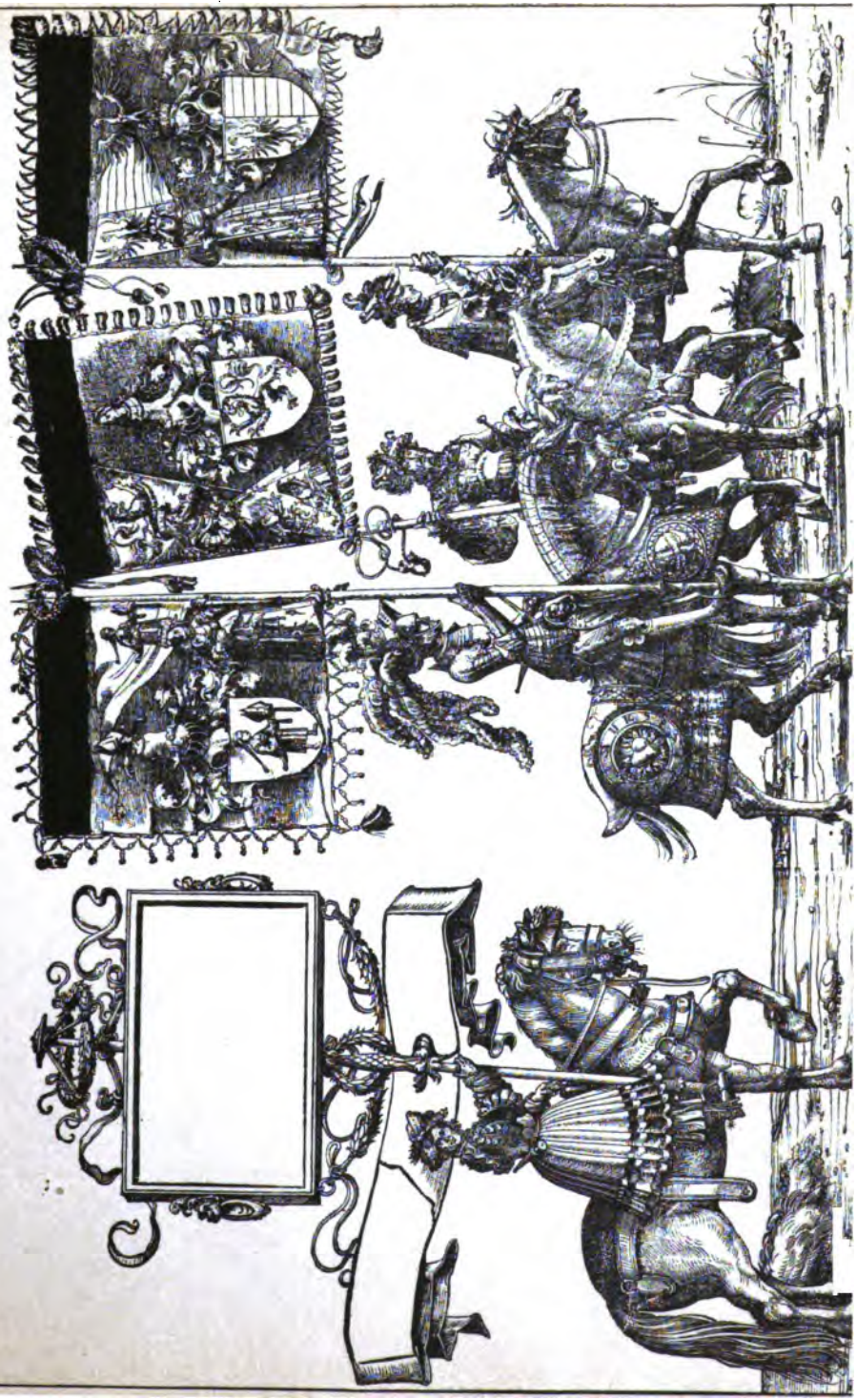
of which they are putting on board ship. I also show various smaller engravings illustrative of triumphs of Roman emperors, and the order of processions to a Roman amphitheatre on a state occasion.

III. I will next direct your attention to the "Triumph of Maximilian," perhaps the best known of all such pageants, for although the woodcuts were executed between the years 1515 and 1519, they were not published till 1796. A translation of part of the preface gives the history of the series.

"Among the productions relative to literature and the arts which were the fruits of the leisure moments of the Emperor Maximilian I., his Triumph deserves to be placed in the first class, it being destined, as well as the Thewerdank and the Wiess Kunig, to serve as a monument of his greatness. The Emperor exhibited in it the state of his house, his inclinations, his territorial possessions, his wars, his conquests, and many other events of his reign, by a procession of several hundred figures, some on foot, others on horseback or drawn in cars, forming a most splendid entry. This Triumph was at first executed in paintings of the greatest value and labour, in 109 sheets of vellum, of the extraordinary size of 34 inches by 20 inches high, forming a work which, for its extent and the richness of its execution, deserves to be placed in the number of the most curious which has been produced of this description. It is now in the Library of the Imperial Court at Vienna, among the principal MSS. which it contains. Not wishing, perhaps, to confine to himself so important a work, and to render it a lasting monument, the Emperor had it engraved on wood, which forms this collection of plates. It consists of 135, which are so many valuable monuments of the art, which, by the ease and correctness of the design, as well as by the careful and able execution, merits the attention and approbation of all connoisseurs. Sandraart, whose opinion must be considered an authority, and who had seen a part of these performances, calls them the finest which have ever been executed. Many other connoisseurs have pronounced nearly the same judgment upon them. They are probably not valuable to the artist only, as affording exact drawings of the dresses, equipments, armoury, instruments, manners, and customs of that time, but may also furnish to the historian a source of information and proof. On this account it is to be regretted that this work was never completed. Forty plates were

kept in the Cabinet of Curiosities at Ambre in the Tyrol, where, according to all appearance, they had remained since the death of the Emperor ; the other 95 were in the Jesuits' College at Gratz in Styria, without its being known in what way they were conveyed there, until in the year 1779 both were deposited in the Imperial Library at Vienna. According to the original paintings, each sheet of which contains the subject of two plates, the number of them would have been beyond 200, had the work been completed. The blocks having been found in two places, gave reason for conjecture that a third part, unknown, might be concealed in some other cabinet or library, but on the most diligent search none were discovered, and it is concluded none are in existence but the 135 in the Imperial Library. That which proves the work not to have been completed is that the escutcheons and bandrols which were intended to have had inscriptions are left blank." The original drawings on vellum are supposed by some to be the work of Hans Burgmair (*b.* 1472, *d.* 1559) ; others, again, conjecture that they were done by Albert Durer. Whoever may have designed these, little doubt can exist that the majority of the cuts were drawn on the wood by Burgmair. Among those in the volume some twenty are supposed to have belonged to another series or pageant now unknown ; but it is quite unnecessary to enter into any discussion on this artistic matter at present, seeing these are not the least interesting part of this set, which was first published in 1796, with the imprint of Edwards, a London publisher, oddly enough with descriptive letterpress in French. Fortunately I can give a good idea of the gorgeousness and grandeur of the original drawings, my copy of the book having fifty of the plates coloured and emblazoned on drawing-paper, in imitation of the original designs.

The pageant is led off by a naked figure blowing a trumpet, and sitting between the wings of a griffin ; after which is displayed a large carved and emblazoned frame supported on the backs of two led horses ; on this are set forth the titles of the emperor. Next, musicians, followed by falconers, chamois-hunters, stag, boar, and bear hunters, the leader of each class being accompanied by the animals of chase he looks after, the falconer being in the midst of falcons in pursuit of birds of various kinds. Then comes the grand marshal, followed by various officers of the court ; after whom comes a row of triumphal cars filled with the court musicians





playing on their various instruments, Paul Hoffmair, the chief organist, performing on the positif, a kind of organ invented in the reign of the Emperor. As illustrative of the different instruments in use at the time, it is quite a study. Then follow two cars filled with jesters and fools. All these triumphal cars are drawn by different animals,—reindeer, buffaloes, camels, dromedaries, bisons, wild horses, and asses. Mummers, fencers of various kinds, and buckler-players armed with swords, maces, and spears, come after these. Next, groups of knights armed at all points for the tournament, some on foot, but mostly on horseback, led by Anthony Von Yfan ;—of these there are sixteen plates, a most instructive lesson to all who take interest in armour, many of the pieces being shown in a detached state. There are trumpeters and kettle-drummers preceding mounted standard-bearers carrying aloft the blazon of arms of various nations ; of these there are 29 plates. We have next what are called the doubtful plates, from there being no drawings for them among those in the Imperial Library. They are very curious, representing cars propelled by all sorts of queer machinery ; these carry emblematic representations of the Emperor's wars and victories, both in paintings and sculpture. A few have horses yoked to them ; one is on the backs of two deer, while another is drawn by ten men. There are groups of prisoners of different nations, in chains, and men carrying statues of Victory, with many mounted heralds, who are in advance of Philip, king of the Romans, and his queen ; after whom come a princess and attendants. These are followed by a cavalier in advance of many led war-horses, fully caparisoned ; groups of swordsmen, spearmen, and arquebusers ; savages of Calicut, led by one on an elephant, and concluding with some plates of camp followers ; and lastly, the four horses of a triumphal car, driven by a winged figure. From this description it will be understood that such a pageant never took place ; it is not, however, the less valuable on that account, seeing that it really represents in groups the different grades of society of the time, from the Emperor to the poorest of his subjects. (See Plate IV.)

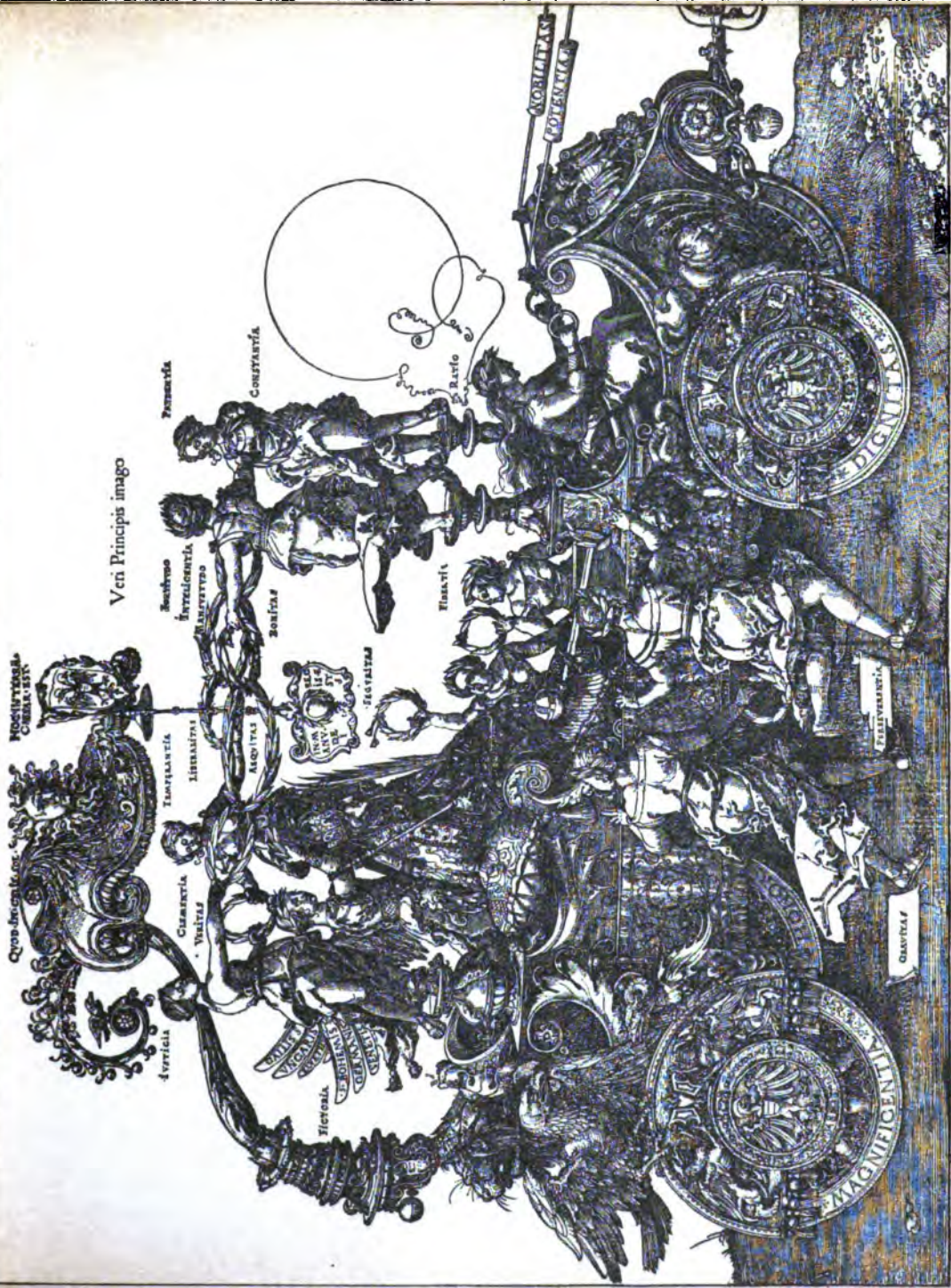
IV. Akin to the Maximilian triumphs, and by many thought to be part of it, is the triumphal car of the Emperor, by Albert Durer (*b.* 1471, *d.* 1528), which is thus described :—“ The triumphal car was engraved by Jerome Resch from Durer's drawings on wood.” It consists of eight

separate pieces. The Emperor is seen seated on a highly ornamented car, attended by female figures representing Justice, Truth, Clemency, and other virtues, who hold towards him triumphal wreaths. One of the two wheels which are seen is inscribed "Magnificentia," and the other "Dignitas;" the driver of the car is "Ratio;" and one of the reins is marked "Nobilitas," and the other "Potentia." The car is drawn by six pairs of horses, splendidly harnessed, and each horse is attended by a female figure. The names of the females at the head of the first pair from the car are "Providentia" and "Moderatio;" of the second, "Alacritas" and "Opportunitas;" of the third, "Velocitas" and "Firmitudo;" of the fourth, "Acrimonia" and "Virilitas;" of the fifth, "Audacia" and "Magnanimitas;" and the attendants on the leaders are "Experientia" and "Solertia." Above each pair of horses is a portion of explanatory matter printed in letterpress; and in that above the leading pair is a mandate from the Emperor Maximilian, dated Innspruck, 1518, addressed to Bilibald Pirkhinnar, who appears to have suggested the subject; and in the same place is the name of the inventor and designer, Albert Durer. The original sketch for the triumphal car is preserved in the British Museum. (See Plate V.)

V. I have exhibited what is evidently part of a pageant of the same class by Hans Burgmair, 1508, and another dated 1556, showing how a gentleman travelled at that period.

VI. A very curious woodcut of the Reformation period (also exhibited) shows at one side portraits of Luther, Melancthon, and other leaders in that movement; and at the other the leading German noblemen and gentlemen who favoured the Reformation. Between is represented the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist; and above all, the Almighty, and the dove descending upon Christ.

VII. The last of this class of imaginary pageants which is shown is the Triumph of John Sobieski on assuming the crown of Poland after the defeat of the Turks at Kotzin, 1674. He is represented on horseback and crowned with laurel, riding under a canopy supported by figures emblematic of Vigilance, Prudence, Constancy, and Justice; while in front of the Temple of Honour figures represented as "Polonia, Lithuania, and Ekraina" shake hands. Crowned figures of Liberality scatter largesse among the people, and in the foreground are figures of the Danube and Public Rejoicing. The king is followed by an immense cavalcade of



THE TRIUMPHAL CAR OF MAXIMILLIAN.

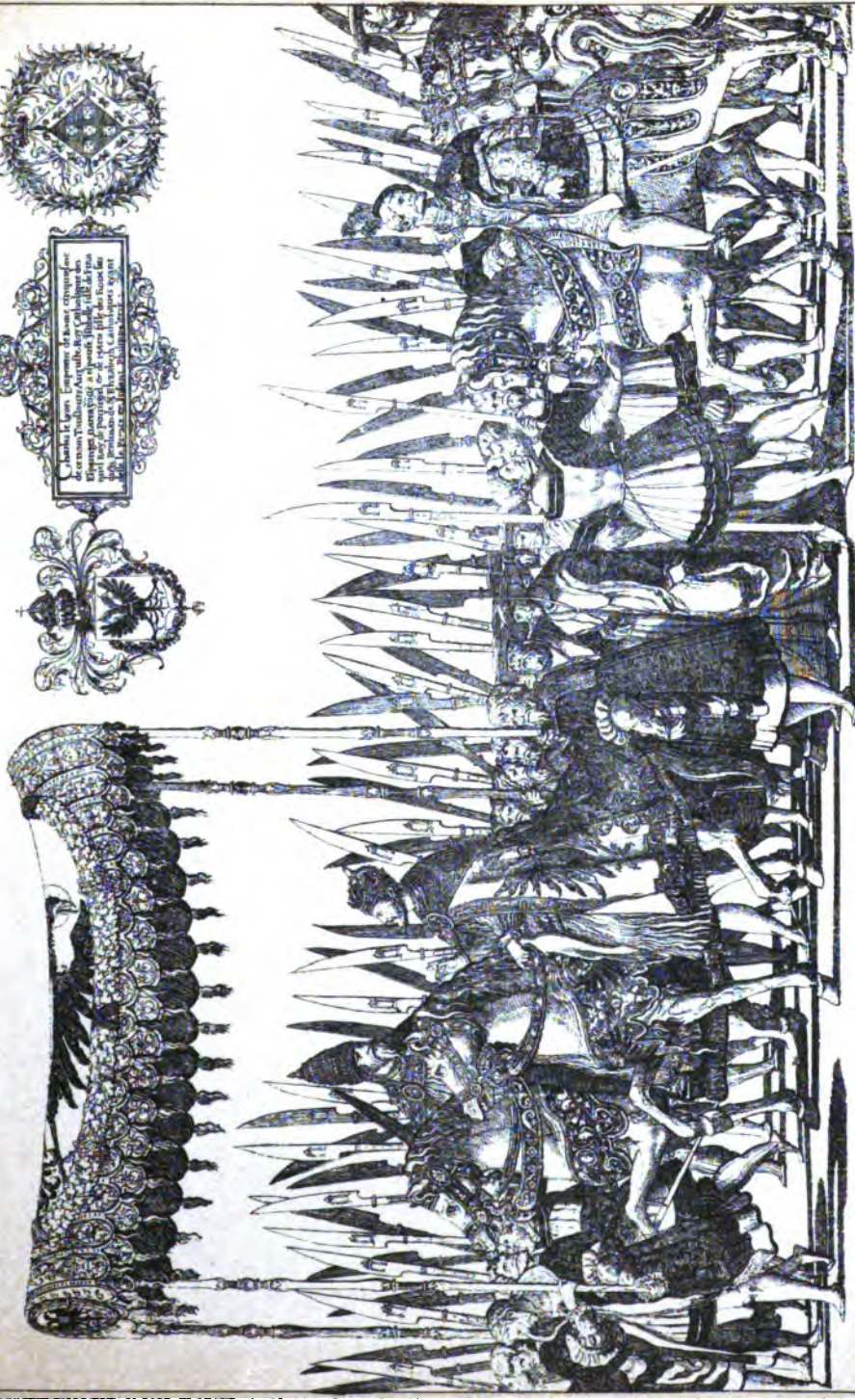
C. Waterston & Son, Litho Edin.



Turkish prisoners and the spoil of their camp. This very clever etching is by Romanus de Hooghe, date 1675, the year after the victory.

VIII. I now come to processions which have actually taken place, and the first I shall call attention to is one of the most rare and valuable as a historical memorial, recording as it does the great pageant at Bologna in 1530, on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Charles the Fifth as king of Italy and Lombardy, by Pope Clement VII. This was a period when Italian costume was at the height of its picturesqueness, in all the glory of embroidery on cloths of gold and silver, and armour at its utmost splendour of artistic design, being gorgeous beyond measure in chasing and inlaying with the precious metals. This was the work of Nicolaus Hogenberg, who is said to have been born at Munich about 1500, and to have died at Mechlin in 1544; beyond these facts I have been unable to trace anything of his history or his art, which is the more remarkable considering the great artistic merits of such a work as this, combining as it does the greatest beauty and delicacy of etching with much freedom and power of individualism in the many characters represented, many of these being men well known in the history of that stirring time. As a specimen of character-etching, I know nothing finer than the group of Charles V. and the Pope. This series consists of forty plates, commencing with a dedication to the Emperor in puzzling mediæval Latin, something in this fashion: "To the divine and unconquered Emperor Charles V.—Cæsar,—Receive a work which will preserve thee from oblivion. By no coming fate shalt thou fall, following many to lay an unknown head in the long night, but destined to live, O Charles! you will go, following your grandfather, with these freighted papers to the kingdom of the antipodes. By a grant of the expense from the most sacred Emperor Charles V. this work is accomplished by Nicolaus Hogenberg and Engelbert Bruning his co-adjutor." As a sort of tailpiece or epilogue is the following:—"To posterity, just and grateful for (his) labours.—Behold the imperial troops and those of the Holy Father in long array, and honour the skill of the artificer who could draw forth from the rigid metal so many enduring noble names of great men. Hogenberg the painter made this work which thou seest in thy time—posterity as vividly as thee." Along the top of the plates above the procession is a series of heraldic

blazons of the family and descent of Charles V. from the royal houses of Austria, France, and Spain. Of these shields there are fifty-eight. The procession commences with gentlemen and military leaders; after them the standards of the town of Bologna; next, the magistrates of Bologna, followed by the banners of the corporation; after these, canons and doctors of law. The governor of Bologna is followed by the standard of the city, with the pontifical red banner, with the papal chamberlain and the leading falconers. We now come to the ancient Roman standard, that of St George, the imperial eagle, and the pontifical banner; after which are six richly-caparisoned horses; then the four pontifical hats, the Pope's private secretaries, and court advocates, "auditores rotæ," trumpeters, and mace-bearers; serjeants of the court—virgiferi, hostiarii, janitores; heralds, and orators of various languages. The pastoral staff of the Pope, and his tiara; two golden candelabra, and twelve white wax candles burning. Then the Holy Eucharist, guarded by Bolognese patricians and doctors of medicine; next, the papal sacristan. After this many princes, counts, marquises, and leading men of different nations and languages; governors of countries, noblemen and potentates, chamberlains of the Emperor, Adrian, Knight of Rhodes, principal chamberlain of the Emperor; Burgundy herald throwing money or medals, college of cardinals, Bonifacius Paleologus with the imperial sceptre; Francis Maria, Duke of Urbino, with the imperial iron sword; Philip, ex-Palatine of the Rhine, carrying the golden globe of Charles V.; Charles, Duke of Savoy, bearing the imperial crown. Then comes the most interesting and beautiful part of this splendid pageant—Clement VII. and Charles V. in robes of state, under a magnificently embroidered canopy, having the imperial eagle embroidered on the top of it. They are followed by Henry, Count of Nassau; this is a particularly elegant and graceful figure. He is followed by archbishops and bishops, and many canons and doctors of law, counsellors, and prelates. Then come trumpeters and drummers, preceding soldiers, fully armed, commanded by Marquis Ascolen, Count of Rhodes, &c, &c. The armour and horse mountings are of the most elaborate description; the chasing on the steel is carried out to the minutest particular of the design. Next come German and Spanish soldiers on foot, under the orders of Antonia de Liva, captain-general, who is sitting on a chair, in which he was carried, he being at this time suffering from a severe attack of gout; he



CLEMENS VII PONT. MAX. IMP. CAES. CAROLVS V T F AVO
NICOLAVS HORNBERGERVS INVENTOR ET
FE.

HENRIC COMESANASSAY



is pointing to some cannon and mortars, which are represented in the most admirable manner. We now come to a very curious part of this procession, which represents the kind of rejoicings indulged in on such occasions. There is a sort of arch erected, each side pillar being surmounted by a lion which spouts wine; between these the imperial eagle; under this arch a lady and gentleman are walking, she is calling his attention to the scene which is going on, the wine being caught by the crowd in flagons and vessels of all sorts, out of which they drink; one man is drinking out of his shoe, many are lying on the ground drunk and incapable, one woman has fallen helpless, while her child leans over her weeping bitterly. There is an ox being roasted entire, stuffed with different kinds of birds and smaller animals; the spit is turned by men who seem to have no easy task; and lastly, bread is being thrown among the poor people from great tubs, some of whom seem hurrying away with great basketfuls, others are fighting over it like dogs over a bone; and thus ends this masterly representation of one of the most interesting scenes in the eventful life of the Emperor Charles V. These plates were afterwards published by Hondius at Antwerp, but without the heraldry, which from a historical point is a great deficiency. The copy shown me in the print-room of the British Museum wants all the heraldry, as also the tail-piece or epilogue in praise of Hogenberg and his work. (See Plate VI.)

IX. In the Casa Ridolphi at Verona this meeting of the Emperor and the Pope is illustrated in a series of frescoes by Brusasorci, which are thus spoken of by Lanzi in his *History of Painting in Italy*:—"He produced likewise his histories, and the masterpiece of all I have seen is the procession of Clement VII. and of Charles V. through Bologna, a picture exhibited in a hall of the noble Casa Ridolfi, and which has been engraved. A nobler spectacle cannot well be imagined; and although other specimens, both of this and similar subjects, are met with very generally at Rome, in Venice, and in Florence, none produce equal effect; combining in one piece, a large concourse, fine distribution of figures, vivacity of countenances, noble attitudes in the men and horses, variety of costume, pomp, and splendour, and dignity—all bearing an expression of pleasure adapted to such a day." A part of this has been etched in Rossini's "*Storia della Pittura Italiana*," but, fortunately for comparison, the whole painting was published in outline at Verona a

few years ago. On collating the two works, Brusasorci's designs seem to be made up from some of Hogenberg's plates; and grand as the work would appear to be as a decorative fresco painting, and making every allowance for necessary deviation from the original to suit the space of wall at his disposal, it is sadly deficient in the life-like moving stir of the various groups in Hogenberg's masterly performance. This is apparent everywhere, but especially in the principal group, which is reduced from a living, speaking composition to a dry and lifeless formality.

X. "The Field of the Cloth of Gold." Such was the name given to the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Andres in 1520. The extravagance indulged in on this occasion was the cause of the ruin of many of both the French and English nobility. In the foreground is Henry, on a white charger, accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, riding on a mule, and surrounded by his bodyguards and preceded by officers of state, heralds, &c., bearing the state sword and sceptre. The pageant enters the gate of a castle, from which salvoes of artillery are being fired. In the middle distance is the tent of Francis, in which the kings are embracing; to the right of this a tilting-field, where a joust is going on in the presence of the two kings. Below this are tents in which cooking is proceeding, and near by the ovens and bakers at work; under this, again, Henry's tent, in which the kings are dining. There are fountains spouting forth wine, people filling flagons at them, others emptying them, some to enjoy, others to quarrel over their liquor.

XI. Alongside of the above I have hung up the Encampment of the English Forces at Portsmouth in 1545. Although this is not exactly a procession, it is a pageant of a kind. In the centre is Henry VIII. and attendants among his troops. In the distance are the fleets of France and England; and it is for these I have shown it.

XII. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell has kindly sent me a very curious and rare volume, entitled "La Joyeuse et Magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Fils de France et Frere unique du Roy, par la grace de Dieu, Duc de Brabant, d'Anjou, Alençon, Berri, &c., en sa tres-renommée ville D'Anvers.—A. Anvers, de l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantin, 1582." The first plate in this volume, which I now exhibit, is a view of Antwerp, in front of which is a grand military display to welcome the Duke of Brabant, who has just landed, and is welcomed by the Prince of Orange.

The last plate represents the Duke on a sort of pavilion or stage in front of the Hotel de Ville, receiving the congratulations of the crowd. The rest of the plates are representations of the various objects used in the pageant, such as triumphal cars, with groups painted or sculptured on them, apparently in a highly artistic manner. Another is a great fish, Neptune astride of it, a sea-horse, an elephant with a castle on its back, and a colossal figure called Antigonus. This figure I felt familiar with, and on turning up Michael Aitsinger's "*De Leone Belgico*," I found three plates of these rejoicings, many of the objects being represented in use, the Colossus in front of the Hotel de Ville, the procession is passing, and the allegory of Antwerp taking part in it.

Mr David Laing has also kindly lent me another volume of the same class, "*Descriptio Publicæ Gratulationes, Spectaculum et Ludorum in adventu sereniss: Principis Ernesti Archducis Austriæ, Ducis Burgundiæ, &c.*," Antwerpæ, 18 Julia, 1594. In this volume the first plate is also a view of Antwerp, the cavalcade moving towards it from another direction, the Duke in a state carriage drawn by six horses. One of the plates represents a view in front of the Hotel de Ville during a triumphal bonfire and display of fireworks, and the last a view of an equestrian procession. The other plates, as in the former volume, give separate views of the objects used on such occasions—among these, my colossal friend Neptune, &c.; and one can hardly help thinking that in towns like Antwerp, where the citizens were fond of such displays, many of the objects must have been kept as town property. A bare enumeration of the other pageants exhibited must now suffice; they are:—

XIII. The Papal procession to the Church of St John Lateran, about 1600. This shows the difference which had taken place in Italian costume since the Charles V. procession in 1529.

XIV. Cavalcade of the Grand Turk—(I suppose this is the Turkish Ambassador)—about the same date, 1600. These two sets are by Tempesta, who lived between 1555 and 1630.

XV. The cavalcade got up by the citizens of Antwerp on the entry of Mary de Medici, 1638. This is by Nolpe, after drawings by Molin, and gives a perfect idea of the costume during the time of Charles I.

XVI. Illustrations of state ceremonials and pageants during the life of

Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, from his coronation in 1654 downwards.—1681. Fetes at Strasburg, Louis XV.

XVII. Three prints of the restoration of Charles II.

XVIII. The entry of the Polish Ambassador into Rome in 1633. This is by Stefano Della Bella (*b.* 1610, *d.* 1664.)

XIX. The magnificent carousal on the river Arno at Florence in 1664, on the occasion of the marriage of the Grand Duke, in a series of 18 plates, representing galleys or barges of the most gorgeous and grotesque designs, each under the command of a god or hero of antiquity, with appropriate attendants. This set was published at Paris by Peter Giffart, by whom they were also engraved.

XX. The coronation of William III. and Mary in 1689, and the procession from Westminster Abbey after the ceremony. This differs from any shown, as ladies take a prominent part in the pageant. The print also shows their Majesties going in the state barge to Westminster, taking the oaths, the anointing, the champion's challenge, the banquet in Westminster Hall, and the bonfires and fireworks on the Thames. R. De Hooghe (*b.* 1638).

XXI. The entry of Louis XV. into Rheims in 1722. The royal triumph on the entry of Charles as King of Sicily and Naples into Palermo in 1736.

XXII. Another view of the Papal procession to the Church of St John Lateran, engraved by P. Picart, 1722.

XXIII. I will now say a few words about tournaments, and the first I will show is the very interesting one got up by Henry VIII. in commemoration of the birth of his son, Prince Henry, in 1510. It is a facsimile of the Tournament Roll preserved in the Herald's College, London, and commences with the device of a rose and pomegranate impaled, and the letters H and K on the sides. Then comes the King's armourer and his attendants, followed by a sergeant-at-arms and trumpeters, courtiers and heralds, and pursuivants. The knights who are to engage come next, with their followers, who support a canopy or pavilion over the head of each; the King as "Cœur Loyal;" after him are led two war horses fully caparisoned, then his pages and his favourite charger fully mounted for the joust; the barrier, the King and one of the knights tilting; the Queen, with the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, as spec-

tators, in the stand or gallery. Then the scene changes, and trumpeters are sounding that the tournament is at an end. All now appear in civil dresses, and are riding away from the tilting field, the King and his pages of honour, preceded by a horseman carrying the royal helmet crowned, are passing the grand stand on which sit the Queen and her courtiers. As the picture commenced so it ends, with the device of the royal pair crowned.

One of the most famous of the early German masters was Lucas Cranach; who was born in 1470, he died in 1553. Like most of his contemporaries, he was fond of depicting scenes of chivalry, and one of his most important woodcuts goes by the name of "The Great Tournament." It represents a jousting court, where a grand *melée* is going forward. In the foreground two knights have been tilting, and one of them has been thrown to the ground, horse and man; the attendants of the dismounted knight are running to his assistance. Beyond this two knights are in full fight with swords, but the marshals of the joust are knocking up their swords with their batons, to stop the combat—one of the duties of these marshals being to stop such engagements when one or other of the combatants lost temper, or when it was thought they had sufficiently justified their manhood or prowess as good knights and true. In the gallery or balcony sits the King or nobleman under whose auspices the tournament had taken place, accompanied by his wife and courtiers. There is a custom introduced in this which I have not observed in any picture of the same sort,—the tilting spears are kept in the gallery beside the master of the joust, who hands them to such of the knights as wish to break a spear or risk their own heads for some lady love, and also no doubt to prevent any tampering with the weapons. Knights, armed and mounted *cap-à-pie*, are ranged round ready to enter the lists when their turn comes. This beautiful woodcut has Cranach's label, with his initials and the date 1509, also the dragon with ring in its mouth, and arms of Saxony, as painter to the Elector.

Another valuable and scarce volume has been sent me by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell to illustrate this subject, "The History of the Tournament among the German Nations," G. Ruxner, Thurnier in Teutschland, 1539. In this book the various ceremonies in connection with the-tilting field are shown by many quaint and characteristic woodcuts,

the most important illustration being an attempt to show what a grand tournament may have been when the chivalrous spirit was at its height. Knights are tilting with spears, fighting with clubs or maces and with swords, and shows one of the combatants hewing off the crest of another, which was almost equivalent to losing a pennon in the battle-field. In the foreground a knight is having his armour braced on, while an armourer is close by, hammer and pincers in hand, ready in case of accidents.

I have brought the Weiss Kunig, which is an illustrated Life of Maximilian, by Hans Burgmair. In this volume there are tournaments and court ceremonies of all kinds depicted with great spirit and boldness.

In Aitsinger's "De Leone Belgico" (1583), such scenes are illustrated in great profusion.

It was my intention to have said a few words about mediæval funeral processions and dances of death, but these remarks have extended to much greater length than I anticipated; with the permission of the Council, however, I may bring some notice of these before the Society on a future occasion. Before concluding I would observe that these plates give an almost complete history of costume and armour, with some customs and habits of the people, over a period of more than 200 years.

As illustrations I have selected such portions of each series as may be considered most characteristic of the work. The average reduction is about one-third.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate III. The Chariot of Julius Cæsar—Andreani.

Plate IV. Mounted Horsemen bearing aloft banners on which arms are emblazoned.

Plate V. The Triumphal Car of Maximilian, by Albert Durer.

Plate VI. The Emperor Charles V. and Pope Clement VII. riding under an emblazoned canopy, by Hogenberg.

MONDAY, 14th April 1873.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

A ballot having been taken, the following gentlemen were duly admitted Fellows :—

JAMES MELVIN, Esq., Bonnington, Ratho.
ALEXANDER DUTHIE, Esq., of Ruthrieston.
ROBERT HERDMAN, Esq., R.S.A.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid upon the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

1. By the COMMITTEE of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXHIBITION of 1859 in Aberdeen, through CHARLES E. DALRYMPLE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A collection of carefully-executed drawings (by Mr A. Gibb, of Aberdeen) of a selection of the objects then exhibited, comprising—

(1.) Celt of dark brown stone, polished, about 12 inches in length, exhibited by Mr M'Combie, of Tillyfour.

Arrow Head of yellowish flint, 1 inch in length, notched for the shaft, from Udney, Aberdeenshire.

Arrow Head with barbs and stem, 1 inch in length, from Counteswells, Aberdeenshire.

Lozenge-shaped Arrow Head, 2½ inches in length, from Rainnieshills, Aberdeenshire.

Arrow Head with barbs and stem, 2 inches in length, from Rainnieshills, Aberdeenshire.

Leaf-shaped Arrow Head, 1 inch in length, from Banchory.

Lozenge-shaped Arrow Head, 1 inch in length, from Banchory.

Celt of Agate, highly polished, 12 inches in length, found imbedded

in the soil in the parish of St Andrews, Fife. (This specimen is referred to by Sir David Brewster in the "Edinburgh Philosophical Journal," 1823.) It was exhibited by Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.

Celt of greenish mottled stone, about 6 inches in length, pointed at one end, found in the parish of Tough, and exhibited by R. O. Farquharson, Esq., of Haughton.

(2.) Wedge-shaped Stone Hammer, 10 inches in length, with shaft-hole. Exhibited by the Marquis of Breadalbane.

Stone Hammer, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, barrel-shaped, with convex ends, and a projecting moulding encircling it in the centre, which is pierced by a shaft-hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. This specimen, which was found at Schivas, was exhibited by J. W. Irvine, Esq.

Wedge-shaped Stone Hammer, 7 inches in length, with shaft-hole, found near Fingask, and exhibited by Sir P. Murray Thriepland, Bart.

Celt of greyish Stone, found in Aberdeenshire. Exhibited by James Cumine, Esq., of Rattray.

Stone Ball, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, covered with small rounded knobs or projections. Exhibited by Mr Gibb, Auldbar School, Forfarshire.

Hammer Stone, hollowed on opposite sides for the fingers, from Orkney.

(3.) Stone Ball, 3 inches diameter, having on its circumference seven projecting knobs with convex tops, engraved with a pattern of lines crossing each other nearly at right angles. It was found in a tumulus on the farm of Budfield, parish of Leochel Cushnie, and exhibited by W. M'Combie, Esq., of Tillyfour.

Stone Ball, of similar form, but with six plain projecting knobs or discs, found near a stone circle in the parish of Urquhart, Elginshire, and exhibited by Alexander Young, Esq.

Stone Ball, of similar size and form, but having the convex faces of its six projecting knobs ornamented with parallel lines. It was found in a cairn in the parish of Old Deer, and exhibited by Dr Cooper, Deer. (This fine specimen has since been exhibited to the Society by Mr Ferguson of Kinmundy, F.S.A. Scot. See subsequent communication by him in the second part of this volume.)

Stone Ball, of similar size and disposition of the knobs, but differing

in the form of these projections, which are ornamented by concentric rings placed one above another, and decreasing in diameter so as to give the convex surface of the knob the appearance of a telescopic arrangement of flattened discs of stone. This ball was found in Cairn Robin in 1854, and belonged to the Banchory House museum.

Two fragments of Urns with chevron pattern.

(4.) One Hammer of greyish stone, 4 inches in length, polished, with sides hollowed in the centre and ornamented by a moulding. Found in Breadalbane.

Urn, drinking-cup form, 6 inches high, and finely ornamented, found in a short stone cist in 1845 in Langhillock, parish of Portlethen, Kincardineshire.

Urn, of similar form, found in a grave in the parish of Cruden.

Urn, of similar form, found at Clashfarquhar in 1817.

Urn, of similar form, found in a cist in the parish of Cruden.

(5.) Urn, of similar form, found in a cist on the farm of Little Clintery, in the parish of Newhills.

Urn, of similar form, found in a cist in a sandhill in the parish of Skene.

Urn, of similar form, found in a cist at Inveramsay.

Urn, of similar form (broken), found at Auchmore, near Portsoy.

Small Urn of the so-called "incense-cup" form, found in a cairn at the foot of Benachie. (This urn is now in the Museum. It is figured in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 193.)

(6.) Small Urn, of the same type, found at the same place. (This urn is also now in the Museum, and is figured in the Proceedings, vol. ix., p. 196.)

Small Urn, of the same type but slightly larger, and having the two holes in the side immediately under the rim, found in 1857 near Newmire, in Laclin Moss.

Small Urn, narrow at mouth and bottom, and wide in the middle, found in the parish of Alves, Morayshire.

Cup-shaped Urn found in the parish of Udney.

(7.) Craggan, probably made in Harris. From the Banff Museum.

Urn, with holes in the sides, found underneath the old steeple of Montrose.

Urn, of unusual shape, somewhat like an inverted flower-pot, ribbed horizontally. It was found with two others under a flat stone near the Castlehill of Rattray, and was exhibited by Mr James Cumine. (One of the three subsequently presented to the Museum by Mr Cumine is figured in the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 183.)

Stone Cup, with flat circular handle, and having a double row of dot and circle ornamentation underneath the rim, found at Whitehaugh, and exhibited by J. Forbes Smith, Esq., of Whitehaugh.

Stone Cup, with flat circular handle, having a band of chevrony ornaments underneath the rim, found in a stone circle on the Braes of Forbes, and exhibited by Robert Farquharson, Esq., of Haughton.

(8.) Fragments of Urns, found in stone circles at Crichton and Tuack, Kintore.

Bronze Dagger Blade, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with three rivet-holes for attachment of the handle, found on the estate of Redhall, Forfarshire.

Bronze Dagger Blade, 11 inches in length, with four rivets for attachment of the handle. Exhibited by the Earl of Fife.

Three flat Bronze Celts, one ornamented with a chevrony pattern of lines and dots. Exhibited by the Marquis of Breadalbane.

(9.) Two Tortoise or Bowl-shaped Brooches, found in a stone cist at the Longhills, on the farm of Westerseat, near Wick, Caithness, in 1840.

(10.) Two Stone Collars, said to have been found in Glenroy, but in all probability Caribbean.

(11.) Two massive Bronze Armlets of late Celtic type. (They are figured in the Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 11.)

(12.) Highland Musket (17th century) from the armoury at Castle Grant.

(13.) Highland Musket with carved stock.

(14.) Highland Musket, with carved stock, and date 1667 on the barrel. Exhibited by the Earl of Seafield.

(15.) Highland Broadsword, with basket hilt of silver, displaying the

initials C. R., and above them a crown. On one of the bars of the handle is the following inscription:—

“ Att Huntly Castle the second fryday of Sepr. 1701. Wonne
at King Charles the 2nd's fate all horses not exceeding ane 100 marks
pryce were admitted the ryders staking crowns which was
given to the poore who were oblided to pray that the
Monarchie and Royall famelie may be lasting and glorious
in these kingdoms. Wonne be Ja: drummond in drimmaquhanee.

(16.) Lochaber Axe, found in Badenoch. Exhibited by Cluny Macpherson.

Gisarme. Exhibited by Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.

(17.) Lochaber Axe, found in Lochleven Castle. Exhibited by Sir P. M. Thriepland, Bart.

Military Flail, iron-bound and studded with spikes. Exhibited by the Earl of Fife.

Axe Head of iron, found at Ruthven Castle.

Halbert used by the customs collector at old Megray market.

(18.) Powder Horn that belonged to Francis Findlay, Ferryden, who was out at Culloden in 1745.

(19.) Two Ancient Leathern Purses, from Gordon Castle.

(20.) Pair of Hawking Gloves, with silver embroidery, from Gordon Castle.

(21.) Silver Cup, the property of R. B. Æ. Macleod, of Cadboll, Esq.

(22.) Cap, with embroidered rim, said to have been worn by the Marquis of Montrose at his execution. Exhibited by Lord Napier.

(23.) Spinning-wheel, from Linlithgow Palace, called “ Mary of Lorraine's Jewelled Spinning-wheel.” Exhibited by Sir P. M. Thriep-land, Bart.

(24.) Ornamental Purse-clasp, with the inscription—

“ Open my mouth, cut not my skin,
And then you'll see what is therein.”

Spur without the rowel.

(25.) Two-handed Sword,—total length, 4 feet 8 inches; length of blade, 3 feet 4 inches. Exhibited by Lord Forbes.

(26.) Highland Broadsword, found on the field of Culloden three years after the battle.

(27.) Group of Four Two-handed Swords.

(28.) Thumbscrews from Gordonstown House. Exhibited by H. S. P. Gordon Cumming, Bart.

Lochaber Axe. Exhibited by the Earl of Cawdor.

Bronze Figure of a Bird (supposed to be an eagle), said to have been found "in the Roman camp at Ardoch."

(29.) Ancient Chest Lock and Key.

Rubbing of Silver Plate, with spectacle ornament and dog's head, from the tumulus at Largo, now in the Museum.

(30.) Wall-piece, formerly in the Castle of Tolquhon, Aberdeenshire, 3 feet 7 inches long, with the arms of Forbes of Tolquhon.

(31.) Manacle Lock and Key, used perhaps for the "jougs," from the old kirk of Kintore.

Pulpit Hour Glass Stand. Exhibited by Sir P. M. Thriepland, Bart.

(32.) Lock and Key of the strong room of the Old Tolbooth, Aberdeen. (Now in the Museum, presented by James Cassie, A.R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.)

Lock from the Castle of Hall Forest, near Kintore. Exhibited by Mr A. Watt.

(33.) Iron Coffe and Keys, from Cambuskenneth Abbey.

Coffe, with figures.

(34.) Five Old Keys.

(35.) Two Black Leather Mugs, mounted. Exhibited by J. Forbes Leith, Esq.

Keys from Castles Girnigo and Sinclair, near Wick. Exhibited by Dr Sinclair, Wick.

(36.) Silver Chain, with gilt tassel and disc, found under the flooring of Marischal College, Aberdeen. (See subsequent Communication by Dr John Alexander Smith, "On Ancient Silver Chains.")

2. By WALTER LORNE CAMPBELL, Esq., Barncluith, Hamilton.

Maori Axe of Basalt, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, well polished, and considerably worn down at the cutting edge by re-sharpening. (See the accompanying figure.) This form of axe is somewhat rare now-a-days in New Zealand. It was not hafted, but used in the hand. The roughened "grip" made

in the upper part of the implement is intended to afford a firmer grasp in wielding it.

Chips of Obsidian, used as knives by the Maories until within the last thirty or forty years. These are simply flakes of obsidian, perfectly rough and undressed. When used for cutting, they were held between the finger and thumb, and worked backwards and forwards with a sawing motion.

There were also exhibited :—

1. By Mr GEORGE SMART, C.E., Montrose, through Dr ARTHUR MITCHELL, V.P. S.A. Scot.

A Collection of Peruvian Pottery, consisting of sixteen vessels, found in graves in the valleys of Chimbote and Santa, north of Lima, Upper Peru.

Mr Smart gives the following account of these in a letter to Dr Mitchell :—

“The graves in which these pieces of pottery were found are situated in the valleys of Chimbote and Santa, from 240 to 250 miles north of Lima, Peru.

“The graves are chiefly on the slopes of the hills, from 100 to 150 feet above the level of the bottom of the valleys, in sandy soil, and the bodies must have been buried in a sitting posture, as the graves are not more than three or four feet in diameter, and about four in depth. In only one instance (in the valley of Santa) were there found traces of a mummy, which was part of a leg and foot in good preservation, rolled in cloth, apparently cotton. The nails were still on the toes. This is now in the possession of Dr T. Y. Coates, Chimbote.

“The ground above the graves in nearly every case is strewn with broken earthenware and cinders, like ‘clinkers’ from an engine furnace. The other things found along with the pottery were copper needles and beads, a packet of which was unfortunately lost. The needles were like darning needles of various lengths, with well-formed eyes.

“The pottery is ornamented in different ways, being in some cases worked into the shapes of human heads and figures, and those of various



Maori Stone
Axe of Basalt,
11½ inches
long.

other animals. One piece is partly whitened, with the figure of a bird left in the original colour, between two rings round the upper part. Another is worked into the shape of a skull, with a design traced on it in black in straight lines. Another is ornamented with curved lines and triangles, the same curved pattern appearing on several pieces.

“Two small round pots have knobs raised on the outside; in one case in three circles round the top (except on one side, where there is the appearance of a fourth circle), and in the other the knobs are irregularly scattered all over. Many other forms were found, which it would be impossible to describe, and of which specimens were not brought home.

“The valleys of Santa and Chimbote must have at one time been densely populated, as there are remains of houses all over them. In one place, about 12 miles from the port of Chimbote, lie the remains of a large town, lying between two hills, on the tops of which are the ruins of castles. One of these, in particular, must have been of great importance, the walls of adobe (or sun-dried brick) being still over 40 feet thick and 60 high.

“An old Indian road terminates near this, but runs south in a straight line for miles. It is enclosed between walls of adobe about 4 feet high.

“There are also traces of canals for irrigation, one of which, 29 miles long, is now being again opened up for irrigating the valley of Chimbote, and another has been traced for upwards of 50 miles.

“Any one with a slight acquaintance of the country, going to that part of Peru, might in a few months collect hundreds of specimens of pottery, skulls, &c., the difficulty not lying in the finding of them, but in the means of transportation after found.”

2. By W. GALLOWAY, Esq., Architect.

Two Drawings of the Circle of Standing Stones at Leys, near Inverness, described by Mr George Anderson in a paper on the Stone Circles of Inverness-shire in the “*Archæologia Scotica*,” vol. iii, p. 214.

Series of Drawings (full size), showing the Sculptures on the Norman Font in the “Morning Prayer Chapel,” Lincoln Cathedral.

These drawings represent a very curious series of sculptures carved in bas-relief on the four sides of the Norman font in the “Morning Prayer Chapel,” at the western extremity of the nave, Lincoln Cathedral. This

font is considered to be as old as the original Norman edifice founded by Remigius within ten or fifteen years after the Conquest.

There are fountains of a similar character in Winchester Cathedral and at Eastmeon church, Hampshire.

Wild, in his History of Lincolnshire, says :—" Adjoining to this pillar is a curious font, at least as old as the original church of Remigius. It consists of a circular basin cut out of a square block of porphyry, supported by four columns, and decorated on the sides with gryphons and other animals, very rudely carved. The Lincoln font, that in Winchester Cathedral, and one in Eastmeon church, Hampshire, which have all a general resemblance to each other, have been referred to the seventh century." (See " *Vetusta Monumenta*," vol. ii., and " *Archæologia*," vol. ix.)

Dr Milner, however, remarks in his "History of Winchester," that "this is evidently dating them too far backwards, for certainly baptism by immersion, which was performed by means of a bath made for this purpose, in a building distinct from the church itself, called a baptistery, was the practice in this kingdom, as well as in other parts of the church at the time in question, and above two centuries later." ("Hist. of Winchester," vol. ii., p. 78.)

3. By JAMES YOUNG, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Series of Lithographs of the Chambers in Bellers Nap Barrow, in the parish of Charlton Abbots, Gloucestershire.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE RUINS AT IONA. BY W. F. SKENE,
Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The ruins which at present exist on the island of Iona may be considered as the remains of four distinct ecclesiastical foundations. There is, first, the chapel of St Oran, with the cemetery, called in Gaelic, Reilig Oran, secondly, the church of St Mary, with the cloisters and monastic buildings connected with it; thirdly, the Nunnery; and fourthly, the remains of the building called Teampull Ronaig, and believed to have been the parish church.

Any one examining these ruins, and desiring to learn something of their history, will be surprised to find how very little is really known concerning them. He will learn generally that an ecclesiastical establishment was founded in the island in the sixth century by St Columba, and that for several centuries it was the chief seat of the early Scottish Church, till the ravages of the Norwegians and Danes destroyed it in the ninth century; but none of these ruins belong to that period. If he refer to his guidebook, he will not get much satisfaction there. Murray's Handbook for Scotland will tell him, for instance, that St Oran's chapel is a work of considerable antiquity, though probably not earlier than the twelfth century; that though much later than the time of St Columba, it was the permanent chapel of the cemetery, and *therefore* older than the cathedral—reasoning not very easily followed; that the Nunnery was founded in the thirteenth century, and the cathedral of St Mary built in the fourteenth century, but not a syllable as to who founded them, or to what order of clergy or monks they belonged.

If he turn to Dr Reeves' able and exhaustive edition of Adamnan's Life of St Columba, probably the ablest and most exhaustive work which has appeared in our time, he will find a full and detailed account of every event connected with this island and its ecclesiastical history, down to the end of the twelfth century. The last event recorded by Dr Reeves is in the year 1203, and he then adds:—"The passage here cited is the parting mention of Hy in the Irish Annals, and as it closes a long list of notices running through nearly seven centuries, it

leaves the island, as it found it, in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics, an important out-post of the Irish Church," &c.

The Chapel of St Oran, and perhaps part of the monastic buildings, may reach back to the twelfth century, but in the main these ruins are not older than the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Dr Reeves, therefore, who has so admirably conducted us through the history of St Columba and his successors, down to that period, leaves us without his guidance, just as the history of these buildings probably commenced, and of the subsequent history of the island all is dark and uncertain.

The object of this paper is to endeavour to restore some part of this forgotten history.

Dr Reeves, before he parts with us, gives us one important fact in connection with the church of St Mary. I do not call it with the guide books, the Cathedral Church, because it was not a cathedral till shortly before the Reformation. In a note, he says, "On the capital of the south-east column, under the tower, near the angle of the south transept and choir, are the remains of the inscription—'Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus,' in Lombardic letters" (p. 409); and in another part (p. 411), he says, talking of Flaherty O'Brolchan, Bishop and Abbot of Derry, "Bishop O'Brolchan was busily employed towards the close of the twelfth century, in re-edifying the ecclesiastical buildings of Derry; and to a kinsman of his is probably attributable the commencement of the most important structure now existing in Hy. The unusual record on the capital of the tower column, 'Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus,' and the coincidence of that record with the obit of Domhnall Ua Brolchan, in the Annals of Ulster at 1203, and of the Four Masters at 1202, are sufficient, if not to satisfy the mind, at least to afford material for reasonable conjecture as to the builder." In a note, he says "that this capital is the most ornamented with grotesque reliefs of any in the building," and adds, "could these designs, so characteristic of the Irish school, be the *hoc opus* of O'Brolchan?"

Without going so far as to limit his work to the capital, it is probable that he only built a part of the church, for these early churches, when of considerable size, were usually gradually built in parts, first, the chancel and choir, then, the transepts and centre tower, and finally, the nave. Dr

Reeves thinks that this Donald O'Brolchan was Prior of Derry, but he is not so called in the Annals. The entry as he gives it, is simply "Domhnall Ua Brolchain, prior et excelsus senior, obiit die Aprilis xxvii." He may have held the priory of Iona as well. Fordun, who wrote in 1385, in noticing Hy Columbkille, or Iona, merely says, "ubi duo monasteria sunt, unum monachorum, aliud monialium, ibidem itaque refugium;" but Bower, who wrote sixty years later, says that two monasteries had been founded there, one "nigrorum monachorum," or of black monks, and the other of holy nuns of the order of Saint Augustine bearing the rochet. Bower was himself Abbot of Inchcolm, and knew probably what he was talking about when he thus describes them; but he confounds the monastery with the chapel of St Oran, when he adds that it had been the place of sepulture and royal seat of almost all the kings of the Scots and Picts to the time of Malcolm Canmore. Maurice Buchanan, who wrote some twelve years later, repeats the statement of Fordun.

Now, the first piece of additional information I have to give you is from the Book of Clanranald, which contains a record kept, from time to time, by the Macvurichs, of the history of the Lords of the Isles and the great clan of Macdonald. Macvurich says of Reginald, Lord of the Isles, that, "he was the most distinguished of the Galls and the Gael for prosperity, sway of generosity, and feats of arms. Three monasteries were founded by him, viz., a monastery of black monks in I, (or Iona,) in honour of God and Columhille; a monastery of black nuns in the same place; and a monastery of grey friars at Sagadal (or Saddle) in Kintyre." This Reginald was the son of Somarled, the regulus of Argyll, who was slain at Renfrew in 1166, and succeeded him in the Lordship of the Isles, which he ruled till the year 1207, when he died. He was thus Lord of the Isles during the greater part of the reign of William the Lion. We know from the Paisley chartulary that he was the founder of the religious house at Saddle, and there seems no reason to doubt the statement that he founded the monastery and nunnery at Iona.

By black monks, the Benedictines are meant, who were so-called, and among the documents found by Professor Munch in the Vatican, and printed in his edition of the Chronicle of Man (p. 152), is the confirmation by the Pope of the foundation of this Benedictine monas-

tery. It is dated the 9th December 1203, and is addressed to "Celestinus Abbas Sancti Columbæ de Hy insula," and to the brethren present and future professing a religious,—that is, a monastic life; and he takes under his protection and that of Saint Peter the aforesaid monastery of Saint Columba, in order that the monastic order which has been instituted in that place according to God and the rule of Saint Benedict, may be preserved inviolate in all time to come, and he confirms to them the place itself in which the said monastery is situated, with its pertinents, consisting of churches, island, and lands in the Western Isles. This document throws light upon a charter in the chartulary of Holyrood (p. 41), where King William the Lion grants to the Abbey of Holyrood, "ecclesias sive capellas in Galweia quæ ad jus abbatix de Hy Columcille pertinent, videlicet Kirhecormack, Sancti Andrea, Balincros, and Cheletun." These churches are not contained in the Pope's confirmation of the possessions of the new monastery, and must have belonged to the prior abbacy, which had fallen into decay, and been granted by William the Lion to Holyrood when the new monastery was founded.

Now observe how all the dates here accord. The monastery is founded by Reginald, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lion, sometime between 1166 and 1207. It is confirmed by the Pope on 9th December 1203, and the church bears an inscription on one of the pillars, which shows that part of it at least had been built by a prior who died in 1203, and these dates correspond with the architectural character of the buildings.

The next point to be determined is, to what particular order of Benedictines did this monastery belong?

Spottiswoode, in his account of the religious houses, states that "the old cloisters, being ruined by the several incursions of the Danes, the monastery became in the following years the dwelling of the Cluniacenses, who, in the reign of King William, took all their benefices 'cum cura animarum' in Galloway, which were bestowed upon the canons of Holyrood House at Edinburgh, the Benedictines not being allowed by their constitutions to perform the duties and functions of a curate."

The previous detail will have shown that this view of the loss of the Galloway churches is not strictly correct; and there is a serious difficulty in supposing that the monastery founded by Reginald, Lord of the Isles,

was one of Cluniac monks. The Cluniacenses were a reformed order of Benedictines, so called from the Abbey of Cluny, in Burgundy, where Berno revised the rules of Saint Benedict with some new constitutions, and when dying placed Odo as abbot or superior of this new monastery; but it was a peculiarity of this order that the parent house at Cluny was alone governed by an abbot, and the affiliated houses were priories governed by a prior only. The principal monastery of Cluniacs in England was Wenloch, but it was a priory only, governed by a prior. Walter Fitzallan, the high steward of Scotland, brought Cluniac monks from Wenloch to Paisley, where he founded a monastery in 1164; but Paisley, too, was at first only a priory. Great efforts were made to obtain for Paisley the privilege of electing an abbot, which were strenuously resisted by the abbot of Cluny, and it was not till the year 1245 that the monks of Paisley obtained this privilege, and the priory became an abbacy; but, as we have seen from the Pope's confirmation of the monastery of Iona in 1203, it was from the first governed by an abbot. This objection appears to me fatal to the claims of the Cluniacs,—other objections will be noted afterwards,—and I think there is strong reason for concluding that the monastery belonged to another order of reformed Benedictines, viz., those called Tyronenses. They were so called from their first abbey, Tyron, in the diocese of Chartres, and were founded by St Bernard, abbot of St Cyprian in Poitou, in the year 1109. The Benedictines of Tyron were introduced into Scotland by David the First, who placed them at Selkirk, when earl, and after he became king, removed them to Kelso, and this was their only monastery in Scotland prior to the reign of William the Lion, but most of the monasteries founded in his reign belonged to this order. The great foundation in his reign was the monastery of Arbroath, founded by himself in 1178, and the monks were Benedictines of Tyron, brought from Kelso. In the same year his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, founded the Abbey of Lindores for Benedictines of Tyron. In the following year the Earl of Buchan founded Fyvie, which was affiliated to Arbroath, and belonged to the same order; and in the same reign Richard de Moreville founded Kilwinning, for Benedictines of Tyron.

Now I find the closest resemblance between these monasteries and that of Iona.

1st, The Benedictines of Tyron, as appears from a list of foundations in

Scotland of the thirteenth century, which comes down to 1272, annexed to Henry of Silgrave's Chronicle, were called black monks.

2*d*, The confirmations of two of them by the Pope have been preserved—that of Arbroath in 1182, in the Arbroath chartulary (p. 151), and that of Lindores in 1198, in that chartulary (p. 39). The monastery of Kilwinning was confirmed in 1218, but the deed has not been preserved. Now on comparing the confirmations of Arbroath in 1182 and Lindores in 1198 with that of Iona in 1203, I find that they are verbatim the same, and the monasteries are described in exactly the same terms, viz., “ordo monasticus, qui in eodem loco secundum Deum et beati Benedicti regulam institutus est,” while in the Pope's confirmation of the Monastery of Paisley in 1226, printed by Theiner (p. 23), the qualifying expression “atque institutionem Cluniacensium fratrum” is added, which is not in the others.

3*d*, The monasteries of the Benedictines of Tyron, or the churches attached to them, were dedicated to St Mary, either alone or along with a local saint. Kelso was dedicated to her. Arbroath to St Thomas the martyr, but an altar in the choir to St Mary, and the monastery is occasionally called of St Mary and St Thomas. Fyvie was dedicated to St Mary. Lindores to St Mary and St Andrew. Kilwinning to St Mary and St Winnin, and Iona to St Columba, and the church to St Mary. If I am right in conjecturing that it also belonged to this order of Benedictines, it throws light upon another deed of King William the Lion, for at the time that he gave the Galloway churches, which had belonged to the older abbacy, to Holyrood, he gave, the church of Forglen with the “Brachennach” or standard of Saint Columba, to the abbey of Arbroath, the chief monastery of this order, founded by himself.

The next point I have to bring before the Society, is the connection of this abbey of Iona with the diocese of Nidarös or Trontheim in Norway. This connection, of course, arose from the Isles being under the dominion of the Norwegians. The Bishops of Man and the Isles had at first been consecrated by the Archbishop of York, whose suffragans they were considered to be, but when the metropolitan see of Nidarös or Trontheim was erected in 1154 by the bull of Pope Anastasius IV., the Sudreys or Western Isles were expressly annexed to this province as a suffragan diocese. Accordingly, we find that the Bishop of Man and the Isles at

this time was a Norwegian called Ragnald, who appears to have been nominated and consecrated by the metropolitan Bishop of Nidarös. In the Icelandic Annals he is termed the first Bishop of the Sudreys, the previous bishops, who had been consecrated by the Archbishop of York, being ignored in those annals. After his death, in 1170, the rights of the Bishop of Nidarös seemed to have fallen into abeyance till the year 1210, when the titular Bishop of the Isles was consecrated by him, and during this period of 40 years, the Icelandic Annals declared that the diocese of the Isles was vacant, thus ignoring all bishops not consecrated by the Bishop of Trontheim. In the year 1225 he received the pallium from the Pope, and thus became vested with the full rights of a metropolitan; and in the following year (1226) Simon, Bishop of the Isles, was consecrated, along with three Norwegian Bishops, by Peter, Archbishop of Nidarös.

In the MS. "*Liber Censuum Romanæ Ecclesiæ*," compiled by Cencius Camerarius in 1192, we find under the head of "Norwegia" the dioceses comprehended within the province of Nidarös, and among these is the "*Episcopatus Sudreiensis alias Manensis*," to which is added "*Ecclesia Sancti Columbi de insula Hy*;" and the Saga of King Hacon relates that in the autumn of 1226, Simon, Bishop of the Isles, John, Earl of Orkney, and the Abbot of Iona, met King Hacon at Bergen, so that the Abbot of Iona was with Bishop Simon in Norway when he was consecrated, and, no doubt, did homage to the Archbishop of Nidarös at the same time. The next notice of the Abbot of Iona is in the year 1234, when, in an agreement made in that year between Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and Walter Comyn, in regard to the lands of Kynkardyn in Strathspey, recorded in the Moray Chartulary (p. 99), we find it was made in presence "*Domini Abbatis de Hy, and fratris Alani monachi*," that is, of the abbot and one of the brethren who accompanied him. The probable object of this journey, we learn from the next document I have to bring before you. It is a letter of Pope Innocent IV., in 1247, preserved in the British Museum, in which, "on a representation by the abbot of the monastery of the order of Saint Benedict, in the diocese of the Isles of the kingdom of Norway, that, although a general Chapter was celebrated within his province (that is, of Nidarös), according to the constitution of the Apostolic See, the abbots of that order within the kingdom

of Scotland compelled him to attend their general council on the ground of his holding certain possessions in Scotland, the Pope ordered the abbots in future not to molest him" (Orig. Par. II. p. 834). There were at this time seven Benedictine Abbots in Scotland,—one of original Benedictines at Dunfermline, one of Cluniacs recently established at Paisley, and five of Benedictines of Tyron, who must be the abbots alluded to. .

In the same year, Pope Innocent addresses a letter "to the abbot of the monastery of Saint Columba of the order of Saint Benedict," who had gone to Lyons to meet the Pope, and personally represented the great distance of his monastery from the Norwegian province to which it belonged, and grants him the use of the mitre and the ring, and other Episcopal privileges, within certain limitations (Chron. Man. p. 157).

It will be seen from these notices that the abbacy of Iona was not at this time under subjection to the Bishop of the Isles, but appears as a separate foundation under the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Trontheim, and the abbot seems now to have established his independence, both of Episcopal and of monastic control, and to have become a mitred abbot.

When the Western Isles were finally ceded to Scotland, and the Bishopric of the Isles became a Scottish diocese, and all connection with Norway was severed, the Abbot of Iona did not even then consider himself as within the diocese of the Isles, but placed himself under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dunkeld, as inheriting the rights of St Columba, and representing the old primacy of Iona in Scotland, as Kells, and afterwards Derry, did in Ireland. Abbot Mylne tells us that in the Episcopate of William St Clair, who was Bishop of Dunkeld in the reign of Robert Bruce, Dominus Finlains, a monk of the monastery of Icolmkill, who had been elected abbot, came to him to receive confirmation; and that, at the request of the king, he confirmed him as abbot, and conceded to him some of the Episcopal privileges his predecessor had received from the Pope; and Bower tells us that in 1431 the abbot of the Island of Icolmkill or Iona, did manual obeisance to Robert de Cardeney, Bishop of Dunkeld, as his ordinary diocesan. Between the years 1492 and 1498, John, Abbot of Iona, was elected Bishop of the Isles, and in

1506, the Abbey of Iona was permanently annexed to the Bishopric of the Isles, the bishop being *ex-officio* perpetual commendator of Icolmkill. It was only at this period that the abbey church of St Mary's became the cathedral of the Isles.

Reginald, Lord of the Isles, was also the founder of the nunnery. According to Macvurich, he founded it for black nuns. Macvurich also states that his sister, Beathog or Beatrice, the daughter of Somarled, was a religious woman, and a black nun; and the Knock MS. tells us that Somarled had one only daughter, Beatrix, who was prioress of Icolmkill. By the black nuns Benedictine nuns are meant, and it seems probable that they belonged to that order; for we find, from subsequent notices, that it was a priory dependent upon the Benedictine abbey, and was likewise dedicated to St Mary. Thus, in 1509, King James IV. grants a letter of protection to the prioress of the monastery of nuns of the most beloved Virgin Mary, in the Isle of St Columba; and in 1567, Queen Mary grants to Marioun Makclaine, the prioress and nunrie of the abbey of Ycolmkill. On the other hand, Bower says distinctly that the nuns were Augustinian nuns, wearing the rochet, whose dress was white; and as he was Abbot of Inchcolm, which was occupied by Augustinian canons, he must have known if nuns of the same order were in Iona. The only explanation of this difference which occurs to me is, that the nuns may originally have been black or Benedictine nuns, having Beatrice, the sister of their founder, Reginald, Lord of the Isles, for their first prioress, but that Augustinian nuns may have been substituted for them before the time of Bower. This may have taken place when the abbey of Iona became connected with the Bishop of Dunkeld, under whose jurisdiction the abbacy of Inchcolm likewise was.

We have thus a very distinct account of the foundation of two of the ecclesiastical establishments the ruins of which remain, viz., the abbey, and the nunnery. For the others we must look a little further back in the history.

The ecclesiastical foundations in Iona seem to have fallen into utter decay after the ravages of the Norwegians and Danes; and the rule of the Norwegians over the Isles, even after they became Christian, seems not to have been favourable to any revival of them. The monastery of Kells, and afterwards that of Derry, became the head of the Columban order in

Ireland, and frequently held nominally the abbacy of Iona, while Dunkeld claimed to be the head of the order in Scotland; and it is only occasionally, and at rare intervals, that a separate abbot of Iona appears in the Annals. Queen Margaret is recorded by Ordericus Vitalis to have rebuilt the "Huense Cœnobium," and repaired it, giving the monks sufficient provisions for the work of the Lord. Dr Reeves seems to imply that what she built was the chapel of St Oran, but the word "cœnobium" can, I think, only refer to the monastery. The Irish Annals record in 1099 (six years after her death), the death of Donnchadh or Duncan, son of MacMaenaigh, Abbot of Iona, the last mentioned in the Annals; and she seems, therefore, to have for the time restored the abbacy; but when the Isles were ceded to Magnus, King of Norway, it soon fell into decay, till the year 1154, when the division of the kingdom of the Isles took place, and those south of Ardnamurchan were ceded to Somarled, the regulus of Argyll. Whatever his descent may have been, the relations between his family and Ireland were very close, and he appears to have at once attempted to restore the abbacy, under the auspices of the Abbot of Derry. The passage which shows this also exhibits to us the exact position at the time of the Christian establishment there. The Annals of Ulster contain the following passage at the year 1164:—"The chiefs of the family of Ia (or Iona), viz., Augustin the "Sagart Mor" or great priest, and Dubhsidhe the "Ferleighin" or lector, and MacGilladuibh the "Disertach" or superior of the Hermitage, and Mac-Forcelagh the head of the Culdees, and the chiefs of the family of Iona in general, came to meet the Abbot of Derry, Flaherty O'Brolchan, to get him to take the abbacy of Iona, by the advice of Somarled and the men of Argyll and the Isles, but the Abbot of Armagh, the King of Ireland, and the chiefs of Tyrone prevented it."

The "Sagart Mor," or great priest, belonged obviously to the secular clergy, who entered Scotland on the failure of the Columban clergy, and appears in many places, holding an independent position, under the name of "Sacerdos." We should now call him the parish clergyman. The "Ferleighin," or lector is what we should now call the parish schoolmaster. The "Disertach" I may put aside, as I have nothing to add to the account given by Dr Reeves (p. 366). The head of the Culdees, Dr Reeves has shown in his work on the Culdees, is usually called the prior, so that there was at this

time no abbacy, but merely a priory of Culdees. In John of Silgrave's list of religious houses in the thirteenth century, Iona appears also as occupied by Culdees. It is clear, therefore, that they were the immediate predecessors of the Benedictine monastery founded by Somarled's son, Reginald.

It would, of course, be quite out of place to enter here into any discussion as to who the Culdees really were; but I may state that the opinions I have always held regarding them entirely accord with those expressed by the late Joseph Robertson, in his masterly introduction to the "Statuta Ecclesie." He had such a wonderful grasp of the spirit of our old ecclesiastical establishments, that his instinct was almost unerring, and he is the only Scottish historian who, according to my apprehension, has at all approached a solution of this intricate question.

There is a mysterious entry in the Irish Annals, the last indeed regarding Iona, in 1203. It is as follows:—"A monastery was erected by Cellach without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Iona, in the middle of the Cro of Iona, and he did considerable damage to the town. The clergy of the North (of Ireland), assembled to pass over to Iona—viz., the Bishop of Tyrone, the Bishop of Tirconnell, and the Abbot of the abbey church of Paul and Peter at Armagh, and Aulay O'Ferghail Abbot of Derry, with many of the family of Derry, and a great number of the northern clergy beside. They passed over into Iona, and in obedience to the law of the Church, they subsequently pulled down the monastery, and the aforesaid Aulay was elected Abbot of Iona by the suffrages of Galls (or Norwegians) and Gael."

Dr Reeves thinks that the Ceallach here mentioned may have been a Nicolas, also called Colas, Bishop of the Isles, who was improperly interfering with the island; but, as we have seen, at that time there was no connection whatever between Iona and the Bishop of the Isles, and it is difficult to see why he should have made such an attempt. Dr Reeves was not aware of the existence of Celestinus, the first abbot of the new Benedictine monastery, who appears in the same year, and it appears to me more probable that Ceallach was the Irish equivalent of his name, and that on the death of Donald O'Brolchan, the prior at that time, he had attempted to eject the Culdees, and place them in a separate monastery, which was defeated by the opposition of the Irish. The parties opposed to him were the family of Iona, obviously the same ecclesiastics mentioned

in 1164, who preceded the Benedictines, and the same Irish clergy who supported them, and tried to revive the older abbacy.

That there did exist a parochial church in Iona, and a secular priest who filled the position of parson or sacerdos, we find from one of the documents discovered by Professor Munch in the Vatican, viz., a presentation by the Pope on 10th September 1372, of Mactyr, son of John the Judge, a "clericus" or clergyman of the diocese of the Isles, to the pariah church—*parochialis ecclesia*—of St Columba of Hy or Iona, in room of Dominic, son of Kenneth, late rector of that church (p. 183). This parsonage or rectory appears, however, to have been soon after acquired by the abbot, who appointed a vicar to do the duty, for Macvurich calls the clergyman of Iona in 1380 a vicar; and in the rental of the possessions of the Abbot of Iona in 1561 are enumerated the "teindis of Ycolmkill, called the personage of Tempill Ronaige." It was probably about the time the abbot acquired the parsonage that the building was erected of which the ruins remain, and are known by the name of Tempull Ronaige.

It only remains to refer to the chapel of St Oran; but this paper has already extended too far to admit of any inquiry into its history, and I shall conclude what I have to say with some passages from the Book of Clanranald, which throw light upon some of the monuments. These monuments may be divided into two classes: the Celtic slabs, which belong to the period anterior to the foundation of the Benedictine monastery, and those more elaborate monuments connected with the subsequent period. It is to these latter alone that the passages refer. The Book of Clanranald contains an account of the burial of some of the Lords of the Isles and chiefs of the Macdonalds, which will enable us to identify some of these monuments; and first, of Reginald, Lord of the Isles, the founder of the Benedictine monastery, Macvurich says—"that having obtained a cross from Jerusalem, and having received the body of Christ and extreme unction, he died, and was buried at Reilic Oran, Iona, in A.D. 1207." There is a stone of this period, having upon it the sword, which marks the grave of a warrior; in a corner at the upper end a small cross, and below a treasure box, which marks a founder of some church, which is probably his monument.

The death of his successor, Donald, is not recorded. His son and successor, Angus Mor, is said to have died in Isla; but of his son and succes-

son, Angus Og, the Lord of the Isles of King Robert Bruce's time, it is said, "This Angus Og died in Isla. His body was interred in Iona, A.D. 1306."

Of the burial of his son, John, Lord of the Isles, a more particular description is given. "He died in his own castle at Ardtornish, while monks and priests were over his body, and having received the body of Christ and extreme unction, his fair body was brought to Icolmkill, and the abbot and the monks and vicars came along with him, as it was customary to accompany the bodies of the Kings of Fingall, and his service and waking were honourably performed during eight days and eight nights, and he was laid in the same grave with his father at Teampull Odhran, or the church of St Oran, in the year 1380." He was twice married. By his first wife he had Ranald, ancestor of the Clan Ranald, and Mary, married to MacLean of Duart. By his second wife he had Donald, his successor as Lord of the Isles. Of him it is said, "he was an entertainer of clerics, priests, and monks in his companionship, and he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the monastery of Iona, and every immunity which the monastery had from his ancestors before him; and he made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of St Columcille, and he himself took the brotherhood of the order. He afterwards died in Isla, and his full noble body was interred on the south side of Teampull Odhran, or the church of St Oran."

Ranald, the son by the first marriage, had four sons, Allan, Donald Angus Reabhach, and Dugall, of all of whom it is said that they were interred in the same grave with their father, in Releig Oran; but to one of them, Angus Reabhach, it is also said that he had taken upon him the brotherhood of the order of Mary in the church of Iona.

Of Mary, the daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, it is said that she was interred in the church of the nuns.

Donald, Lord of the Isles, had a younger son Angus, who was Bishop of the Isles, and died in 1437. Of him it is said, "His illustrious body was interred, with his crosier and episcopal habit, in the cross on the south side of the great choir, which he selected for himself while alive."

II.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF IONA. BY JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Soot.

On my first visit to the island, in 1868, I found the cathedral and nunnery in a most neglected condition. As to the cathedral, outside there were all round heaps of stone and lime, which from time to time had fallen from the crumbling walls, and had been allowed to remain just as they had tumbled, and were overgrown with rank weeds of all sorts; while inside, the chapter-house and other places were in a state about which the less said the better. At Reilag Oran the same disregard to order was everywhere visible, the very turf growing over some of the most interesting monuments to the thickness of some inches. At the nunnery things were in the same state.

On a second visit, in 1870, matters were much as I found them formerly, —still the broken-down wall at the cathedral, to allow the cattle of the innkeeper free admission, the enclosure having been let to him for grazing purposes; but I am happy to say that in July last, when I was there, a great change had taken place for the better. At the cathedral there was no more cattle grazing, the opening in the wall had been built up, the heaps of stones and rubbish cleared away from about the foundations of the buildings, the grass now growing up to the walls, and it was a pleasure to wander about the place to study the ruins. Around St Oran's Chapel the same order prevailed,—no weeds and no confusion, but the grass kept trim and neat by a person appointed for the purpose, though, oddly enough, not the person who acts as cicerone, which seems to a stranger a sort of anomalous arrangement and waste of labour, for surely both duties would be better done by one, who should be made responsible for the condition in which the ruins and ground surrounding them were kept.

At the nunnery, I am sorry to say, the same state exists as formerly—weeds rank and wild everywhere. As to the cathedral itself, much more than mere pointing is wanted; the east wall of the chancel is in a most dangerous state, being cracked in nearly its whole height, and unless something is done soon, it may get beyond repair. Other walls are in a dangerous state also, but as far as I could see this was the most serious.

The sculpture on the monuments in the West Highlands is generally looked upon as of a merely ornamental character, but as we study them the designs turn out an earnest symbolism full of deep meaning and suggestiveness, many of them hinting at the history of a life, or, at all events, some of the characteristic habits of the deceased. The most common emblem, as we might expect in the localities where they most abound, is the cross, which is sculptured in endless variety, the earliest being evidently that which was rudely cut into the stone or on the surface of the rock, as in Columba's cave at Loch Coalisport. Next came the simple Christian cross done in outline; a nimbus would next be added, and thus they would go on adding and adding until it became at times almost bewildering from the intricacy of tracery, which, however, always resulted in some beautiful form from the artful combination of graceful curves and foliage. After the cross the sword is the most numerous, and naturally so among a brave and warlike race. Galleys are of frequent occurrence in many varieties of build and modes of rigging. Hunting scenes are often represented, and designed with much spirit. In some localities you find a salmon pursued by an otter; on a slab at Kiels a seal and otter dispute the prize, the one having it by the head and the other by the tail; and a fragment of a slab having the same on it is, or was lately, at Kilchenzie.

Of womanly symbols the foremost are the shears. This has by some been thought typical of the Fates as cutting the thread of life, but there can be no doubt whatever as to its real meaning when thus represented. It is frequently figured at the nunnery at Iona, and on one stone two pairs are carved, touchingly hinting at two sisters or friends buried under the same stone. But there is surer evidence even than this on a slab at Kilchenzie. Here is a pair of shears beside a sword, and this inscription opposite—"Hic jacet Katarina" . . . the rest being illegible: the husband's name has been effaced. At Kilkerran there is the fragment of a cross on which the shears are carved, and above them, "Hec est crux Calani M'Heachurna et Katarina uxoris ejus." Other female emblems on these stones are the comb, the mirror, a book or missal, and the harp.

Of clerical emblems you have the cross combined with the sword. At Iona there are four of these. In one case the design is very marked, and, from the style of art, very early. The cross, which is very unusual in

form, occupies the centre of the design, and is divided into three parts with a base ; at one side the galley, of early build, and at the other the sword. My own reading of this has always been a great chief or warrior by sea and land, who, in his old age perhaps, forsook the world and turned priest or monk. At Kilmartin some such reading is suggested in a different way. The sword is represented in its full length, but the lines of it continued and finished as a cross. Another unusually fine slab at Iona has a small cross close by the handle of the sword, and whoever it may have been erected to, this emblem must have pointed to some good deed or incident in his life. But there is more on this stone—below the sword is a box or casket, strongly bound with iron or brass. This seems of easy explanation, as expressing money, and would likely be placed over a donor or founder. All the suggestions of the foregoing emblems, excepting the mermaid, seem of easy interpretation, but others are not so simple ; for instance, a griffin is sculptured on some of these crosses and slabs. The most appalling figure is on the Prior's Stone at Iona, in which he is horned, his paws converted into formidable talons ; he is flapping his wings ; heraldically he is rampant, being placed over the chalice, and apparently defending it from some imaginary foe. This is easily comprehended. The dragon is of frequent occurrence also on the shields of the chiefs. One of the strangest is at Killean, a nondescript animal having a goat's head, and only two legs at the hinder part of its body, the feet with large talons ; the creature is collared and chained up. This is of easy interpretation.

This style of ornamentation, although it disappeared from such memorials at the time of the Reformation, during the excitement against whatever savoured of Popery, has since been carried into everything Highland, even down to our own times, and has added much to the beauty of warlike accoutrements as well as ornamental articles, such as brooches. The leather of their targets is covered with it, often in beautiful design ; their powder-horns are most chastely engraved with it ; the handles of their dirks are carved elaborately with the twisting serpent-like pattern, and it has lately been discovered on a pair of bagpipes of the date 1409 or 1410. In the last-mentioned case the decoration is carved on the chanter and drones, and also engraved on the brass mountings. [The paper was profusely illustrated by drawings.]

III.

NOTES FROM SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE
INSURRECTION IN ORKNEY IN 1614. BY EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq.,
F.S.A.

The insurrection raised in Orkney in the year 1614 by Robert Stewart, base son of Robert Earl of Orkney, is noticed but slightly by Scottish historians. Indeed, but few details of the event have been preserved. Almost all the original records now extant connected with this turmoil have, however, been printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 272, &c., but the following documents are not to be found in that valuable collection. I was unaware of their existence until my attention was drawn to them by Thomas Dickson, Esq, the present learned curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House.

The civil war in Orkney began in July 1614 by Robert Stewart assembling a body of men, who gained possession of the castle and the tower of the church at Kirkwall and proceeded to hold them as fortresses on behalf of the Earl of Orkney, at that time a prisoner in Dumbarton Castle.

George, fifth Earl of Caithness, was at once despatched to reduce the rebels to obedience. It is said that he "sued and laboured much to be employed in that service," and that he took it on the understanding that he should perform the duties thereof "without great charges to the king."¹

In the month of August the expedition which he had fitted out was ready to depart. Before it sailed the Earl executed the following obligation, a document which seems to imply that the service in which he was engaged was considered as much his own business as that of the crown :—

[*Reg. Secret Council—Acta penes, Marchiarum 1608–1623*, p. 119.]

"Apud Edinburgh, xij Augusti 1614."

"We George Erl of Caithnes lord Sinclair & Lieutennent constitute be oure souerane lord with aduise of the lordis of his maisteis priuie counsaill for represing of the present rebelliou within Orknay and

¹ Gordon, *Genealog. Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland*, 229, 300.

reduceand of that countrie to his maiesteis obedience, be the tannour heir of grant vs to haif reassait furth of his maiesties castle of Edinburgh fra the constable and keeparis thairof, ane grite cannoun callit thrown mow, markit with the porcapine, and ane battert marked with the salamander¹ with hail furnitor careage and ornamentis of the said peeceis according to ane inventar maid and sett down be James Murray master of his maiesteis workes, and that for the better furtherance of his maiesteis service within the said countrie of Orknay. And we bind and obleis ws to haif a speciall cair of the preservatioun of the saidis peeceis, and that we sall send thame bak againe, God willing, in his maiesteis schip frauchte for this service and redelyuir the same vpon the shoir of Leyt with the first occasioun eftir the accomplisheing of this service. In witness quhair of we haif subscribit this presentes with oure hand at Edinburgh the xij day of August the yere of God MVI^c and fourtene zeiris Before this witness. James Prymrois clerk of the counsell.

"Sic sub^{scr} CAITHNES

"J. PRYMROIS witness."

The Register of the Secret Council from which the above is transcribed furnishes a few other details. The ship in which the Earl and his company sailed was called the "Poise," and they were accompanied by "John Skennire chirurgane, who had for his kirst and furnishing of drogges, meete for chirurgia. . . . ane hundreth pundes." They were accompanied by Robert Winrahame, "herauld" Johnne Johnnestoun "trumpetor," James Hammiltoun and Johnne Quhyte "wryghtes," James Workeman and James Gairdner "cannonaris," and a smith called Martine Sheill. The Bishop of Orkney also went with the expedition, but not very willingly it would seem, for he alleged to the Council that

¹The salamander in the midst of flames, with the motto "NUTRISCO ET EXTINGUO," was the motto of Francis I. of France. It is said to have been invented by Artus de Gouffier-Boisy, a Poitevin gentleman, who was the king's literary preceptor, for the purpose of symbolising the fiery spirit of his pupil. In the chateau of Amboise panel-work yet exists charged with "the F couronné for François and the C couronné for Claude" his queen, and mingled with them are his device of the salamander, with its motto and hers, the ermine passant.—See *Feudal Castles of France*, 29, 50.

he "had mony lattes and impedimentis quhilkis might hinder him at this time." (Pp. 97-99.)

The Fellows of this Society have no little reason to be thankful that his Lorship did consent to join the array. Had it not been for his good offices, the cathedral of Kirkwall would have shared the same unhappy fate as that which has befallen so many of the noblest ecclesiastical structures that were once the glory of Scotland. Gordon, in his account of these transactions, tells us that "the steiple of the church of Kirkway was first besieged, which after a little time was yielded. Then the Earl of Catteynes went about to demolish and throw down the church; bot he was with great difficultie hindered and stayed by the bishop of Orknay, who wold not suffer him to throw it down." (P. 300.)

[*Reg. Secret Council—Acta penes, Marchiarum 1608-1623, p. 119.*]

"Inventrie maid at leyth the xvj of August 1614 off the ordnance and mvnitioun with vther provisionis delyuerit to my lord Erll of Caithnes his maiesteis Lieutennent direct to orknay be his maiesteis direction in his hienes seruice for repressing of ane rebellious committit thair aganis his maiestie quhairof the said Erll grantis the ressett as followis vnder his L^p handwreate

"Item ane cannoun called throwne mouth marked with the porkaupyne with hir stok and quheillis all garnished with yron work with hir ladillis sponge and worme.

"Item thriescoir of bullettis for the said cannoun

"Item tua hailling towis of the said cannoun

"Item ane battart marked with the solamander, flowre de luce, and ef¹ with hir stok and quheillis all garnished with yron work with hir ladillis spounge and worme with thriescoir bullettis and tua hailling towis

"Item auchtene swesis and hand spokis and sex weidgeis

"Item ane pair of feises with hir balk and scall

"Item of pouldar fourscoir tua stane sex pund wey⁴

"Item of Lwnt fyve stane four pund weyght

¹ This piece of ordnance may probably have belonged at one time to Queen Mary's first husband.

- " Item four oxe hydys and twelff scheip skynns
- " Item ane barrill of butter contening ane stane weght
- " Item threttie ane stane ten pund four vnce weght of leid
- " Item fyve dusone of schoillis and sex spaidis and twelff mattokis
- " Item fyve gevillokis weyand nyne stane and tua pund wey^t
- " Item tua querrell mellis and sex wedgeis
- " Item four crawyronis.
- " Item sex hammeris for wrichtis
- " Item ane pair of smythis belleis with ane studie weyand stane
wey^t with tua foir hammeris ane hand hammer and ane paire of tayngis
with the brandering and kowe yron of the belleis, cleif yron and studie stok
- " Item aucht stane wey^t of naillis grite and small in ane barrell.
- " Item ane litle barrell full of grite garroun naillis
- " Item tua barrell with cuttit yron for hailshott
- " Item fourtie fyve of skullis and creillis
- " Item an hundreth daillis
- " Item fyve dusone of double rooff sparris
- " Item twa hundreth wicker sparris
- " Item tua thousand girth stingis quhairof ane thousand clowin
- " Item tua hundreth double rungis for letheris
- " Item some grite wyer
- " Item sex grite Jestis of threttie futis of lenth
- " Item ane vther Jest cutt in ten peeceis for blokis
- " Item fourscoir and six fadome of grite takill weyand twenty ane stane
and ellevin pund wey^t
- " Item threttie fadome of small tow weyand fyiftene pund and ane half
- " Item ane schellop and ane yron bolt
- " Item sex plankis threttie tua fute of lenth
- " Item auchtene naillis for schoune
- " Item sex pair wendbandis
- " Item an trest
- " Item tua rowaris.
- " Item an grite kist with lockis and bandis
- " Item tua grite yron ladillis "

(P. 121.)

"Item ane grite cart with wheillis tramis axtrie with virrallis busheis and doulbandis.

"Item mair sex grite double blokis garniaht with thair scheafis and strapis

"Item ane hand chanyie to the cannoun of the kingis cullouris
"Sic sub^{tar} CAITHNES"

(An Unbound Account on two sheets of folio paper.)

"Kirkwall.

"The compt of the hail furnishing to the bark deburset in Orkney May 1613.

"Item to thrie men that calffit the outwth buird and inwth buird and the schip boit xiiij^a iiij^d; the man xxiiij dayis: in all xlviijⁱⁱ"

"Item for pik and tar to Jo^a Sinclair merchand xvijⁱⁱ iiij^a vj^d

"Item to James Layng smy^t, for boutis, carvall naillis, ringis and vther iron work xxiiijⁱⁱ"

"Item to W^a Guid, blok makir, for thrie dussoun of grit and small blokis at iiijⁱⁱ the dussun, in all xijⁱⁱ"

"Item for calfing to calfat the schip vⁱⁱ"

"Item for plait led to naill on the schip lⁱⁱ iiij^a

"Item to W^a Coventrie for plens^a naillis ijⁱⁱ x^a

"Item for ane Iron trans to the foir top mast xxxvj^a

"Item for towing the schip out of oyse q^a scho wes dres (?) xl^a

"Item for ballasting of hir ijⁱⁱ x^a

"Item to Ro^t Ormistoun in Westray for four stane of taikle xⁱⁱ xiiij^a iiij^d

"Item for pompe leder jⁱⁱ iiij^a

"Item for thrie compassis and ane night glas iiijⁱⁱ x^a

"Item Airthure Sinclair for ij stane of taikle vⁱⁱ vj^a viij^d

"Item for sex eln of hardin to mend the main bonet ijⁱⁱ viij^a

"Item for four airis to the schip boit ijⁱⁱ

"Item for ane led and ane led lyne ijⁱⁱ x^a

"Item for thrie pund of twyne jⁱⁱ x^a

"Item for ten eln of hardin to mend the foir top sail iiijⁱⁱ

"Item for four pund of tallon to the tostis xiiij^a iiij^d

- " Item for sex pece of cruikit tymer to the boit ij¹¹
 " Item for the cumpanyis wages xxx¹¹
 " Item of malt ij^{m1} ij^{11a2}
 " Item four dussion of fisch xlviiiij fisch
 " Item of meill viij^{11a}
 " Item for ane aix and hammir and a spyssing, I bocht in Zetland xlviiij¹¹
 " Item for pump naill xvj^a
 " Item for auld taikle, I bocht fra Dutchmen in Zetland vj¹¹ xi^a
 " Item for bakneill x^a
 " Item for roset I bocht in Zetland l^a

 " My debursment in August in Leyth
 " Item for twa shod schuillis xxiiiij^a
 " Item for ane boit to sek the ankir we tynt in Leyth Raid iiiij¹¹
 " Item for the men in Kinghorne denner that weyit the ankir xxiiiij^a
 " Item twa stane of candell v¹¹ vj^a viij^d
 " Item for twa hundreth dowble naill j¹¹ xij^a
 " Item for twa sparis vj^a
 " Item for aucht dailis to dres the cwe iiiij¹¹
 " Item for lok and bandes to the cwe dur j¹¹
 " Item for missan maast iij¹¹
 " Item for twa pund of twine j¹¹
 " Item for thrie stringis to be welding to the schroud is j¹¹ xvj^a
 " Item for the schipis ankerage in Bruntiland xiiij^a iiiij^d
 " Item for the schipis ankerage in Leyth and shoir siluer xxiiij^a iv^d
 " Item to Gabriell Rankine for ane cable and vther takle containning
 threscoir stanne at l^a the stane, in all j^a l¹¹

 " My debursment in October in Orknay
 " Item for two dussion and ane half of harden to be it the mainsail x¹¹
 " Item for ane chenyeie that wes maid vp on the sey viij^a

 " My debursment in January 1614
 " Item for ane boit to tow the schip into the harbrie the first night
 scho come in iij¹¹ iiiij^a
 " Item for ane daill of coillis and ane half iij¹¹ vj^a

¹ Merk,

² Seteen.

" My debursment in February 1614.

" Item for ane cable fra Gabriell Rankyne of xxxij stane wecht at l^e the stane, in all lxxxij^l x^s

" Item for xxv dussoun of canues to be cors and bonet of ane main saill and cors and bonnet of a foir saill at ij^l ilk dussoun qlk is in all lxxv^l

" Item for fyve stane wecht of taikle to be boutraipis and ane bwrvp xij^l x^s

" Item for tailyie stringis to be vlyeitis and keis ij^l

" Item for aucht punde of twyne to sew ye saillis ijij^l

" Item for making of the saillis x^l

" Item for my awin charges from the begynning of Majj to the first March at xx^l in ye moneth for ten monethis 200^l

" The haill compt in siluer is 1045^l 8^s 4^d

" The haill malt to the schip is 33^m 2^u

" The meill is in all 13^m ijij^u

" The hajl fish is 20 dussoun

" The beff is of ballis v ballis¹

(*In dorso.*)

" Copy of the compt gevin in be Sir James Stewart anent the Bark and his servandis expensis in Orknay."

(*Account of Damage done by the Rebels, two sheets.*)

" Intromettet with furt of the barnyard of Birsay xvij^{xx} thraisis of beir whilk being reknit at twa thresis the boll extendis in beir to ix^{xx} bol beir

" xx^{xx} thraises aitiss estimat at ij thraises the boll, extendis in aitiss to x^{xx} bol aitiss

" teynd fische and salt of the Doger bottis, extendis to lxx bolis the teynd of ilk bott being reknit to xxij^l and the salt at ij^l ilk barrel extendis in the haill in moneye to the summe of

" fra James Spens twa ky, twa hors estimat to the sume of xl^l

" xvj Lespund of woll at liij^s ijij^d the pund."

Only the first of the foregoing inventories is given *in extenso*. From the two latter only such passages have been culled as seemed noteworthy.

¹ Barrels.

IV.

NOTES ON THE SCOTTISH MINTS. By R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK,
Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

Any account which can now be given of the ancient Scottish mints must necessarily be very incomplete. The early records and registers are no longer in existence, and the few scanty notices which can be gathered from the Acts of Parliament, and other original sources, only serve to show how imperfect our knowledge is. It may not, however, be altogether without interest to bring together something of what is still available, in the hope that other sources of information may yet be discovered.

The history of the Scottish mints may be conveniently divided into two periods,—the *first* extending from the earliest times to the end of the thirteenth century; the *second* beginning with the fourteenth century, and coming down to the close of the Scottish coinage at the Union.

It must be remembered that there is little or no historical evidence available for the first period beyond what is afforded by the coins themselves. Any conclusions which may be come to regarding it must be to a certain extent conjectures, and liable to be modified by any authentic information which may still be discovered. It presents certain distinguishing characteristics widely different from the succeeding period. In the first place, we find only one official of whom any record is preserved,—the “monetarius” or moneyer; in the second, the name of this moneyer is generally given in full on the reverse of the coin; in the third, the mint also appears on the coin, and many towns—some of very inferior importance—are thus recorded; and lastly, the sterling or silver penny was the highest denomination of coin in circulation.

The exact position or status of the “moneyer,” and his duties and responsibilities, have long been disputed.¹ Some conjecture the monetarii to have been the farmers of the mint, as in France; others merely the workmen employed to strike the money. Ruding² holds that the moneyers, whose names appear on the coins, were responsible for the weight and purity of the metal.³ Ruddiman believes that they accom-

¹ Simon's Irish Coins, p. 5.

² Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 15.

panied the king from place to place, and struck money wherever it was necessary, putting the place of coinage on the coin.¹ It is impossible to assert anything positively with regard to the ancient Scottish monetarii. But there is considerable probability in the conjecture made by the learned author of the preface to the "Diplomata Scotiæ;" for from the great variety of names it is evident that a great number of individuals were employed, at least after the accession of William the Lion. From the accompanying list (which has no pretensions to completeness, seeing that nearly every tolerable collection of early pennies furnishes the names of unpublished moneyers) it will be seen that the same name frequently occurs in connection with different mints. Thus, for example, on the long double cross pennies of Alexander II.,² the name "Walter" appears at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Montrose, Forres (t), Berwick, and Dunbar; and "Wilam" at Berwick, Lanark, Aberdeen, Dunbar, and Edinburgh. It is impossible to say whether there was a different "Walter" and "Wilam" at each of these places, or whether the same individual struck money at different places; but if we consider, in connection with this, the number of different names of moneyers recorded as at the same place of mintage, it will appear more probable that they were only occasionally at the place with the king, than that they remained permanently coining at towns of comparatively small importance. From the annexed list it will be seen that, between 1165 and 1214, Adam Peris, Folpold, Hugh Walter, Raul, Peris Adam, Walter Adam, and Wilam, were moneyers at Roxburgh. There is a strong probability, as has been pointed out by M. de Longpérier, that these moneyers were of Norman-French origin, and were amongst those appointed by the king to coin money for his ransom. They would thus be appointed by royal authority, be responsible for the money which each issued, and would account for the profits of the coinage to the royal treasury, being remunerated, as it is certain was afterwards the case, by fees proportioned to the amount coined. The position of the "monetarius" would thus differ very little from what we know it was in later times, due allowance being made for difference in national progress. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that, in the list of documents relating to the

¹ Preface to Anderson's *Dip. Scotiæ*, p. 140 (Translation, 1782).

² See *Nunismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xii. p. 24.

kingdom of Scotland, taken by Edward I., the following entries occur:—

“Item in alio sacco c. iijj.² et v Rotuli et memoranda . . . de comptis monetarium . . .

“ . . . Item in decimo sacco xxi Rotuli tangentes compota monetarium et cambitorium et alia monetam tangencia.”¹

These accounts were evidently rendered to the Treasury, and, from the number, probably extended back over a very considerable period.

There is evidence to disprove the assertion of Ruddiman, that from the earliest period the prince alone in Scotland exercised the exclusive right of coining money on the royal prerogative.² There is a reference in Wynton's “Chronicle,”³ when describing Alexander III.'s visit to St Andrews in 1283, which shows that in the previous reign the bishops, or some of them, had a grant for striking money. The “Golden Charter” of St Andrews confirms this grant to the bishop. Tradition says they could not coin above a groat piece.⁴

It is not easy to account for so many towns, some of no importance, occurring on the coins, except on the supposition that the coiners were only there occasionally.⁵ Evelyn says that the coiners always accompanied the court of Charles the Great; and as we have seen the strong probability that the moneyers, or at any rate many of them, were of French origin, it is very likely that a practice familiar to them in their native country would be followed out when they came here.

The sterling or silver penny is the only coin known in the earlier times. The halfpenny and farthing occur later in the period, but never with the moneyer's name. It is stated by Macpherson, in his “Annals of Commerce,”⁶ that in 1278 Alexander III. struck pieces of twopence, but none such have ever been noticed, so far as I am aware, though in a curious manuscript in the British Museum (Tib. D. 11, Cotton MSS.) a groat of Alexander is figured.

We possess no historical or documentary record relating to the coinage

¹ Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 8.

² Ruddiman, p. 141.

³ Bk. vii. c. x. 405.

⁴ See the note in “Reliquiæ Divi Andreae,” p. 108.

⁵ Ruddiman, p. 220.

⁶ Vol. i. 432.

of this period. The following lists of the early Scottish moneyers is taken from the coins themselves, and is necessarily very incomplete:—

LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH MINTS.

1124-53.	Hugo of Roxburgh,	Monetarius.
	Folpal of Berwick,	"
	Eola of Berwick,	"
	Folpm, ¹	"
1165-1214.	Adam of Berwick,	"
	Adam of Edinburgh,	"
	Adam Peris of Roxburgh,	"
	Folpold of Perth,	"
	Folpold of Roxburgh,	"
	Henrilerus of Perth,	"
	Hugh of Edinburgh,	"
	Hugh Walter of Roxburgh,	"
	Suerel of Edinburgh,	"
	Peris Adam of Roxburgh.	"
	Raul Derlig,	"
	Raul of Roxburgh,	"
	Walter of Edinburgh,	"
	Walter Adam of Roxburgh,	"
	Walter of Perth,	"
	Wilam of Perth,	"
	Wilam of Roxburgh,	"
	Wilam of Berwick,	"
1214-1292.	Adam of Roxburgh,	"
	Alain Andrew of Roxburgh,	"
	Alexander of Edinburgh,	"
	Alexander of Aberdeen,	"
	Alexander of Dunbar,	"
	Andrew of Berwick,	"
	Andrew of Roxburgh,	"
	Eorsin of Dunbar,	"
	Gearai of Inverness, ²	"
	Henri of Stirling,	"

¹ Haddington may possibly have been a mint in this reign (Proceedings, Scot. Ant. Soc., vol. v. p. 372).

² The coin given in Lindsay as from the Inchaffray mint is really of this mint.

1214-1292.	Issan of Perth,	Monetarius.
	Iohan of Berwick,	"
	Iohan of Perth,	"
	Ion Corin of Perth,	"
	Nichel of Berwick,	"
	Nicol of Perth,	"
	Pieras of Roxburgh,	"
	Ranald of Aberdeen,	"
	Ranald of Perth,	"
	Robert of Aberdeen,	"
	Robert of Berwick,	"
	Robert of Perth,	"
	Simon of Aberdeen.	"
	Simon of Dunbar,	"
	Thomas of Anhe,	"
	Walter of Glaagow,	"
	Walter of Aberdeen,	"
	Walter of Montrose,	"
	Walter of Forres,	"
	Walter of Berwick,	"
	Walter of Dunbar (?),	"
	Wilam of Berwick,	"
	Wilam of Lanark,	"
	Wilam of Aberdeen,	"
	Wilam of Dunbar (?) ¹	"
	Wilam of Edinburgh,	"

During the second period we find very considerable alterations and improvements. The name of the moneyer no longer appears prominently on the coins, but each issue is distinguished instead by some secret or privy mark. The number of places of coinage is reduced, and generally confined to towns of importance. Other officials, with more complicated duties and responsibilities, appear in the mint. Instead of passing from place to place, the moneyers are established in fixed residences, and their various duties prescribed by stated regulations. Gold and base silver, or billon, are used for currency, as well as silver; and coins of various denominations are minted. We have also some few documents preserved which help to throw some light on the subject.

¹ Probably some of the coins with DVX ought to be given to Dundee.

In examining these points more fully it is not necessary, with regard to the first, to do more than to refer to the coins themselves. After the long double cross pennies of Alexander no moneyer's name in full is found on any Scottish coin, though the practice of putting the place of mintage on the coins continued down to the time of James VI. There is a recorded minute of the Privy Council so late as 1585,¹ ordering that when, in consequence of the plague, the mint was to be transferred from Edinburgh, first to Dundee and then to Perth, the inscription "OPPIDVM DVNDE" and "OPPIDVM PERTH" should be put on the coins to be struck there, instead of the usual place of mintage.²

The reduction in the number of mints is also best seen by a reference to the coins. Thirteen mints are given by Lindsay as occurring on the long double-cross coins of Alexander, while in no succeeding reign are more than five recorded, and, with the exception of Dumbarton in the reign of Robert, the towns named are all places of some importance.

While we still find the "monetarius" occurring as the principal officer of the mint, other officials are also mentioned. There is sometimes a "magister monetarius" recorded (as in the Act of 1367), and inferior workmen (*operarii*) are also named. It is impossible to fix any time for the first appointment of these officials. In England, according to Ruding,³ it was not till 1325 that the comptrollers, wardens, and masters appear. The reign of David II. is a very important one in the history of the Scottish coinage, and it is very likely that these appointments were first made by him. At any rate, we can find no trace of any mention of them previous to his accession, the documentary records of the reigns of Baliol and Rob. I. being a complete blank as far as matters relating to the coinage are concerned. In 1358 Adam Tor or Thor is described in the Chamberlain Rolls as "custos monete;" and this is, so far as I am aware, the first mention of such an official, though the office had evidently existed for some time previous. This Adam Tor was one of the merchants of Edinburgh appointed to treat with the King of England for David's ransom;⁴ and in all probability was also the same individual to whom a

¹ Privy Council Record, MS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

² I am not aware of the existence of any coin of James VI. with this mint on it, and probably they were never struck at Dundee, though possibly at Perth.

³ Vol. i. p. 16.

⁴ Charters of Edinburgh, p. 19.

charter was granted of the exchange money in Scotland. Another charter¹ confers on him, along with Jacobus of Florence, the Cunzie-house at Edinburgh, with its liberties; and the king granted to him and the other officials of the mint exemption from all duties and levies, with other privileges.²

The "custos monete," or warden of the mint, was probably at this time equal in importance with, if not superior to, the "monetarius." A precept of the king in 1367 is directed "custodi monete nostro et monetario nostro." The respective duties of these two officials are laid down with great distinctness in the Act of 1393:—

"Item ordinatum est quod electus erit unus homo, discretus fidelis sufficiens et potens in divitiis qui custodiet monetam et erit ad hoc juratus in forma qui sequitur—viz., totum aurum et argentum quod portabitur monetario ad fabricandum primo presentabitur sibi quod ipse faciet ponderari, et scribet quantitates in papiro suo, et retinebit penes se, et omni die ad vesperam recipiet et ponet in segura custodiâ, et sub clave, instrumenta monetarii quibus facit monetam usque ad diem sequentem et sic faciet omni die. Et monetam quolibet die fabricatam recipiet a monetario et custodiet sub sigillo et clave in cista una a principio cujus libet septimane usque in finem et tunc videbit cum sufficienti testimonio quantum de argento seu auro fuerit in septimanam fabricatum et tunc accipiet de qualibet moneta tam auri quam argenti certas pecias ad probandum et faciet illas pecias bene et diligenter custodiri usque ad tempus probacionis monete que probacio fiet infra xl. dies qualibet vice. Et ille qui est custos monete stabit et spondebit pro pondere monete et capiet feodum suum pro labore suo de Rege sicut hujusque consuetum est."

From this it would appear that the "custos monete" was superior in position to the "monetarius," but the moneyers here mentioned, who were not to be trusted with the coining implements at all times, were probably the "operarii," or inferior artificers, mentioned in the former Act.

It appears from an account of the "custos monete" in 1364, still preserved in the Chamberlain Rolls, that part of the duty of the "monetarius"

¹ Robertson's Index of Charters (Edinburgh, 1798), pp. 31, 36.

² Acts, vol. vii. p. 227.

was to engrave the devices or designs for the coins. A payment for this purpose is there recorded to Bonagius the moneyer.

It is worthy of remark that at this period Italian artists were employed by David II. in the mint. The Bonagius above mentioned is often designated of Florence ("de Florentia," *vide* Act of 1393), and was probably either the Franciscus Bonagii who is described in 1324 in the records of the mint at Florence as "sententiator monete argenti," or a relative.¹ The "Magister Jacobus" mentioned in several of the records was Jacobus Mulekyn, also a Florentine, and who, along with his brother, was at the same time employed in the mint.² It is not surprising, therefore, that the art and workmanship of the Scottish coins of this period were of superior excellence.

In 1434 mention is made in the Rolls³ of another official, viz., the "sculptor ferrorum." It has already been noted that Bonagius was the graver of the irons in the reign of David II. This duty now apparently devolves on a separate official, who is remunerated by a fee proportioned to the amount of metal coined. It will be seen from the Act of 1393 that the warden (or custos) was to keep certain pieces from each week's coining for the purpose of trying the money. Another Act, in 1451, makes the master of the money responsible for all the coin until the warden takes the assay. It is also specified in this Act that the master of the money is to have power to choose the workmen for the mint, and to punish them if necessary, and that none of the printers or strikers are to be goldsmiths. Provision is made for giving out the new coining irons "within the cuinzie place," and the old ones and the "letters of graving" are to be delivered to "traisty sworn men," and afterwards to be destroyed in the presence of the king and his council.

Two years before this it was enacted that none presume to strike money unless they have command of the king under the great seal. This was probably to prevent false coiners, some of whom are specified by name in the Act of 1451, from striking. No authority to strike money under the great seal has as yet been discovered.

It was part of the duty of the "custos monete" to take the charge of

¹ Argelati, vol. iv. p. 36.

² A Nicholas Molakine was employed in the English mint in 1395 (Ruding, i. 246).

³ Vol. iii. p. 245.

the trial pieces till the assay was made. In 1438 an assay is recorded to have taken place in the presence of the lords and auditors of the Exchequer, and this appears to have been the usual practice.¹ The Act of 1456 specially enjoins "the lordes and auditoures of the chekker earnestlie to purway and examine the fines, baith of gold and siluer, the quhilk is presented to them upon the chekker in a buist be the wardanes of the cunzie."

The appointment of these officials, and the entire regulation of the coinage as to weight, fineness, and value, rested with the king and his three estates in Parliament.² In 1478 an Act was passed enjoining the king, with advice of the Lords of Council, to make such regulations about the money as might be requisite, and to appoint men of substance and knowledge to be master and warden of the mint, who are to be answerable on life and honour for the proper carrying out of the regulations. An Act passed in 1483 requires the warden to examine and assay the money according to the form and rule made in the former Parliaments.³ Two years later it is provided that the assays are to be rendered annually at the exchequer. This Act also orders the warden to give the irons to the custodier of the bullion, and to pay the merchants for the silver. This custodier of the bullion here appears for the first time. Formerly his duty was performed by the "custos monete."⁴ Shortly after this—in 1487—some confusion had arisen from there being two masters of the money, and it is then ordered by Parliament that the king shall depute only one master of the money, who is to have the whole responsibility; a true and wise man is to be appointed warden, and another to be "changer;" and these are to perform the same duties and receive the same emoluments as formerly, and they are to render their accounts and assays at the exchequer when the king shall direct. No particular account is given of the duties of the changer.

In 1494 "our souveraine Lord, with advise of his councill," is "to ordaine and statute ane famous and wise man that is expert and understandis the manner and fashion of cunzies, to be maister of the money," who is to put in execution the existing Acts about the money.⁵

¹ Cham. Rolls, vol. iii.

² Act of 1485, vol. ii. p. 172.

³ Scots Acts, ii. 118.

⁴ *Vide* Act of 1394.

⁵ During the reign of Queen Mary we find the officers of the mint consisting of a

In early times, when the moneyers moved about with the king, and the method of coining was rude and simple, and did not require any cumbrous machinery, no special residence seems to have been necessary. But whenever the amount of money required became greater, and improvements were introduced in the methods, more conveniences would be required. About 1362, as has already been noticed, a royal charter gave the *cunzie-house* with its liberties to Adam Tor and Jacobus Mulekyn; and this would seem to mean some particular building set apart for the purpose of coining. It is likely, however, that at this period the mint was located temporarily in any building which was found convenient for the purpose, and that no permanent *cunzie-house* was yet known. It is certain that this was the practice somewhat later; for in 1438 a payment of three pounds thirteen and fourpence occurs in the Chamberlain Rolls as rent¹—"hospicii dom. Regis prope portum de Kirkstill, . . . in quo hospicio dicta moneta fabricatur." Again, in 1441, in the account of the master of the money,² a sum of money is paid as rent to a certain John Swift for the use of his house for coining in; and in 1443, in the account of a coinage at Stirling, another payment is recorded to Robert Hakate "pro firma domus dicte cone."³ Between this time and 1527 a special building for the mint must have been erected at Edinburgh, for in that year James V. assigns to Hochstetter and others (in a contract entered into about the coinage) "*domus monetaria Edinburgensis.*"⁴ This *cunzie-house* was probably at Holyrood. In 1562 an entry in the Treasurer's account⁵ shows a payment of four hundred and sixty pounds odd by the master coiner to the master of works "for the bigging of the *cunze hous* within the Castell of Edinburgh, and beting of the *cunze hous* within the police of Halierud hous." Another proof that the "*cunzie-house*" was at the Abbey at that time is found in the "*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*" (p. 53), under the date 13th July 1559, when it is stated that the Prior of St Andrews and the Earl of Glencairn, with the congregation, passed to the Abbey of

general of the *cunzehouse*, warden, controller, sinker of the irons, assayer, moneyer, with printers, melters, and forgers; and this staff continued, with some minor alterations, to the close of the Scottish mint.

¹ Cham. Rolls, vol. iii. . 397.

² Cham. Rolls, MS. Reg. Ho.

³ Cham. Rolls, MS. Reg. Ho.

⁴ Lindsay, p. 235.

⁵ MS. Reg. Ho.

Holyrood, and there "tuke and intromittit with the quenis irinis of the cunze hous, and brocht the samyne up to Edinburgh to his awin lodging, quhairat the quenis grace regent was very discontentit."¹

The supply of bullion to the Scottish mint was mainly derived from three sources, viz., *first*, the duties laid on merchants to pay a certain amount of bullion for commodities exported by them; *next*, the melting down of foreign coin and plate; and *lastly*, the produce of the native mines.

We have no exact knowledge of how the supply of bullion was kept up in the earlier periods. It is said that David I. had a silver mine in Cumberland;² and there is a grant by him to the Abbey of Dunfermline in 1153 of all the gold which should accrue to him from Fife and Fothrif.³ But in 1425 two sufficient men were to be appointed by the king's Chamberlain-Depute, or himself, at each town where foreign merchants resort, to receive the king's custom, and make account thereof to Exchequer. In 1436 these customs are distinctly specified, and are fixed at three ounces of burnt silver, to be paid by the merchant for each sack of wool exported; for each "serplaith" in freight, three ounces; for each last of hides, nine ounces; and for five Hamburg barrels, three ounces. These amounts are frequently altered by Act of Parliament. Thus in 1474, for each "serplaith" and for each last of salmon the amount is fixed at two ounces, and for each last of hides four ounces. In 1483 each serplaith of wool, hides, skin, or cloth, is to pay four ounces, and the last of salmon also four ounces; and again in 1488 each serplaith of wool, last of salmon, or four hundred cloth, four ounces; each last of hides, six ounces; and each last of herring, two ounces.⁴ John Achisone, master coiner, and John Aslowane, burgess of Edinburgh in 1562, obliged themselves to pay to the mint forty-five ounces of silver for every thousand stone weight of lead ore exported from the mines of Glengower and Wenlok. It is unnecessary to give more examples of these duties, from which there is no doubt the principal part of the bullion was derived.

¹ In 1567 the Mint House was on the south side of the Canongate, and in 1574 it was removed to Gray's Close, where it remained till finally closed at the Union (Maitland's "Edinburgh," pp. 156-182).

² Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 324.

³ Char. Dun., vii. 7.

⁴ Reg. Sec. Con. Acta, 1561-3.

From a very early period foreign money was allowed to be current in Scotland. In the reign of David II. an Act allows English money to have course in the country. Coins of France and of Flanders are mentioned in the time of his successor; and in every Act almost which alters the value of the currency, coins of other nations are specified. This foreign money diminished the necessity for native coinage, though it must have complicated mercantile dealings to a very great degree. But besides permitting these coins to be current, it appears from the records that they were sometimes melted down and recoined in native currency, not without profit. Thus, in the "Compti Thesaurarii," under the date 1504-6,¹ there is an entry of three hundred and seventy-seven pounds as the profit arising from changing three thousand six hundred and ninety-six "coronarum viz scutorum Francie" . . . "in moneta Scotiana." Similar entries occur in succeeding years. Numerous notices of melting down plate for the coinage are also found in these interesting records.² The Treasurer accounts for the profit arising "de tribus antiquis amphoris argentiis" . . . "conetatis in le plakkis," and "de duobus flacatis argentiis vocatis de Balgony . . . conetatis in singulis denariis;" and "de conetacione viginti trium le lynkis auri de magna cathena domini regis . . . conetati in le unicornis." Pages of such examples could be got from the Treasurer's accounts of this period.

The amount of bullion derived in early times from the native mines must have been very considerable. Gold is said to have been discovered in the reign of James IV. in the Lead Hills. In the time of James V. the yield was very considerable, and the well-known bonnet pieces were minted of native gold. Various adventurers sought for gold in Crawford Moor with generally indifferent success. In 1607 silver was discovered in considerable quantity at Hilderston, near Linlithgow, but the cost of working and refining was so great that it was soon given up.

From the want of continuous documentary evidence it is impossible to give anything like a full account of the rates of seignorage fees to mint officials, or even a complete list of the various masters of the money, and other officers.

In 1364 the seignorage was seven pennies from each pound of silver coined; shortly after, it was eight pennies; and again, in 1367, it was

¹ MSS. Reg. Ho. Edin.

² 1504-6.

seven.¹ In 1441, from each ounce of gold coined twelve pence was paid to the king, and from each pound of silver—when coined into pence and halfpence—sixty pence; but when coined into larger money, sixty-four pence.²

In 1453 the seignorage was thirty-two pence from each pound of silver, but if coined into small money (“in minutis denariis et obulis”), it was only half.³ In 1525 the king was to have from each pound weight of coined silver money, eighteen shillings, and from each ounce of coined gold twenty-five shillings.

Our knowledge of the various fees for mintage is equally deficient. In 1367 the warden got one penny from each pound of silver, and the master coiner and his workmen eleven pennies.⁴ In 1441, from every twelve ounces of gold and silver coined the warden was to get one penny, and the graver of the irons one penny. Still later (in 1567) the general of the mint got twelve pounds ten shillings per month; the warden four pounds three shillings and fourpence; the sinker five pounds, and the assayer three pounds six shillings and eightpence.⁵

The subjoined list of the names of some of the wardens and masters of the money is very incomplete.⁶ The names occur in the Acts, in the Chamberlain's Rolls, the Treasurer's accounts, and elsewhere; but we have no accurate account of when the various appointments were made. There is no trace of hereditary descent (such as the curator in the English mints) in any of the offices of the Scottish mint, as far as can be traced hitherto.

The privileges and immunities of the officers of the mint were secured by several gifts of exemption, ratified by Acts passed in the reigns of James VI. and his successors. Reference is made in these to the Acts of an earlier period granting certain privileges, of which, however, we have no other account. An Act passed in 1661⁷ ratifies and approves of the gift of exemption granted by the deceased David, King of Scots, to Adam Torrie, freeing him and the other officers of the mint of all challenges,

¹ Cham. Rolls, vol. i. pp. 391, 401.

² Ibid. sub. anno.

³ Lindsay, p. 232.

⁴ Cham. Rolls.

⁵ Comput. Thesaurarii, MSS. Reg. 100.

⁶ Complete lists, as far as can be collected, will be given in a work now in preparation on the “Records of the Coinage of Scotland.”

⁷ Acts, vol. vii. p. 227.

supports, duties, and contributions whatever, and making them responsible in all pleas and complaints to their own jurisdiction only.

These privileges seem to have been confirmed from time to time, and more especially by James V., who also gave licence to all the officials and workers of the mint to stay at home in all forays, raids, and from all watching and warding.¹

The courts of wardenry of the mint were more particularly confirmed by James VI. in 1584, 1604, and 1612, and power was granted to the general of the mint to repledge his officials and workmen from all other jurisdictions.²

LIST OF THE OFFICIALS OF THE SCOTTISH MINT.

Second Period.

1358.	Adam Thor (Edin.), <i>custos monete</i> (Ch. R.)
1364-1377 (?)	Jacobus Mulekyn (Edin.), <i>monetarius</i> (Ch. R.)
1364-1393 (?)	Bonagius, <i>monetarius</i> (Sc. Acts).
1369-1373.	Andreas Pictor (Edin.), <i>custos monete</i> (Ch. R.)
1373.	Thomas de Strathern (Perth), <i>custos monete</i> .
1390-1402.	Thomas Melville, <i>monetarius</i> (?)
	Galfour Goldsmith, <i>monetarius</i> (?)
1429.	Robert Gray, <i>monetarius</i> .
1441.	Thomas de Cranstoune, <i>custos monete</i> .
1442.	John de Dalrymple (senior), <i>monetarius</i> .
	John de Dalrymple (junior), <i>monetarius</i> .
1443.	Alexander Tod, <i>monetarius</i> (at Stirling).
?	John de Livingstone, <i>custos monete</i> (at Stirling).
?	John Spethy, <i>monetarius</i> .
?	Gilbert Fish, <i>monetarius</i> .
?	John Curroure, <i>monetarius</i> .
1466.	George Grinlaw, <i>gardianum cone</i> .
	Alexander Tod, <i>monetarius</i> .
	William Goldsmith, <i>monetarius</i> .
1476-1488.	Alexander Livingstone, <i>cunzeour</i> .
	Thomas Tod, <i>cunzeour</i> .
1488.	James of Crichton of Ruchvendale, <i>warden</i> .
1513.	David Scott, <i>custos monete</i> .

¹ Acts, vol. vii. p. 227.

² Mem. of Edin., vol. ii. p. 97.

1514. Adam Boyd, "wardane principale and kepar of the Kingis Cunzie Irnis" (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*)
1530. James Achisone, magister monete.
1535. Walter Grott, kepar.
1536. Schir Wm. Young and Schir Laurence Couper, "Keparis of the Irnis" (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*)
1538. Alexander Orrok de Syllebalbe, majister monete.
John Mossman, warden (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*)
1542. Alex. Orrok, "maister cunzeone" (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*)
Phillip Qubitheid, "comptor wardane."
1545. Wm. Hamilton, "maister of the cunziehous" (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*)
- 1564-1567. David Forrest, general of the mint.
John Acheson, master coiner.
Andro Henderson, warden.
James Mossman, assayer.
James Gray, sinker of the irons.
John Balfour, comptroller warden.
1571. David Adamson, counter warden.
1572. John Carmichael, warden.
1574. { John Hart, } visitors.
 { Nichol Sym, }
1576. Sir A. Napier of Edinbillie, general.
1579. Thos. Achesonne, assayer.
James Gunn, sinker of irons.
1580. John Achesoun, master coiner.
1581. Thomas Acheson, master coiner.
Francis Napier, assayer.
1591. Thomas Foullis, sinker of the irons.
1608. Thomas Achesoun, general of the mint.

V.

Ø NOTE OF SCULPTURED STONES IN THE CHURCHYARD OF DORNOCK,
DUMFRIESSHIRE. BY REV. JOHN ANDERSON. (WITH PHOTOGRAPHS.)
COMMUNICATED BY JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., SECRETARY S.A. SCOT.

The account usually given of these stones is as follows:—"On what was anciently a moor in the parish a battle is said to have been fought between the Scotch and English. The English, it is said, were defeated, and *both* of their commanders (Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Lord Crosby) slain, and afterwards interred in Dornock churchyard.

"Two stones, each 6½ feet long, 2 broad, and raised in the middle like a coffin, mark the reputed place of their interment.

"On the sides of these tombs are cut hieroglyphics like the broad leaves of plants, and other antique figures, quite unintelligible.

"A spring well on the spot where the battle was fought is still called Swordwell," &c., &c.

I never quite believed the above account as given by Fullarton—1st, Because there are not *two* but *three* stones; and 2d, Because, though printing was not invented at the assumed date of the battle, lettering must have been common enough.

When the accompanying photograph was taken, the day was wet and gloomy, and the stone was marked in a few places with crusted white spots, which show on the paper. Six men were unable to raise on end the stone that was most accessible to us; so the photograph was taken from the stone resting on edge, and hence the two blocks which rather obscure the tracery. The large stone rested on the freestone flag with the cross. You will notice the weight of the stone must have broken the flag more than half-way up. Lord Mansfield, who was here the other day, tells me the stones resemble that of one of the old abbots of Scone (1350). They are close to the spot where the east gable of the old church must have stood. We dug down only a few inches; darkness came on, and, being Saturday, I wished to have the tomb closed. We came upon part of the handle and bottom of a jar, black in the middle, and with a hard brown coating. The central (and perhaps principal) tomb, and the south tomb, are as yet

untouched. The *three* stones are in a line, close together, are of the same shape and size, and have apparently the same tracery and figures. My impression is, that they are older than 1350, and I should be greatly pleased if you could discover whether they do not bear the same kind of tracery which is found on a very old stone in Winchester Cathedral.

Monday, 12th May 1873.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President, in the
Chair.

After a ballot, the following gentlemen were duly elected Fellows of the Society:—

JOHN KIPPEN WATSON, Esq., 14 Blackford Road.

PETER KERR, Esq., Dundee.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By Mr PETER COLLIER, 12 Randolph Crescent.

Small Celt of pale grey Flint, 3 inches in length, ground to a cutting edge, found in the parish of Alvah, Banffshire.

Arrow-head of yellow Flint, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, with barbs and stem (one barb broken), found on the Hill of Byth, parish of King Edward, Aberdeenshire.

Arrow-head of yellow Flint, leaf-shaped, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, found on the Hill of Byth, parish of King Edward, Aberdeenshire.

(2.) By Mr JAMES WINTON, Crossfield, Turriff, Aberdeenshire, through Mr PETER COLLIER, 12 Randolph Crescent.

A Quern of Silicious Sandstone, 23 inches in diameter, mounted and in working order, as formerly used in Aberdeenshire.

- (3.) By the Right Hon. the EARL of STAIR, F.S.A. Scot., through the Rev. GEORGE WILSON, F.C., Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Sculptured Stone, 22 inches high by 16 inches in breadth, with incised cross on one face, from the Mull of Sunnoness, Wigtownshire. (See the annexed woodcut.)

For an account of this stone, and the circumstances of its discovery, see the previous paper by Rev. George Wilson, p. 56.



Sculptured Stone from Mull of Sunnoness, Wigtownshire.

- (4.) By ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Basin of Glass, 7 inches diameter, 2 inches high, of ancient Greek manufacture, found in the island of Cyprus.

Funeral Invitation, being a printed circular with engraved border, dated at Edinburgh, 19th March 1739.

- (5.) By J. G. SINCLAIR COGHILL, Esq., M.D., F.S.A. Scot.
Iron Ball, from a Pagoda near Pekin.
Fifteen Specimens of Rare and Curious Forms of Ancient Chinese Money in Bronze.
- (6.) By Lieut.-Col. W. WAUCHOPE SHERWILL, Perth.
Sixpence of Queen Elizabeth, 1590.
Permit for the Vessel *Klein George* to leave the Port of Caen, 9th March 1812, with autograph signature of Napoleon I.
- (7.) By the SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.
Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France. Tome trente-troisième. 8vo. 1872.
- (8.) By the Right Hon. THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.
Satirical Poems of the Twelfth Century. Two vols. 8vo. 1873.
- (9.) By the Compiler, Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.
Memorials of the Strachans, and the Family of Wise. Privately printed. 4to. 1873.
- (10.) By G. DE MORTILLET, the Editor.
Indicateur de l'Archéologie et du Collectionneur. Bulletin Mensuel Illustré. Saint-Germain en Laye. September 1872 to March 1873.
- (11.) By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. May 1872 to January 1873.

Purchased for the Museum :—

Two finely ornamented clay Urns, of the food vessel type, found in Kingsbarns Law, near Crail, Fifeshire. (See the annexed woodcuts.)

These urns were discovered in consequence of the giving way of part of the retaining wall of the public road leading from Crail to St Andrews,

at a point where it passes through a cutting in the side of a small hillock known as Kingsbarns Law, a little beyond the village of Kingsbarns. On the top of this hillock there was a small obelisk, which served as a sea-mark. When the wall gave way, the obelisk, along with a considerable part of the side of the hillock, fell down into the road, and two cists were thus exposed, at a little distance apart. The larger of the two cists, in which the larger of the two urns was found, was formed of rough slabs, the sides being about 3 feet 6 inches in length, and the ends about two feet, with a depth inside of about 18 inches. The other cist, situated a



Urns found in Kingsbarns Law, near Crail, Fifeshire.
(6 inches and 5 inches in height.)

little to the south, and lower down on the side of the Law, was at a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was somewhat smaller than the first, and more nearly of a square form. It contained the smaller urn, and some fragments of the skull and bones of the skeleton. All around the cists, in the soil of the hillock, there were abundant traces of burning. The soil being sandy, small particles of charcoal and streaks of ashes were quite distinctly visible. The interments within the cists, however, were those of unburnt bodies, as is usually the case with burials associated with this type of urn. Information of the discovery having reached Mr George Fortune of Barnsmuir, he promptly communicated with the Society. Immediately

on receiving his communication the place was visited by Mr Anderson, Keeper of the Museum, who found, unfortunately, that the breach in the wall had been hastily repaired, the section covered up, the cists removed, and the hill partially levelled and ploughed over. He was fortunate enough, however, to secure the two urns for the Museum, and to obtain an account of the discovery from Mr James Lothian, Kingsbarns, who had taken an intelligent interest in the matter from the first, and had preserved one of the urns.

The following communications were read :—

I.

ON PROCESSIONS AND OTHER PUBLIC CEREMONIALS IN SCOTLAND PRIOR TO THE UNION, A.D. 1707. (WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.) By DAVID LAING, Esq., FOREIGN SECRETARY, S.A. SCOT.

[This communication is reserved for the "Archæologia Scotica," as it is expected that arrangements may be made for having some of the illustrations from drawings exhibited, done upon a larger scale than would suit the "Proceedings." This of course will apply to the Funeral Procession of the Marquess of Huntlie in June 1636, as noticed among the communications of the following month, June 1873.]

II.

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ST BLANE'S CHAPEL, BUTE. BY W. GALLOWAY, Esq., ARCHITECT.

[This paper, which was illustrated by a series of architectural plans and drawings, has been reserved for the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v., now in course of publication.]

III.

REMARKS ON THE CREMATION OF THE DEAD; ESPECIALLY AS PRACTISED IN JAPAN. (ILLUSTRATED BY THE EXHIBITION OF A SERIES OF DRAWINGS BY JAPANESE.) BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

That cremation of the dead formerly existed throughout Britain is a fact well known to antiquaries, and the various cinerary urns preserved in our museums show its early prevalence in our own country.

Burying the dead, I need scarcely say, is also of the greatest antiquity. These different usages have, with few exceptions, been practised by different nations at various periods over the whole world. Speaking generally, burying has been the Christian, and burning the Pagan fashion or custom throughout the ancient world. I am not learned enough to know how this has come to pass; if, indeed, the question has been already discussed and solved, I have not been fortunate enough to find its solution, and may be excused in offering at least a mere suggestion on the origin of these different customs.

In the earliest book of the Holy Scriptures,—in Genesis, chapter iii.—the inspired writer gives the account of man's fall from his original state of "knowledge, righteousness, and holiness." In verse 19 the Lord says to Adam—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Whether these words were afterwards taken as a command to inter the dead I do not know; we at least read of nothing to indicate that in these earliest times of man's history any other custom was followed. It is not, however, until long afterwards that we find any record of the actual burying of the dead, when we have the picturesque scene described of the princely Abraham bowing down before the children of Heth, and buying the cave of Macpelah as a burying-place for his dead. The custom of burying the dead was followed by his descendants, save in a few exceptional cases, as in that of Saul (1 Samuel xxxi. 11-13):—"And when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh,

and burnt them there" (probably to prevent further indignities being done to the dead). "And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days." At a later date, as in the Book of the Prophet Amos (vi. 9 and 10), we have also apparently a reference to the existence of the custom of cremation in a time of captivity and pestilence:—"And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten men in one house, that they shall die. And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No." The early practice of worshipping God by sacrifice, alaying an animal and burning it with fire on an altar, as emblematic of a substitutionary sacrifice for their own sins, might also perhaps tend indirectly to favour the custom of burying the dead, and thus the funeral ceremonies could in no way appear to approach or interfere with the burnt offering or sacrifice to the Almighty. At the same time, many of the other families of men who had fallen away from the worship of the true God into idolatry and paganism, changed, it may be, the appointed sacrifice into a fiery offering to Baal the Sun; though they seem still to have retained the idea of the fire being somehow a purifying thing, kindling a fire in which they burnt their sons and their daughters; a sin into which the people of Israel themselves were constantly falling, and associated with this worship there were debaucheries and abominations of every kind. Could this be the origin of the cremation of the dead?—passing them finally through the fire to Baal, and the joys of a sensual and pagan heaven; as was also done in figure by the worshippers themselves, when they passed in their pagan services through the fires lighted in honour of Baal.

The early custom of inhumation had doubtless a reference to the death, burial, and speedy resurrection of our Lord. It might also have reference to the Christian belief in the resurrection of all the dead, though in the case of any of them it was probably more a matter of sentiment than aught else,—as to the Almighty nothing is impossible, and the seed sown in death can, of course, be raised a glorified body, however the corporeal remains be disposed of. Whatever may have been the origin of these customs, we find that both have prevailed in our own country in early times over all the land.

Remains of the buried dead are found in short built stone chambers or cists, the body having been bent together and laid on one side, the limbs much flexed and drawn up to the body, and along with it, various clay urns or food vessels, more or less ornamented, have been found, with sometimes weapons, &c., generally of stone, laid beside them. In other cases the buried body has been laid at full length in a long stone cist, formed of pavement-like stones placed upright around it, with covers over all. We find also in different parts of the country short stone cists, which, instead of containing the remains of a buried body, preserve simply the incinerated ashes of the burned dead, in some cases enclosed in a cinerary urn of stone or clay. In other cases, again, the large cinerary urn containing the burnt remains is not protected by any cist or upright flagstones placed around and over it; but the urn is simply inverted over the ashes, which have been laid on a large flat stone. Along with these burnt remains we sometimes find bronze implements of different kinds. These inurned burnt remains are found under large cairns of stones, or tumuli of earth, in which, or in closely resembling structures, we also find occasionally the buried remains of the dead.

The short stone cists containing the remains of buried bodies have been considered the graves of the early British races of our island, though many of them may be of later date; while the long-shaped cists have been supposed to belong to the people of a later date, and of these many may be comparatively modern in character. We know that the Romans in many cases buried their dead, and their remains have been found in stone coffins¹ in different parts of England. In other instances they and their legionary soldiers of different nations burned their dead; and remains have been found that were supposed to have been the *Bustum*, or place of burning, along with well-like shafts sunk in the ground in which the ashes of the dead were believed to have been placed. In the notice of the Roman antiquities found near Newstead, Roxburghshire, I have described the discovery of remains which I supposed might be explained as of this character.²

The Norsemen also burned their dead, and there is little doubt that many of the stone urns, and others containing incinerated bones, dis-

¹ See *Crania Britannica* of Dr Davis and Thurnam, &c.

² See *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv.

covered in the northern parts of our island, are those of Norsemen. We know also that many of the Saxon races like the Norse burned their dead over all the Continent, as well as in our own country. This subject is fully described by M. Wylie, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., in a valuable memoir on "The Burning and Burial of the Dead," published in vol. xxxvii. of the "Archæologia." He gives historical evidence of the use of cremation on some parts of the Continent of Europe down even to the thirteenth century.

The times, however, when these various ways of disposing of the dead began or ended in our own country, or whether, as is highly probable, they were carried on simultaneously by the different races in different parts of the land, and, so to speak, overlapped each other in time, as seems most likely, we have not as yet been able very satisfactorily to determine. Then, again, when Christianity began to prevail throughout the country, the Church we know strictly prohibited such heathen customs, with all their cruel and debasing rites and associations, and enforced to the best of its ability the interment of the dead.

In the meantime, therefore, we must be content to wait, and gather up such facts as seem to bear on these different questions, hoping to be able to get them more fully explained at some future time.

In June 1866 a valuable memoir on the Brochs or Round Towers of Orkney, by George Petrie, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Kirkwall, was laid before the Society (and is now published in our "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v.) Mr Petrie there tells us that a whole series of short stone cists, containing the burnt remains of the dead, some being enclosed in stone urns, were discovered in the mound which covered the ruins of the Broch of Okstrow, in the parish of Birsay, Orkney. These Mr Anderson has shown to have been probably the remains of Norsemen, and has called our attention to the fact that cremation was used among them down even to the tenth century.¹ We do not now therefore consider it necessary to assume the very great antiquity of this style of burial, and all the more when Mr Anderson has shown us, in his valuable and exhaustive paper on the "Brochs of Caithness," &c., that there is every reason to believe the brochs themselves belong to a period long

¹ See notice by Mr J. Anderson of Description by Ahmed Ibn Fozlan of the Incremation of a Norse Chief, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. ix.

posterior to the Roman occupation of the southern parts of Britain, and probably to that of the Norse descents on the coasts of Scotland, just before their occupation of the country; he supposes from the fifth to the ninth centuries.

In the distant East cremation still remains in use for at least the high caste natives of Hindostan and Siam; while further to the east the Chinese generally bury their dead in long-shaped coffins, the body being stretched at full length.

In the islands of Japan, again, both customs still prevail at the present time,—the dead being simply interred, which is denominated the *doso*; or burned, which is styled the *quasau* or *kasu*. In many cases a large valuable porcelain jar is used as a coffin, or a wooden barrel-like coffin, called *Haya oke* or ready-made coffin, by the poorer classes. The body is placed in these coffins in a flexed position, the hands raised as in prayer, and the legs drawn up to the body, somewhat like the position of the dead in the short cists of this country, but sitting, and not lying, as in the latter. The leaves of a particular plant are used to fill up the coffin, and in some special cases many small bags of vermilion are added for the same purpose. This tub-like coffin is next covered by the *quan*,—a movable square-shaped outer coffin, made of a fine kind of wood (with white ornaments), or of white pasteboard for the common people; which is ornamental in character. In some cases, however, a long narrow coffin is occasionally used where the body is laid at length; it is named the *Rekwan* or sleeping coffin.

The rite of cremation is followed principally by a branch or section of the Buddhists styled the Monto people. Buddhism is believed to have been probably introduced from Corea some 1250 years ago, and its followers now belong mostly to the middle or merchant classes. The Emperor, the Daimios or nobles, and the higher classes profess the Sinto religion, or rather the *Kami-no-mitsi*, the way of the Kami, or worship of the spirits of deified men or gods, the ancient religion of the country; these all bury their dead. Latterly some kind of fusion of the different religions or sects has been ordered by the Emperor. Something, I understand, somewhat like a disestablishment has taken place, and an improved Sinto religion is at present being arranged, combining the best parts of each of the others, which is styled the *Jo-tei* or the True God;

so that it is not improbable the cremation of the dead may now be brought to an end. At the same time I understand the Emperor or Mikado liberally allows other religions, and Christianity itself, to be tolerated in his dominions.

My friend, Adam B. Messer, M.D., surgeon, R.N., returned lately from Japan, and brought with him from Yeddo a number of coloured drawings by native artists; among these were a series illustrating the rites of burial by cremation. The exhibition of these drawings, I thought, might interest the members of the Society, and at my request he kindly left them with me. I have also had an opportunity of showing them to a young Japanese gentleman who is at present studying medicine in Edinburgh, and shall attempt to describe them, giving, as a sort of running commentary, the information I have thus been able to gather. I trust it may be of some interest, as showing how the details of this very ancient and wide-spread form of burial, by cremation, are followed out where it still lingers among this active, intelligent, and now rapidly changing community, perhaps just before its complete extinction in this remote part of the earth.

I. In the first picture we have the dying man represented lying on a large mattress on the floor, a small rolled-up cushion or mattress for a pillow, and he is covered by a large and thick quilt or gown. In front of the bed is a red-robed high priest kneeling at his devotions. Beside the sick man are ladies and attendants; and in the next room, as we see through the open partition, a Japanese physician is kneeling in front of a low case of drawers, and apparently preparing a potion for the sick man.

II. In the second picture we have the patient dead, and seated, nearly naked, on a large inverted tub, in which the body has been washed, and two men, naked, except a white cloth round the loins, holding him up, while a third, standing behind him, is shaving his head, the hair falling into a cloth held in front by the two assistants; there is a bucket for water beside them, and two lighted candles on tall stands or candlesticks, for it is night. Three mourning females are crouched at some distance from them, their faces covered by the large sleeves of their dresses, and one of them holds up in her hand another candle on a short stand.

III. In the next we have the same three men, two of them placing the dead body, now partially wrapped in a white winding-sheet, in a flexed

position in the rather tall tub or barrel-like coffin of wood, while the third is bringing forward the square-shaped outer coffin, or *quan*, to put over it. Behind them lie the two square poles upon which the coffin is to be placed, and by which it is to be borne away. There are also the lights beside the men, but it is now morning; close by them is a low table with dishes of rice, an incense-box for burning incense, flower-pots, and other articles; a single large sword, showing the rank of the deceased, lies on the floor beside them. Behind the screen, which partially surrounds the party round the coffin, we see in the background a lady mourning, her head enveloped in her dress and bowed to the ground, and beside her a gentleman trying to comfort her; in front and behind are various ornamental dishes with refreshments.

IV. The next picture is again a night scene. The coffin is finished and set upon the long poles; above the plain *quan* there is now a white ornamental canopy or pediment of an ogee shape, with a vase atop, from it a roll or bead passes down each of its angles, curving up into a terminal ornament; and white drapery falls from it over the *quan*. White is the mourning colour in Japan, and on each of its sides there is the blue circular badge of the family of the deceased. In front of the coffin is a low table with incense-box, sticks burning in the stand, and dishes with rice, &c.; before it a priest is squatted, rosary in hand, conducting some funeral service, and behind him the group of the family and friends. In an adjoining room we see a party of friends seated on the ground around low tables, and partaking of refreshments, with bowls and chopsticks in their hands, and dishes of rice, &c., before them.

V. In the next we have the funeral procession leaving the house, and passing under a high arch of blessed bamboo held by two attendants to avert evil; it is headed by the priest, the bearers following with the coffin borne on the square poles, with a green-leaved plant in a pot on each pole right in front of the coffin; at its sides are standing the mourning females, and behind follow the chief mourners, with dresses projecting in a triangular form beyond their shoulders on each side, and with flat caps of open work of rushes, which fold down somewhat over the face.

VI. The front of the house is next seen, with the blinds drawn down, and the word "Kitu" (Death) on a large label fixed on the screen

of the door. On a table before it a fire-box, &c., and near it a servant, with a white cap, is giving money to beggars gathered in front of the house : passers-by stand to converse about the death.

VII. In this picture the whole of the same funeral procession (or another) is seen passing through the streets : in front a black-robed priest ; next, men with lanterns on long poles ; then various men walking ; next, the bearers, with the coffin now carried shoulder-high ; behind them, the chief mourners, wearing their single swords, the handles covered with white ; behind them, other men carrying boxes on their backs, covered with black ; another man behind carrying apparently the large tub ; others and attendants bring up the rear.

VIII. In this we have a priest in red robes conducting devotional exercises in the house visited by death ; he has near him, on a stand the *Ifay* (or tablet with the names of the deceased, his own name behind, the new name given him by the priests, in front), on a table on which incense and offerings are placed ; behind the priest are the mourning females of the family. He is purifying the house.

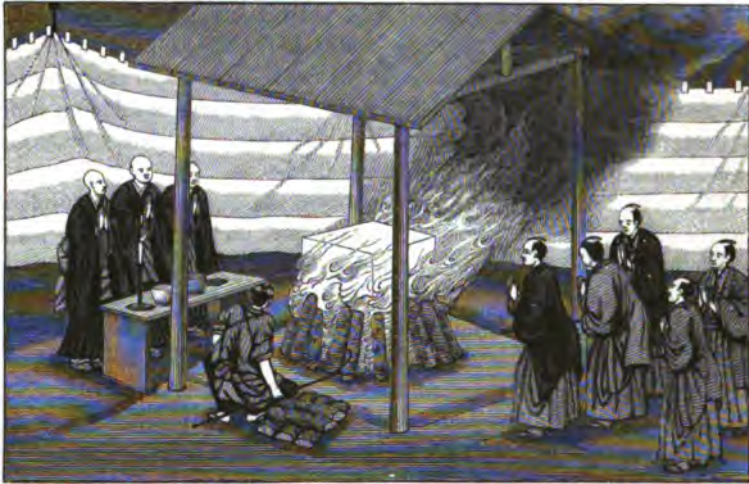
IX. In this we find the funeral party in the temple, the coffin placed on tressels or stands before an altar or stepped table covered with white, which has white paper flowers, candles, &c., placed on it ; behind it are a party of priests—one in red robes, his hands raised, with rosary, in the centre ; on each side of him, other priests with black robes, some with purple, and other blue scarfs or hoods, over them. In the midst is a large pot-like drum or gong, which one of the priests is striking with a white stick ; others have cymbals ; they appear to be playing and singing some funeral service. To their right the chief mourners are seen seated with their heads uncovered.

X. In this drawing you have what appears to be a burying-ground, with various monuments, generally short obelisks, raised on two or three plinths, and at the side is a large wooden shed or framed house, with rather a low pitched roof. The boarded end of the house is removed to one side, like a large door, and in the house a dark-robed priest is standing on one side of the tub-like coffin, the circular top of which has been removed by a man on the other side of it. The body of the dead man is seen crouched in the tub ; other two men are in attendance, and another has just left, carrying three deep cylindrical water buckets. These men

are all quite naked, except a white cloth round the loins, and it is still bright day.

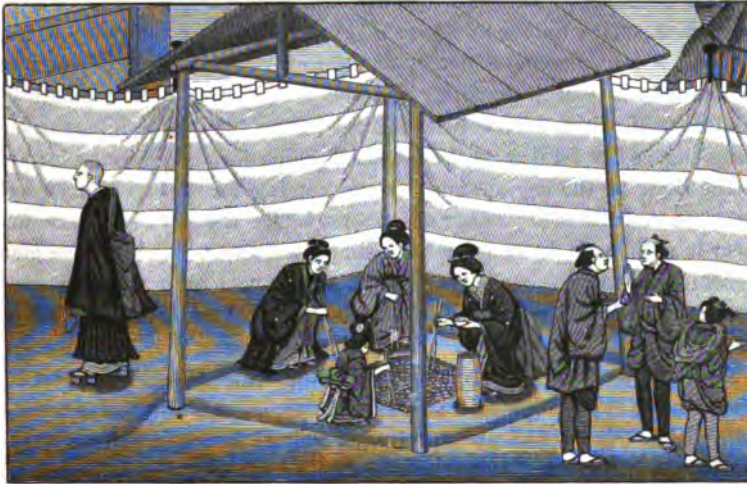
XI. In the next picture you see the funeral party leaving the temple and going out to its surrounding grounds, where refreshments are being apparently handed about by attendants carrying trays on their shoulders ; the chief mourners are the last to come out,—having been nearest the coffin,—and the officiating priests.

XII. This picture shows the blackness of night : the wooden house is in the centre of it, but it is now reduced merely to the framework or supports



of a house, with a roof, the whole sides having been removed. In a depression in the centre of its floor the square coffin is seen, apparently covering the round one ; all around, and sloping up to it, a number of short, thick billets of wood are built, which are blazing fiercely. In front of it a man is seated on his hama, with a long iron fork in his right hand, and at his right side a number of billets built up in readiness to supply the fire. On the right side of the blazing coffin, from which columns of dense

black smoke are passing away to leeward, there is a low table, with a lighted candle and various vessels on it. Behind it stand three black-robed shaven priests, their hands raised as if in prayer, with their rosaries depending from them. All look towards the blazing fire. On the opposite side stand a group of men, also looking at the burning mass of firewood and the unornamented *quan*. They have their hands also all raised as if in prayer. The whole scene is shut in from the rest of the ground by a large white screen of cloth, hung apparently by a rope to the top of large and strong poles. (See the annexed top of the drawing.)



XIII. The next picture represents the same scene, but now lit up by the bright blue sky of day. The same white screen shuts in the wooden house, or rather mere framework, and in the centre of its floor there is simply a square depressed portion thickly sprinkled over with white ashes. Round this depression a gentleman, two ladies, and a little girl, the members of the deceased's family, are stooping, each picking up with a pair of long rods or sticks, like extra long chop-sticks, the little bits of

incinerated bones, and putting the ashes into cups in their hands, and by-and-bye into the tall barrel-shaped yellow clay urn which stands beside them. A black-robed priest, with purple sash or hood, and rosary in hand, is walking away from this group to the right; on the opposite side are two men conversing, and beside them a boy with a red cloth slung over his back, in which to carry away the urn with its contained ashes. (See the preceding woodcut.)

XIV. This picture shows us part of the outside of a temple, and the monuments of the graveyard, generally plain obeliaks set on double or triple plinths; some, however, have pediments on top, and two long inscribed wooden poles are standing beside different tombstones,—a sign of a recent interment. In the foreground a man is crouched beside a small open grave, which he has just been digging with the assistance of an iron hoe, and a larger wooden hoe, with an iron edge, is lying beside him. At his side a man is handing him the urn, having now a small lid fixed upon it, which he has just received from a boy beside him, the boy being engaged in folding up the red cloth which formerly covered it; and to the right of the boy another man is coming forward with a bucket, and stick or ladle in it; either of cement, to fix the top of the urn, and cover it with, as is done, or perhaps simply of water. Behind the man, crouching beside the grave and watching the urn with much interest, there is a lady and gentleman, the widow and son, probably, of the deceased.

XV. The next scene is apparently an entertainment at home, with the priest and a few guests and attendants, numerous small tables covered with dishes of rice and sweetmeats (no animal food being eaten during mourning), with plates, &c., lying about. In the background is seen the *Ifay* or tablet inscribed with the old and new names of the deceased, and incense is burning, and food vessels, &c., are also placed before it.

XVI. We now come to the last of the series—the graveyard, with its monumental obeliaks. To the right side a screen, or wooden wall. On the left of the picture the lower part of a pillared entrance to a temple perhaps; if not, simply another monument. In the centre of the picture, two figures, a lady and a gentleman, kneel in the attitude of prayer, with rosaries in hand, in front of two plinths, one above the other, of a monument, on which the needle of the obelisk

is laid horizontally, ready to be set up at the proper time. These plinths are placed on the small grave in which the urn was buried, and on the top of the upper plinth there is an oblong hollow cut in the stone, in which water has been poured ; on each side of this is placed a tall pot containing a green-leaved shrub, and in front of it there is also a bowl containing some food or offering of some kind. Behind the kneeling figures another lady and two gentlemen or attendants, are coming forward ; and on the opposite side, near two large wooden buckets, there is the young man with the red cloth slung over his back, as if he was carrying another urn to its final destination. He is speaking to a young girl, to whom he is giving a red flower. The pair of white lanterns on long poles, of the funeral procession, are now apparently stuck into the ground near the grave. And so this pictorial funeral service ends,—with the incinerated ashes carefully buried, and over them the monumental stone inscribed with the names of the deceased, some pious inscription, and also bearing the circular badges of his family or clan, or that of its princely head.

Many books have of late years been written about Japan, but in some of the older books fuller details of these funeral ceremonies are given ; and in especial in the “ Illustrations of Japan,” by M. Titsingh (formerly chief agent to the Dutch East India Company at Nagasaki), we have details of the ceremonies both at their marriages and funerals. I refer to the edition translated from the French by Frederic Shoberl, London, 1822. He tells us that at Nagasaki the ceremony of the *quaso* took place on the summit of two mountains, Kasougasira and Fondesi Yama, the former to the south and the latter to the north of the city ; that there was on each of them a hut called *okubo*, about 18½ feet square ; above it a small window, and a door on the side next the road. The coffin is taken there by the friends after the usual temple services. In the centre of the hut is a large well of freestone ; outside of the door the coffin or tub is taken out of the *quan* by the servants or by the bearers, and placed over this well, in which the *Ombos*, a class of people little better than beggars, keep up a great fire with wood until the body is consumed. Each of these *Ombos* have two poles of bamboo, with which they pick the bones out of the ashes. The first bone is taken up by two of them with four sticks, which is called *alibasami*, or to lift up on opposite sides. For this reason two persons will never lift up together any meat or food

whatever with the sticks they use for eating : it would be an omen of ill-luck. The *Ombos* deliver this bone, with their four sticks, to the eldest son or the nearest relation, who is provided with an earthen urn, into which he puts the bone with his right hand. The other bones are collected by the servants or porters, and poured with the ashes into the urn, the mouth of which is closed up with plaster. The bearers then take up the urn and carry it in their hands to the grave, to which flowers, the *sioke*, or box of incense, and the *quan* are likewise carried ; but the flags and lanterns are thrown away or given to beggars. The parents, friends, and the priest who reads the hymns, follow the urn to the grave, in which it is immediately deposited. It is filled with earth, on which is laid a flat stone ; this is also covered with earth, and after it has been well stamped down and levelled, the *quan* is placed over it. At the expiration of forty-nine days the *quan* is removed, and the *sisek*, or tombstone, is put in its stead. People of quality or rich tradesmen cause a hut to be erected near the grave, where a servant is stationed for the purpose of noting down the names of all those who come thither to pray ; his presence also serves to protect the *quan* and other things from being stolen during the seven weeks. At the expiration of this time the eldest son, or other nearest relative, calls to return thanks to each of the persons whose names are upon the list. Bishop George Smith, D.D., of Victoria, Hongkong, in his " Ten Weeks in Japan," London, 1861, tells us, on the authority of a native friend, that the burning of the dead is not now practised at Nagasaki, " but that it is universally practised at Miako " (p. 148), then the capital of the spiritual emperor.

Mr H. A. Tilly, in his work on " Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific," London, 1861, says—" Burning the dead is also common at Japan, and a place is set apart for that purpose behind the town of Hakodadi " (p. 117).

In this changing country, however, if my Japanese informant is correct, with the removal of the Emperor to Yeddo changes may have taken place at Miako since Bishop Smith's book was published ; and the ceremony of incremation may have become still more and more rare over all the country of Japan.

[Since this paper was read to the Society a curious example has just occurred of how old and almost forgotten customs may be brought again

into general notice; the subject being this very custom of cremation, and it has found supporters even among some of the philosophers of our own country, at least among our southern neighbours. In the great Exposition held at Vienna last summer, the Professor of Pathological Anatomy of Padua, Dr Le Brunetti, exhibited the remains of dead bodies on which he had practised the old fashion of cremation according to what he perhaps considered a new and improved method, and he advocated a return to its use from various so-called hygienic and economic reasons. An English philosopher, Sir Henry Thompson, following Dr Brunetti, has taken up the advocacy of the system, and has written in the "Contemporary Review" for January 1874, London (and since published separately), an article on "The Treatment of the Body after Death," giving various scientific and economic reasons for expediting by burning the decay and dissipation to its original elements of our mortal bodies. In the next number of the "Contemporary Review," February 1874, no doubt, there appeared a paper by Philip H. Holland, M.R.C.S., Medical Inspector of Burials, entitled "Burial or Cremation: a Reply to Sir Henry Thompson," showing, as he considers, the advantages of the old system of inhumation, and by giving up the old graveyards, when overcrowded, and the adoption of extramural cemeteries, the little need there is of such a change as that of cremation, from any consideration whatever. Still, the system of cremation seems to have a rather unexpected charm for some people, who seem perhaps rather fond of following our more advanced philosophers, and the question has been taken up, and articles written on it, in our medical journals, and even in our daily newspapers; so that the subject has suddenly assumed a most unexpected and extraordinary interest.

I quote some extracts from these papers which will show sufficiently that the recent agitation of the subject is threatening to bear fruit in the direction of at least an attempt being made to reintroduce the cremation of the dead:—

"*Cremation of the Dead.*—Sir H. Thompson's paper on cremation has been translated twice into German—once in Cologne and once in Gratz in Austria—in the latter case with an introduction by Dr Kopfl, formerly physician to the late King of the Belgians. In consequence of this joint publication, the Communal Council of Vienna has adopted, by a

large majority, the proposal of one of its members to establish in the cemetery the necessary apparatus for cremation, the use of which will be optional and open to all. Following this, the Communal Council of Gratz, which contains a population of 100,000, has decided to consider a like proposal. A veritable agitation of the question has arisen in both places."—*British Medical Journal*, London, March 1874.

"The number of persons who have enrolled themselves as members of the Cremation Society in Zurich amounts to at least 400. Professor Weith has gone to Italy to consult with the professors there who are engaged in studying the practical methods of burning the body."—*British Medical Journal*, London.

"*Cremation in London*.—As the first step in an agitation for the introduction of cremation into this country, a declaration, issued and circulated by a newly-formed Cremation Society, is being signed to some extent in the metropolis to the following effect:—'We disapprove of the present system of burying the dead, and desire to substitute some mode which shall rapidly resolve the body into its component elements by a process which cannot offend the living, and shall render the remains perfectly innocuous. Until some method is devised we desire to adopt that usually known as cremation.' The agitation, it is stated, will also be conducted with a view to have the system legalised for those who desire to have their bodies burned in this country, and to that end to have a furnace erected in order to see if those who advocate the system can succeed in proving their assertions in favour of this mode of disposing of dead bodies. The examples of the municipalities of Dresden and Leipsic are quoted in support of this proposition, they having granted permission to erect a furnace in order that the experiment may be fairly tested."—*Scotsman*, Edinburgh, April 1874.

Lastly, the well known London periodical, "Punch," has had various jokes on the subject. I shall only quote the following:—

"PERSONS WHO WOULD BENEFIT BY CREMATION—CHARWOMEN."

I cannot, however, think it will be consonant to the taste of our Scotch people, who are perhaps not so easily moved as some of our Southern neighbours, all whose feelings, and prejudices it may be, are in favour

of burying the dead in their quiet graveyards; and all the more in these days of wide-spread railway communication, when the dead of our great cities may now be so easily taken to cemeteries beyond the towns, in any convenient neighbourhood. Instead of rapidly dissipating the remains of the dead in fierce fires, with, it may be, clouds of dense smoke polluting all the country round; or consuming them, as has been recently suggested, in improved furnaces specially prepared for the purpose;—not to speak, as has been well remarked, of the great assistance such a system might give to screen criminals from punishment by thoroughly destroying all medico-legal evidence which might otherwise be obtained from the examination of the remains of the dead body itself, even long after it had been committed to the earth. I have already said it may be merely a matter of sentiment; still, in place of any such fast and fiery dissolution of the body, it is surely more in accordance with all our cherished feelings of watchful care and love for the departed, to lay their mortal remains quietly down to rest in a fixed place apart, there gently to return to their kindred dust—the seed from which in due time the Almighty shall cause to spring the glorified body, a fit habitation for an immortal spirit.]

MONDAY, 9th June 1873.

BARRON GRAHAM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., in the Chair.

After a Ballot, the following gentleman was duly elected a Fellow of the Society:—

ANDREW COVENTRY, of Pitilok, Esq., Kinross-shire.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By D. A. GORDON, Esq. of Greenlaw, through JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., Secretary.

Bronze Sword, leaf-shaped, 20½ inches long, broken at the point, and having a flat handle-plate pierced with five rivet holes, found in Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire.

- (2.) By the EXCAVATION COMMITTEE, through R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.

Collection of Articles found in excavating the Court Hill of Dalry, comprising :—

Fragments of Urn of "drinking cup" form.

Arrow-Head of brownish flint, of triangular form, 2 inches long.

Oblong narrow worked Flake of Flint, flat on the under side, convex on the upper, worked to a scraper-like edge at one end, and pointed at the other.

Two small scraper-like Chips of Flint, and a quantity of chips unworked.

Specimens of Bones, mostly broken into small pieces, and all coloured with phosphate of iron.

Portions of the Stakes, part of the Layer of Ferns and Moss, &c.

[For detailed descriptions of these, and an account of the excavations, see subsequent paper by R. W. Cochran Patrick, Esq.]

- (3.) By GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Pair of "Rivlins" or Shoes made of undressed hide, from Shetland.

- (4.) By ANDREW COVENTRY, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A collection of Twenty-Two Pieces of British-American Paper Money of last century.

- (5.) By Dr JOHN DEMPSTER, Beechworth, Melbourne, through Dr COLQUHOUN, St Bernard's Crescent.

Stone Axe, with its handle, as used by the natives on the Murray river, Australia. The axe is of greenstone, roughly chipped to a rounded edge, and partially ground. It measures 6 inches in length, and 3 inches in breadth. The handle, which is 16 inches in length, and is formed of a piece of hoop, is bent round the axe, and fastened with a lump of gum, as shown in the annexed woodcut.

Knife of greenstone, 5½ inches in length, roughly chipped along the back to a form resembling the blade of a large clasp-knife. The edge is

formed by the meeting of two planes of natural fracture without grinding or trimming of any kind. A lump of gum has been stuck on the butt end ; and this, with a piece of the skin and fur of the kangaroo wrapped



Australian Axe of Stone, used by the natives on the Murray.

round it, seems to have been all the provision made instead of a handle. See the annexed woodcut.)



Knife of Greenstone (5½ inches long), used by the natives on the Murray, Australia.

(6.) By Miss TURNBULL, The Knowe, Melrose, through JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., V.P. S.A. SCOT.

Wooden Trencher, and a Rippling Comb for stripping Flax, both used in Teviotdale in the end of the last century.

7.) By the LORD CLERK REGISTER OF SCOTLAND.

National Manuscripts of Scotland. Part iii. Folio. 1873.

(8.) By the **MASTER OF THE ROLLS.**

Memoriale Walteri de Coventria. Vol. ii. 8vo. 1873.

(9.) By the **ROYAL UNIVERSITY, CHRISTIANIA.**

Norske Rigsregistranter, 1609-18 and 1619-23. 8vo. 1870-72.

Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmaerkers Bevaring, Aarsberetning for 1870-71. 8vo. 1873.

Thronheim's Domkirke, af N. Nicolaysen. 8vo. Pp. 13.

Norden's aeldste Historie, af P. A. Munch. 8vo. Pp. 46.

Cantato ved det Kongelige Norske Frederiko Universitets mindfest for Hans Majestat Kong Carl. 4to. Pp. 8.

Medal in Bronze, struck in commemoration of the Thousand Years Festival.

There were also exhibited :—

(1.) By Rev. **JAMES MORRISON, F.C.**, Urquhart, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Collection of Flint Implements, &c., Polished Stone Celt, and Disc of Micaceous Schist, Bronze Pin, &c., found in the parish of Urquhart, Elginshire.

[For a detailed description of these see the donation list of the subsequent meeting on 8th Dec. 1873.]

(2.) By **Mr JAMES CRUIKSHANKS**, Teacher, Orton.

Stone Button-Mould, and Flint Arrow-Head mounted as a Charm, with the initials "E. R."

(3.) By **JOHN TWEEDIE, Esq.**, R.N.

Marble Statuette found at Athens, and a collection of Greek Vases, Glass, &c., from Syria.

The following Communications were read :—





I.

NOTICE OF WILLIAM DAVIDSON, M.D. (*GULIELMUS DAVISSONUS*),
 FIRST PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY, AND DIRECTOR OF THE JARDIN DES PLANTES,
 PARIS, AFTERWARDS PHYSICIAN TO THE KING OF POLAND. BY JOHN SMALL,
 M.A., F.S.A. SCOT., LIBRARIAN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.
 (PLATE VII.)

The following Notes relating to Dr William Davidson were collected several years ago, with the view of their forming one of a series of sketches of Scottish Alchemists, and they are now submitted to the Society in the hope that possibly some additional information may be obtained regarding the very remarkable man to whom they relate.

William Davidson (or, as his name is Latinised, *Gulielmus Davissonus*) had attained such skill in the hermetic art, that it was attested by several of his contemporaries, and by no less an authority than the famous Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, who, in his "*Εκκυβαλαυρον*, or the Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel," says:—"The excellency of Dr William Davidson in alchemy above all the men now living in the world, whereof by his wonderful experiments he giveth daily proof, although his learned books published in the Latin tongue did not evince it, meriteth well to have his name recorded in this place."¹

Of Davidson's history, the greater part of the following particulars have been gathered from his published works. From them it would appear that he was born in Aberdeenshire in the year 1593, and studied medicine. On his receiving his degree of Doctor of Medicine he settled in Paris, about the year 1620. After some years' residence there, being anxious to have an authentic certificate of his parentage, he wrote to King Charles I. for the desired information, and the following interesting letter of the King to the Scottish Privy Council is still preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, with reference to this application:—

"CHARLES, &c.

"Ryght trustie and ryght weil belouit Cusines and Counsellors we greit yow weil. Whairas our weil belouit M^r W^{ms} Davidsoun Doctor of Physick at Paris is desyrous to have a testificat vnder the great Seale of that our king-

¹ Works, p. 268.

dome certifing his lauffull birth and progenie, and seeing the said M^r William is as we are informed a native born man in that our kingdome Our pleasure is that you tak notice of his lawfull and lineal descent, which being so done by yow Our further pleasure is that you caus append the Great Seale of the said kingdome vnto the said testificat for doing quharof these presents sall be your warreind. Giuen at o^r Court at Whitehall 14 of May 1628."

In consequence of the royal commands, the Privy Council furnished Davidson with a grandiloquent Latin document, of which the following is a translation:—

" Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and severall, Kings, Princes, Marquises, Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Abbots, Priors, Nobles, Barons, Presidents, Stewards, Magistrates and Councillors of Cities: Also to all and severall Admirals, commanding officers of districts, fortresses, cities, camps, armies, fleets, vessels, rivers, or harbours: And to others whomsoever exercising authority by land or sea, to whose knowledge these present letters shall come, everlasting happiness and salvation in Him who is the most sure protection of his people. Forasmuch as it ought to be the chief care of those on whom the administration of states devolves that due honor be conferred upon the meritorious and virtuous, and that perpetrators of actions contrary to law and equity be restrained by due punishment, it has hitherto been a fixed and constant principle with us that we should not appear remiss in providing for the discharge of both these duties: Therefore as far as possible, either on particular occasions, or in the course of the more important business of the state, we have assiduously endeavoured, and do endeavour, that whatever individuals have received the acquired rights or honours of noble birth, of illustrious actions, or other sources of distinction, that those rights and honours should be transmitted unimpaired and confirmed to posterity in the longest possible order of succession, unless where the individuals themselves have fallen from the probity and the example of their ancestors.

" Wherefore, that they may be stimulated to acquire like renown, and may by their own virtue add to that of their ancestors, and, mindful of their parents, do nothing unworthy of their dignity and fair fame, but closely emulating those from whom they are descended, become good and faithful subjects to the king and kingdom in all things as far as consistent with law and right. Hence it is that we have resolved to adorn with the same token of our benevolence and commendation our beloved and trusty subject, William Davisson, now Doctor of Medicine in the most celebrated city of Paris, devoted to the study of literature

and to the more fruitful cultivation of his mind, and on that account already from his merits affectionately regarded by foreigners, he being either desirous of longer travels for the purpose of seeing more distant parts, or perhaps entertaining the intention of taking up his residence and domicile elsewhere: And what is quite consistent with equity, that as he has given a specimen of his erudition and modesty celebrated abroad, we, in like manner, being humbly requested, shall not refuse firm testimony to the undoubted truth, according as is just and right:

“Wherefore, after an inquest made by most trustworthy men, to whom we had committed that duty, it has been thus found by us, we proclaim and testify that the foresaid William Davissone is lawfully born of lawful marriag, and honourable parents, and is descended of noble families both on the father's side and the mother's side; his father being an honourable and respectable man, Duncan Davissone of Ardmakrone, within our county of Abirdein; who was the lawful son of Thomas Davissone of Ahinhampers within our county of Bamf, begot between him and Elizabeth Forbes his spouse; which Elizabeth was the lawful daughter of William Forbes, baron of Tolwhone, lawfully got betwixt him and Elizabeth Leith his spouse, the lawful daughter of George Leith, baron of Barnis, within our foresaid county of Abirdein: As also the foresaid Thomas Davissone was the lawful son of John Davissone of Ahinhampers, lawfully begot betwixt him and Jonet Leslie his spouse, lawful daughter of Sir William Leslie of Balwhane, knight, within our foresaid county of Abirdein: Which John Davissone was the lawful son of William Davissone of Ahinhampers, lawfully begot betwixt him and Jonet Coutts his spouse, lawful daughter of William Coutts, baron of Auchtercoull, within our county of Abirdein: His mother likewise being a good and virtuous woman, Jonet Forbes, lawful daughter of William Forbes, baron of Pitsligo, lawfully begot between him and Katherine Gordoun his spouse, lawful daughter of Alexander Gordoun, baron of Strathdoun and Cluny. Which Alexander Gordoun was the lawful son of Alexander then Earl, now Marquis of Huntley, lawfully begot between him and Jonet Campbell his spouse, lawful daughter of the Earl of Argyll: Likeas the foresaid William Forbes, baron of Pitsligo, was the lawful first-born son of Alexander Forbes also baron of Pitsligo, [begot] betwixt him and Barbara Abernathie his spouse, lawful daughter of John, laird of Saltoun, lawfully begot between the said laird of Saltoun and Elizabeth Hepburne his spouse, lawful daughter of Patrick, laird of Haile: Which Alexander Forbes was lawful eldest son of John Forbes, baron of Pitsligo, lawfully begot between him and Elizabeth Keith his spouse, lawful daughter of Sir John Keith of Craig, knight baronet: All of whom, bound by the lawful tie of matrimony heretofore were conspicuous by the splendour of their race, and transmit the same untarnished to posterity: All which things, as they are true in themselves and established, that they may remain more corrob-

rated and certain among all and sundry we have willingly granted these Our Letters Patent to the foresaid William Daviasoune, to which, in order that full faith may be given among all people, we have commanded our great seal to be appended.—Given at Edinburgh, on the second day of the month of July A.D. 1629 and the 5th year of our reign.”¹

After receiving this patent, Davidson always styles himself “Nobilis Scotus.”

Davidson’s high position in Paris was well known to his friends at home, and his influence seems to have been of service to them on the following occasion :—

In 1634 the Rector of the University of Aberdeen, the celebrated Dr John Forbes of Corse, was initiating a movement for the revival and extension of the ancient privileges of King’s College. He addressed King Charles for the royal corroboration and amplification of these rights and privileges. At the same time he was anxious to ascertain the constitution and laws of the University of Paris. Accordingly, he wrote to his friend Davidson to favour him with the desired information. The minutes of the University bear—“Lykwayes the said Rectour declarit that in respect this Universitie of Aberdeine, in the ancient monumentis thairrof, have expres relatioun to the Universitie of Paris in France, having grantit to hir by the Kings of Scotland all jurisdiction conservatorie immunities and privileges quhatsumevir the Kings of France have at onie tyme grantit to the said Universitie of Paris. Thairfor the said Rector had written a speciall letter to our native countreyman and speciall good friend D. Williame Davidsoune, Doctour of Physick and resident in Paris in France, requesting him to deale in name of the said Universitie of Aberdeine with the Rector and Universitie of Paris for the better cleiring and setting in good ordour the rights and privileges belonging to this Universitie of Aberdeine.”

Davidson seems to have entered warmly into the matter, and sent the following reply, which was minuted as follows :—

“Lykwayes the said Doctour Gordoune delyverit ane letter from the said Doctour Williame Davidsoune, direct to the Rectour of the said Universitie, of the tennour following :—‘Right Worshipfull, I esteime myselff so muche honored to be imployit in so worthy and generall a causse by yourself, and in

¹ Prodromus Comment. p. 424.

the name of the rest of your colligis, that I sall not fail to seik all possible moyanes to fauorize your most just and worthie petition. Yesternight I resauit your letters, and to-day I went with some of my friends to the Rectour of the Universitie, to quhome I representit how honorabill and important your sute was to the renovne of the Universite, and how sensible they could be to furnische yow all moyans possible for the intertaining of your richts. Quho ansverit me verrie favorable and protestit that he will do his powar, esteiming for honour that you wold imploy him concerning that suiect. But fearing to detein Doctor Gordoune so long in London, by their advyce I send you their privileges in compend; and if you neid any moir they have promised to lat anie man be me imployit copie their registers, the quhilks ar bigger than any gryt byble. Gif then you neid anie forder of my helpe let me know, and yow shal be assurit that nather lake of freinds, nor paine nor expenssis sall gainstand your most iust desire: being to yow all, and to your worship in particular, richt worshipfull. From Paris, this 15th Septt stilo novo 1634. Your most humble servand and lowing freind,

“WILLIAME DAVIDSON.

“And with the said letter ane printed book in Frenche language intituled ‘Privileges de l’Universite de Paris,’ &c.”

The minutes of the University further bear that—

“The said day the Chancellor, Visitouris and Members forsaidis ordanit the said Rector in name of the said Universitie of Aberdein to writ a letter to the Rectour of the Universitie of Paris to rander to him and that Universitie heartie thanks for their kyndlie ansuer and loving correspondence, and to exhort them to continew therein in all tyme comeing with promeis of all mutuall deutie frome this Universitie; and to wryt another letter to the said Doctour W. David-soune, thanking him for his love and paines in the erand forsaid; and giving him commissioun and powar, in name of this Universitie of Aberdeine, for to caus subscrieve ane autentik copie of the evidentis and registers of the Universitie of Paris concerning their conservatorie jurisdiction privileges and immunities and to bestow theropoun tua hundredth franks or therby, if it may not be had cheaper.”

The troubles in Scotland in 1638 caused by the attempt of Charles I. to establish Episcopacy, which led to the signing of the celebrated Solemn League and Covenant, were not unknown to Davidson. In the following letter, addressed to the Earl of Ancram, reference is made to “the Covenant,” and to the zeal he had for the “commun caus,” although he deeply sympathised with the misfortunes of his old patron, King Charles. The letter is preserved in the archives of the Marquis of Lothian at Newbattle :—

“ My right honorabill Lord, It has pleased your Lordship by ane excesse of your goodnes to wreit in my faueurs not only to the Erlle of Laudien your Sone, bot also to the Erlle of Iruing, and I haue found the effects to haue bein suche as I could haue desyret upon thaire part ; altho’ the euent has proued altogether contrary, some malignant spirit hauing informat our Scottes Court that I was ane colde countreyman and namly in the latte caus of the Couenant. This aspertione has bein very muche sensible to me wha haue leauet all my dayes passionet for my countrey and for the weill of theirre commun caus, yit I shall tak all in patience thinking that I am not only ane sufferer in thois dangerous tymes bot many that be better. I haue neuerthelesse justifiyet myselfe with the modesty I could and sall not, for all that, appear anything diminisched in the affectione and deuty I aw to my countrey in generall and to my freinds thaire in particular. I rendre your Lordship infinitte thanks for the goode effects I fand in your Lordship’s part, for my Lord Iruing awoued that he was muche inclyned to my part becaus of your Lordship and my Lord your Sone his prayers, bot did suffer violence in himsealf to giue it to ane other wha was strongly recommendit to him before by my Lord Chancelor and maistre Arthour Jonstoun : the refusee has not bein so sensible to me as the reproche not to haue bein so goode ane countreyman as I sould, quhilk as God is my witnes hath euer bein far from my intentiones. This far I do let your Lordship knaw to the end you may think wherin I can be useful to your Lordship and to thois worthy noblemen wha haue employet thame with so muche passionne upone my behalfs. This schall be all wherewith I mean to importune your Lordship at this present, desyring only that your Lordship astime me æternally,

“ My right honorabill Lord,

“ Your most humble and most obliget seruant,

“ D’AUIDSONE.

“ PARIS, *this 23 of July 1642.*”

While practising as a physician in Paris, Davidson, according to Jocher,¹ at first followed the doctrines of Paracelsus, and also gave his attention to judicial astrology, but these he afterwards abandoned, and applied himself to chemistry with such success that he began to teach it publicly. A Chair of Chemistry was at length founded in the Jardin des Plantes, and Davidson was appointed the first Professor. He also was appointed Director of the Garden, and Counsellor and Physician to the King of France. According to Kopp,² Davidson taught the theory of chemistry, while a demonstrator illustrated his theories by experiments. In the

¹ Bücher Lexikon.

² Geschichte der Chemie.

appendix to one of his works Davidson gives the following announcement of his course of lectures :—

“AUSPICIIS REGIIS.

“*Willielmus Davissonus, Scotus, Consiliarius et Medicus Regius, Horti Regii Plantarum Medicinalium Præfectus,*

“*Botanicum et chemicum fontem aperiet cognitionis et scientiæ cupidis. Ex illo studiosum cultum, novum ordinem, plus septingentarum plantarum accessionem videbunt. Ex hoc animalium vegetabilium et fossilium analysin accipient. In antimonii præparatione et exaltatione multus erit quia non sufficiunt nomina, ad tam divitem naturam appellandam, quæ principium vitæ, balsamum, et medentem muniam in se habet. Verum, verum dico non est sub cælo medicina sublimior.*”

“*In Aula Horti Regii Plantarum Medicinalium quæ Parisiis est die 23 Julii, et deinceps hora sexta matutina anno 1648.*”

In the Diary of John Evelyn, the well-known author of “*Sylva*,” is an entry as follows :—“*October 21st, 1649.—I went to hear Dr D’Avinson lecture in the Physical garden, and see his laboratory, he being Prefect of that excellent garden, and Professor Botanicus.*”

The earliest of Davidson’s publications was his “*Philosophia Pyrotechnica*” (12mo, Paris, 1635, and of which editions appeared in 1640, 1641, and 1646). The first part of this book is dedicated to James Stuart, Duke of Lennox; the second to George and Ludovic Stuart, brothers of the Duke; the third to Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland; and the fourth to Gilbert Gomin, Councillor of the King of France. At the beginning of the work is a curious allegorical frontispiece, containing his coat of arms and motto, “*Fortunam humili memento figere saxo.*”

In the approval of the work by the French censor of the press, H. Maillard, it is described as a learned and elaborate work illustrating the power, nature, and use of speculative and practical chemistry, and the connection of that science with the Aristotelic and Galenic philosophies—his theories also illustrated by quotations from the ancient philosophers, which being often metaphorical and allegorical, are set forth in their true meaning.

¹ Sir R. Christison states that so much mischief had been caused at this time by the indiscriminate use of antimony, that it was prohibited by an Act of the French Parliament.

² This work was translated into French in 1651 by A. Pellot.

Although in this curious work there is no chapter specially devoted to alchemy, yet its author gives a short account of the origin and nature of the metals—whether they differ in kind, and whether one is easily transmutable into another; whether they live, grow, and have seed; whether they are inimical to the human body, and by what process they may be made potable.

The next in order of his publications is one which is sufficiently explained by its title: "*Oblatio salis sive Gallia lege salis condita. Tractatus salis naturam ex reconditis philosophiæ pyrotechnicæ principiiis explicans, nec non mysticum ejus sensum, quatenus ad pacta omnia et fœdera inter Deum et populum, Reges, Principes et subditos, et civilem hominum societatem, olim transferebatur declarans; ad originem institutionem et legis Salicæ rationes omnes intelligendas plurimum inserviens. Opus novum et a nullo hactenus excogitatum*" (12mo, Paris, 1641). This singular book is dedicated to the famous Cardinal Richelieu.

Between the year 1641, the time of the publication of this work, and 1660, the date of the one noticed immediately following, Davidson seems to have quitted Paris, and to have become physician and chemist to the King of Poland. While filling these offices he published his "*Commentationum in sublimis Philosophi et incomparabilis viri Petri Severini Dani Ideam Medicinæ philosophicæ prope diem proditorum Prodromus,*" printed at the Hague in 1660, which may be considered his principal work. It contains, its author tells us, the result of the experience of forty years' practice, and seems to have cost him much labour. In the dedication of his book to Anthony Vallot, Counsellor of King Casimir of Poland, Davidson describes the stirring nature of the times in which he lived, and the difficulties under which it had been composed—amid the roar of cannon, the tumult of advancing and retreating armies, and all the miseries and dangers of war.

"*Tandem prodit opus cujus ante aliquot annos ideam vidisti ad Sequanam in amœnissimo Plantarum Medicinalium Horto Regis Parisiensi (cujus tunc temporis administrator et præfectus eram) inchoatum, in mediis oceani Germani undis, in maris Baltici procellis, ad Albin, Oderam, Buggum, Neisterum, Borysthenem, et Pontum Euxinum, inter peregrinationum incommoda, exercituum tumultus, tympanorum sonitus, timbalorum strepitus, tubarum clangores, tormentorum tonitrua, omnes denique*

armorum generis collisiones, inter pestem et famem, cœli et elementarum injurias irrequietas incrementa sumpsit."

Although this work is styled by its author a *Prodromus*, it is more than double the size of the book of Severinus, on which it is a commentary, and it has been rather uncharitably suggested by some of his critics that he has augmented rather than diminished the obscurity he proposed to remove. Among the many topics treated of by the author, there are several allusions to his own circumstances, and to events at the time occurring in Scotland. In particular, he gives us the following piece of autobiography now translated from the Latin original :—

"My mother, of pious memory, and descended from one of the most illustrious and noble families of Scotland, when still a pupil, was deprived of both her parents, and left under the guardianship of a paternal uncle, with an ample inheritance. Meanwhile, this uncle, regardless of every principle of piety and Christian charity, by degrees defrauded her of the means to which she had succeeded, and which he appropriated to himself and his successors, contrary to all law, divine and human, in respect at that time there was nothing of what the jurists call a male feu in the family. After her marriage with my father, who also was born of a very ancient and noble family, an action of repetition was commenced at his instance in the law courts, which was attended with much expense and great loss of money and time, with the view of getting restitution of his wife's means from her uncle, who had acted as tutor and guardian to her; but when the case was on the point of being brought to a decision, my father died, and my mother was left with three sons, of whom the eldest was scarcely seven years old, and I was the youngest. In the meantime, when a good opportunity of a favourable issue presented itself, the uncle endeavoured to divert my unsuspecting mother from the prosecution of her design by professions of friendship, and leading her to hope that her property would be restored; but at the same time he was sending out emissaries who did all in their power to impair her means (although her pecuniary difficulties, owing to the expenditure on the law-suit, were already sufficiently great), and to ruin the defenceless widow and children, and so compel them to desist from their judicial proceedings. But God, the protector of widows and orphans, raised up unexpected friends to us, who, by their counsels and patronage, rescued us from difficulties. Amongst these defenders of our family the first and foremost was the chief of the most illustrious and ancient family of the Leslies, John Leslie, the most illustrious Earl of Leslie, now on account of his great merits transferred to the Court of the Emperor of the

holy Roman Empire, who, with singular humanity and generosity sustained us, after we had been abandoned by our immediate relatives both on the father's and mother's side. By those on the father's side, because, on account of the danger of the family being merged into another with a different name, they were unwilling to espouse our cause; for such was the peculiar custom, though not sanctioned by law, among branches of the same name, that in order that those clans or families of the same surname, and descended from the same ancestors, all combining among themselves, may be the better enabled to repel injuries inflicted, or to protect themselves from the consequences of injuries inflicted by them on others, they endeavour to preserve the surname of the principal family in its various branches, by right or wrong, and with the same pertinacity as if struggling for their hearths and altars; and in order that this may be the more readily effected, they confer the same dignity, authority, and rights on the chiefs of the family which they owe to the king and the state, or rather which they to that extent withdraw from their king. To their chief they concede the power, right, and authority, paramount even to that of the king himself, of ruling, commanding, invading, and oppressing with a high hand; whence the feuds of so many different clans have for many centuries so devastated the country, that from their disputes and battles more seem to have fallen out of the various ranks and classes of their respective families than have perished either by plague or in foreign war; and these protracted family dissensions led for many generations to such fatal wars between the house of Gordon and that of Forbes, as to render our relatives by the mother's side (the Forbes family) powerless to protect our interests. And though these feuds seemed often brought to an amicable settlement by intermarriages between the families, yet they broke out afresh on the slightest occasion or pretext, as happened in the case of our grandfather, who, although he had married a lady, our grandmother, of the principal family of the Gordons, yet in the battle which was fought between the Gordons and the Forbesees, about a hundred and thirty years ago, at a place called Crabstein, about a mile distant from the famous city of Aberdeen, on the banks of the river Dee, about two thousand of the family of Forbes were computed to have been slain by the Gordons. Amongst those that fell on that occasion were four brothers of our maternal grandfather, the Baron of Pitligo, whose wife's brother was the chief of the Gordons, and their commander in that war. So my mother being left without relatives either on the father's or mother's side to take her part, she was entrusted to the guardianship of one of her two surviving brothers, like a lamb to the charge of a wolf. This was the means of causing her to be ejected from her inheritance. In the meantime her tutor died, but left a son fatal to our family and bent on ruining it, who, although in illegal possession of our goods and heritage, and representing only the pretended heir to our fortune, gave

ample indications that he had succeeded to his father's malice and fraud, for if the father kept possession of our means by open injustice and a strong hand, the son, when he thought that the case was going against him, and that he was on the point of being non-suited, devised new subterfuges and wiles, and manufactured a title to himself based on a fictitious transaction with his pupil. Meanwhile, time passed on, and he placed his whole reliance on long possession, although challenged. Hence it happened that he had recourse to various stratagems and indirect means to accomplish our ruin while we were emerging from infancy, and especially as our mother had then died; but God, who is the protector of orphans, and the avenger of all fraud, malice, and tyranny, affected him with mental alienation of the gravest kind, and remorse of conscience for his past misdeeds so alarmed him that some time before his death, despairing to avert the wrath of God on account of the calamities he had brought upon us, he professed, not only with words, but even with sighs and tears, his desire and intention to be reconciled and to make restitution; but he was besieged by the artifices and instances of a paternal uncle, who was also the paternal uncle of our mother, for he employed every art that the son, still a pupil of the father, now despaired of, should be committed to his care and brought up with his own sons. And though God afforded ample opportunity to the miserable man before his death of making compensation, not only for the loss inflicted on us by withholding our mother's inheritance, but for the expenses and outlays with which he obliged us to dissipate our remaining means in a protracted litigation, his uncle, in the hope of possessing his estate, and of getting it transferred to his own family, always dreading that we might thwart his purposes, precluded us from access to the dying man, and gave us no opportunity of making our entreaties to him. This adversary having at length died, the law of pupils, which prevents any legal proceedings to be taken against them in the time of their minority, caused a long delay in the prosecution of our case; but a third heir having ultimately emerged from minority, my two elder brothers resuscitate the action, and carry it on for the space of ten years, I having left Scotland for the purpose of travelling among foreign nations, and being still resident abroad. I, to the best of my ability, exerted my influence with the ambassadors of the most serene King of Great Britain, accredited to the Court of France, under whose auspices I was then practising medicine, and to whom I acted as physician, and obtained through them that letters of the most serene king should be addressed to the Parliament of Scotland, requiring that the lawsuit should be pressed forward and brought to a conclusion without delay and without respect of persons. When, in consequence of this proceeding, our adversaries saw that the case was going against them, they invite my second eldest brother to an amicable settlement of the dispute—my eldest brother by this time being deceased. The illustrious Lord Innerpeffer and

Lord Balcomie,¹ two of the most illustrious senators in the high court of Parliament, were appointed arbiters, to whose judgment both parties should submit. But before the lawsuit was ended, my younger brother died, and this occasioned fresh delay. Meanwhile, intelligence having reached me respecting the progress of the suit and the death of my brother, God knows what anxiety I felt when I saw so just a cause without any one to take it up. Ultimately I obtained letters recommendatory from the king, addressed to the high court of Parliament, requiring them without delay to give a speedy and lawful judgment. Commissioners were also appointed, and in my absence I chose friends in whose hands I placed power of acting, and transacting or managing all business relating to the lawsuit. These were the most illustrious John Scott, Lord of Scotstarnet, and associated with him the illustrious Lord Lewis Stuart, Knight, patron of my brothers in this cause. With the latter were all the documents having reference directly or indirectly to that lawsuit. But strange to say, when everything by an amicable arrangement had been brought to a final stage, and nothing remained to be done but to affix the signatures, and when our adversary, who had just attained majority, desired nothing so much, according to every one's testimony, as to remedy evils caused by his father's oppression, and our expenses of litigation, he was carried off by sudden death, to our great loss, leaving behind him a son, recently born, against whom, by the law of the country, no action could be taken, as he was a minor. So frustrated of all hope of redress for the present, we lost both a friendly adversary and the power of proceeding farther till the termination of the minority of the new heir. I call him a friendly adversary, because, in addition to his being related to us by blood, he was pious and conscientious, and detested much the crimes of his father. For, on his father's death, he began to destroy many false documents, and stop many unjust proceedings by which his father had been used to harass defenceless people, his dependants and neighbours; but the young man having called the parties interested, ordered these documents to be burned in their presence, and the proceedings to be departed from, and restored every one to the position he occupied before such proceedings were taken. And he often declared in the presence of many that he intended to restore everything to us; and this he would certainly have done if God had prolonged his life for even ten days longer. He was good and pious, although the son of a wicked father. His mother, however, was a most religious person, who often begged with tears and on her bended knees her inexorable husband to show mercy to my mother, her father's sister, warning him to avoid bringing down the curse of God upon himself and his family.

"Meanwhile I was left alone, and having now for the last forty years resided in foreign countries, I wished to make publicly known this transplantation of

¹ Lords of Session.

our family, that it might serve with posterity in place of a formal declaration and protest, lest the rights which God and nature have given me and my successors, and which were derived from my mother's family through direct succession for the last five hundred years, should grow obsolete by oblivion and prescription.

"And what has most of all induced me is the confused and intricate state of Scottish affairs."

Davidson here deplores at great length the rebellion against his patron, Charles I., and the king's execution, and justifies the institution of monarchy by various texts from Scripture. He continues—

"But leaving the tragedies and migrations of royal houses to the care of God and kings, and the guilty authors of such misfortunes to the punishment which shall infallibly at due time and occasion overtake them, I shall now proceed to demonstrate the truth of what I have stated as to the transplanting of my own family, and wish that all may be enabled to recognise the justice of my pretensions on this point. I therefore adduce the letters giving my pedigree, confirmed by the great seal of Scotland, and granted to me after due examination by commissioners, and although it may be considered that I have made choice of an unsuitable station in life, inasmuch as I, who am born of one of the most noble families of Scotland, have embraced the medical profession, yet it must be borne in mind—*first*, that amongst the Scottish professors of medicine were invested with such honour by the kings of Scotland that they enjoyed a title equal to that of earls, and it is certain that they enjoy such title to this day; *secondly*, that it was more desirable for me, a third son, to remain obscure, keep out of the way, and live industriously and honestly among foreigners, than to live in poverty and degradation amongst my countrymen and illustrious relatives. I shall perhaps leave children behind me who will raise themselves above the shortcomings which may attach to me, and the dignity which the father could not adequately preserve by the laurel, the sons may re-vindicate by war and illustrious deeds; and that this may be so I humbly pray the supreme and beneficent Deity. The truth of all this is attested by my letters of pedigree, originally granted to me by Parliament after due investigation by several noble neighbours on their attestation, and subsequently confirmed by the great seal of the kingdom. The original autograph of them is to be found in the general collection of charters and archives of the kingdom, corroborated by the seal, as in the case of the duplicate with me, which in time to come, as long as may be, shall be found with my successors."¹

The last of the publications of W. Davidson is his "Plico-Mastix; seu

¹ Prodomus Comment. p. 407.

Plicæ e numero morborum Apospasma." It was published at Dantzic in 1668 by its author, under the name of "Theophrastus Scotus." In this work Davidson denies the existence of the disease called *Plica Polonica*, and maintains that all the symptoms of it may be attributed to other maladies.

By medical writers this is acknowledged to be a remarkable production, and still deserving of attention.

The Society is indebted to Duncan Davidson of Tulloch for supplying the following extract from the "Livre d'Or" of France. It is a ratification by Louis XIV., king of France, dated 6th April 1669, in favour of William Davidson and his son Charles, of the certificate of nobility of birth granted by King Charles I. in 1629. In this document Davidson and his son are designated "Maistres d'hostel du S^r Duc d'Anguein," and there is granted to them and their descendants all privileges and exemptions enjoyed by gentlemen of France.

In support of the claim of Charles Davidson, this document recites his having produced certificates, first, of having been a page of honour to Charles I., and afterwards of having served under Colonel Douglas as lieutenant and captain in his regiment of infantry during eight campaigns. In it is also attested by Marshal Turenne and the Sieur Dorgeval, 'Intendant' of the army of Picardy, that Charles Davidson had served in the Scottish Guard in France known as the "Gendarmes Eccossois." Complimentary letters from the King and Queen of Poland, and one from the widowed Queen of Charles I., had also been exhibited, showing that none but gentlemen were ever made pages to the king.

"ARRET DE MAINTENUE DE NOBLESSE POUR GUILLAUME ET CHARLES
DAVIDSON."

"9 Avril 1669.

"Sur la requête présentée au Roy en son Conseil par Guillaume Davissonne et Charles Davissonne, maistres d'hostel du S^r Duc d'Anguein, père et fils contenant qu'encore que leur qualité d'escuyer ne leur puisse estre contreatée, comme estans issus d'une famille des plus nobles d'Escosse, et qu'ils le justifient par une déclaration authentique du feu Roy d'Angleterre scellée du grand sceau qui contient la généalogie de leurs ancestres depuis six générations, et fait veoir qu'ils sont issus en ligne directe de Guillaume Davissonne seigneur Dakimkempert le cinquième ayeul sans qu'aucun d'eux ait jamais dérogé: Que le dit Charles, l'un

des supplians, ait esté eslevé page du Roy d'Angleterre à présent regnant ou ne sont admis que des enfans de qualité ; qu'estant revenu en France, il ait servi sa Majesté en qualité de lieutenant et de capitaine dans le regiment de Douglas, sans avoir manqué aucune occasion durant huit campagnes après lesquelles sa Majesté l'a honoré des charges de Guidon et d'enseigne dans la compagnie des gendarmes Ecossois, et mesme il a commandé toute la gendarmerie en plusieurs occasions. Neantmoins ils ont esté assignez par devant les S^{rs} Commissaires généraux deputez à la suite du Conseil pour la recherche des usurpateurs du titre de noblesse pour représenter les titres en vertu desquels ils ont prins la qualité d'Escuyer, et comme ils n'en scauroient représenter d'autres que la déclaration du dit feu Roy d'Angleterre et les certificats de leurs services, requeroient qu'il pleust à sa Majesté les descharger de la dite assignation, ce faisant les maintenir en leur ancienne noblesse et ordonner qu'ils jouiront, ensemble leurs successeurs, enfans ou postérité des privilèges et exemptions dont jouissent les autres gentilshommes du royaume, faire deffenses à M. Jacques Duret commis à la recherche des usurpateurs de titre de noblesse de l'election de Nemours de les y troubler ny empescher à peine de 11^m livres d'amande, des pens, dommages et interestz, et pour cet effect qu'ils seront employez dans le catalogue des gentilshommes qui sera arresté au Conseil.

Veü par le Roy en son Conseil la dite requeste communiquéé suivant l'ordonnance du dit Conseil du XI^e Mars dernier au dit Duret par exploit du 12^e du dit mois trois sommations faites au dit Duret de fournir de response à la dite requeste de 13^e, 14^e et 15^e du dit mois de Mars dernier 1669, lettres patentes du feu Roi d'Angleterre du 2^e Juillet 1629, par lesquelles il est porté que Guillaume Davissonne, docteur en medecine, est descendu d'une famille noble tant du costé paternel que maternel, deux certificats de Charles prince de la Grande Bretagne du 29^e Juin en la 24^e année du règne de son père qu'il avoit receu pour son page d'honneur Charles Davissonne fils du dit Guillaume, provisions données par le colonel Douglas de la charge de lieutenant en une compagnie de son regiment d'infanterie au dit Charles Davidsons du 14^e Janvier 1638, trois certificats et passeport du S^r Maréchal de Turenne, du S^r Dorgeval intendant de l'armée de Picardie, et du S^r Charpentier commissaire des guerres, par lesquels il paroist que le dit Davissonne estoit guidon de la compagnie des gendarmes Escossois de sa Majesté des 21^e May 1651, 10^e Janvier, 13^e Decembre 1652, contrat de vente de la charge d'enseigne des gendarmes Escossois de sa Majesté, faite par Charles Davissonne en faveur du S^r de Montlidar du 4^e Mars 1655, lettre de cachet du Roy de Pologne escrete au dit Charles Davissonne par laquelle il le charge de faire compliment de sa part au Roy d'Angleterre sur son establissement du vi^e Juillet 1660 ; autre lettre de cachet de la Roynne de Pologne par laquelle elle remercie le dit Davidsons des complimens qu'il a faits au Roy en conséquence de la sus dite lettre du 20^e

Novembre 1660 ; certificat de la Reyne mère du Roy d'Angleterre que le feu Roy d'Angleterre ny son fils regnant n'ont jamais pris de pages qui ne fussent gentilhommes du 16^e Fevrier 1669 ; et ouy le raport du Sr Daligre conseiller ordinaire de sa Majesté en ses Conseils et Directeur de ses finances, commissaire à ce Député, et tout considéré :

Le Roy estant en son conseil Royal des Finances, ayant égard à la dite requeste, a maintenu et maintient les dits Guillaume et Charles Davissonne père et fils en leur qualité de noble et d'escuyer, et a ordonné et ordonne qu'ils jouiront, ensemble leurs successeurs, enfans et postérité, nais et à naitre en légitime mariage, des privileges et exemptions dont jouissent les autres gentilhommes du Royaume tant qu'ils vivront noblement et ne feront aucun acte de derogance, fait sa Majesté deffenses au dit Duret et à tous autres de les y troubler ny empescher à peine de m^{ll} d'amande, des pens, dommages et interests, et pour cet effect qu'ils seront inscritz et employez dans l'estat et catalogue des gentilhommes qui sera arrêté au Conseil et envoyé dans les bailliages et elections du Royaume en conséquence de l'arrest du Conseil du 23 Mars 1666.

“ SEGUIER.

“ DALIGRE.

“ Du ix^e Avril 1669, Paris.”

The death of Dr William Davidson in all probability took place shortly after the year 1669, as he was then far advanced in years.

On the whole, Davidson was a remarkable man, and one who maintained the honour of his country on the Continent of Europe at a time when learning was at a low ebb in Scotland.

A copy of a fine print of him is preserved in the Advocates' Library. Another copy exists in the collections of Mr D. Laing, from which the accompanying photo-lithograph has been made. (See Plate VII.)

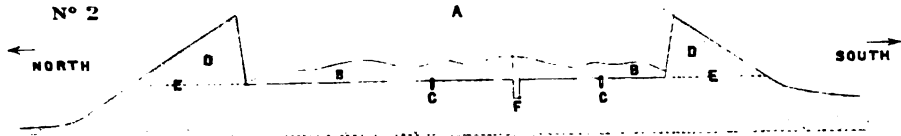
In a letter to Dr Stuart, Mr Davidson of Tulloch remarks:—"When last in France I traced the descendants of the W. Davidson alluded to in the 'Maintenue de Noblesse.' All the male descendants who were settled in France are dead. I became acquainted with the descendant of the last female of the family—the Marquis de Beuvron.¹ His family were ruined at the Revolution, and the chateau of the Davidsons then was utterly destroyed. The name of the chateau was 'Neuville,' as to which I may be able to get some satisfactory information ere long."

¹ Probably Le Vicomte Anatole de Beuvron.

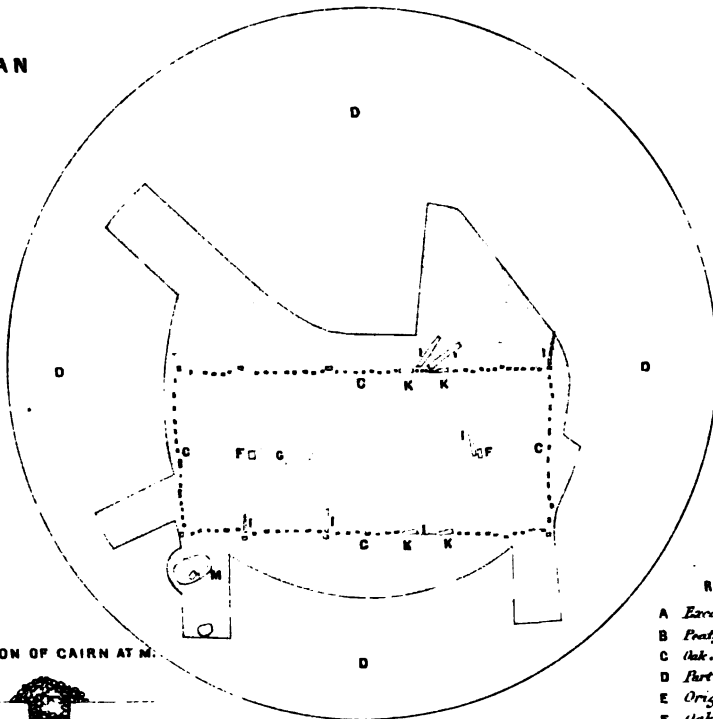
**SECTION
N° 1**



N° 2



PLAN



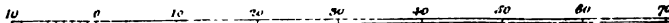
SECTION OF CAIRN AT M.



REFERENCE

- A Excavated Earth
- B Peaty Soil and Marsh silt
- C Oak Stakes forming an enclosure
- D Part of Mound not removed
- E Original Surface
- F Oak Stakes
- G Ashes &c. the soil much calcined
- H Burnt portions of fallen stakes
- K Four Stakes with grooves
- L Position of Puddle?
- M Small Cairn containing Urn &c

Scale in Feet



PLAN & SECTIONS OF EXCAVATIONS OF COURTHILL, DALRY.



II.

NOTE ON SOME EXPLORATIONS IN A TUMULUS CALLED THE "COURT-HILL," IN THE PARISH OF DALRY AND COUNTY OF AYR. By R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE VIII.)

This tumulus is situated close to the present town of Dalry, on the north-west side, and occupies the highest point of a considerable rising ground, which is projected south-eastwards into the valley of the Garnock, and from which a wide extent of country both up and down the valley is visible. A reference to the Ordnance Survey map shows that it is 250 feet above the level of the sea, and 100 feet above the lowest part of the valley.

The Courthill tumulus itself is of very considerable size, and in an excellent state of preservation. From the accompanying plan, for which I am indebted to Mr Paton of Swinlees, who took a great interest in the work of exploration, and devoted no small amount of time and trouble in superintending it, it appears that the hill was about 290 feet in circumference at the base, of nearly circular form, and apparently nearly 20 feet high, though the excavations showed that the original surface within the mound was about 5 feet higher than at the base. The diameter of the top of the mound was about 38 feet.

Almost nothing is known of the history of the tumulus. It is not mentioned, so far as I am aware, in any of the old charters or papers connected with the district. The land on which it stands formed part of the eleven merk land of Ryesholm, a property which has long been in the possession of the Boyle family. The Old Statistical Account (1795) of the parish refers to it, and states that an attempt was made at one time to ascertain its contents by boring, but nothing being found, the work was discontinued. The New Statistical Account (1837) mentions the removal of part of the base at the beginning of the present century to fill up hollows in an adjoining field.

About the commencement of last year it became known that this fine tumulus was to be overlaid by the debris from a pit. The opportunity of making a thorough exploration of such an interesting relic was at once taken advantage of by some gentlemen resident in the district, and

immediate application was made to the proprietors, Messrs Merry and Cunninghame, for permission to excavate. This was willingly granted, and every facility afforded. The explorations were at once commenced, and carried on during most part of the summer. The greatest interest was manifested by the residents, and everything which was found was preserved with care, and is now at the disposal of the Society.

The first operation was to open a trench from the west side of the mound in towards the centre north-eastwards. This was about 5 feet wide, and was carried in for a considerable distance at a depth of about 14 feet from the top of the tumulus. About 19 feet inwards, measuring from the circumference of the base, and 14 feet from the top of the tumulus, a low dyke or line of small boulders and land stones crossed the trench, almost exactly in an alignment with and close to the oaken stakes indicated on the plan. These stones rested on the original surface, which is here about $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 feet above the present level of the ground at the base of the tumulus, showing that the soil had been removed, and probably assisted in adding to the hill when it was originally formed. Immediately above the stones were layers of burnt earth, mixed with pieces of charcoal and other burnt matter, and in this was found a very good flint arrow-head. Along with this arrow-head were some flint chips and fragments. Immediately above the charcoal was a stratum of dark unctuous earth, with layers of vegetable matter composed principally of fern and moor moss. On exposure, the fern was almost green, but the action of the air rapidly turned it to the colour of peat. Nothing of great interest was found till the point marked F on the plan was reached, about 9 feet from the stones, and 29 feet from the circumference, where a log or post of oak was discovered, standing nearly perpendicular, with a slight inclination to the south-west, inserted for a depth of about 2 feet in the original soil, and securely wedged in with stones. This post was much blackened, and with an appearance as if charred by the action of fire in the upper part. It was, when taken out, 4 feet 9 inches in length, the lower part for about 2 feet being artificially squared with a base of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 10 inches. Marks of a sharp cutting tool were clearly observable on this part of the post. About 4 feet from the base on one side was an artificial hole, nearly circular, the diameter being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and nearly 3 inches deep.

Within the line of this post a considerable mass of burnt ash was found, and the surface of the ground showed distinct traces of the action of a fierce and long-continued fire. The cutting of the trench afforded a good opportunity for examining the nature of the contents and structure of the mound. Measuring from the top of the hill, it was found that the ordinary earth occupied from 10 to 12 feet of the whole section. This had apparently been taken from the land immediately adjoining the tumulus, and heaped up over the other deposit. No remains were found anywhere in it. Immediately below was a thin band or layer of yellowish clay, mixed with small stones or gravel, about 12 or 14 inches in depth in most places. This rested on a deposit of dark unctuous earth, from 3 to 3½ feet in depth near the post, but varying in other places from 1 foot upwards. This dark earth was found to contain layers of fern, moor moss, coarse grass, reeds, &c., mixed with small pieces of charred wood. Immediately below it in several places, and resting on the original surface, was found a thin layer, from 1 to 2 inches in depth, of grey and red ashes, with occasionally small fragments of bone, of which some were with difficulty preserved, and are now in the Museum. The largest of these was apparently part of the bone of a large deer. In many places the earth below this bed of ash was reddened by the action of fire to the depth of 3 or 4 inches. It very frequently happened that a thin layer of very highly compressed moss and bracken covered the ash, without, however, showing any trace of the action of fire. The flint chips and worked flints were found immediately above the bed of ash. A selection of these is now in the Museum, and amongst them a curious worked flint scraper or punch of the usual form.

After carrying in the trench some distance beyond the centre of the hill, and down to the original surface, it was resolved to remove all the earth over the dark stratum, and lay bare the original surface. A very considerable amount of work accomplished this, and a very curious palisaded structure was disclosed, the description of which will be best understood by reference to the ground plan (Plate VIII.) Its extreme length from end to end was 46 feet, and the breadth 20 to 21 feet. The sides were composed of small oak stakes, generally flat, set into the original surface, and almost touching each other. All these were much decayed, and showed traces apparently of the action of fire. Four of

these stakes, marked K on the plan, presented the remarkable peculiarity of a regularly hollowed-out groove on one side. These four stakes were much larger than those forming the sides and ends, and were placed in pairs opposite each other. They were carefully squared, and formed evidently with some sharp tool. Each was pitted into the original soil, and firmly wedged in with stones. The space between each pair was about 3 feet, and was filled with small round hazel and birch posts, about 2 inches in diameter, and showing the extremities artificially sharpened. The following measurements, taken from one of these stakes when first discovered, will give a good idea of the others. The breadth was 1 foot 6 inches, with the thickness at the top varying from 4 to 5 inches. The length of the part preserved was 2 feet 1 inch, but the upper portion was very much decayed, and had evidently been longer. The groove ran the whole length of one side, and the breadth of it was from 2 to 3 inches. It was about 4 inches from the end of the stake, which had been fixed in the original surface. The depth of the groove varied from three-quarters of an inch to an inch and a half. The other three posts varied slightly in size from this one, but presented the same general appearance, and each showed a groove of similar size.

At F another large post or stake of oak was found, 9 feet inwards from the line of stakes, and apparently corresponding to the one first discovered. These interior posts were more firmly fixed into the soil than the others. Extending eastward from the western post was a deposit of ashes about 3 inches thick, nearly 6 feet in length, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth. Amongst the ashes were numerous small fragments of bone, and parts apparently of deer's horn. It may be noticed here that the pieces of bone when first exposed were white, but in the course of a very short time they became a beautiful bright blue colour. Between one pair of these grooved stakes, at the place marked L on the plan, a piece of hard oak, shaped somewhat like the blade of an oar or paddle, was discovered. The length was 1 foot 2 inches; the breadth across $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, decreasing to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Having completed the investigation of the palisaded structure, it was determined to follow the line of stones which had been met with in cutting the first trench. The earth having been cleared away, a cairn of stones was found, beneath which was a hole sunk into the original

surface. This is marked M on the plan. This hole was in a line with the west end of the structure, and about 3 feet southwards from the corner post. It was about 4 feet 10 inches long, by 3 feet wide, and 3 feet 5 inches below the original surface. The stones filled the hole, and were raised apparently about 3 feet above the surface. At the bottom of the cavity a flat sandstone, about a foot square, was found, carefully bedded in clean sand from the river. Near it was a piece of blackened oak, similar to the stakes of the structure, and all about were fragments of a fine and highly ornamented urn. These fragments have been most



Urn found in Court Hill, Dalry. (Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

carefully collected and put together by Mr Paton of Swinlees. It is to be remarked that the layers of gravel and soil were continued beyond and over the cairn, showing that it was *in situ* when the tumulus was formed, though from the fact of the piece of oak being found amongst the stones, and the urn having been broken, it had evidently been disturbed at the time the upper part of the tumulus was formed.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge the interest taken in this work by the Messrs Paton of Swinlees and Hillhead, Mr Robert Love of Threepwood, and other gentlemen, and the obligations I am under to the gentlemen named for the care with which all the measurements, &c., were taken, and for revising the details now submitted.

III.

NOTICE OF A BRONZE SWORD FOUND IN CARLINWARK LOCH,
PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM BY D. A. GORDON, Esq. OF GREENLAW.
By JOHN STUART, LL.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

The bronze sword now presented to the Museum was found in the southwest corner of Carlinwark Loch, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

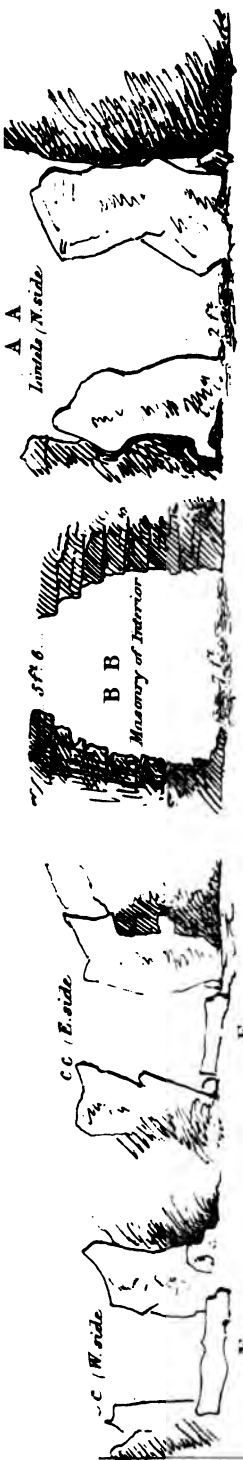
In this loch there were four fortified islands, two of them artificially constructed of oak piles.

One of the natural islands near the south end of the loch was surrounded by a rampart of stones, and was connected with the shore by a causeway formed of oak piles. Not far from the island the curious bronze cauldron now in the Museum was dredged up some years ago, when it was found to be filled with many fragments of armour, horses' bits, and armourers' tools. Canoes have been found in the loch, and large heads of the stag; as also a bronze "pan," now only known by this description.

The sword was also found near to this island many years ago. It has belonged since that time to the Gordons of Greenlaw; and the present representative of the family, Mr D. A. Gordon, at my suggestion, has presented it to the National Museum. The point was accidentally broken off after it was found. In its present imperfect state it is 20 inches in length. The handle-plate is four inches long, and is pierced with five rivet-holes. The blade is narrowest at the distance of 4 inches from the handle-plate, where it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, swelling gradually for about 8 inches further, where it is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and tapering from thence to the point.

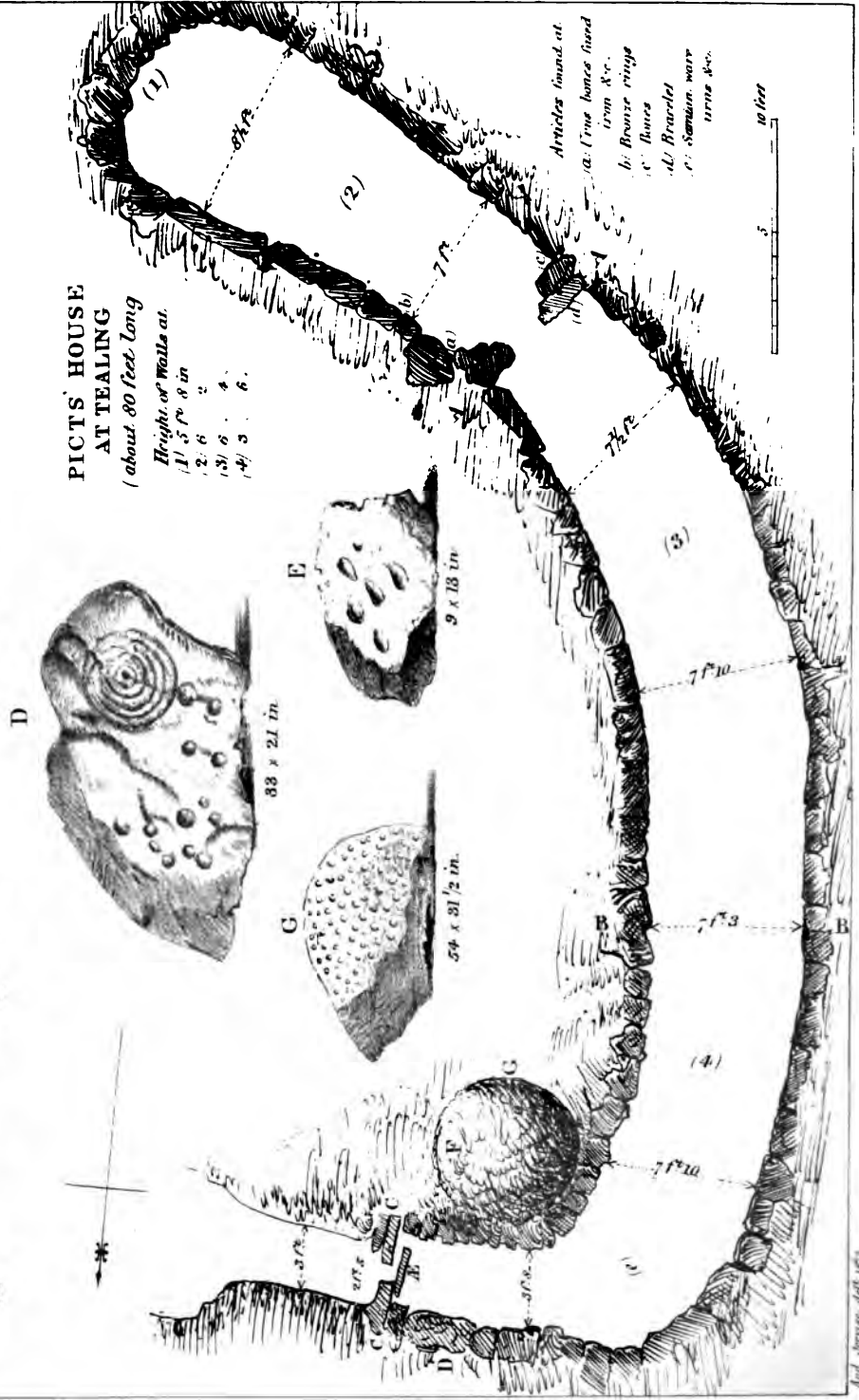
There are some traces of what has been considered gilding on part of the blade, but which, on examination by Dr Stevenson Macadam, proves to be merely the bright yellow coating which is characteristic of bronzes that have been long in water.





**PICT'S HOUSE
AT TEALING**
(about 80 feet long)

Heights of Walls at:
 (1) 5 ft. 8 in.
 (2) 6 " "
 (3) 6 " "
 (4) 5 " 6 "



IV.

NOTICE REGARDING A "PICT'S HOUSE," AND SOME OTHER ANTI-
QUITIES IN THE PARISH OF TEALING, FORFARSHIRE. BY ANDREW
JERVISE, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., BRECHIN. (PLATE IX.)

The "Pict's House" or underground chamber at Tealing, near Dundee, which was accidentally discovered in the course of agricultural operations during the summer of 1871, is situated in "the Ha'field," a little to the north-west of the present mansion-house of Tealing.

The weem, which appears to have been divided into two compartments, as shown upon the plan at AA and CC, is about 80 feet in length. Like all structures of the kind that I have seen, its general form resembles the human arm when in a slightly bended position. The inner end, which is rounded or semicircular, is filled with large undressed boulders. These may have been part of the covering of the weem at one time, but, as the structure now stands, none of the stones are so long as would stretch across any part of the main portion of it. Its greatest width, which is at 5 feet from the inner end, is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its greatest height, which is at about 30 feet from the same point, is about 6 feet 4 inches.

It slopes rapidly for the first 15 feet, and then falls more gradually towards the inner end, where the floor is about 3 feet lower than it is at \mathcal{A} , the sill (so to speak) of the outer door or entrance. A stone of about 3 inches in height is set across the passage (\mathcal{A}) a few inches from the lintels (CC.) This had probably been placed for the twofold purpose of receiving a door and to keep water from finding its way to the lower portion of the dwelling.

There is a rough undressed boulder (D), with concentric circle and cup-markings, on the north side of the doorway. The side walls are composed of rude boulders, some of which, as indicated upon the plan, are of great size, particularly those on the north and near the inner end. The floor or bottom is mostly composed of the natural trap rock, and the rest of it looks as if it had been paved.

Horse's teeth and other bits of animal bones, also charcoal, were found throughout the weem, and among the mould which covered it.

A piece of Samian ware, which (owing to Mrs S. Fotheringham's absence at the time of my visit) I have not seen, a bracelet, bronze rings, and bits of cinerary urns, were got in different parts of the weem, as marked upon the sketch.

No fewer than ten querns were found. These, which were both of freestone and mica schist, were partly whole and partly broken. A number of whorls were also got, some fully formed, others apparently in progress; also the remains of stone cups.

An article made of iron slightly mixed with brass, somewhat like an old-fashioned room or kitchen grate, lay near the lintel of the inner door, but it is so much fused by fire and corroded by damp that it is difficult to say what it may have been originally. As the weem appears to have been previously opened, it is just probable that this was thrown in to it at no very remote period.

The small piece of red sandstone (E), with mussel-shell looking markings, was found either in the weem or among the debris; but whether these marks are artificial, or have been caused by the falling out of nodules or pebbles, is not quite clear.

The round piece of ground (F) upon the surface of the field (about 6 feet in diameter) is, in its way, a model of macadamising, particularly at (*ff*), at which point the pebbles are so firmly packed together that they can only be disintegrated by means of a pick or hammer. The rest of this circle, which is composed of hard burned ashes, appears to have been trodden upon until it had become a solid mass. It had probably been used for cooking purposes; also for watching the approach of enemies, human and animal.

The semicircular boulder (G), which lies upon the south margin of the circle (F), contains forty-six "cup-marks" of various sizes. The largest scarcely exceeds two inches in diameter; and while some are nicely finished, others are in a very crude state, being quite like the work of a herd boy.

There is another old artificial work about 700 yards to the south-west of the weem, intersected by modern dykes and ditches. It consists of a circle of about 8 yards in diameter, is bounded by boulders, and paved with flat stones. In some cases the stones of the floor were in double layers, and below these, charcoal, horse's teeth, and other animal bones

were found; also some rudely formed stone hammers. One part of the floor was scooped out like that at (F) upon the sketch of the weem, and also closely laid with pebbles or "chuckie stones." The paving bore a great resemblance to that of Hurley Hawkin, which lies about 5 miles to the south-west, and is described in Proceedings of the Society, vol. vi. p. 212.

This place is situated at the south end of the "Corral Den." The name is probably a corruption of "quarry" or "quarrel"—the latter being an old spelling of the former word¹—for the den appears to have been opened in several places for the purpose of obtaining stones.

It ought to be mentioned that Mrs Scrymgeour-Fotheringham of Tealing was at the expense of clearing out the weem, and of having it enclosed with a paling. Everything was done under the superintendence of Mr Walter M'Nicoll, land-steward, to whom I am indebted for information regarding the discovery of the weem, &c., as well as for outline measurements of it. The discovery of the "eirde" house, as well as the stone coffins and urns at Tealing, the latter of which were brought under the notice of the Society by Mr Neish of The Laws (Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 381), together with other points to be noticed below, go to show that it only requires time and opportunity for other objects of interest to be found in the same locality. Having this in view, Mr M'Nicoll has kindly promised to take note of anything that may be thought worth bringing under the notice of the Society.

Besides the prehistoric points above noticed, it may be mentioned that, apart from the sculptured stone at Balluderon,² a fragment of the same type is built into the south wall of the church. Not being included in Dr Stuart's work, it is intended to have this slab engraved, along with some others which have been recently discovered, in a future volume of the Proceedings.

No tradition exists regarding the history of this fragment, nor of a boulder which is built into a cottage to the west of the parish kirk. The latter is covered with a number of cup-markings, which are locally called "the Devil's Tacketa." As tradition says that his Satanic majesty

¹ In 1656, Lord Carnegie, on behalf of his father, the Earl of Southesk, wrote the Earl of Panmure "for libertie to win some stones in the *quarrell* of Buthergill, the like q^of he has not in any part of his owne ground."—*Original Letter at Panmure.*

² Sculptd. Stones of Scott., vol. i. pl. 67.

attempted to demolish St Boniface's church at Invergowrie, by throwing an immense boulder from the opposite hills of Fife,¹ it is quite likely that some such legend had also been connected with this stone in relation to the founding of the kirk of Tealing.

Historians state that a church was founded at Tealing by St Boniface, soon after he came to Scotland. Like all his churches, that of Tealing was dedicated to St Peter. Its site is pointed out upon a rising ground, a few yards to the north of the present mansion-house, and "St Peter's Well" is shown in the burn adjoining. No trace of building remains.

I have seen no account of the time the church was removed from its old to its present site, the latter of which is about a mile to the westward. The present fabric was erected in the year 1806, and took the place of one that is described as "indifferent both as to style and condition" (Old Stat. Acct. vol. iv. p. 99). It is added, "A few fragments of carved stones seem to indicate that the original church was an elegant Gothic structure." This possibly refers to, among other things, the sculptured fragment above noticed, and to the remains of the top of an awmbry. The latter is built high up into the west wall, and its style of carving very much resembles that of the awmbry at the church of Fowlis-Easter.²

A fragment of a seventeenth century tombstone is built into the outside of the north wall of the church. Within, upon the same wall, is a slab of 24½ inches in length by 11 inches in breadth, with a frame or border 3 inches broad, upon which are some simple floral ornaments. It is said that this stone was found when the last church was taken down. Besides being in excellent preservation and of very old date, the inscription is in the vernacular of the country, and, so far as I am aware, it is the only one of the same kind in Scotland. The inscription is as follows:—

† þeyr : lȳis : Ingram : of : Ketheyns : priſt
 maſtʳ : i : arit : ærdene : of : dūkelbȳ : made : i : hȳs
 xxii : ȳhere : gr^aȳis : for : hȳm : ȳat : degt : hafa
 nd : lʳ : ȳherȳs : of : eȳld : in : tȳe : ȳher
 of : cryſt : ſt . ccc : lxxx.

¹ Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 443.

² Ibid. vol. vii. p. 245.

I have not succeeded in finding any notice of Ingram of Kethenys; but it appears that one Robert de Kathenis, "canon of Brechin, and a scholar in arts," was recommended by Pope Clement IV., 22d January 1345, to the Abbots of Arbroath and Cupar, and to the Dean of Dunkeld, to be received as a canon and brother in the said church, where he was to have a stall in the choir, and a place in the chapter.¹

The inscription shows that Ingram was born in 1320, at the very time that Bruce was in his glory, also that he was made "erdone" in 1352. It is just possible that he and Robert of Kathenis were in some way related to each other. It is also probable that both had been descended from the old family De Kethenis, who were lords of, and assumed their surname from, the lands of Kettins, near Cupar-Angus.²

The above inscription proves, contrary to what is stated in "Scotiæ Indiculum," p. 162, that the rector or incumbent of Tealing held the office of archdean of the Cathedral of Dunkeld. This is corroborated by another tombstone, of a much later date, which lies among the seats in the area of the church. It is a beautiful piece of masonry, and is adorned with carvings of the Ramsay and Kinloch arms. The only parts of the inscription which can be read (owing to the present position of the stone) are these:—

D . IOANI . RAMSÆ . DVNKELDVNËNSI . ARCHID
 SS . THEOLOGIÆ . DOCTORI . ECCLESIÆ . HVIVS . PASTORI
 . VIGILANTISSIMO . VXOR . E HA . KINLOCH .
 MËRENS . OBIIT . IN . 1618 . ÆTAT

Another monument, in the north wall of the church, about 3 feet 10 inches in height by 3 feet 3 inches in breadth, bears a half-length effigy, in bold relief, of the same churchman. The Ramsay arms are carved upon a shield in the corner, surmounted by the well-known legend, "Vivit post funera virtus." A carving in the opposite corner shows that Mr Ramsay died on 10th May 1618, in his 49th year.

Dr Scott ("Fasti," vol. iii. p. 729), makes no reference to Mr Ramsay's office of archdean; but mentions that he entered St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1583, that he took his degree of A.M. in 1587, and that he was incumbent of the churches of Tealing and Inverarity in 1590.

¹ Reg. Ep. Brechin, vol. ii. p. 392.

² Reg. Vet. de. Aberbrothoc, p. 62.

The name of Mr Ramsay's wife, and some other particulars of his history, seem to have been unknown to this singularly industrious writer. But we learn from the "Registrum de Panmure," MS. (vol. ii. 340), that Mr John Ramsay, rector of Tealing, and his wife, Elizabeth Kinloch, had charters of the half lands of Auchrennie, in the parish of Panbride, in 1602, and that these were acquired from David Maule of Both, Commissioner of St Andrews, for the sum of 1800 merks.

Mrs Ramsay, who survived her husband, had two daughters, named Catherine and Helen. The former was married to William Ochterlony, fear of Seton, and the latter to Mr Alexander Durham.

On 3d June 1620, these co-heiresses resigned their lands of Auchrennie in favour of Patrick Maule of Panmure; and, as quaintly narrated by the deed of renunciation (for the use of which I am indebted to Fox, Earl of Dalhousie), their husbands "being removed furth of Court, the saidis Catharine and Helene, in yair absens, gaife yair bodilie aythis, with all solemnitie requisite, that they nor nane of yame wer compellit yairto, But yat they did ye samy of yair awine fre willis, and sould never cum in ye contrari yairoff directlie nor indirectlie in tyme cuming."

Although the church of Tealing belonged latterly to Dunkeld, it was originally given to the Priory of St Andrews, along with the Priest's Croft, by Hugh of Gifford and his son William, then lords of the district, and both the church and the croft were confirmed to St Andrews by William the Lion. At a later date (1199), it is stated that the Priory is to hold the lands of Pitpontin, which had been given to it by Hugh of Gifford, as long as it continues to hold the church of Tealing.¹

Pitpointie is still the name of a property in the parish, and the Priest's Croft is possibly now represented by the farm of Priesttown, about a mile to the west of the kirk.

By a curious provision in the last-quoted deed, William, the son of Hugh of Gifford, was bound to pay three merks yearly towards the maintenance of his father's kitchen, and to clothe his father until he assumed the habit of a monk, also to pay for four servants to him, the canons being bound to find the servants in provisions.

Hugh of Gifford and Yester was the first of his race that possessed

¹ Reg. Prior de S. And., 325.

Tealing, of which he had a grant from William the Lion. The male line of the Giffords of Tealing and Yester failed in Sir John, who died early in the fifteenth century, leaving four co-heiresses, one of whom is said to have become the wife of Eustace, second son of Sir Herbert Maxwell of Carlaverock, and to whom she brought the lands of Tealing.¹

It seems probable that the old castle of Tealing had stood upon the east side of the Corral Den, for an eminence there is still known by the name of the "Castle Hill."

Patrick Maxwell, who died about 1700-1, appears to have been the last Maxwell of Tealing.² He was succeeded by George Napier of Kilmahow, as heir of entail. In 1704 Napier sold the property to John Scrymgeour of Kirkcubright, "late provost of Dundee," and ancestor of the present proprietrix.³

It ought to be added that, in early times, a payment was made out of Tealing to the Priory of Rostinoch,⁴ which was also a foundation of St Boniface.

It is probable that the church of Tealing had been disjoined from the diocese of St Andrews, and annexed to that of Dunkeld, before the time of Bishop David Bernham, for Tealing is not one of the churches which he is recorded to have dedicated;⁵ and although the name is excepted from the copies of the Old Taxation of Scotch benefices printed in the Registers of St Andrews and Arbroath, it appears under the diocese of Dunkeld, in the copies printed in "Archæologia" (vol. xvii.), and in Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta Hib. et Scot.," (p. 121), the latter of which is dated 1275.

[*Note.*—Since this paper was in type Mr M'Nicoll has kindly informed me that one of the four remaining stones of a circle in the wood of Balkemmock, in Tealing, presents a number of cup and ring markings. This circle will be described, and the stone engraved, in a future paper.—A. J.]

¹ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. p. 136; Douglas' Peer., ii. 649.

² There are two old gravestones to the Maxwells at Tealing, but the inscriptions from these, with notices of the family, will appear elsewhere.

³ Inf. kindly furnished by Messrs Lindsay and Howe, W.S., Edinburgh.

⁴ Mem. of Angus and Mearns, p. 480. ⁵ Robertson's Con. Scotiæ, i. pp. 298-303.

V.

NOTICE SUR LA VIE DE JEAN RAMSAY DE SAINT-ANDREW EN ÉCOSSE, PROFESSEUR À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TURIN, ET MÉDECIN DE CHARLES III., DUC DE SAVOIE. AVEC PIÈCES JUSTIFICATIVES. PAR M. ALEXANDRE DE MÉANA, TURIN.

COMMUNICATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE,
BY DAVID LAING, Esq., FOREIGN SECRETARY.

In laying before the Society the following communication, Mr Laing stated, that having previously received one or two letters from the learned author, inquiring, first, for information respecting Dr John Ramsay of Turin, who flourished in the Sixteenth century; and secondly, whether any Edinburgh publisher would undertake to be at the expense of printing for general sale the Memoir he had prepared. His answer was, that the name of Dr Ramsay as an author was quite unknown, and that no publisher in Edinburgh was likely to undertake such a publication. But wishing to invite similar communications from Foreign Correspondents, he said, if the Memoir was sent to him, he would submit it to the Society of Antiquaries, and if found suitable, it would be printed in the Society's "Proceedings," and separate copies would be furnished to the Author free of expense.

In styling himself "John Ramsay of St Andrews," although the name was not uncommon in Fife, as well as in other parts of Scotland, I presume that he simply meant he had studied or taken some degree at the University of St Andrews, and not that he was a native of the city. In looking over copious extracts from the College Registers between the years 1508 and 1520, the following names occur:—

Acta Rectoris, etc.—Nomina Incorporatorum.

Alexander Ramsay,	} 1509.
Alexander Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	.
Johannes Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	.
Jacobus Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	.
Johannes Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	.
Willelmus Ramsay, Nat. Lau.[donie],	

Acta Decani Facultatis Artium.

Magister Thomas Ramsay, Rector de Kembak, was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, in the years 1510, 1511, and 1518.

Johannes Ramsay, <i>pauper</i>,	.	.	.	.	Determ.	1509.
Johannes Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	Licent.	1510.
Alexander Ramsay, } <i>divites</i>	.	.	.	.	Determ.	1511.
Johannes Ramsay, }	.	.	.	.	"	1511.
Jacobus Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	"	1511.
Willelmus Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	"	1517.
Nor[mannus] Ramsay, Albanie,	.	.	.	.	"	1517.
Alexander Ramsay, Albanie,	.	.	.	.	"	1520.
Patricius Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	"	1520.
Thomas Ramsay,	.	.	.	.	"	1520.

From the above list it will be evident that the College Registers unfortunately afford no means of identifying the persons. D. L.

“TURIN (*Italie*), le 3 Mars 1873.

“MONSIEUR LE SECRETAIRE,—On doit toujours compter sur la politesse des savants. J'ose donc espérer que vous serez assez bon pour offrir la *Notice*, dont vous trouverez ci-joint le détail, à quelque éditeur de votre ville qui veuille bien se charger de la faire imprimer à ses frais, me réservant telle part dans les bénéfices qu'il le jugera à propos.

“Je vous remercie d'avance, et je vous prie en même temps d'agréer l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

“ALEXANDRE DE MEANA,
“*Bibliothécaire de S. A. B. Monseig. le
Duc de Gènes, membre de plusieurs
Sociétés savantes.*”

Malgré la distance des lieux et le défaut de moyens de communication qui se faisait généralement sentir au XVI^e siècle, plusieurs Anglais prirent leurs grades à l'Université de Turin de 1503 à 1511, et c'est le Yorkshire qui a fourni le plus ample contingent¹. Peu après venait y étudier la Médecine, l'Écossais dont nous allons nous occuper d'une manière toute spéciale.

JEAN RAMSAY, connu aussi sous le nom de Jean d'Écosse (*Joannes Scotus*), naquit à Saint-Andrew dans le comté de Fife,² vers 1490, puisqu'il résulte qu'il était âgé de plus de soixante-et-dix ans en 1564.* À la vérité les auteurs Piémontais l'appellent *Ramsa*, *Rampsa* et *Ramsus*, mais cela vient évidemment de la manie que l'on avait autrefois de donner une désinence italienne ou latine, suivant le cas, aux noms des étrangers. Lors de l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Rome, les Allemands qui s'y étaient rendus pour exercer leur art dans le palais Massimi, observaient déjà que *aspera ridebis cognomina Teutona*, et quoique le nom de Ramsay dût paraître moins dur à des oreilles italiennes que ceux de Pannartz et de Sweynheim, toujours est-il que l'on y aura retranché la lettre finale pour en rendre la prononciation plus douce encore.

Des Ramsay il y a eu de tout temps en Écosse, à commencer par ce William, non moins belliqueux que noble, dont il est parlé dans la

¹ Aux Archives de la Ville, à Turin, on voit une liste assez étendue des gradués dans l'Université pendant les dernières années du XV^e siècle et les premières du XVI, et l'on y remarque les noms suivants: de Arley Brianus, presb. Anglus dioc. Eboracensis (dioc. d'York), in artibus et in theologia; 29 oct. 1503—Bradberge (?) Nicolaus, presb. dioc. Londoniensis (dioc. de Londres); 2 sept. 1509—Bretannei Joachim, Anglus Eboracensis dioc., in theologia; 8 junii 1511—Buck (?) Jo. dioc. Londoniensis; 28 aug. 1511—Clyfton Gamaliel, Anglus, canonicus eccl. Eboracensis, in jure canonico; 18 sept. 1508—Cradoci Guliel., Anglus dioc. Lichfeldensis (dioc. de Lichfield), in utroque jure; 29 aug. 1511—Dudly Richardus, presb. dioc. Lichfeldensis, in theologia; 21 sept. 1509—Goldonel Thomas, ordinis S. Benedicti, Anglus dioc. Cantuariensis (dioc. de Cantorbéry), in theologia; 28 aug. 1511—Gyllinghyn Guliel. ordinis S. Benedicti, in theologia; 28 aug. 1511—Hacteclyff Guliel., Anglus Lincolnensis (dioc. de Lincoln); 8 junii 1511—Porta Thomas, Anglus, in jure canonico; 11 junii 1511—Smythi Jo. Anglus dioc. Eliensis (dioc. d'Ély), in utroque jure; 25 Aug. 1511—Surley [Shirley ?] Richardus, Anglus dioc. Herfordensis (dioc. de Hereford), in jure canonico; 11 julii 1511—Veullys Thomas, presb. Anglus civitatis Londonii, in theologia; 24 maii 1503—Vuylor, Anglus Eboracensis dioc., in theologia; 3 febr. 1506.

* Voir aux pièces justificatives, le N^o 1.

² BONINO, *Biografia medica Piemontese*, t. 1, p. 167.

Chronique de Fordoun, et à finir par l'auteur de la Tachéographie (Charles-Louis) et par celui des Voyages de Cyrus (André-Michel).¹ Il s'en trouvait certes à Saint-Andrew dans le XVI^e siècle, la plupart avec le prénom de John.² Que le roi Jacques I^{er},³ d'heureuse mémoire, n'est-il encore vivant ! Il aurait bientôt une généalogie prête pour notre médecin.⁴ Mais ce prince n'existe plus, et il s'agit ici de Jean Ramsay et non pas de ses ancêtres. Nous nous bornerons donc à renvoyer le lecteur au discours rapporté parmi les pièces justificatives au No. I. On y verra comment Bairo, ne pouvant moins faire que de parler de la naissance du lauréat, dont il devait chanter les louanges, s'est tiré fort adroitement d'embaras. Il remarque en peu de mots, que la famille de Ramsay est très-distinguée, et qu'il y aurait beaucoup à dire touchant son illustration, si ce n'était la crainte que la diversité des usages et du langage ne rendît tous développements trop difficiles à entendre pour les Docteurs de Collège présents à la fonction.

Reste à savoir pourquoi Ramsay peut avoir quitté sa ville natale, si renommée par son université, pour aller étudier à l'étranger. Sont-ce les guerres et les malheurs qui terminèrent le règne de Jacques IV, ou des motifs de religion, qui l'ont forcé à s'expatrier ? Est-ce plutôt le désir de faire fortune qui l'a décidé ? À cet égard on ne saurait produire que des conjectures, plus ou moins vraisemblables. La profession de médecin était assez considérée en Piémont dans ces anciens temps, car les mœurs y conservaient encore leur simplicité primitive, que vinrent gâter, à l'envi, espagnols et français. Alors les cadets des premières familles du pays ne croyaient point déroger en s'adonnant à l'étude et à l'exercice de la médecine. On doit donc supposer qu'après son cours, Ramsay se sera volontiers fixé dans une contrée, où il y avait moyen d'acquérir du bien et des honneurs par l'état qu'il venait d'embrasser. Pierre Demonte que l'on nomma et que l'on continue à nommer Bairo du lieu de sa naissance, enseignait la médecine à Turin. C'est lui qui prononça le discours d'usage pour le doctorat de Jean l'Écossais et de François Rachio, qui prirent ensemble le bonnet de docteur, mais il a oublié de mettre la

¹ [See Postscript No. III., at p. 302.]

² Lettre de l'honorable Mr Laing, du 21 avril 1873.

³ Jacques VI d'Écosse.

⁴ Voir les Aventures de Nigel de Walter-Scott, vers la fin.

date à la copie qu'il nous a laissée de son oraison. D'après quelques données, on peut croire que Ramsay et Rachio furent gradués vers 1520. Le premier professa l'astrologie d'abord, ensuite la dialectique et plus tard la philosophie et la médecine à l'Université de sa patrie d'adoption.¹ Par la liste des professeurs pour l'année scolastique 1532-33, on voit qu'il était chargé de la leçon ordinaire du matin, et qu'il avait 200 florins d'appointemens, accrus l'année suivante d'autres 25.² Ces honoraires ne sembleront pas trop mesquins, si l'on réfléchit qu'il y avait des propines pour les professeurs et qu'ils jouissaient de plusieurs privilèges. Il ne fallait pas beaucoup à cette époque pour vivre, et pour vivre avec aisance.

Charles III, duc de Savoie avait plus de médecins que de ministres,³ ce qui ne l'empêcha pourtant pas de mourir entre les bras d'un barbier. Parmi ces physiciens, comme on les appelait, trouva aussi place notre Ramsay, qui se voyant une position toute faite, moins par les profits de sa charge que par la considération qu'elle lui procurait, songea à se caser. On ne saurait douter que *Jean-André Ramsea*, médecin des princes de Savoie en 1570, ne fût son fils ; noms, accord de temps, tendent également à le prouver. Et pour peu que l'on voulût pousser les choses, on pourrait même ajouter qu'il avait épousé une fille d'Augustin Viviano, sœur de Gaspard, docteur en médecine. Cette supposition en vaut bien d'autres. Ce qui lui donne du poids c'est de voir les noms de Jean l'Écossais et de l'avocat de Spatis, portés ensemble à la suite de ceux des proches parents du dit Gaspard, dans un discours du 3 novembre 1529.⁴ Deux personnes appartenantes à des familles distinctes et dont l'une n'était pas du pays, ne pouvaient être que des beaux frères.

Il n'y a pas de pire politique que la dynastique, presque toujours entachée d'égoïsme. C'est elle qui poussa François 1^{er} à faire valoir des prétensions qui faillirent perdre la France, à envahir la Savoie et le Piémont. Durant les premières années de la domination française, l'Université de Turin resta à peu près déserte. Elle parut reprendre un peu de vie

¹ BONINO. Id. Ibid.

² VALLAURI, *Storia delle Università degli Studi del Piemonte*, t. 1, pp. 136, 138.

³ De médecins et de chirurgiens on en compte une douzaine, y compris ceux de la duchesse Béatrix. Un premier Secrétaire d'état régissait alors plusieurs dicastères.

⁴ Voir aux pièces justificatives, le No. II.

de 1538 jusques en mars 1558, époque de sa cloture par ordre du capitaine Pierre d'Aussun, commandant de la ville. En juin 1541, le célèbre Bigot y recevait le diplôme de médecin.¹

Ramsay aurait été investi de la terre seigneuriale des Vallette près de Turin, selon le Dr Trompeo,² qui ne nous fait point savoir où il a pris sa notice et ne dit pas si la concession porte le nom du roi de France ou du duc de Savoie. C'était là un bien des Beccuti,³ une dépendance de leur fief de Lucento, dont ils reçurent toujours investiture jusqu'à l'extinction de la famille (1574). Les recherches que nous avons faites aux archives n'ayant pas abouti à d'autres résultats, nous sommes portés à croire qu'il n'est question que de l'achat de 300 journaux (114 hectares) de terres, ou tout au plus d'une sous-infeudation, pour laquelle on sera pourvu de l'autorisation du prince.

Lorsqu' Emmanuel-Philibert eut recouvré une partie de ses états, il fit transférer l'université à Mondovi (1561). Le professeur Écossais, déjà avancé en âge, n'y fut point appelé. Il vit certes l'entrée à Turin du duc et de Marguerite de France en 1563, mais il ne peut avoir dépassé 1570, puisque son fils lui aurait alors succédé dans la charge de médecin de la famille ducal.

Jean Ramsay ne laissa point de témoignage écrit de son savoir. Toutefois, si l'on fait attention à ce que lui, étranger, parvint à occuper des places à l'Université et à la Cour, on ne saurait douter de son mérite soit comme professeur, soit comme praticien. Bairo dit quelque part qu'il était l'ornement du collège de médecine, et Dominique Bucci, son collègue, lui dédia la 1^{re} de ses Questions médicales.⁴ Ramsay, Bucci et Bairo appartenaient tous les trois à l'ancienne école galénique, et ils en furent les derniers soutiens : Argenterio, qui après un long séjour dans les pays étrangers, vint changer la face de la médecine en Piémont, ne valait probablement pas autant qu'eux au lit des malades.⁵

¹ Guillaume Bigot était un des plus savants hommes de son temps.

² *Dei Medici e degli Archiatri dei principi della R. Casa di Savoia* (Torino, 1858, in 4to.), pp. 26.

³ Beccuti, l'une des quatre principales familles de Turin.

⁴ "Au pueros citra XIV annum purgare liceat — ad excellentissimum. D. Joannem Ramsam Scotum medicum Caurinensem."

⁵ Jean Ramsay et Bucci étaient des élèves de Bairo, *magnus clinicus* à ce que dit Haller dans sa *Bibliotheca medicinae practicae*.

Voilà tout ce qu'il nous a été possible de recueillir sur le docteur *Ramsa*. C'est peu de chose, mais il sert à faire connaître aux Écossais un leur concitoyen dont ils ignoraient peut-être l'existence.

PIECES JUSTIFICATIVES.—No. I.¹

In doctoratu Johannis Scotti et Francisci Rachij de Simfredo.

Cum superioribus diebus Aristotelis Ethicorum libros mecum ipse lectitarem : incidit in manus meas illud delphicum epigramma : Optimum pulcherrimum et jucundissimum felicitas est : pulcherrimum quod justissimum : optimum sospitatem habere : jucundissimum re amata potiri. Delectauit apprime id quod legi : nec injuria delectare oblectareque debuit ? Que enim delectatio par esse potest : aut quid eque voluptuosum quam in tam preclaras sententias incidere : quibus felicitas quam omnes appetunt edocentes clara luce cognoscetur. Cum finem legendi feci cepi mecum tacitus cogitare : quo ductu, qua semita, quane scientia vel arte felicitas ipsa posset adipisci : mihi vero sic pensitanti due ex templo sese obtulere sorores Philosophia videlicet et Medicina. Docet enim Philosophia quid justissimum : quidue æquissimum sit : Medicina vero non solum humana corpora sana custodit : et cordere parata preseruat verum etiam languoribus affecta ad propriam sanitatem restituit. Nemo enim sane mentis esse censetur, qui non videat quod sanitate sublata sublimes musarum fores (nisi forte Deus ipse omnipotens mira quadam virtute et ducat et patefaciat) aut non tanguntur a nobis unquam aut certe frustra pulsantur. At si quis eas ingenti virtutis amore quesierit eisque libere potiatur : eum vere felicem : et summum bonum acquisuisse licebit profiteri : quales debent existimari hij duo nostri commilitones : Johannes Scotus et Franciscus Rachius : de quorum laudibus cum dicturus essem : onus laboriosum difficilemque prouinciam, et viribus meis imparem me assumpsisse cognoui. Vellem enim, patres conscripti, tam temporis ad id mihi dari ut per omnes eorum laudes libere nostra enagari posset oratio. Verum quia non adeo multa complecti in tanta temporis datur angustia :

¹ *Orationes inaugurales Petri de Bayro.* MSS. de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Turin ; p. 125 et suiv.—On a copié *ad litteram*, en ôtant toutefois les abréviations.

dabo ipse operam ut nullius rei magis hodie quam breuitati rationem habuisse videar. Est primum hic noster Johannes ex Sancto Andrea clarissima metropolitana Scotica ciuitate oriundus: ex preclara Ramsaorum familia preclarisque parentibus satus: de cuius generis claritudine multa in medium afferrem nisi patrie distantia, morum diuersitas, locutionisque difformitas: quibus, patres conscripti, vobis penitus efficerentur incogniti, ab hoc dicendi munere me reuocarent: est autem Scocia apud quosdam regio¹ apud alios vero insula feracissima: inter septentrionem et occidentem sita: ad occidentem enim plagam, mare habet hibernicum, ad septentrionem hiperboreo pelago terminata: ad orientem vero et paululum ad meridiem halthæato pontio et germanico oceano conclusa permanet: pars autem alia ad meridiem versa fluminibus haud magnis et monte quodam ab Anglia sequestratur.²

Tu vero, mi Francisce, originem ducis ex feracissimo et insigni oppido Simfredo Astensis diocesis ex multum preclara et nobili Rachiorum familia litteris opibus et clientelis hactenus semper clarissima. Et si, patres conscripti, de horum duorum commilitonum ingenij prestantia, de consilio, comitate, temperantia ceterisque animi virtutibus, si de corporis cultu, si de maiorum splendore et amplitudine, alijsque vite ornamentis ordine liceret edicere, tam ampla tamque abundans agentis mihi sese offerret materia, quod vos, patres conscripti, fessos audiendo inficerem voxque mea iam fatigata deficeret. Hi enim duo viri non egent magnis laudis preconijs: sua enim virtute sibi magnas et nunquam delendas in tota patria statuas erexerunt:

Orationi igitur finem imponens, filij mei Johannes et Francisce, vos de licentia et autoritate R. D. Vicecancellarij in hac parte mihi concessa, deque consensu dominorum compromothorum vestrorum et aliorum patrum collegij in Artibus et Medicina Licentiatos pronuncio. Si prius, prout supra in alijs.

Insignia Doctoralia, ut supra.

¹ A word has been omitted here in the original.

² Il est curieux de voir cette description de l'Écosse, donnée par un professeur Piémontais d'un temps si ancien.

PIÈCES JUSTIFICATIVES.—No. II.¹

In Doctoratu Gasparis Viuiani et Bernardi Auelloni ciuium Taurinens. 1529, 3^a Nouembria.

. . . . apud vestras expectationes notissimus fuit ille optimus ciuis : huius Taurinensis Reipublice consiliarius et studiosissimus defensor sepissime syndicus : dominus Augustinus Viuianus hujus nostri Gasparis pater, mater vero superstes n. Maria filia integerrimj virj domini Jacobi Portilie ciuis etiam Taurinensis : matronarum decus. tacebo similiter illum eximium diuinj nominis promulgatorem R. fratrem Angelum Viuianum : nec minus clarissimos viros dominos aduocatam de spatia et Johannem Scotum huius nostri sacrij collegij ornamentum, etc.

 No. III.—POSTSCRIPT.

A note may be added relating to the two Ramsays mentioned at the preceding page, as their names are now scarcely remembered. CHARLES LEWIS RAMSAY belonged to a Scottish family of that name. His father, Charles Ramsay, was born at Elbing, 1617, where he died in 1669. His son, who studied chemistry, and is chiefly known by an ingenious work on short-hand writing, entitled, "Tacheographia seu Ars celeriter et compendiosè quælibet inter perorandum verba, ut ne unum quidem excidat, describendi." This little work, dedicated to Louis XIV., with a translation into French, "par A. D. G.," was published at Paris in 1681, and was several times reprinted.

I may also notice WILLIAM RAMSAY, M.D. In the notes to the Waverley Novels (Fortunes of Nigel), David Ramsay, watchmaker and horologer to James I, is said to have had a son called William Ramsay, who appears to have possessed all his father's credulity, having become an astrologer, and published several books connected with that subject. One of these is entitled, "Astrologia Restaurata ; or Astrologie Restored, &c. By William Ramesey, Gent, Student in Astrologie, Physick, and the most Heavenly and Sublime Sciences," Lond. 1653, folio. In this work he gives some personal account of himself, from which we learn that he

¹ *Orationes inaugurales Petri de Bayro*, p. 162 et suiv.

was born at Westminster, 13th March 1626–27, that his mother was by birth of England, his father of Scotland. He received his education partly at Edinburgh, and on the title-page of a copy of the above work, presented to the University Library in 1669, is written this note, “*Donatus sum Acad. Edinb: a Gul: Ramsey legitimo filis natu 2^{do} Ampliss: D. Andreæ Ramsey ab Abbotshal Equitis Aurati, et Consulis Edinburgi consultissimi.*”

This inscription does not say it was presented by the author. That Ramsay was connected with the Abbotshall family is like enough; and in the above work, at p. 28, he makes the following statement:—“I was born the Thirteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1626. *Stilo Angliæ*, in the city of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, *Angliæ*. My Mother was by birth of England, as were all her predecessors, my Father of Scotland, and that of an antient family, viz., of Eighthhouse, which hath flourished in great glory for 1500 years, till these latter days, as the Records there testify. The Original of our Name was from the residence of his and my Progenitors in the Land of Egypt.” . . . This is followed by mentioning how some of the name by stress of weather were driven into an harbour in Scotland, on that coast which is called Fife, where they, being but eight in number left alive, dispersed themselves into several Families, of the which Dalhousie is now reported the chief, William Lord Ramsay being earl thereof.

“But to come neerer home, when our late Sovereign Lord King James of happy memory came to the Crown of England, he sent into France for my Father, who was then there, and made him Page of the Bedchamber and Groom of the Privy-chamber, and Keeper of all his Majesties Clocks and Watches; this I mention for that by some he hath bin termed no better than a watch-maker; I contemn no trade or lawful vocation whatsoever, but I would have men speake the truth; . . . As soon as I was of any capacity, I was put to School in St Albones in Hartfordshire, Busby, Westminster, Milend-green, and other places, and when I should have gone to Oxford, by reason of our late differences I was prevented, and therefore being desirous to further my Learning, I importuned my Father to send me to St Andrews in Scotland, but there also I was disappointed by the frequent approaches of the Marquess of Montrose and his Army; I therefore (rather then fail) settled in Edinburgh Colledge,

where I continued till it pleased God to visit that Town with Pestilence, the which at length growing very hot, I returned in April 1645, into England."

Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall was chosen Provost of Edinburgh 1654, and the three succeeding years; he was again re-elected through Lauderdale's influence in 1662, and kept the chair for twelve successive years, resisting any attempt of the Council to remove him. He was also admitted a Lord of Session in 1671. (See Senators of the College of Justice, p. 399.)

In the Roll of the Royal College of Physicians in London, by Dr Monk, it is stated that "Dr Ramesey was admitted an Extra Licentiate of the College of Physicians, 31st July 1661." He was already a Doctor of medicine of Montpellier, when, in June 1668, he was created doctor of medicine at Cambridge by royal mandate; but in 1668 he was settled in Plymouth. At that time he held the appointment of physician in ordinary to Charles II.

As a proof of Ramsay's self-importance it may be noticed that his engraved portrait at different periods of his life is prefixed to his volumes published in the years 1651, 1653, 1668, and 1672.

The later author mentioned in M. de Méana's communication, ANDREW MICHAEL RAMSAY, usually known as the Chevalier Ramsay, was born at Ayr, June 9, 1686. Having travelled abroad as a private tutor to some countrymen of distinction, he settled at Paris, and changed his religion. He was the author of several works in French, written in a very pure style, the most noted of which was "Les Voyages de Cyrus" (the Travels of Cyrus), published simultaneously in French and English at London and Paris, 1727. This work served as a model of the well known "Voyages du Jeune Anacharsis." Ramsay died at Saint Germain-en-Laie, May 5, 1743.

D. L

VI.

NOTE OF COINS FOUND AT ANNAT, ON THE LANDS OF KILCHRENAN, IN ARGYLLSHIRE, THE PROPERTY OF WILLIAM MUIR, Esq. OF INYSTRINICH. BY GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., CURATOR OF COINS.

One day about the middle of May last a boy, named John M'Intosh, eight years old, was amusing himself at a rabbit hole at the above-named place, when he found a coin about the size of a shilling, which he took to his mother. On questioning the boy where he had found it, she returned with him to the place, and after a search found a great many more coins of the same kind, besides others of a much larger size. These she carried home and delivered to her husband, Duncan M'Intosh, a labourer, who counted them, and found eighty-two of the smaller and twenty of the larger size. M'Intosh and his wife kept the discovery to themselves, and on 10th June last the former went to Glasgow with the coins to be disposed of. He took them to the shop of J. D. Davidson, working jeweller, 85 Buchanan Street, who purchased the whole, excepting two of the smaller coins, which M'Intosh retained. The coins weighed 55 ounces, and Davidson allowed 4s. 10d. an ounce, paying M'Intosh L.13, 5s. 10d for the lot.

The discovery lately came to the ears of Mr Muir, the proprietor of the ground, when the whole circumstances were investigated by Mr Duncan MacLulich, the procurator-fiscal at Inveraray, who sent the recognitions of the various parties concerned, and the two coins retained by M'Intosh, to the Exchequer. Davidson, the jeweller, states that the coins were immediately melted,—that the smaller coins were all similar to the two retained by M'Intosh (being merks of Charles II., dated 1671 and 1675), and that the twenty larger pieces were German dollars.

VII.

NOTE OF A BONE CAVE AT DUNTROON. BY REV. REGINALD J. MAPLETON, KILMARTIN (DIOCESE OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES), CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

The cave, or rather the overhanging ledge of trap rock, in which human and other remains were found in 1862, at Duntroon, in Argyllshire, is about 23 feet above the level of the present high water-mark, and 186 feet distant from the same; but, as much of the shingle has been removed, it was probably about 25 feet above high-water level. The rocks show evident marks of being much water-worn, and the bottom of the cave is shingle. It is situated at one corner of what was once a bay, which extended 60 feet further inland. While the field in which it is situated and the adjoining field were being drained, I had the opportunity of ascertaining this. Sand and shingle, and below these the same white clay that now underlies the sand between high and low water, occur at various depths. Throughout this field we found extensive layers of charcoal in various places, lying beneath the soil or peat, and upon the shingle; a few flint chips, mostly burnt, were found among them. The shingle was about the same level as the bottom of the cave, and covered with about 2 or 3 feet of loam, or gravelly soil, or peat.

The cave is in trap rock, but a thin vein of schist, that has been displaced by the trap, forms the upper and longer end of the cave. Numerous small fissures occur in the rock, through which water, strongly impregnated with lime, is still trickling, and has left a deposit of lime in some places a foot in thickness. The whole cave seems to be white-washed. The extreme length is 28 feet; the height 11 feet, shallowing down to 3 feet; the width, 10 feet, narrowing to 3 feet. The whole cave (except a small triangular space of about 2 feet in height) was filled with lumps of trap, mostly very small, and often cemented by lime. The front of the cave was blocked up by large masses of rock, covered with soil and stones, and overgrown with grass. The remains were in the first instance discovered by some workmen, who were breaking the stones in front of the cave for roads. On removing one large piece, a triangular

space was seen, and in it a human skull and a few loose bones. On my arrival at the spot, we proceeded to examine this, and found that the man had been buried up to his shoulders by loose stones falling in upon him; nearly all the bones of this skeleton were found almost in their proper places, and it was evident that he was in a sitting posture at the time of his death. He was sitting upon a heap of stones, about 7 or 8 feet high, as the skull was not more than 15 inches from the highest point of the cave.

Immediately under this skeleton, which appeared to be that of a man, and about 1 foot lower, in an angle of the cave, we found the bones of a woman and an infant. The greater part of these bones were cemented into a mass by the lime water—some were perfectly petrified. The teeth of the first skull were very perfect, and had evidently been more used for *grinding* than *tearing*, as they were much worn away, leaving the outer edge unworn. At the bottom of the cave, under the mass of broken rock, we found portions of the bones and skulls of probably six more individuals, very much scattered and dislocated. I mention the number six, as it was evident from the size and thickness of the bones of the skulls, the appearance of the teeth, and the number of the same parts of the skull (say the occipital bone), that there must have been at least that number. They were of all ages—an infant, a child who had not cut the second teeth, a young person who had not cut the “wisdom” teeth, full grown—mature and old, with a very thick skull.

On the shingle at the bottom of the cave, and about the centre of it, we found a round flat stone, embedded in ash and charcoal, and much burnt at the edges. This had most clearly been the hearthstone; close to this was the leg-bone of a red deer, charred at one end. Throughout the mass of stones were found great quantities of periwinkle and limpet shells, often embedded in lime, and just outside and in front there was a very great quantity of these shells, mostly broken. A few oyster shells, two scallops, a few mussel, cockle, and one or two other shells, were found among them. Almost the entire skeleton of a red deer was found, but not together; the greater part was found outside the cave, among the shells, and dislocated; but a portion was lying together in one corner of the cave, as though it had not been eaten. A few bones of some large sea bird were also found.

The only implements were two flint scrapers, and a block of flint. The scrapers were of different shapes. A third was brought to me, but as I did not see it found, I cannot vouch for it. It appeared from the situation of the skeletons as though the debris had fallen in a second time, and thus dislocated all the skeletons, except those of the first man discovered, and the mother and child, who were lying at the highest corner of the cave, and somewhat protected by the overhanging roof.

VIII.

NOTE OF A BROCH AT DUN VORADALE, ISLE OF RAASAY. BY J. M. JUDD, Esq. COMMUNICATED BY REV. JAMES M. JOASS, M.A., GOLSPIE, COR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

This structure is situated in the south-west of the Isle of Raasay, about a quarter of a mile to the west of the kirk. It stands on an eminence (rising about 500 feet above the sea) composed of syenite and altered white sandstone. It is constructed of blocks of the rocks on which it stands, the outer portions being composed of large and well-squared stones, and the inner filled in with smaller and rubbly materials. There is no kind of mortar used in the erection. It does not stand on the top of the hill, but on its eastern brow.

The form of the structure is a somewhat irregular ellipse, flattened on the east side. This form seems to have been determined by the nature of the ground on which it stands. The interior space measures 35 feet by 24 feet, and the breadth of the walls varies from 12 feet to 15 feet or more. The slope of the outer walls is about 75° , of the inner 80° —a kind of step or seat a foot wide appears to have run round the interior.

The entrance faces nearly due east. It is 7 feet wide where it opens into the central area, and on the outside only 3 feet. (These measures are, however, somewhat doubtful, owing to the dilapidated state of the structure, many of the stones having slipped out of place.) There are traces of openings from the sides of the entrance into the wall chambers. One of the long stones which bridged the entrance still remains in place. The entrance appears to have *sloped upwards* in conformity with the inclination of the ground.

From the account of the country people, the structure some years ago appears to have been in a much better state of preservation, and the wall chambers could be entered. Now, however, though there are sufficient proof of their existence, they are completely blocked up by the fallen stones. On the north-west side there is clearly seen a small square opening into the wall chambers. A little to the south of the centre of the structure is a hole like those occurring in other brochs.

The structure is now in a very ruinous condition; on the west side, where most perfect, it rises about 20 feet above the ground, but the greater part is much lower.

The only trace of connected structure is a doubtful wall on the north side, running due east. (This, however, is very doubtful.)

I found no implements or antiquities of any kind, the whole of the interior being covered with fallen stones.

From the portions of the wall which remain undisturbed, it is evident that the building was very regularly and admirably constructed.

IX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL OF GEORGE, FIRST MARQUESS OF HUNTLY, IN JUNE 1636. BY MR LAING, WHO WILL EXHIBIT TO THIS MEETING THE ORIGINAL DRAWING OR ROLL OF THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

[As stated at p. 245, the above Account was to have formed part of the communication read to the Society at the previous meeting in May, but was postponed to afford an opportunity of exhibiting the drawings (which had then fallen aside) of the Funeral Procession. These drawings excited considerable interest, and the Secretary expressed a hope that this curious Roll might be reproduced in facsimile. The above Account will therefore be reserved for the "Archæologia Scotica."]

X.

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ALTAR-PIECE, PAINTED IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE THIRD OF SCOTLAND, BELONGING TO HER MAJESTY, IN THE PALACE OF HOLYROOD. (PLATES X., XI.)

A SUPPLEMENTAL NOTICE.

By DAVID LAING, Esq., FOREIGN SECRETARY S.A. SCOT.

The Altar-Piece or Historical Painting, which contains portraits of King James the Third of Scotland and his Queen, Margaret of Denmark, may be considered as by far the most interesting work of mediæval art now existing in this country. No apology, therefore, need be offered for bringing the subject again before the Society.

When the Painting itself was restored to Scotland in 1857, I submitted to the Society a communication respecting it, which appeared in vol. iii. of the Proceedings. A limited number of copies had previously been printed in a separate form, for private distribution, with the above title: "Historical Description of the Altar-Piece, painted in the Reign of King James the Third of Scotland, belonging to Her Majesty, in the Palace of Holyrood." Edinburgh, 1857, 8vo. pp. 20.

The principal object aimed at was, by investigating the history of the Painting, to record the grounds on which was based the Memorial presented to HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, which happily proved successful, as Her Majesty directed its restoration, after a period of probably not less than three centuries. At different times it had been transferrèd, back and forwards, from Whitehall to St James' Palace, to Kensington, and to Hampton Court; and latterly to its most appropriate, and, we trust, its resting-place, in the Palace of Holyrood.

This communication was read to the Society on St Andrew's Day, 30th November 1857. When printed in the Proceedings, I added a Postscript in reference to a point which still remains to be ascertained, Who the Artist was by whom the painting was executed?

In that postscript I was enabled to refer to a List of Paintings published by Mr Noel Sainsbury, in the appendix to his interesting volume of "Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens." Lond. 1859, 8vo. In this list, at p. 355, we find,—





No. CXL.—“A Note of all such Pictures as your Highness [King James I.] hath at the present, done by severall famous Masters' owne hands, by the Life.” The first is,—“*Inprimis*, King James the Third of Scotland, with his Queene, doune by JOAN VANEK.”

Of these Paintings some had evidently formed part of the old Royal collection, suggesting that this one might have been brought from Edinburgh when the city and public buildings were despoiled by the English forces under the Earl of Hertford in the year 1544; and thus have proved the means of its preservation, when the whole Town was set on fire, and continued burning for three days. The mention of the artist's name, VANEK, is no less curious, as it confirms the opinion previously expressed, of his having belonged to the school of the celebrated Flemish Painters, the Van Eycks, who flourished early in the fifteenth century.

My chief object at present is to determine as far as possible the exact date of the Painting, having come to the conclusion that it must have been earlier by twelve or fourteen years than the date 1484, usually assigned. This may seem a matter of small moment, yet it has a twofold importance, inasmuch as it may contribute towards ascertaining not only the name of the Flemish Artist who visited this country at that early period, but also for determining the public Ceremonial which the Painting was intended to commemorate.

For this purpose it is necessary to enter, however briefly, upon some historical details, and to supply references to papers in the Society's Proceedings more or less connected with the present investigation.

I.

THE NORWEGIAN POSSESSIONS IN SCOTLAND.

The piratical expeditions and maritime power of the Norwegians enabled them, about the year 900, to obtain the entire possession of the Islands in the West of Scotland, as well as those of Orkney and Zetland. Harold, King of Norway, erected Orkney and Zetland into an earldom to be held of the Norwegian crown, and in this way the superiority remained for some centuries vested in the Scandinavian Kings. The calamitous termination of Haco's great Expedition, in the destruction of his fleet in the year 1263 (not unlike the fate of the Spanish Armada in 1588), enabled the Scots, in the reign of Alexander the Third, by subse-

quent treaty, upon payment of a sum of 4000 merks of the Roman standard, and a yearly quit-rent of 100 merks sterling for ever, to regain the lordship of the Isle of Man, and all the Western Islands of Scotland, the Orkney and Zetland Islands excepted. At the end of nearly two centuries the arrears of this quit-rent led to long and protracted disputes in regard to the amount that was actually due by Scotland. In the reign of James the Second, in 1457, fresh negotiations were commenced connected with the cession of the Hebrides, which ultimately led to the reunion of the Orkneys to the crown of Scotland. The matter in dispute having been submitted to Charles VII., King of France, as arbiter, he suggested that a marriage between James, the eldest son of King James the Second, and Margaret, daughter of Christian III., King of Denmark and Norway (although both were then but children), would be the easiest mode of settlement. The unexpected death of the Scottish King, August 3, 1460, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, put a stop at that time to the prosecution of such a scheme.

Before referring to matters connected with this Alliance, it may be useful to take a cursory glance at the actual state of the Royal Family in Scotland during that century.

II.

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF STEWART IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

JAMES THE FIRST, was the third son of King Robert the Third and Annabella Drummond, and born in the year 1394. As the sole survivor of his family, the King resolved to send his only remaining son James to France; but on the Northern coast of England, landing for refreshments, the Prince was taken prisoner, and carried to Windsor, April 6, 1405. The illegality of the capture was pleaded in vain to Henry the Fourth; and on the death of his father, April 4, 1406, the young Prince succeeded to the throne of Scotland; but was still detained in captivity, in various parts of England for the space of nineteen years. "Woe (it had been said) unto thee, O land! when thy King is a child." Most lamentable indeed was the state of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, during long successive minorities (with only one exception, that of James the Fourth), owing to the mis-government of the kingdom, chiefly by ambitious or unprincipled governors. At length the King, when he

was about thirty years of age, was ransomed from his protracted captivity for £40,000 sterling raised by the Estates of the kingdom. At the same time he married Jane or Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John, Earl of Somerset, February 2d, 1423-4, and was allowed £10,000 as her marriage-portion. On the King's arrival in Scotland with his young Queen they were crowned at Scone, May 21, 1424.

The King was assassinated at Perth in February 1436-7. The Queen Dowager, about the year 1439, married for her second husband Sir James Stewart, commonly called *The Black Knight of Lorn*. She died in the Castle of Dunbar in 1446, and was interred in Perth beside her first husband, King James. After which Sir James was banished, by means of the Earl of Douglas, and died in exile the following year. By the queen he had issue three sons,—1st, John, who was made Earl of Athole in 1457, and survived till 1512; 2d, James Earl of Buchan in 1469,—he adhered to James the Third against the Confederate lords, and died before 1500; 3d, Andrew, bishop of Murray, rector of Monkland in 1546, Provost of Lincluden in 1477, and bishop of Murray 1482, till his death in 1501. The surviving family of James the First consisted of James, who succeeded, and six daughters.

See an article, March 1858, entitled "Historical Notices of the Family of King James the First, chiefly from information communicated by John Riddell, Esq., advocate," in *Proceedings*, vol. iii. p. 81. Also a tract, printed for private circulation, by Alexander Sinclair, Esq., "Remarks on the Account of the Daughters of James I., King of Scotland," no date, 8vo. pp. 8.

JAMES THE SECOND was born October 2, 1430, and was crowned in the Abbey of Holyrood, March 25, 1437. His marriage with the Princess Mary of Gueldres, took place in July 1449. When besieging Roxburgh Castle, an important frontier fortress near Kelso, which had been in the possession of England for upwards of a century, he was accidentally killed by the bursting of a cannon on Sunday, August 3, 1460. Our modern historians, relying too implicitly on the unfounded statements of Lesley, Buchanan, and Drummond of Hawthornden, have given a glowing description of "the heroic address" by which the widowed Queen, repressing her tears, animated the soldiers to continue the siege,

and revenge her husband's untimely death. In the "Atlas Historique," &c., 1722, the writer says:—"Marie de Gueldre, femme couragenne, Epouse de ce Roi, vint au siege, et fit emporter la place l'epée à la main." All this, however, was a *pure romance*, inasmuch as in "Remarks on the Character of Mary of Gueldrea," &c., Proceedings, vol. iv. 1848, pp. 566-577, instead of assisting at the siege, either *sword in hand* or only by her eloquence, it is shown that Roxburgh Castle had actually surrendered before the Lords and others sent messengers to acquaint the Queen of the sad event, while they entreated her to bring her young son from Edinburgh. Along with Prince James she accordingly arrived at Kelso eight days after the melancholy death of the King.

Queen Mary of Gueldres died November 16, 1463, and was interred in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, which she had founded, and which was so recklessly destroyed for railway purposes nearly thirty years ago. (See Memorial of the Society in 1844, printed in *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 448). Besides Prince James who succeeded, of her surviving family there were two sons, Alexander Duke of Albany, John Earl of Mar, and two daughters.

JAMES THE THIRD, the younger and survivor of twin brothers, was born in the Castle of St Andrews, between the 7th and 22d of January 1452-53. His coronation at Kelso, August 11, 1460, was confirmed when Parliament assembled at Scone, in February 1461. He married the Princess Margaret of Denmark, July 18, 1469. The king, June 11, 1488, in escaping from the Confederate forces, fell from his horse, and was carried into a cottage known as Beaton's Mill, on the east of Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stirling. Having unfortunately told who he was, he was murdered by some unknown person, who had assumed the character of a priest, on the plea of granting him absolution. On hearing the report of his death his eldest son, who succeeded as James the Fourth, having taken part in the conspiracy, was seized with sudden and overwhelming remorse, "which," says Mr Tytler, "afterwards broke out with a strength which occasionally embittered his existence." Queen Margaret died at Stirling in the year 1486, and was interred in the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. James the Third was also buried in the same spot, in June 1488.

See the Proceedings, &c. Vol. vi. p. 14, for "An Account of the Excavations at Cambuskenneth Abbey in May 1864," by Col. Sir James E. Alexander; and "Notes relating to the Interment of King James III. of Scotland, and of his Queen, Margaret of Denmark, &c. (*ib.* p. 26); which I added, along with the Postscript (p. 31), describing the

"RESTORATION OF THE TOMB OF HER ANCESTORS . . . by command of
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, A.D. 1865."

Their children were—JAMES, who succeeded; a second JAMES (or ALEXANDER) STEWART, born in 1476, created Marquess of Ormond and Duke of Ross; and promoted, on the death of Schevez, to the See of St Andrews in 1497 by his brother, James the Fourth. He was created Lord High Chancellor in 1502; but did not long enjoy his high honours, as he died, when aged 28, in 1503.

JAMES THE FOURTH was born in 1473. The date usually assigned (and this by oversight was repeated in the Society's Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 11), as March 17, 1471-2,—the correct date was twelve months later, or March 20, 1472-3. He was crowned in the Abbey of Scone, June 26, 1489. His marriage with the Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh, in May 1503, and his calamitous fate on the field of Floddon in September 1513, are events sufficiently known.

III.

THE MARRIAGE OF KING JAMES THE THIRD.

We have seen that the negotiations for his proposed marriage with the Princess of Denmark were broken off in consequence of his father the King's death, in October 1460. A few years later these negotiations were resumed, and the matrimonial arrangements completed by a contract under the Great Seal, signed at Edinburgh, July 28, 1468. Ambassadors were then appointed by Parliament with full powers to proceed to the capital of Denmark for its confirmation.

Christian, the Third King of Denmark and Norway, in his desire for this alliance, had proposed to endow the Princess with a portion of 60,000 florins, of which 10,000 only were to be paid at the time, and, for security of the remainder, the Islands of Orkney were to be assigned in pledge.

The marriage contract, which had been signed at Edinburgh, was confirmed at Hafnia (the Latin name of Kjobenhaven or Copenhagen), September 8, 1468. This treaty or contract exists in various MS. copies, and was printed by Torfæus in his *Orcades, seu Rerum Orcadensium Libri tres. Haunia*, 1697, folio, pp. 191-197. It is also contained in Rymer's "Foedera."

When the time for payment of the portion agreed upon came round, as the King of Denmark was only able to pay one-fifth of the sum, or 2000 florins, he offered, in lieu of the other 8000 florins, also to give in pledge the Zetland Islands, an offer which was gladly accepted by the Scottish Ambassadors. These Islands, which were thus impledged, were remote and of small profit to Denmark, but their cession to Scotland was important. In the event of the Princess Margaret surviving the King and leaving the kingdom, it was specially resolved that the Islands should be restored as part of her dowry. The Queen, however, predeceased her husband; and the Danish monarch never having found it convenient to redeem the pledge, although subsequent proposals were made from time to time to reclaim this reserved right, both the Orkneys and Zetland have happily remained to this day attached to Scotland, in virtue of these matrimonial negotiations and pecuniary difficulties at that early period.

In the year following (1469) another embassy, consisting of Andrew Muirhead, Bishop of Glasgow; William Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney; Andrew Stewart, Lord Avondaile, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland; and Thomas Boyd, created Earl of Arran, and husband of the King's eldest sister, was sent to Denmark to conduct the young Princess to this country. The commissioners arrived at Leith on the 10th of July 1469, and the royal nuptials were celebrated in Holyrood Abbey on the 13th of that month with great solemnity and splendour. The ceremonies and pageants on this happy occasion, it is said, were long afterwards remembered.

After describing these negotiations Bishop Lesley narrates the marriage ceremony as follows:—

"The saide Ladie Margaret, accompaneit with sindre bischoppis and nobill men of Denmark, returnit in Scotland with the saidis Ambassadors in the moneth of July 1469, and was honorabile ressavved be the King, and the mariage wes solempnisit in the Abbay kirk of Hallierudhouse besyd Edinbruch, the x. day of July, the King and Quene being almaist equall of aige. The King of Denmark,





for the contracting of the saide marriage, as in tocher gair our [over] and renunceit all thair title and right quhilk thay had and claimed to the Erledome of Orknay, Zetland, and all uther Ylis liand betuix Norway and Scotland, for the quhilkis thair had bene gryit trubles betwix the realmes of Scotland and Denmark of befoir.

“Sone eftir this, in the moneth of November nixt followinge, the Thre Estatis of the realme was convenit, quhair the Quene was crownit, and ane Parliament haldin, and the most parte of the nobill men remanit with the King in Edinbrugh all the nixt winter. And the King and Quene made thair progres in the northe partis the symmer following, quhair thay war honorablie receaved and interteanit, both in the principall citeis and townis and be the nobill men of the cuntrey, to the gret confort of the haille realme.”¹

In like manner, the continuator of Hector Boece's *Chronicles*, John Ferrerius, along with an account of this alliance, and the arrival of the Princess Margaret from Denmark, thus describes the nuptial ceremonies:—

“Non multis interjectis diebus post adventum Reginæ in Scotiam, cum essent universa ad proximas nuptias regio apparatu instructissima, more et institutis Christianis Edimburgi in summo divi Ægidij templo, vel ut alii volunt, in Monasterio Sanctae Crucis ibidem in suburbio sponsalia, præeunte sancti Andreae Archiepiscopo totius Scotiæ primato, inter Regem Jacobum tertium et Margaretam Reginam celebrantur: quum Rex jam circiter vicesimum ætatis annum ageret, Regina vero decimum sextum. Quantus fuerit ille dies quamque celebris et non pauci sequentes, non solum in ornatu splendoreque vere Regio, mensarum lautitia atque omni genere apparatuque ciborum, verum quoque in diversis spectaculorum representationibus, vix ullus queat bene dicendo satis pro dignitate referre.”²

IV.

THE DATE OF THE PAINTING.

There can be little doubt that a painting such as this Altar-piece, embracing family portraits, must have had some definite object in its composition. In recent times, Pinkerton was the first to assign a special date to the painting, in his “*Iconographia Scotica; or, Portraits of Illustrious Persons of Scotland*,” published at London 1797. In this

¹ *Historie of Scotland*, &c. (Bannatyne Club, 1830), pp. 37 and 38.

² *Hect. Boethii Scotorum Historia*, &c. *Accessit Continuatio* &c., per Joannem Ferrerium. Parisiis, 1574, p. 388, folio.

work, engravings are given of three of the compartments, and separate heads of the King and Queen, upon a larger scale; and in his description he says, "This exquisite painting is in complete preservation, though executed, as appears from the age of the Prince, ten or twelve, about 1482 or 1484. Originally intended for an altar-piece, it is in two divisions, painted on both sides."

In his *History of Scotland*, published in the same year, Pinkerton describes the painting in a passage already quoted in the Proceedings, part of which may here be repeated:—"That some eminent foreign painter had also visited Scotland about 1482, appears from the celebrated picture at Kensington, in the form of a folding altar-piece, painted on both sides, or in four compartments. The first represents the king kneeling; behind him is his son, a youth of about twelve years of age, which ascertains the date; and St Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland. . . . Of the two compartments, on the reverse of this grand piece, one represents the Trinity. In the other, an ecclesiastic kneels. . . . Behind is a kind of organ, with two angels, not of ideal beauty, and perhaps portraits of the King's two sisters, Mary Lady Hamilton, and Margaret then unmarried,—a conjecture supported by the uncommon ornament of a coronet on the head on one of the angels. Hardly can any kingdom in Europe boast of a more noble family picture of this early epoch; and it is in itself a convincing specimen of the attention of James III. to the Arts."¹

When preparing the "Historical Description" of the painting there were two points on which I was not satisfied in my own mind, but they were passed over till I might have an opportunity to investigate them thoroughly. The *First* point was the apparent youth of the chief persons who are represented; the *Second*, that no special reason could be discovered for having such a composition painted at that late epoch of the King's reign.

The outline sketch given in the Society's Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 23, exhibits the arrangement and figures of the entire composition on the two sides of each of the panels. It was thought desirable, however, now to give, on a somewhat larger scale, and more finished, exact drawings of the portraits of King James the Third, and of his Queen, of whose identity no doubt can exist, in order to render the present explanation

¹ Vol. i. p. 423.

more easily to be understood. The drawings have been made under the direction of James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A.

The precise ages of the King and Queen are variously stated ; but a near approach may be made by a casual entry in the only existing volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts during the reign of James the Third :—

“COMPT of a Reuerend Fader in God JOHNNE (LAYNG), Bischope of Glasgow, thesaurar to our Souerane Lorde of the office of Thesaurary, maide at Edinburgh the first day of the moneth of Decembre in the yere of God J^miiiij^olxxiiij yeris, of all his Ressatis & expensis made in the saide office fra the ferd day of the moneth of August the yere of God [iiiij^o] lxxiiij yeris inclusiue to the saide first day of Decembre also inclusiue,” &c.

The Almouss at Pasche [April, 1474.]

For the King 23 gownis & 23 hudis, each 13sh. 4d.,	£15. 6. 8.
For the Quene 17 gownis & 17 hudis,	11. 6. 8.
Item for the making of the gownis and hudis,	40sh
Item for the carriage of the clathis fra Striuilin to Edinburgh,	8sh
Item for 40 pair of schone,	40sh
Item for 40 coppis,	5sh
Item, 40 dublaris,	6sh 8d

It was the usual custom then, as afterwards, to furnish a given number of pensioners often called “blue-gowns,” or others, with dresses or perquisites corresponding with the ages of the king and queen. In the above instance Pasche or Easter fell on the 10th of April 1474. From this we may conclude that the King at that time was 23, and the Queen 17 years, making a difference of six years in their ages.

Now, it seems strange that Pinkerton, having entered so fully upon the History of Scotland during this king's reign (more especially from the year 1478), should not, at the first glance, have seen how most improbable it was, that any such painting could have been made at that period. The only ground on which his opinion was formed, and which has been followed by subsequent writers (whether it be the year 1482 or 1484 is not very material), was the apparent age of the Prince. He might, however, have

considered whether this figure was necessarily intended for the King's son. Of the queen and her son, the Prince James, then in his ninth year, we hear nothing, and certainly in the years 1482 to 1484 there was no event calculated to suggest such a family group of figures like the Altar-piece.

I venture, moreover to think, that no one can look at the two figures in the first compartment, of the king and the young prince kneeling, and imagine that a difference existed of upwards of twenty years in their respective ages; or that the queen, in the other compartment, in 1484, could have been the mother of the supposed young Prince, as represented in the painting.

The state of Scotland from the year 1478 to the fatal close of the King's reign was very lamentable. His two brothers, accused of plotting against his life, were arrested and confined as prisoners. Alexander Duke of Albany made his escape from the Castle of Edinburgh and sailed for France in September 1479; and he was forfeited by the Scottish Parliament October 4th, that year. His brother John, Earl of Mar, met with a different fate, but whether his death was accidental, or at the king's instigation, has been contested. The nobility at that period continued in open rebellion against the king, followed by the ignominious death of his favourites by the Confederated lords, after a conference in the church of Lauder. Cochrane, who was accused of procuring the banishment of Albany and the death of Mar, whose title he persuaded the king to confer¹ upon himself, was seized at the church door, and along with other obnoxious favourites was hanged over the parapet of the neighbouring bridge, which forms an episode in the history of Scotland, in July 1482. The person of the king himself was secured and conveyed back to Edinburgh, and detained in the castle as a captive.

The chief accusation against the King at this period was occasioned by his associates and mode of life. He was charged with unworthy and grovelling pursuits in his familiar intercourse with persons of low birth. That his love of music, architecture, and other branches of art should warrant such a conclusion is most unjust. The King at least has received scanty justice at the hands of our historians, and Mr Fraser Tytler, in his excellent "History of Scotland," has the merit of being one of the first

¹ *Processus Alexandri Ducis Albania, &c. 4 die Octobris 1479.* (Acts of Parl., vol. ii. p. 125.)

to relieve the memory of James the Third from much of the odium attached to his character by Buchanan and later writers. His natural disposition was quite alien to the restless and warlike character of the nobles and border chieftains. Had he flourished in more peaceful times, and in a more civilised state of society, it is unfortunately but an idle dream that he might have rendered his reign the glory of his kingdom. The Altar-Piece itself may be adduced as an undeniable proof of his appreciation of the works of a great artist.

His eldest son and successor felt a constant remorse for having in any way been instrumental in the defeat and death of his father at Sauchie Burn. This repentant feeling was of no transient nature, but continued to the end of his own career, and seems to have been a chief cause of his frequent pilgrimages to celebrated shrines, such as to that of St Ninian in Galloway, and St Duthac in Ross-shire. According to an eye-witness who resided at the Court in 1498, describing the King's person, we are told:—
“His is twenty-five years and some months old. He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome in complexion and shape as a man can be. His address is very agreeable, &c. It is said He never cuts his hair or his beard. It becomes him very well.” This description certainly throws doubt on the engraved portraits of King James the Fourth, which represent him as “all shaven and shorn.” As a personal penance, it is alleged, he wore constantly an iron girdle.

I therefore do not hesitate in suggesting an explanation that would remove any apparent discrepancies in this matter. Such an explanation, indeed, has been strangely overlooked, namely, that the Painting was of an earlier date, intended to commemorate the Marriage and Coronation of the youthful Queen in July 1469. Twelve months or more may indeed have elapsed before it could be completed; yet this strongly confirms the true design of the painting, as such a date would be so much nearer the period of its foundation, when actual progress had been made in building Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, for which it was intended as an Altar-piece. Such a painting, according to many examples preserved in Roman Catholic churches, would serve the two-fold purpose of an Altar-piece, when designed for a church that was founded by the Queen Dowager Mary of Gueldres in 1462: *First*, As an object of veneration placed near the high altar; and, *secondly*, to connect the ceremonial of the

King's marriage along with other family portraits: the Queen Dowager herself, being deceased, is represented as an angel, crowned, seated at the organ, accompanied with one of her daughters, while her confessor, the Provost of the Collegiate Church, is offering a Soul-mass at the High-Altar, near which the deceased Queen was interred.

The kneeling figure of the Prince may not unlikely have been intended for the King's brother, the Duke of Albany; and the shield of the Albany arms, carved on stone, on the North-East exterior, served to commemorate his having contributed to the building of the Church. At that time the Duke had not broken out in open hostility.

It now remains, if possible, to ascertain, or at least to suggest, the name of some Artist in connexion with the above statements. Had the public records of the King's reign been preserved this might have been no difficult matter. We know, however, that the commercial intercourse with Bruges and other towns in the Netherlands was frequent during the summer season. But regarding the Artist himself, unfortunately, we have nothing better to offer than mere conjecture. Within the period in which this Altar-piece was unquestionably painted (1469-1476) there flourished several eminent Flemish painters of the school of Johann Van Eyck or his pupil, Roger Van der Weyden, who died at Bruges in 1464. In particular, we find—

HUGO VAN DER GOES, who was born at Ghent, and died in 1480.

GERARD VAN DER MEIRE, who was alive in 1474.

DIEDRICH STUERBOUT, who died in 1478.

HANS MEMLING, who survived till 1499.

Having, as I hope, established the fact of the earlier date of the painting, this renders a former suggestion not improbable, that he might have been either Gerard Van der Meire, or Hugo Van der Goes. The latter, who died in 1480, is celebrated in the following distich:—

*Pictor Hugo v. der Goes humatus hic quiescit,
Dolct Ars cum similem sibi modo nescit.*

In addition to the exquisite portrait in the National Gallery, London, of the "Count of Henegau, with his patron Saint, Ambrose," attributed to Van der Meire, previously mentioned (vol. iii. p. 21), the same gallery

has since acquired another picture, with his name and the date of 1474. From the style of painting, however, I am still inclined to attribute the Altar-piece to Van der Goes; and in this opinion I am confirmed by that of a well-known and experienced Art-critic, M. Charles Blanc, in his remarks on the paintings that were collected in the Great Exhibition at Manchester in the year 1857. His words, in his tract *Les Trésors de l'Art à Manchester*, Paris, 1857, are as follows:—

“Les Maîtres qui ne sont point représentés dans nos Musées de France ont naturellement fixé mon attention, particulièrement *Hugo Van der Goes, et Roger Van der Weyden*. Le premier est admirable par un sentiment de grandeur et de largeur que certainement, il n'a pas puisé à l'école de Van Eyck. Plus sobre que son maître dans les détails il est tout aussi profond dans l'expression de ses figures. Son dessin, plus souple, se revêt de couleurs moins éclatantes, mais mieux rompues. Ses grands portraits du Roi et de la Reine d'Écosse faisant partie d'un triptyque, sont des chefs-d'œuvre qui honorerait un Vénitien du Quinzième siècle. Son pinceau est précieux et délicat quand il insiste sur les linéaments expressifs de la chair; mais il a plus d'ampleur et de simplicité dans tout le reste, et ses accessoires, sagement subordonnés, enrichissent la composition et ne l'encombrent point. Au contraire Roger Van der Weyden enchérit encore sur son maître Van Eyck, et nous importune par un luxe de détails non-seulement inutile mais nuisible.”

Among the pictures belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers, Dr Waagen notices the following:—“HUGO VAN DER GOES.—The Virgin standing, holding the Child, who is blessing the kneeling Donor, presented by St Anthony the Abbot. Inscribed 1472, in numerals of the shape usual at that time; about 3 ft. high, 1 ft. 10 in. wide. A good, well preserved picture of this scholar of Jan Van Eyck.”¹ Could this have likewise found its way from Edinburgh to England, in July 1544?—among “THE INNUMERABLE BOTYES, SPOYLES, AND PYLLAGES THAT OUR SOULDYOURES BROUGHT FROM THENCE, NOTWITHSTANDING HABUNDANCE WHICH WAS CONSUMYED WITH FYER.”²

In the “Herald and Genealogist” (vol. i. pp. 289–320, and 401–413), 1863, there is a valuable communication by the editor, John Gough Nichols, Esq., “On the Family Alliances of Denmark and Great Britain.”

¹ Art Treasures, &c., vol. iii. p. 386.

² The late Expedition in Scotlande under the conduit of the Earl of Hertforde, 1544. London, imprinted by Reynolde Wolfe, anno 1544, small 8vo.

Copies were also published in a separate form, with the title, "The Family Alliances of Denmark and Great Britain, from the earliest times to the present, illustrated by Genealogical Tables and a plate of the arms of Denmark. By John Gough Nichols, F.S.A." London, 1863. Having had from the Society the use of the small woodcut of the arms of Queen Margaret, he asked me to compare one or two points in the quarterings with the original painting. In doing so, I was vexed to find it was not quite accurate, and I offered to furnish Mr Nichols¹ with a new cut; but for his purpose this was not required. I have since obtained from Mr Thomas Brown, herald painter, a more correct drawing of the arms, from which the accompanying woodcut is subjoined. This shield, it may be mentioned, differs in the quarterings of the Queen's arms as given by Sir David Lyndsay in his Register of Arms, 1542.

¹ It is with much regret I have to add, that this accomplished and much esteemed Archæologist died November 14, 1873, aged 67. An interesting Memoir of him has recently been printed for private circulation.



Arms of Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland.



I. Silver Chain,- the property of Thomas Simson of Blainslie Esq.
II. Silver Chain with Gilt Ornaments the property of the University of Aberdeen



NOTICE OF A SILVER CHAIN OR GIRDLE, THE PROPERTY OF THOMAS SIMSON, OF BLAINSLIE, ESQ., BERWICKSHIRE; ANOTHER, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN, AND OF OTHER ANCIENT SCOTTISH SILVER CHAINS. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. SCOT.¹ (PLATES XII., XIII.)

Silver square-sided Chain, Blainslie, Berwickshire.—Through the politeness of Robert Romanes, Esq., writer, Lauder, who got the loan of this chain for me from Thomas Simson,² of Blainslie, Esq., I am able to exhibit it to the Society. The chain or girdle measures 4 feet 3 inches in length, it is formed of a four-sided or “herring bone” series of links, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch across the side, and weighs 7 ounces 11 dwts. At one extremity there is a circular plate or disk, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and at the other a conical or tassel-like pendant, 3 inches in length and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in greatest diameter near the base.

The chain itself measures $48\frac{1}{4}$ inches in total length, and is attached to the base of a silver hook, which is fastened on the back of the circular silver plate, towards its margin. It is divided into seven portions of varying length, by open circular links or rings of silver, which measure from half an inch to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in diameter. The first portion of the chain next the circular plate measures 2 feet 4 inches in length; the next, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch; the third, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the fourth, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; the fifth, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; the sixth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and the last, 6 inches in length.

The circular plate is ornamented, having engraved on its front two concentric circular bands, with scrolls of foliage between them, and the Roman letters B. C. in the centre. On the back of this disk there is fixed a large silver open hook, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, to the base of

¹ This communication was read before the Society at the meeting on the 12th May 1872. Its publication in the last volume of the Proceedings was unavoidably prevented. (See Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. ix. p. 532.)

² I regret to state that before these sheets could be published Thomas Simson, Esq., died at Blainslie, on the 20th January 1874.

which the chain is fastened. There are three separate die stamps, side by side on the back of the plate itself; the first a monogram of two initials, V \bar{A} or \bar{A} V; next an imperfectly struck stamp, which, from its embattled appearance, appears to represent a castle, and is apparently the old castle stamp of Edinburgh; and last, another monogram, of the initials R. D.

The tassel-like terminal pendant is also ornamented with a series of engraved leaves, each rising from a central stem, which springs from the projecting ring near its base, and runs upwards towards its top; from the same projecting ring other ruder stripes or leaves taper downwards towards the bottom, which terminates in a small open ring about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch across.

The die stamps struck on the back of the roundel are of much interest, as they may assist in judging of the date when, and place where, the chain was made (see Plate of Chain, XII. I.; and fig. 1, the die stamps figured above it.)

The first pair of these initials on the back of the plate may probably be styled the Maker's Mark, being the initials of the maker of the article, which was the oldest stamp struck on Scottish silver plate.

Mr J. H. Sanderson informs us in his paper on "The Plate Marks used in Scotland," published in vol. iv. p. 541 of the Proceedings of the Society, that the Maker's Mark was introduced by an Act of the Scots Parliament in 1457. By the same Act of the Parliament of James II. in 1457, it was declared "That gold work be not worse than xx. grains fine, and silver xi. grains fine, and that it be marked by the maker and deacon, or head officer of the toun."

These individuals used the initial letters of their names as marks; so we have on this plate, in the second set of initials, the addition also made of something equivalent to a standard mark, showing the quality of the metal. It was not, however, until 1759 that the Corporation of the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh introduced the more formal "Standard Mark"—a thistle for Edinburgh, which has been continued down to the present time.

The Town Mark, indicating the place where the plate was made—for Edinburgh, the castle—was next added by an Act of the Scots Parliament in 1483.

The Date Mark, shewing the year when the plate was made, which is generally a special letter on an escutcheon, was introduced in 1681.

Lastly, the Duty Mark—the head of the reigning sovereign—was not introduced until 1784.

The absence of these two last stamps from this silver disk of course points to its being of an older date than 1681; and the same idea of age is also borne out by the character of the ornamental engraving on the plate itself; it therefore belongs to an older period. Mr J. H. Sanderson informs me he has seen the same style of letters as the engraved initials on Scots plate from about 1616 to 1670. A learned authority in all such matters—A. W. Franks, Esq., &c., of the British Museum—to whom I sent a photograph of this silver chain and plate—conjectures the date of the medallion or circular plate to be about 1550 or 1560; but this, he says, is only surmise. If this surmise is correct it would take this chain back to a time when we know silver chains were worn as ordinary girdles for the waist, for dress and ornament.

Mr F. W. Fairholt, in his work on "Costume in England," London, 1847, 8vo, when referring to the use of the girdle, or ceinture for the waist, mentions that they sometimes took the form of chains, particularly in the time of Mary and Elizabeth; and that some of them had large pendants at their ends. He also states that on monumental brasses of an older date, the girdles had circular plates, bosses, or studs in front, and that the mode of fastening these was not known. In this chain or girdle, with a somewhat similar circular plate, the fastening is seen, as I have already described it, to consist simply of a hook fixed on the back of the plate, on which one of the circular links or loops of the chain may be hooked; this probably explains how the fastening was made in some of the more ancient examples to which Mr Fairholt has referred. In the Museum of the Society there is a small broken stone statue of a robed female figure, which was discovered in taking down some old walls at Bannatyne House, Newtyle, Forfarshire; it shows the manner of wearing a chain girdle. The style of this chain is more open in character; it has, however, the large disk for fastening it at the waist in front, in this instance of an ornamented oval shape; and the pendant part of the chain falls towards the skirt of the robe in front. It has been also

suggested that this chain may have been worn over one shoulder and across the chest, instead of as a girdle round the waist. The latter however, seems the most likely way of its having been worn.

The popular story of this Blainslie silver chain was given in full detail by Sir Walter Elliot of Wolfelee, K.C.S.I., F.S.A. Scot., in his annual address as President of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. It is published in their Proceedings for 1869, and from it I shall make a few quotations.

Sir Walter Elliot relates how Thomas Hardie was tenant of a portion of Tollies-Hill, called the Midside Farm. A severe winter and other causes destroyed his flock, and he was unable to pay his rent. His wife, the Maggie of the story, applied to the Earl of Lauderdale for relief, and was told, as snow seemed so plentiful and destructive at Midside, he would consider the claim for relief if she brought him a snow-ball in June. Maggie accordingly prepared a quantity of snow in the following winter to keep until June, and brought it to her landlord, reminding him of his promise. The earl gave the relief claimed, and the Hardies subsequently thrived in the farm. The earl, being a royalist, followed the fortunes of Charles II. to the battle of Worcester, where he was taken prisoner in 1651, and was subsequently confined for several years in the Tower. The Hardies, during these years, laid past their rents, and, out of gratitude, Maggie baked the gold pieces due into a bannock, which she took with her to the Tower of London, and presented to the imprisoned earl. Soon after, through the favour of Monk, the earl was released, and repaired to Holland. He afterwards returned with the king in May 1660, and, revisiting Scotland, presented Maggie, so runs the tale, with this silver chain, and allowed her and her children to sit rent free for their lives, with the remark, that "Every bannock has its maik, but the bannock of Tollies-Hill." Sir Walter Elliot says :—

"The Tollies-Hill girdle is formed of silver wire twisted in a double curb pattern, attached to a round plate engraved with arabesques of foliage, and having in the centre the letters B. C. The other extremity terminates in a silver cone, with a loop at the end fitting into the hook under the circular plate ; and, if need be, into rings at various lengths of the chain, to meet the increasing rotundity of the dame's waist as she advanced in years." . . . "The signification of the letters B. C. is not apparent, nor does the story afford a clue to their meaning. The

Rev. J. Walker of Greenlaw, formerly incumbent of Legerwood parish, who was well acquainted with the Simson family, informed me that these letters were believed to be the initials of her name, which could not therefore have been Maggie, and was probably a household or pet name. The incident was first mentioned by Chambers in his 'Picture of Scotland,' on which Miss Margaret Corbet founded her story of 'Muirside Maggie,' communicated to 'Friendship's Offering' for 1829, and reprinted in 'Chambers's Journal,' iii. 331. It was afterwards made the subject of one of 'Wilson's Border Tales,' under the title of 'Midside Maggie; or, The Bannock of Tollies-Hill.' Both versions are largely embellished by the fancy of the writers; but, divested of fiction, the simple story is sufficiently romantic."

Whatever may have been the use of the chain, the character and style of its workmanship seem to belong to a period quite as early as the date of this romantic story. I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that it might perhaps have been made at a considerably earlier date. Chains of this description seem to be of great rarity.

Silver square-sided Chain with Gilt Ornaments, at the University of Aberdeen.—The only other chain with which I am acquainted, at all corresponding in character to that just described, is one preserved at the University of Aberdeen. It also consists of a long, square-sided, "herring-bone pattern" chain, of a similar character, with a flat circular disk at one extremity and a somewhat similar but larger tassel-like pendant at the other. The chain itself measures 5 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in breadth on the side; and instead of the six open rings, it has six projecting barrel-shaped ornaments, which are perforated by the chain, each 1 inch in length by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in greatest diameter at the middle, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch at each extremity. There are three of these ornaments on each side of a smaller cylindrical ornament, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch long by nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in diameter, which has an open circle or ring, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, attached to one side of it, as if for being looped on the hook at the back of the disk, and so form a girdle for the waist; three of the ornaments being thus on the waist and three on the pendant part of the chain.

The circular disk (Plates XII. and XIII., figs. 1, 2, 3) at one extremity of the chain is richly gilt, and is covered with a series of three rows of projecting circular ornaments formed of twisted wire, each enclosing four smaller circles, with a small knob in the centre, and a smaller row of

single circles and knobs round an oval-shaped red stone, carbuncle or garnet, in a projecting setting, fill up the centre of the disk. This circular plate is slightly rounded in front. It measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and has a large hook, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, fastened to the back of the plate towards its circumference, the silver chain being, as in the former instance, fastened to a loop at the upper part of this hook, next the margin of the disk. On the back of the silver disk there are two square-shaped die stamps impressed on the metal. The stamps are together: one, the larger, rather indistinct, may represent the letter D, and above it a crown, or the whole may perhaps be simply a fetterlock; the other, a smaller die-stamp, bears the letters P. H. The first may be the mark of the place where it was made, and the initials those of the maker of the chain, but I have not as yet been able to discover any further explanation of them.

Each of the six barrel-shaped slides or ornaments (Plate XIII, fig. 4), and the central cylindrical one, with the lateral ring (fig. 5), are also gilt, and covered in a similar manner to the disk, with a series of the circular projecting ornaments of twisted wire, each enclosing three circles, and small knobs, with a row of single circles at each extremity. The tassel-like pendant (fig. 6), also richly gilt, is covered by a series of eight rows of circular ornaments and knobs similar to those on the disk; the loop at the top connecting it to the chain, terminates in four somewhat pointed and projecting leaves, which pass down the tapering neck of the upper part of the pendant. It measures 4 inches in length by 2 inches in greatest diameter. The workmanship of the whole chain and ornaments, though not perhaps of the finest character, is at once rich and beautiful.

(Since this paper was read, by the courtesy of the Senatus of the University of Aberdeen, through Professor John Struthers, M.D., allowing me to get the chain for examination, I have had drawings made of it, which are given in Plates XII. and XIII.)

The chain was discovered in the year 1735 under the flooring of the old bibliothek or library of Marischal College, which originally formed part of the buildings of the ancient Franciscan convent. The place where it was found suggests the inquiry, Could this beautifully-worked chain have been a badge worn by an official of the order of St Francis?—the silver



Silver Gilt Ornaments of Chain, the property of the University of Aberdeen.

(Actual size)



chain first described having been the badge of a lower dignitary of some similar order—the circular loops or rings of the chain first described, and the richly ornamented knobs of the Aberdeen chain, corresponding, it may be, to the knots on the rope girdle, of this once lowly and mendicant order? These chains, however, bear no ecclesiastical emblems of any kind, and may have been either a badge of office of some civil or other dignitary, or perhaps, as I have already stated, simply an ornamental girdle—a forgotten fashion of 300 years ago. The chain is considered, by some practical men who have examined it, to be probably of old Spanish manufacture. The character of the ornamentation and workmanship, however, which is that of twisted wire formed into circles, and soldered in patterns on the silver plate, is interesting; as it is a kind of filagree-like work made apparently in many very distant places.

Silver square-sided Chain found at Gaulcross, Banffshire.—Part of a simple silver chain, of a similar square-sided “herring-bone pattern,” though apparently of a more loosely plaited character, than those now described, was found at Gaulcross, Banffshire, along with a silver pin, and both are figured in Dr Stuart’s “Sculptured Stones of Scotland.” The pin was somewhat similar in style and shape to one found in Fifeshire with the Norries Law silver relics, and ornamented like it with the peculiar C-like curved scrolls. This chain is therefore probably of an older date than those just described.

Large Silver Chain found at Greenlaw, Berwickshire.—Sir Walter Elliot, in his President’s Address already referred to, alludes to the discovery of another silver chain in the same county of Berwick. It was first noticed in the “New Statistical Account of Scotland,” in the description of the parish of Greenlaw, by the Rev. A. Home, under the date 1834. He says in this Account, published in 1845 :—

“There are the remains of an encampment about two miles above the town (of Greenlaw), at the confluence of the Blackadder and Faungrass rivers, and on the very verge of their precipitous banks. The camp, which is called the Blackcastle Rings, is on the northern side of the river; and on the south side, exactly opposite is the beginning of an entrenchment which runs about half a mile

along the bank and then turns off to the south in the direction of Hume Castle.
 . . . A piece of a silver chain was also found at the old camp.”

Sir Walter Elliot gives us the additional information :—

“In the ascertained track of this ancient fence (Herit’s Dyke), are several British strengths, situated as usual on their several heights, as at Chesters in Fogo parish, the fort called Black-Castle-Rings near Dogdenmoss, near which a silver chain was found many years ago, and given to the last Earl of Marchmont. I have been informed by the Rev. J. Walker, of Greenlaw, that this chain was found in the dyke near Greenlaw by a woman, and was so black and oxydised, that she gave it to the blacksmith named Matheson, thinking it to be iron. It lay in the smithy for some time, till Matheson took it to repair the *rig-widdy*, or chain of a cart harness, when its true nature was discovered, and it was sent to Lord Marchmont, who died in 1794. The son of the smith is still at Greenlaw.”¹

This chain probably belonged to a much greater antiquity than that first described, and, from the use to which it was intended to have been applied by the blacksmith, must have been a large linked and strong chain, probably similar in character to a curious class of ancient silver chains, formed of silver rods bent into plain rings, which have been discovered in different parts of Scotland. Three examples of these latter chains are now preserved in the Museum of the Society.

Silver Chain, formed of large Rings, found in Inverness-shire.—The first of these chains, formed of large plain circular rings, was presented to the Museum as treasure-trove in 1837. It was discovered in the course of the formation of the Caledonian Canal, at the bottom of a high gravelly ridge forming part of a hill fort beside an old cairn, and was figured and described by Sir George Mackenzie in the “The Scot’s Magazine,” for May 1810 (Edinburgh, vol. lxxii. 1810), as follows :—

“This chain of pure silver was found in the course of last year (1809), by the workmen employed in digging the Caledonian Canal. It is now in the possession of the Honourable Barons of Exchequer, and is conceived to be an object of considerable curiosity. We were anxious, therefore, to preserve a drawing of it,

¹ “Proc. Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club,” 1869, p. 18.

which we have been enabled to gratify our readers with, through the polite attention of Sir G. Mackenzie, Bart., who has not only supplied us with the engraved plate, but also with the following extract from a communication made by him on the subject to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

“The chain was found at the depth of two feet, among gravel. The length is 18 inches, exclusive of a grooved link, which has not reached Edinburgh with the chain. The single ring at one end is 2 inches and one-tenth in diameter. The rings at the other end 2·8 inches in diameter. The thickness of the rings at the end is ·45 of an inch, that of the others ·4. The whole chain weighs 92 oz. 12 dwts. It was reported that a ball of silver was found with the chain; but it has not been recovered. Sir George is of opinion, from the general appearance of the chain, that it has been used for ornament, and that it probably had suspended a lamp in some Roman Catholic Church, whence it had been stolen during the ferment excited by John Knox, and buried. Perhaps it had been concealed by the rightful owners; and, owing to some accident befalling the possessor, had lain concealed till dug up in the line of the canal.”—(P. 323.)



Silver Chain found on the line of the Caledonian Canal, Inverness-shire, in 1809.
(18 inches in length.)

I can find no notice of this communication published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Part of this account, with the figure of the chain, is also given in the “Archæologia Scotica,” vol. iv. p. 373, and from the interest connected with it, I reproduce the accompanying figure.

As shown in the annexed woodcut, the chain is formed of a double series of plain unornamented circular rings, sixteen pairs of rings with a single ring at one extremity, thirty-three in all; not including

the large grooved link which is now wanting. The rings show distinctly the marks of the hammer used in bringing them into proper shape.

Silver Chain, of large Rings, found at Parkhill, Aberdeenshire.—Another silver chain of exactly similar style, but much less massive in character, was discovered in digging at Parkhill, in the parish of New Machar, Aberdeenshire, and was presented to the Museum as treasure-trove by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, through the late John Henderson, Esq., Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, in February 1864.

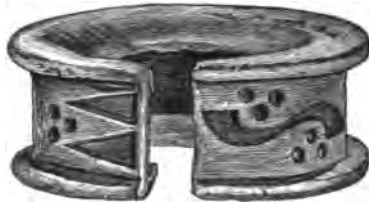
This chain is fortunately complete (see woodcut), having the terminal



Silver Chain found at Parkhill, Aberdeenshire.
(17½ inches in length.)

grooved link or ring, which, in the case of the larger chain found near Inverness, unfortunately did not reach Edinburgh. It is formed of a series of twenty-three pairs of plain or unornamented circular links or rings, with a single larger grooved terminal ring, being forty-seven rings in all. The chain measures in total length 17½ inches, and, exclusive of the large terminal ring, 16½ inches. It weighs 39 ounces, 15 dwts. troy. Each of the rings is formed, like the last chain, of a hammered rounded bar of silver ¼ of an inch in thickness, simply bent upon itself into a circular form; with the ends cut square and brought into close apposition, but apparently not fixed together in any way. They are

$1\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness, the last pair being a very little larger than the others, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter. The large terminal ring, however, is penannular in form, with its edges projecting in a rounded bead externally, giving it thus a somewhat grooved appearance, and having also a groove running along its internal surface. It possibly bears a close relation to the so-called grooved link of the first described chain, which was unfortunately not sent to Edinburgh, and was in all probability of an exactly similar character. It measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in greatest diameter, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in breadth, and $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in thickness. The opening through the circumference of this large ring, I may mention, is a little wider than the thickness of the other rings

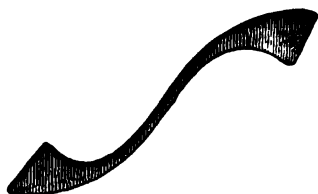


Large Terminal Penannular Ring or Clasp of Silver Chain, showing incised ornaments, found at Parkhill (actual size).

of the chain, which can thus be passed through it. On each side of the opening through its circumference, there is a series of incised ornaments; on one side two acute angled triangles, side by side, with their narrow bases next the opening of the link, and between their pointed extremities a lozenge-shaped figure formed by four depressed points; all being sunk in the flat surface of the ring. The other side of the opening is occupied by a double curved figure; with three sunk dots or points forming a triangular figure, placed opposite to each of its concave or curved extremities. All these incised figures still show traces of having been inlaid with red enamel.

The incised figures on this large terminal link were noticed and recorded

by me in the "Proceedings" at the time the chain was presented to the Museum. The publication of the second volume of Dr Stuart's important work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," has since made us more familiar with the various curious figures or so-called "symbols," as some antiquaries have supposed them to be, sculptured on these ancient stone monuments; and it is of much interest to find that one if not more of these incised ornaments on the large link of this chain, are exactly similar to these peculiar ancient figures cut on the sculptured stones. I refer especially to the double curved figure which occurs in various instances, and, for comparison, I subjoin a drawing of one copied from the "Sculptured Stones."



Incised figure or symbol from "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

This figure, or at least a closely corresponding one, only a little more ornamented, occurs on sculptured stones at Drimmies, Aberdeenshire, and Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire; one exactly corresponding to it is cut on the rocky walls of the caves at Weymss, Fifeshire.¹

The curious fact of the correspondence of these incised figures on the chain, to those of the "Sculptured Stones," adds very much to the interest otherwise attached to these old chains.

Silver Chain of large Rings found in Midlothian.—Another silver chain of exactly similar character, but formed of smaller sized rings or links, has been more recently presented as treasure-trove to the Museum. It was found in the course of some improvements made on the Queen's Park at Holyrood, Edinburgh.

This chain is formed of 31 pairs of plain circular rings or links, and one single link; or 63 rings in all. It is $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. Each ring measures 1 inch in diameter by $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of an inch in thickness. It weighs 22 ounces 7 dwts. troy. Like the other chains, each link is formed of a rounded bar of silver bent into a circle, the extremities being simply brought into close apposition, and like all the others, it appears to have been shaped

¹ See "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., and p. 77 of Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. iv. p. i.

by careful hammering. There is no large terminal grooved and ornamented ring remaining attached to this chain, and like the large chain found near Inverness, one of the extremities terminates in a single ring, its fellow, however, may have been also cut off by the finders, and destroyed to discover the metal of which it was composed.

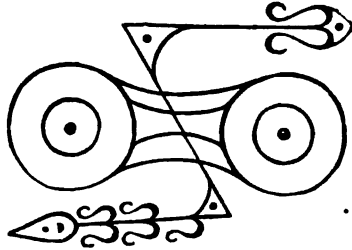
Silver Chain of large Rings found in Dumfriesshire.—I may refer to still another example of this same class of silver chains found in the south of Scotland. The following woodcuts are taken from photographs of it which were procured by Dr Arthur Mitchell, Commissioner in Lunacy, Sec. S.A. Scot., &c., who was informed that the chain was recently found in Dumfriesshire, in the district adjoining to Drumlanrig Castle, and was now, he believed, in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch. As the chain appears from the photographs to be exactly similar in character (except a slight difference in the size and number of its rings) to the perfect one already described, which was found in Aberdeenshire, it has not been thought necessary to figure more than the peculiar terminal ring. (See the annexed woodcuts).



Large Terminal Penannular Ring of Silver Chain found in Dumfriesshire.

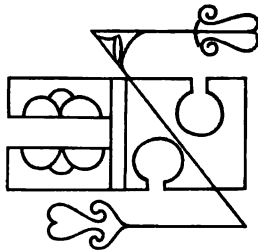
The chain consists of 22 pairs of circular rings or links, and one single ring, 45 in all, of a similar character; it, however, has also the larger terminal grooved penannular ring, the presence of which may therefore be considered necessary to make the chain complete. This penannular ring is richly ornamented with incised figures on each side of its opening, and most interesting it is to observe, that each of these figures also belongs to

the class of the "symbols" cut on the so-called "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." One of the sides of the transverse opening of this penannular



"Spectacle and Zigzag" Ornament from the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

ring is ornamented by a zigzag moulding or border across the plain field of the ring, and beyond it also on the field of the ring, there is incised a richly ornamented "Spectacle Ornament," with a "Double



"Oblong Ornament," with "Zigzag" or "Bent Sceptre," from the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

Sceptre" or Zigzag through it; the floriated extremity of the sceptre being next the opening, and the circular disks of the spectacle orna-

ment are covered with the peculiar converging *C*-like curved lines of the late Celtic style of ornament. (I give for comparison with it a sketch of this peculiar figure, taken from "the Sculptured Stones of Scotland.") On the opposite side of this transverse opening in the large ring there is, as it appears to me, an example of a variety of the so-called "Oblong ornament," with its forked or open extremity away from the opening of the ring, the field of the "oblong ornament" displays a pair of circles with central dot, each one opening on the opposite sides of the "oblong figure." This oblong figure is almost always on the Sculptured Stones, like the "Spectacle Ornament," crossed with a variety of the "Z ornament," or "Double Sceptre," as it has been designated; this, however, is absent here, the space on the field of the ring being nearly filled up by the oblong ornament itself. (I give a figure of the more usual compound or combined form of this ornament, copied also from the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." See the preceding woodcut.)

It is interesting to observe that this last figure seems, in the relation borne by its two enclosed circles, one on each side of the "bent sceptre," itself to contain, or at least possibly to refer to, the other well-known "spectacle" and "bent sceptre ornament."

This chain is apparently about the same size and length of those already described, and is of the greatest interest from the presence of these well known and distinctive figures of the "Sculptured Stones."

Supposed Use of the Silver Chains of large Rings.—Sir George Mackenzie, I have already stated, considered the large chain he described, which was found on the line of the Caledonian Canal, as having probably been used for some mediæval ecclesiastical purpose,—as for suspending a lamp or censer.

Dr Daniel Wilson, in his well-known "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," refers to this same massive silver chain, which he, however, supposes may have been probably ring money. He mentions that it was "found in the year 1808, near Inverness, in the course of excavations for the Caledonian Canal. It now forms one of the valued treasures of the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. It weighs a little more than ninety-two ounces, and each link is open and only bent together, so that it may, perhaps, be assumed with considerable probability that it was designed to be used

in barter, being in fact silver ring money." He says:—"An additional link, which was in an imperfect state, was destroyed by the original discoverers in an attempt to ascertain the nature of the metal." Dr Wilson also alludes to the silver chain found near Greenlaw, as described in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," to which I have referred. It was found, he says, "within the area of an entrenched camp, about two miles above Greenlaw, Berwickshire, at the confluence of the Blackadder and Faungrass rivers."

All these silver chains, I may remark, are nearly of a similar length, having thus a smaller number of links in the large chain, and a greater number in those with smaller links. It is probable, also, that each of them had a single penannular ring attached to one extremity of the chain, of a larger, different, and more ornamental character than the other rings, and the opening through the side of this larger ring corresponds apparently to the width of the smaller rings, so that they can be easily passed through it; this naturally suggests the idea of its being probably the clasp or connecting link of the chain. You can thus readily loop up the smaller single ring in some cases, or the two smaller rings, of the opposite extremity of the chain, by passing them singly through this open part of the larger ring, and the chain is thus firmly looped into a circle, which is little more than sufficient to surround the neck of a man; when there are a terminal pair of smaller rings, and both are passed through, they fix the chain, so that it cannot be unfastened until you slip them off again one by one. When the chain is looped up in this way in a circle, and you have the open part of the large ring turned to the front, it displays distinctly the mysterious ornamental figures or symbols inscribed on it. We are, therefore, inclined to fancy this larger ornamented ring may really be the terminal clasp, and that it is probable these chains of large plain rings, in spite of their great weight, may have been actually worn round the neck; as was first suggested by Mr Joseph Anderson. It would form a massive and certainly a most distinctive chain decoration or badge of honour, and might probably be worn by some ancient official, either civil or ecclesiastical.

In Sir W. R. Wilde's "Catalogue of the Gold Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," 1862, it is stated at p. 91:—"Of gold chains, such as those with which Muineamhon decorated the Irish

chieftains in his day (see Annals of the Four Masters, under A.M. 3872), and now very rarely discovered, we have as yet no specimen in the collection; but Lord Londesborough in his magnificent work (*Miscellanea Graphica*), has figured one (?) found at New Grange, county Meath." On referring to the "Annals," under A.M. 3872, I find it stated that Muineamhon was the first who introduced *muineadha oir*, neck-chains of gold, to be worn on the necks of the kings and queens in Ireland. So that we have here a reference to the fact apparently of chains being worn round the neck in ancient times. Mr Joseph Anderson has called my attention to a reference to chains being also worn by British warrior chieftains at a very early period:—

"Thus Llywarch Hen (in the sixth century), describes Cynddylan, Prince of Powys, as—

"Cynddylan, eminent for sagacity of thought,
*Cadwynawg*¹ (wearing the chain), foremost in the host,
 The protector of Tren, whilst he lived."—*Elegy on Cynddylan.*²

It is also stated, that in ancient times the British or Welsh princes wore golden chains as the badge of royalty, and it was not until the ninth century that a royal crown appears to have been first used in the reign of Rhodri Mawr:—

"These [Cadell, Anarawd, and Merfyn] were called the three diademed princes, because they, contrary to all that preceded them, wore frontlets about their *coronau* (crowns), like the kings of other countries; whereas, before that time, the kings and princes of the Welsh nation wore only golden chains.—*Brut y Tywysogion* (Myv. Arch. II. p. 481).³"

We have also, among others, the following references to the wearing, by the ancient nobility and warriors of Britain, of a golden collar, or chain as translated by the Rev. J. Williams, M.A.:—

"Four-and-twenty sons I have had,
Eurdorchawg (wearing the golden chain), leaders of armies;
 Gwen was the best of them."—*Llywarch Hen.*³

¹ *Cadwyn*, a chain.

² See Glossary of Terms of British Dress and Armour, by Rev. J. Williams, M.A.; "Archæologia Cambrensis," Supplement, 1850-51.

“Frequent allusion is made to the *torch* (torques or collar), by the bards of the sixth century ; and even as late as the close of the twelfth century we meet with a lord of Iâl wearing the golden chain, and hence denominated *Llewelyn aurdorchog*.”¹

The word *dorch*, *torch* (*torquis*), or torque, in these last quotations, is now believed by antiquaries to refer not so much to a chain as to a curved or circular collar (*torquis*—literally that which is turned, from *torqueo*), formed of a bent bar of metal, frequently twisted or otherwise ornamented, and tapering generally towards its extremities, which terminate in knobs, or in hooks by which it was fastened round the neck. Various examples of this ancient ornament have now been discovered ; and we have a well-known instance of its use displayed on the ancient statue of the “Dying Gladiator.”

In the first quotation given here there is, however, a manifest reference to the wearing of another distinctive decoration or ornament—the *cadwyn* (*catena*), which undoubtedly means a chain, and was worn apparently as a badge of dignity or rank.

If a golden chain was thus the ancient badge of British royalty, is there not at least a strong presumption that a massive silver chain, such as those now described, displaying the peculiar figures or symbols of the ancient sculptured stones, may have been the badge of some other high State or Church official ?

Supposed Age of the Silver Chains of large Rings.—The only other instance yet discovered of the presence of these peculiar “symbols” engraved on metal is the same compound figure of the “spectacle and double sceptre,” and underneath it there is a “Dog’s head,” another of the peculiar “symbols” of the “Sculptured Stones.” It occurs on the leaf-shaped silver plate found, with other silver ornaments, in the tumulus at Norrie’s Law, near Largo, Fifeshire. While the long pin found with them has also, on the back of its richly ornamented head, apparently the remains of the “spectacle,” or at least the “zigzag ornament.” There is however, curiously enough, on this same pin, apparently a small Greek

¹ See Glossary of Terms of British Dress and Armour, by Rev. J. Williams, M.A. ; “*Archæologia Cambrensis*,” Supplement, 1850–51.

cross patée cut on the front of the rounded top, and below it we also find the peculiar *C*-like style of scroll ornament.

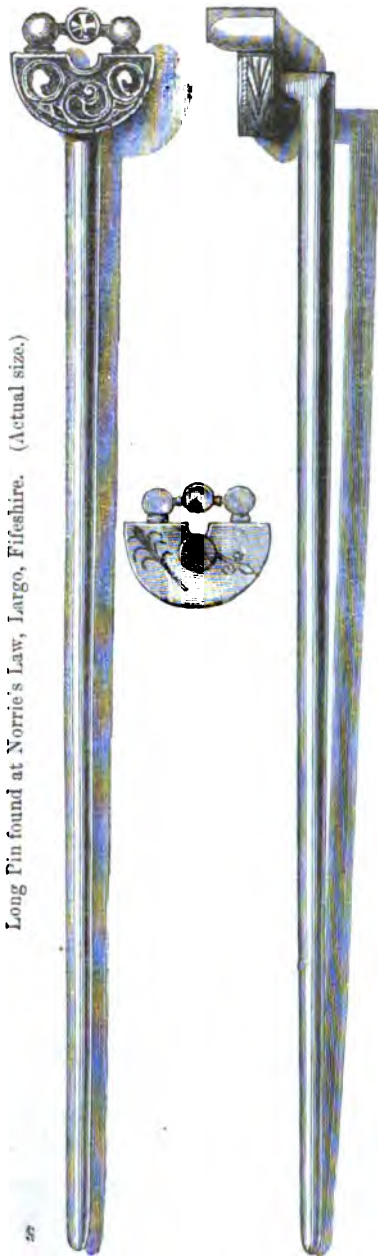
The peculiar character of the ornamental details and scroll work on all these silver articles, like those now described, formed by the bent



Silver Leaf-shaped Plate found at Norrie's Law, Largo, Fifeshire.
(Actual size.)

loops, and spiral scrolls, or *C*-like curved lines, which are also found on many of the "Sculptured Stones" themselves (an example of which I give in the annexed woodcut); all apparently closely correspond to what has been described as the style of art of the "Late Celtic Period,"¹ by A. W.

¹ See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. vii. p. 334. Notice of a remarkable Bronze Ornament with Horns, &c. By J. A. Smith, M.D.



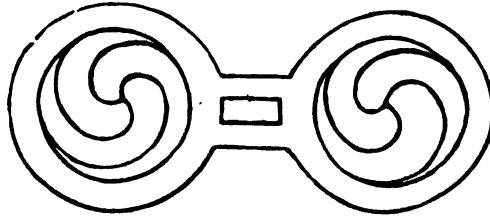
Long Pin found at Norrie's Law, Largo, Fifeshire. (Actual size.)

Franks, Esq., A.M., &c., of the British Museum, in the "Horæ Ferales, or Studies in the Archæology of the Northern Nations," London, 1863. (See woodcuts.)

May we not, therefore, assume the probability of these last described chains, formed of a series of pairs of large rings, with their penannular clasps, ornamented in the same manner and style of art, also belonging to the later times of this Celtic period; which, however, probably continued in Scotland to a much later date than in England. The age it may be of the earlier monumental stones which display these same mysterious symbols, in some cases, however, also associated with the symbol of the cross itself, on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

From the presence on these silver chains of the peculiar figures or "symbols" of the "sculptured stones," I examined carefully the numerous figures given of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" in the volumes of the Spalding Club by Dr John Stuart. Dr Stuart is inclined to believe that these peculiar figures represent personal ornaments, as brooches, &c. I had therefore hopes of perhaps discovering something sculptured on the stones themselves, resembling or representing these large

silver chains which were probably personal or official decorations or ornaments. My search has, however, as yet been a fruitless one. The "symbols" occur most abundantly on the more rude, less ornamented, and perhaps earlier sculptured stones; often nothing more than these peculiar figures themselves being cut on the otherwise unhewn blocks of granite, &c. No doubt they also occur on a few of the more ornamented stones, sculptured with crosses and various interlaced patterns of ornamental knotwork, probably of a later date; on none of them, however, could I find anything suggestive of a chain like those I have described, as displaying, engraved on their large terminal rings, the very symbols themselves.



Spectacle Ornament, with C-like Spiral Scrolls (like those on the Dumfriesshire silver chain, &c.), from the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

The fact of these peculiar figures being cut on the large chains seems to me rather to tell against the idea of their representing simply favourite personal ornaments, which we would scarcely expect to find figured on other ornaments themselves; though not against that of their being of a symbolic character of some kind, and possibly distinctive badges of office in Church or State.

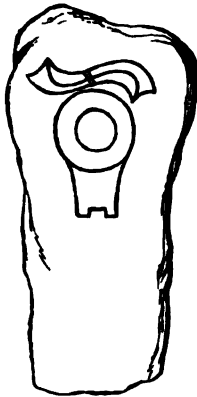
(Since this paper was read an example of a chain figured on a richly sculptured stone, not however of the most ancient character, has been recently observed on the sculptured stone at Killean, Knapdale, Argyleshire. This chain is attached to a collar fixed round the neck of an imaginary dragon-like quadruped, symbolical, doubtless, of some evil one, and its other extremity is carried up, keeping him a fast prisoner, to the adjoining outer corner of the stone. In this case, however, the chain is

of quite a different and more complex pattern, being formed of long links, open at each end, through which the adjoining links pass, the sides of the loop or link being welded or brought close together in the middle of each link.)

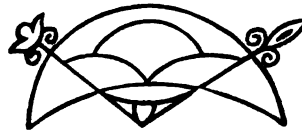
In conclusion, I may remark, that these peculiar "symbols" or figures, sculptured on the monumental stones, have been almost entirely found in the north-eastern parts of Scotland, to which districts they have accordingly been believed more peculiarly to belong. The same figures or "symbols" have, however, now been found engraved on silver ornaments; but curiously enough one of these instances occurred, with the relics of the Norrie's Law tumulus, at Largo, in Fifeshire, on the northern shores of the Firth of Forth, the most southern boundary of the supposed district to which these peculiar sculptured stones seem to belong. The very same "symbols"—the "Spectacle" crossed by the "zigzag ornament," with the same emblem of the "Dog's Head" associated with it—have been also more recently discovered cut with other emblematic-like figures (including among these, as I have already mentioned, the same double curved figure which occurs on the large terminal ring of the silver chain found at Aberdeenshire), on the living rock on the wall of the west "Doo-cot Cave," on the shore of the Firth of Forth, near East Wemyss, in the same county of Fife.¹ Then we have the same "spectacle and zigzag" engraved on an exactly similar silver chain, but in this instance found out of this north-eastern district altogether, away in Dumfriesshire, in the very south of Scotland. No doubt, there is nothing to prevent these symbols engraved on the precious metals being easily carried off to any part of the land. Still, we must remember that stones sculptured with some of the same class of figures have been found to the north, in Sutherlandshire, as for example at Kintradwell, the site of one of the ancient Pictish round towers or brochs, where there is a stone sculptured with a peculiar ornament, with a rounded head and forked extremities below, and above it an ornamented and more elaborately detailed variety of the double curved ornament, the simple form of which is cut on the large link of the Aberdeenshire silver chain. (See annexed figures.) Other

¹ See figures in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. ix. p. 74, and "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. 33, 34.

sculptures on stone of the same class, as the "crescent with the V-shaped sceptres" have been found also in the Orkney Islands, even in some instances used as building stones in some of the old churches, as at St Peter's Church, South Ronaldshay (now preserved in the Museum of the Society). This shows, at least, their more wide-spread character at one



Sculptured Stone found at Kintradwell,
Sutherlandshire.

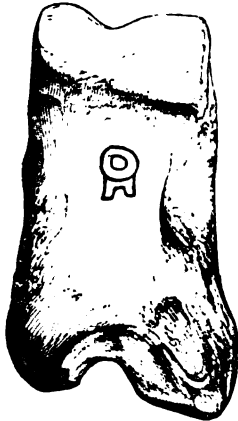


Symbol or Ornament, "Crescent and
V-shaped Sceptres," on Sculptured
Stones.

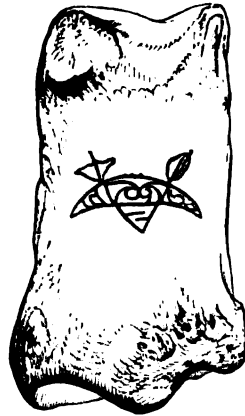
time, their great antiquity, and the apparent neglect of them at a later date, as when this old church in South Ronaldshay was built.

(There has also (since this paper was read) been more recently found in the ruins of a broch, at Burrian, North Ronaldshay, Orkney, one of the phalanges or bones of the foot of a small-sized ox, having cut on one side of it the "crescent and V-shaped sceptres," the ornament of the most frequent occurrence of them all, and on the other side of it a round-headed oblong figure, similar to that on the Kintradwell stone (figured above). The discovery of this bone among the debris of an ancient habitation in Orkney is of the greatest interest. A detailed account of the Broch of Burrian, by Dr Traill, will be published in the "Archæologia Scotica,"

vol. v. part ii.; the various remains found have been presented by Dr Traill to the Museum of the Society. The discovery of these curious and unexplained figures being carved on this ox bone is of very great interest,



Phalanx of Small Ox, displaying some of the Symbols of the Sculptured Stones.
Found in the Broch of Burrian, Orkney.
(Natural size.)



Other side of Phalanx, with Incised Ornament similar to that of the Sculptured Stones.
(Natural Size.)

as well from the locality, the Orkney Islands; as also in the peculiar class of buildings, the brochs (with all their varied stores of rude bone and stone and metal implements, &c.), where it was found—the age of the brochs has been estimated by Mr Joseph Anderson, in his valuable paper on the “Brochs of Yarhouse,” &c., printed in the “Archæologia,” vol. v. part L, as belonging to the period just preceding the Norse invasion of Orkney, or from about the fifth or sixth down even to the eighth or ninth centuries.

These figures were probably cut on these small bones (another and similar bone seems to show a spoiled design), as portable patterns, for the convenience of the carver or artist, and may correspond to the

scraps of ornamental interlaced figures neatly cut on the bones of animals, which have been found in various places in Ireland, some of which are figured in the "Catalogue of the Irish Academy" of Sir W. R. Wilde. They are, however, simply described there as—"decorated bones, the precise use or object of which being as yet conjectural." . . . "Few objects in the Academy can compare with them in interest, and, so far as published records are available, they are unique." (Catalogue, p. 344.)

A stone sculptured with the same characteristic figures of the "crescent and V-shaped sceptres" was discovered some time ago on the north slope of the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, where it was little likely to have been brought from a distance as an object of interest, in former times. It may therefore be assumed to be probably in its original position; even although there was erected there almost in our own day (for want of a suitable place to preserve it) a large engraved ornamental Runic stone belonging to the Society, which was brought some years ago from Sweden! We must remember, also, that Dr Stuart, in the "Sculptured Stones," vol. i. p. 31, plate xcvi., mentions one example of these symbols occurring quite out of their supposed peculiar district. It is cut on the "living rock" in Galloway, and therefore probably native to the soil, on Trusty's Hill, one of the low range of the Boreland Hills, near to the parish church of Anwoth, towards the very southern part of the county of Kirkcudbright. The top of the hill is surrounded with what appears to be a vitrified wall, the remains, doubtless, of an ancient fort, and outside of this wall the surface of the natural rock of the hill slopes down towards the north-east; it is on this rock surface that we find sculptured the well-known "spectacle and floriated zigzag ornaments," associated, however, with some other less common and probably more modern figures.

The style of art and ornamentation of some of these "symbols" themselves, as has been already stated, also bear a close relation to what has been designated "Late Celtic Art;" remains of which, displayed in varieties of metal work, have been found over nearly all the land.

From all these circumstances, therefore, exceptional, it may be, though some of them are, I am inclined to think that the peculiar symbols of the sculptured stones had once a much wider range, and all but obliterated, as they now are, from the rest of the country, have been specially preserved in the north-eastern districts of Scotland, on the granitic and other hard

monumental stones, which have borne them there down to our own day; where, it may be, their authors last held their ground, before the intrusion of other tribes, and, shall I say, of an alien church—the Culdee being at last absorbed in the Papal Church of Rome.

This view appears to me to be at least not inconsistent with what is known of the ancient British or Pictish inhabitants of Scotland.

Dr John Stuart considers these peculiar symbols on the “Sculptured Stones,” from the locality where they are now most abundantly found, viz., the north-eastern districts of Scotland, to have been the work of the Pictish people; and they do not apparently occur elsewhere, he says, as in Ireland, or Scandinavia, or even in Northumberland, Wales, or Brittany. He supposes they may mark their period of transition from heathenism to Christianity. “The Pictish people are spoken of,” Dr Stuart says, “by Roman authors in the third century, when the term *Caledonii* is given up, and we find them historically in possession of the country till they were overcome by the Scots in the ninth century.” There were two nations, the northern and the southern Picts, the former converted by Ninian, the latter by Columba in the latter part of the sixth century.¹

In Mr Joseph Anderson’s important memoir on the “Brochs of Yarhouse and others,” he refers to the Picts having occupied the whole territory in which remains of brochs have been found, and states that “From their first appearance in the Annals, they were in possession of the Orkneys. Between the years A.D. 442 and 476 they had possession of the whole territory from Caithness to the Forth, and that after the departure of the Romans they occupied the territory south of the wall of Antoninus, there seems to be no reasonable doubt.” “Even throughout the Anglie ascendancy, the population of this portion of the country continued to be largely Pictish.”²

The very existence, therefore, of any of these peculiar sculptured symbols in parts of Scotland at a distance from the north-eastern districts, where they are now most frequently found, and where we know the Picts last

¹ Dr Stuart on the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” Brit. Assoc. Report, Aberdeen, 1859.

² *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v. p. 131, Mr Joseph Anderson on the “Brochs of Yarhouse,” &c.

held possession of the country; seems to me to suggest the probability not only of their being the work of the same people, but also of their very ancient character. As we find these outlying sculptures generally consist of simply the peculiar symbols themselves, they had probably been sculptured at the time these more distant parts of the country were still in the possession of the Pictish people, and before their borders were invaded and contracted by Scot, and Norseman, and Saxon, and their dominion gradually confined to the more northern and eastern districts of Scotland; until it was at last brought to a close by the overmastering Scots in the ninth century.

The whole subject of the history and true meaning of these symbols seems, however, still to invite the further exploration of the antiquary, and waits, it may be, for fuller explanation in the time to come.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

I.—PLATE XII.

- I. Silver Chain or Girdle, with Circular Plate, Rings, and Pendant, the property of Thomas Simson of Blainslie, Esq., Berwickshire (51 inches in total length).
 1. Die stamps on back of Circular Plate.
- I. Silver Chain or Girdle, with gilt Circular Plate, Slides and Pendant, the property of the University of Aberdeen (65 inches in total length).

II.—PLATE XIII.

Silver gilt Ornaments of Chain of the University of Aberdeen (actual size):—

1. Circular Plate, with filagree ornaments, and garnet in centre.
2. Circular Plate in profile, showing silver hook on back, and attachment of chain.
3. Two Die Stamps struck on back of silver plate.
4. Barrel-shaped Ornament, or slide, on chain (one of six).
5. Cylindrical Ornament, or slide, on chain, with ring attached to it.
6. Terminal Pendant, showing the chain attached to its upper part.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND:

NINETY-FOURTH SESSION, 1873-74.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 1st December 1873.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq., Vice-President, in the
Chair.

The Office-Bearers of the Society for the ensuing Session were
elected as follows:—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D.

SIR J. NOEL PATON, Kt., R.S.A.

Councillors.

JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq.

FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq.

D. MILNE HOME, Esq., LL.D.

} *Representing the*
} *Board of Trustees.*

ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq.
 R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., LL.B.
 JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.
 W. F. SKENE, Esq., LL.D.
 ROBERT HORN, Esq.
 CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, LL.D., General Register House.
 ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., *Commissioner in Lunacy.*
 DAVID LAING, Esq.,
 WILLIAM FORBES, Esq., } *for Foreign Correspondence.*

Treasurer.

DAVID DOUGLAS, Esq., 88 Princes Street

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A.
 ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE SIM, Esq.

Librarian.

JOHN TAYLOR BROWN, Esq.

Auditors.

GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq.
 JOHN F. RODGER, Esq., S.S.C.

Publishers.

Messrs EDMONSTON and DOUGLAS.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, *Keeper of the Museum.*
 GEORGE HASTIE, *Assistant.*

The Foreign Secretary stated that six of the Fellows had died during the past year, viz. :—

	Elected.
GEORGE KING, Esq., Aberdeen	1870
KENMURE MAITLAND, Esq., Sheriff-Clerk of Mid-Lothian	1867
JAMES A. PIERSON, Esq., of the Guynd, Forfarshire	1860
WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D., Professor of Church History, University of Edinburgh	1847
REV. WILLIAM R. WATSON, Minister of Logie, Fifeshire	1867
GEORGE B. ROBERTSON, Esq., General Register House	1856

During the same period thirty-six Gentlemen had been admitted Fellows; and there are at present on the roll 398 Fellows of the Society.

The Secretary announced that the Council had elected the Baroness BURDETT COUTTS a LADY ASSOCIATE of the Society.

A ballot was then taken, and the following Gentlemen were duly elected :—

1. Honorary Members.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., High Elms, Kent.
J. J. A. WORSAAE, Councillor of State, Director of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities, Inspector of the Archæological Monuments of Denmark, &c., Copenhagen.

2. Corresponding Members.

OLAF RYGH, Professor of Icelandic, Royal University of Christiania.
SOPHUS BUGGE, Professor of Icelandic, Royal University of Christiania.

3. Fellows.

DAVID AITKEN, D.D., Edinburgh.
DAVID CHALMERS, Esq., Redhall, Slateford.
ADAM J. CORRIE, Esq., M.A., Senwick, Kirkeudbright.
WILLIAM BRUCE-CLARKE, Esq., B.A., North Wootton Rectory, Lynn,
Norfolk.
Rev. JOHN DUNCAN, Minister of Abdie, Fife.
ALEXANDER FAIRWEATHER, Esq., Newport, Fife.
ROBERT ROMANES, Esq., Harryburn, Lauder.
CHARLES STEWART, Esq., Sweethope.
ALEXANDER WALKER, Esq., Merchant, Aberdeen.

The SECRETARY then read the Annual Report, as follows:—

“ANNUAL REPORT of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to the Honourable the Board of Trustees for Manufactures for Scotland, for the year ending 30th September 1873.

“During the past year the Museum has been open continuously, except during the month of November, when it was closed as usual for cleaning and re-arrangement.

“The number of visitors for the year is shown in the following table, distinguishing between day visitors and visitors on the Saturday evenings, for each month:—

1872-73.	Day Visitors.	Sat. Evenings.	Total.
October	6,113	939	7,052
December	5,564	788	6,352
January	21,348	838	22,186
February	3,469	817	4,286
March	4,388	916	5,304
April	4,227	431	4,658
May	6,010	429	6,439
June	12,148	588	12,736
July	19,581	1,105	20,686
August	20,899	1,261	22,160
September	9,094	978	10,072
Total	112,841	9,090	121,931
Previous Year	110,001	9,679	119,680
Increase	2,840	...	2,251
Decrease . . . . .	...	589	...

“During the year 250 articles of antiquity have been presented to the Museum, and the donations to the Library amount to 75 volumes of books and pamphlets.

“The number of articles above specified is exclusive of the following collections, also presented during the year, viz.:—

“ By Professor WYVILLE THOMSON, F.S.A. Scot.

“ A collection of Flint Weapons and Implements from Ireland, Denmark, and America.

“ By Rev. JAMES MORRISON, F. C. Minister, Urquhart, Elginshire,
Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

“ A collection of Flint Weapons, Implements, &c., from the parish of Urquhart, Elginshire, supplementary to a previous donation of a similar collection.

“ By the COMMITTEE of MANAGEMENT, through CHARLES E. DALRYMPLE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

“ A collection of Drawings of the objects exhibited at the Archæological Exhibition held at Aberdeen in the year 1856.

“ The SUTHERLAND COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS, &c., chiefly Scottish, has been acquired by purchase, from the Faculty of Advocates, during the past year.

In reporting this addition to the National Museum, the Council feel it their duty to urge the immediate necessity of providing a suitable safe or strong-room in connexion with the Museum, for the security of this department, which now contains the most extensive and valuable series of Scottish Coins in existence, including a number of unique pieces, which could never be replaced.

(Signed) “JOHN STUART, *Secretary.*”

In accordance with the following resolution of the Council, of date 19th March 1873,—

“ Resolved, That the Draft of the Revised Laws prepared by the Committee should be printed as now finally amended and approved by the Council, and the Secretary instructed to forward a copy of the same to each of the Fellows, with notice, in terms of the Society's By-Laws, that the Revised Laws will be submitted for the sanction of the General Meeting on St Andrew's day, 1873 :”

The Revised Laws of the Society, as then amended and approved by the Council, were now submitted to the General Meeting, and were unanimously approved and adopted as the Laws of the Society, from this date, as follows:—

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LAWS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

INSTITUTED NOVEMBER 1780.

The purpose of the Society shall be the promotion of ARCHÆOLOGY, especially as connected with the ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF SCOTLAND.

I. MEMBERS.

1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Fellows, and of Corresponding and Lady Associates.

2. The number of the Ordinary Fellows shall be unlimited.

3. Candidates for admission as Ordinary Fellows must sign the Form of Application prescribed by the Council, and must be recommended by one Ordinary Fellow and two Members of the Council.

4. The Secretary shall cause the names of the Candidates and of their Proposers to be inserted in the billet calling the Meeting at which they are to be balloted for. The Ballot may be taken for all the Candidates named in the billet at once; but if three or more black balls appear, the Chairman shall cause the Candidates to be balloted for singly. No Candidate shall be admitted unless by the votes of two-thirds of the Fellows present.

5. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed twenty-five; and shall consist of men eminent in Archæological Science or Historical Literature, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

6. All recommendations of Honorary Fellows must be made through the Council; and they shall be balloted for in the same way as Ordinary Fellows.

7. Corresponding Associates must be recommended and balloted for in the same way as Ordinary Fellows, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

8. The number of Lady Associates shall not exceed twenty-five. They shall be elected by the Council, and shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

9. Before the name of any person can be recorded as an Ordinary Fellow, he shall pay Two Guineas of entrance fees to the funds of the Society, and One Guinea for the current year's subscription. Or he may

compound for all future contributions, including entrance fees, by the payment of Twenty Guineas at the time of his admission; or of Fifteen Guineas after having paid five annual contributions; or of Ten Guineas after having paid ten annual contributions.

10. If any Ordinary Fellow who has not compounded shall fail to pay his annual contribution of One Guinea for three successive years, due application having been made for payment, the Treasurer shall report the same to the Council, by whose authority the name of the defaulter may be erased from the list of Fellows.

11. Every Fellow not being in arrears of his annual subscriptions shall be entitled to receive the printed Proceedings of the Society from the date of his election, together with such special issues of Chartularies, or other occasional Volumes, as may be provided for gratuitous distribution from time to time under authority of the Council. Associates shall have the privilege of purchasing the Society's publications at the rates fixed by the Council for supplying back numbers to the Fellows.

12. None but Ordinary Fellows shall hold any office or vote in the business of the Society.

II. OFFICE-BEARERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, who continues in office for three years; three Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries for general purposes, and two Secretaries for Foreign Correspondence, a Treasurer, two Curators of the Museum, a Curator of Coins, and a Librarian, who shall be elected for one year; all of whom may be re-elected at the Annual General Meeting, except the first Vice-President, who shall go out by rotation, and shall not be again eligible till he has been one year out of office.

2. The Council shall consist of the Office-Bearers and seven Ordinary Fellows, besides two annually nominated from the Board of Manufactures. Of these seven, two shall retire annually by rotation, and shall not be again eligible till they have been one year out of office. Any two Office-Bearers and three of the Ordinary Council shall be a quorum.

3. The Council shall have the direction of the affairs and the custody of the effects of the Society; and shall report to the Annual General

Meeting the state of the Society's funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year.

4. The Council may appoint committees or individuals to take charge of particular departments of the Society's business.

5. The Office-Bearers shall be elected annually at the General Meeting.

6. The Secretaries for general purposes shall record all the proceedings of Meetings, whether of the Society or Council; and conduct such correspondence as may be authorised by the Society or Council, except the Foreign Correspondence, which is to be carried on, under the same authority, by the Secretaries appointed for that particular purpose.

7. The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all monies due to or by the Society, and shall lay a state of the funds before the Council previous to the Annual General Meeting.

8. The duty of the Curators of the Museum shall be to exercise a general supervision over it and the Society's Collections.

9. The Council shall meet during the session as often as is requisite for the due despatch of business; and the Secretaries shall have power to call Meetings of the Council as often as they see cause.

III. MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. One General Meeting shall take place every year on St. Andrew's day, the 30th of November, or on the following day if the 30th be a Sunday.

2. The Council shall have power to call Extraordinary General Meetings when they see cause.

3. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Monday of each month, at Eight o'clock P.M. from December to April inclusive, and in May and June at Three P.M. The Council may give notice of a proposal to change the hour and day of meeting if they see cause.

IV. BYE-LAWS.

1. All Bye-Laws formerly made are hereby repealed.

2. Every proposal for altering the Laws as already established must be made through the Council; and if agreed to by the Council, the Secretary shall cause intimation thereof to be made to all the Fellows at least three months before the General Meeting at which it is to be determined on.

MONDAY, 8th December 1873.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, Esq., M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following letter from the Baroness BURDETT COUTTS, which had been received by the Secretary, was laid before the meeting:—

“PALACE HOTEL, EDINBURGH,
“8th December 1873.

“The Baroness BURDETT COUTTS presents her compliments to the Vice-President of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and begs to acknowledge the receipt of a letter announcing the gratifying intelligence to her that she had been elected a LADY ASSOCIATE of the Society.

“The Baroness requests the Vice-President to express to the Council her thanks for the distinction accorded to her by a Society in whose objects she takes an especial interest, and of which Edinburgh seems naturally the home.”

A ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Corresponding Members:—

Dr CARL SÄVE, Professor of Icelandic in the University of Upsala.
A. C. GEEKIE, D.D., Bathurst, New South Wales.

And the following Gentlemen Fellows of the Society:—

Rev. ROGER ROUSON LINGARD-GUTHRIE, Taybank House, Dundee.
THOMAS SOUTAR, Esq., Banker, Crieff.
Rev. HUGH DRENNAN, Broomhill, Tarbolton, Kilmarnock.
GAVIN STEEL, Esq. of Holmhead, Lanark.

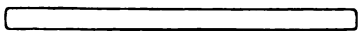
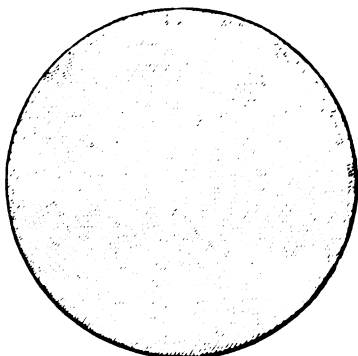
The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By Rev. JAMES MORRISON, F. C., Urquhart, Corr. Mem.
S.A. Scot.

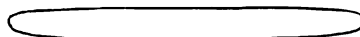
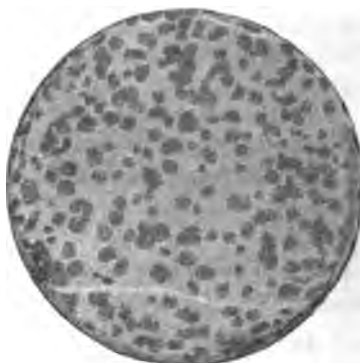
Celt of greenstone, polished, measuring only 2¼ inches in length, by 1¾

inch in greatest breadth immediately above the cutting edge. It bears marks of re-sharpening on both edges to get rid of fractures, hence probably its shortness and small size.

Circular Disc of mica schist with garnets, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, flat, and well polished on both edges. There is in the Museum a portion of a similar disc, also made of micaceous schist with garnets in it, which was found in the Broch of Burray, Orkney. Another, also



Circular Disc of White Marble,
 $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.



Circular Disc of polished Mica
Schist, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter.

of mica schist with garnets, was found in the Broch of Old Stirkoke, Caithness, and is noticed at page 143 of the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v. A fourth specimen, similar to the others in size and shape, but made of white marble, is in the Museum. It was found in a broch in Orkney, and was presented by the representatives of the late Professor Traill.

Serrated Arrow-head of yellow flint, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, with barbs and stem.

Serrated Arrow-head of greyish flint, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, with barbs and stem.

Triangular Arrow-head of black flint, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length.

Triangular, lop-sided Arrow-head of black flint, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and similar to that figured in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 500.

Arrow-head, with stem and broken barbs, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head of reddish flint, 2 inches in length.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head-like implement of white flint, 2 inches in length.

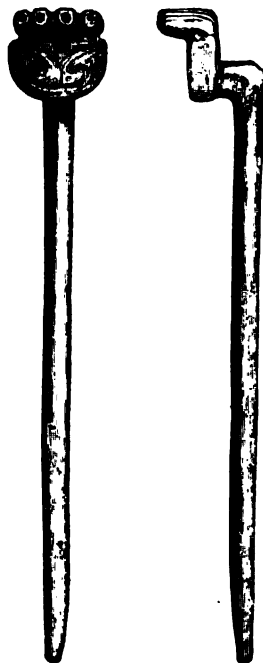
Lozenge-shaped Arrow-head of brownish flint, partially broken, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length.

Lozenge-shaped Arrow-head of reddish flint, partially broken, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length.

Seventeen Arrow-heads, leaf-shaped, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length.

Bronze Pin of peculiar form, with semicircular head pierced with a small central aperture, and having on the top four projecting sockets for precious stones or coloured enamels. The flat semicircular portion of the pin-head, which measures $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, is ornamented with a pattern in red and green enamel resembling the late Celtic decorations of trumpet-shaped and spiral scrolls. Pins of this form are more common in Ireland than in Scotland. Two of silver are in the Museum, among the relics recovered from the tumulus at Largo. See Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 7.

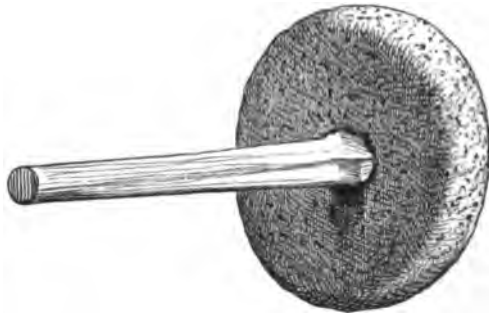
All the above were found in the parish of Urquhart, Elginshire.



Bronze Pin with enamelled head.
(Actual size.)

(2.) By Mr JÓN A. HJALTALIN, Advocates' Library.

Stone Maul or Hammer, with handle, still used in Iceland for pounding dried fish and other purposes. This hammer is a rudely dressed circular disc of vesicular lava, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, having a hole bored through the centre for the insertion of the wooden handle. This hole has been bored from both sides, and has the peculiarity so often observed in the ancient stone mauls, of being much narrower in the centre of the stone than at the two surfaces. Its width at the surface is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and in the centre only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Nevertheless, it holds the handle quite firmly.



Stone Hammer, still used in Iceland for pounding dried fish,
 $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

(3.) By Mr WILLIAM BURCH, 24 Regent Place.

Signet Ring of Brass, having engraved in an oval a hunting horn in the centre, and above it the word "Thomas;" round this oval is a legend which is mostly illegible. The ring was found in digging a coprolite pit at Bawdsey, in Suffolk.

(4.) By THOMAS CONSTABLE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

An old Cabinet Key, with parchment label attached, stating that it was found in the house in which Shakspeare was born, and presented to the

subscriber, George H. King, when at Stratford, and by him presented to the late Archibald Constable, Esq.

(5.) By WALTER LORNE CAMPBELL, Esq.

Carved Human Figure, 28 inches long, with tattooed face, which formed part of a wooden pillar in a Maori meeting-house at Turanganui, Poverty Bay, New Zealand.

(6.) By the EDINBURGH PRISON BOARD.

The Stocks, 9 feet in length, and furnished with three pairs of holes, from the old Canongate Tolbooth.

(7.) By JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., Secretary.

Cast of a Stone Celt, found near Alexandria, engraved with a Gnostic formula. The original celt is of the common pattern, of dark green jade or nephrite, 2 inches long, and 1 inch in greatest width. Each of its two faces is occupied by a Gnostic formula, neatly engraved in the debased Greek characters of the third or fourth century of the Christian era. On one side the formula has been arranged as a wreath of fourteen leaves. (For a learned disquisition on the reading and meaning of these inscriptions, see a paper by C. W. King, M.A., in the "Archæological Journal," vol. xxv. page 103.)

(8.) By Captain T. P. WHITE, R.E., F.S.A. Scot.

Cast of portion of a Sculptured Stone at Killean, Kintyre, Argyllshire, showing a chained figure.

(9.) By the Most Honourable the MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, F.S.A. Scot.

Floriant et Florète, a (French) Metrical Romance of the fourteenth century, edited from a unique manuscript at Newbattle Abbey, by Francisque Michel, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. Edinburgh, 1873. 4to.

- (10.) By His Grace the DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH and QUEENSBERRY, K.G.,
D.C.L., F.S.A. Scot.

Letters and Papers of Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford, and of his Family, A.D. 1615-1662. Edited from the original MSS. By Rev. William Duncan Macray, M.A. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London, 1868. 4to.

- (11.) By the Right Honourable the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Materials for the History of Henry VII.	Royal 8vo.	1873.
Letters from Northern Registers.	do.	do.
Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense.	do.	do.
Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1534-1554.	do.	do.
Giraldus Cambrensis. Vol. IV.	do.	do.

- (12.) By Messrs EDMONSTON and DOUGLAS, the Publishers.

The Orkneyinga Saga. Translated by Jón A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie. Edited by Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1873. 8vo.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

AN ACCOUNT OF ALEXANDER GORDON, A.M., AUTHOR OF THE
ITINERARIUM SEPTENTRIONALE, 1726. COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER
TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY BY PROFESSOR DANIEL WILSON, LL.D.,
TORONTO, HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES CONCERNING GORDON AND HIS WORKS.
BY DAVID LAING, Esq., FOR. SEC. S.A. SCOT. (PLATE XIV.)

TORONTO, 25th Sept. 1873.

Long ago, when engaged in researches with a view to my "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," I learned incidentally from Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, sundry family traditions relative to Baron Clerk and his antiquarian confrère ALEXANDER GORDON, to which allusion is made in a footnote of the "Annals." But the subject did not admit of minute personal references to either of them. More recently, however, my interest was revived in reference to the latter, by observing the fact that it was Gordon's fate to become, like myself, an emigrant to the New World, and to close his life as a colonist in South Carolina. I accordingly instituted inquiries, with the hope of recovering some traces of his later career. At first my efforts led to results not only disappointing but misleading. There was indeed an Alexander Gordon, whose will was proved before the proper Probate Courts about 1755; but my informant added that "the records being destroyed by General Sherman when he burned Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, no such Will could now be found." But, still more, nothing was known of this Alexander Gordon, or of his having filled any post under Governor Glen, at whose invitation Gordon is said to have accompanied him to America; whereas there was a Dr Alexander Garden, F.R.S.—also an Aberdonian by birth—who had certain relations with the Governor, and was a man of mark in his day. My informant even assumed that, in the haste of writing, I had written Gordon for Garden, and so gave me sundry minute details relative to the latter. Though I had made no such mistake, I began to wonder if it were not possible that Chalmers had confounded the two, and that, after all, the real Alexander Gordon's bones lay at rest in his native soil.

Still I prosecuted inquiries about the Alexander Gordon of 1755, and

now I have the pleasure, on returning from a long vacation ramble, to find awaiting me a duly certified copy of the Will of the undoubted Sandy Gordon of the *Itinerarium*, and to Jonathan Oldbuck's appreciative flavour. I enclose you herewith the copy of the Will, furnished to me, with his official certification, by George Buist, Esq., Judge of the Court of Probate, who, as the descendant of the Rev. Dr Buist, a Scottish clergyman of the First Presbyterian Church of Charleston in old colonial times, has kindly interested himself in my inquiries.

GORDON'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the Name of God, Amen.

I, ALEXANDER GORDON, of Charles Town, in the Province of South Carolina aforesaid, Esquire, being sick and weak of body, but of sound and disposing mind, memory, and understanding, thanks be given to Almighty God for the same, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following—That is to say, principally and first of all, I recommend my soul into the hands of God who gave it, and my body I commit unto the dust, decently and in a Christian like manner, to be interred at the discretion of my executors hereinafter mentioned; and as to the worldly estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with, I give the same and dispose thereof in manner following:—First, It is my express will, and I do hereby order and direct, that my said executors hereinafter mentioned and the survivors of them, and the executors and administrators of such survivors, shall forthwith and with all convenient speed after my decease, pay off, discharge, and satisfy my funeral charges and all other my just and lawful debts; and after such payment and satisfaction so made and rendered as aforesaid, then I give, devise, and bequeath unto the Honourable Hector Berrenger De Beaufain, Esq., his picture, portraiture, or effigies by me the said testator, painted, drawn, and represented, to have and to hold the same unto the said Hector Berrenger De Beaufain, Esq., his heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the Reverend Mr Heywood, his picture, portraiture, or effigies by me the said testator, painted, drawn, and represented as aforesaid, to have and to hold the same unto the said John Heywood, his heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my son Alexander Gordon, my own picture, together with all and singular the paintings, views, and other the representations by me the said testator, painted, drawn, and represented, to have and to hold the same, and each and any of them, unto my said son, his heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my daughter Frances Charlotte Gordon, my silver watch, to have and to hold the same unto my said daughter, her heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son Alexander, my gold ring, to have and to hold the same unto my said son Alexander, his heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son and daughter, my lot of land situate lying and being in Ansonborough, in the Province aforesaid, and all and singular the houses thereon standing erected, and being together, with all and singular other my pictures hereinbefore not particularly given, devised, or bequeathed, plate, and other my household furniture of every nature and kind whatsoever, equally to be divided between them, share and share alike, to have and to hold the same unto my said son and daughter, their heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, It is my express will and desire, and I do hereby order and direct, that my said son shall, as conveniently as may be, cause to be printed and published my book now remaining in manuscript, and titled "A Critical Essay towards the illustrating the History and Chronology of the Egyptians and other most Ancient Nations, from the earliest ages on record till the times of Alexander the Great," &c., &c.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son two-thirds parts, the whole in three equal parts, to be divided of all and every such sum and sums of money that shall arise and accrue from the printing and publication of the said book, to have and to hold the same unto my said son, his heirs and assignees for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said daughter Frances Charlotte Gordon, the remaining third part or share of all and singular such sum and sums of money so arising and accruing from the printing and publishing of the said book, to have and to hold the same unto my said daughter, her heirs and assignees.

And, lastly, I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint the Hon. Hector Berenger De Beaufain, Esq., and my said son Alexander executors of this my last Will and Testament; and I do hereby also revoke, annul, cancel, and make void all and every former and other will and wills heretofore by me the said testator made, and all gifts, legacies, and bequests therein and thereby mentioned, given, devised, and bequeathed, confirming, approving, and ratifying this only as and to be and to contain my only last Will and Testament.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-second day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George

the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

ALEX^r. GORDON.

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced, and declared by the testator as and for and to be and contain his only last Will and Testament, in presence of us, who in his presence and at his request have hereunto set our hands to these presents, consisting of three sheets of cap, the day and year above written.

EDWD. SMITH.

EMANUEL TODD.

JOHN TROUP.

The State of South Carolina, } In
Charleston County. } Probate Court.

I do hereby certify the foregoing pages to be and contain a true and correct copy of the last Will and Testament of Alexander Gordon, deceased.

Given under my hand and seal of office this fourteenth day of February A.D. 1873.

GEORGE BUIST,

Judge of Probate, *ex officio* Clerk.

Omitting any notice of Gordon's career prior to A.D. 1741, he then accompanied Governor Glen to South Carolina. In a list of members admitted to the St Andrew's Club of Charleston between 1740 and 1748, the name of Alexander Gordon appears; while, subsequent to 1754, "James Glen, late Governor of South Carolina," is also admitted. In connection with this it may be worth noting, as a possible clue to the relations between Gordon and Governor Glen, that among the subscribers to the "Itinerarium Septentrionale," is the name of James Glen of Longcroft, Esq., for two royal copies; and at page 55 Gordon describes a Roman altar which he found, dug out of the ruins near Barhill Fort, on the Antonine Wall, and which, he says, "is now in the hands of my curious and honoured friend, James Glen, Esq., present Provost of Lithgow." Possibly a relationship may be traceable between His Excellency James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, and the Glens of Longcroft, sufficing to account for the expatriation of the old Roman antiquary. Here, of course, it is wholly out of my power to follow up any such suggestive hint.

Unhappily the early records of the St Andrew's Club perished in the late war, though it still flourishes under the name of the St Andrew's Society; and its present president, General De Saussure—by the female

line a descendant of the Clan M'Pherson—has entered heartily into my wishes for the recovery of all traces of the antiquary.

From the recorded copy of a deed still extant at Charleston, it appears that one Hamerton, the registrar of the province, farmed out his office to Alexander Gordon, and by this deed appoints him as his attorney to transact all the business and receive all the fees of the office. Also among the recorded conveyances is one of a large lot of land in Charleston to Alexander Gordon, from which it appears that he was domiciled in South Carolina prior to 28th March 1746, the date of the conveyance to him, and that he died prior to 23d July 1755, as upon that day Alexander Gordon and Frances Charlotte Gordon, as devisees of Alexander Gordon, convey the lot to Sir Egerton Leigh.

This property is not mentioned in the will, in which, indeed, other matters of less worldly estimation occupy the larger space. But he there devises and bequeaths to his son and daughter a lot of land in Ansonborough, South Carolina, and all the houses erected thereon.

As to the Will itself it is interesting and amusingly characteristic. We knew before that Alexander Gordon was a good draughtsman; but we learn from the will that he painted portraits in oil, and that he bequeathed one of himself, painted by his own hand, to his son. But most characteristic of all are the instructions to his son to print his *Critical Essay on Egyptian Chronology*, with the formal bequest of two-thirds of the profits to him, and one-third to his sister Frances Charlotte.

From an old diary kept by a South Carolinian about a century ago, General De Saussure has ascertained for me that one Frances Gordon was married, on the 30th May 1763, to John Troup, the same, it may be presumed, whose name appears as one of the witnesses of the will. From a historical sketch of the St Andrew's Society of Charleston, which accompanies its printed rules, the office-bearers and members can be traced from its foundation. In 1757 John Troup was admitted a member of St Andrew's Club. The Revolution and War of Independence interrupted the regular meetings of the Club, but its archives and insignia were preserved, and when it was reorganised under its later name on St Andrew's Day, 1787, John Troup was chosen assistant treasurer; and from 1790 to 1794 he filled the office of vice-president after which his name disappears from the list of members.

Assuming the Alexander Gordon of 1740-48 to be the antiquary himself, his son's name does not appear among the old members of the St Andrew's Club, though the Gordons are otherwise well represented: in 1757 by Hon. Captain John Gordon; in 1761 by Rev. Charles Gordon; and in 1765 by the Right Hon. Lord Adam Gordon, with others of later date on to 1825, when another Alexander Gordon appears, possibly the grandson of the antiquary, who filled the office of secretary from 1828 to 1833, when he was appointed treasurer, and continued to occupy that place of trust till 1844, when he resumes the secretaryship till 1850, when his name disappears. But so far as I can learn there are no descendants of the author of the *Itinerarium* now known to survive in South Carolina.

As to the son of the antiquary, I find an Alexander Gordon, attorney-at-law, admitted a member of the Union Kilwinning Lodge, No. 4, of the Charleston Freemasons, in 1756, who may, with little doubt, be assumed to be the same. His brother-in-law—in 1762, *i.e.* the year before his marriage to Frances Charlotte Gordon—is admitted to the same Lodge of Freemasons, and in 1791 he is found entertaining the Union Kilwinning Lodge at his own house, in the capacity of Right Worshipful Master. Those are the only traces that I have been able to recover of the descendants of Alexander Gordon, the Roman antiquary. But if the portrait of himself—his veritable picture, portraiture, and effigies painted by his own hand—has not perished in the ravages of civil war, I still hope to recover traces of it, not improbably indicated beyond question by some accompaniment of Roman or Egyptian relic, emblematic of the special tastes of the enthusiastic antiquary, to whose labours we owe the painstaking record of Roman and other antiquities embodied in the world-famous volume which so won the favour of Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Walter Scott.

Gordon, I may remind you, adds A.M. to his name. He was, no doubt, a graduate of Aberdeen. I have tried to learn whether of the Old University or of Marischal College, but in vain. With your many facilities this may be easy, and may possibly help you to his parentage or other information as to his origin, such as I should still try to recover were I within reach of books or records. I may possibly print a sketch of the old antiquary in a more popular form, in which case I shall send you a

copy ; but I should think that the Will might with great propriety find a place in the Proceedings of the S.A. Scot., with a few brief notes about the testator.

Believe me, ever faithfully yours,

DAN. WILSON.

To David Laing, Esq., LL.D., &c.

ALEXANDER GORDON, A.M.

ON receiving the preceding communication from Dr Wilson, I replied I would have much pleasure in submitting it to the Society, with some Additional notices relating to Alexander Gordon as an author, which I had previously collected.

The account of Gordon, in a popular form, by Dr Wilson, here referred to, appeared in "The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History." November 1873. New Series. Toronto. 8vo.

Copies, as a separate tract, were printed with this title, "ALEXANDER GORDON, the Antiquary. By Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Professor of History and English Literature, University College, Toronto. Toronto, 1873." 8vo, pp. 31.

GORDON was a native of Aberdeen, and born, I imagine, not later than 1692. Whether he belonged to any of the Gordon families of note in the neighbouring district has not been ascertained.

As Gordon, however, had taken his degree of A.M. at Aberdeen, it was desirable to know both the exact date, and also if the registers might indicate anything as to his parentage. On applying to the Rev. Mr Fyfe, Registrar of the University, he kindly examined the College registers, and found various persons of the name of Alexander Gordon, between the years 1700 and 1720, without any means of identifying them. Gordon afterwards is said to have travelled abroad, probably as a tutor, and to have spent some years in Italy, France, Germany, &c. His residence in Italy had no doubt its influence in directing his attention to the Antiquities of his native country. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, in 1726, in writing to Roger Gale, the eminent English antiquary, also says :—

" Mr Gordon is expected here, with his head full of a project to make

a communication between Clyde and Forth by a canal ;” and adds, with other remarks, “ his project has been thought of a good many years ago, but it has been judged the profits would not answer the charge.” (See Letters 7 and 8, at page 380.)

Gordon has been frequently noticed in the “*Reliquiæ Galeanæ*,” which contains the correspondence between Baron Clerk and Roger Gale, chiefly in connexion with his “*Itinerarium Septentrionale*,” 1726. In the following pages the chief passages relating to Gordon are given in the form of extracts.

Gordon himself states that he spent three years in visiting different parts of the kingdom, exploring, drawing, and measuring ancient remains ; and the publication could not otherwise but entail on the author much pecuniary inconvenience, and render it necessary to complete his work with no delay for his numerous and highly distinguished subscribers.

The ordinary accounts of Gordon's subsequent career furnish us with the following statements :—“ In 1736 he was appointed Secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, with an annual salary of L.50 ; this he resigned in 1739. In the same year (1736) he succeeded Dr Stukeley as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, which office he resigned in 1741 to Mr Joseph Ames ; having also for a short time acted as secretary to the Egyptian Club, composed of gentlemen who had visited Egypt, viz., Lord Sandwich, Dr Shaw, Dr Pococke, &c. In 1741 he went to Carolina with Governor Glen, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, such as Register of the Province, &c. ; and died about 1750, a justice of the peace, leaving a handsome estate to his family.”

From the authenticated copy of Gordon's last Will and Testament, communicated by Professor Daniel Wilson, we learn that Gordon died at Charleston, South Carolina, on or after the 22d of August 1754 ; and besides notices of his family, and his collections for a posthumous work on Egyptian Antiquities, it proves that among his various accomplishments he had practised for some time as a Portrait painter. He is also sometimes styled “*Singing Sandie*,” which implies a knowledge or love of music. Before the present communication will be required for inserting in the Proceedings of the present session, I hope Professor Wilson may have succeeded in tracing the portrait of Gordon, painted by himself.

Dr Wilson, at p. 10, says, “ According to the traditions of the Penny-

cuik family, as communicated to me by the late Sir George Clerk, the author of the *Itinerarium* was a grave man, of formal habits, tall, lean, and usually taciturn." In the "Literary Anecdotes," by John Nichols, vol. v. p. 278, in his account of Beaupré Bell, a learned numismatist and antiquary, Mr Nichols says, he made a cast of the profile of Dr Stukeley, prefixed to his "Itinerarium," and an elegant bust of Alexander Gordon, after the original given by him to Sir Andrew Fountaine's niece.

Gordon was undoubtedly a man of considerable acquirements and learning, a good draftsman, and very indefatigable. His circumstances, however, were not favourable for his varied pursuits; and it may have required all that he could obtain for eulogistic dedications, flattering inscriptions, and the money collected from subscribers, to keep him free from pecuniary difficulties and occasional disputes, as we may infer from his own letters. His want of business habits may have rendered him careless in regard to money transactions, without accusing him, as in the following extract, of actual dishonesty. Mr John Nichols, in his "Literary Anecdotes," has given a note, written by John Whiston, a London bookseller, which says of Gordon, "He was but in narrow circumstances. For some time he was in partnership with Mr John Wilcox, bookseller in the Strand; but his education, temper, and manners did not suit him for a trade." Whiston appears to have had some prejudices against him, as he says further, "He had some learning, some ingenuity, much pride, much deceit, and very little honesty, as every one who knew him believed. Poverty tempted him to dishonesty, his national character and constitution to pride and ingenuity, and his dependence on the great to flattery and deceit."—(Vol. v. p. 699.)

The following may be considered a complete list of Gordon's publications:—

1. *Itinerarium Septentrionale*: or, a Journey thro' most of the Counties of Scotland, and those in the North of England. In two Parts, &c. The whole illustrated with sixty-six copperplates. By Alexander Gordon, A.M., London, printed for the Author, and sold by G. Strachan, J. Woodman, W. & J. Innes, and T. Woodward, 1726, folio.

Other copies were issued having a new title, with the following imprint:—London, printed for F. Gyles, D. Browne, Woodman & Lyon, and C.

Davis, 1727. A considerable number of copies were printed on Royal paper, as there are 71 mentioned in the list of subscribers, and also of the Additions in 1732, which are not always bound with the book. One of these large paper copies I bought at a London sale, said to contain the Author's original drawings. These drawings, not very numerous, are chiefly of a small size, very neatly drawn, but of no special importance.

The author says that, in prosecuting this work, "I confess I have not spared any pains in tracing the footsteps of the Romans, and in drawing and measuring all the figures in the following sheets from the originals, having made a pretty laborious progress through almost every part of Scotland for three years successively."

It is dedicated to his Grace Charles Duke of Queensberry, Dover, &c. Many of the plates have special inscriptions to some of the nobility and persons of distinction, whose names appear in the list of subscribers. The map of the principal Roman camps, forts, walls, has the name Johannes Mackay, *deliniavit*.

On page 188 is an advertisement, "The Author of this Work designs, in a few days, to publish Proposals for Engraving, by subscription, A Compleat View of the Roman Walls in Britain, viz., those of the Emperors Hadrian and Severus, in Cumberland and Northumberland, in a large Map, near 14 foot in length, and 6 in breadth; and that of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, in another map of about 6 foot in length, and 4 in breadth." It is much to be regretted that this Survey or work intended to delineate the Roman Walls, with drawings of all the inscriptions, and altars discovered, should not have appeared.

In 1731 Gordon informs us—"Some lovers of antiquity in Holland being now printing a Latin edition of my 'Itinerarium Septentrionale,' were desirous to know, at the time they began the said work, if I could transmit to them any additions and corrections for the original in English." (See Letter 10, in Appendix and note.)

In justice to his English subscribers, who encouraged the publication of his Itinerary, he printed such proposed Additions in a separate form, with this title—

2. Additions and Corrections, by way of Supplement, to the "Itinerarium Septentrionale," containing several dissertations on, and descriptions of Roman Antiquities discovered in Scotland, since the publishing of the

said Itinerary, together with Observations on other Ancient Monuments found in the North of England, never before published. By Alex. Gordon, A.M. London, printed for A. Vandenhoeck & Comp. And sold also by Mr Innys and Mr Knapton, Mr Strahan, and Mr Davis. 1732. Folio pp. 30, and four plates (lxvi.–lxix.) In the dedication, “To the Honourable James Makrae, Esq., late Governor of Fort St. George,” the author says :—

SIR,—The many favours I have received from you, when I was honour'd with your acquaintance abroad, and the continuance of them at home, oblige me to take the first opportunity of declaring to the World how much I am indebted to your friendship.

Accept therefore these Papers, not as any retribution for the many favours receiv'd, but as a sincere acknowledgment of a grateful heart.—I am, Sir, your most humble and most obliged servant,

ALEX. GORDON.

3. The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia : comprehending the Wars in the Reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. Kings of France ; and the chief Transactions and Revolutions in Italy, from the year 1492 to the year 1506. With an Appendix of Original Pieces referred to in the Work. By Alexander Gordon, A.M. London, printed in the year 1729, folio. The dedication, to his Grace James Duke of Montrose, is followed by a large and notable list of the names of the subscribers, beginning with Her most Sacred Majesty the Queen. Part II., after page 182, has a separate title and dedication to the Right Honourable John Earl of Stair. The volume contains portraits of Alexander VI., Pont. Max., and of Cæsar Borgia; the former probably etched by the Author.

4. A Complete History of the Antient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the Architecture of these Buildings, and in particular that of Verona. By the Marquis Scipio Maffei, made English from the Italian original by Alexander Gordon, A.M., Adorned with Sculpture; also some Account of this Learned Work. London : printed for Harmen Noorthuek. 1730. 8vo, pp. xvi. 423, and 25 plates. Dedicated to George Bows of Streatleham Castle, Esq.

A second edition, enlarged, was printed at London in 1736. 8vo.

5. *Lupone, or the Inquisitor. A Comedy.* London, printed for J. Wilford, behind the Chapter-house in St Paul's Church-yard, 1731. 8vo, pp. 84. It is dedicated to his Grace Cosmus, Duke of Gordon. The copy I have was from the Roxburghe collection; a pencil note after the Duke's name says, "Then (1731) eleven years old. After his father's death in 1728 he was educated in the Protestant religion." This explains the first part of the dedication, which begins "MY LORD, the sincere regard for truth, of which your Grace has given the world such early examples, renders you the proper patron of every attempt that tends to the exposing those whose employment is to promote the most pernicious error that ever deluded mankind, &c.—ALEX. GORDON." The scene is laid in Naples; and Lupone, a Dominican friar, is styled chief Inquisitor. In the "*Biographia Dramatica*," under Gordon's name, it is said—"This gentleman is known only as the author of one play."

6. *An Essay towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures, on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Capt. William Lethieullier.* By Alexander Gordon, A.M. London, printed for the Author, 1737. Folio, pp. 16. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq.

7. *An Essay towards Explaining the Antient Hieroglyphical Figures on the Egyptian Mummy, in the Museum of Doctor Mead, Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty.* By Alexander Gordon, A.M. London, printed for the Author, 1737. Folio, pp. 10. Dedicated to Dr Mead; and on a separate leaf the following advertisement to the reader:—

Advertisement to the Reader.

The Two preceding Essays being design'd to explain Three of the Twenty-five Copper-plates already deliver'd to Subscribers, an Explanation of the remaining Prints will come forth with all convenient speed; first, what belongs to the other antient Mummies exhibited in the said Plates; next, what regards the rest of the Monuments on Stone, Wood, Metal, &c.

N.B.—When this is finish'd according to the Terms of the Subscription, the Author intends to offer the Public another Work, viz, The History of the Egyptians, from the earliest Accounts given of them, to the Time of Darius, cotemporary with Alexander the Great; which

Work is not intended to be publish'd by Subscription, and is now very near ready to put to Press.

Subscribers will please to observe, That the xiiiith Plate which is describ'd in the Second Dissertation, as well as all the other Prints in their Hands, must be cut to the Size of the printed Sheets, because the rest of the Work will be of the same Dimensions.

The 25 plates for the most part have, as usual, each a separate dedication, by Gordon, to persons of distinction. These two Essays (Nos. 6 and 7), were intended to be followed with an additional description of the copperplate engravings, and another work, the History of the Egyptians, according to the above advertisement. In Bowyer's "Literary Anecdotes" by Nichols, this work, it is said, was left by Mr Gordon in MS., under the new title of "An Essay towards illustrating the History, Chronology, and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians, from the Earliest Ages on Record, till the Dissolution of their Empire, near the time of Alexander," which is dated London, July 6, 1741.

It will be observed that Gordon, in his last Will, gave special directions to have this work printed; which, however, never appeared.

APPENDIX.

ORIGINAL LETTERS OF ALEXANDER GORDON, A.M.

1.

*Letter to James Anderson, Esq.*¹

SIR,—Since you did me the favour of lending me Mr Sibald's book,² I have been very much instructed and informed by it, have therefore ranged over all the booksellers shoaps in town in search of purchasing it, but to no purpose, save that Paton has promis'd to procure me it this week. However, seeing the Baron and I probably go out of town tomorrow, I have in a manner an indispensable necessity of having that book of Sibald's along with me in my antiquary peregrination, so if I

¹ From Vol. iv. No. 46, of the Anderson Papers, in the Advocates' Library.

² So in the orig. MS. evidently a mistake for Sir Robert Sibbald.

could so far prevail on your goodness to lend me it till I come back from the virtuoso Tuer, which can be no farther than Glasgow, Sterling, and Perth this Summer, I should take it as a demonstration of very condescending goodness in you, seeing I can nott get another at present; and this book is absolutely necessary for my designes, seeing it directs me to 50 or 60 places which I know nothing about, besides am to trace the *Vallum* according to the stages sett down in his draught. All this considered, and that it may chance to be of publick good, I hope you'l indulge me with this favour which I came to ask of you in person; but I heard you was at the Fowl Briggs; am therefore impatiently waiting your commands this way, or if possitively you will have it returned, I shall, but at any rate should not, keep it long from you. I beg a thousand pardons for this my presumption on so early an aquaintance; but if ever there be anything wherein in the future I can serve you, the effectuating it shall be the greatest pleasure imaginable to,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER GORDON.

Aug. 19, 1723.

To Mr James Anderson, at the Foulbriggs.

2.

*Letter to Joseph Ames.*¹

TUESDAY, 21st June 1726.

SIR,—I received your letter of Monday, in which you desire me to meet you at the Quaker's, which I cannot, by reason of a prior engagement with Mr Mackay and others; nor do I know well what you mean by insisting on my promises, seeing, I think whatever I promised I have faithfully fulfilled, in a manner sufficient to any services I have had of you, which if you are not content, nor willing of a continuation of friendship, if you have a mind that justice shall decide the matter, let me know, that my attorney may appear, wherever you think proper to let me know, in a friendly manner, and if required, shall have sufficient bail ready, till a judge decide our difference. For my part, I thought by

¹ Printed from Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. v. p. 329, 330. When Gordon resigned the Secretaryship of the Society of Antiquaries, London, previous to his setting out for Carolina, Joseph Ames became his successor in 1741.

this time, on receipt of your clothes, you had been perfectly satisfied; and that the value of L.26, 10s. is reward for all you have done me. I think you go a very strange way to work in gaining friends and people's esteem, by such unreasonable pretensions, when you know with what difficulty I can get the two ends of my book's expense to meet. I did not expect this at your hand. Had you been easy till I had seen what profit I may have if any, or how my matters stand, I still would have exerted myself on your account, as I have already done, which is all from, Sir,
 your most humble servant,
 ALEXANDER GORDON.

P.S.—With the evening tide I go for Richmond to Sir Andrew Fountain, then to Twitnam, with Brigadier Bisset's books, next to Hampton Court, about a particular affair, so when I return I shall be very willing to lay the affair before Mr Colvill and Mr Richardson, your two friends; and I hope thereby exonerate myself and conduct in any affair betwixt you and me.

3.

Letter to Mr Nourse, Bookseller.

SIR,—I shall be obliged to you if you will at your leisure draw out the Credit part of our accompt, what you shew me in your shop last time is the Debtor side of your books I had of you; but I can instruct that you had 24 setts of my Dessertations on the Mummies, sent to you and not 18 as your memory misleads you in thinking, and as such I shall instruct it upon oath if required; besides I cannot possibly be owing you a ballance of a guinea, for you may remember after you had your Diogines Laiertius you told me yourself and since, that the ballance due you from me was about 18 or 19 shillings, and I dare say if you ever have stated your number of those Dissertations you received, and sold, right in your books, you will find I owe you no more, I should be sorry to have the same difficulty with you in settling this, as Mr Mackerther says he has had in his accompts with you, what I have told you is facts I can prove, therefore I am determin'd I will pay you no more then the ballance we had before settled, and what I really owe you.—Sir, your very humble servant,
 ALEX^r. GORDON.

St Martyn's Lane, 20th Oct. 1739.

To Mr Nourse, Bookseller at Temple Bar.

[A facsimile of this letter, which I lately bought in London, is given on Plate XIV. I would have preferred Gordon's letter to James Anderson, No. 1; but the size and faintness of the ink rendered it less suitable. If I mistake not, I have two or three other letters of Gordon, which have fallen aside. They may afterwards be added, if they prove of any interest.]

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS, published by Mr John Nichols in RELIQUÆ GALEANÆ, in the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," Vol. II. Lond. 1782.

[Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, best known by his designation of Baron Clerk, having been appointed one of the Barons of Exchequer on the institution of that Court after the Union. He was a man of considerable learning and accomplishments, and a zealous antiquary. He succeeded to the title as second Baronet on his father's death in 1722, and survived till the year 1755. His representative, the late Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, Bart., presented to the Society, in December 1857, a portion of his collections, consisting of four large and twelve smaller Roman Altars and Mural Inscriptions. See Proceedings vol. iii. p. 55, 1858, where they are specially described; also the tract published by Sir John himself "Dissertatio de Monumentis quibustem, etc. Edinburgi 1750. 4to."]

4.

Sir John Clerk to Mr Gale.

EDENBURGH, 16th April 1726.

I received this moment the honour of yours of the 9th instant, and at the same time one from Mr Gordon, wherein he tells me, that he had laid aside all thoughts of inserting our letters in his Appendix, and that he was only to take the substance of them in his own way. this piece of news pleases me extremely; and I hope you will keep him to his word.

5.

Sir John Clerk to Mr Gale.

PENNYCUICK, 2d June 1726.

I cannot now help what is done, but have caused the errata to be printed after the Appendix in as many copies as are to be sold here; I

I shall be obliged to you if you will at ^{my} Leisure draw out
 the Credit part of our accounts, what you then are in of Shop
 to have is the Rth Side of books I had of you, but I can instruct
 that you had 29 sets of my Disputations on Immunities, sent
 to you, & not so as your memory misleads you, ^{in thinking,} & as such I shall
 instruct it upon call if required. Besides I can not possibly be
 owing you a Balance of a Guinea for you may remember after
 had of ^{Mr} Diogenes Laertius you told me of Self & Time, that the
 Balance due you from me was about 10 or 12 Shillings, & I dare
 say if you ever have stated a number of these Disputations
 you received & sold, right, & in of books, you will find I owe you
 no more. I should be sorry to have a same difficulty with you
^{settling} as Mr. Mackenzie says he has had in his accounts with you,
 what I have told you is fact & I can prove, therefore I am deter-
 mined I shall pay no more than a Balance we had deposited
 & what I really owe you.

Y^r Wth

very humble Serv^t

J^r Mackenzie Law Oct^r 20. 1759

Alex^r Gordon

with them to him, much less have suffered my crude and hasty answers to have attended them into the world, had not the printing of yours indispensably required it. The errors you complain of must be wholly imputed to the stupidity and perverseness of the printers. I corrected the sheets myself with all the care I could; and finding, when the book was finished, most of their faults still left, I persuaded Mr Gordon to stop the publication of it for a week, whilst those sheets might be once more corrected and reprinted, which he did; but then returning from the press with some of the old errata set right, and new ones added in their room, stop them again he could not, having engaged a second time in the publick prints to deliver them at a certain day to his subscribers, which promise having broke, upon pretence the map was not ready (though the delay in reality was only to reprint the aforementioned sheets), he thought he could by no means excuse another non-performance of his engagements. I offered him to peruse every sheet of the whole book as it came out of the press, for which he seemed very thankful, but never sent me one, except those of the Appendix, containing our letters. I wish it was not his, being persuaded that he was perfectly right in all his notions which occasioned it, though you see as well as myself that he is not clear of mistakes; to which I must add, an impatience of getting the work abroad upon the prospect of getting a little money by it, his circumstances, as I believe, requiring and prompting him to it. I hope also that it has been a recommendation to him to some of our great men here, who, as he tells me, have given him some reason to expect they will do something for him. He may urge in his defence that strong plea of *Res angusta DOMI* for his hasty publication, as he may that other of *Vincit amor PATRIÆ*, where his zeal for the honour of his country has sometimes caused him to enforce his arguments too far.

7.

Sir John Clerk to Mr Gale.

EDENBURGH, 29th August 1726.

Mr Gordon is expected here, with his head full of a project, to make a communication between Clyde and Forth by a canal; when I see it is

probable he will be less fond of it, for his project has been thought of a good many years ago, but it has been judged the profits would not answer the charge.

8.

Mr Gale to Sir John Clerk.

LONDON, 6th September 1726.

I told Mr Gordon my thoughts of his project to cut through the Northern isthmus very freely. I could not see what manner of commerce could be so promoted by this new passage, as to pay the immense expence it would require to perfect it; at the same time the public is so poor here, and so many necessary demands upon it, that I am sure it will be impossible to obtain the least sum for such experiments, and I believe your treasury in Scotland is not much richer; he has, however, communicated it to some great men. My Lord Islay treated it, as I hear, with great contempt; and if Sir Robert Walpole gave it a more favourable reception, it proceeded from the recommendation of Secretary Johnson, and from his usual affability and desire to dismiss everybody that applies to him as well pleased as he can.—I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

[The scheme referred to in these two letters was one of various other projects in the course of last century for “cutting a navigable canal between the Firths of Clyde and Forth; but it was not till 1768 that Parliament sanctioned the measure. The business was set on foot by a subscription for L.150,000. In this year the cutting commenced; the sum, however, was inadequate, and it was only by a present of L.50,000 from the forfeited estates, made by Government, that the whole length of the canal was finished. On the 28th of July 1790 the navigation was opened from sea to sea.”—(Chambers’s “Gazetteer of Scotland.”)]

9.

Sir John Clerk to Mr Gale.

7th April 1729.

Last week I received your letter of the 24th of March, and return you my acknowledgements for so valuable a favour. Being in a little hurry at

the time, I only took notice of two things in relation to the publishing my letters by Mr Gordon. [At the end of his "Itinerarium Septentrionale," p. 169-184, without mentioning the names of the writers.]

10.

Sir John Clerk to Mr Gale.

EDENBOROUGH, 13th March 1732.

I had the favour of yours of the 11th January, but could not get so much time as to thank you for it, such was the hurry of some affairs in which I am concerned; and on the like occasions you have been so good as to excuse me. I never saw Mr Gordon's Supplement till within these eight days. He had done well either not to have printed at all, or done it with less precipitation. His dispute with Dr Hunter (physician at Durham) is amazing, for both what he and the doctor says, about the time of erecting the Basilica, may be true. I was out of all patience when I found him making remarks on some of your observations, which, I believe, were never printed; but, it seems he is one of those that would rather lose their friend than their jest, and a little more learning would make him a compleat modern critic. I have been sorry often to observe such weaknesses; but I was so much obliged to him for the happiness he introduced me to of your acquaintance, that I could overlook many faults in him. I beg it of you not to discountenance him altogether, but continue to give him your good advice, though he may be very little capable of benefiting by it. I have troubled you with the inclosed to him, which I beg you would allow a servant to carry him. I see he has helped off some of his errata in the "Itinerarium," but has taken no notice of some ridiculous things he made me say; wherefore I have sent him a few corrections, if there be place for them in his Latin edition.

[I suspect that the proposed publication in Holland of Gordon's *Itinerary*, translated into Latin, to which we are indebted for the Additions and Supplement by the Author in 1732, never was completed. I do not at least recollect ever having seen the book, nor does the title appear in the catalogues of various libraries where such a book was most likely to have been found. D. L.]

II.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE DISTRICT OF KNAPDALE, ARGYLLSHIRE, AND THE ISLANDS OF GIGHA AND CARA. BY CAPT. T. P. WHITE, R.E., F.S.A. SCOT. (WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.)

The last time I had the honour of addressing the Society my subject was the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Peninsula of Kintyre, in Argyllshire. On the present occasion I have to give the results of my labours in the adjoining district of Knapdale, with its interesting offshoot, the island named Eilean Mor, and also the little known islands of Gigha and Cara, lying off the Kintyre coast.

In illustrating the relics of these localities, I have proceeded upon the same plan adopted for Kintyre, and endeavoured to embody exhaustively, in the series of drawings which are exhibited this evening, every sculptured fragment, great or small, to be found above ground.

Time, however, will not permit me to do more than run rapidly over the various sites, and describe the salient features of their sculptures. But this I may say at the outset, if any one supposes that there is nothing new to learn from the mediæval works of art in these parts beyond what he has met with in others of the West Highland districts, he is very much mistaken. An experienced archæologist, who has made these monuments the study of many years, said to me, on taking up the exploration of Knapdale—"You are entering the richest part of the field;" and I believe he was right. An inspection of the drawings exhibited this evening, will show what a wealth of inventive designing power and manipulative skill lay with the architects of the Knapdale tomb carvings. But it will show more than this. It will show that in all probability the destroyers of ecclesiastical relics have been less busy here than elsewhere, either from the greater seclusion of the localities, or from the operation of other causes. And thus we have a richer variety of material, and mementoes of still more ancient days than in other directions, along with the unchangeable glories of landscape which add such a charm to the labours of the wanderer among these solitudes.

Opposite Tayinloan, about midway along the west coast of Kintyre, are

two low-lying islands named Gigha and Cara, and forming one united parish. Cara presents a bold front to the southward, but, on the whole, the impression one derives, viewing the islands from the mainland, is of a land which has had a struggle with the sea, and has barely succeeded in getting its head above water. Gigha is nearly seven miles long by two at its widest. The ferry is about three miles across from Tayinloan. The principal ecclesiastical site of ancient times on the island of Gigha is Kilchattan, which has a namesake in the peninsula of Kintyre and elsewhere. Among the interesting groups of sepulchral mediæval monuments of these islands, the principal is one with the appearance of having Ogham characters engraved on it. With one other exception, this is believed to be the only Ogham stone yet discovered in the West Highlands. A cross at "Righ a Chaibeal," or the kings' burial place, as it has been translated, is also among the number. Some of the sculptures here are of great beauty; and the old font, octagonal in shape, is almost unique in the old church architecture of Argyllshire.

It was off Gigha that King Hakon's fleet lay in 1263, when he met the Highland chiefs of Kintyre and the Grey Friars of Saddell. Turning to Kilberry parish, in the district of Knapdale, no vestiges of the old church dedicated to St Barr or Berach, the monastery, or the castle remain, but the tomb sculptures are very fine, and one or two of them of remarkable types. Among them is a cross with a contorted figure of the Saviour, and a pedestal retaining the marks caused by the knees of penitents, also a slab with a device suggesting the sceptre and crescent symbol of the eastern Scottish pillar-stones. Another of the carvings represents what tradition calls St Peter's Cock. Two fine alto-relievos of knights are seen here also.

Among other religious sites in this parish is "Dalchairn," which has been supposed to represent the place "Delgon," named by the early Irish annalists as being in Kintyre, where fell in battle Duncan, a near relation of King Aidan, and many of his followers. Kilanaish is another ancient site, with its holy well. Passing through Kilberry to the next parish, we find that it includes one of the most interesting ecclesiastical sites, and one among the richest in sculptured monuments to be met with in the Western Highlands, Kilmory of Knap. It also takes in the estuary of Loch Caolisport, on the north side of which is Cove, a spot of singularly salient ecclesiastical association. Passing the sites of Kilmaluag, Ormsary,

“Sqeir an Fiodha” (rock of the wood), and other places, we come to Cove. Here there is a chapel and ancient burying-ground dedicated to St Columba; also a cave with rude altar, and over it a pretty little cross, cut out of the solid rock. This cave is closely connected with a legend of St Columba, deeply rooted in the locality. “It is told that on the memorable voyage of the great missionary, when, heart-sore, he turned his face northward from the beloved land of his birth, the wind bore him into this pretty cove of Loch Caolisport, and that here he landed, and for a time ministered to the Knapdale folk, inhabiting the larger of the two caves. But it fell out on a certain day that, for the first time, he chanced to climb the hill which rises steeply above the chapel, and gazing out to sea from a particular point, saw in the magnificent panorama which opened out before him the dim outlines of the Irish coast. Hastily descending, he collected his followers, and departed to seek elsewhere for his home a still more distant spot, out of sight of the land which could arouse such painful recollections.”

“Cladh Bhile,” near Cove, is an ancient “kil,” situated in the covert of a thick wood, without enclosures of any kind. Its relics, the existence of which is scarce known to any one, are of very antique types. Kilmory of Knap is a site wonderfully rich in sculptured remains. Macmillan’s cross is a very fine specimen. Two fine slabs have each a galley, represented as pierced for eighteen rowers. Wolves, winged quadrupeds of strange type, otters after fish, birds, richly-bound missal-books, and so on, are among the objects seen on the Kilmory slabs. One unique type of object is a creature with a single long curved horn growing from its forehead, and a face with a half-human expression. Two slabs with ecclesiastics are here—one tonsured and in plain habit, the other vested in full sacramental robes. Another richly carved tombstone has two axes introduced along with the sword. Two handsome full-length effigies of knights are also within the chapel area. There is a curious tradition of certain characters in Gaelic having been in ancient times engraved on a rock at the point of Knap, setting forth the hereditary right of the Macmillans to the lordship of this part of Knapdale. The tradition adds that the Campbells destroyed this writing, because it was held that so long as it remained, so long would a Macmillan rule over the land. And in course of time the Campbells made their way into this part of the country, and into the adjacent territories of the Macneils.

The chapel in the interesting island of Eilean Mor is quite a curiosity, some of its architectural features being of a remarkable type. There are remains of two, if not three, ancient crosses here. On one is an ancient inscription, from which we learn that a lady of the isles, in conjunction with one John, priest and hermit of the island, set up this cross. There is also a beautifully carved effigy of a full-vested priest here, popularly believed to represent St Carmac, patron of the island chapel, and of the neighbouring one at Keills. In a cave at the south end of Eilean Mor is carved a small cross, similar to the one at Cove. Some traces of an anchorite's cell and other ancient buildings were also referred to.

Keills, in North Knapdale—a picturesque site with an old church in fair preservation—has a fine cross, which is very Irish in character, and possesses some marked features. The group of tomb-sculptures here are, for finish and variety, unsurpassed in the western mainland. Take, for example, one with an admirably detailed harp on it, every string of which is brought out, and an ornament introduced on the frame. The execution of every part of this carving is in keeping with the harp, even to the straps of the sword-scabbard. Another slab, very similar in style and refinement, has an inscription very perfect, yet, as often happens, very difficult to read with certainty. I have had the assistance of a veteran archaeologist and competent Gaelic scholar, well known to many of you, and his reading is as follows, translated into English:—"Here lies Terence M'Lean O'Lin of the hunt of Kil-ma-Carmalg." It is, he considers, a Latin rendering of Gaelic names in their old Celtic garb, hence the difficulty of interpreting the inscription. A fine tableau of a stag, hounds, and a hare or rabbit, on this slab seem to square with the view that the individual here commemorated was a renowned hunter. Another especially noteworthy slab is one with twelve animals—a larger number than I ever saw before on any single tombstone in the west. The bird on this stone is believed to be the sheldrake, or some variety of the "waders" that haunt this district. Here also we see the first example of the fox I have met with. On one or two of the slabs we find the same wolf-like animal seen elsewhere; and in one case I think we have the wild-cat. A curious tombstone, with a round hole perforated through it, has a characteristic legend attached to it. At Tainish House, near Keills, a curious antique cross was found.

Captain White then referred to the topographical nomenclature of this

neighbourhood, in which a decided Norse character can be detected. Reference was next made to the ancient religious sites of "Druim a' Chladha," "Kilbride," "Ach Cill Bhranain" (the place of St Brendan's cell), "Cladh Eoin," and "Eilean Louain," with the dedications and attached traditions in each case. Kilmichael of Inverlussa, the site of the present parochial church of North Knapdale, has one other remarkable post-Reformation slab, partaking of the character of the older mediæval sculptures. The traces of an old chapel, with the priest's house as it is called, and a holy well, are among the ancient remains here. Two very antique sculptures, thoroughly Irish in character, are found at "Ach-na-Cille," and Kilmory of Oib, the one at the latter place having a central cross and four birds, three of them with their beaks pressed into it, as though the sculptor wished in this way to express that it was fitting even for the fowls of the air to do homage to the holy symbol. Kilmahumaig, Kilduolan, and an old "Kil," near Stonefield House, are other religious sites in Knapdale. There is a beautiful and uncommon type of slab at Kilmichael Glassary, one at Appin, two in the island of Seil, and two at the head of Glen Fine, a few miles from Inveraray. The last-named site is locally known as "Clachan," but ecclesiastically as Kilmoriche, doubtless another of the numerous western "Kils" whose tutelary saint was not, as popularly supposed, the Virgin Mary, but St Maerlruve of Applecross, in Ross-shire.

This concludes my review of the collection of illustrations immediately connected with the subject brought before you this evening. For their artistic merits I have nothing to say, but as regards their substantial accuracy I venture to challenge comparison with any other set of drawings that may be brought into the field. I am in hopes to see my way shortly to their publication as a second instalment of the work on Kintyre, accompanied by a fuller letterpress notice of the many interesting legends, topography, and other interesting materials the district contains, than I could possibly have given you within the compass of a single evening.

There are other sketches and drawings selected from jottings made in my survey travels through Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man; and this being the last occasion I may have for a good while to come of personally addressing you, I have thought it worth while to exhibit them. Having received orders to go on a tour of foreign service, I must, for the present, bid farewell to the further prosecution of the work I had, in some sort,

systematically begun in Argyllshire. I do so with very great regret, for when one has got over the alphabet of a subject, and the inevitable mistakes which beset the path of every beginner, and with a ripening experience has begun to warm to one's work, to be forced away from it by circumstances is not agreeable. But whether or not I ever again have the opportunity of resuming my work here, I shall always look back with pleasant recollections upon the time I have spent amongst you, upon the friends I have made amongst you, and upon the deeply interesting studies which it is the object of this Society to promote.

III.

NOTES OF SOME UNPUBLISHED RECORDS OF THE COINAGES OF JAMES VI. BY R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

Some unpublished records of the coinages of the reign of James the Sixth, are still extant in the Register House, and consist, in the first place, of the "Minutes of the Privy Council," extending in almost a complete series from the commencement to the close of the period. A few extracts from these are given by Lindsay in his "View of the Coinage of Scotland," but the most important of them have never hitherto been made accessible to the Scottish numismatist. It will be seen from the following descriptions that they supply nearly all the blanks which exist at present in our knowledge of the various series of coins of this reign. There is also a most important "Compt of the Cunzie" made by Thomas Acheson, extending from April 1582 to August 1606, and affording full information as to the dates of the various mintages and the amounts coined. Several of the wardens' books and registers of the daily work at the Mint are also preserved; and one interesting register, of the mintages from 1588 to 1592 has been discovered amongst the MSS. in the Society's Library, and I am indebted to Mr Joseph Anderson for directing my attention to it.

Besides the above unpublished Records there are several contracts, overtures, reports, and other papers of a miscellaneous nature, all relating to the subject before us.

It may be of interest to students of Scottish numismatics to point out

the more important results which an investigation of the above-mentioned documents has afforded, and for this purpose the following tables and descriptions are given. Beginning with the Silver Coinages we find that the James Ryall or Sword-Dollar was ordered to be coined by an Act of Privy Council in August 1567. This Act is given by Cardonnel, and is found in the Minutes of the Privy Council in almost identical terms. Lindsay's account of this coinage is full and correct, though some new dates have occurred since his time. We may, therefore, sum up the complete history of these pieces as follows, viz. :—

The Sword-dollar, originally called the James Ryall, was issued in 1567-68-69-70-71. It was authorised by an Act of Privy Council recorded in August 1567. The value at the time of issue was 30s., but this was subsequently raised to 36s. 9d. in 1578 by an Act of Privy Council. The weight was one ounce Troy Scottish, or $472\frac{1}{2}$ grains modern Troy, and the fineness 11 deniers, with the usual remedies for weight and fineness. The countermarks which occur were ordered to be put on in 1578 by an Act of Privy Council, when all the 30s. pieces and their parts were recalled to the Mint, tested, and reissued with a counter-mark.

We come now to the nobles (so called by Lindsay), though they were more commonly known as the Half-merk Pieces. These were authorised to be issued by an Act of Privy Council, dated 12th May 1572. They were coined during the first year at Dalkeith, as appears from a letter preserved in the State Paper Office, addressed by Sir Wm. Drury to Lord Burleigh,¹ and according to the author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents"² were only 6 denier fine, though it is worthy of remark that no mention of the fineness is made in the Act of the Privy Council, which is most unusual. The coinage at Dalkeith only occurred for one year, as in 1573 there is an entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts of "xij^{uo} xa. payit for carying and transporting of the hail necessaris and work lumis appartening to the cunzehous fra the castell of Dalkeith to the palice of Halyrudhous." . . . In 1576 the standard of fineness was raised to eight deniers, as appears from a contract entered into between the Regent and Abraham Petersoun, preserved in the Register House, and in 1579 it was recalled to the usual standard of 11 den. The Half-noble, or Forty Penny Piece, is exactly similar, except in value.

¹ Cal. State Papers, Scotland, vol. i. p. 343.

² Pp. 297, 298.

The next silver coins mentioned in the "View of the Coinage of Scotland" are the Thistle Dollars, or more properly the Two-merk Pieces of 1579, and in his account of them Lindsay falls into several errors. In the first place, he mistakes the weights used in the Scottish Mint for the modern English Troy standard; and in the next place, he confuses the coinage of 1581 with that of 1579. We may sum up the correct history of these two-merk pieces as follows, viz:—

The Thistle Dollar, more properly known as the Two-merk Piece, was first authorised by an Act of the Parliament of Scotland on the 25th of July 1578. By this Act full power was given to the Privy Council to fix the type, weight, purity, and value. Accordingly, on the 18th September, an Act of Privy Council was passed, ordering a piece of silver to be coined of the fineness of 11 deniers, to weigh 17 deniers and 11 grains Scottish (or a little over 344 grains modern Troy), to be called the Two-merk Piece, and to have course for 26s. 8d. The half was to be in all respects similar, but current for only 13s. 4d. The usual remedies of weight or fineness were allowed. This coinage was further confirmed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1579.

The merk piece is exceedingly rare, though three or four are known. The dates 1578–1579 occur in the two-merk pieces, and 1579–1580 on the merk pieces. The coinage of 1581 was entirely different, and presents a series complete in itself. It seems that about the end of 1580 or beginning of 1581, in pursuance of an authority granted by Parliament, the Mint had been let to certain partners on lease. These appear from the Act of 1581 to have been Clark of Balbirnie, provost of Edinburgh; Napier of Wrighthouses, Nicholl Edward, Harry Nisbet, Richard Abercromby, Robert Abercromby, and Thomas Acheson. Their contract was to have lasted for three years; but in 1581 the Act above noticed put an end to the contract, apparently on account of the unprofitable way in which the coinage was carried out. It appears that 211 stone 10 lb. weight of silver were coined into 16s., 8s., 4s., and 2s. pieces during this year; and it was ordered to be brought into the Mint, and recoined into the 10s. pieces of the next coinage of 1582. It is unquestionable, therefore, that the coins figured in Lindsay's tenth plate, Nos. 206*, 207, 207,* 208, were the coins minted during this lease of the Mint, and were a series of pieces quite distinct from the two-merk piece and merk piece of 1578–79–80.

This brings us to the coinages of 1582. The Act of Parliament above

noticed orders the coinage of 1581 to be recalled, and coined into 10s. pieces, 11 denier fine; and four to go to the ounce. From an entry in the Treasurer's account, it appears that Thomas Foulis was ordered by the king to prepare dies for this coinage from a portrait of the king drawn by Lord Seytoun's painter. An Act of Privy Council later in the same year allows the usual remedies of weight and fineness, which had been omitted in the Parliamentary Act, and orders the coinage to take place in Archibald Stewart's house in Edinburgh, owing to the ruinous state of the Mint beside Holyrood.

In March 1582 the Privy Council ordered the coinage of 40s., 30s., and 20s. pieces, in addition to the 10s. pieces formerly sanctioned. We may therefore sum up the history of these pieces as follows, viz. :—

The 40s. pieces authorised by the Act of Privy Council above noticed were struck at the Mint at Edinburgh in 1582, and perhaps later; and the 30s., 20s., and 10s. pieces from 1582 to May 1586. These coins weigh respectively an ounce Scottish, three-quarters of an ounce, half an ounce, and a quarter ounce, and were 11 denier fine, with the usual remedies of weight and fineness. Their values were afterwards raised.

The next coinage was the Balance Half-merks and Forty-penny Pieces, which were authorised by an Act of Parliament in August 1591, and by an Act of Privy Council in January of the same year, and all the silver was reduced to 10½ denier fine, and re-issued in these pieces.

In 1593 the Mint was let for two years and three months to the Provost and Council of Edinburgh, and a new coinage of silver of eleven penny fine was struck in 10s., 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. pieces, with the usual remedies of weight and fineness.

The Mint was again let in 1598 to Thomas Foulis, goldsmith, for six years, at a yearly rent of L.5000. In 1601 a new coinage of merks was authorised by an Act of the Scottish Parliament assembled at Perth. These were to weigh about 104 grs., with the usual remedies for weight and fineness, and with half merks and forty and twenty penny pieces corresponding.

In considering the accompanying table of the silver coins, it is necessary to remark that the years of issue are not complete, as some of the Mint registers cannot now be found. The weights authorised by the Acts are subject to a remedy of two grains either way, so that the fractional parts may be practically disregarded.

Name of Silver Coin.	Dates of Issue from the Mint Registers, &c.	Weight authorised by Acts of Privy Council.	Value at the time of Issue, do., do.	Standard of Fineness, do., do.		
1. James Ryall, or sword dollar. Two - thirds James Ryall. One - third James Ryall.	1567 to 1571.	Graina. 472½	30/	11 den.	} The Act of Privy Council authorising this coinage is given both by Cardonnel and Lindsay. The date 1567 ought to occur, though not given in Lindsay.	
	do.	315	20/	do.		
	1568 to 1571.	157½	10/	do.		
2. Half merk or noble. Half noble, or forty penny piece.	1572-8-4-5-7-80.	...	6/8	6 den. but raised to 8 den.	} This coinage was at first very base, but afterwards raised.	
	1572.	...	3/4			
3. Two - merk piece, or thistle dollar. Merk piece.	1578-9.	344½	26/8	11 den.	} The merk piece of this coinage extremely rare. The coins with crowned thistle do not belong to this coinage. 16th Dec. 1579.*	
	1577-80 1581.	172	13/4	do.		
4. Sixteen shilling piece, with half, quarter, and eight parts of the same.	1581	...	16/ 8/ 4/ 2/	...	29th June 1581.*	
5. Forty shilling piece, with three-fourths, half, and up to quarter of the same.	6th April	472½	40/	11 den.	} There are frequent coinages of 40/ pieces mentioned in the Mint registers. 2d May 1583.*	
	1582-8-4, and	354½	30/			
	up to	236½	20/			
	10th May 1586.	118½	10/			
6. Balance half merk. Half do., or forty penny piece.	1591-2-3.	...	6/8	10½ den.	} The Mint register of these is preserved, and shows that they were coined from 1st Sept. 1591 to 1st Dec. 1592. 4th Sept. 1591.*	
	1591-2.	...	3/4	do.		
7. Ten - shilling piece, with five shilling, thirty pence, and twelve penny pieces.	1598-4-5-6-8-9.	94½ 47½ 28	10/ 5/ 2/6 1/	11 den. do. do. do.	} 4th Feb. 1593.*	
	8. Thistle merk, with half merk, forty penny, and twenty penny pieces.	1601-2-3-4.	104 52 26 13	13/4 6/8 4/4 1/8		11 den. do. do. do.

* The Acts indicated by an asterisk are from P. C. R. 1609-1610. p. 226.

Gold.—The first gold coins struck in this reign were the fine L.20 gold pieces. These were minted in November 1575 for the first time, and were to be one ounce Scottish Troy in weight, and were to have course for L.20 Scots. Some writers have thought these were meant as medals; but that they were intended for currency is evident from the account of them preserved in the “*Historie of James Sixth*,” p. 158, and from a passage in “*Melville’s Memoirs*,” ed. 1735, p. 251, where it is said that the Regent presented twenty-five of them to one of his friends, which he would hardly have done had they been struck as medals.

The next Act relating to the gold coinage has puzzled Scottish numismatists not a little. It authorises and describes a piece of gold to be 47 grains Troy in weight, and to be 21 carat, and to pass for 40s. This coin has never been seen, and the explanation of its non-appearance is found in one of the unpublished Acts of Privy Council, which alters both the type and the value, and substitutes the ducat of 1580 (called by Lindsay the bareheaded noble) in its place.¹

We may sum up the history of this coinage as follows:—

The Scottish ducat or bareheaded noble was coined on the authority of an Act of Privy Council, of date April 1580. It was to be 21 carats fine, $94\frac{1}{2}$ grains modern Troy in weight, and to be current for L.4. J. Gray was the engraver of the dies for this piece, as appears from an entry in the Treasurer’s account of a payment to him for them.

The next coinage of gold was authorised by an Act of the Parliament of Scotland passed in 1584, which ordered the issue of two pieces of gold, one to be six in the ounce, or $78\frac{3}{4}$ grains Troy (modern standard) in weight, the other to be $52\frac{1}{2}$ grains in weight. These were the pieces now known as the lion noble and the two-thirds lion noble. The one-third is not mentioned in the Act of Parliament which remits to the Privy Council to take order as regards the form, legends, and remedies of weight and fineness. Accordingly, in August we find an Act of Privy Council giving directions as to the type, and ordering the coinage of the one-third piece, with one grain in each coin for remedy of weight, and one-sixth of a carat as the remedy of fineness.

¹ A design for the 40s. piece has been discovered amongst the Hopetoun MSS.

Name of Gold Coins.	Dates of Issue from the Mint Registers.	Weights authorised by Acts of Privy Council.	Value at time of Issue, do. do.	Standard of fineness, do. do.	
1. Twenty Pound Piece.	1575-6.	Orains. 472½	£ s. d. 20 0 0	...	16th March 1576.*
2. Scottish Crown.	...	42½	2 0 0	21 carat.	This coinage was authorised by Act of Parliament, but was cancelled by Act of Privy Council.
3. Scottish Ducat or Bareheaded Noble.	2d Aug. to 29th Nov. 1580.	94½	4 0 0 or 4 4 0	21 carat.	Act of Privy Council in April 1580 authorised this coinage, and Act of Parliament (III. 191) made it 4 guineas instead of pounds.
4. Lion Noble, with two-thirds (called the lion crown) and one-third of the same.	2d Nov. 1584 to 18th April 1586-7-8. ¹	78½ 52½ 26½	3 15 0 ¹ 2 10 0 1 5 0	21½ carat. do. do.	The one-third Lion Noble is not mentioned except in the Act of Privy Council. 2d Nov. 1584.*
5. Thistle Nobles with the half.	1589 to 1596.	118 59	7 3 8 3 14 4	23 c. 7 gr. do.	The half is not known to exist, nor is there any mention of it in the Mint Register.
6. Hat Piece (or Four Pound Piece) with half.	1591-2-3.	...	4 0 0 2 0 0	22 carat. fine. do.	The half, though authorised, is not now known, though from the Mint Registers it would appear to have been struck. 4th Nov. 1591.*
7. Riders, with halves of the same.	1593-4, 1598-9, 1601.	78½ 39½	5 0 0 2 10 0	22 carat. do.	Act of Privy Council in 1593. 4th Feb. 1593.*
8. Sword and Sceptre Pieces, with their halves.	1601-2-3-4.	78½ 39	6 0 0 3 0 0	do. do.	Act of Parliament at Perth. The Mint Registers have been preserved, and show coinages in 1604. 30th Nov. 1601.

* The Acts indicated by an asterisk (*) are preserved in P. C. R. 1609-1610, p. 226.

¹ This raised to L. 4 in 1588.

² These dates are not given in the Mint Registers.

In July 1587 Parliament appointed certain commissioners to confer regarding the state of the money, and to consider a proposed new coinage of gold. Nothing seems to have been done, however, till the following year, when the Privy Council in September authorised the issue of a new gold coin, to be one quarter of an ounce in weight, and 23 carats 7 grains in fineness, with the usual remedies. Its current value was to be L.7, 6s. 8d. A half-piece was also ordered. The type is minutely described, and is now known as the thistle noble. The half is unknown, so far as I am aware, and no record of its coinage exists. The dies for this piece were executed by Th. Foulis, as appears from the Treasurer's accounts.

In January 1591 the Privy Council, following the sanction of an Act of Parliament of the previous August, ordered all the gold coins except the thistle nobles to be brought to the Mint, and there re-coined into pieces of 22 carat fine, to be current for L.4.

Billon.—An Act of Privy Council of 24th December 1583 orders the coinage of groats of threepenny fine of the value of eightpence each, and the half groat at fourpence, with the usual remedies for fineness. One hundred and thirty-five of these groats are to be in the merk, and double that number of half groats, with an allowance of eight of the groats, or sixteen of the half groats, as a remedy for weight upon every merk-weight. These are the well-known placks with the mint "Oppidum Edinburgi."

In consequence of the virulence of the plague at Edinburgh in 1585, the Privy Council on the 23d of June ordered the general and master of the Mint, with all the furniture, &c., to remove to Dundee, and there continue the coining of gold, silver, and alloyed money, and to put on the placks the legend "Oppidum Dundie" instead of the metropolitan Mint. In October another Act of Privy Council orders the Mint to be changed to Perth, in consequence of the appearance of the plague at Dundee, and the placks were ordered to have "Oppidum Perth" placed on them. I am unable to trace any placks with these legends, though from other evidence it is not unlikely some were struck at Perth.

In 1588 the Privy Council ordered the coinage of twopenny and penny placks. These are minutely described in the Act, and are called by Lindsay the hardheads (pl. 17, fig. 50) and half hardheads. The twopenny plack is to have the lion within a shield, though, as will be after-

wards seen, this type was changed to the lion without the shield. These coins were to be 12 grains fine, and 320 of the pennies were to weigh a merk.¹ In November the type was altered as above mentioned, and the lion with two dots put instead of the lion within the shield. This alteration was made because some avaricious and deceitful persons passed them as eight-penny placks.

The Mint Registers of most of these coinages are still extant.

The other billon coinages are given in Lindsay.

MONDAY, 12th January 1874.

SIR WILLIAM STIRLING MAXWELL, BART., M.P., in the Chair.

After a ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

ALEXANDER DOWELL, Esq., 13 Palmerston Place.

CHARLES MUNRO, Esq., 18 George Street.

ARCHIBALD STEVENSON, Esq., South Shields.

The following Letters which had been received from the Gentlemen elected as Honorary and Corresponding Members were laid before the meeting :—

“ COPENHAGEN, Dec. 6th, 1873.

“ *To the President and the Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

“ Gentlemen,—I have to return my most sincere thanks for the great honour you have bestowed upon me in electing me an Honorary Member of your distinguished Society. It is in the highest degree flattering to me to be in such a way intimately connected with an institution which has rendered so great services to the Archæology, not only of Scotland, but also of other countries.—I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen, your most obedient and faithful servant,

“ J. J. A. WORSAAE.”

¹ Nine two-penny pieces to the ounce. Act of 1601, Act iv. p. 259.

“ UPSALA, December 20th, 1873.

“ *To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

“ Gentlemen,—On the 15th of December I received the diploma whereby the Society has been pleased to do me the honour of electing me as a Corresponding Member. It is with a lively feeling of gratitude that I find myself thus distinguished by the most celebrated Antiquarian Society of Scotland, which country, like its brother-land England, is justly considered as respecting, in a higher degree than any other nation, the study of Antiquity, and loving to honour the memory of forefathers. I shall therefore always consider the distinction thus awarded to me as one of the most honourable and most acceptable that I have received.

“ As a small mark of my thankfulness, I take the liberty of sending by this post to the Society, two small brochures.

“ 1st, *Sigurds-ristningarna, &c.*; or, the Sigurd carvings on *Ramsund's* Rock, and *Gök-stone*; two monuments belonging to the beginning of the 11th century, and referring to the Legend of *Sigurd Fáfnis-bani*.

“ 2d, *Kyrkidorrs-ringen, &c.*; or, The Ring (with a Runic Inscription) on the door of *Angelstad Church*.

“ The first of these is interesting, not only to us Scandinavians, but also to all Teutonic peoples, as first exhibiting the unquestionably oldest monument found in any country of *Sigurd*, one of the chief personages in the Teutonic Saga-cycle relating to the *Völsungar* and *Niflungar*, and in the German *Nibelungen-lied*.—I remain, Gentlemen, most respectfully your obedient and humble servant,

“ CARL SÄVE,

“ Professor of Old Northern Languages
at the University of Upsala.”

“ 15 LOMBARD STREET, London, Dec. 23d, 1873.

“ Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st, which arrived during my absence from England, informing me that I have been elected an Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

“ I beg you to be kind enough to convey to the Society my thanks for the honour they have done me.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

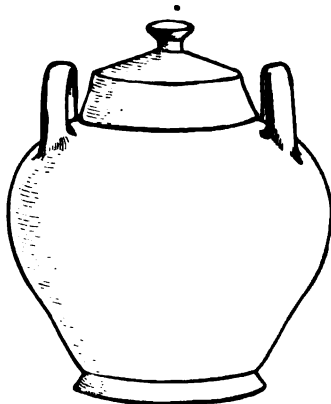
“ JOHN LUBBOCK.

“ JOHN STUART, Esq.”

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Collection of Relics from Herculaneum, Capri, &c., made by the Donor, consisting of :—



Stamnos, 8 inches high.

Stamnos or Jar, 8 inches high, with upright handles and cover, painted with a pattern (now almost obliterated) of red and black, on a cream-coloured ground. (See woodcut.)

Lecythus or Cruet, of tall cylindrical shape, with narrow neck and attached handle. It is of red ware, painted with patterns and figures in black, and stands $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter at the widest part.

Lecythus of similar form and material, 5 inches high by 2 inches in diameter, imperfect at top.

Lecythus of similar form and mate-

rial to the two last, but with the neck broken off.

Small *Lecythus*, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter, of similar material, but having the body more globular, the neck longer in proportion to the size of the vase, and the lip less heavy.

Small *Ænochoe* or Wine-Jug, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with trefoil-shaped mouth, and handle rising above the brim.

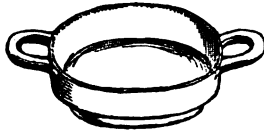
Small Oval Jug of coarser material, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Scyphos or Drinking-Cup (broken), $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, 2 inches deep, with recurved lip, and horizontal handles.

Small *Scyphos* of red ware, 2 inches diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, with horizontal handles. It has been painted with a pattern, which is now almost wholly obliterated. (See the annexed woodcut.)

Small Shallow *Scyphos*, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, 1 inch deep, painted black.

Very Small *Scyphos*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, 1 inch deep, painted with a pattern of parallel lines, now almost obliterated. (See woodcut.)



Scyphos, 2 inches diameter.



Scyphos, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter.

Crowned Head of a Statuette of a Female in terra-cotta, from Paestum. The head is about 2 inches in height.

Double-Faced Head of a Statuette in terra-cotta. The head is about 1 inch in height.

Mosaics from the ruined Temple at Baia.

Portions of Tesselated Pavement from the villa of Tiberius at Capri, and from the Temple of Ceres at Paestum.

Bronze Fibula, 4 inches in length.

Thirteen Small Brass Coins of the Lower Empire, from Paestum.

(2.) By JAMES WILSON, Esq.

A Collection of Stone Implements, Pottery, &c., made in Canada by the Donor, viz. :—

Fifteen Arrow-heads of bluish cherty slate, of triangular form, from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, found under the roots of a large hemlock tree, apparently at least 120 years old, which had been uprooted by a storm in the township of Horton, county of Renfrew, and province of Ontario, Canada.

Gouge of greenstone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width across the opening, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep from the plane of the straight sides to the centre of the circular edge. (See the accompanying woodcut.)

Two Arrow-heads of chert, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, somewhat leaf-shaped, and having indentations on opposite sides of the

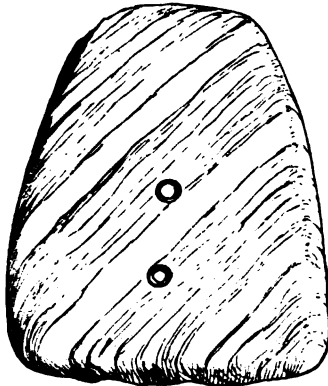


Gouge of Greenstone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long.

butt for tying to the shaft, found in the township of Bathurst, county of Lanark, province of Ontario, Canada.

Celt of greenstone, polished, 8 inches in length, and 2 inches broad in the cutting-edge, found in the township of Drummond, county of Lanark, and province of Ontario.

Bird-like Object of polished serpentine, found on an island in Otte Lake, in the township of North Bayess, county of Lanark, province of Ontario, Canada. It measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and is cut into a rude representation of a bird—possibly intended for a swimming duck. Two holes are drilled in the under side of the ornament in order to affix it by a thong, probably to some part of the dress.



Gorget of Veined Slate, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Polished Ornament of a thin piece of veined slate, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 4 inches wide, the thickness less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. It is pierced in the centre by two holes, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch apart, and seems to have been worn on the breast as a gorget, or perhaps as an amulet. It was found in the township of Drummond, county of Lanark, province of Ontario, Canada. (See the accompanying woodcut.)

Three Fragments of Pottery, ornamented with patterns of parallel lines, found with the above-described gorget of veined slate in the township of Drummond, county of Lanark, province of Ontario, Canada.

(3.) By JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Esq., M.D.

Portion of the Shaft of a Sculptured Cross, found at Gattonside, near Melrose. (See subsequent Communication by Dr J. A. Smith.)

(4.) By Master WILLIAM MAXWELL LITTLE, 36 London Street.

Dyak Shield of wood, of a single piece, 4 feet 6 inches in length, and 1 foot 6 inches wide, having a central handle. The shield is

grotesquely painted on both sides, and adorned with tufts of hair, said to be from the heads of vanquished foes.

(5.) By Rev. W. S. HAMILTON, Minister of St Martin's, through ALEXANDER LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Newburgh.

Bronze Looped and Socketed Celt, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the socket nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, found near the Manse of St Martin's, Perth.

(6.) By Mr WILLIAM REIACH, Farmer, Cabrach.

Stone with numerous Cup-markings on both sides, dug out of a cairn on the farm of Greenloan, Cabrach, Banffshire. The stone is a species of hornblende schist, somewhat soft in character, it measures 15 inches long by 10 broad, and the cups are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches wide, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep.

(7.) By the AUTHOR.

Histoire de la Poste aux Lettres, depuis ses origines les plus anciennes, jusqu'à nos jours, par Arthur de Rothschild. Paris, 1870. 8vo.

(8.) By the UNIVERSITY.

The Glasgow University Calendar for 1873-74.

(9.) By Sir WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., F.S.A. Scot.

Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast. Madras, 1869. 8vo and large folio. Plates, &c.

(10.) By the EDINBURGH GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Transactions of the Edinburgh Geological Society, Vol. II., Part 2. Session 1872-73. 8vo.

(11.) By the POWYS LAND CLUB.

Collections, Historical and Archæological, relating to Montgomeryshire. Issued by the Powys Land Club. Part XIII., 1873.

(12.) By the Author, Rev. J. G. MICHIE, M.A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Deeside Tales, or Sketches of Men and Manners among the Peasantry of Upper Deeside since 1745. Aberdeen, 1872. 12mo.

Purchased for the Museum at the sale of the late Lord Belhaven's collections :—

Spear-head of Yellow Bronze, 16 inches in length, having two rivet-holes on opposite sides of the socket, and two loops at the lower extremity of the blade. The blade is narrow in proportion to its length, being only 2 inches wide at the butt, where it is widest, and nearly 11 inches in length.

Spear-head of Bronze, covered with a dark patina, 15½ inches in length. The blade, which is leaf-shaped, is 13 inches in length, and 2½ inches in greatest width. It is furnished with two rivet-holes for fastening it to the shaft, and has loops at the lower extremity of the blade.

In both these weapons the hollow sockets extend nearly the whole length of the blade, lightening the weight, and economising the metal. This socketed and looped variety of spear-head appears to be peculiar to the British Islands.

Carved Bone Mere or short flat War-club from New Zealand, 15 inches in length. The blade is divided into two parts, at about half its length, by a deep indentation, and at the junction of the blade and handle there is carved a grotesque figure, grasping the lower part of the handle, which also terminates at the free end in a grotesque carving.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES OF SOME ENTRIES IN THE ICELAND ANNALS REGARDING THE DEATH OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET, "THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY," IN A.D. 1290, AND "THE FALSE MARGARET," WHO WAS BURNED AT BERGEN IN A.D. 1301; WITH TRANSCRIPT OF A LETTER OF BISHOP AUDFINN OF BERGEN REFERRING TO BOTH, AND DATED 1st FEBRUARY 1320. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

No event in Scottish history was more momentous in its consequences than the death of the Princess Margaret, the Maiden of Norway, and there is none enveloped in greater mystery. Its precise date is unknown, the circumstances in which it took place are unrecorded, and, to aggravate the mystery, we find that within ten years after its occurrence there were many in her native country of Norway who did not hesitate to avow their belief that she was still alive; nay, that the unfortunate woman who was publicly burned at the stake in Bergen in 1301 was actually the daughter of the late King Eirik and his wife Margaret of Scotland, and consequently the heiress to the Scottish throne.

It is an interesting inquiry for the student of Scottish history how far this belief may be justified by the facts that are now ascertainable concerning the two Margarets, and whether there are any reliable grounds for regarding them as the same person. That the belief in the identity of the False Margaret with the Margaret who is said to have died near the Orkney coast in 1290 existed and was widely diffused in Norway from ten to twenty years after the date assigned for her death, there can be no question.

In this paper I propose to bring together—(1.) The statements regarding the death of the Princess Margaret recorded by the early chroniclers of our own country, with such incidental notices as may be gleaned from contemporary Scottish and English documents; and (2.) The notices in the Iceland Annals, the letter of Bishop Audfinn regarding "the False Margaret," and the passages from Munch's "History of Norway," in which the whole circumstances are by him discussed.

The continuation of Matthew Paris's history (usually attributed to William Rishanger, who died in 1312, at the age of sixty-two, and was

therefore a contemporary writer), says simply that the Princess having been taken ill on^t the voyage, died at the Orkney Islands, "cum per navigium tenderet in Scotiam, infirmata in mari, apud Orkadas insulas est defuncta."¹

The "Scala Cronica," which was the production of a Northumbrian knight, Sir Thomas Gray, and was undertaken to beguile the tedium of his imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle in the year 1355, states that King Edward "enuoiez au Court de Rome pur dispensacioun, et messagers en Norway pur quere la dit Margaret. Qi messenger fust vn clerk Descoco mestre Weland, qi peryst od la dit pucel en reuenaunt devers Escoce sure lez costres de Boghane."²

Our earliest Scottish chronicler Barbour makes no mention of the Princess Margaret at all. He simply says that the land was desolate for six years after the death of King Alexander, and goes on to describe the contest for the succession between Bruce and Baliol—

"Qwhen Alysandyre the King was dede,
That Scotland had to ster and lede,
The Land sex yhere and mayr perfay,
Lay desolate eftyr his day.
Quhill that the Barnage at the last
Assemblyd thame, and fandyt fast
To ches a King thare Land to stere
That of awncestry cumin were
Of Kings that auch that rialte."

Wyntoun, on the other hand, gives somewhat full details of the sending over to Norway of the Scottish embassy, consisting of Sir David of the Wemys and Michael Scott of Balweary, and adds that when they arrived—

"Dede then was that Madyn fayre
That of Lawch suld have been Ayre,
And apperyd til have bene
Be the Lawch of Norway Qwene;
Bot that Madyn swet for-thi
Was put to Dede be Martyry."

¹ "Willelmi Rishanger, quondam Monachi S. Albani Chronica et Annales, A. D. 1259-1307" (Roll's edition), p. 119.

² "Scala Cronica" (Maitland Club), p. 110.

He alleges as the reason of her being thus put to death that the Norwegians would neither have a female nor one sprung from a foreign race to reign over them, although it was written in their law-book that this might be permitted.

“ For thai wald, that of ná natyown
 Bot of thare awyne, suld bere the Crown ;
 Ná be ná way the female
 Suld be thare Chese, gyv ony Male
 Of Reaw's might fundyn be
 Worth to have that Realtè.
 Thare Laws wryttyn nevyrtheless
 Contrare and agayne this wes.
 The Norwayis has a wryttyn Buk
 Of thaire Lawys ; thare-in thai luk
 All casys cumand, as thai fall
 And be the Text thai decern all
 Tha casis, but exceptyown
 By that is nane evatyown.
 Be thai Laws yhit they fand
 That the Female to that thare land
 Descendande be lyne, or ony Male
 Suld succeed collaterale,
 Though this was wryttyn in thare Buk,
 This wuld thai nowther rede ná luke
 Na per Ordyre thai wald noucht hald
 Thare Lawys, that wryttyn ware of ald.”

It is evident from this that in Wyntoun's time the facts connected with the death of the Princess (if they had ever been fully known in Scotland) had been already obscured and mystified by rumours of the death of the False Margaret which must have reached this country.

Coming now to the documentary records, we find that on the 17th March 1290, the clergy, nobles, and community of Scotland requested King Eirik to send his daughter to be married to Prince Edward of England. On the 17th April King Edward addressed a letter to King Eirik, stating that he had obtained a papal dispensation for the marriage, and requesting Eirik to send his daughter to him in England without delay. It would

appear that he must have received an answer to this, from which he had grounds for believing that the Princess would be sent into England,¹ for we find that a great ship was fitted out and provisioned at Yarmouth to bring over the Maiden of Norway to England; and the accounts particularly specify what proportions of the beer, beef, hams, salt-fish of Aberdeen, wine and walnuts, salt, sugar, spices, figs, raisins, almonds, and gingerbread, and other stores that seem to have been provided for the special entertainment of the young Princess, were consumed by the messengers or wasted by the sailors. It is clear, however, that she did not come by this vessel, although no doubt Edward was very anxious that she should be sent to him in England. This ship, in which were Henry de Cranebourne, Abbot of Wellbek, Henry de Ry, clerk to the Bishop of Durham, and others, as messengers, left Hartlepool on the 9th May, as appears from the detailed statement of expenses,² and arrived in Norway on the 25th. The messengers were twelve days in Norway, and the vessel arrived at Ravenshore on her return voyage on the 17th June.

¹ "The first step necessary for the accomplishment of King Edward's object was to obtain possession of the Queen of Scotland. Within a month after the Parliament of Brigham, the King of England sent into Norway an embassy, consisting of the Abbot of Welbeck, Henry de Rye, and others, to make the preliminary arrangements for her departure. It was expected that Eirik would accompany his daughter, and much thoughtful anxiety was shown that during the voyage the comforts of the royal party should be attended to. With this view Edward caused a large ship to be arrested at Yarmouth, the victualling and decoration of which he intrusted to the chief butler of his own household, Matthew de Columbariis, who kept an account of the sums which he expended; and this curious document is here printed for the first time. The stores were provided with no niggard hand. They consisted, among other matters, of 31 hogsheads and 1 pipe of wine, 12 barrels of beer, 15 carcasses of oxen (salted, of course), 72 hams, 400 dried fish, 200 stock fish, 1 barrel of sturgeon, 5 dozen of lampreys, 50 pounds of "whale," along with the very necessary accompaniment of 22 gallons of mustard, with salt, pepper, vinegar, and onions in proportion. A stock of little luxuries suited to the more delicate palate and stomach of the baby Princess was not forgotten, such as 500 walnuts, 2 loaves of sugar, grits and oatmeal, with a corresponding allowance of ginger, citron, and mace, 2 frails of figs, the same quantity of raisins, and 28 pounds of gingerbread. The ship was painted, and banners and pencils bearing the English arms were supplied. The crew consisted of forty hands. Six weeks were occupied in making the necessary preparations; and the bill which Matthew de Columbariis tendered to the Exchequer amounted to L.266, 5s. 9d."—*Stevenson's Preface to Hist. Doc. Scot.* vol. i. p. xl.

² *Hist. Doc. Scot.* vol. i. p. 149.

It may be that it was his failure to obtain possession of the person of the young Princess that induced King Edward to make the extraordinary demand that all the castles and places of strength in Scotland should be delivered up to him, a demand which, though agreed to by the Scottish commissioners at Northampton under certain conditions on the 28th August, was, on the part of the Scottish estates, peremptorily refused. We next find two of the messengers who had returned from Norway—the Abbot of Wellbek¹ and Henry de Ry²—among those who went to Orkney to meet the messengers of the King of Norway and the Princess Margaret there. It was to be expected that King Eirik would prefer to send his daughter into Scotland from Orkney, which was part of his own dominions, rather than to send her by a long sea-voyage in the great ship of Yarmouth to England, and thus to place her in the power of her unscrupulous father-in-law.

It seems to have been at one time expected by Edward that King Eirik would himself accompany his daughter to Scotland, and probably it was on this pretence that King Eirik declined to send her in the great ship of Yarmouth. We find that in the letters of credence drawn up for Anthony, Bishop of Durham; John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey; and Henry of Newerke, Dean of York, King Edward says that he has sent them to King Eirik, or to his plenipotentiaries coming to Orkney;³ and in the note of the expenses of Eli de Hamville for fifty days, going and returning, it is thus expressed—“*Domino Elyae de Hanville, eunti cum domino Dunelmensi Episcopo versus partes Scotiae ad obviandum regi Norwegiae ducenti filiam ejusdem.*”⁴

But following Thomas de Braytoft and Henry de Ry, we find that they started from Newcastle on the 15th September, were at Aberdeen on the 22d, and on the 1st October when they had reached the Meikle Ferry in Sutherlandshire they stopped all day at Skelbo, “talking with the messengers of Scotland.” From this it appears as if the Scottish messengers were on their way south from Orkney; and if we allow them the same time to get from the Meikle Ferry to Perth, which the north-going messengers took to go from Aberdeen to Skelbo, they would arrive

¹ Hist. Doc. Scot. vol. i. p. 143.

³ Ibid. p. 180.

² Ibid. p. 183.

⁴ Ibid. p. 144.

in time to enable the Bishop of St Andrews to write his letter to King Edward of the 7th October :—¹

“ To the most excellent Prince and most revered Lord, Sir Edward, by the grace of God most illustrious King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Guienne, his devoted chaplain, William, by divine permission humble minister of the Church of St Andrew in Scotland, wisheth health and fortunes prosperous to his wishes, with increase of glory and honour. As it was ordered lately in your presence, your ambassadors and the ambassadors of Scotland who had been sent to you, and also some nobles of the kingdom of Scotland, met at Perth on the Sunday next after the feast of St Michael the Archangel, to hear your answer upon those things which were asked and treated by the ambassadors in your presence. Which answer of yours being heard and understood, the faithful nobles and a certain part of the community of Scotland returned infinite thanks to your Highness. And your foresaid ambassadors and we set ourselves to hasten our steps towards the parts of Orkney to confer with the ambassadors of Norway for receiving our Lady the Queen, and for this we had prepared our journey. But there sounded through the people a sorrowful rumour that our said lady should be dead, on which account the kingdom of Scotland is disturbed, and the community distracted. And the said rumour being heard and published, Sir Robert of Brus, who before did not intend to come to the said meeting, came with a great power to confer with some who were there ; but what he intends to do or how to act as yet we know not. But the Earls of Mar and Athole are collecting their army, and some other nobles of the land are drawing to their party ; and on that account there is fear of a general war and a great slaughter of men, unless the Highest, by means of your industry and good service, apply a speedy remedy. My Lords the Bishop of Durham, Earl Warrenne, and I heard afterwards that our foresaid Lady recovered of her sickness, but she is still weak ; and therefore we have agreed among ourselves to remain about Perth until we have certain news by the knights who are sent to Orkney what is the condition of our Lady—would that it may be prosperous and happy ; and if we shall have the accounts which we wish concerning her, and which we expect from day to day, we will be ready to set forth for carrying out the business committed to us to the best of our power. If Sir John of Balliol comes to your presence, we advise you to take care so to treat with him that in any event your honour and advantage be preserved. If it turn out that our foresaid Lady has departed this

¹ Edward had previously received letters from the Bishop of St Andrews and John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, concerning the rumours of her expected arrival in Orkney.—*Hist. Doc. Scot.* vol. i. p. 146.

life,—and may it not be so,—let your Excellency deign if you please to approach towards the march for the consolation of the Scottish people, and the saving of the shedding of blood, so that the faithful men of the kingdom may keep their oath inviolate, and set over them for king him who of right ought to have the succession, if so be that he will follow your counsel. May your Excellency have long life and health, prosperity and happiness.—Given at Leuchars on the Saturday, the morrow of St Faith the Virgin, in the year of our Lord 1290.”

This letter is the only contemporary document known which mentions the death of the Princess, and it purports to be the mere record of a rumour which the Bishop says he hopes may prove untrue. This, however, may be merely the Bishop's way of putting it. There is little doubt that King Edward would understand that on such an occasion no letter of such purport would be written to him without very grave cause indeed.

This, then, is all that we are able to ascertain from the Scottish side regarding this melancholy event. It amounts to this, that the Bishop of St Andrews, writing on the 7th October, seven days after the Scottish messengers had passed the Meikle Ferry, either could not or would not say that there were certain tidings of her death, though he does let us know that Bruce and Baliol were already bestirring themselves to secure the succession; that while one chronicler says she died in Orkney, another states explicitly that she was put to death in Norway, thus giving ground for the supposition that the claims of the woman who actually suffered death for her imposition in Norway, were partially credited in Scotland as well as in her own country.

Before leaving the Scottish side of the story, I may state what the latest historian of Scotland has said on the subject. In the new edition of the “History of Scotland,” by Dr John Hill Burton, a Fellow of this Society, the story of the false Margaret, which seems to have been unknown to all previous historians, finds a place for the first time in Scottish history in connection with the death of the Princess. Referring to the death of the young Queen of Scots, on her way from Norway, Dr Burton says,—“The announcement of so portentous an event, through indistinct rumours, naturally caused men to talk and doubt. There was none of the solemn detail that might be expected to attend on a royal death, even though less heavily laden with a perplexing future. We are not told of

any who were present, of the disease or its progress, of the spot where she died, or the place where she was buried. The time of the death is only inferred to have been in September, because the first rumour of it is uttered in the famous letter of Bishop Fraser, presently to be noted, the date of that letter being the seventh of October." He then briefly recounts the main features of the story of the false Margaret, and adds— "The whole affair has left on Scandinavian history a shadow of doubt, in the possibility that the child might have been spirited away by some one of those so deeply interested in her disappearance, and consequently, that it may be an open question whether the royal line of the Alexanders really came to an end until the consummation of this tragedy [the burning of the false Margaret] in 1301." ¹

Let us now see what light can be thrown on this obscurity from the Norwegian side. The Iceland annals, which were completed within 100 years of the date of Margaret's death, but probably in great part written considerably earlier, have the following entries regarding the marriage of King Eirik, and the deaths of the Queen Margaret and the Princess or Maiden of Norway:—

"(1.) Anno 1281. Eirik, king of Norway, marries Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, the king of Scots.

"(2.) Anno 1283. Death of Queen Margaret, daughter of Alexander, king of Scots.

"(3.) Anno 1290. Death of Margaret the maiden, daughter of Eirik, king of Norway."

The latter entry is important, because it shows that at the time that it was made the annalist believed that the Princess had died in 1290.

In order to avoid confusing the circumstances connected with the true and the false Margarets, we shall now see what Munch, the latest and fullest of the Norwegian historians, has been able to tell of the death of the Princess. He says,—

"Of the mode in which the young Margaret was fitted out and sent from Norway, and of the names of those of whom her following consisted, there is no documentary evidence. But it is clear beyond all doubt (from what follows) that one of the ladies in her suite was Fru Ingibjorg Erlingsdatter, sister of Alf Jarl, and wife of Herr Thore Hakonson. Her husband

¹ Burton's History of Scotland, second edition, 1873, vol. ii. pp. 112-4.

was also in the suite. Hemingford is the only authority for the statement that Margaret's sickness was the cause of their putting in to the Orkneys. It had, in fact, been arranged before her departure that she should be taken to Orkney (which then was part of the Norwegian dominions), and that the Norse ambassadors who were to accompany her were to be there met by the English and Scottish ambassadors. There was apparently no intention that the English ambassadors and plenipotentiaries should go to Norway, but only that they should go to Scotland, or at furthest to Orkney, there to meet the ambassadors sent from Norway, as we see from the letter¹ of 28th August, that King Edward says that he sends Bishop Antony 'to Scotland,' to act as his plenipotentiary.

"Owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the death of the Princess took place, it is not surprising that a certain degree of obscurity should have rested over it, or that it should not have received universal credence. In fact, we know that there were not a few who did not believe that she was dead, because ten years after the event it was found possible for a German woman, though clearly an impostor, to pass herself off for the Princess Margaret, and obtain credence for her story. Her statement was (as will be seen hereafter) that she had been 'sold' by Fru Ingibiorg, the meaning of which in all probability was, that Fru Ingibiorg had come under obligation for a sum of money to hand her over to some parties who wished her out of the way, and that she had been carried off by them to a foreign land. We learn from this, at any rate, that Fru Ingibiorg must have gone on the voyage to the Orkneys, and had the child under her charge, and something in the manner of her attendance upon her in her sickness may possibly have given rise to suspicious rumours among the rest of the attendants. But it is in the highest degree improbable that any one of the pretenders to the Scottish throne who came forward after Margaret's death, though knowing that there was only the life of this young girl between him and the succession, would have secretly leagued himself with Fru Ingibiorg for such a purpose, or bribed her to put the child out of the way; nor does it seem probable either that she would have lent herself to such a piece of villany, or had the hardihood to venture upon the execution of it. It might with more likelihood have been assigned to hatred of the king and royal

¹ Rymer's *Foedera*.

family on her part, engendered by the cruel usage of her brother, Alf Jarl, for whose melancholy death she was at this time mourning. But while that is not suggested, this is still clear, that King Eirik, the father of the Princess, entertained no doubts as to the fact of her death, of which he had personally satisfied himself, for we learn from the letter which Bishop Andfinn caused to be issued at Bergen in 1320, that the corpse of the Princess was brought back to King Eirik by the bishop (here in all likelihood it is the Bishop of Orkney that is meant,¹ and Herr Thore Hakonson (Fru Ingibiorg's husband), that the King caused the coffin to be opened, satisfied himself of the identity of his daughter's remains, and thereafter had her buried in the Christ's Kirk of Bergen, by the side of her mother, Queen Margaret. And there is no trace of Fru Ingibiorg's husband having fallen into any disgrace at King Eirik's court, as would undoubtedly have been the case if his wife had been concerned in such a shameful transaction; neither does she herself seem to have in any way lost favour, for she lived till 1315, apparently enjoying the highest regard."²

We now go back to the Iceland Annals for the story of the false Margaret, to which Munch has introduced us:—

“(4.) Anno 1300. Then came over a German woman who said she was the daughter of King Eirik and Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, the king of Scots, and that she had been sold by Ingibiorg Erlingsdatter. Betrothal of (Ingibiorg) the daughter of King Eirik with John Magnusson, Earl of Orkney.

“(5.) Anno 1301. Then this same woman, who said she was King Eirik's daughter, was burnt, and her husband was beheaded.”

In 1293 King Eirik married another Scottish wife, Isabella Bruce,³ who died in 1299 without male issue, leaving a daughter by his second wife, called Ingibiorg, and was succeeded by his brother Hakon.

In giving an account of the investigation made by King Hakon into

¹ Munch seems to doubt the statement in the letter of Bishop Audfinn, that it was Bishop Narve of Bergen, but the statement is explicit. See the transcript of the letter.

² Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, iv. 197, *et seq.*

³ The Iceland Annals call her “Isibel dotter sira Rodbertz sonar Rodbertz Jarls of Brus (Bruslandi).” She survived her husband and her daughter, and died at Bergen in a good old age.

the case of the false Margaret, of which, unfortunately, no record remains, Munch says: ¹—"Probably it was immediately after his return to Bergen that King Hakon made an investigation into the circumstances connected with the appearance there of a woman who gave herself out for Margaret, King Eirik's daughter, who had died in the Orkneys in 1290. She had come in a ship from Lubeck, and her story was, as has before been related, that Fru Ingibjorg Erlingsdatter had sold her, which apparently, as we have previously indicated, may be taken to mean that Ingibjorg had come under agreement to hand her over to certain persons who wished her out of the way, and on this account had falsely given her out for dead. Probably she also gave out that, immediately on her arrival at the Orkneys, she had been taken on board a ship bound for Germany, or that she had subsequently found means to get there. She was a married woman, and her husband, also a German, was with her. It appears from a letter which the Bishop of Bergen, some ten years later, caused to be promulgated, that in appearance she was a woman well advanced in years, with grey and partially whitened hair, and that she must have been born at least twenty years before the date of King Eirik's marriage with her assumed mother Margaret (and consequently must have been seven years older than King Eirik himself, who was but 13 when he was married); and that the Princess Margaret had died in the presence of some of the best men of Norway, and her corpse had been brought back by the bishop and Herr Thore Hakonson to King Eirik, who had the coffin opened, satisfied himself of the identity of his daughter's remains, and thereafter caused her to be interred in the Christ's Kirk at Bergen by the side of her mother. Although this woman, in short, was a rank impostor, yet she found many among the great men who gave credit to her story, and not a few among the priesthood also gave her their countenance and support. As, according to the then existing law regarding the succession, she would not have been entitled to the crown before King Hakon even if she had been King Eirik's daughter,—the Margaret who was believed to have been dead,—so her pretensions could not in themselves have been a source of danger to him. But they might, nevertheless, have been extremely distasteful to him, and probably not altogether free from danger in the future, if, as was not at all unlikely, they should be made use of

¹ Det Norske Folks Historie, iv. 344, *et seq.*

by the party of nobles who were discontented with his absolute government. This party would willingly have thrust him from the throne before he showed symptoms of becoming a reforming ruler, but before they could hope to do so they must have a pretender to the crown of the old royal stock to set up in opposition to him. There was then no male representative of the royal house but King Hakon himself, but by setting aside the law of succession, which they probably would regard as null and void, they might start a female competitor, and for this purpose there would have been none more suitable than Margaret, if she could be conjured from the dead again, inasmuch as King Eirik, in the marriage contract of Norburgh in 1281, had expressly recognised the daughter or daughters he might have with Margaret of Scotland as having a right of heirship to the crown of Norway as well as of Scotland. This also explains why they chose to conjure up Margaret from the dead in furtherance of their rebellious designs, rather than to attach themselves to Ingibiorg, the daughter of King Eirik by his second wife, Isabella Bruce. In Ingibiorg's behalf there were no such provisions, and consequently no such likelihood of her being received as a competitor. That this German woman, of her own accord, should have undertaken to give herself out, ten years after the event, for the Margaret who was believed to be dead, and should have ventured to appear publicly in Norway on such an enterprise, seems scarcely credible. She must have been persuaded to it by those who, perceiving in her a certain personal resemblance, schooled her in the part she had to play, so as to give to her pretensions an air of reality. And suspicion here points to Herr Audun Huggleikson,¹ who, though in confinement, seems still to have been able to exert a large amount

¹ Audun Huggleikson appears as one of the attorneys of the Princess Margaret. In the inventory of the state papers delivered to John Baliol in 1292, there is a letter of Audænus, Baron of the King of Norway, and Friar Juar (Ivar) of the order of Minorites, attorneys of the Maiden of Scotland, concerning an acknowledgment of the receipt of 350 merks sterling for the use of their mistress, from the farms of Bathket [Bathgate], and Rathen [Ratho]. From another entry in the same inventory of documents, we find that King Alexander had purchased these lands from Sir John of Boun. Audun Huggleikson appears again as "Oduenus de Hegrenea," entrusted with a mission from King Eirik to King Edward in September 1292. In 1295 he concluded the negotiations for a treaty of alliance between the Kings of France, Scotland, and Norway, against King Edward. (*Hist. Doc. Scot.* i. 338, 423; ii. 8 11.)

of influence, and all the more that he had been now again set at liberty on his pledge given to engage in no enterprise against the king. He had now nothing to lose, but everything to gain, and he might well hope that if his first essay were in some measure fortunate he might yet retrieve his past misfortunes. From his family residence in Hegranes, in Joluster, he could easily keep himself in communication with his accomplices in Bergen, as well as with the German merchants. And since the pretended Margaret came from Lubeck, it is extremely likely that the German merchants, with whom Herr Audun Huggleikson came into close contact in his capacity of customs-master of Tunsberg, had some share in the design.

“Probably the woman and her husband were placed in safe custody till King Hakon himself should come to Bergen and investigate the matter, as we find that her execution did not take place until the following year. No important steps would likely be taken until the king himself was present, for no doubt he himself wished personally to see and examine her, and he may have expressly ordered the matter to be delayed for this purpose. In all probability, also, he would desire the presence and testimony of some of the attendants on the late king's daughter at the time of her death, especially Fru Ingibiorg Erlingsdatter. He did not come to Bergen before the autumn of 1301, and shortly afterwards the false Margaret was burnt as an impostor at Nordness, and her husband beheaded.

“Shortly after the false Margaret's execution, Herr Audun Huggleikson also ended his life. According to a brief entry in the Iceland Annals, he was hanged at Bergen in 1302. His death, and that of the false Margaret, are in fact referred to the same year, and from all the circumstances we may conclude that the two executions took place within a short time of each other shortly after the Yule of 1301-2, and that Huggleikson was implicated with her, and found guilty of being an accomplice in the imposture.”

And thus the whole story would have ended and left us more completely mystified than ever, had it not been that the imposture was ultimately the means of throwing some further light upon the circumstances of the Princess's death and burial in a very curious and unexpected way. The strong hold which the imposture had taken upon the popular mind is evidenced by another entry in the Iceland Annals, which I will adduce presently, by the fact that rumour of it reached Scotland, and, as dis-

torted by tradition, was incorporated by Wyntoun into his Chronicle, and by the still more significant facts of which we are informed by Absalom Peterson, that a church was erected to the memory of the impostor on the spot where she suffered, and that songs were made about her.

The last entry which I adduce from the Iceland Annals relates to an event which occurred nearly twenty years after the death of the false, and thirty years after the death of the true, Margaret, which is chronicled by the same Annals in 1290. The occasion of the entry is the obit, in his native home in Iceland, of the priest who had been King Eirik's court-priest in Bergen at the time when the Maiden sailed for Scotland. It is as follows:—

“Anno 1319. Death of Hafidi Steinsson, priest of Bredabolstad; he had been hird-priest to King Eirik, and was there [in Bergen], when Margaret, the daughter of King Eirik, was sent to Scotland, as she herself afterwards testified before she was burned at Nordness:—‘When I,’ said she, ‘was taken through this self same gate to be carried to Scotland, there was then in the High Kirk of the Apostles, an Iceland priest, Hafidi by name, who was hird-priest to my father, King Eirik, and when the clergy ceased singing then Sir Hafidi struck up with the *Veni Creator*, and that hymn was sung out to the end just as I was being taken on board the ship.’ To this Hafidi himself bore witness when it was told to him that this same Margaret was burnt at Nordness.”

The church that was erected on the spot where the false Margaret suffered no longer exists. Nicolaysen states that it was destroyed at the Reformation. But for a long time the shrine of the martyred Maritte, as she was called, was so popular that there were priests even in Bergen bold enough to interfere to prevent the reading in the churches of the bishop's edict against pilgrimages to the shrine of the false Margaret, and it would appear that the church dedicated to her could not be removed till the change in the religion of the people swept it away.

It is to this persistent and widespread belief in the martyrdom of the German impostor, that we are indebted for the following letter of Bishop Audfinn (alluded to by Munch, but not quoted by him), a translation of which has been obligingly furnished to me by my friend Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, an Honorary Member of this Society. In his letter enclosing the translation, Professor Stephens says:—“You will see

that it adds to the information given by Munch (who apparently knew no more than is given by Suhm, vol. xii. p. 28, 29, where a short abstract of the letter is given), for he says (pp. 194, 195) that he cannot clearly point out any one of those who had charge of the young Princess, though at p. 348 he rightly concludes that Suhm's 'Tire' was a mistake for 'Thore,' and that Herr Thore Hakonson was one of those with her. You will observe that the Manuscript really has 'Tore.' But it also says that the Princess Margaret '*döde i Orkneyö emellom Narwe biscops hender*' (literally), 'died in Orkney between the hands of Bishop Narwe.' This, therefore, is a second name of one of her guardians on the voyage. Bishop Audfinn's second letter, also referred to by Munch, p. 348, is printed *in extenso* in the original Old Norse by Suhm, vol. xii. p. 338. It is too bad that there should be no copy of Suhm in any of the Edinburgh libraries."

Letter of Bishop Audfinn.

1 Febr. 1320. Bergen.

"Against Pilgrimages to Nordnes, to Saint Maritte (= Margaret).

"To all God's friends now and to come who this letter see or hear sendeth Audfind, by God's grace Bishop of Bergen, God's greeting and his. The wisest men in the land have often blamed us that we permit that so many mad persons have taken part therein [? the Pilgrimages] with much folly, and insist that it is our duty to guide you to a proper faith, you who are misled to fix your hope, and trow, and holiness on a devilish personage, and see with shame that they invoke that woman with great vows and worship, as if she had been one of God's martyrs, altho' she was seized and condemned as a traitor. She said, indeed, that she was the child and lawful heir of the worshipful Lord Erick, King of Norway, of happy memory; but as all this was open falsehood and deception, her end was to be burnt at the stake, by the law of the land and the counsel of the best men then in Norway, at that place on Nordness where such criminals are wont to lose their lives. Eke let all good men, who will understand, know the truth, that it is against God's truth that she was the daughter of King Erick and Margaret of Scotland. She was proved to be a woman 20 years older than answered to the time when King Erick celebrated his marriage with Queen Margaret. He was

then only 13 winters old by such reckoning, and could not have been the father of so aged a female. And then, he had no more bairns than one daughter by Queen Margaret, who by her father's command was to go to Scotland, who died in Orkney attended by Bishop Narve, and in the presence of the best men who followed her from Norway as counselled and directed by her own father. And when God had taken her soul, the said Bishop and Sir Tore and others carried her corpse to Bergen, where her father had the coffin opened, and narrowly examined the body, and himself acknowledged that it was his daughter's corpse. Then let he bury her beside his Queen Margaret, in the stone wall on the north side of the Choir. Some of our priests pretended that the said woman who came from Lubeck in Germany to Bergen, who was greyhaired and white in the head [was the real Margaret]. Therefore may we by no means any longer suffer this pious fraud, as above is said, about honour paid to this woman who was burned in Nordness, but only the soul help of Saint Michael, who is our [? friend] and yours. Accordingly we forbid you all and singular, in the name of God and his Hallows, on pain of punishment, to enter the holy church to worship the said female with offerings or pilgrimage, fasting or common prayers. But if any one should say that she can work any open miracles, which as yet no one has proved, we are willing to examine and enquire into the same with the advice of good men. Made was this writ in Bergen on Candlemas Eve, in the year after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ mccc. and xx. winters."

[Translated, as well as the barbarous Dano-Norse text has allowed me, from "Diplomatarium Norvegicum. Af Carl R. Unger og H. J. Huitfeldt. 6te Samling, Forste Halvdel. Christiania, 1863," where it is printed from a copy made in the 16th century in Cod. Chart. fol. Royal Library, Stockholm, No. 84 (43), leaf 3. G. S.]

From this letter we learn at least three facts connected with the death of the Princess. That she did die in Orkney; that she was not buried there (as Worsaae states, and as is the general tradition in the Orkneys), but that she was laid beside her mother in the wall of the choir of Christ's Church in Bergen; and that King Eirik had the coffin opened, and satisfied himself of the identity of his daughter's remains. For the first time,

also, we obtain tangible particulars in the names of three persons who accompanied her on the voyage—1st, Bishop Narve of Bergen, between whose hands she died, who took back her corpse to Bergen, and who died himself at a good old age in 1304; Herr Thore Hakonson and his wife Ingibiorg, whose history can all be traced to fit into the events here detailed. And, finally, it leaves no doubt on my mind at least, that the case of the false Margaret was an imposture of the daring political kind to which we have parallels in our own history in those of Simnel and Perkin Warbeck.

II.

NOTES ON QUERNS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ONE OF UNUSUAL FORM FOUND IN A MOSS NEAR THE MEIKLE LOCH, ABERDEENSHIRE. BY LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM ROSS KING OF TERTOWIE, F.S.A. SCOT.

Few relics of bygone days are more generally distributed than the quern or handmill. It is, however, an error to suppose that they belong to a particular period, or are necessarily of great antiquity. They have undoubtedly been common in Scotland, as in many widely distant parts of the world, from the earliest ages; nor can we fail to recall to mind the frequent references made to them in Scripture. Their existence also in the pre-Christian era of this country has been demonstrated by their discovery in graves containing the calcined remains of pagan funeral rites. They have been exhumed with ancient Scottish canoes; have been found in our own prehistoric lacustrine pile-dwellings and in the *crannogs* of Ireland; in the *eirde houses* of Aberdeenshire and Forfar; in the aboriginal grain-pits of Wiltshire; on the line of the great wall of Antoninus Pius; in the ruins of ancient Isurium and other British-Roman sites; as well as in *kjokkenmöddings* and tumuli. But though their antiquity is thus sufficiently attested, it is to be recollected that their use can hardly be said to have become as yet quite extinct among us.

Water-power probably first began to be employed in Scotland for the purpose of turning flour-mills, somewhere about the latter end of the eleventh century; but the quern, nevertheless, long continued

to be more or less used, in spite too, of fines and penalties incurred when the custom of "thirling" was established; and they may occasionally be seen at work to this day in remote parts of Sutherlandshire, and in some of the islands west of Scotland. It is, therefore, almost impossible to say what may be the age of any quern *per se*, and though there are ruder forms among them to which we may safely assign an earlier date than to others, it is chiefly by attention to the circumstances and conditions under which they are found that we can arrive at any reliable approximation to the antiquity of individual specimens.

The original means employed by primitive man for the purpose of reducing his grain to meal would obviously be the first suitable stone that came to his hand; the artificially rounded one, with its slightly hollowed slab (which are so often found in Scotland), would soon follow, and from these "grain rubbers" the transition was a simple one to the rudely made millstone revolving on a pivot; the principle thenceforth adopted all the world over. For we find the handmills of the early Egyptians, of the Jews of old, of the Romans, of primitive Scotland, England, and Ireland, of the Arab and of India past and present, all of one and the same type—though naturally presenting varieties in minor points.

The quern may be described in general terms as two flat round stones placed one above the other, the upper with a grain-hole through the middle, and a socket near its edge for the upright stick by which it was turned, the lower one having a vertical pivot which worked in the feeding-hole of the other. The pair are usually of the same material, and though granite and sandstone of different kinds appear to have been most commonly employed, querns have been found of gneiss, grit, elvine, micaceous-quartzite, pudding-stone, syenite, and other rock, as well as of wood, though, from its perishable nature, the occurrence of the latter is rare. The upper stones or "riders," on which part the principal amount of skill and labour was necessarily expended, range in diameter from about nine inches to twenty-four, while their thickness varies from an inch and a half, to a foot; they also differ in the form and size of the grain-hole or "eye," in the position of the handle, and in their general amount of finish. In many instances the grinding faces of the upper stones are to a greater or less extent concave, and the lower ones correspondingly convex; more generally both are flat. The circular quern is most common,

but oval riders are not unfrequently met with. Of these I recently saw a good specimen, found at Esslemont, in Aberdeenshire.

The upper stone here figured is of an unusual form, and most probably of a very early date. It was found some sixty-five years ago in a moss near the Meikle Loch, Slains, Aberdeenshire, in a spot where several flint arrow-heads have since been obtained. This stone lay embedded in undisturbed peat at a depth of about seven feet below the surface, and was accidentally discovered in digging a pit for the concealment of smuggled spirits. It remained at a neighbouring farm-house, exactly as dug up, from the day of its discovery until the present year, when it came into my hands, (through the kindness of Mr Dalgarno, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.)



Quern Stone found near the Meikle Loch.

The fact of the superincumbent peat being, as remarked, in an undisturbed state, would appear to indicate a very remote date as the period of the quern's burial, without accepting the theory of M. Boucher de Perthes on the accumulation of that matter, according to whose calculation of only three centimetres growth in a century, it would have required nearly 7134 years to form the seven feet of thickness which lay above this stone. The increase of peat is, in fact, so materially influenced by vegetation, by moisture or dryness of climate, by the presence or absence of forest, and the occurrence and extent of inundation, that it appears almost impossible to arrive at any data by which an average rate of increase could be calculated; consequently, the depth at which such remains are found in it is of little use in estimating their probable age.

The material of which this quern is formed is a kind of syenite which

is naturally so adapted to the purpose as to require little of the usual dressing given to the grinding faces. The process said to have been adopted with similar stones was that of placing them in running water till the more porous portion of the inner face was so far softened as to be easily scraped off, thus leaving the harder parts in the required relief. In the present case, the soft and hard portions are nearly balanced, the latter being closely and evenly interspersed over the whole surface in separate particles, curiously resembling grains of boiled rice.

In diameter the stone is about 15 inches, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness, and its upper surface is very rough and unfinished, indicating little care or skill in the manufacture. The feeding-hole is smaller in its outer orifice than is usual, but the chief characteristic of this quern is the absence of any socket for a handle. In the commoner forms, as is well known, this is placed near the edge of the upper face, in some cases it is in the side or thickness of the rider, and in others in a projection left for the purpose beyond the outer circumference; but the projection in the present instance has never been bored at all. On its under side, however, is a slight groove, which may also be imperfectly traced on either side at its point of junction with the body of the stone, from which fact it would appear that the quern had been rotated by means of a thong or withy tied round this neck. The downward inclination of the point seems to strengthen that belief, as being intended to prevent the liability of the thong slipping off from the upward strain. That the stone might have been turned by this means with as great facility as with the stick is evident, and the groove could hardly have had any other use; were it so, however, the projection itself must then have been employed as a handle, which is equally unusual; for excepting in the case of very large stones, which were turned by a horizontal or inclined lever, we know of no other means by which it was customary to work the handmill but the upright stick, and in some few instances finger-holes.

In a kjokkenmödding or refuse heap near Seacliff, East Lothian, a specimen of the latter kind was lately discovered, having two holes side by side, and close together, near the circumference, undoubtedly intended for the insertion of the fingers in order to turn it, and described as "worn perfectly smooth, and highly polished by long use."¹ As illustrating the

¹ Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. viii. 359.

principle of the lever, I may mention a large Dorsetshire quern in the British Museum, which has the handle-socket cut in the side of a massive rider nearly a foot thick; this, by the way, revolves upon a conically formed nether-stone fitting into its hollowed centre, thus obviating the necessity for a pivot and assisting the exit of the meal. A modification of the same principle is not infrequently found in the shape of a small raised boss on the centre of the lower stone, with a corresponding cavity in the upper, an arrangement which is sometimes reversed, the projection being on the upper stone, and the cup or hollow in the lower. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy also is a very heavy top stone, 7 inches in thickness, on the outer side of which is a square hole for the reception of a metal bar, by means of which it has been turned. In this instance "the grain-hole is a double cone, meeting in the centre like an hour-glass, the openings above and below being $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, while the small oblique aperture by which they are united scarcely admits the point of a finger."¹ The heavy stones are still in use in India, the long wooden handle or lever (which is in the form of an obtuse angle or elbow, with the shorter horizontal part fitted on the upper stone), being moved by a person walking round the mill. The smaller quern, similar to our own, may also be found in daily use in many parts of that country; I have often seen them on the Nilghiri Hills, with two women squatted opposite each other, grinding.

In contrast to the above-mentioned massive specimen in the British Museum, and in the same case with it, is a pair of stones, upper and lower, from Northumberland, in which, although of unusually large diameter, the thickness of the rider does not much, if at all, exceed 1 inch; it is probable, however, that this may be in part the result of long use and friction.

Professor Wilson² alludes to an engraving of a quern, in which the upper stone is funnel-shaped, with grooves radiating from the centre, and to another of similar character, in the Scottish Antiquarian Museum, which, being found on an ancient Roman site, is doubtless, like the former, correctly assigned to that people. In the later examples of British querns the "eye" is sometimes encircled by a plain raised lip, in some cases extending to the handle-hole or socket. In others the circle is rudely

¹ See Cat. Mus.

² Prehist. Ann. Scot.

chiselled, or in the form of a simple, channelled groove, and these are probably the first attempts at ornamentation, which becomes more developed in succeeding specimens. Of such I may mention one in the Irish Academy Museum, decorated with a cross and circle carved in high relief, and a second, somewhat similar in design, but neatly incised. An ornamental cross of superior work is shown on a quern found along with a number of bronze relics at Balmaclellan, Galloway, which is engraved in vol. iv. of the Proceedings of this Society. In vol. vi. also is a top-stone carved in vertical ribs, having a raised fillet round the eye as well as round the socket of the handle, which is in a projection of the stone.

Another description of handmill of more recent invention than the flat stones, though of some antiquity, is the "pot-quern," of which, however, instances are less common than of the other. This consists of a round, or sometimes hexagonal, stone bowl, containing the rider within it, and having an outlet for the meal bored obliquely through the side of the lower part. The eye or hopper is formed in the upper stone exactly as in the simple flat quern, and similarly some have a single handle, some two, on opposite sides of the circumference, and others finger-holes; while the metal and wooden pivots, and the stone boss already described as their substitute, are common to both. I had an opportunity of seeing in Ireland an example with feet attached to the bowl, a type which according to Wilson is principally confined to that country.

Pot-querns vary considerably in dimensions, some of the smaller ones being only 4 inches high by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, others $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and as much as 17 inches in diameter, and others again measuring 10 and 11 inches in height, with a diameter of 16 inches, the interiors of these latter being respectively 7 inches, and 1 foot across. These different measurements will show that the size and proportions of the pot-quern are as various as those of the more ordinary one.

The pot-quern was possibly invented subsequently to the introduction of mills turned by water, which were at first very primitive and ineffective machines, having stones not much larger than those of the ordinary quern, and performing but little more work. Such corn-mills existed within a comparatively recent period in the Shetland Isles, where each farm had its own, placed generally in a small rude shed, and grinding from day to day only so much as the immediate necessities of the household might demand.

III.

NOTE OF A FRAGMENT OF A RUNE-INSCRIBED STONE FROM AITH'S VOE, CUNNINGSBURGH, SHETLAND, NOW IN THE MUSEUM. BY PROFESSOR GEORGE STEPHENS, COPENHAGEN, F.S.A., HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT.¹

Mr Anderson, Keeper of the Scottish Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, kindly informed me that a fragment of a Runic Stone had lately turned up in Shetland. He has since added the favour of a plaster cast of the part bearing runes, and has communicated all the information he could gather. The well-known Scottish artist, James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., has also assisted me with a truthful sketch of the whole broken slab as it now is. Armed by such friendly hands, I now proceed to make some observations on this interesting relic.

Besides the earlier, chiefly Scandinavian-Frisic (commonly called "Angle"), warlike or peaceful colonisations in England and South Scotland, from the third and fourth centuries downward, when the Old Northern runes were in vogue, the Scandinavians of the Viking period, who then used their *shorter* alphabet, especially the Norwegians and Danes, made repeated and powerful inroads and settlements in Great Britain, the isles, and north and west of Scotland, and in Ireland. For various reasons, mostly using English in Ireland, only one Runic object (a sword-fitting) has yet been found in that kingdom, and this bears "Scandinavian" (as distinguished from the older "Old-Northern") staves. But on Scottish ground, particularly its western coasts and islands, several such later Runish rivings have been met with, chiefly at Maeshowe, in the Orkneys, and in the now English Isle of Man. A fresh find from this last district, a curiously decorated old Runish cross, was engraved and described by me in "Illustreret Tidende" for July 28, 1867.

But in Shetland (Hjaltland, Hjatland, Hjetland, Hetland, Zetland, Shetland) no rune-carving has ever before been heard of. This *first* gives us therefore, as it were, a new Runish province; and the circumstance is the more striking, as the staves are cut on *the edge* of the stone, very much

¹ Enlarged from my article in Danish in "Illustreret Tidning." Folio. Kjöbenhavn, July 20, 1873. Pp. 389, 390.

in the old Keltic fashion, whose Ogham letters run along the edge-line as a base. We have the same Runic peculiarity on many of the monuments in the Isle of Man, also originally a Keltic settlement. As might be expected, these Shetland runes, sprung from the Viking movement, show the later or simpler, or "Scandinavian" futhorc.

This old-lave was discovered on the Mainland (of yore called Meginland). But I will here copy the characteristic letter of the finder *and preserver*—a simple and self-taught, but well-informed, thoughtful, honour-worthy, and patriotic Shetland peasant—to Mr Anderson. It is dated Jan. 20, 1873 :—

"About the middle of Aith's Voe, on the west side, is a small stream, and a little further south on the same side is an old water-course belonging to the same stream; but it is now almost entirely filled up. However, last summer a heavy fall of rain caused the stream to run through the old water-course, where it undermined the earth at the mouth, and carried a large quantity out into the Voe, and I found the stone on the channel where the earth had been seven or eight feet deep. I had read of Runic inscriptions being found in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and even America,¹ but I had never seen any, and I had no idea of their appearance till I read, in Sir Walter Scott's tale of 'The Pirate,' where Norna of the Fitful Head is represented as having 'stone tablets inscribed with the *straight* and *angular* characters of the Runic alphabet.' As the characters on this stone which I found were straight and angular, I concluded that they might be runes. I therefore applied to Mr Arthur Laurenson of Lerwick, who kindly advised me to send the relic to you. If any attempt to decipher the inscription prove successful, please communicate the result to your humble servant,

"ROBERT COGLE,
"Gord, Cunningsburgh, Shetland."

These local names remind us of the mother-land. Aith's Voe (*Eids Vágr*, the Isthmus Bay), Fitful Head (*Fitfuglakjöfði*, Water-fowl Head), Lerwick (*Leirvík*, Mud Bay), Gord (*Gardr*, Garth), Cunnings-burgh, *Koningsborg*, Kings-burgh).

The broken lave itself is thus described by my friend Mr Anderson :—
"It is a triangular fragment, broken from the corner of what has apparently been a large flat slab of micaceous sandstone, close-grained and finely

¹ Mr Cogle was not aware that these "American" runic stones are all impudent forgeries.

laminated. It is 11 inches on the longest side, $9\frac{1}{2}$ on the next longest, and 8 inches on the side which shows the runes. The greatest thickness is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but the edge on which the runes are cut has lost a thin layer from both the upper and under surfaces, reducing it to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. All the edges are somewhat water-worn, but the stone is exceedingly hard, and the runes have been boldly cut."

Found in the summer of 1872, the fragment is thus figured by Mr James Drummond, R.S.A. (heliotyped by Herr Pacht):—



The Aith's Voe Runic Stone.

We can now see that what is left is *the top* of the stone and *the end* of the inscription. A glance at so many of the similarly cut Manx stones shows that the risting has *commenced at the bottom* of the slab, and has run up to its brow. This assists us in getting at the formula.

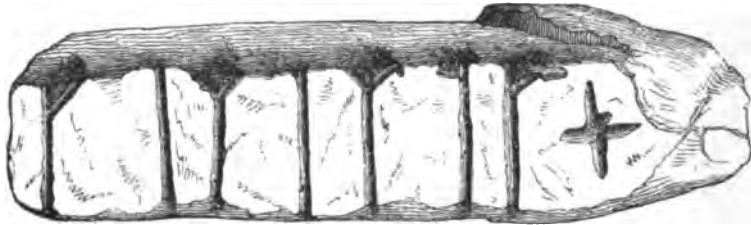
Next, it is evident that *the last word* in this last end is *MIK*, followed by the usual end-mark *+*. This, therefore, suggests the well-known

word-fall in which MIK (ME) was used, instead of THIS STONE OR THESE RUNES, &c.

On loose things, such as doors, shields, rings, censers, bells, fonts, caskets, &c., we have a score of Runic examples of the verbs OWE (OWN, possess), CHEAP (buy), RIST (cut runes upon), SCORE (rune-carve), SKRIFE (inscribe with runes), followed by MIK instead of THIS DOOR, THIS SHIELD, &c.

On grave blocks we have *more than a score* instances of the verbs OWE, GAR (make), MARK, RAISE, SET, SKRIFE, followed by MIK instead of by THIS STONE OR THESE RUNES, &c.

The runes I here give separately, half-size, photoxylographed from the cast by Herr Rosenstand :

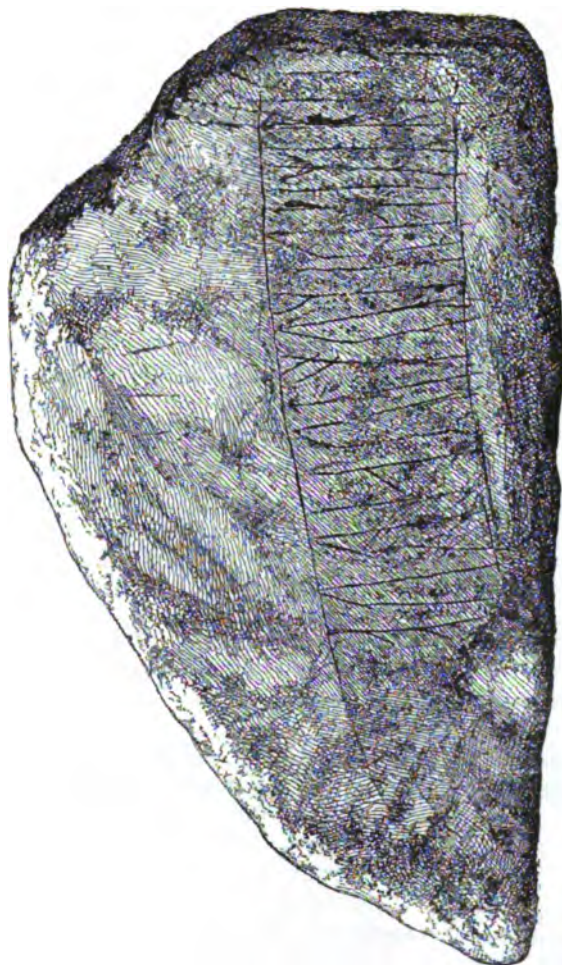


I would particularly point out a costly heathen slab found at Kirkebö, in the Færöes, and copied and explained by me at p. 728 of my "Old Northern Runic Monuments," and p. 5 of my "The Runic Hall of the Danish Old-Northern Museum." Only the upper part of the block is left, but the inscription is perfect. The staves are retrograde, and read from right to left. (See p. 429.)

This is from the same local land-group as the Shetland stone itself.

Most of these grave-stone examples use the verbs GAR (make), or HACK (hew), before the word RUNES or STONE, expressed or understood, or ME. Often the past tense is found for the common LET and the infinitive. As we know, in olden monuments, the dialectic sounds and spellings are endless. So here. We find the *past tense* of the Scandinavian KAURUA (GAR), and HAUKUA (HACK, HEW)—or however they may be spelt or

registered as "side-forms"—on runic pieces in a hundred different ways.



SATI MIH UIK UFT UNIRU.
SET ME UIK AFTER UNIRU.
(*Wik set up this stone in memory of Uniru.*)

My lists contain more than thirty shapes of the third person singular past
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of the word HAKUKA alone! Some of these end in a guttural, others in a vowel. Among the latter are HAKU, HAKUI, HIA, HIAU, HIO, HIU, IKU, IO, IU, UKI, UKU, &c.

Now it is certain that the fragment before us, *which is broken and worn away, especially on the left, where the tops of the letters stood*, gives as the staves still left the rune \mathfrak{F} , then \mathfrak{N} , so \mathfrak{I} , followed by \mathfrak{Y} , then \mathfrak{I} , and last the rune \mathfrak{F} , after which comes the end-mark +. Of these characters about three-fourths yet remain. What is wanting is gone at the top, very little at the bottom, but there is *no doubt* as to the letters. Now, all this spells :

. KUI MIK.

Thus, as on the Kirkebö stone, and so often elsewhere, there is *no divisional mark*. But the staves must as usual be divided, as :

. (ha) KUI MIK.
 HEWED (*runes-carved*) ME.

The block has, therefore, doubtless borne in the common way :

[*N. N. raised this after N. N., father (or mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, &c.), his. N. N.*] HEWED ME.

More we cannot discover from so small a bit, but still it is enough to show that also in this distant colony the Northmen had their funeral monuments and their traditional letters.

The grave-minne may be from the close of the heathen or the beginning of the Christian period in the Shetlands, say about the 11th century.

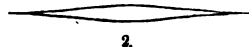
IV.

NOTICE OF A SMALL BRONZE BLADE FOUND IN A SEPULCHRAL TUMULUS OR CAIRN AT ROGART, SUTHERLAND, AND OF SIMILAR BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF SCOTLAND. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The Rev. J. M. Joass has kindly sent to me this bronze blade (now exhibited), which was recently found in a cabinet at Dunrobin, where it had been laid carefully aside and forgotten. From a note attached to it, however, Mr Joass has no doubt it is the "*dagger*" blade described by the Rev. John Mackenzie, in his account of the parish of Rogart, Sutherland, in 1834, which was published in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xv., Edinburgh, 1845.

The Rev. Mr Mackenzie refers to it as follows:—

"Tradition accords with the rude but certain monuments of battles, in showing that Rogart was in past times the scene of violent contests, and of much bloodshed. A ridge of hills crossing the eastern extremity of the parish from north to south, and extending from Strathbrora to Strathfleet, is covered with tumuli, which appear to have been thrown over the slain where they fell. One of these was opened lately by dykers erecting a fence around the glebe, having no idea that they invaded the resting-place of a warrior, probably of an ancestor. They found in the centre of it a stone coffin, containing mouldered bones, and the blade of a dirk or short dagger, which seemed to have been wielded by the hand of some leader, being of a more costly description than the common



1. Bronze Blade found in a tumulus at Rogart, Sutherland. (Actual size.)
2. Section across blade.

dirk, coated with gold, and marked with lines crossing one another at acute angles, and terminating in the point. It is likely that this bloody instrument was broken and covered in the wound it inflicted, and was thus retained in the body of the victim."—P. 50.

In this detailed description we have probably an account of a cairn covering a stone sepulchral cist, with its not unusual accompanying bronze implement, the presence of which we do not now think it necessary to account for, by supposing it to have been buried in the body of the dead. This blade is formed of a yellow bronze, showing a fine patinated surface, of a mixed yellow and green colour. It is leaf-shaped in form, having a narrow tang or stalk at one extremity, from which it gradually expands into the broad body of the leaf, and then probably tapered to a sharp-pointed extremity in front, which, however, is unfortunately broken off. The tang measures nearly an inch in length, and what remains of the blade, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Its total length being $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in its greatest breadth across the blade. The blade is thickest along its centre, and becomes thinner towards each edge, which is sharp; along the thicker middle part of the blade there is cut an oval-shaped pattern of fine lines, crossing one another diagonally, so as to form a series of sharp-pointed, lozenge-shaped figures, which are alternately plain and covered with fine lines, and a series of small dots run round the outer margin of the whole oval figure. The blade is slightly grooved longitudinally on each side of this central figure, as if with a gouge, and becomes much thinner beyond this towards its edges. It weighs about two-thirds of an ounce.

Another instance of the discovery of a bronze blade, of almost exactly similar character, occurred at Balblair, Parish of Creich, in the same county of Sutherland. It was found in a cairn of stones, along with what appeared to be the remains of burnt bones, covered over by a coarse clay sepulchral urn, and is now also preserved in the museum of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, at Dunrobin Castle.

I had the pleasure, through the Rev. Mr Joass, of exhibiting it to the Society in May 1868; and an account of it, with a figure, is published in vol. viii. of our Proceedings. (I repeat the woodcut here, to show its great similarity to this bronze blade found at Rogart.)

These bronze blades correspond very closely in size; they have the

same leaf-like shape, tapering point, and the thin edges, which are sharp all round, except at the slender tang. The Balblair blade is, however, rather thicker in the middle, its ornamentation being that of a long, pointed, and projecting oval rib, open along the middle; it is, however, also covered with incised patterns of oblique and crossing lines; in this respect at least resembling the bronze blade found at Rogart. It weighs about half an ounce.

Another small blade of bronze, of a more regularly oval shape, and perhaps more worn than those now described, is now also exhibited.

It is closely allied to the bronzes just described, having a thicker portion along the middle of the blade, and one extremity, where the tang has been apparently broken off, being thicker than the other extremity, which, as well as the edges, are much thinner in character. The edges, however, have been much worn away, so that little more than its thicker or central portion remains; of a somewhat oval shape. It measures about 2 inches in length, by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in greatest breadth, and is covered by a beautiful green patina, and weighs $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce. It was found at Lieraboll, Kildonan, further to the north than that previously described, in the same county of Sutherland.

Like the other instances described, it was found along with incinerated bones, and under an inverted clay sepulchral urn, about 3 feet below the surface of the ground, near the outer margin of a tumulus.

This tumulus was the largest of a great group of tumuli, among which

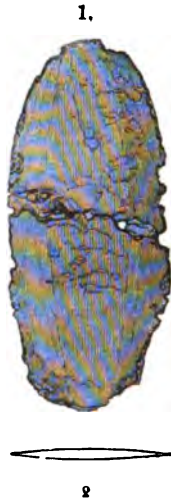


1. Bronze Blade found in a cairn at Balblair, Creich, Sutherland. (Actual size.)
2. Section across blade.

were various parallel lines of standing-stones, about 6 feet apart. The tumulus itself had been surrounded by a series of stone slabs, some of which are just seen above the present surface of the ground, and others rise to about 2 feet above it. The urn was found about 3 feet deep, at the east side of one of these stone slabs, which measured 3 feet broad by

4 feet long. Mr Joass was inclined to think it might have been a secondary interment. Mr Joass says, this field of graves is surrounded by traces of a stone fence, enclosing about 10 acres of ground. There are signs of small enclosures, some circular, and others more oval in form, about 30 feet in diameter, in the line of this fence; outside, there are scattered tumuli, extending for a mile westward. To the north-west, on the slope of a hill, about a quarter of a mile off, are to be seen two hut-circles, and many more tumuli.

From the number and variety of these ancient remains, the Rev. Mr Joass intends getting a careful survey and plan made of the locality, and will give to the Society a detailed account of the antiquities of the whole neighbourhood.

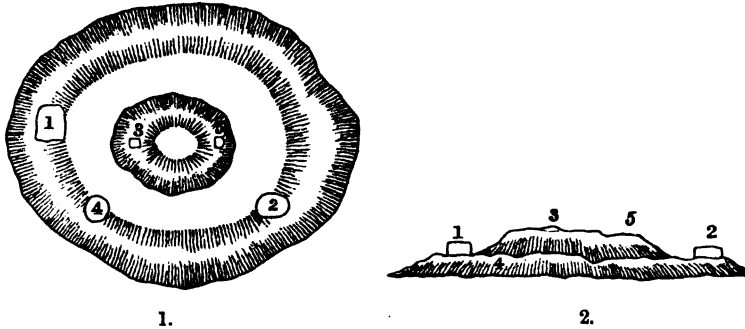


1. Bronze Blade found in a tumulus at Lieraboll, Kildonan, Sutherland.
2. Section across blade. (Actual size.)

In March 1862 a "Notice of Remains, found under a Cairn surrounded by upright stones, on the Farm of Burreldales, Parish of Auchterless, Aberdeenshire," by James Hay Chalmers, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., was read before the Society, and an abstract of it is published in our Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 429.

Some slight diagrams, in illustration of the paper, were also sent. One of these is a rough plan of the cairn, or tumulus of stones and earth, which seemed to consist of a central portion, some 30 feet across, and rather hollow in the middle, with an outer border of lower elevation surrounding the whole, measuring altogether some 50 feet in diameter. (I subjoin a copy of this diagram).

There are two standing-stones—(see figs. 1 and 2), a larger (No. 1), and a smaller (No. 2)—still remaining, on the opposite sides of the tumulus, which, along with several others, are probably the remains of a stone circle. Several small stone cists were found in the tumulus—one (No. 3), about 3 feet deep, 20 inches long, and 16 inches wide, contained the remains of a clay urn with incinerated ashes; another (No. 4), on the outer circle, contained also ashes, but did not appear to be regularly enclosed with stones. On the other side of the tumulus another cist (No. 5)



(1.) Plan, and (2.) Elevation of Cairn or Tumulus at Burrel dales,
Aberdeenshire.

was discovered; it contained the remains of an urn, with burnt bone ashes, and a small blade of bronze; from a sketch, also sent, this blade had been evidently similar in character to those now described. It was much corroded, but enough remained to show it had been of a long oval or pointed shape, with a narrow tang at one extremity. It measured nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, by about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in greatest breadth, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in greatest thickness in the middle part of the blade. The portion of one of the urns presented to the Museum shows a very peculiar character of ornamentation, consisting of a numerous series of shallow, round indentations, as if made with the blunt extremity of a

small stick, and there are here and there small, smooth, short bars of clay, projecting boldly, as ornaments, from its surface.

Dr John Stuart, in his important work on "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., devotes a chapter to describe "The Early Modes of Burial." He there refers to the discovery at Lawhead, near St Andrews, Fifeshire, of a series of sepulchral urns, containing incinerated bones. Dr Stuart first describes a similar discovery of a large group of sepulchral long cists, containing human remains, at Haly Hill. He then says:—"On the platform at the opposite side of the valley, near Lawpark Nurseries, where stone coffins have occasionally been found, a group of urns was discovered. They were all near to a large stone, which, being in the way of the plough, was dug up by the farmer. There were no cists, but in four instances triangular holes were found, formed of pieces of flagstone, within which were urns filled with calcined bones. Eighteen large urns were found, besides two discovered by the farmer in removing the large stone referred to, in one of which were two thin bronze knives, about 3 inches in length. Beside the urns a flint-flake was picked up, and large quantities of the teeth of oxen and sheep, and cores of their horns. The urns varied in height from 10 to 16 inches, and in diameter from 8 to 11 inches. Some of the urns were inverted, while those which stood on end were covered by flat stones. All the urns contained calcined bones. In one case an inverted urn had another larger urn just above it. The outer urn was broken, and portions of it were found among the bones in the entire urn. In the progress of agricultural operations quantities of stones and boulders have been carried away from the spot, so that a cairn may have originally covered the spot; and in a tumulus, which seemed to have been surrounded by a circle of stones, at a distance of about 100 yards from the spot, a rude stone cist containing a human skeleton was found."—P. lix.

I applied to the keeper of the Museum of St Andrews University, where these relics are now preserved, for some more details of the bronze knives and urns referred to by Dr Stuart, and, in the absence of Professor Heddle, the Curator, had a polite reply from Mr A. P. Hodge, with outlines of the bronzes. These show oval-shaped blades, terminating in a narrow tang at one extremity, they resemble generally the blades I have already described, though apparently a good deal weathered, and now

measure about 3 inches in total length, one blade being rather less than 1 inch in breadth, and the other a little more. The urns, Mr Hodge tells me, generally resemble the ordinary clay sepulchral urn; many have a narrow projecting band round the urn, rather below the middle of its height, and they have a broad ornamented collar or border round the top of the urn, the rest being unornamented. The ornamentation is generally made up of various straight, oblique, or crossing lines, in some cases marked as if by the impression of a twisted cord. In some we have vandyked and in others a series of arched or rounded patterns. In one, about 11 inches in height, the pattern consists of alternate rows of round, indented depressions, as if made with the blunt extremity of a small stick (reminding me of the one found at Burreldales, already referred to), and also a series of short, oblique lines, indented by a sharper instrument, or by the finger nail, resembling thus the patterns on some of the vessels found in the Swiss Lake-houses, as well as those found in some of the brochs, as pointed out by the Keeper of our Museum, Mr Joseph Anderson.

Dr John Stuart refers also to early interments beside stone circles, and otherwise, where small portions of bronze have been discovered; but the details given are generally of so slight a character, that we cannot say whether they belong to the same style of implement or not. Indeed, the remains themselves appear to have been in many cases so very brittle, and so imperfect, that their original character could not be easily determined.

In April 1864 the Rev. J. M. Joass, then of Eddertoun, Ross-shire, presented to the Museum of the Society a greenish coloured glass bead, ornamented with spiral patterns of white enamel, and also a small bronze blade. In a communication read at the time, which accompanied this donation, ("Notice of a Cist and its contents at Eddertoun, Ross-shire, recently opened," with Plate, Proc. Soc. Antiq., vol. v. p. 311), Mr Joass states, this tumulus was one of several tumuli, associated with hut-circles, and was cut through in the course of making the Ross-shire Railway, about three miles west of the Eddertoun Station. The tumulus contained a central short stone cist, with remains of what seemed to be burnt bones, and the glass bead and small blade of bronze. This blade of bronze is much corroded, but is somewhat oval in form, measuring now $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches

in length, by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in greatest breadth, and seems—from its shape and thinness of blade towards its edges—much to resemble those previously described. A trench had apparently been dug around the margin of the tumulus, and in it, on one side of the tumulus, a large cinerary urn, containing burnt bones, was found, and also some small fragments of oxidised bronze.

In a valuable memoir on “Ancient British Barrows,” communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London, by the late lamented John Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A., and since published in the “Archæologia” (vols. xlii. p. 161, and xliii. p. 285, 1873), he gives, under the designation of “*Razor Blades*,” an account of various small bronze blades found in England—one of a delicate oval form, like the leaf of the ribwort, *Plantago media*, ornamented with parallel flutings down its centre, was found in an urn of burnt bones, with amber beads or studs, in a barrow at Winterslow, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It weighs half an ounce. A second oval blade, with a hole pierced in the tang, and little more than a quarter of an ounce in weight, and grooved somewhat like the last, was found in a barrow at Priddy, Somerset, and is now in the British Museum. Dr Thurnam refers to the Balblair blade described by me, as belonging to the same class, and repeats my figure of it. He also gives figures of the others he has described.

In a previous paper read before the Society in 1866, “On Three Small Bronze Blades, or Instruments believed to be Razors, and a Bronze Socketed Celt in the Museum of the Society; with Remarks on other small Bronze Blades,” I described other bronze blades of a somewhat different shape, to which I shall again shortly refer.

Small, thin double-edged bronze blades of a somewhat corresponding character, though not of exactly the same shape as those first described, have been discovered in a very few instances in Ireland; and in February 1866, I called the attention of the Society to three small bronze blades, somewhat corresponding to these, found with a bronze socketed celt, which were in the Museum of the Society. As this paper is published in vol. vi. of the Proceedings, p. 357, I need not refer to it further than to say, that, at that time, I could not find anything to show where, or under what conditions, these curious bronze relics

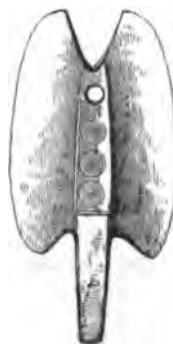
had been actually discovered, though I believed they had been, in all probability, found in Scotland. Since that date I have had Mr Joseph Anderson's able assistance in my search, and he has called my attention to a short notice published in the "Archæologia Scotica," which, I have little doubt, supplies the much-desired information. It occurs in vol. iii., 1831, and is included in a "Summary of various Communications made to the Society since the publication of the last volume (1822), of early Sepulchral Remains having been discovered." It is as follows:—

"Notice by A. Seton, Esq., of Tumuli which were discovered at Bowerhouses, near Dunbar, in a letter communicated to the Secretary." "The accompanying remains, said to have been taken from a tumulus, consist of copper implements (the weapons usually named celts), and apparently plates of copper armour. They were found in two urns—one of which was of considerable dimensions, being nearly a foot and a half in height; the other was of small size. Burnt bones, portions of skulls, charcoal, &c., were mixed with them. These relics were discovered during the course of levelling some ground at Bowerhouses, near Dunbar. I have not seen the place. The foundations of forts or buildings are said to have been traced there. Stone coffins have likewise been dug up, along with whet-stones, a drinking cup," &c.

These small blades weigh respectively,—the largest, slightly under an ounce and a quarter; the second, about half an ounce; and the third, rather under half an ounce. (See the annexed woodcuts.)

In the "List of Communications to the Society of Antiquaries," published in vol. iii. of the "Archæologia Scotica," this notice is combined with other notices by Mr A. Seton, as having been read under the date of 25th April 1825, which probably gives us an approximation to the date of the discovery.

From the details given we may suppose that this was also a tumulus or cairn, like those in Sutherland, with an interment by cremation, along



Bronze Blade found in Ireland. (One-half of actual size.)

with its usual large urn; and we know the old fancy, that any pieces of metal found were generally supposed to be the remains of armour. Perhaps the shape of these thin bronze blades, somewhat leaf-like, pierced with a small hole at one extremity, might suggest to the describer the idea of leaf-shaped portions of plate armour; the celt being, however, the only weapon found along with them.

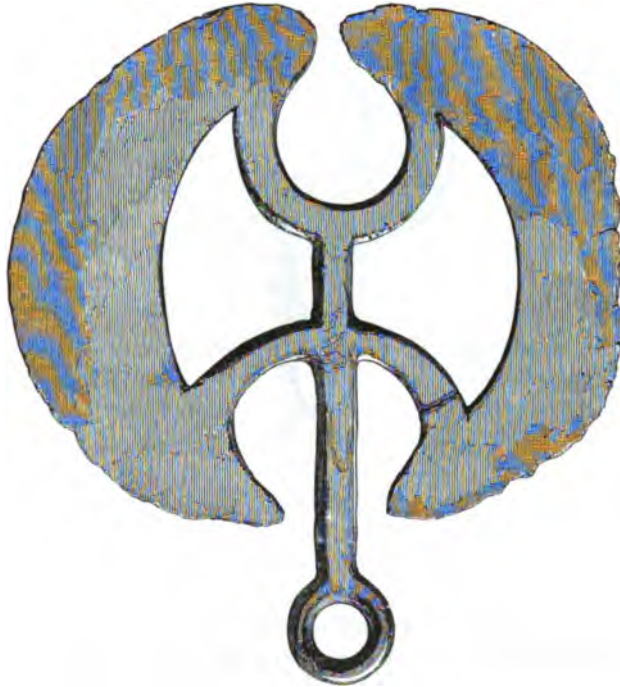


Three Bronze Blades in the Museum of the Society, believed to have been found in a Tumulus near Dunbar, Haddingtonshire. (One-half of actual size.)

Dr Thurnam, in the memoir already referred to, gives a figure of a small tanged bronze blade, partially broken, which seems to resemble these blades much more than the oval ones described. It was found at Stourhead, and is placed by him in the same class as the others referred to. Alongside of it he also figures the small bronze blade found in Anglesey, described by Mr Albert Way, in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*" (xii. 10), which I have also referred to in my previous papers.

In April 1863 I presented to the Society a small double-bladed implement of bronze, of a peculiar circular form, which was found in an undisturbed bed of gravel in the valley of the Water of Leith, at Kinleith, near Currie. Its weight is a little over three quarters of an ounce, and

an account of it is published in vol. v. of the "Proceedings."¹ Though not of exactly the same shape as the other blades described, it seems allied to them in general character, and probably also in use.

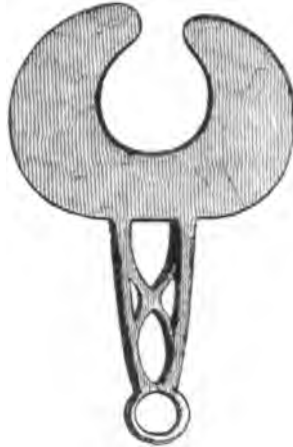


Bronze Blade found at Kinleith, near Edinburgh. (Actual size.)

In my previous papers on these bronze blades, already referred to, I showed its apparent relation to the other small bronze blades found in

¹ "Remarks on a Bronze Implement and Bones of the Ox and Dog found in a Bed of Undisturbed Gravel at Kinleith, near Currie, Mid-Lothian," Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. v. p. 84, 1863.

Britain and Ireland, as well as to others of a corresponding character found in the Swiss Lake-dwellings, and I have there entered somewhat into their supposed age and use. I shall not return to the subject further than to say, that they appear all to be of great antiquity.



Bronze Crescent-shaped Blade found in Swiss Lake-dwellings.
(One-half of actual size.)

The pointed leaf-shaped or oval bronze blades first described have now been shown to be generally found along with sepulchral remains, under small rounded cairns or tumuli, associated with lines or circles of standing-stones, and frequently containing, in large urns, the incinerated bones of the burned dead. They have been apparently widely spread over the British Islands, the remains probably of some early Celtic or British tribes, who formerly occupied the greater part of our island.

I have already noticed the rounded or crescentic forms of the bronze blades found in the Swiss Lake-dwellings, which seemed at one time to be specially confined to them; now, however, I have recorded the occurrence of a bronze blade of a closely analagous character found in Scotland,

to which I have already referred. Since that date a bronze of a character closely corresponding to those of the Swiss Lake-dwellings, and indeed almost exactly to the distinctive one I have figured above, has been recorded as "a razor of bronze," and figured by M. G. de Mortillet in his interesting "*Materiaux pour L'Histoire Primitive et Philosophique de L'Homme.*" (vol. iv. 1868, p. 328), as having been found in the river Seine at Paris. M. Mortillet says, "C'est un rasoir de bronze, trouvé aussi dans la Seine, à Paris. Il rappelle tout à fait ceux trouvés dans les terramares de l'Émilie. Pourtant M. Leguay doute encore de l'exactitude de cette détermination."¹

We know that Lake-dwellings, apparently of a similar character to those in Switzerland, were inhabited in Thrace in the time of Herodotus (B.C. 459), as I have already noticed in my former paper,² and from the comparative isolation of many of these Lake-dwellings among the Alps in ancient days, they might possibly be also occupied to a comparatively recent date, having little or no communication, it may be, with the more civilised and advanced communities of the neighbouring low countries. These are questions, however, that we are not able as yet to determine. Lake-dwellings, more or less analogous to those of Switzerland, have been observed in many parts of the world, and belong to various periods, down even to our own times. In our own country, indeed, the first instances of a corresponding kind of dwelling were noticed and described by a member of our Society as long ago as 1812-13.³ Sir John Lubbock, Bart., in his valuable work on "Pre-Historic Times," gives details both of ancient and modern classes of these peculiar dwellings. He tells an interesting fact in reference to those described by Herodotus,—“I have been informed by a friend who lives at Salonica, that the fishermen of Lake Prasias still inhabit wooden cottages built over the water, as in the time of Herodotus.”—P. 169. 2d ed. 1869. Meantime it is interesting to find bronzes similar to those of the Swiss Pile-dwellings at such a distance from them. I do not refer now to the correspondence of many

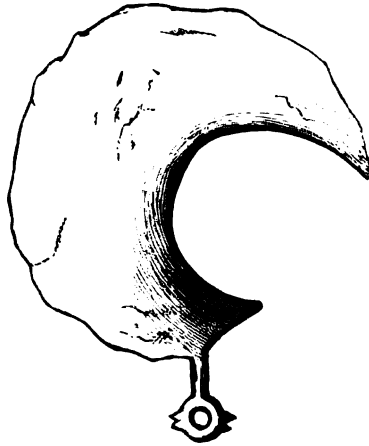
¹ Louis Leguay, "Antiquités anté-historiques et Gauloises des Parisii, dans Bull. Soc. Parisienne arch. et hist." Paris 1867, p. 59-68, 6 fig.

² Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. v. p. 96.

³ Notice of Two "Crannoges" or Palisaded Islands in Bute, with Plans. By John Mackinlay. Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. iii. p. 43, 1866.

of the relics of these same Swiss Lake-dwellings to others found elsewhere. Bronze "razors" with a single-edged blade are also found, along with other varieties, at the Lake-dwellings of Neuchâtel.

Rounded bronze blades of at least a somewhat corresponding character and size to those of the Swiss Lake-Dwellings, being crescentic in shape, but the handle fixed towards one extremity of the crescent, have been found, in early Etruscan tombs, as in that near Bologna described



Bronze Crescent-shaped Blade found in the Necropolis of Villanova.
(Half of actual size.)

by Count Gozzadini in 1855, a note of which I have given in my paper ("On the Bronze Blades and Celt in the Museum of the Society, &c.," Proc. vol. vi. p. 357, 1866), for which I was indebted to Dr Keller of Zurich, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., &c. Since that time Count Jean Gozzadini has published an account of the Necropolis of Villanova, near Bologna, Italy, which was brought by him before the International Congress of Archaeology at Brussels in 1870. The necropolis was believed by Count Gozzadini and other eminent archaeologists to be undoubtedly

Etruscan in character, and here again were discovered no less than twelve of these crescentic shaped bronze blades exactly similar in character and size to that already referred to, and described by him as found in an Etruscan tomb in 1855. As the Count gives an interesting summary of the whole question of the supposed use of these bronze blades, I have taken the liberty of quoting it from his paper,¹ and also give a copy of his illustrative figure of one of the bronze blades (see woodcut):—

“ Mais les plus extraordinaires des *cultri* en bronze, caractéristiques de cette époque-là dans notre territoire, rares ou inconnus ailleurs, sont au nombre de douze, en forme de croissant, très-minces, tranchants seulement dans la périmétrie convexe, avec un rebord dans la cavité opposée et un tout petit manche (fig.) La finesse de ces instruments et l'impossibilité de les serrer fort, nous montrent qu'ils étaient destinés à couper des choses peu résistantes et on dirait presque à raser. Si on voulait leur attribuer un usage dans les cérémonies religieuses on pourrait croire que les parents du défunt s'en servaient pour raser leurs chevelures en signe de deuil et pour lui en faire un dernier don.² Ceux qui préféreraient attribuer à ces ustensiles un usage de ménage, pourraient les supposer avec plus d'audace les rasoirs des anciens habitants de ces pays-ci, car il n'est pas à croire que les Italiens aient commencé à se raser seulement au milieu du cinquième siècle de Rome, comme on l'a cru d'après un passage de Varron;³ l'illustre professeur Rocchi a démontré dans une savante dissertation, que j'ai publiée,⁴ que les Étrusques se rasèrent bien avant cette époque.

Si on voulait objecter que ces *cultri* sont trop différents, dans la forme, des rasoirs dont on se sert aujourd'hui, on pourrait aussi répondre qu'ils seraient tout de même très propres à raser, soit en les prenant par le manche pour raser de bas en haut, soit en les prenant avec l'index et le médium au de là de la cavité et avec le pouce en deçà pour raser de haut en bas. On pourrait ajouter que les arguments ne manquent pas pour faire croire que le rasoir ou la *novacula* des Romains, encore inconnue, fût en forme de croissant; car Martial nous en donne presque la forme, en disant qu'on conservait la *novacula* dans un étui recourbé.⁵ L'autorité de Columella n'est pas à négliger non plus, lorsque, en-

¹ La Nécropole de Villanova Découverte et Décrite par Le Comte et Sénateur Jean Gozzadini, &c. Bologne, 1870. 8vo. pp. 80.

² Kirchn. De funer. p. 183.

³ De R. R. lib. ii. c. 11.

⁴ Voy. Di un Sepolcreto Etrusco scoperto presso Bologna, 1855. 4to.

⁵ “Sed fuerit *curva* cum tuta *novacula theca*
Frangam tonsori crura manusque simul.”

Mart. lib. ii. ep. 58.

seignant la manière d'apprêter les navets, il prescrit qu' on les pèle avec la *novacula* et tout de suite il ajoute, qu' on les coupe avec le fer en *croissant*.¹ Car si, comme vraiment il paraît, Columella voulait indiquer le même instrument pour l' une et pour l' autre opération, on aura en lui aussi un témoignage que la *novacula* était non seulement recourbée, mais en forme de croissant, particularité qui cadre de plus en plus avec la forme de ces *cultri*. Il faut peut-être attribuer à la ressemblance de cette forme le nom d' un poisson, qui, au dire de Pline,² s' appelle non seulement *novacula*, mais, à ce qu' il paraît, aussi *Orbis*,³ ou rond selon la signification du mot et selon la description faite par ce naturaliste." Pp. 59-61.

Count Gozzadini also details the discovery of similar crescent-shaped bronzes at various other Etruscan sites in the north of Italy.

Bronze blades of a corresponding character are preserved among the Etruscan and early Roman bronzes of the British Museum. These include several varieties in shape—some rounded in outline, others double-edged and rather square shaped, with small handles, somewhat like those found at Dunbar, and some also pierced with holes, as if for suspension; but all correspond somewhat in character and size to some of those I have described. It would therefore seem to be the fact that sharp-edged curved blades were used by the Etruscans, as well as by the inhabitants of the Swiss Lake-dwellings, that a similar blade has been got near Paris, and an analogous one in Scotland, and that other rounded, as well as somewhat square shaped blades, a few specimens of which have been found in Ireland and Britain, seem also to correspond closely in character and size to bronzes found in Italy of early Roman manufacture.

Lastly, though belonging probably to a somewhat later date, we have

¹ *ferramento lunato*. Colum. de R. R. lib. xii. p. 56.

² H. N. lib. xxxii. c. 5.

³ Il paraît que les commentateurs font de la *novacula* et de l' *orbe* deux espèces de poisson; mais si on lit avec attention le passage cité de Pline, on voit qu' il se propose de parler de la nature des poissons et il le fait quant au Scare, au Loup, aux Murènes, au Polype, au Muge, et à l' *Antia*, parlant uniquement de la *novacula* pour dire l' effet que son atouchement produit sur les Murènes. Il ne fait pas mention de l' *Orbe* ni pour sa nature particulière, ni pour ses rapports avec les poissons dont il nous décrit les moeurs, et il n' aurait pas eu motif d' en parler si ce poisson n' était pas tout un avec la *novacula* et si la définition qu' il donne de celle-ci ne devait pas se rapporter à ce qu' il dit de l' *Orbe*.

the numerous small single-edged or bladed bronze "razor-knives," as they have been designated, almost like modern razor blades in shape, of the Norsemen of the north of Europe. They are generally cut square across at one extremity, vary in breadth, and taper towards the other extremity, to terminate there in a curved and ornamented handle; the blade itself being often ornamented with a galley, or other rude engraving.

From the slender character, delicacy of finish, and extreme thinness and sharpness of these small oval shaped bronze blades first described, they do not seem well fitted for weapons of offence; it has been supposed as darts, or mere arrow-heads. It has seemed to me more likely that they were used, as well as the other rounded bronze blades referred to, for depilatory or other toilet purposes, and I find that Dr Thurnam, in the valuable memoir referred to before, where he arranges the bronzes found, under various groups and designations, has also given to these small oval blades a similar attribution and designation.

V.

NOTE OF COARSE GREEN GLASS BEADS FOUND AT KINLOCH-RANNOCH,
PERTHSHIRE. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

The Rev. J. M. Joass has sent to me for exhibition to the Society five rudely-formed small beads, of coarse and dark-coloured green glass, about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in diameter. They appear as if they had been slightly crushed or flattened when soft, or newly made. They were recently found in the wild district of Kinloch-Rannoch, by the Hon. Mr Elphinstone, who accidentally poked them, with his staff, out of a broken bank. No other relics of any kind were found near the spot, nor were there any traces of building visible near by. The beads do not appear to be of any great antiquity, at least the glass itself has not apparently suffered from exposure to the weather.

Dr Thurnam, however, in his valuable memoir on "Ancient British Barrows," already referred to, states, in regard to glass beads apparently of a somewhat corresponding character:—

"The rudest ornaments of this material are green glass beads, mere drops of glass, pierced through. They are quite exceptional in this

country; but one was found by the Rev. J. H. Austen, in a barrow in Purbeck, Dorset (Arch. Journ. vii. 385; Warne, "Celtic Tumuli of Dorset," iii. 58). They appear to be common in Sweden, in deposits assigned to the Stone Period, and are adduced by Professor Nilsson as proof of Phœnician intercourse with that country ("Stone Age," Eng. ed. p. 82, plate ix. figs. 201, 202). The hole in these beads has either been blown or made by passing some hard implement through the molten glass."

These ancient beads have been rudely pierced across the longer diameter of the bead, while the ones now exhibited are pierced in the line of their greatest diameter, and are probably of much later date.

VI.

NOTES RESPECTING A FRAGMENT OF AN ANCIENT SCULPTURED STONE OR ANGLO-SAXON CROSS, FOUND AT GATTONSIDE, NEAR MELROSE, AND A PORTION OF THE OLD CROSS OF JEDBURGH. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Last summer, when walking through the village of Gattonside, which lies on the north bank of the Tweed, nearly opposite to the town of Melrose, Roxburghshire, I accidentally noticed a sculptured fragment of stone built into the garden wall of one of the cottages, and Mr B. N. Peach, of the Geological Survey, who was then a resident there, kindly offered to try and procure it for me. Accordingly, through his polite attention to my wishes, I have now the pleasure of presenting it for preservation to the Museum of the Society. (See woodcut.)

It is a squared block of old red sandstone, corresponding very much in character, it appears to me, to the same rock *in situ* near Dryburgh, where, indeed, it has at one time been extensively quarried. This stone has been, perhaps at no very distant date, squared into a block for use in building, having apparently been broken up for that purpose. It now measures 7 inches in height, by 9 inches in breadth, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and has formed part of a large sculptured stone or cross, the sculpture still remaining on one surface and on one end or side of the stone. On its broad surface it displays a large pattern of inter-

laced knotwork, formed by a double cord or ribbon laid side by side, which is crossed by another similar band in the centre of the figure, and passes through four loops or knots round this cross-like centre, the outer folds forming an encircling ring, and the cords then pass outwards to fill up the flat surface or field around this central circular pattern. Along one of the corners of the stone there runs a large vertical rounded bead or moulding, with a smaller one on each side of it; and on the return of this corner, being part of the side of



Portion of Sculptured Stone found at Gattonside, near Melrose, Roxburghshire.

the original sculptured stone, there is a zig-zag pattern formed of short vertical lines, terminating above and below in oblique lines, which again are abruptly bent, and expand into angular ornaments, filling up most of the surface of the stone. Similar sculptured patterns to those on the stone occur in some of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," figured by Dr Stuart in his great work published by the Spalding Club. One stone at St Andrews, the shaft of a cross, in Plate xvii,

displays interlacing knotwork somewhat similar to this one. The ornament on the side of this stone belongs to a class and style of ornament which also occurs in several of these sculptured stones; as, for example, on the edge of the small fragment of a sculptured stone discovered some years ago at the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, figured by Dr Stuart, and also by Sir J. Y. Simpson in his paper published in vol. ii. of the Proceedings.

The general character of this sculpture seems to correspond with the period of the finest work on these sculptured stones. It is certainly much older than any part of the present ruins of Melrose Abbey, and is similar in character to that on Anglo-Saxon crosses and monuments of an early date; to which period, therefore, I consider this stone also to belong. From the use it had been put to as an ordinary building stone, it is not improbable that other remains of the same sculptured stone may yet be found in the locality, I have accordingly requested a search to be made, and hope that some other parts of it may still be discovered.

Some of the very old people of Gattonside still remember the existence of a plain square-shaped stone, which was known by the name of "the Cross," it had a socket cut in it as if to support the shaft of a cross; but it has long since been broken up, and no remains of it are now to be found.

The Rev. Adam Milne, in his "Description of the Parish of Melrose" (1748), in describing Gattonside, says:—"There has been a fine chapel in this place, all built of hewn stone, near the vicar's house. This person is called so, because some of his predecessors few'd the small vicarage tithes of this town from the Commendator; tho' others say they had a gift of them before the Reformation from Abbot Durie, one of that family having married his natural daughter. Many of the stones of the chapel are to be seen in his house, and some of them curiously carved. The people here, in digging and ditching their yards, particularly near where the chapel has stood, find several vaults, and a great many hewn stones, by which it appears that at the time of Popery there have been several good buildings here."

I have seen the charter granted to the feuars of Gattonside by James Douglas, Commendator of Melrose in 1590, but do not remember any reference to ecclesiastical buildings in the village.

Alexander Jeffrey, Esq., Jedburgh, in his valuable "History and Anti-

quities of Roxburghshire, 1855," says:—"It is doubtful whether there ever was a chapel here (at Gattonside), as I have not been able to find any trace of it, and even Mr Milne does not advance any satisfactory grounds for his statement." (Vol. iv. p. 81.)

Many years ago, in the course of repairing one of the old village peel towers of Darnick, which was formerly occupied by a family of the name of Fisher, it was accidentally discovered that the kitchen hearth-stone was actually an old memorial stone or tombstone, as it was rather rudely sculptured over its under surface with what appeared to be, as far as I remember, part of the floriated shaft of a cross. The stone was afterwards taken to Abbotsford, where it still remains. It, however, belonged to a much later date than the sculptured stone just described.

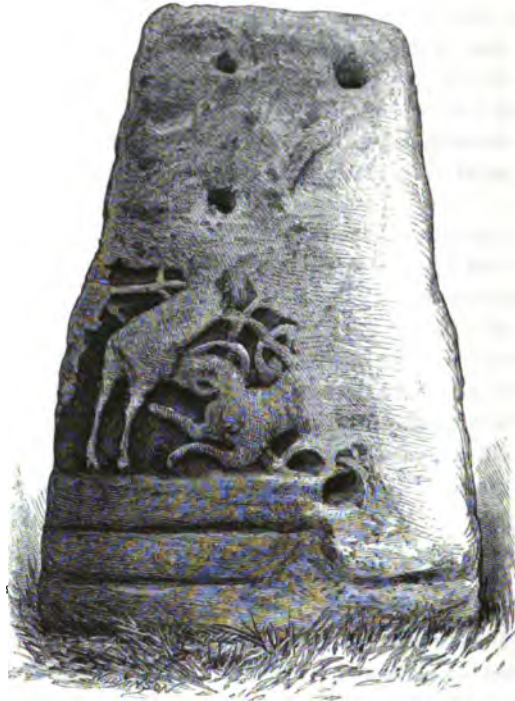
Sir Walter Scott erected an ancient "Sculptured Stone" on a knoll in a group of old firs, in a stripe of newer plantation running south from Abbotsford House, close by the old middle road from Darnick to Selkirk. The place was called "Turn-a-again." This stone, however, had no connection with the district, having been sent to Sir Walter from Forfarshire. It has since, I understand, been removed by the late Mr Hope Scott, and is now preserved at Abbotsford House. A cross covered with ornamental patterns, with representations of animals in each of its angles, is sculptured on one side of this stone, and on the other figures of horsemen, &c. Dr John Stuart describes and figures it in Plates xviii., xcix. of his first volume of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

The only other remains of a character apparently approaching to that of the "Sculptured Stones" with which I was acquainted in the surrounding district was brought under my notice by Mr Alexander Jeffrey, in December 1866, when he sent me a small photograph of a stone, which seemed much weathered and destroyed, but still showed a portion of a rounded moulding at the base, and apparently the remains of sculptured representations of animals, &c. Mr Jeffrey wrote me as follows:—

"JEDBURGH, *December 8, 1866.*

"I enclose you a photograph of one side of the old cross of Jedburgh. The other three sides will be taken the first good day that occurs. The

stone seems to me to be the lower part of the shaft next to the stone steps. On the upper part is a tenon. It is impossible to say the number of parts the cross consisted of, but, I think, it very probable



Portion of the Old Cross of Jedburgh, now at Hartrigge (from a photograph).

that there was only another part of the shaft, which we know was surmounted by a unicorn in the thirteenth century. It seems to me the cross may belong to the beginning of the ninth century or older. It is irregular. The average height of the part is 4 feet 4½ inches. The north

base is 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; the south, 3 feet 3 inches ; the east, 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; the west, 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The north top is 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; south, 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; east, 1 foot 5 inches ; west, 1 foot 3 inches. The other sides are sculptured also, and I hope they will be brought out by being photographed. On the west side I thought I could discover two large birds with their breasts nearly touching, and their heads turned back. Their legs are discernible. The animal on the side sent seems to me to be a deer in a forest. The three black spots at the top, and one at the bottom, were cut by some Goth to place the crooks of a toll-bar gate, the stone having, at one time been used as a post of the gate to the turnpike. Only think that this beautiful cross was removed from the centre of the market place by the Town Council to give a little more room for coal carts ! Town Councils seem to be the same in every part of Scotland. . . . In the course of a few days I hope to have the whole photographed, and shall send you all the sides with a short paper for the Society. I may add that the late Lord-Chancellor Campbell wrongfully took possession of the stone, and it is now placed near to his mansion of Hartrigge."

Mr Jeffrey adds in a note :—

"I may mention to you, that the mason-marks¹ on the old deep-ribbed bridge of Jedburgh are the same as the marks on the oldest part of the Abbey."

Unfortunately, from the state of Mr Jeffrey's health and other causes, neither the additional photographs nor the paper on the cross were forthcoming, and so the matter lay over altogether.

Some time afterwards vol. ii. of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland" was published, and Dr Stuart gives there, in Plate cxviii., a figure of a richly sculptured stone, also found at Jedburgh, showing birds, dragons, &c., perched on circular scrolls, proceeding from a central ornamented stem, like the branches of a tree. There are also ornamental patterns on the front and sides of the stone. Dr Stuart tells us—"The stone figured on this plate was brought to my notice by my friend the Rev. William Greenwell of Durham. It was built into the south aisle of the chancel, as the lintel of an opening, but at my request it was

¹ "Exhibition of Mason-Marks copied from Melrose Abbey, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, &c." (Plates.) By J. A. Smith, M.D., Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. iv. p. 548, 1862.

removed from the wall by the kind permission of the Marquis of Lothian, for the purpose of obtaining a correct drawing of it, and it is now placed in the north transept. Portions of other two crosses are built into the cape-house on the tower, but, judging from the exposed portions, they seem to be of less elaborate work than the present example. They are probably, however, of the same period."

This carved stone was, of course, long known to the frequenters of the abbey, and Mr Jeffrey alludes to it in his "History" of the county, vol. i. p. 254-5, and also, he tells me, in an illustrated work on the "Antiquities of the Border," published in 1836, now long out of print.

Mr Jeffrey figures and describes in his "History" another stone of great interest, bearing an inscription in Roman letters, and believed to be of Roman workmanship, which had been used as a common building-stone, forming the lintel of the doorway to the north-east turret stair of the old abbey. It is to be hoped more respect will now be paid to these ancient memorial stones, and that this will be also rescued from its old position and placed where it may be more easily and satisfactorily examined.

Dr Stuart, with his reference to this sculptured "cross," gives a sketch of the early ecclesiastical history of the district, from which, as it also includes the site of Old Melrose, I shall make the following quotations:—

"Till the beginning of the eleventh century the country stretching from the Tweed towards Edinburgh, and westwards beyond Abercorn, formed part of the Saxon principality of Northumbria. On the foundation of the see of Lindisfarne, A.D. 635, King Oswald bestowed on it large territories on both sides of the Tweed. That on the north of the river comprehended the land between the Eden and the Leader, and all the land belonging to the monastery of St Balthar at Tinningham from the Lammermoors to Eskmouth. . . . We have seen that at the church of Norham, which Egred built, there were many crosses of Anglo-Saxon character. The Cross at Jedburgh, here figured, seems undoubtedly to be of the same early period, and must be classed with similar remains found at Abercorn, Norham, Coldingham, Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Hexham, all sites of Saxon foundation."

When describing specially the Sculptured Stones found at Lindisfarne (above referred to), Dr Stuart says:—"It seems to me that the crosses, of

which fragments are now delineated (Plate xxvi.), were probably in connection with the church erected between that of Finan, built in 652, and that of the priory, founded in 1093 or 1094. We elsewhere find many traces of what seems to have been an early custom, viz., the erection of crosses as memorials of the great departed."—Pp. 19, 20.

We find, however, that not only were memorial crosses erected to the great departed, but that the wealthy and powerful living, though not perhaps great in other respects, were also in the habit of erecting memorial crosses to themselves! Dr Stuart tells us that—"Ethelwold became bishop [of Lindisfarne] in 742. He had originally been a monk in the church of Lindisfarne, and afterwards became Abbot of Melrose. Before his elevation to the see he had caused a cross to be made of stone, and his name to be cut on it in memory of himself."—P. 19.

From this account it was apparently at Lindisfarne that this memorial cross was erected. We learn, however, from these remarks of Dr Stuart's that memorial crosses had at one time existed probably over the whole district, and also that a man fond of erecting them was at an early period an Abbot of the neighbouring foundation of Old Melrose.

Much as some writers denounce the carelessness and ruthless utilitarianism of our own and earlier days (as shown, for example, in the fragments of this carved stone now described by me, being built as a common building stone into a garden wall); still more has it been the fashion to blame our reforming forefathers for the destruction said to have been caused by them, when the real fact of the case is, that the great destroyers of all our abbeys, at least in the south of Scotland, were "our auld enemies, of England."

To show how thoroughly the English invaders had gone about this work of destruction, let me remind you of the "Contemporary Account of the Earl of Hertford's Second Expedition to Scotland in September 1545," brought under the notice of the Society by David Laing, Esq., in 1854, and published in vol. i. of our Proceedings, p. 271; I shall quote one or two sentences to illustrate the style of their proceedings:—

The 'York Herald' tells us:—"Thes Wenesday did I Yorke, someyn [summon] the abbaye of Chelasse, [Kelso] and thes day the said abbay was batterid and enterid by day, and by midnyght hit was wone by the

Spanards par force.' . . . 'Thes day the Spanard did spuiell the abbey at their will, and euvery man.' . . . 'a friday messur was thakeyn for to fortifie the said Abbey, but hitt was or nown thetarmennyt [but it was ere noon determined] the contrarie;' . . . 'thes day my Lord commandyt to briek the abbey and thake of the laied [take off the lead] and outermeyuen [undermine] the towers and strong places, and to owaiertrow [overthrow] all.'" A little farther on we are told, "A Satterday my Lord Warden of the myddel marches" went with his followers, "and the [they] birynd ii abeysis [Dryburgh and Melrose] and 30 townes, and corn worth a 1000 lb str., 9 myell Scottes, a myell byeyend Mourosse [Melrose];" "and a Sunday the abbey of Kelse was razed, and all put to royen [ruin] howsess toueris and stypeles, and the witaieles cam and cartes loden again wt the leed [lead] of the said abbay." . . . He then tells us, "On Munday wy departyt from Kelsey Abbey that was, to Rokesborwe maenes." . . . "and a Wenessday burend Jedwourd [Jedburgh] abbey, and the fryers menore and all the townes ii myell beyond," &c.; and so the record goes on with its business-like tale of destruction.

Mr Laing supplies from another quarter a contemporary list of "*The Names of the Fortresses, Abbeyes, Frere Houses, Market Townes, Villages, Toures and Places brent raced and cast doune,*" &c., by the same expedition. In it we find—"On the River of Twede," "First the Abbey of Kelso raced and cast down; the toune of Kelso brent; the abbey of Melrosse *alias* Mewrose, Darnyck, Gawetonside," &c., so that for aught I know they may have been the original destroyers at Gattonside of the very Cross, a portion of which I have described as still existing. "The abbey of Dryburghe the toune of Dryburghe," &c., &c.; "*On the Reyver of Jedde;*" "The abbey of Jedworthe [Jedburgh], the Freers there, the toune of Jedworthe," &c., &c.

The catalogue finishes with a summation or abstract of their work. I merely quote—"In Monasteries and Frear houses, 7;" "in Villages, 243;" "in Spytells and Hospitalls, 3;" the sum total being 287 places destroyed (see Proc. vol. i. p. 279).

Mr Laing adds the pertinent remark—"As it is obvious that, during the intermediate period of fourteen years to the Reformation, the injuries which these Ecclesiastical buildings sustained could only have been partially, if at all repaired, it is attributing too much to John Knox and his brethren

to give them the credit for a work of devastation which had previously been done to their hand" (p. 276).

It is curious also to notice that, even in pre-Reformation days, the very co-religionists of the people who sculptured and erected these beautiful memorial stones, nay, even the very monks, the architects and builders, it may be, of the fine old Abbeys themselves, paid apparently so little regard to the ornamental and memorial work of their predecessors that they broke them up, and built them away whenever it suited their purpose, with a remorseless utilitarianism, using them for lintels and building stones; as shown, indeed, in the beautifully sculptured cross itself, figured by Dr Stuart, which he got dug out of the very walls of Jedburgh Abbey, and more carved stones, he also tells us, still remain built into the old walls. Old sculptured stones have been frequently found built into many other ancient churches. A notable instance indeed, is given in the last published volume of the Proceedings of the Society where the Rev. W. Duke tells us of the sculptured fragments brought to light during the recent restoration of St Vigean's Church. Upwards of twenty pieces, representing nearly an equal number of monuments, being found. Mr Duke says:—"The original monuments had been broken up and used for building materials at an early period, the latest wall in which they were found dating probably from 1485, while there is reason to believe that many of the stones had been used so early as the twelfth century. It cannot be doubted that the ancient walls that have not been disturbed, comprising about two-thirds of the mediæval church, contain many similar fragments."¹ I can also show the same ruthless use had been made of stones, sculptured with memorial devices, which have actually been built in old times, as window soles or ordinary building stones into the beautiful ruins of Melrose Abbey.

¹ Notice of the Fabric of St. Vigean's Church, Forfarshire; with Notice and Photographs of Early Sculptured Stones recently discovered there. By the Rev. William Duke, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. ix. p. 481. (1872.)

MONDAY, 9th February 1874.

SIR J. NOEL PATON, Kt., R.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Secretary announced that the Council, at their last meeting, had elected Lady Dunbar of Duffus and Lady Clarke of Tillypronie, Lady Associates of the Society.

A ballot having been taken, the following gentlemen were duly elected Fellows of the Society :—

Rev. JAMES MERCER DUNLOP, Dunbar.
 JAMES CLERK RATTRAY, Esq., M.D., Blairgowrie.
 ALEXANDER WALKER, of Findinate, Esq.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By Dr R. ANGUS SMITH, Manchester,
 F.S.A., Scot.



Bronze Dagger-Blade
 found at Loch Nell,
 Argyllshire.

Bronze Knife-dagger, 5 inches long, by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad at the base, where it shows the mark of the handle of wood or bone. It has been fastened to the handle by three massive rivets, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in length, and fully $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, which still remain. Along the margin of the portion of the blade, which had been covered by the handle, there runs a line of very small punctulations, made by a punch. This fine specimen of the most ancient form of bronze weapon in the British Isles was found in a short stone cist in a cairn at Cleigh, Loch Nell, Argyllshire. (See page 84, *antea*.)

Socketed Bronze Celt or Palstave $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in

breadth at the cutting edge, and having an aperture of an oval form for the insertion of the shaft. It has a side loop $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and quite slender, and there are two circular holes on opposite sides, one of which is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, the other much smaller. It was found in Achnacree Moss, Loch Etive (see p. 83, *antea*).

Urn of dark clay of semi-globular shape $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter across the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, found in the northern chamber of the



Urn found in Chambered Cairn, Achnacree
($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.)

chambered cairn at Achnacree, Loch Etive, Argyllshire. (See communication by Dr R. Angus Smith in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 415. An urn of somewhat similar shape and style of manufacture was found by Rev. Mr Greenwell in a chambered cairn at Argyleshire. (See Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 344.)

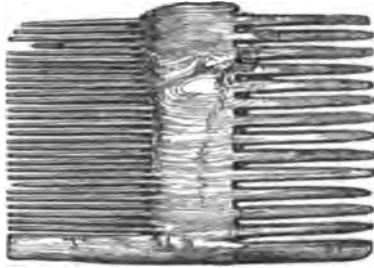
Portion of a somewhat similar urn, but smaller, and having two slight handle-like projections on opposite sides a little below the brim, also from Achnacree Cairn.

Fragments of urns of dark clay from Achnacree Cairn, Argyllshire.

Iron Ring found in the Vitrified Fort of Dun Mac Uisneachan, near the mouth of Loch Etive, Argyllshire. (See communication of Dr R. Angus Smith, p. 80, *antea*.)

Portion of the hilt end of an iron double-edged Sword, from the Vitrified Fort of Dun Mac Uisneachan, Loch Etive, Argyllshire. (See communication by Dr R. Angus Smith, p. 79, *antea*.)

Portions of two wooden double-edged Combs, from a lake-dwelling in Ledaig Moss, near Connell Ferry, Argyllshire. (See communication by Dr R. Angus Smith, p. 82, *antea*.) (See woodcut.)



Portion of Wooden Comb, Ledaig.
(Actual Size.)

(2.) By PETER LIDDLE, Esq.,
Gress, Stornoway.

Rude Hammer-like Implement of stone, perforated as if for a handle, found at Creed, near Stornoway, Island of Lewis. This implement seems to be a water-worn piece of hard schist, of an oblong flattened form, and quite

unworked. It measures 10 inches in length by 4 inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. One end is more rounded and pointed than the other, and at the distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from this end a hole has been drilled through the thickness of the stone, as if for the insertion of a handle. The hole, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at both surfaces, contracts to an inch in width in the middle. The flat end of the implement is slightly broken, but it shows signs of polishing, by friction, probably from use.

(3.) By THEODORE AUFRECHT, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh.

Two Spoons, 3 and 4 inches long, and with ornamental handles, made of reindeer horn, from Lapland.

(4.) By Mr CHARLES HOWIE, Largo.

Whetstone, being a block of silicious sandstone, 4 inches long, 3 inches wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, having grooves worked in each of its faces by sharpening edged tools. It was found near a stone cist at Largo, Fife.

(5.) By R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

Photographic fac-simile of a MS. in the British Museum (16th century), with drawings of Scottish coins. (For a detailed description of this manuscript, see the subsequent communication by Mr Cochran Patrick.)

(6.) By THE SOCIÉTÉ POLYMATHIQUE DU MORBIHAN.

Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan. 1872. 8vo.

(7.) By THE ROYAL GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, Vol. XIII. Part 3. 1872-3. 8vo.

(8.) By THE MANX SOCIETY.

Transactions of the Manx Society, Vol. XXI., being the Mona Miscellany, 2d Series. 8vo.

(9.) The following Articles of Treasure Trove, which have been deposited for a considerable period in the Museum for exhibition by the Queen and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer for Scotland, have now been presented. The following is a copy of the letter from Stair Agnew, Esq., Queen's Remembrancer, to the Secretary, announcing the presentation :—

EXCHEQUER CHAMBERS, *Edinburgh*, 24th June 1873.

Sir,—The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have been pleased to sanction the presentation to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of the following Articles of Treasure Trove :—

1. Clay Urn found at Cambusbarron, Stirling.
2. Parcel of small Silver Coins found at Abernethy (41 in number).
3. One Aureus of Nero.
4. Parcel of Fragments of Coins found at Clarence Street, Aberdeen.
5. Two Bronze Armllets and 7 fragments ; one Socketed Celt of Bronze ; one Spearhead of Bronze, and Fragments of another ; and three portions of Tin found at Auchtyre, Elgin.

6. Gold Lunette found near Fochabers.
7. Bronze Armlet (snake bracelet) found at Grange of Conon, Forfarshire.
8. Parcel of Gold Coins found at Dunblane, mostly Scottish (with the exception of 30 Coins, presented to the Leighton Library at Dunblane).
9. Silver Coin found near Holyrood.
10. Masonic Cross found near Drummore, Haddingtonshire.
11. Small Bronze Pot found near Corriemony, Inverness-shire.
12. Five Pennanular Silver Armlets found in a cist at Kirk o' Banks, Rattar, Dunnet, Caithness.
13. Three Silver Coins found at Holcroft, Kirkeudbrightshire.

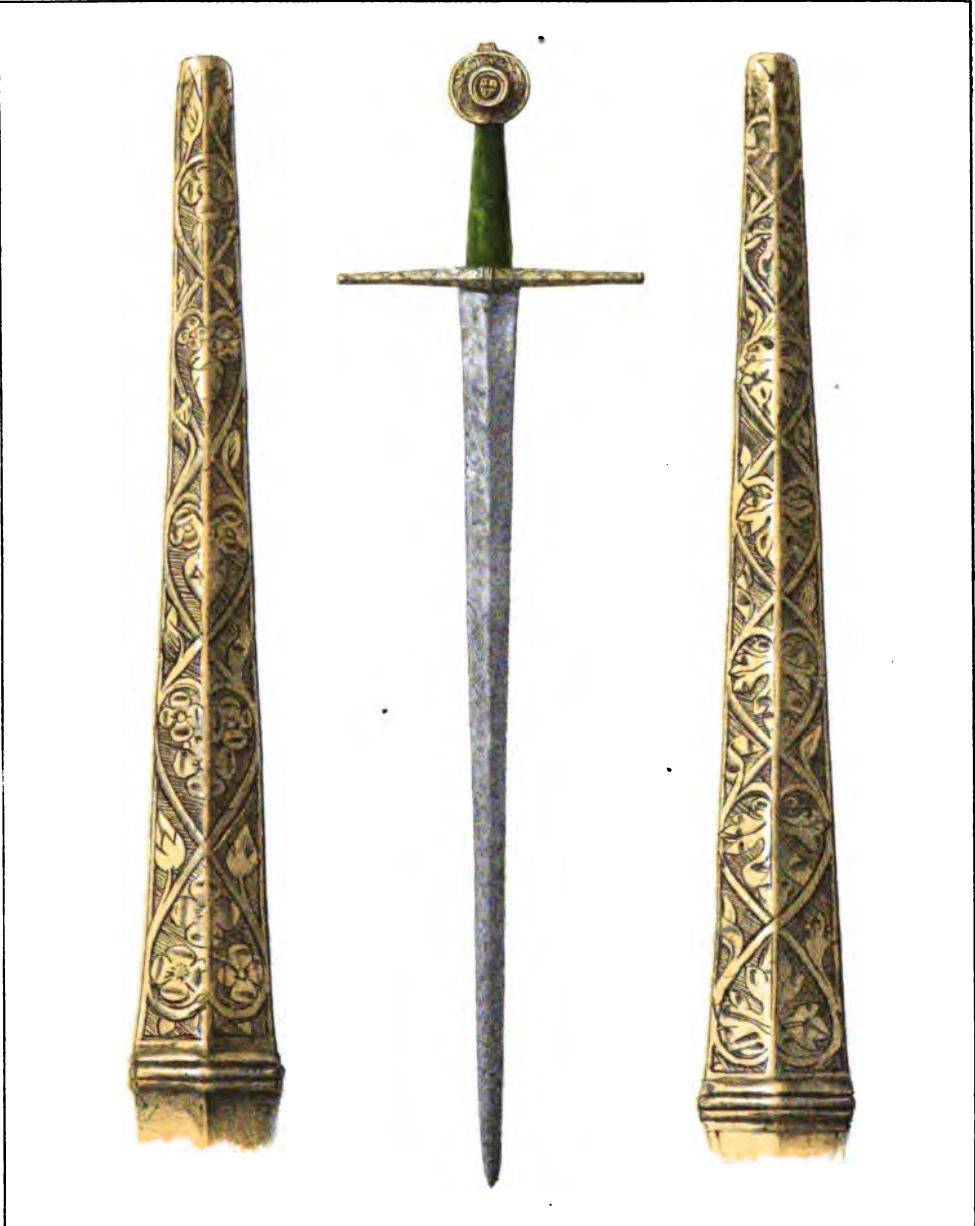
The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTE ON THE SWORD OF BATTLE ABBEY, FORMERLY IN THE MEYRICK COLLECTION. BY SIR J. NOEL PATON, KT., VICE-PRESIDENT, S.A. SCOT. (PLATES XV. AND XVI.)

The unfortunate circumstances which led to the breaking up, in March 1872, of the Goodrich Court Armoury are still fresh in our recollection. Such events happen but rarely in the history of civilised nations, and are not soon forgotten. In my note on the jousting helm of Sir Richard Pembroke,¹ I mentioned that—the then Chancellor of the Exchequer having finally declined to purchase this collection for the nation at the very inadequate price of £45,000, for which, if not indeed for a much smaller sum, it was known Colonel Meyrick was willing to hand it over to Government—orders were given for its private sale; and that in less than six weeks thereafter the sum of £30,000 had been received for a portion which a casual visitor would hardly miss. It may tend to edification if I now add, on the authority of Colonel Meyrick's agent, that for the objects sold up to November 29, 1873 (chiefly, I regret to say, to Continental collectors and museums), the sum received amounted to £42,000, while there still remained to be disposed of the residue of the

¹ This note will appear in pt. ii. vol. v. of the "Archæologia Scotica."



THE SWORD OF BATTLE ABBEY.

The Property of Sir J. Noel Paton, Kt.

Length of Sword from Pommel to point 41 inches, length of Guard $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches

DETAILS OF ORNAMENT ON GUARD. ACTUAL SIZE.





THE SWORD OF BATTLE ABBEY.

The Property of Sir J. Noel Paton Kt.

DETAILS OF ORNAMENT ON POMMEL AND GUARD, ACTUAL SIZE.



European arms and armour, the magnificent ivories, and the entire Indian collection—together estimated to produce about £15,000 more; in all, some £57,000. So much for imperial cheese-paring.

The beautiful relic of the stately ecclesiastical life of mediæval England which forms the subject of the present note was deservedly esteemed one of the most interesting and authentic objects in the Meyrick collection. It is engraved, though but indifferently, in Skelton's "Illustrations of Arms and Armour in Goodrich Court," vol. ii. plate 101, where it is thus described by Sir Samuel Meyrick:—"A war-sword, used as one of state, having been made for Battle Abbey, Sussex, which William the Conqueror endowed with exclusive jurisdiction. It was fabricated during the abbacy of Thomas de Lodelowe,¹ who was abbot from 1417 to 1434. Sir John Gage, K.G., being in the reign of Henry VIII. one of the commissioners for receiving the surrenders of religious houses, this sword was delivered into his hands. It has remained in the possession of his posterity at Firle Place in that county until the present Viscount Gage, with the most liberal and elegant expressions, added it to this collection. The pommel and cross are plated with silver, engraved and gilt. On each side of the former is a shield, charged with the arms of Battle Abbey—viz., a cross, in the 1st and 4th quarters a crown of strawberry leaves, in the 2d and 3d a sword, the point in chief. The whole between the initials t. l."

When compared with the original, this description will be found very precise and full. But I would further draw attention to the general design of the sword—so remarkable for its grand simplicity and its look of delicate strength, to the beautiful Gothic enrichment of its guard and pommel, and to its weight and balance—the latter pointing it out as a genuine war-sword, though used, it would appear, for purely pacific purposes. It should also be noted that the fashion of the sword is of a date anterior to the period of Abbot Lodelowe,—a fact which suggests, what there are other grounds for believing probable, that it may have been copied from an earlier weapon. The blade, which has the centre ridge strongly marked, has been cruelly ground down, but still retains the

¹ Thomas de Lodelowe, who had been cellarer of the monastery, was elected abbot 11th May 1417, and was invested with the temporalities on the 30th of the same month. He resigned in 1434.—*Gleanings respecting Battle and its Abbey.*

tapering shape of swords of this type. When it came into my hands, the grip was gone, and the guard and pommel loose on the tang, which is very strong, and rough from the hammer. In this condition, I have since learned, it was when presented by Lord Gage to Sir Samuel Meyrick. But, partly with a view to its preservation against further wear-and-tear, partly to bring out more clearly the beauty of its proportions, I have had it fitted with a new grip.

Thus far the history of the sword is clear enough. A question, however, arises as to why the Abbey of Battle came to be possessed of such a weapon at all—bearing the armorial ensignia of the monastery, and the initials of its abbot's name. For at no time does it appear that a sword formed part of the equipment of an abbot, whatever his dignity, or whatever the extent of his privileges and jurisdiction—never, at least, subsequent to the existence of those strong-fisted lay abbots of the tenth and eleventh centuries, to whom so ready a means of conciliating dissent was no doubt a convenient if not an indispensable adjunct. But the monastery of the Place of Battle was in many ways exceptional; and certain circumstances connected with its establishment, together with another sword which figures in its history, may enable us, if not to answer the question satisfactorily, at least to make a guess at its solution.

The Battle of Hastings must ever be interesting to Scotsmen, as the first shock of that mighty wave of Norman aggression which so swiftly and so thoroughly submerged the liberties of that portion of Great Britain south of the Tweed, and which menaced for so long the institutions of our own northern land—flowing and ebbing, again and yet again—leaving misery and desolation, but, thank God! not conquest, in its track—until two centuries and a half after the subjugation of England (for the third time in her eventful history) it broke for ever in a spray of blood against the stubborn Scottish spears at Bannockburn. It will be remembered that at first Duke William affected to base his claim to the crown of England on right and justice, not on conquest, to which he professed to have been driven by the sacrreligious perjury of Harold. On his advance from his entrenched position at Hastings on the morning of the battle (14th October 1066), he paused on the height of Telham, where he donned his war-gear and mounted his charger. It was here, on horseback, and in sight of all his army, with the more precious of the relics on which

Harold had sworn his fatal oath suspended round his neck, that William made his vow to erect on the field of battle, should he prove victorious, a monastery in commemoration of the event. The battle was fought, the victory was achieved, and, faithful to his word,¹ the conqueror gave command that "on the same stead on which God granted him that he might subdue England an abbey should forthwith be erected, where perpetual praise might be offered for the souls of such as were there slain," Norman and English alike. Indeed, on the authority of Matthew Paris, he so far extended his late and safe generosity as to include the perjured soul of Harold himself in the number.

It is unnecessary here to go into any details touching the erection of this "Monastery of St Martin of Battaille" on the hill of Senlac—a spot which the blood of free-born and heroic Englishmen, shed in defence of king and fatherland, had made so sacred, that not even its consecration as the site of this blasphemous thank-offering to the God of justice, of mercy, and of truth, could render it other than holy ground. By the express command of the conqueror, the high altar of the church—which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St Martin the Confessor, as patron saint of the Norman and French men-at-arms—was placed on the spot where Harold and his standard fell.

The monastery was of great extent, and possessed large endowments and many privileges. The *Carta Prima* not only exempts the monastery from episcopal jurisdiction, but confers the exemption in as ample a manner as that enjoyed by the metropolitan church of Canterbury. It also grants freedom from all tax and service whatsoever; the right of free warren in all its manors; treasure-trove; the right of inquest; sanctuary in cases of murder and homicide; and even gave the abbot the royal power of pardoning any condemned thief whom he should pass or meet going to execution. It is with the first of these privileges mainly—the entire independence of the abbot, alike of episcopal authority at home and of the authority of the parent monastery of Marmoutier, that it appears to me the sword referred to may be connected.

¹ It would seem, however, that his memory required to be jogged more than once by William Faber, the energetic and accomplished monk of Marmoutier, to whom the building of the monastery was afterwards entrusted, and who was near him when the vow was made.

It is recorded by Browne Willis in his "View of the Mitred Abbies," written about 1774, and printed in "Leland's Collectanea," that "in this church the Conqueror offered up his sword and royal robe which he wore on the day of his coronation." Whether the sword thus offered up was the actual weapon worn by him on the day of the great victory, as tradition narrates, it is hard to say. But probably the same sword served for both purposes. For that he did wear a sword at the battle of Hastings is, as we shall see, scarcely open to doubt, although we learn from that invaluable contemporary record, the Bayeux tapestry, that he fought that day with a ponderous bludgeon-like mace—not with a sword.¹

In one of his interesting and exhaustive notes to "The Norman Conquest," vol. iii. p. 463, Dr Freeman discusses the weapon used by Duke William at Senlac—certain accounts of the battle, at variance with the Bayeux tapestry on this point, describing him as using a sword on the occasion. Dr Freeman concludes—"He may very well have carried both mace and sword, but the sword does not appear in the tapestry." This is quite true; but the reason, which is obvious enough, has escaped the notice of the learned historian. Generally—indeed I may say invariably—in the Bayeux tapestry, when horsemen, not actually wielding the sword, are represented with the left side towards the spectator, the sheathed sword is shown; when with the right side exposed, no indication of the sword appears. To this latter rule I can find only two exceptions—both unimportant figures. Now, it so happens that in all the views of the conqueror on horseback, with but one exception, his right side is presented to the spectator, and—as in the case of the other mounted figures in the same position—the sword is not shown, the peculiar shape of the Norman saddle, and the manner in which the great kite-shaped shield is borne, sufficiently explaining why. The exception I allude to occurs in the representation of the surrender of Dinan, where Duke William receives the keys on the point of his spear. In this case

¹ On the same authority we know that in his expedition to quell the rebellion of Conan of Bretagne he was armed with the same unlovely implement. This also was a war against those he considered his own kindred and subjects; and it is not improbable that this weapon was assumed on both occasions in the same spirit of hypocritical quibbling which made the mace the arm of churchmen in the field, as it was of Bishop Odo at Senlac.

his bridle-hand is towards the spectator, and his sword is represented by his side. On the other hand, in all the views of the Norman on foot or seated, he carries a sword, either sheathed, drawn, or suspended by his side—notably in the magnificent standing figure, undoubtedly intended to represent him in the act of confiding the consecrated banner sent him by the Pope, to Toustain the White, on the departure of the army from Hastings on the morning of the great battle. To this rule there are but three exceptions. In the first category, where, standing in full war-harness, he confers knighthood on Earl Harold after the capture of Dinan. Here the gallant Englishman has a sword and sword belt, while the Norman has neither, indicating, I am disposed to think, with that marvellous fidelity to minute fact which makes this tapestry so valuable to the antiquary and the historian, that William, arch-dissimulator as he was, had invested his generous and unsuspecting dupe with his own sword as an act of special grace.¹ In the second category, where the Bastard is seated, giving orders for the building of ships for his great expedition, he is represented entirely unarmed; also where, seated in his robes of peace, and holding the consecrated banner in his left hand, he receives the messenger from Harold before the battle of Hastings. But in this latter case, his right side being towards the spectator, and his mantle more than usually voluminous, the sword could not be shown.

We therefore see that there is no inconsistency or improbability in the tradition that King William presented to the favoured Abbey the sword he had worn at the battle. And although in the Chronicle of the Monastery—which records, under 1087–1095, the presentation by William II. after his coronation, and in compliance with the paternal command, of his father's royal pall and feretory—no mention is made of the previous offering up of his sword by the Conqueror himself, as stated by Browne Willis, the conspicuous place, which, as we shall see, a sword holds in the arms of the Abbey, coupled with the existence of the sword before us,

¹ It is not unworthy of note that the only other instances which I can trace in the tapestry of the sword-belt being worn outside the hauberk, are the two scouts reporting to Harold the position of William's army, and possibly this was the English fashion; in which case my notion as to William's having invested Harold with his own sword falls to the ground.

affords strong corroboration of the tradition. It is further recorded by the careful and seemingly well-informed writer just named, that along with his sword the Conqueror offered up the "royal robe which he wore on the day of his coronation." These, he says, "the monks kept till the suppression, and used to show them as great curiosities, and worthy the sight of their best friends and all persons of distinction that happened to come thither." It is a question whether the royal robe here mentioned as having been offered up along with his sword by the Conqueror himself may not have been the *pallium regale* presented, according to the Chronicle, along with his father's feretory by William Rufus. But whether it was or no, the probable significance of the gift remains the same.

The vestment called pallium in the middle ages was regarded as the ensign of jurisdiction, and was undoubtedly the direct descendant and representative of the paludamentum of Roman emperors and generals. The pallium of Pope Gregory the Great is described as a long band of white linen¹ "which hung from the right shoulder in a circular form in front of the breast, and was then turned over the left shoulder, with the end hanging behind"—clearly symbolising the more ancient garment. But so early as the tenth century I find it had assumed the form of a narrow band round the shoulders, with bands of the same width depending from it in front and rear, as represented in the miniature of Abbot Elfnoth,² who died in 980, and in the arms of the see of Canterbury, with which we are all familiar. But the use of this vestment was not confined to ecclesiastics alone; for, "as kings by their coronation are admitted into a sacred as well as a civil character, the former of these is particularly manifested in the investiture with clerical garments"³—the first of these being appropriately the dalmatic or open pall—the symbol of jurisdiction. It would appear, however, that the pall, as worn by sovereign princes, had retained the more ancient form, often represented in mediæval art, and described by Ducange as "four-cornered, double, and so formed that when placed on the shoulders it covered the feet in front and behind, but at the sides it barely touched the knees." "Of the same shape," he

¹ Monumental Brasses, by Parker of Oxford, xxx., xxxi.

² In the Bayeux tapestry, Archbishop Stigand also wears a pallium of this form.

³ The Glory of Regality, by Arthur Taylor, F.S.A., p. 80.

adds, "was the pallium of the English kings; for it is thus described by Thomas of Walsingham when he treats of the coronation of Richard II., king of England: 'Thereafter the archbishop puts on him the royal pallium, saying, Receive the four-corned Pallium, that by it you may understand that the four parts of the world are subject to the divine power, and that no one can reign prosperously in the world but he upon whom the power of ruling has been conferred from heaven.'" But it was understood that "the anointing of kings and their investiture in 'Bysshopps gere' did not give them power to discharge any of the priestly functions, but only made them 'spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces.'"¹ In the case of one of the fiery temper and indomitable self-assertion of the Conqueror, however, we can readily understand how, once invested with the symbols of spiritual jurisdiction, and being thereby made theoretically capable of such jurisdiction, he would not be slow to take advantage of the fact to assert his practical capacity also, by vigorous and high-handed interference in spiritual affairs, as he actually did. In his case, therefore, the assumption of this symbolical vestment was peculiarly significant and appropriate. Especially was it so after his rupture with the vatican in 1078, when, it will be remembered, he resolutely refused to pay that homage to the throne of St Peter which its then occupant demanded of him—standing up with characteristic magnanimity for the grand principle, that within his dominions the Church should be free from every despotism save his own. And it must have been with no small gratification that he donned his pallium on those occasions when it was his policy—evidently with a view to touch the imagination and overawe the disaffection of his subjugated people—to appear in public decked with the ensigns of sovereignty; if not, indeed, which would seem to have been more than once the case, to repeat the act and ceremonial of coronation.

Reverting to the Chronicle of Battle, we see that, along with the pallium of the Conqueror, his unworthy son also presented to the Church his feretrum or feretory²—the name appropriately given to the litter-like shrine in which the relics of saints were borne in processions, but

¹ Ibid, pp. 36, 264.

² In the 9th and 10th centuries the use of this feretory, *chasse*, or *coffre transportable*, would appear to have become general.

which cannot properly be applied to any stationary reliquary. In the historical accounts of the unhappy oath of Harold, a reliquary holds a conspicuous place. But whether the tradition be correct, that he swore his oath of fidelity to William in ignorance that he did so on relics of peculiar sanctity—the reliquary containing them having been treacherously covered over with a cloth by order of Duke William—it is unnecessary here to inquire. The Bayeux tapestry, however, clearly contradicts this tradition. But on such a point as this the evidence of the tapestry, generally so reliable, must be received with caution, as it would doubtless be the object of those by whom that wonderful pictorial chronicle was executed to ignore as far as possible any such act of treachery on the part of the successful warrior to whose glorification it was dedicated. In the representation of Harold's oath to William in the tapestry, the former is standing between two uncovered reliquaries, and touches both with his outstretched hands. These reliquaries are placed on separate altars, which are heavily draped; and the larger and probably the more sacred of the two—that nearest to William—which the right hand of Harold touches, is undoubtedly a portable feretory, the two spokes by which it was borne being distinctly shown, as we see them in middle-age illuminations and sculptures.

In the accounts of the movements of Duke William we hear more than once of "his relics;" and it is by no means an extravagant supposition that this feretory, which had played so important a part in laying the foundation of his claims on the crown of England, was that containing the relics of St Valéry, subsequently exhibited to encourage his army before sailing for England, and that it was carried with him on his expedition. For it seems undoubted that from its contents were selected those more potent relics which he wore upon his person on "the day of the great slaughter."¹ And it appears more than probable that this also was the *feretrum* presented, by his deathbed command, to the church which he had founded, and on which, as it is stated, he had previously bestowed those memorials of his conflict and his triumph—the sword he wore as an invader at Hastings, and the robe in which, surrounded by death and conflagration, he donned the kingly crown at Westminster. It is also more than probable that it was the feretory, the sacrilegious

¹ Matthew Paris.

spoliation of which by Henry,¹ second Abbot of Battle, between 1096 and 1102, rendered it necessary for Abbot Ralph,² between 1107 and 1125, to make a new shrine to take its place, as narrated at large in the Chronicle.

Taken together, then, I think we are warranted in regarding these gifts, made either by himself or in obedience to his express command, as intended to be visible symbols of the conqueror's claims on England—the Pallium (which, probably, in the case of monarchs as of ecclesiastical dignitaries, was the direct gift of the supreme Pontiff) representing his divine right through royal consecration and investiture; the feretory, with its sacred contents, representing his right through the oath of Harold; his "own good sword," as he called it on his death-bed to his son and successor, representing his right through conquest—the only right which he ventured to assert when at last brought face to face with the grim potentate, in whom, for the first time in his long and triumphant career, he had to own a master yet sterner and more inexorable than himself,—an inquisitor under the cold scrutiny of whose eyes the splendid mendacities of his life had to confess themselves the paltry shams they were.

Of the ultimate fate of this second receptacle for the relics of the Conqueror—like the first, as the Chronicle informs us, a gorgeous effort of the goldsmith's and jeweller's art—there does not appear to be any record. But if it survived till the dissolution, as in all likelihood it did, we may only too easily infer what that fate must have been. The "enlightened spirit of the age" which ruthlessly despoiled the venerable shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and the yet more sacred tomb of the heroic Harold at Waltham, as here in Scotland it sacked and overturned the tombs of our patriot Bruce and our saintly Margaret, was not likely to resist the temptation held out to its selfish greed by the gold and silver, the jewels and the gems, of the feretory of Abbot Ralph.

Of the fate of the sword and robe something more definite is known. At the dissolution they fell into the hands of Sir Anthony Browne,

¹ Between Gausbertus, first abbot, and Henry, Browne Willis places an Abbot Ralf, 1089—v. vi. p. 178.

² Between Henry and Ralph, Browne Willis places an abbot, Gaufridus, who, he states, governed for three years—v. vi. p. 178. According to the Chronicle, he was *governor* only, no successor to Abbot Henry having yet been appointed.

Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., to whom the Abbey, with the lands, lordship, and manor of Battle were granted in 1538, at which date "the church, and some other portions of the Abbey, were destroyed by the authority of the Commissioners."¹ At a subsequent period, the sword and robe, and, it is believed, the original document known as the Roll of Battle Abbey, which under the care of the monks had survived the vicissitudes of five centuries, were taken to Cowdray House, near Midhurst, Sussex, by Lord Montague, a descendant of Sir Anthony Browne; and there is every reason to believe that at the burning of that place in 1793 all three perished.

Having thus indicated the history of the sword presented by the Conqueror to the Church of Battle, and at the same time ventured to guess at the reason of its being so presented, it is now necessary briefly to inquire into the *raison d'être* of the sword before us. It is clear that from the first the great Norman had determined to make the monastery of the Place of Battle—the earliest of his ecclesiastical establishments in England—serve not only as a monument of his victory over Harold and his conquest of the English crown "by his own good sword," but, at the same time, as an unmistakeable token to all whom it might concern, the existing English hierarchy in particular, that he, "William the Bastard" (as with something of the bravado of the parvenu he styles himself), had resolved henceforth to be lord and master in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs. It was no doubt in furtherance of this object that he conferred on the abbot his royal privileges,—above all, the privilege of absolute independence of every authority, spiritual or temporal, save that of the Crown,—a privilege which the abbots of Battle long valued so highly and guarded so jealously. And it is clear from the terms of the Chronicle that while he lived he regarded the preservation of this independence by the Abbot of Battle as a point closely affecting his own royal dignity. Looked at in the light of these facts, and of the fact already alluded to—of the prominent place occupied by a sword in the arms of the Abbey, it seems a fair inference that the sword of the Conqueror was meant to be regarded by the abbots as a sort of tenure-sword, the symbol of their independence of all authority save that of the king alone. And in this light it can scarcely be doubted it was religiously viewed. After the lapse of three

¹ Gleanings respecting Battle and its Abbey.

centuries and a half, however, the venerable and venerated relic, in all likelihood a rude and unadorned weapon, such as we see represented in the tapestry and other contemporary records, may well have fallen into a state of dilapidation discordant with the gorgeous ideas of an abbot of the beginning of the fifteenth century; and so, for the honour of the Abbey and the glory of the royal founder, it behoved the good Abbot Lodelowe to have fabricated a new and more magnificent implement, to take its place in ceremonial processions, or on those solemn occasions when he held high court and administered justice as lord of the widespread liberties of Battle. Save on this supposition, *i.e.*, that the sword under notice was made to take the place, on public occasions at least, of the actual sword of the Conqueror, I confess my inability to account for its existence at all. At the date of the dissolution, as Sir Samuel Meyrick records, it was delivered, no doubt as a token of resignation, into the hands of Sir John Gage, one of the commissioners who received the surrender of the monastery of Battle. Some forty years ago the present venerable Viscount Gage presented it to the Goodrich Court collection, whence, in April 1872, it came into my possession. At one time I half ventured to believe it possible that this might be the actual sword of William, refurbished and adorned by the pious care of Abbot Lodelowe. And no doubt a certain foundation was afforded for this notion by its striking resemblance to a sword of the eleventh century preserved in the Museum of Artillery at Paris, to the swords carried by the knights in the Bayeux tapestry, and to the sword borne by the Conqueror on his great seal. But if the statement that the original sword was taken to Cowdray and there burnt in 1793 be accepted as correct, the pleasant dream must be dismissed.

I have now briefly to refer to the arms of the Abbey, as engraved on the pommel of this sword—the oldest record of the bearings I have met with, although probably earlier representations are known. The charges on the sword are: A cross; in the 1st and 4th, a coronet of strawberry leaves; in the 2d and 3d, a sword, the point in chief. Here no tinctures are indicated; but the cross, which is channelled, has evidently been originally filled with enamel—no doubt *gules*. The next in date which I have met with occurs on the reverse of the seal affixed to the deed of surrender in 1538. This is the seal of the abbot; and the shield on which the arms

are represented—being only part of a complicated design—is necessarily very minute,—a fact which may account for the probably incorrect blazon of the arms by the author from whom I quote; for I have not myself had an opportunity of examining the seal. It is impossible, too, that in a space so small the tinctures could have been indicated, even had the custom of indicating these in the present way (said to be an invention of no earlier date than the middle of the 17th century) been then in general use, which I believe I am correct in saying was not the case.¹ The blazon of the arms as borne on this seal is given as follows:—"Gules, a cross, or, between four crowns, or." The blazon next in date, given in Fuller's "Church History," 1656, is—"Gules, a crosse, Or, between a crown, Or, in the 1st and 4th quarters; A sword (bladed Argent, hilted Or) in the 2d and 3d quarters." "Here," the author adds, "the armes relate to the *Name*, and both *Armes* and *Name* to the *fierce fight* hard by, whereby *Duke William* gained the *English Crown* by *Conquest*, and founded this Abbey. Nor must it be forgotten that the Text X [an old English X] pierced through with a dash, is fixed in the navill of the *Crosse*. . . . This was the *Letter of Letters* as the received character to signify *Christus*." A yet later blazon of the arms of Battell is given about 1774 by Browne Willis.² "Argent, a Cross Gules, in fess a Mitre; in Chief and Base a ducal coronet; on each side of the Mitre a Monda." The only other blazon I have met with is that given in Burke's "Encyclopædia of Heraldry," ed. 1844, and is as follows:—"Argent, on a cross gules, a mitre or, between two regal crowns, in pale, and two mounds, in fesse, of the last." It is to this latest blazon I would chiefly allude as apparently a good example of that process of deterioration and transformation of heraldic ensignia, of which the archives of our own and other courts of armoury could no doubt supply so many illustrations. It is of course quite possible that between the accession of Abbot Lodelowe in 1417 and the deposition of the last abbot, John Hamond, in 1538, a new grant of arms may have been obtained. But such a thing is most unlikely. It is much more probable that the blazon given by Burke—like that given

¹ It is, however, to be noted that so early as 1220 marks have been traced on seals, which adepts surmise to be indications of tinctures.—Seaton's "Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland," p. 198.

² "Leland's Collectanea," vol. vi. p. 264.

as the bearings on the abbatial seal appended to the deed of surrender—is the result of a careless or ignorant reading of a blurred and originally obscure seal. It is to be observed that the arms as engraved on the sword about 1417 have, in 1st and 4th, a coronet of strawberry leaves—that is, a ducal coronet. In Burke's blazon this has become a "regal crown," and has been transferred to the cross, in pale. Then on the sword we find, in 2d and 3d, a sword erect. But from the exigencies of space, and the peculiar character of the sword of that early time (of which this is an unusually fine example), it will be observed that the pommel is rendered of a size so disproportionate as to give the guard and blade the appearance of a cross; and on a worn seal, which the later heralds may have taken as their authority, the resemblance to a *monde* with its surmounting cross, as Burke gives it—at the same time transferring it to the cross, in fesse—might be yet stronger. Further, the mitre or, with which Burke, along with Browne Willis, charges the cross, is, I cannot but think, only an inaccurate reading of the old English X "pierced through with a dash, fixed in the navill of the crosse," as blazoned by Fuller. From a historical point of view, the arms as blazoned by Burke are no doubt quite appropriate; but neither in the eyes of herald nor of man of taste can they be compared for fitness or simple beauty with the arms as engraved on the sword.



II.

ON A CAVE CONTAINING BONES AND OBJECTS OF HUMAN WORKMANSHIP, AT BORNESS, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE. BY ADAM J. CORRIE, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT., WILLIAM BRUCE CLARKE, B.A., F.S.A. SCOT., AND ARTHUR R. HUNT, M.A., F.G.S. (PLATES XVII-XXII.)

Brief Review of Scottish Caves as yet explored.—Up to the present time, though much attention has been paid to the subject of bone-caves, both in England and in various parts of the Continent, but little is known concerning the ancient troglodytes of Scotland. This is probably owing in some measure to the remarkable scarcity of caverns in the limestone rocks of Scotland as compared with those of England. For it is evident that osseous remains and objects of human workmanship are far more likely to be preserved, if deposited in a limestone cave, than in one hollowed in any other kind of rock, owing to the probability that, in the former case, the cave earth containing them would become sealed down, and protected by a floor of stalagmite.

Of the Scottish caves which had been hitherto examined and described, the following are the principal, so far as the authors of the present paper have been able to ascertain.

In the year 1847 a cave near Montrose, at Lower Warburton, in the parish of St Cyrus, Kincardineshire, was examined by Mr Alexander Bryson. Its entrance is described by him¹ as facing due south, situate about half-a-mile from the estuary of the Esk, and about 15 feet above high-water mark. Its mouth was filled up with soil, containing bones of ox, deer, badger, hare, rabbit, and other small rodents, beside a few bird-bones. At the mouth, or lowest part of the cave, the bones belonged chiefly to the larger ruminants; at a height of 3 feet were found remains of small rodents. Above this came a mass of earth, about 10 feet thick, showing signs of stratification: through this mass skulls of rats and other small rodents were mixed promiscuously, but the scapulæ and lighter bones were aggregated into heaps, so that a spadeful of them might have been taken up without any earth at all. Beyond these remains, an inner chamber was reached, the floor of which was covered by an unctuous slime, full of buccinum, mytilus, and patella; but a vertebra

¹ Edinburgh New Phil. Journal, 1850.

of an ox, and an amulet made from the leg of an ox, were the only osseous remains. This cave was next described by Mr W. Beattie.¹ His account differs but little from the preceding one, excepting that he mentions the presence of wild cat, and also of a species which he states is either fox, wolf, or dog. His most important discovery, however, was a portion of a human parietal bone, and two other small pieces of human bones. The bones which he obtained were stated by Professor Owen to belong only to existing species. In the year 1865 a paper on this cave was written by Dr Howden, and read by Dr M'Bain, in the same year before the Royal Physical Society in Edinburgh.² Dr Howden seems never to have penetrated into the cave, for he says—"This cave, ever since I knew it, has been completely closed up by a large mass of rock several tons in weight, but around the entrance the soil still abounds in fragments of bones, shells, wood-ashes," &c. He, however, gives a list of the remains preserved in the Montrose Museum by Mr W. Beattie, which are as follows:—Shells, *Mytilus edulis*, *Cardium edule*, *Littorina littorea*, *Buccinum undatum*, *Fusus antiquus*, *Patella vulgata*, *Helix nemoralis*; fragments of the claws of *Cancer pagurus*; leg-bones and bill of *Sula bassana*,—their frequency, considering that the gannet is said by Dr Howden to visit the district only in the summer, is a fact rightly insisted on by him as being noteworthy. Bones of the following animals, *Cervus elaphus*, *C. capreolus*, *Sus*, *Bos*, *Felis catus*, *Canis familiaris*, *Mus*, *Hypudaeus*, a portion of a human radius and parietal bone. Some coarse pottery, ornamented with cord-like pattern, was found, together with flat, round, and oval stones. Dr Howden, however, unlike Mr Bryson, who ascribed the presence of the remains in the cave to fluvial action, and Mr Beattie, who thought it due to the agency of hyænas, was the first to recognise the fact that the cave had been a place of human habitation.

Bones, many of which were split, were also found in a cave at Wemyss, Fifeshire, as described by the late Sir James Y. Simpson. They belonged to the following animals:—Ox, sheep, deer of two sizes (probably red and roe deer), and hog; and were accompanied by remains of birds. Besides

¹ Brit. Assoc. Report, Aberdeen, 1859, p. 99; Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., ix. p. 630.

² Pro. Royal Phys. Soc. Edinburgh, 1865-66, p. 368.

these occurred microscopic remains of cereals, shells of oyster, limpet, and whelk, sharpening stones rendered smooth by friction; round perforated stones, about two inches in diameter; and two implements formed from the tine of a red-deer horn.

In a cave at Sea-Cliff, near North Berwick,¹ somewhat similar objects were found, but in this case accompanied by human remains, together with portions of urns and jars. Near this cave, on a rock close by, and also at another spot further inland, remains of a similar character occurred in a kitchen-midden, comprising those of pig, goat, deer, and associated with them bone-needles, combs, querns, hones, and pottery.

Close to Dillymanan, in Banffshire, a cave has been described by Mr James Hunter,² containing alternate layers of comparatively soft clay, shells, and charcoal. At the depth of 2 feet a distinct floor of hard baked clay was reached.

Again,³ in the same paper a second cave dwelling is described, containing, in section, from 4 to 6 inches of natural soil, below which were found layers of sea-shells, charcoal, and soft clay. At the depth of 2 feet was a hard baked floor, about three quarters of an inch thick; below which again were similar layers of charcoal, &c., and a few bones, small and unsplit.

In the year 1871 a cave was exposed in the course of quarrying for building-stone at Oban, and the contents, which owing to the kindness of Professor Turner⁴ the authors have been enabled to look over, have been described by him. They consist of the skull of a human adult male and that of a child about nine years of age. Other human bones were found, among which was a platycnemic tibia, and a femur, also showing signs of flattening. These were similar, in many respects, to those from the Denbighshire caves described by Professor Busk. In addition to these were bones of ox, red-deer, and goat, most of which were split, together with remains of dog, fox, otter, pine-marten, water-vole, and portions of some kind of duck. Flint-flakes, limpets, and calcined bones also occurred.

¹ Sculptured Stones of Scotland, by Dr J. Stuart, vol. ii., appendix to preface xiii. p. 87, *et seq.*; Archæol. Scot., iv. p. 353; Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., viii. p. 372.

² Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., May 1868, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁴ Brit. Assoc. Report, Edinburgh, 1871, p. 160.

A paper, as yet unpublished,¹ was read by the Rev. R. Mapleton on a bone-cave at Duntroon, in Argyllshire, which was discovered in the year 1862. It contained human bones, a human skeleton in a sitting-posture, and two flint-flakes.

Such is a brief sketch of the chief results of cave research in Scotland up to the present time.

Description of the Borness Cave, and its situation.—The cave which is the subject of this paper is situated on the farm of Borness, on the sea-coast of the parish of Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the mouth of the river Dee. Its existence had long been known, but until the autumn of the year 1872 the nature of its contents was wholly unsuspected. A chance visit by one of the present explorers and a friend, led to the discovery, by the latter, of an ox-tooth lying on the surface of the floor. This suggested the making of a trial excavation, which at once made it evident that the earth of the cavern was rich in various osseous remains. Arrangements were at once made for the carrying out of a systematic examination, the results of which, so far as the work has as yet proceeded, are given in the present paper.

The cave is situated in a bay or indentation in the coast-line, at the foot of the sea-cliffs, which, though not very lofty, are remarkably bold and picturesque. Upon the summit of the headland, which forms the western horn of the bay, and distant about 100 yards from the cave, occurs a small, but exceedingly well-defined, specimen of the "British-camps" or hill-forts, which are so numerous in this part of Kirkcudbrightshire. It consists of two trenches and three lines of embankment. These run across the headland from one cliff-edge to the other, and form the defence on the land side; the remaining sides of the camp being rendered inaccessible by the perpendicular sea-cliff. The area enclosed is, roughly speaking, triangular in shape, and communicates with the exterior by means of a causeway which runs through the lines of entrenchment. It is not impossible that the entrenchment may at one time have formed a complete circle, the encroachment of the sea upon the cliff having since destroyed all but that portion of the "camp" which now remains. It is, however, perhaps more probable that the

¹ Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1873.

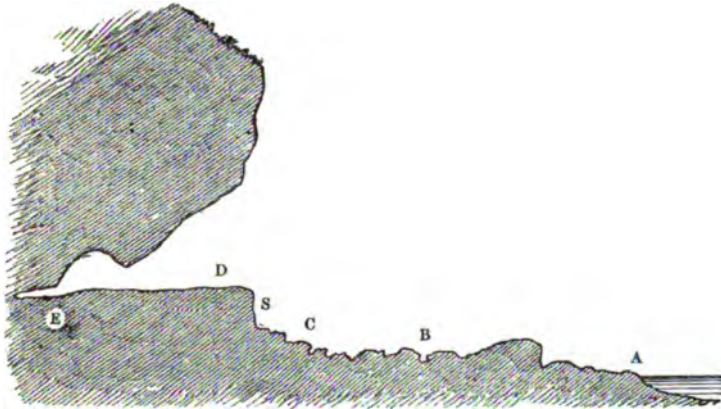
"camp" was originally formed, pretty much as it now exists, on a promontory which from its natural advantages was so easily defended. An old inhabitant of the village of Borgue informs one of the authors that human bones,¹ of large dimensions, were dug up, about the year 1780, on the cliff in or near this "camp." It will be for future consideration and investigation, whether the "camp" and the cave were or were not simultaneously occupied by the same people. The cave may have served as a sheltered and secure adjunct to the "camp."

The above mentioned indentation in the coast line is divided into two unequal portions by a narrow ridge of rock, between 50 and 60 feet in height, which runs out at right angles from the cliff down to the sea, and it is at the head of the south-eastern and narrower portion of the bay so divided that the cave is situated. This portion of the bay is in fact a deep, narrow, vertical-sided gorge or ravine, over 100 feet in length, and 24 feet in average width, which, commencing somewhat below high-water mark, terminates landwards in the mouth of the cave. Huge masses, and smaller fragments of rock, fallen from its precipitous sides, strew the bottom of this ravine, which slopes gradually down from the mouth of the cavern to the sea.

From the land there is but one way of access to the cave, viz., by climbing out upon the lofty ridge of rock above mentioned and descending its side, by rough steps, which were cut when the work of exploration was commenced. The descent is, indeed, so precipitous, that a false step might entail most serious consequences, on which account a rope, though not absolutely necessary, is commonly used, by way of precaution. On reaching the bottom of the ravine the explorer finds himself considerably below the level of the mouth of the cavern, although, on the other hand, some feet above the range of the highest spring tides. From this point of view it is evident that the cave itself is a direct continuation of the ravine, just as a railway tunnel is usually the continuation of a cutting. The mouth of the cave, which faces S.W., is triangular in shape, the walls inclining towards each other, and meeting in the roof. Before commencing the excavation, there extended across the lower part of the

¹ The authors are indebted to Mr Gilbert M. Sproat for drawing their attention to this fact.

entrance, from side to side, a mass of breccia and stalagmite, consisting at the bottom of large fragments of rock cemented together by carbonate of lime, and at its upper part of almost pure stalagmite, the exact thickness of which cannot as yet be determined. On the outside, this mass



Longitudinal Vertical Section of Borness Cave previous to Exploration.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot.

- A Sea-level.
- ABC Ravine bottom sloping from cave to sea.
- S Stalagmite rampart across lower part of cave mouth
- D Central point at mouth of cave.
- E Point at the entrance of the small passage at the back of the cave.
- DE (Datum line) = 39 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet.
- DA = 89 feet.
- Breadth of ravine at A = 19 feet ; at B = 14 feet ; at C = 39 feet.

of breccia presented a wall-like face, some 8 or 9 feet in height, from the bottom of the ravine; while on the inside, its summit was level with the cave-floor, to which it acted the part of a retaining wall. From the summit of this breccia wall the floor sloped gently inwards. Besides the massive stalagmitic rampart across the mouth, a sloping bank of the same deposit lined the right or S.E. side of the cave; while, at the entrance, on the left side, and also at the inner end of the chamber on

the opposite side, the wall is coated thickly with stalagmite. The stalagmite of the rampart across the mouth, and of the bank along the floor on the right side, is cream-coloured, not crystalline, porous, and exceedingly tough. That covering the walls in part, as described, is whiter, more crystalline, and laminated; while a third kind, of a soft, pasty, and impure character, occurred in the midst of the cave-earth, in one part, in a layer of several inches in thickness. This intercalated layer of pasty stalagmite probably points to a period during which the cave was unoccupied by man, and the formation of stalagmite upon the floor was therefore allowed to proceed during the interval without interruption.

The cavern, so far as at present explored, consists of a single chamber, into the inner extremity of which a narrow, low, passage opens. The dimensions of the former, before any of the cave earth was removed, were as follows:—The length was 39 feet 3 inches; the width, which at the entrance was 21 feet, at 15 feet inwards narrowed suddenly to 14 feet, owing to the projection of the south-eastern wall of the cave. The height of the roof at the entrance, at a point immediately over the outer edge of the breccia rampart, was about 23 feet, from which point it descended inwards to a height of between 7 and 8 feet, at about 14 feet from the entrance. From this point the roof again rose to the height of 12 feet, near the back of the chamber. At the inner end of the latter, near the floor, the low, narrow passage, already mentioned, opens. Its length is apparently about 12 feet, as ascertained by the introduction of a long rod, for until the cave-earth, which fills it to within 2 feet of its roof, is removed, its extent cannot be accurately determined. Its width at the mouth is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the height of the crown of its roof, above the level of the floor of the cave itself, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet also. The general direction of the passage is identical with that of the cavern, of which it is, in fact, a continuation.

The rock of the district is of Silurian age, and consists of an alternation of hard, and somewhat altered, bluish sandstone beds, with thin-bedded, but coarse, slates or shales. The strata on all sides of the cave dip at high angles, and in many places assume a vertical position. They have, moreover, suffered remarkable folding, contortion, and fracture. The strike of the strata is, roughly speaking, east and west, and is sin-

gularly uniform over the whole district. Some well-defined highly inclined beds at the mouth of the ravine strike 15° south of west, as taken by prismatic compass. The direction of the ravine and cave, taken from the inner extremity of the latter, is 48° south of west. Thus the ravine and cavern have been cut out of the cliff at an angle of about 33° to the strike of the strata.

The rock in places shows indications of lime in its composition, and is traversed in some parts by veins of calc-spar. Hence, probably, is derived the carbonate of lime which, dissolved out of the rock by the water (containing carbonic acid) which drips from the roof of the cave, is thereby redeposited upon its floor and walls in the forms of stalagmite and breccia. Professor Geikie, who has visited the cave, states that it is a most unusual circumstance to find, in Scotland, rocks of the geological age and character of those here described, containing lime sufficient to form so considerable a thickness of stalagmite.

From the general form of the cave, its position, and the nature of the rock in which it occurs, there can be no doubt that it owes its origin, not to the chemical, but to the mechanical action of water;—it is, in short, a cave of erosion, not corrosion. It is evident that it was hollowed out by the sea-waves, at a time when the land stood considerably below its present level. The highest part of the floor, viz., at the entrance, before the excavation was begun, was 27 feet 6 inches above the level of high-water at spring tides. Until the contents are entirely removed, and the rocky bottom itself is reached, the amount of upheaval of the land which has taken place since the waves had access to the cavern cannot be ascertained. But, in the meantime, assuming the depth of the cave earth to be not greater than the apparent height of its breccia retaining wall outside the cave, viz., 8 feet 6 inches, the amount of upheaval then indicated would be 19 feet; that is to say, the cavern would belong to an old coast-line, standing 19 feet above the level of the existing one.

Along the whole length of the roof, and at the inner extremity of the cave, a fault is traceable. By this, no doubt, the direction of the cave was determined—the line of the dislocation proving that of least resistance to the action of the sea-waves. At the inner end of the chamber, the fault presents somewhat of the appearance of a mineral vein. For 10 feet or so inwards from the cave mouth, along the roof, the fault is

represented by an open, slanting fissure from 2 to 3 feet in width. Above this, at the summit of the cliff, which just there is lower than on each side, occurs a patch of boulder-clay full of subangular, rounded, and scratched stones, the unmistakably glacial character of which deposit was ascertained by Professor Geikie, and Mr Horne of the Scottish Geological Survey. From the proximity of the boulder-clay to the cavern roof, and from the fact that the above described fissure slants upwards from the latter towards the former, it is not improbable that some portion of the earth and stones which the cave contains may have been derived from the boulder-clay above it. But, if this was the case, it must have been at a time when the deposit of glacial debris extended several feet farther seaward than it does at present, for no communication apparently exists now between them. There can be no doubt that a part of the earth and stones which the cave contains has been derived from its roof and walls, as the rock composing them gradually crumbles away under the influence of the weather. But the question of the origin of the cave-earth will probably have more light thrown upon it by the time that the work of excavation is completed.

The cave with its contents and overlying glacial deposit, taken in connection with a submerged forest, which extends at least to low-water mark in the neighbouring inlet, known as Brighthouse Bay, point to the following events, which have all, geologically speaking, happened recently:—The deposition of the boulder-clay; the hollowing out of the cave by the sea-waves, at which time the land must have stood considerably, perhaps not much less than 19 feet, below its present level; the growth of the forest, now submerged, at which time the land must have stood certainly more than 22 feet above its present level; the subsidence of the land to its existing position, and the consequent submergence of the forest; the filling of the cave with its contents, a process which, commenced perhaps by the sea-waves themselves, has thenceforward been carried on by various agencies up to the present day, at varying rates, and with occasional intermission.

In connection with the submerged forest in Brighthouse Bay, above referred to, it may be mentioned that a magnificent pair of antlers of the red-deer, with part of the skull, were dug out of the sand, between tide-marks, in 1872. They are in the possession of Mr A. J. Corrie, and

have been pronounced by competent judges to be finer than any that can be obtained at the present day.

In a paper on the raised beaches of the N.E. of Ireland, read before the British Association in 1872, Professor Hull has pointed out the close relation which exists between the raised beaches and caves of the N.E. coast of Ireland and those of the western shores of Great Britain opposite; the former gradually increasing in maximum height above high-water mark, from 6 feet at Dublin Bay, to 20 feet at the extreme north-eastern point of the Irish coast; and the latter decreasing, from a similar height (i.e., 20 feet) on the shores of Argyllshire and Ayrshire, towards the estuary of the Mersey, where, to quote the professor's words, "the evidences of a raised beach almost disappear." The estimated height of the Borness cave above the sea, viz., something less probably than 19 feet, seems to accord with Professor Hull's observations.

It is not improbable that the age of the cave itself, as distinguished from its contents, may be the same as that of the raised beaches, with worked flints, at Kilroot, Larne Harbour, and Island Magee, mentioned by Professor Hull in the paper already referred to, and it is possible that hereafter some relation may be established between its contents and those of the caves in the N.E. of Ireland, worked and described by Dr Bryce, and Mr Thomas Andrews.¹

Method of Working.—When the ossiferous character of the Borness cave was ascertained, and an investigation determined on, it was decided that the excavation should be carried out on a plan sufficiently systematic to enable the position of each object in the cave deposit to be recorded with due exactness.

The excavation was commenced in August 1872,² under the direction of Mr A. J. Corrie and Mr W. Bruce Clarke, who after a short time were joined in the work by Mr A. R. Hunt, and during the following year by Mr Randall Johnson. Mr Bruce Clarke is responsible for the portion of this paper in which the organic remains are described, and for that in which an outline is given of previous cave explorations in Scotland. Mr Corrie and Mr Hunt are responsible for the description and

¹ Brit. Assoc. Report, 1834, pp. 658, 660.

² Permission having been most kindly and readily given by James Stewart, Esq. of Cairnmore, the proprietor of the farm of Borness.

measurements of the cave, and for that which may be called the geological portion of the paper. The description of the implements has been undertaken by Mr Hunt, whilst in the remainder of the paper the work has been performed jointly by the authors.

The general idea of working has been taken from the method adopted by the committee appointed by the British Association in 1864, for the exploration of Kent's Cavern in Devonshire.

The plan of working was as follows:—A central point was taken at the mouth, and another at the back of the cave, just in front of the passage before mentioned, the exploration of which has not yet been commenced. These two points were joined by a line called the datum-line. Lines were then drawn at right angles to the datum-line, at distances of a yard apart, thus dividing the cave into 13 "parallels," each a yard wide, each parallel being itself subdivided into two "semiparallels" by the datum-line.

A layer of earth, &c., was first removed from the surface of the cave floor, 1 foot in thickness. This was termed the A layer, the succeeding layers being designated by the other letters of the alphabet in order. During the removal of the A layer, the remains which were obtained from the various semiparallels were placed in boxes, a separate box being allotted to each of them, except where very few specimens (*e.g.*, but one or two) were found, in which case the objects from two or more semi-parallels were placed together in the same box. Each box was then carefully labelled as follows:—The parallels were distinguished by the Roman numerals, counting from the mouth of the cave inwards, and the semi-parallels by the letters R or L, as they were situated right or left of the datum-line. Thus, for example, the label *A. R. V.* indicates that the contents of the box upon which it is affixed came from the Right hand semiparallel of the fifth parallel of the A layer.

After the completion of the A layer, it was decided that it would be advisable still further to subdivide the parallels in order that the position of the objects found might be more exactly recorded. In order to effect this, and at the same time to make the new arrangement accord with that first adopted, each semiparallel was divided into lengths of one yard each by lines drawn parallel with the datum-line. Thus, instead of a whole semiparallel of earth 1 foot deep being excavated at once as at

first, a square yard only of earth of the same depth is now taken out at the same time. The only difference, resulting from this new arrangement, is that the objects found in each square yard of earth, &c., are placed in a separate box. The labels for these boxes differ slightly from those affixed to boxes belonging to the A layer, for they have in addition to the Roman figure and letters, a small Arabic numeral. For example, the label *B. B. V. 3*, indicates that the contents of the box came from the third yard (counting outwards from the datum-line) of the right semi-parallel of the fifth parallel of the B layer.

During the removal of the A layer it was perceived that it would conduce to greater accuracy, as well as convenience, if, instead of taking off the cave earth by one layer at a time, four layers could be attacked at once, as is done in the working of Kent's Cavern. Among other advantages which this plan presents, it obviates the necessity of trampling on each layer while the one above it is being removed. With a view to the removal of four layers simultaneously, the blasting of the *stalagmite* at the entrance was attempted, but it proved so *intractable*, gunpowder being found to be of no avail (owing to the presence of frequent cavities in which its force expended itself), that after 2 or 3 cubic feet were removed by immense labour, with sledge-hammer, crow-bar, and pick-axe, it was decided that the attempt should be for the time given up, and the excavation of the cave earth and softer breccia resumed.

Since, from these circumstances, a four-foot vertical face of earth could not be got at, it was resolved that the next layers of earth should be taken off to half that depth; or, in other words, that the B and C layers should be removed simultaneously.

Each square yard was first broken up to the depth of 2 or 3 inches with a small hand-pick, to loosen it, and all bones, implements, and other objects observed in it were placed in a box. The loosened earth was next shovelled into a wheelbarrow, each shovelful being carefully looked over a second time, and where dry enough, passed through a sieve, and the objects thus obtained placed with those previously found in a separate bag or box. At the close of the day's work, each parcel was taken home, carefully washed, and then dried on a separate tray, the water, after the washing of each parcel of bones, &c., being passed through a fine perforated zinc strainer to guard against the loss of any small objects of

interest. The fragments of bone, which were too small for identification unless bearing marks of cutting or gnawing, were next picked out, all those belonging to the same layer of cave earth being placed in one large box. All implements of bone, or stone, objects of iron or bronze, &c., were then taken out, labelled with a number indicating the yard of cave earth in which they were found, and placed in the drawer of a cabinet. The remaining bones, teeth, shells &c., belonging to each parcel were then placed together in a separate box, which was carefully labelled, as has been before explained.

While the above described method of subdivision of the cave earth has always been carefully adhered to, it has occasionally happened that obstacles in the working have made it difficult to remove certain divisions of earth without interfering with those next them. In these cases such adjoining and hardly separable subdivisions of earth were taken out together, the objects found in them being placed together in one box, and labelled accordingly. All bones and other objects found loose on the surface of the floor, or on the heap of earth outside the cave, have been carefully kept apart from those whose original position is known.

Nearly the whole of the excavation has been carried on under the personal supervision of Mr Bruce Clarke, Mr Corrie, or Mr Hunt; the washing of the bones, and other objects, has been performed by themselves, or by persons under their immediate direction: while the labelling and final arrangement, &c., has been done entirely by their own hands.

Objects found in the Cave.—It may be well to state here that, owing to other occupations, the authors have found it impossible to get ready for this paper anything like an exhaustive account of the objects which have been found: they will be, however, in all probability examined during the ensuing spring, and a full account be presented to the Society at a future date.

The various objects that have occurred in the cave comprise bones, burnt wood (along with which are found also burnt bones), shells, grain, implements of bone, fragments of iron, a few ornaments and fragments of bronze, and a few implements of stone.

First as to the bones, the following have been identified:—Ox and

red-deer are most plentifully represented;¹ the bones of the former betoken a small species, whilst those of the latter, and especially the antlers, indicate fine and largely developed individuals, equal almost in size to the oxen. Next to these in abundance come bones belonging to a very small variety of sheep or goat. The bones of pig occur in considerable abundance; it is, however, curious that in the A layer hardly any occur at all, while in the B and C layers they are almost as plentiful as those of ox, red-deer, and sheep. The presence of horse rests on the evidence of a single molar, which occurred in the A layer. That this should be the sole remains of horse appears remarkable, and seems to show that it was brought from some other place, perhaps for a special purpose, as for instance, an ornament. Two species of rodent have occurred, the water-vole and mouse. These, the latter especially, may, and from the occurrence of bird-bones in close proximity to them probably do, owe their introduction rather to the agency of birds of prey than to that of man. Among the carnivora no remains of dog, wolf, or fox have hitherto been identified, but the presence of pine-marten is clearly shown, by the occurrence of several of the long bones. Besides these a radius, ulna, and humerus, all apparently fitting, and which were found close together, are certainly carnivorous in type. They appear to belong either to a large form of cat, perhaps a wild cat, or else to lynx. The latter animal has been found in a cave in Derbyshire by Dr Ranson.²

In the A layer the remains of birds are very numerous indeed, but in the B and C layers they are, with the exception of a very few specimens, not represented at all. What the significance of this fact may be at present is not by any means clear. Among other remains of birds have been at present identified those of starling, and some other Corvidæ, besides a few remains of raptorial birds; while those belonging to the duck tribe, and others of aquatic habits, are probably the most numerous.

A few frog or toad bones have been found, whilst of fish almost the only identifiable remains are a few small vertebræ, and one or two hypopharyngeal bones of a small wrasse. In some parts of the cave a yard

¹ This appears to have been an error as regards Red-deer. See succeeding table of Messrs Bruce, Clark, and Johnson, p. 502, from which it appears that, next to the ox, the sheep and the pig are most numerously represented.

² Prehistoric Times, by Sir J. Lubbock, 1872, p. 294.

or two of earth appeared to be crammed full of minute fish-bones, about the size of the ribs of the herring; their abundance was such that it was next to impossible to pick over the earth in which they were from their running into the fingers like so many needles. These small fish-bones may be masses of the excreta of birds which inhabited the cave, and if so, of course point to periods during which the cave was unoccupied by man.

Besides the bones which have been got out of the cave during the investigation, burnt-wood and burnt-bones, but more especially the former, have occurred in very great abundance. In some parts, more particularly at the entrance, as indeed might be expected from the facility there given to the escape of smoke, the remains of fires, as shown by the charcoal fragments, split stones, and discoloured earth, occur almost throughout the whole depth of 3 feet which has been hitherto excavated; so that the cave earth in these parts may literally be said to be as black as soot. The remains of fires grow scarcer as the back of the cave is approached, until at the farthest point as yet reached they disappear altogether. Some of the charcoal is in such good preservation that it is hoped that the species of tree to which it belongs may be identified by aid of the microscope.

Perhaps the most interesting discovery, among the fire-remains, is that of grain in a carbonized condition. It was first discovered by its floating upon the surface of the water in which the bones were washed, and on further examination it has been detected in other parts of the cave besides that in which it was first found. The grain has been examined by Mr William Carruthers, of the British Museum, and found to be wheat. A similar discovery by Sir J. Y. Simpson in the Wemyss cave was referred to in the early part of this paper.

Among the embers of these old fires, and in other parts of the cave as well, shells of mollusca have occurred in great abundance; some are much broken and disintegrated, but a very large proportion of them are almost as perfect as on the day they were brought into the cave.

Mr. R. D. Darbishire has very kindly undertaken the identification of the species of mollusca which have up to the present time been found. The following is the list of species:—

Tapes decussatus, <i>Linn.</i>	Patella vulgata, <i>Linn.</i>
T. pullastra, <i>Montagu</i>	Littorina littorea, <i>Linn.</i>
Cardium echinatum, <i>Linn.</i>	L. littoralis, <i>Linn.</i>
C. edule, <i>Linn.</i>	Purpura lapillus.
Mytilus edulis, <i>Linn.</i>	Buccinum undatum.
Pectunculus glycymeris, <i>Linn.</i>	Fusus antiquus.
Pecten maximus, <i>Linn.</i>	Trochus lineatus, <i>Da Costa.</i>
Ostrea edulis, <i>Linn.</i>	Zonites nitens.
Anomia ephippium, <i>Linn.</i>	

Besides these, a specimen of *Artemis exoleta* was picked up at the mouth of the cave, lying on the surface, and identified by Professor Geikie.

Of the above species the limpet and periwinkle alone occur in great abundance. The other species are represented by a few, and in some cases by only single specimens.

The Implements and other Objects of Human Workmanship.—The Plates which illustrate this section of the paper are engraved from photographs taken by Mr A. R. Hunt. The numbers by which the implements are indicated in the Plates are those which they bear in the author's catalogue.

In the 3 feet of cave earth, &c., removed up to the present time, 123 objects of human art have been discovered. Of these 24 occurred in the A layer, 62 in the B, 28 in the C; 3, owing to the removal in some few cases of more than 1 foot of earth at a time, must be marked B or C; and 6, through their not having been found *in situ*, cannot be accurately labelled.

These 123 objects include every fragment found in the cave, of whatever material, that shows any undoubted trace of human workmanship. Of the entire number 90 are of bone, 10 of stone, exclusive of 21 other stones which perhaps show doubtful indications of workmanship,¹ 7 of bronze, 12 of iron, and 4 of glass. The latter appear to be portions of rings. Two of them are of bluish translucent glass, and bear three lines of narrow spiral ornamentation of a blue colour; of the other two, which

¹ Besides these there occurred a large number of rounded stones or pebbles, some of which appeared to have been broken by heat and may have been used as "boiling stones."

are both opaque, one is white, and the other of a greenish colour. (Plate XXII. figs. 62, 82, 93, and 153.)

Owing to rust, the iron fragments, with possibly one exception, are quite shapeless. Some of them may be merely nodules of iron ore, a supposition which is supported by the fact that small pieces of charcoal adhere to some, and that a lump of vitreous slag occurred among them.

The bronze objects, as might be expected, are in a much better state of preservation. They consist of a massive ornament (Plate XVII. fig. 79); a thin circular brooch, which has apparently been enamelled (Plate XVII. fig. 134). The pivot extremity of the pin and the catch by which this brooch was fastened are present. A small link of an ornamental chain; a handful of fragments, found in one place, some of which show that the thin bronze had been folded and fastened by rivets of the same material; two small fragments of what may have been a bronze fibula, and other small pieces of the same metal.

Of the worked stones the most noticeable are—A hard siliceous pebble, with an oblique groove on each side, which has plainly been used for sharpening pointed instruments (Plate XVIII. fig. 115). A long, flattened ellipsoidal stone, bored at one extremity, of apparently an altered sandstone (Plate XVIII. fig. 110). A subrectangular stone of yellowish brown shale, with edges and corners rounded, and perforated like the preceding (Plate XVIII. fig. 67). A sandstone pebble perforated by a large aperture so as to resemble a massive stone ring (Plate XVIII. fig. 116). A perforated striated disc of grey shale (Plate XVIII. fig. 111). A flat semi-heart shaped piece of greywacke; and some smooth stones that have probably been used as whetstones. Some of the perforated stones may have been employed as loom weights.¹

The articles in bone comprise needles, pins, pegs, combs, awls, spear or arrow-heads(?), spoons, and spoon-shaped implements, handles, and sundry nondescript forms.

Needles.—Of these there are four specimens in the collection. They vary greatly in size and finish, from No. 25, which is extremely well made, to No. 37, which is little more than a fragment of split bone with a hole bored in it (Plate XVII. figs. 5, 25, 37, and 85). It seems

¹ See paper by Mr Joseph Anderson, in Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 557.

not altogether improbable that the coarser needles may have served the purpose of shuttles in the process of weaving.

Pins.—Of the fourteen pins and fragments of pins that have been found, the three best are given in Plate XVII. The two, Nos. 7 and 140, are long, abruptly terminated, and in shape like double boat-hooks. They show no tendency to taper to a point, which, if ever present, has been broken off. Under their heads are marks of wear. No. 30, and another not figured (No. 148), are sharp at one end, with broad flat heads, formed by the natural shape of the bone.

Pegs (Plate XVII. figs. 23, 33, 80, 96, 97, and 130).—A number of short pieces of worked bone have been discovered, and as they have evidently served various purposes, a few of them may be considered deserving of a brief notice. No. 23 should perhaps be included among the pins; it is, however, much shorter than those already described. It shows marks of considerable wear under the head. No. 80 is in shape like a violin peg. There is a groove over the top of its head, which is flattened from one end to the other. The pair of pegs, No. 33, were found in peculiar circumstances, to be described hereafter. No. 130 is evidently very similar to them, and will also be further noticed. Nos. 96 and 97 are merely sharpened fragments of bone, as are several others not figured.

Combs.—Two well-preserved specimens have been found, both of which are represented in Plate XIX. No. 2, which is very nearly flat, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch thick, is just 4 inches in length, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad at the handle end, which was broken, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch at the base of the teeth. These have been eight in number, of which six remain. Whether from fracture or otherwise, they are of uneven length, the longest being half an inch. This comb, though roughly made, is noticeable for the fine grooves, or marks of wear, on the inner edges of its teeth. No. 127 was unfortunately broken by the pick, and a portion of it lost. Its length is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, its breadth $\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the fractured end, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the base of the teeth. These are twelve in number, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long; the longest being toward the centre. This comb is highly convex on the smooth side, concave on the under or cancellated surface, and about half an inch thick in the centre. It is ornamented with six parallel lines across the convex side, each alternate pair being connected by right lines drawn obliquely to the longer axis of the instru-

ment, the whole thus forming three bands of ornamentation. In form it corresponds to the type of the "Broch-comb," of which so good a collection exists in the Museum of the Society; but in ornamentation it differs, the authors believe, from all of them. This comb also shows the marks of wear across its teeth; but unlike No. 2, they appear on the under or concave side of the instrument. Both combs exhibit the marks between the teeth, which have been so well described and interpreted by Mr Millen Coughtrey, in his paper on the kitchen-midden at Hillswick,¹ in which so much light is thrown on the subject of the "Long-combs." From the evidence brought forward by Mr Joseph Anderson, in his interesting and valuable paper² on the use of these combs, there can be little doubt they were employed in the process of weaving.

Awls (Plate XX. figs. 27, 100, 135, and 142).—Besides a number of sharpened fragments of bone, there are four well-made awls. No. 142 has evidently served two purposes, being pointed at one end, and chisel-shaped at the other. Mr Walters, shoemaker, of Torquay, has kindly presented Mr Hunt with a bone tool, having a similar chisel-shaped extremity, which was made by himself, and which has been in constant use for upwards of 30 years. It is made of a horse's shin-bone, as being "thicker and harder than anything else obtainable." Both the chisel end and the back were used for smoothing stitches, the former being specially used for smoothing those in the welts of the boot.

Spear or Arrow-Heads(?)—The only weapons found hitherto that could have been used in hunting are the five given in Plate XIX. They taper gradually to their points, which, owing to the cavity of the bone of which they are made, are scalloped on one side like the shoulder of a pen. Two of them have a small hole in the broader or basal end for the insertion of a pin to secure the shaft or handle. In the case of No. 16, the pin, also of bone, is still *in situ*.

Spoons.—Among the implements found in the A layer, is the highly finished spoon given in Plate XX. fig. 1. Its present length (for it has apparently been fractured) is about $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It consists of a long, thin stem or handle, at one end of which is formed a circular ring, and at the other what appears to be part of the bowl of the spoon. It is cut out of a

¹ Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. ix. part 1, p. 118.

² Proceedings, vol. ix. part 2, p. 548.

single piece of bone. Taken in connection with the bones of animals which occur in such abundance in the cave, this long spoon may perhaps have been used for extracting marrow, for which purpose it is admirably adapted.

Spoon-shaped Implements.—Of these there are five, all of them being given in Plate XX. None of them are completely perforated, but No. 11 is partially so, and appears to be a form intermediate between these and similar objects from the Dowker-bottom and Settle Caves, now in the British Museum, in which the perforation is complete. One bored specimen, found at Settle during the earlier explorations, also in the British Museum, and figured by Mr Roach Smith in his "Collectanea Antiqua,"¹ is very similar in shape to those from Borness. An elaborate spoon-shaped fibula from the Victoria Cave Settle, has been recently figured and described by Mr Boyd Dawkins.² It is doubly barbed at its smaller end, as if to retain it in its place when in use. Another, from the Dowker-bottom Cave, in the British Museum, has a single hook on one side, which might serve the same purpose. Mr A. W. Franks has favoured the authors with his opinion, that the bored Settle specimen mentioned above cannot be a spoon, suggesting at the same time the possibility of such implements being hair-pins, but not without hesitation on account of the perforations. It seems just possible that the latter might have been of service in keeping the hair-pin in its place by tying or otherwise. The holes would thus serve the same purpose as the barbs in the more elaborate, and undoubted spoon-shaped fibulae.

Handles or "Links" (Plate XXI.)—No. 71 appears to have been the handle of some cutting instrument. An illustration of it is given for the sake of comparison with the more obscure forms associated with it in the same plate. These, which may be roughly described as hollow cylinders, each with a central oval or oblong aperture cut through the shorter axis, have been found in other localities, and have taxed the ingenuity of antiquaries to discover their probable use. One, found during the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange in London, is figured by Mr C. Roach Smith, in his "Roman London,"³ and described by him as the "handle of some

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. plate xxx. fig. 1.

² *Journal Anthropolog. Inst.*, vol. i. pl. ii. fig. 1.

³ "Roman London," plate xxxiv. fig. 5.

implement." This specimen is solid at one end, and its partial hollow-ness seems owing to the natural form of the bone. It is not unlike No. 124, the only solid one hitherto found at Borness. Another, from one of the Settle caves, is figured by the same author in his "Collectanea Antiqua."¹ Both of these are now in the British Museum. More recently several have been found at the Victoria Cave, Settle. In a paper published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, to which reference has before been made, Mr Boyd Dawkins, referring to specimens found in the latter cave, has suggested that they "possibly may have been used as studs for fastening together thick clothing." Although one of these figured in that paper was originally described in the explanation of the plates as "probably a handle," the author has quite recently favoured the present writers with his opinion that it, together with one of another form not hitherto found at Borness, are "bone links for fastening dress."² Without venturing to offer an opinion on this question, the authors would draw attention to the following fact:—The finest specimen³ found at Borness, indeed the only perfect one that has occurred, contained, when it was first discovered, the two pegs (No. 33, Plate XVII.) already alluded to. When the implement itself was washed to free it from the cave earth which filled it, these pegs were found in the interior, one at either end, both lying with their points inwards. It seems probable that they were an essential part of the instrument, and for convenience kept inside when not in use. In a similar way bullets, caps, and perhaps a spare nipple, found a place in the butts of old fashioned pistols. It is of course possible that these pegs may have been used in the position in which they were found, but it is difficult to conceive for what purpose. As all the other "links" found in the cave were more or less imperfect, not to say fragmentary, their pegs, if they had any, may have been dissociated from them before they were cast aside or lost, so that it is only in the case of perfect specimens that there is any possibility of their pegs being found in their places. Whether a mere coincidence or not, it so happened that the second best "link," No. 124, occurred in the same "yard" of earth as the peg No. 130, so similar both in size and shape to the pair found in

¹ Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. plate xxx. fig. 2.

² See Journal Anthropolog. Inst. vol. i. p. 64, and pl. ii. fig. 2.

³ Plate xxi. fig. 32.



IMPLEMENTS OF BONE AND BRONZE FROM A CAVE AT BORNESSE.



110



67



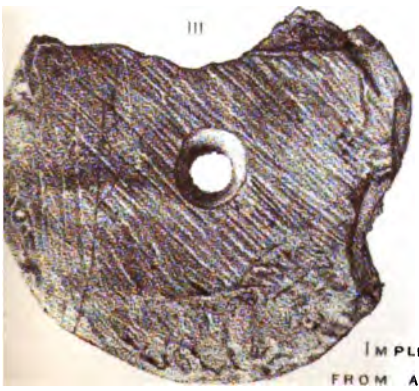
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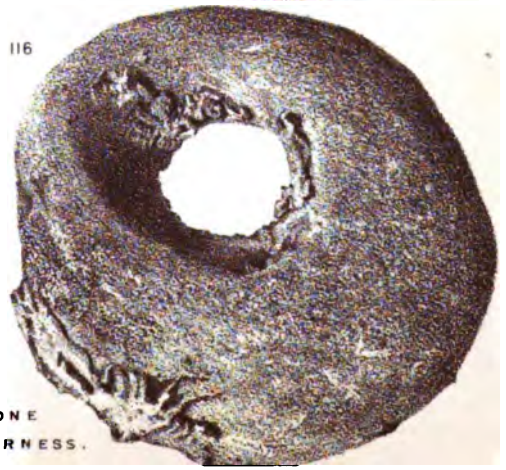
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111



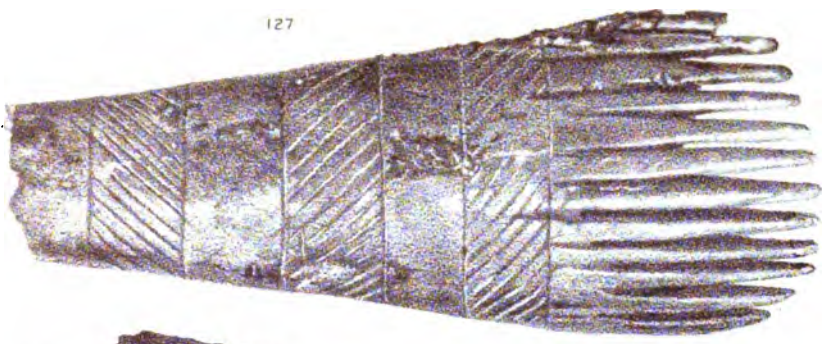
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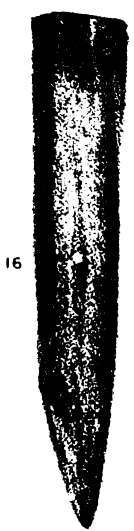
IMPLEMENTS OF STONE
FROM A CAVE AT BORNESS.



127



2



16



29



14



28



132

IMPLEMENTS OF BONE FROM A CAVE AT BORNESSE. (ACTUAL SIZE)





31



112



118



10



11



1



27



100



142



135

IMPLEMENTS OF BONE FROM A CAVE AT BORNESSE.

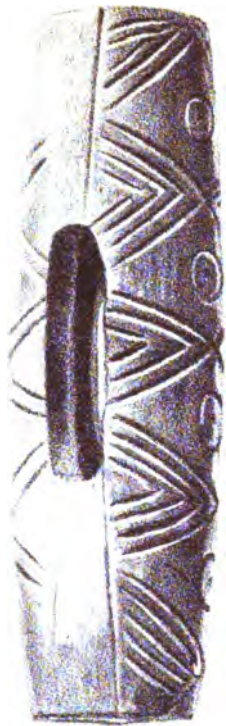
(Continued on page 100)



52



32



124



6



102

71



137



IMPLEMENTS OF BONE FROM A CAVE AT BORNES





139



62



19



44



153



114



93



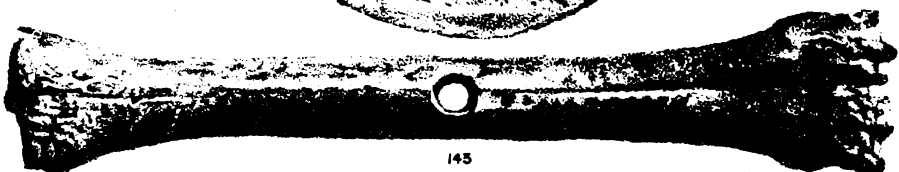
141



26



82



145

IMPLEMENTS OF BONE & DEER-HORN FROM A CAVE AT BORNESSE. (ACTUAL SIZE)



No. 32.¹ All the "links," whether entire or fragmentary, that have been found at Bornesse are given in Plate XXI.

Eight miscellaneous objects will be found in Plate XXII. No. 44 is similar in general shape to a crab's claw. On its concave edge are three notches, differing in size from each other, and worn as they would be by the friction of threads or twine passing through them. It seems possible that this instrument may have found its use in smoothing, and reducing to a uniform gauge for weaving or other purposes the thread as received from the spindle. That threads of various thickness were in use seems clear from the variety in the sizes of the needles already described.

No. 139 is a curved and pointed instrument, made from the tine of a deer-antler, hollow at the base, as if for the insertion of a handle, where also it is furnished with a perforated ear. It is very like an instrument supposed to be a needle figured by Mr J. E. Lee, in his "*Isca Silurum*."²

No. 19, an ornamented fragment of bone, was found under several inches of stalagmite on the S.E. side of the cave, and is probably the extremity of a "long-comb."

No. 114 is a hemisphere of bone, ornamented with two incised concentric circles and a dot in their midst.

The flat, pointed, perforated implement, No. 26, may possibly have been used as a needle or shuttle. It has been broken at the obtuse end. No. 141 is a very singular object, whose use it is difficult even to guess. It consists of two rings of bone united at one point by a narrow neck.

No. 91 is a smooth broad piece of bone worked to a blunt edge. It corresponds closely in shape to the "rubbing-bone" which is figured and described by Mr Joseph Anderson in his paper³ before alluded to; and which appears to have been used for smoothing down the woven fabric.

No. 143 is a long bone, bored longitudinally through its upper articulating surface, and transversely at the middle through both walls of the bone. It may possibly have been a whistle.

¹ Since the above was written the authors have been favoured by the Rev. Canon Raine of York with a note of the discovery in that city of a similar bone "link" also containing small pegs, and associated with Roman remains.

² *Isca Silurum*, by J. E. Lee, F.S.A., plate xxx. fig. 2, and p. 60.

³ Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 561.

The drawings of all the objects figured in the plates are of the actual dimensions of the implements themselves.

A dozen or so of tines and other parts of deer-antlers, showing marks of cutting, have occurred, two of which appear to have served as handles to cutting or boring instruments, perhaps of metal.

The foregoing are the most important of the implements hitherto brought to light at Borness. No coins nor remains of pottery have as yet been found; and in their absence, and the present incomplete stage of the exploration, it may be considered premature to attempt to fix the date of the occupation of the cave. Suffice it to say, that there is a strong family likeness between many of the objects from Borness and certain of the implements from the Settle Caves, which are considered by such high authorities as Mr A. W. Franks, Mr W. Boyd Dawkins, and Mr C. Roach Smith, to belong to the Romano-British period.

The following table shows the distribution of the various objects of human art in the 3 feet of cave earth hitherto removed.

Layers.	Bone.	Iron.	Stone.	Bronze.	Glass.	Totals.
A.	19	—	1	1	2	23
B.	45	8	5	2	2	62
C.	19	4	4	1	—	28
B. or C.	3	—	—	—	—	3
Uncertain	3	—	—	3	—	6
	89	12	10	7	4	122
A.	1 (since lost)					1
						123

The results so far obtained in the course of the present investigation clearly show that the Borness cave was inhabited by man—whether driven by his enemies to a place of secure retreat and reduced by want to a state of semi-barbarism, or in what other circumstances, it is at present premature to suggest. But whatever the causes which led to the occupation of the cave, the masses of fire-remains, the enormous accumulation of bones, the quantity of shells, the periods of intermediate quiescence shown by the local bands of soft stalagmite and by the small fish bones introduced probably by birds,—not to speak of the great stalagmitic rampart

across the entrance, quite underneath the back of which, and covered by some eighteen inches of the deposit, burnt bones and charcoal were largely represented,—all point conclusively to the lengthy period during which this cave was inhabited.

The authors cannot conclude this paper without expressing their sincere thanks to Messrs A. W. Franks, Wm. Pengelly, W. Boyd Dawkins, J. E. Lee, R. D. Darbishire, and others, from whom they have received valuable information and assistance.

III.

ON THE OSSEOUS REMAINS OF THE BORNESS BONE CAVE, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE. BY WM. BRUCE-CLARKE, B.A., F.S.A. SCOT., AND RANDALL J. JOHNSON, Esq., M.A.I.

Before proceeding to consider the osseous remains of the Borness bone cave in detail, it may be well briefly to recapitulate a few facts which were considered in a previous paper.

Up to the present time, three layers, each a foot in thickness, have been removed from the cave; the remains from each square yard of each layer have been placed in boxes, to each of which a number was appended for purposes of reference. The first, second, and third layers are spoken of as the A, B, and C layers respectively.

Before the bones could be removed from the boxes for purposes of comparison *inter se*, and with other specimens, they were all marked with the number of the box to which they belonged.

Previous to this, all the fragments which seemed to offer not the remotest chance of identification were removed, and these alone are nearly sufficient to fill a bushel basket. The remainder of the bones were then classified, all the ox placed together, and so on; the portions of skull were separated from the vertebræ, and similarly the different long bones were placed in separate boxes. When all the bones had been divided in this manner, those that had been broken in getting out were as far as possible repaired; and in one or two cases two halves of a bone which had been split by the former inhabitants were able to be united, though their edges, as may be easily imagined, were somewhat worn, and do not fit very

exactly. This is the case in two instances with the two portions of an ox's metatarsal bone; in one case both of the fragments were found in the B layer about 10 or 12 feet apart, and in the other case one was found in the B, and the other in the A layer. Such a circumstance as this might perhaps be supposed to show that superposition is no proof of age; but this is by no means the case. The one-half may have lain low down in the A layer, and the other high up in the B layer, not to speak of the minute inequalities of a few inches which may often have existed in the surface of the cave. If, on the contrary, one portion had occurred in C, and another in A, the case would have been different. It must, however, be remembered that though as a whole the A layer is the newest, B newer than C, and so on, yet it by no means follows that every individual object in each layer is older than every object in the layer immediately above it, and hence conclusions must be drawn from the objects collectively, and not from isolated individual examples.

After thus separating the remains, it was in most cases easy to arrive at a correct conclusion as to which was which; and from the large number of specimens of every age, a series can be formed exhibiting every gradation from an animal only just born to one in its adult condition. By this means it is possible to determine with comparative ease to which animals the young individuals belonged, a problem which seemed at first to be quite insurmountable. The names of the animals to which they belong have been written on all bones which have been determined for certain; but some, as for instance bits of skull and ribs, though probably belonging say to sheep, show in themselves no indication of that fact, though, when viewed by the light of the rest of the remains, but little doubt can exist of that fact. In such cases the doubtful bones are placed together, and labelled as a whole, the reasons for such a mode of procedure being duly noted. It is quite possible, as the investigations proceed, that more perfect specimens may be procured; and so bones, which are now placed among the doubtful specimens, may be transferred to the list of certainties. With some bones, however, such as ribs, which present few if any distinctive characteristics, this can never be the case.

It may be well to refer here to the method in which some of the bones decay, as the effects produced are sometimes perplexing. The surface of

the bone seems to flake off in thin laminae. This process sometimes occurs all over the surface of the bone, at other times only in certain parts of it. The former mode of decay is very rare, but obviously diminishes the size of the bone, and so renders its identification more difficult. When the decay is very partial, it produces channels in the bone, which at first sight appear as though they had been gnawed; but usually a little practice will enable any one to distinguish the cause of any given mark. Perhaps, however, when the surface of a bone has once been broken by teeth marks, it may be more liable to this latter mode of decay, and if so, many teeth marks must be obliterated by age.

With the bird bones the process of identification is far more difficult, and in the majority of instances it is very hard to be certain. The following example will illustrate this:—With a bird's femur it was for some time a question whether it belonged to a magpie or a shoveller duck, and it was finally decided to belong to the former, inasmuch as other undoubted remains of magpie occur, whilst no bones of duck have been found at all.

The bird's bones were separated out like those of the mammalia; but in most cases a clue was afforded by some characteristic bone, and this was followed up by comparing all the other bird bones with the skeleton of the bird to which the characteristic bone undoubtedly belonged. In this way most of the birds have been identified. In those cases where there was no doubt about them, they have been labelled; but in the great majority of instances, though a number of bones as a whole can be said with tolerable certainty to belong to a given bird, yet individually it would be most presumptuous to name them. In such a case one label is affixed to these bones, and the above facts concerning them subsequently noted.

The batrachian and fish remains are so few in number that there is but little to know about them.

Thus it will be seen that all the remains have been carefully examined; and though in most cases there is but one little doubt as to the animals to which they belonged, yet a complete account of each species, its relative abundance in each layer, and whether it was in a wild or domesticated condition, must be deferred till the cave has been thoroughly worked out, and all available evidence brought to bear upon these points.

At present, now that all the bones have been mended as far as possible, there are 2584 specimens and 1002 fragments, exclusive of the smaller fragments above mentioned.

The following is a complete list of the remains at the present time:—

MAMMALIA.		AVES—	
	No. of Specimens.		No. of Specimens.
Rodentia—		Pigeon (<i>Columba</i> sp. ?),	22
Rabbit (<i>Lepus cuniculus</i>),	15	Bark (<i>Corvus frugilegus</i>),	20
Water Rat (<i>Mus amphibius</i>),	62	Magpie (<i>Pica melanoleuca</i>),	9
Black Rat (<i>Mus rattus</i>),		Starling (<i>Sturnus vulgaris</i>),	93
Short-tailed Field Mouse	118	Razor Bill (<i>Alca torda</i>),	4
(<i>Arvicola agrestis</i>),		Swan (<i>Cygnus</i> sp. ?),	7
Ungulata—		Gull (<i>Larus</i> sp. ?),	6
Horse (<i>Equus</i> sp. ?),	2		
Ox (<i>Bos</i> sp. ?),	1112		
Sheep (<i>Ovis aries</i>),	630	DOUBTFUL.	
Red Deer (<i>Cervus elaphus</i>),	26	Thrush (<i>Turdus musicus</i>),	28
Roe Deer (<i>Cervus capreolus</i>),	26	Sparrow (<i>Passer</i> sp. ?)	8
Pig (<i>Sus scrofa</i>),	266	Raven (<i>Corvus corax</i>),	1
Carnivora—		Wood Owl (<i>Strix flammea</i>),	2
Badger (<i>Meles taxus</i>),	1	Lark (<i>Alauda</i> sp. ?)	5
Otter (<i>Lutra vulgaris</i>),	3	Bones varying from size of Wren	18
Fox (<i>Canis vulpes</i>),	8 or 9	to Sparrow, }	
Cat (<i>Felis catus</i>),	3	Tern (<i>Sterna vulgaris</i>),	3
Marten (<i>Martes</i> sp. ?),	1	Bones belonging to <i>Longirostres</i>	5
Bones doubtful,	20	(<i>Cuvier</i>), e.g., snipe, &c., . . . }	
Fragments,	1002	Fragments,	8
		BATRACHIA.	
		Frog or Toad,	25
		PISCES.	
Common Buzzard (<i>Buteo vulgaris</i>),	19	Wrasse, and other remains, especially	
Hen Harrier (<i>Circus pygargus</i>),	6	small bones in great abundance.	
Domestic Fowl (<i>Gallus domesticus</i>),	7		

In addition to the mammalia just referred to, the possible occurrence of goat and fallow deer may be mentioned, though much doubt must at present exist on this head. A pointed horn-core, and some bones which differ from those of sheep, indicate perhaps the presence of goat; and two scapulæ, which are somewhat broken, appear to belong to the Cervidæ, though they are too large for roe deer, and too small for red deer. It is

to be hoped that future exploration may throw some light on these points.

There is also half of the atlas vertebra of a carnivore, which may perhaps indicate the presence of dog.

The rabbit bones consist of a few fragments of the skull; and of some of the limb bones, they belong evidently to a young animal, as the epiphyses are not present. They were found in the A layer, and are most probably of very recent origin, as they were all found close together near to a rabbit burrow—the only one, apparently, which was in existence in the cave.

The rat and mouse bones, with but three exceptions, were all found in the A layer. That two species of rat occur is clearly shown by the character of the teeth, though many of the bones are so young that it is impossible to distinguish which bones belong to which, consequently they are all placed together.

The watervole occurs frequently in barrows,¹ which it makes use of for its hybernacula, probably it visited this cave for a similar purpose, and the black rat and short-tailed field-mouse can hardly be supposed to have been introduced by human agency.

By a reference to the list of remains, it will be seen that the bones of carnivora are in a great minority. The only remains of pine-marten which were found were a humerus, radius, and ulna in contact; they had evidently been covered up whilst the ligaments were intact, for they lay in their natural position; they are of large size, slightly larger than the skeletons usually to be seen in museums, but it is said that the pine-marten, in its wild condition, grows to a larger size. There are no marks of teeth on this specimen, but on the sacrum of a fox, to which a portion of the pelvis was attached, marks of gnawing are clearly seen; this latter specimen was also found in a natural position.

Amongst the ungulata another horse bone has been found to be present; the specimen in question is a metatarsal, and is much broken.

Roe-deer is represented by twenty-six specimens, comprising portions of the pelvis, scapula, vertebrae, and long bones. Its bones are very slightly larger than those of the recent specimen in the British Museum, with which it was compared, and they are more strongly marked with ridges.

¹ *Vide* "Grave Mounds and their Contents." Note on page 16. By L. Jewitt.

A more careful investigation has shown that red deer is but scantily represented, instead of being nearly as abundant as ox. Some of the bones of the two animals are very similar in shape, and, in this instance, in size as well; hence arose the mistake of supposing that red deer was more abundant than it has since proved to be. A metatarsal bone of this animal shows curious indication of human workmanship, the small foramen, which exists on its anterior surface at the upper extremity, having been artificially enlarged, for what purpose it is not clear.

All the specimens, both of red and roe deer, belong to fairly adult individuals.

Of ox and pig a number of bones occur of all ages. The bones of the latter are more fragmentary than those of the former, though in both the skull is much broken up and very meagre in amount, considering the number of animals which must have existed, as is shown by the abundance of certain bones. The calcanea and astragali of the ox show that at least thirty individuals are represented, and probably a still larger number.

The remains of sheep point to a small variety, smaller even than the ordinary mountain sheep of the present day, and on this account are most interesting. They differ but little from those of the ordinary sheep, excepting in their size. Besides this, their leg bones, particularly the metatarsals and metacarpals, are much thinner and more slender, and the ridges on them are more distinct, thus showing that their muscles were much used. The skull shows well-developed horn cores, though only one of the latter in an adult condition has occurred; there are three or four more, younger specimens of skulls, and one in which the horn core has hardly commenced to sprout at all, but no portions of the frontal bone, which carries the horns, have occurred without some sort of horn core; considering, however, the paucity of specimens hitherto obtained, it would be premature to speculate as to whether the female did or did not possess horns. The horn cores are flattened from side to side and slope slightly backwards and outwards.

From the portions of the skull which have been obtained a semi-adult skull has been put together, so as to indicate, as far as possible, the outline of the head, but it is exceedingly improbable, if, indeed, not utterly impossible, that these pieces all originally belonged to the same individual. Besides this, there is a very young skull which probably lay perfect in

situ, but as it was taken out by a workman alone it was much damaged, and the upper jaw is only represented by a few loose teeth which can hardly be connected with the rest of the skull, though the lower jaw is all but perfect.

Lower jaws separated into their two rami are of frequent occurrence, so that a perfect series may be formed of the dentition, from the period when the milk-teeth had hardly come into position to that of the adult; but adult specimens are of very rare occurrence, there being only one that is anything like perfect. The rest of the bones, too, show a considerable proportion of young animals, not so many as a quarter being adult.

At present the remains of some of the bones are so fragmentary that all statements as to their exact size, and a more accurate comparison with the present breeds of sheep, must be deferred till a future date.

The remains of this animal, like those of the ox, are pretty evenly distributed throughout the cave, whilst the bones of pig are almost confined to the B and C layers, only 21 out of a total of 266 occurring in the A layer.

There is but little to remark upon in the bird remains. The first list consists of those the occurrence of which there is no doubt about, whilst in the second list, to which the term doubtful is appended, are placed those which either from their paucity, their fragmentary character, or their lack of any special characteristics, cannot be for certain determined. In both lists the number of specimens is indicated.

Out of a total of 269 specimens of birds' bones, 201 were found in the A layer, and 68 in the B and C layers. These 68 specimens consist almost entirely of pigeons' and starlings' bones. The occurrence of the common fowl is most perplexing;¹ the eight specimens were all found in the A layer, in four separate portions of the cave; perhaps they owe their introduction into the cave to the ravages of a fox, the remains of which animal were previously referred to.

The bird remains, as a whole, are hardly such as would have been

¹ The domestic fowl apparently was known in England at the time of the Romans, *vide* "Cave Hunting," by W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., p. 77. Its occurrence on the Continent has been carried still further back, *vide* "Nature," vol. xi. No. 265, Nov. 26, 1874, p. 71, paper by J. H. Jeitteles.

selected for food, though, at the same time, it must be remembered that inhabitants of caves would not always be in a position to obtain that which was the most agreeable. The presence of buzzard will no doubt account for some of the remains, though not for all; but further considerations on this point must be deferred.

A large number of the rook bones are probably of late introduction, as they were found lying on the surface of the cave and are covered with a green vegetable growth; it is curious that no such growth should be present on any of the other bird bones; it is, however, present on one or two of the mammalian remains.

A very slight examination of these osseous remains led to the conclusion that their presence in the Bourness Cave could not be rationally accounted for, unless their introduction was effected by human agency. To this conclusion the bones, some of which were split longitudinally, others broken across transversely, and many of which were completely charred, undoubtedly pointed. A further investigation has proved that the great bulk of the remains are composed of ox, sheep, and pig; and secondly, that bones which had been subjected more or less to the action of fire are even more abundant than was previously supposed to be the case. Further than this, specimens of bones occur which show that the inhabitants of this cave must have been in possession of weapons of considerable cutting power, though no trace of the weapons themselves has yet been discovered. A portion of a deer's antler affords perhaps the best instance of the effects of a sharp cutting instrument. Another and larger portion of antler shows undoubted signs of having been sawn at the base, but in connection with this an interesting point is brought out. It may be seen that the antler was not sawn straight across from one side to the other, but that a considerable portion of its circumference was cut with the saw, and then some force was probably employed to completely sever it from the skull, as is shown by a minute projecting portion of the antler. That such an effect would be produced by sawing the antler first round the circumference and then breaking it off may be readily seen by repeating the experiment upon any piece of stick. The significance to be attached to this fact is, that the instrument employed was not one of great cutting powers, or otherwise the antler would have been cut straight through, and show an evenly cut surface. A piece of wood is often cut

in this way by a child with a small and blunt saw, whilst the carpenter, with a sharp and effective instrument, leaves an evenly cut surface. Marks of a sharp cutting edged tool are also very clear all over this specimen.

Another extremely interesting piece of bone remains yet to be noticed, it shows so many signs of having been cut that it was probably intended for an instrument of some kind, but was afterwards rejected; whether it was lost or was found to be unfit for the purpose for which it was intended, it is of course impossible to say.

In the above paper Mr Bruce-Clarke is responsible for writing the whole of it, the examination of the mammalian remains having been performed by him and Mr Randall Johnson jointly. The remains of sheep came more particularly into Mr Bruce-Clarke's, and those of pig and ox rather more into Mr Johnson's hands; the rest of the remains were examined by Mr Bruce-Clarke alone.

IV.

NOTES ON SOME COLLECTIONS OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM BUCHAN, ABERDEENSHIRE. BY WILLIAM FERGUSON OF KINMUNDY, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.S.E.

The first collection belongs to the Rev. James Peter, parish minister of Old Deer. An axe of yellow flint four inches in height, and rather thick in proportion, and a beautifully shaped celt of greenish blue flint, with a carefully ground cutting edge, are the chief specimens in this collection. The locality of both these is in the hill of Skelmuir.

The second collection contains seven specimens, and belongs to James Cooper, Esq., M.D., Old Deer. In it is a finely preserved stone ball, with six circular disks, rudely carved. The other chief specimens are—A small wedge-shaped cutter of a very close-grained light-coloured stone, highly polished, from Annochie, size $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; a celt of clear yellow flint from Bogingarry, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 2 in.; a lozenge-shaped lance-head of dark grey almost black flint, exquisitely chipped and pointed at both ends, from Annochie, 9 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; a very fine arrow-head of *white opaque* flint

(chalcedony), one of the barbs has been broken off,—this was found at Cortiecrum,— $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; fragment of a broken arrow-head of white semi-translucent flint; the edge is artificially serrated. This is probably one of the single-sided type of cutting instruments.

My own collection contains a number of stone axes, some of them rude and rough, others exquisitely shaped, sharpened, and polished. These have been picked up at various times in the neighbourhood of Kinmundy, parish of Old Deer, and in the neighbouring parish of Slains. One of the specimens is a flint hammer, 5 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. In girth lengthwise $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches and across $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The stone is in its natural state, but two pits are artificially hollowed out, on opposite sides, evidently for fastening it into a knobbed or split stick. So mounted in a strong flexible handle, it would be a formidable weapon. It was found at Kinmundy. Several round stones or balls, which may have been used in slings, or perhaps may be domestic articles used for pounding seeds or grain. There are a great variety of arrow-heads, some barbed, others heart-shaped, lance-shaped, shaped in endless variety of form, together with cores from which the implements have been chipped, and collections of the chippings. One of the larger specimens may be called a flint adze. It is formed of a thin piece of flint, curved in the flat side, with a very finely-ground cutting edge. Whorls are numerous; and beads of a kind of glass, with coloured bands, are occasionally met with.

The gem of the whole collection is now the property of the Society, having been presented to it by Mr James Dalgarno, merchant, Slains, Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot. It is a celt, one of the most beautiful and peculiar I have ever seen, and I rather think unique. It differs from the ordinary type in being strongly ridged—that is, a transverse section shows a triangular shape. The material seems to be a kind of chalcedonic flint, almost passing into chalcedony. It is exquisitely formed and polished, with cutting edges at both ends. It is seven inches in length, and was found at Fernie Brae, Loch Lundie, in the parish of Slains, Aberdeenshire, Mr Dalgarno has furnished me with the following notes on this locality:—

“The Fernie Brae lies near the centre of the moss of Loch Lundie, from which one can see the whole of the boundaries of the parish of Slains.

“There is evidence that at one period it was surrounded by water, that the little island had been inhabited, and that the inhabitants traded with

their neighbours by means of canoes, one of which was found in a pretty good state of preservation, with broken oars, at a depth of several feet, by a party cutting peat in the moss.

“There is also evident proof that they were warriors and huntsmen, in the many weapons they have left behind them, in the shape of stone battle-axes and flint arrow-heads, found in the moss and vicinity.



Polished Celt or Axe-head found at Fernie Brae, Slains, Aberdeenshire.
(7 inches in length.)

“There is abundant proof that they had hunted the deer and wild ox, as many skeletons or separate bones of these animals have been found from time to time, embedded to the depth of 10 feet in black moss. One can easily imagine the skin-clad savage huntsman giving chase to the stag, drawing his bow, and with well-aimed shaft striking his victim, which wounded rushes madly and wildly into the loch, where, after struggling for a time, it becomes exhausted and sinks to the bottom.

"Near to a skeleton of this kind was found a very large well-formed arrow-head by John Kennedy, brother of Philip Kennedy, who was killed by the exciseman in a smuggling raid.

"From time immemorial the Fernie Brae was known only as a covert for foxes, badgers, and birds of prey. Some of the older parishioners to this day assert that it was haunted by goblins and spectres, as they say, disturbed by the eerie cries of the foxes, and the screech of the horned owl. An old man now verging on 90 says, that when a young lad of about 18 he and his master's daughter, a little girl, went bird-nesting there one summer Sabbath morning, and when just in the act of lifting a prize of moorfowl's eggs, they heard an angry growl, which made the blue 'heathen' stones ring. The little girl was alarmed, clung to him for protection, and directed his attention to what she thought was a calf. On looking round, he saw a large grisly monster finding his way into an opening below a large stone. The eggs were left untouched, and both went home at a much quicker pace than they left it. The story is now seventy-two years old, and many during that period, including the writer, have got the advice never to go bird-nesting upon the Sabbath-day.

"In the spring of the year 1830, one William Wildgoose became tenant of the Fernie Brae. He removed the large heathen stones and cairns for building purposes, thus making way for its being trenched and cultivated. It was then that the ferns, foxgloves, and bluebells, that had grown undisturbed for hundreds of years, were uprooted, and the discovery made that the little island had been an ancient burial-ground.

"This was brought to light by removing three moss-clad grey stone cairns, which probably commemorated three chieftain warriors, if one can judge from the war implements in the shape of stone-celts of the finest formation and polish (of which the specimen figured is probably one), and arrow-heads found in rudely-fashioned stone cists. In two of these cists were clay urns containing burnt ashes. There were also human bones much decayed. Unfortunately, the urns were wholly destroyed by the farmer's implements.

"It was reported at the time that Willie had qualms of conscience about disturbing the repose of the long dead, but became reconciled to himself on reflecting that he would not only preserve all the weapons and stones, but dedicate the ground to their memory as a compensation, which

he did as far as was possible by building his house on the site, and forming a large kail-yard, the walls of which are still entire.

"William kept the choicest of the weapons under lock and key, and it was only a privileged few who even got a sight of them. He used some of the flint arrow-heads and perforated flints as charms against witchcraft, by placing them over the doors of his dwelling-house and cow-byres.

"At his death the whole was left as a legacy to his spouse, and it was with much reluctance that she disposed of two of the finest finished stone celts to Lieutenant Paterson, R.N.

"In the spring of 1872 the present tenant trenched some new ground for potatoes at the foot of the brae, and turned up a number of flint flakes, many of which have been preserved. They are very much like those found near the mouth of the river Ythan, and Andrew Jervise, Esq., Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot., is of opinion that they are specimens of the first stage of manufacture.

"Some are of opinion, right or wrong, that there is an unexplored chamber near the dwelling-house, basing such belief on the *difference of sound* in the tread on part of the causeway approaching the door. The tenant may be induced to make an excavation some day, and so settle this question, and perhaps bring to light fresh discoveries."

I hoped to have included in this exhibition a flint-spear or knife, a scraper and two arrow-heads found in June last on the Fernie Brae; but Rev. Mr Morrison of Urquhart, to whom Mr Dalgarno had lent them, sent them to Mr Evans, in whose possession they now are. I wish we could have seen them here, for Mr Dalgarno wrote me that he is convinced that the beautiful chalcedonic celt now on the table, and the *spear-head* $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, are of the same material, and they were also found in the same locality, and the material is of a character which I have not met with before.

Within the last few days Mr Dalgarno has obtained a barbed arrow of "white-pebble," I presume somewhat like the broken one in Dr Cooper's collection already described, which is the only one of that kind of material that I have seen, namely, an opaque white or cream-coloured flint.

The spear-head or scraper mentioned above was found, along with two arrow-heads and the horn of a buffalo or wild ox, embedded to the depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in black moss.

The celt now figured (p. 509) had been found long ago, and carefully

hidden away by the finder. It was rediscovered in November last, wrapped in flannel as black as the sooty rafters, and secreted right above the door of the dwelling-house at Fernie Brae. Rumour says there is another. It will be well watched for, and secured if possible. The likelihood is that this one and the one supposed still to be unrecovered were part of Willie Wildgoose's "find," which he so carefully and superstitiously hid.

The Blackhill flint flakes are found in hundreds. The ground, though levelled now, had at an earlier period been a dry knoll, and the plough, on taking a deeper furrow than usual, brought them to the surface. They were confined to an area of about fifteen or twenty yards in circumference. This would indicate that here, too, there probably was an early settlement of those who made or used these implements. The character of the *locale*, a dry knoll in the middle of an extensive wettish tract, would naturally lead to the choice of a site so suitable. I abridge the following notes from a paper of Dr Longmuir's, published in the "Aberdeen Free Press:"—

"The flakes (*Scottice*, *skelbs*) of flint are evidently of the same kind with the yellow or ochreous flint nodules that are so abundant on the hill of Arnage, at Moreseat, and on the Blackhill near Boddom (I may add also on the hill of Kinmundy, especially on the farms of Blackhill and Bogengarry). The largest of these flints are only two inches in length, the average of the larger specimens being an inch and a half, while the smaller are barely half an inch. In the many visits made to the districts indicated, Dr L. states that he never met with such splinters where the water-worn boulders of flint abound; and thus these chips may be held as conclusively proving that the 'dry knoll' had been the site of a manufactory of arrow-heads, ignorantly called *elf shot* or *elf bolts* by the successors of these manufacturers, who were apparently ignorant of the process of manufacturing them, and made no other practical use of them than to strike a light on a 'fleurish' to kindle their pipes. A practice, which is perhaps not yet obsolete in some districts, and which shows the blindness of superstition, is, that while the manufactured flint is regarded as the *work of the elves*, it is believed that these very elves are repelled and their evil counteracted by the raw material in the form of a naturally perforated flint when suspended in a bed! We have been reminded of this

fret by observing that in two of the specimens now under observation the manufacturer had dexterously chipped a flake off a perforated core, so that the parts on each side of the hole would form the barbs of his arrow-head. One of the specimens is a head almost finished, and many of the others have been brought into a rude triangular form, evidently presenting the rudimentary shape of the head, which might have been done by the apprentices, and then, on the principle of the division of labour, handed on to the more skilful workmen. One is clearly of that form which has always appeared to me (Dr L.) to be the *chef-d'œuvre* of the flinter's art, namely, that in which there springs a projection from between the barbs, in order to be the more securely fastened to the end of the arrow; for in some of those arrow-heads I (Dr L.) have from Ireland there is a depression instead of a projection, and others in our own country are lozenge-shaped, the lower part, however, being more prolonged than the upper. Several of these specimens are prismatical, and two have clearly the appearance of having been broken across, when they were so far on their way to become knives or lancets, some beautiful specimens of which have been got in our fields. The most elaborate in workmanship and beautiful in form that I have seen among our Aberdeenshire flint implements was exactly of the form of the Roman *gladius*, although much smaller in size, thus perhaps suggesting that when implements began to be made in bronze, they were moulded after the shape of the flint tools that they were destined to supersede.

"It may be both interesting and instructive to mention, that when Zipporah is said to have taken a 'sharp stone' and circumcised her son therewith, we are to understand a *flint knife* such as is found in different parts of Europe and Asia, and of which specimens may be seen in collections of Egyptian antiquities. It may likewise be added, that in the Greek translation of the Old Testament it is stated, as part of the 30th verse of the last chapter of the Book of Joshua, that they placed in the grave along with him the stone knives with which he had circumcised the sons of Israel at Gilgal. According to the same custom, considerable numbers of arrow-heads have been found in cists in our own country, together with a number of flakes of flint, of which the warrior might make more should the supply of manufactured heads fail him; from which one might draw the inference that well-finished arrow-heads were of some value at the time they were used either in war or in the chase."

I may mention as a curious circumstance, that so far as a tolerably careful examination shows, no flint nodules are found at or near the spot where the flakes are found so abundantly, nor in those districts where the nodules abound in thousands and millions have I ever met with the flakes. The material used at the manufactories must have been conveyed considerable distances. It would appear that the settlement near the mouth of the Ythan had been of considerable size, for my brother, who visited the spot, told me that the flakes were in such quantity as would have made cartloads. There too, as well as at Blackhills, they are heaped together within a limited area.

The superstitious veneration with which these implements of wrought stone were regarded is by no means extinct yet. This makes it difficult sometimes to obtain possession of them, even when we know of their existence. It is considered unlucky to part with them. The two polished greenstone celts in my collection were obtained for me with great difficulty. They had been handed down (at least one of them) from father to son for nearly a hundred years, and were carefully preserved as charms. The small very dark red arrow-head was in like manner parted with by the old woman who had it with extreme reluctance. It was the first treasure of the kind I got, and was the nucleus of my collection. I have had it for nearly forty years, though all the others are comparatively recent acquisitions.

I heard of an instance of this superstitious feeling so recently as 1872. A man lost his cow, and concluded that it had been shot by a fairy. To make sure, he had the animal opened; and though he could not find the actual bolt, he declared he saw distinctly the hole it made in penetrating the heart of the defunct beast.

The idea they seem to have, and which makes them reluctant to part with the elf-bolts is, that so long as they keep possession of them, they are harmless, as the elves or fairies cannot make use of them; but if the finder permits them to pass out of his own safe keeping, the original owner can resume power over them against him and his live stock.

NOTE ON THE OCCURRENCE OF NATIVE FLINTS IN ABERDEENSHIRE.

The general features of the district are those usually exhibited when the primary or crystalline rocks predominate as the foundation rock.

These are covered with a thick coating of gravels and clays. At one point a patch of greensand, with its characteristic fossils, has been discovered, and over a considerable part of the districts there is an enormous accumulation of water-worn chalk-flints. Running slightly to south of west, there is a ridge of high ground, taking its rise nearly at Buchanness and stretching across the country continuously for eight to ten miles; at its eastern extremity it branches. One of the forks terminates south of Buchanness in the mass of granite called Stirling hill. The other runs north of Buchanness, and may be said to terminate in the granitic escarpment of the Black hills. All along the shore, wherever between these points the rocks admit of a beach, quantities of water-worn flints are found mingled with the other pebbles evidently washed up by the waves. They are also found, although sparingly, on the southern ridge, or Stirling hill. But on the Black hill, and neighbouring hill of Invernettie, the surface is almost covered with them. This ridge, at the distance of about seven and a half miles from the sea at Salthouse-head, attains an inland distance of about five miles from the coast opposite Slains. The flints are met with on the surface at various points along that line. The ridge is bare and moorish, but covered with peat and heather, and this prevents the flints from being accurately traced. At this point, however, seven and a half miles along the ridge, and five miles from the sea, they have been laid bare.

They occur at the extreme verge of the parish of Old Deer, and are principally seen at the farm of Bogingarry, on the lands of Kinmundy. The ridge of hill here trends to the north, coming round again towards the west, so as to expose to the south a deep bay, with a considerable slope to the south. The hill is covered with moss and heather, and is partly planted. The south face of the hill has been under cultivation for the last fifty years. The flints are seen on the surface, commencing pretty far up on the east side of the hollow, and following at the same height the crescent form of the bay, disappear among the heather, which has not yet been removed, on the extreme west. They are in great abundance, covering a space of from twelve to twenty yards in breadth.

About 1830, in cutting a ditch to carry off the surface water from the garden of the farmhouse of Bogingarry, the bed of flints was come upon, and found to be of considerable thickness. The ditch ran from south-

west to north-east, traversing the flint-bed, and a short cross ditch lay in the line of the bed.

When I saw the ditch first it had been open a good many years, and had become partly filled up. It had, however, a singular appearance. It was crossed by the road to the house, and the water-run of the bridge was choked with rounded flints of all sizes. Above the bridge the bottom of the ditch was covered with rounded flints, brought down by torrents. The layer of soil was extremely thin, and below it the ditch was cut through a stiff yellow clay, scarcely a pure clay, more like a yellow clayey gravel, and so hard as to be pierced with difficulty. Except in the bed itself, very few flints are to be seen amongst the clay. The top end of the ditch and the cross one are in the bed. The flints lie closely packed together, embedded in the already mentioned clayey matrix.

Many of them weather when exposed to the air, becoming white, and in some cases they shiver into flakes. When newly taken out of the bed they usually break with a clear fracture, but soon they become hard and lose their facile cleavage. Every one contains some trace of organic remains. I have examined a great many, and rarely missed seeing some indication of organisms; although it is rare to find the fossils sufficiently perfect to make them worth preserving.

In the localities near Peterhead there have been found "considerable variety of the *Echini* family, occasionally entire, but more frequently only small portions of the impressions of these shells are found. Single spines frequently occur, and are distinctly marked. The *Inoceramus*, *Pecten*, and *Terebratula* are very abundant."

Flints are also found on the surface of the hill of Skelmuir, adjoining Bogingarry. This hill is separated from the hill of Kinmundy by a valley and a deep morass, called the Bog of Ardallie. South-westward they are found in great abundance on the hill of Dudwick, in the parish of Ellon. This seems to be their southmost limit. I learn from a paper by Mr Christie of Banff, published in the "Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine" for 1831, that they occur at Boyndie Bay, in that shire, and also in a mass of diluvium covering the high grounds between Turriff and Delgaty Castle. The flints at Boyndie Bay are found strewed along the shore, and contain traces of zoophytic organic remains. Those at Delgaty are likewise characterised by the remains of sponges, &c. The station at the

latter place is ten miles from the sea, and is the highest ground in the neighbourhood. The flints are found, as already mentioned, in a mass of clay cresting the hills. None are found in the hollows, except when washed down by streams.

I am indebted to Mr Salter for a list of upwards of twenty species, which he named from the specimens I have collected at various times. The best specimens are deposited in the Jermyn Street Museum. He has described and figured three as new species.

The other rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bogingarry flints are granite, trap, and limestone. We have northward, white granite at Smallburn; and red at Newton and Greenmyre. The rising ground on which the house of Kinmundy stands is a greenstone trap. Nothing but this was met with in digging the foundations of the house. It was also met with, along with a loose gravel below it, in sinking a well close by to the depth of 46 feet. On further deepening the well, 30 feet of solid rock were gone through. It comes to the surface in the wood behind the house, and is quarried for dykes and drains. In the hollow behind, again at Cassieford, we have a deep deposit of peat. On the south side of the hill at Millhill, granite and gravel; on the north, granite quarried for building purposes. Below Barnyards there is an escarpment of what seems to be mica slate. West from that, all over the hills of Coynach and Knock, there are immense boulders of clinkstone—heathens; as they are called there. These are water-worn and striated; some of them are many tons in weight. Four miles further, at Hythie, limestone resting on granite. North-westward, at Annochie, we have limestone quarried for burning. It is much cut up by veins, dykes, and blocks of gneiss, from which we may gather that it rests upon gneiss. It is impure, containing a good deal of magnesia. Beautiful specimens of calcareous spar are met with now and then in drusy cavities in the rock.

The country presents numerous simple minerals. Many varieties of quartz, such as milk, rose, violet, ferruginous, spongiform, &c., and sometimes very large specimens of rock crystal, are picked up in the fields. Jaspers are common. Veins of antimony are found in the granite, and several varieties of the ores of iron. Manganese in the dendritic form is seen sometimes in the limestone. Crystals of schorl, sometimes of large size, I have often procured from hugo fragments of white quartz. In one

spot there is a quarry of these quartz blocks, some of them of great size. They are not water-worn. I once picked up a piece of granite with numerous small crystals of beryl.

In the peat are found trunks of trees, principally oak, and large quantities of branches of birch and hazel, with nuts of the latter. Not a hazel bush has been seen in the district for upwards of a hundred years; yet in some places, by simply turning over the turf, hundreds and thousands of hazel nuts may be laid bare. The antlers of stags have also been dug up in the district, but not recently.

Standing on the ridge of the hill of Kinmundy, and looking towards the south and east, there is spread out before the eye a wide expanse. Slightly to the north of eastward the ridge is continuous to the sea at Buchanness. Westward it undulates, receding northwards, and again stretching out a promontory to the south. Beyond this there is a gorge narrow and deep, and again the hill rises, stretching away westward and northward, and running out in a series of high grounds by Dudwick towards Turriff and Delgaty, and so onwards to the sea at Boyndie. Between this ridge and the sea, on the east and south-east, there stretches out, from the sort of bay described, a breadth of 5 or 6 miles of level country, presenting inequalities of surface and some rising grounds, but in the main level till it reaches the sea, with a coast line elevated 180 to 200 feet above the sea level. It is over this valley that the calcareous sands (crag) occur. It is near its centre that the greensand lies; and standing, as I have said, on the hill ridge, and marking, as one cannot fail to mark, the band of flint boulders that lines the various bays and promontories near their highest and at an equal elevation, it requires no great stretch of imagination to conceive of the waves of the German Ocean as having once rolled even hither, bearing with them, and depositing on their innermost bounds, the rounded flints that mark their ancient shore.

V.

NOTICE OF EXCAVATIONS IN CAIRNS IN STRATHNAVER, SUTHERLANDSHIRE, IN A COMMUNICATION FROM MR DONALD MACKAY, SKELPICK. BY JOHN STUART, LL.D., SECRETARY.

While engaged in collecting materials for a report to the Rhind Committee in 1866, on the remains in Caithness and Sutherland, which were likely to be suitable for examination, I had the opportunity of examining a group of remarkable chambered cairns in Strathnaver, and have made reference to them in my report. (Proceedings of the Society, vol. vii. p. 296.)

It appeared to me that it would be of importance to ascertain the structural character of the chambers and galleries in these cairns, as well as to discover if any traces of burial still remained.

The remoteness of the place makes it difficult to get the labourers necessary for such work, but Mr Mackay, the farmer of Skelpick, was so good as to undertake it.

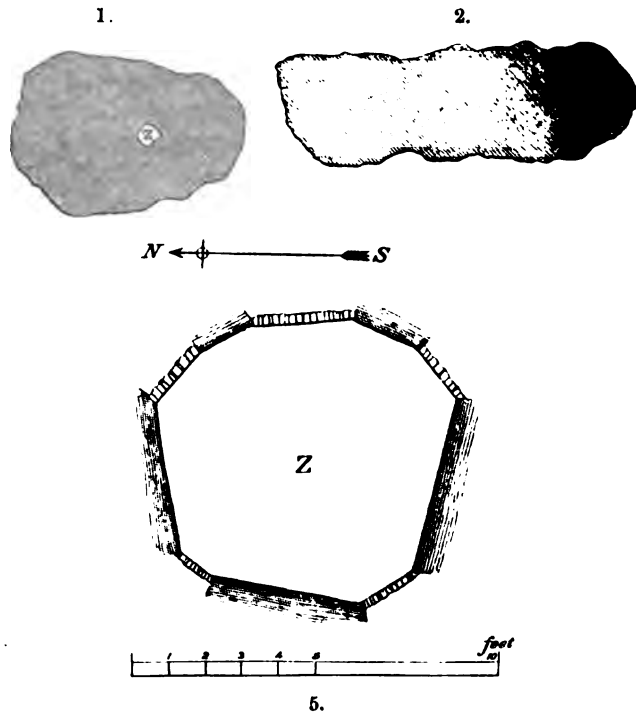
Accordingly, in the month of October 1867, that gentleman sent to me a statement with the result of various diggings which he had superintended, accompanied by sketches of the chambers so far as they had been traced. I then requested Mr Mackay to pursue his investigations somewhat farther, by clearing out the passages or galleries which led to the chambers, and by digging into the ground in both of these with the view of detecting traces of any deposits which might have been made, and then to make careful plans of the whole.

I have not yet heard from Mr Mackay, but I have reminded him of the matter, and in the meantime I submit to the Society the interim report of that gentleman, together with the sketches already made by him.

“SKELPICK, THURSO, 11th October 1867.

“DEAR SIR,—I write to inform you that, in accordance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 13th ult., I employed men to open up the several cairns in this neighbourhood visited by you last year, and regret to say that so far as we have gone we have found nothing.

I enclose you sketches and ground-plans of two of the cairns, along with explanations of the same. We also cleared out the chambers formerly opened in the round cairn to the south of this house, but found



Ground-Plan of the Group of Three Cairns at Skelpick, Strathnaver,

Figs. 1 and 2. Ground-Plans of the First and Second Cairns.

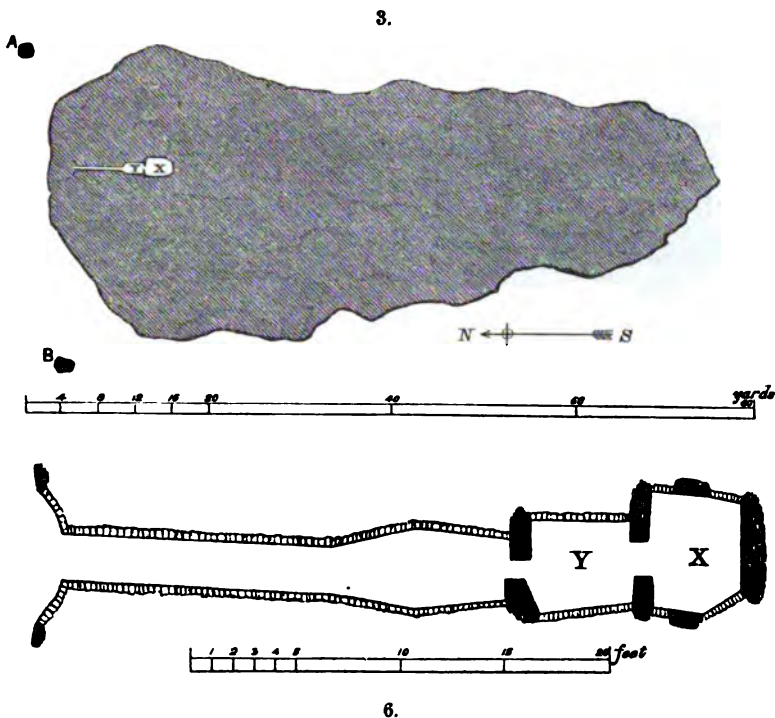
Fig. 5. Enlarged Ground-Plan of the Chamber of First Cairn.

nothing. Having found nothing in any of them, I did not think it proper to proceed farther without first acquainting you.—Yours faithfully,

“DON. MACKAY.”

EXPLANATIONS OF PLANS OF CAIRNS.

Group of three Cairns (see the plans, pp. 520, 521).—This group of



with enlarged Ground-Plans of their Chambers.

Fig. 3. Ground-Plan of the Third Cairn and its Chamber.

Fig. 6. Enlarged Ground-Plan of the Chambers YX in Third Cairn.

A and B are Standing Stones in front of the Cairn.

cairns is situated near the road leading to Skelpick, a little south of the shepherd's house. It consists of three cairns (figs. 1, 2, and 3) in succes-

sion, as shown in the plan on pp. 520, 521. No. 1 was first opened at Z, where a chamber was found about 8 feet deep, some of the stones forming the side being of that height. No entrance was found to it, or if there had

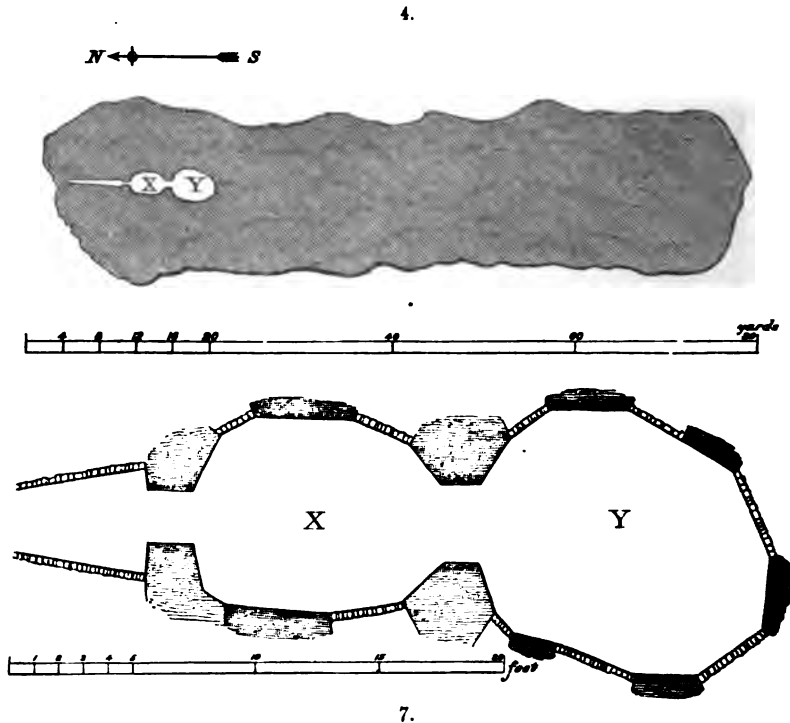


Fig. 4. Ground-Plan of Long Cairn at Skelpick.

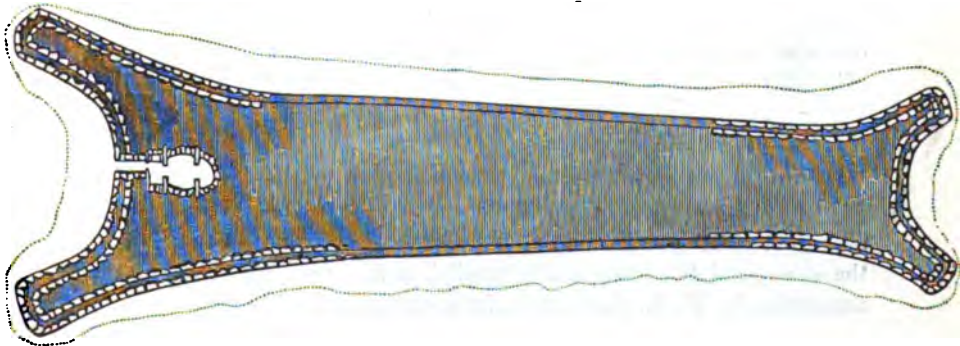
Fig. 7. Enlarged Plan of its Chambers, X, Y.

ever been one, it had fallen in. The southernmost cairn, No. 3, was then opened at the end next the standing stones A, B, and the mouth of the entrance passage, about 2 feet square, was found, which on being followed

up for about 21 feet, led to the chamber Y (fig. 6, p. 521), and thence to X. The height of these chambers is 6 feet 9 inches, and the other dimensions are shown in the plan, in which it is also shown where the wall is composed of single stones, and where it is built.

Cairn No. 4 (see figs. 4, 7, p. 522).—This cairn is situated across the burn of Skelpick on the way up to the broch or dun. The chamber Y had previously been opened by Captain Horsburgh about 13 years ago, and the chamber X has now been opened, in front of which there seems to be the entrance; but as it has fallen in, it could not be followed beyond a few feet. The chambers (X, Y) are about 8 feet high, and are much larger than those in No. 3, the lintel over the opening leading from the one to the other being 9 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches high, and one foot 6 inches thick. As shown in the plans, the cairns as yet have only been excavated for a short distance, beginning at the north end.

[Judging from the form of these cairns, the situation of their chambers, and the crescentic expansion at the entrance (see fig. 6, p. 521), they appear to be a variety of the Chambered Long Cairns, with "Horns," which are as yet known only in Caithness. See the previous paper by Mr Joseph Anderson, on "The Horned Cairns of Caithness," in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 480, from which the annexed ground-plan, showing their peculiar form, is taken.]



Ground-Plan of Chambered Long Cairn, with "Horns," at Yarhouse, Caithness, 190 feet long.

MONDAY, 9th March 1874.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, Esq., M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

After a ballot, the following Gentlemen were elected :--

Corresponding Member.

JAMES DALGARNO, Esq., Merchant, Slains.

Fellows.

JAMES T. HAY, Esq. of Whitmuir.

EDWARD BURNS, Esq., York Place.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By the Right Hon. the EARL of STAIR, K.T., F.S.A. Scot.

A Sculptured Stone, formerly built into the wall of the mill at Dromore, Wigtownshire. This stone is described and figured (as it appeared in the wall) in a communication by Dr Arthur Mitchell in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 582. Its removal, however, has disclosed the fact that it is sculptured on both front and back, and also that part of both edges of the sculptured face represented in the figure (at p. 582 of vol. ix.) had been concealed by the building. (This interesting stone will be further described and figured correctly in a subsequent communication by Dr Mitchell.)

(2.) By the Most Hon. the MARQUIS of HUNTLY.

Cast of a portion of a large Sculptured Slab in the Churchyard of Aboyne, with interlaced ornamentation, and having two lines of an Ogham inscription cut upon it, one running along the moulding on the edge of the stone, and the other nearly parallel to it. (See subsequent communication by W. F. Skene, Esq., for a reading of the inscription.)

(3.) By Mr JOSEPH ANDERSON, Keeper of the Museum.

Tortoise Brooch of brass (similar in form and ornamentation to those

found in Scotland), dug up from a grave-mound of the later Iron Age, in Haukadal, near Christiania, in 1872.

Carved Norwegian Powder-horn, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, obtained with the next in Christiania in 1872. The lower end is fitted with a bottom of wood carved with a geometrical pattern. Two inches below the nozzle there is a collar with two cross bands cut out of the horn for the fastening of the suspending strap. The body of the horn is engraved and carved in low relief with subjects from sacred history and mediæval romance. The different groups are arranged in panels, with inscriptions between each. The centre panel, which is the largest, represents the Temptation in the Garden of Eden. In the centre is the tree of knowledge, with the serpent twining round its trunk, and Adam and Eve on either side. The serpent is represented as bending down towards Eve with an apple in its mouth. Eve has raised her left hand to receive the apple from the serpent, while Adam stands with his hands outstretched in an attitude of deprecation. The inscription is ADAM MAN · EVA KVINDE. In the two next compartments are representations of Daniel in the lion's den and King Theodrik and the Dragon, inscribed respectively, DANIEL and TIDRIG; while below them Samson is represented rending the jaws of the lion. The four compartments round the bottom of the horn contain representations of warriors on horseback armed with round shields and falchions, heroes of the middle-age romances, which were so popular at an earlier period over the whole of Europe. They are inscribed respectively, ROLAND, OLGER, BVRMAN, and OTVL. Above these is an inscription which seems to read: K.V. BERGE ANO 1751.

Powder-horn similar to the last, but flat-sided, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and apparently of considerably earlier date. The subjects of the carvings are for the most part the same, but differently treated. In the centre group we have Adam and Eve at the tree of knowledge as before, but in the present instance Adam is helping himself from the tree at one side, while Eve is receiving an apple from the serpent at the other. The inscription is on the one side of the panel, ADAMEN, and on the other, EVAENMAN. In the smaller panels, as before, we have the figures of mounted warriors, inscribed ROLAN, ENDE, OTEV, GARSJ, KLAR, BVRM; and only one subject from sacred history appears, viz., King David with the harp, inscribed DAVE. On a band running round the middle of the horn is the following

inscription :—HABAR OLAF STRANGSON; and on a band round the bottom, A. LAGMASSON EGEN HANT—which may be rendered respectively, Olaf Strangson possesses (this horn), and A. Lagmanson (made or carved it) with his own hand.

(4.) By Mr ROBERT SPALDING, Schoolhouse, Dun, Forfarshire.
Forty-Penny Piece of Charles II.

(5.) By Mr ARCHIBALD BOYD, 14 Scotland Street.
Small Guatemalan Gold Coin.

(6.) By CHARLES DE FLANDRE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
Proof Impressions of Engravings of Mary, Queen of Scots, from the Miniature by Janet at Windsor Castle, and of the Portrait of Mary from the Coinage of the Period.

(7.) By DAVID LYELL, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
A Forged Guinea Note of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, 1818.

(8.) By the late Mrs Scott, Mansion House Road, through George Sim, Esq., *Curator of Coins*.

Declaration of Liberty of Conscience by King James II. Printed on two leaves folio, 1687.

The Scots Courant, March 14, 1712.

The Caledonian Mercury, January 11, 1724.

Three pairs of Magnifying Spectacles used by the late Mr John Beugo, the well-known engraver, father of the donor.

Burgess Ticket of the Burgh of Hamilton in favour of Mr John Beugo, engraver, 25th July 1810.

Diploma of Admission by the Council of the Royal Company of Archers, dated 26th Dec. 1795, in favour of John Beugo, engraver, with Seal of the Company attached.

Letter of the Earl of Buchan to John Beugo, engraver, as follows :—

“DEAR SIR,—As I think you are entitled to have a place in my series of Scots Artists at Dryburgh Abbey, that you were made known to me by my eminent kinsman, the learned and excellent Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and that you are my ancient acquaintance, I must look to-

wards some rainy Sundays for your portrait painted by yourself on pannel of the *closet size*, 15 inches by 12½, such as you have seen here in my parlour, for which end if you give me leave I will send you a piece of pannel.

“Your Earl of Denbigh will I think justify even in the sight of good judges this mark of attention from, dear Beugo, your well-wisher and obedt. servt.,

BUCHAN.

“EDINBURGH, George Street, 62,

“Nov. 21, 1808.

“Willison’s portrait of you is so like that I should prefer it to be copied.”

(9.) By Rev. THOMAS GREENBURY, Ilkley, Leeds, F.S.A. Scot.

Original Letter to Sir Matthew Blakiston, Lord Mayor of London, anent a Collection for the Poor, dated 9th March 1761, with signature of George the Third.

(10.) By DAVID MASSON, LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh, the Author of the work.

Drummond of Hawthornden: the Story of his Life and Writings. 1873. 8vo.

(11.) By J. M. BEATTS, Esq., the Author.

The Municipal History of the Royal Burgh of Dundee. Dundee, 1873. 8vo.

(12.) By the Right Hon. the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1603–1624.

There were also exhibited by Rev. WILLIAM ROSS, Haddington.

A small collection of Coins, Crucifixes, and Triptychs of Brass, some of which are enamelled and adorned with sacred subjects, &c., chiefly from Kertch.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF AN ORIGINAL INSTRUMENT RECENTLY DISCOVERED AMONG THE RECORDS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY, DESCRIBING THE MIRACULOUS CURE EFFECTED ON A CITIZEN OF ABERDEEN WHILE ON A PILGRIMAGE TO THE SHRINE OF ST THOMAS AT CANTERBURY, DATED 27TH JULY 1445. BY JOHN STUART, ESQ., LL.D., SECRETARY.

In the course of the arrangement of some documents in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, recently effected by Mr J. B. Sheppard, the Instrument to which I have referred was discovered, and having been communicated to me by the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, one of the Canons, I now with his permission bring it under the consideration of the members of the Society of Antiquaries.

The copy which I use has been collated by both these gentlemen, and is as follows:—“Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, Johannes permissione divina prior Ecclesie Christi Cant. et ejusdem loci capitulum, salutem et in sanctorum meritis semper in Domino gloriari. Cum quilibet Christicola divine majestatis cultor de mirifica Dei potentia gloriari tenetur, apostolica sententia sic proclamante, ‘Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur,’ In divine majestatis laude gloriari undique ore et mente profundimus (?) cum in sanctis suis semper est [Deus] operator mirabilis, et in miraculis semper choruscet gloriosus. Unde cum nuper in sancta nostra Cant. ecclesia, tocus Anglie metropoli, grande et nimis stupendum in sancto Dei martire Thoma Cant. per divinitatis potenciam experimur miracolum, [gloriari opus, cum] totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultare nobiscum non cessat, in laudem ejus qui cuncta orbis climata celestibus donis promovet et exaltat. Nam cum Alexander Stephani filius de Abyrden in Scozia natus xxiiii^o annis ab ortu ejusdem pedibus contractis et vermibus perhorridis (cautibus) videlicet in eisdem latentibus miserime laborabat, post votum emissum in loco peregrino beate Dei virginis Marie de Sequit vocato per grandia laborum (?) vehicula cum ceteris impotencium instrumentis super genua debilia ad feretrum sancti martiris Thome iter deflectens, oculis patentibus hominum illuc gloriosus Dei athleta horribilibus cantibus [cautibus?] prius evulsis, bases et plantas ij^o die mensis Maii prox. ante datum presencium [ei] restituit, et continuo posterius per triduum eundem Alexandrum

divina opitulante clemencia terram leviter calcando hinc inde cum gaudio salve ac firmum et sanum abire permisit. Hujus rei gestum verissime cernimus plenissime comprobatum cum dictus Alexander ad sanguinem sanctum de Wylsnake peregre deinceps cum Dei gracia in voti sui supplementum emissi adivit, et demum ad feretrum sancti martiris Thome, deinde cum illius martiris gracia prospere et pedester revererat. Nos igitur gloriosi martiris Thome gloriam sub ignorantie tenebris latitare nolentes, sed super fidei candelabrum ponendo volentes omnino cunctis Christi fidelibus eandem clarescere in divine majestatis laudem, ea que de jure ad perfectionem requiruntur miraculi sub sacramento dicti Alexandri legitime pridem peracto, necnon aliorum fide dignorum testimonio, Alexandri Arat generosi, Roberti filii David, et Johannis Thomæ filii, de opido predicto in Scocia subito quasi divina providente clemencia prefato die mensis Maii in nostra presencia comparentium, juxta juris exigenciam in nostra sancta Cant. ecclesia fecimus solempniter publicari. Unde universitati vestre supplicamus quatinus dignemini Deum laudare in sanctis ejus, et dignis eidem jubilarè preconiiis, qui in meritis sancti martiris Thome Cant. ecclesiam suam unicam sibi sponsam variis choruscantibus miraculis in confusionem heresum et errorum mirifice decoravit. Datum Cant. in capitulo nostro xxvij die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo quinto. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus est appensum." ¹—*MS. c. 1303, in the Treasury of Canterbury Cathedral.*

There are two or three words of doubtful meaning in the document, but its general purport is sufficiently intelligible.

It is an Instrument in the name of the prior and convent of Canterbury, dated at Canterbury on the 27th of the month of July 1445, setting forth, by way of exordium, that every follower of Christ is bound to glorify the wondrous power of God, according to the apostolic saying, "Let him that glorieth glory in the Lord," and that we are bound to celebrate it with mouth and heart everywhere, since God is wonderful in his saints, and shines gloriously in miracles. And since lately, as had been proved by them, a stupendous miracle had been wrought in the church of Canterbury, the metropolitan church of all England, by the divine power, it was right that the whole world should join in the praise

¹ The seal is gone.

of him who exalts and endows with gifts all regions of the earth. Thus, when Alexander Stephenson, born in Aberdeen, a town of Scotland, and of the age of twenty-four years, who from his youth had his feet contracted, and suffered miserably from worms and sores within them, having made a vow to go in pilgrimage to the Shrine of St Mary of Sequet, diverged from his way, and came, carried with much trouble, and supported by other contrivances for the weak, approaching on his knees to the shrine of the holy martyr St Thomas, in the sight of men, the glorious athlete of God having first eradicated the horrible sores, restored to him the use of his feet and soles, on the second of the previous month of May, and thereafter, he for three days dancing on the ground, he permitted him to depart with joy safe and sound. The truth of this they most surely perceived, when the said Alexander, who in supplement of his first vow went to the Holy Blood of Wylsnake, in foreign parts, and had returned prosperously and on foot to the Shrine of St Thomas the martyr. They, therefore, being unwilling that the glory of the saint should be hid in darkness, but wishing rather that it should shine on all the faithful, and having first received the oath of the said Alexander on those things which are requisite to the perfection of a miracle, which was corroborated by the testimony of other worthy men, to wit, Alexander of Arat, Robert Davidson, and John Thomson of the said town [of Aberdeen], who unexpectedly, and as if by divine providence, appeared on the foresaid day of May in our presence. Therefore, we beseech all those present, that they would glorify God in his saints, and proclaim in joyful praise how, through the merits of St Thomas the Martyr, of Canterbury, he hath wonderfully enriched his Church and only Spouse with many shining miracles, in confusion of heresy and error.

This document is the only one of the kind which has come under my notice, although it refers to a religious custom of great prominence and influence in the religious habits of our forefathers. It may excuse a few remarks in farther illustration of early pilgrimages; but, in the first place, I may describe the circumstance which had made the Holy Blood at Wylsnake an object of such popular reverence as to draw its votaries from distant places in the north of Scotland.

The church at Wilsnack, in Brandenburg, had attained its celebrity suddenly in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The church there having been burnt by a robber knight, it was alleged that the priest of the place

afterwards found in a cavity of the altar, three consecrated wafers of a red colour, supposed to be produced by the blood of our Lord. The Bishop of Havelberg and the Archbishop of Madgeburg, within whose jurisdiction Wilsnack was situated, adopted the relation; innumerable cures were said to have been wrought by the miraculous host, by making vows to it; prisoners had obtained deliverance, and combatants had gained the victory in duels; and the offerings of the pilgrims whom it attracted were enough to rebuild the whole village with a new and magnificent church. On a reference by the Archbishop of Prague to Huss and other two commissioners to investigate the alleged miracle, they reported that there was much imposture in it; and Huss set forth a tract in which he combated the popular belief in relics and the craving after miracles, and strongly denounced the frauds of the clergy, who for the sake of money, deluded the credulous people. In consequence of this, the Archbishop forbade all resort from his own diocese to Wilsnack, although the miraculous hosts continued to attract pilgrims, until they were burnt by a reforming preacher in 1552.¹

The idea of pilgrimage arose out of a variety of motives. From the earliest Christian times the "Holy Places" of Palestine presented an object of attraction to devout minds in all lands; and while they were at the outset visited with the view of kindling feelings of devotion and love, and to gratify a reverent curiosity, the pilgrimages thither in later times were made to subserve as well the ends of ecclesiastical discipline, and with the hope of effacing or atoning for crime.

The sentiment which might be supposed to actuate devout pilgrims has been described by Tasso in his "Jerusalem Delivered"—

"Scantly they durst their feeble eyes dispreed
Upon that town where Christ was sold and bought;
Where for our sins he faultless suffered pain,
There where he died, and where he lived again,

"Their naked feet trod on the dusty way
Following the ensample of their zealous guide;
Their scarfs, their crests, their plumes, and feathers gay
They quickly doft, and willing laid aside."

Fairfax's Trans. b. iii. stanz. 5, 7.

¹ The above notice of Wilsnack is taken from Canon Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. iv. p. 233.

In the arrangements of the early Celtic Church in Ireland and in Scotland, we discover many traces of pilgrims. Various notices occur in Adamnan's Life of St Columba, which show that pilgrimages were of ordinary occurrence in his day; and that while at times they assumed the shape of penitential discipline, at others they found their end in the gratification of devotional intercourse with men whose character for saintship had been widely spread.

Thus, on one occasion, an Irish bishop from the province of Munster appeared at Iona as a humble pilgrim, "*peregrinus humilis*," wishing to disguise his ecclesiastical character, and to benefit by the teaching of St Columba as a disciple. But the saint saw through his disguise while at the altar, and invited the stranger to celebrate the communion, saying, "*Benedicat te Christus frater; hunc solus episcopali ritu frange panem; nunc scimus quod sis episcopus.*" (P. 85.)

On another occasion, an Irishman from the province of Connaught, came on pilgrimage to Iona "*ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina*," and was enjoined a penance of seven years, which he performed in one of the many monastic institutions on the island of Tiree.

At the Columbian House of Kells in Ireland, there was a disert endowed with lands expressly for the reception of devout pilgrims.

The earliest vestiges of our Scottish laws recognise pilgrimage as an established institution. Thus one of the assizes of King David I. provides that "*thai men that ar in pilgrimage and at for thar saule hele visitis in haly stedis, our ferme pece thei sal haff in gangand and cumand sa that na man doo to thaim wrang eschewand thaimself that thai contayn thaim leilly [that is to say that thai sall doo na wrang to ger our men doo thaim ony myse.]*

By the 77th chapter of the Laws of the Burghs, it is provided that "*Gif ony man of the Kyngis burgh be passyt in pilgrimage with leyff of the Kyrk and of his nychtburis, in the Holy Lande or than to Sancte James, or till ony othir haly stede for the hele of his saule his house and his meynze sal be in oure lord the Kyngis pece and the bailzeis quhil the tym that God bryng hym hame agayne.*"

By the seventh chapter of *Regiam Majestatem*, it is provided that if a man should be away on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or St James, or Rome, a plea against him should be stayed till his return, unless he absented himself fraudulently or maliciously.

In later times every country in Europe had certain shrines containing relics of saints, to which pilgrimages were made, not only for purposes of devotion or penance, but which were sought by the sick for restoration from disease.

Thus pilgrimages to the Church of St Triduana at Lestalryk, were undertaken by those who had diseases of the eyes. Sir David Lyndsay, in his "Monarchie," describes an image of the saint which was preserved at Lestalryk, and speaks of the pilgrimages of those who came to St Tredwell "to mend their ene."

At times a pilgrimage was the result of a vow after escape from some danger, or recovery from an illness. Thus, in 1435, Eneas Silvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) was sent from Rome on a mission to the King of Scotland, and having embarked at Sluys in the Low Countries, he encountered two terrible storms on his voyage. Being in despair, he vowed a pilgrimage, and on his reaching land, he immediately set out barefoot for the celebrated shrine of our Lady at Whitekirk, in East Lothian. It was in the time of winter, when ice was upon the ground, and the distance was ten miles, so that we may readily believe the statement of the Nuncio, that he never recovered from the effects of his journey, but suffered aches in his joints to his dying day.

The shrines of St Duthac at Tain, and of St Ninian at Whithorn, were in great repute in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and a letter from James IV. to Pope Innocent X., assures his Holiness that pilgrims from England, Ireland, the Isles, and the adjoining countries, yearly flocked to Whithorn; while a charter by the same monarch to Sir Alex. M'Culloch, erecting his place of Myrton into a burgh of Barony, narrates the necessity of providing for the bodily wants of the pilgrims congregating to St Ninian's shrine.

The Treasurer's accounts enable us to understand in how many ways the king's pilgrimages combined the features so vividly portrayed by Chaucer in his Canterbury Tales. Thus, when James IV. set out in October 1504, on his journey to St Duthac, we discover that he was accompanied by his dogs and hawks, with which he enjoyed sport at various places on the way.

When he was lodging at Strathbogy with the Earl of Huntly, he got a payment from the treasurer of twenty French crowns "to play at the

cartis." He had with him four Italian minstrels, and he gave a doceur to the "Piparis of Abirdene," and in Dunotter "to the chield that playit on the monocordis." Moreover, he rewarded "the madins of Forres that dansit to the king; while he had madins that dansit at Elgin, and others that dansit at Dernway."

To his devotions at the shrine of St Duthac the king added offerings of money, which appear in the treasurer's accounts; and we find that organs to be used in divine service were carried in his company, as they were also when the king went in pilgrimage to the Chapel of St Adrian in the Isle of May.

The pilgrimages by James IV. to Whithorn took place once or twice in the year, when he generally had with him a numerous retinue and his minstrels. In the treasurer's accounts we find entries of payments made by him to priests, minstrels, and pilgrims, and of his offerings at the shrine of St Ninian and other holy places at Whithorn. In 1504 he was at Whithorn, and on his way back he met some people who had come from Tain in Ross-shire, and were on pilgrimage to St Ninian's shrine at Whithorn, apparently not contented with their own local saint, St Duthac.

In 1506 the queen was delivered of her son, and had a bad recovery. In order to procure her restoration to health, the king made a pilgrimage from Edinburgh to Whithorn on foot; and after the queen had regained her strength, the king and queen, with a large retinue, passed in pilgrimage to Whithorn, to return thanks at the shrine of the saint.

The passion for pilgrimage was founded in the faith of the pilgrims, but so rooted was the custom in the popular mind, that it survived the overthrow of that on which it was originally based; and while the former, by its sudden collapse, showed the slenderness of the hold which it had come to have, the latter survived for many generations.

The burgesses of Aberdeen were remarkable for their loyalty to the old faith, and manifested their devotion in the foundation of altarages, and gifts of chalices and ornaments, up to the time immediately preceding the Reformation. But no sooner did the storm burst, than they took possession of the religious houses, and resolved to turn them to account for the defence of the liberty of the realm, expelling of strangers, and suppressing of idolatry. They joined the Congregation, and disposed by

roup of the whole silver work and ornaments of their churches, including many chalices, copes, and chasubles.¹

While the faith of the people was thus readily diverted into a new channel, they clung to certain superstitious customs with great tenacity. Among these was the kindling of fires on Midsummer eve, and pilgrimages to wells and sacred places. Against the use of these, by the burgesses of Aberdeen, many enactments occur in the Ecclesiastical Records of the time, in this respect resembling the burgesses of Edinburgh, who were strong in their devotion to St Giles, joining in the annual procession with his image and relic, until the change came, when they threw his image into the North Loch, or as Knox describes it, "that great idol Sanct Geyle was first drowned in the North Loch, after brunt."

Pilgrimages to wells and chapels continued to be the subject of denunciations by the Kirk for many years, and the authority of Parliament was added to them by an Act, dated in 1581, which refers to the "pervers inclination of mannis ingyne to superstitioun through which the dregges of idolatrie yit remanis in divers pairtis of the realme be using of pilgrimage to sum chappellis, wellis, croces, and sic other monumentis of idolatrie, as also be observing of the festual dayis of the santes sumtyme namit their patronis in setting forth of bain fyres, singing of ~~caroles~~ within and about kirkis at certane seasones of the yeir." (Vol. iii. 212.)

These pilgrimages to wells were in certain cases for purposes of devotion, as in the case of Lady Aboyne (recorded by Father Blackhall), who made a yearly pilgrimage to the chapel of our Lady of grace in Murrayland, a distance of forty miles, the two last of which she walked barefooted. In other cases, the pilgrimages were made with the view of recovering the health of diseased children and others, part of whose dress was left in the water, and a small piece of money deposited as an offering. The attempts to put down these and similar practices were numerous and severe, but many of them have survived till recent times, if indeed some of them do not still boast of a few faithful votaries.

¹ Selections from the Eccl. Records of Aberdeen, p. xxvi.

II.

NOTES ON THE RELICS OF THE VIKING PERIOD OF THE NORTHMEN
IN SCOTLAND, ILLUSTRATED BY SPECIMENS IN THE MUSEUM.
By JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

In this paper I propose shortly to notice the remains we have in Scotland which belong to the Viking Period of the Northmen, corresponding to the later Iron Age of the Scandinavian archæologists, and to allude to their bearing on the chronology of Scottish archæology.

During my visit, the summer before last, to the splendid national collections at Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania, my attention was specially attracted to certain classes of relics, of which occasional specimens occur on this side the North Sea. With some of these I had been familiar in the north of Scotland, and with others I had become familiar as specimens in the Museum, which from their special peculiarities did not fall naturally into the series of our Scottish relics.

It has occurred to me that the grouping together of these relics of a peculiar period in the history of our country may be useful in two ways.— We have definite dates which form the limits, in both directions, of their age. If they can be shown to be Scandinavian (I speak of those dug up on Scottish soil), they cannot be older than the last quarter of the eighth century, when the Scandinavian incursions on the Scottish shores begin to be recorded in the Irish and Norwegian annals; while the introduction of Christianity among the heathen Northmen, in the first quarter of the eleventh century, marks the period to which their pagan customs, and specially the custom of cremation, descended in the north and west of Scotland.

I have some hope, also, that directing attention to this group of relics may help to open up an inquiry into the special characteristics of early Celtic and Scandinavian art, as exemplified in the enrichment of their metal work, with the view of enabling us to determine with more precision what is Celtic and what is Scandinavian.

The specific differences, however, between the earlier stone implements of Scandinavia and those of Scotland are strongly marked. The most striking characteristic of our early stone series is the paucity of flint

implements of the larger kinds; while the abundance of these is the most striking feature of the Scandinavian collections. In our Scottish flint finds we meet with none of the long, straight-sided, round-topped flint celts; none of the thick, fusiform spear-heads; none of the finely worked, ripple-flaked flint knives or daggers, with delicately crimped handles—blade and handle admirably fashioned from a single long flake; and none of the crescentic “scrapers” so common in Scandinavia.

Similarly, among our bronze finds we do not meet with a single specimen of the distinctively Scandinavian sword of bronze, with the long heavy blade of nearly equal width throughout, a tang for the handle mounted with a cylindrical grip, having an expanding and flattened ornamental top, like that of our Highland dirks, and a lunated collar grasping the upper part of the blade; none of their extremely graceful, elongated palstaves; and none of their thin, razor-shaped knives, with galley-like ornamentation, and looped handle terminating in spirals. There is also in the Scandinavian collections a marked scarcity of our commonest form of leaf-shaped sword, with flat handle-plate, pierced with rivet holes; as well as of the distinctively British type of bronze spear-head, with loops, or segmental openings in the blade. Neither is there anything on the Scandinavian bronzes strictly analogous to that peculiar style of ornamentation, which in this country has been denominated “Late Celtic,” and of which so many interesting examples have been figured and described in our Proceedings¹ by Dr John Alexander Smith.

Nor have we in Scotland a single specimen of the bracteates, of the cruciform or bow-shaped fibulæ; or of the agrafes or belt mountings; or a single example of the Scandinavian style of ornament, characteristic of the early Iron Age.

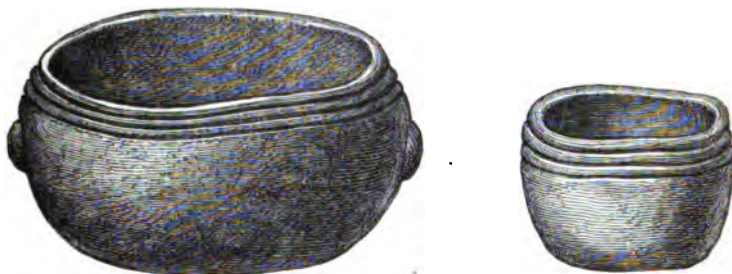
In this respect the archæological evidence is at one with the historical record, inasmuch as it gives no hint of any intercourse between Scandinavia and Britain previous to the later Iron Age, corresponding to the Viking time of the historical period.

In dealing with relics of the Viking Period found on Scottish soil, there is necessarily some difficulty in determining what is purely Scandinavian and what is purely Scottish, arising in some cases from certain forms and styles of ornament being common to both countries. But in

¹ See the Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 236, and vol. vii. p. 334.

this paper I shall confine my remarks to such objects as are shown to be Scandinavian, by their being commonly found in Scandinavia and only rarely in Scotland, and there within the area known to have been occupied by the Northmen.

I. **STONE URNS.**—We have in the Museum a very peculiar class of stone urns, found with burnt bones in them. They are often very large, always made of a soft steatitic stone, sometimes hollowed out of a single block, at other times fitted with a separate piece for the bottom, and usually bearing marks of having been fashioned and dug out with a metal

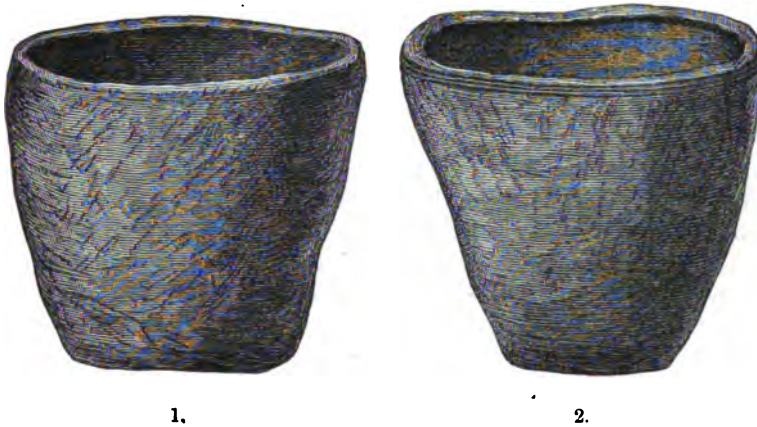


Stone Urns or Vessels found at Aucorn, Caithness
(21 inches and 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter).

chisel. No specimens of these exist in any of the English or Irish collections. Those in our collection are as follows:—

1. Two stone vessels turned up by the plough on the farm of Aucorn, in the parish of Wick, Caithness, and presented to the Museum, in March 1853, by Mr A. H. Rhind. The smaller was enclosed within the larger, and covered with a stone lid, which was broken by the discoverer and thrown away. Unfortunately, the contents were neither examined nor preserved; but Mr Rhind states that it has since been observed that the grain grows richer and greener on the spot where the vessels were turned

up than anywhere else in the field, from which it may be inferred that the spot was the site of an interment by cremation. The larger vessel, which is bowl-shaped, measures 13 inches in height and 21 inches in diameter. It has two handles cut in its sides, and is ornamented round the rim by a double row of incised lines. The smaller urn is of the same form, and similarly ornamented, but without handles. It is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 8 inches high. They were in all likelihood, in the first instance, vessels of domestic use.



1.

2.

Large Stone Urns containing Burnt Bones--(1) Found in a Tumulus at Stennis,
(2) Found in a Cist in Stronsay, Orkney.

2. A large stone urn, found in a tumulus close to the great circle of standing-stones at Stennis in Orkney, and presented to the Museum, in December 1854, by Mr Farrer, M.P. This remarkable specimen, which is here figured along with the one found in Stronsay (No. 11 of this series), is 20 inches high, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter across the mouth, tapering considerably towards the bottom. It has been hollowed out of a single block of steatite by a metal tool, the marks of which are quite visible in the inside of the vessel. It has an incised border round the

outside of the rim, similar to the two vessels found at Aucorn. A considerable quantity of its contents are still preserved with it, and it will be seen on examination that they consist entirely of burnt bones, partially vitrified, and run together into lumps. The barrow in which this stone vessel was found is the "plum-cake tumulus," described by Capt. Thomas in his Celtic "Antiquities of Orkney."¹ It was 62 feet in diameter and about 9 feet in height, circular and flat on the top, the sides being sloped at a high angle. The urn was found in a cist composed of large stones, the side stones being about 6 feet in length, and the end stones about 2 feet long. The interior of the cist, however, was only about 2½ feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. It was not placed in the centre of the tumulus, but nearer to one side, and about 3 feet above the level of the ground. Another cist, containing a clay urn of the usual Celtic form, 5 inches high and 5 inches diameter, was found nearer the centre of the tumulus. I am therefore inclined to think that it was the original interment for which the tumulus was reared, and that the stone urn was a secondary interment in the tumulus.

3. An urn of steatite, somewhat oval-shaped, 11 inches diameter and 7½ inches in height, half-full of calcined bones, found in a tumulus in the island of Rousay, Orkney, and presented to the Museum, in July 1860, by David Balfour, Esq. of Balfour and Trenabie. It is also ornamented round the outside of the rim with an incised band.

4. The broken portions of a large urn, of similar character to those described above, found in one of the cists overlying the ruins of the Broch of Okstrow (*Haugster How*), Birsay, Orkney, which are now in the Museum, having been purchased at the sale of the Kirkwall Museum, and presented to our national collection by David Balfour, Esq., of Balfour and Trenabie, in January 1863. In one of these cists a small fragment of a bronze or brass ring was found; and Mr Petrie states that on the covering stone of another a bird was carved, "described by an intelligent person who saw it as resembling an eagle." Mr Petrie suggests that it may have been a raven.²

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 110; see also Mr Petrie's paper in the Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 59.

² See Mr Petrie's papers in the Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 60; and in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," vol. v. p. 71.

In my paper on the Brochs of Scotland,¹ I have alluded to the interesting fact of a cemetery of short cists overlying the ruins of this Broch, —a fact which has been frequently cited as significant of the high antiquity of the occupation of the Broch. This stone urn is an additional confirmation of the views I have expressed in that paper as to the age of these cists, and I can no longer hesitate to regard them as belonging to the period of the Norse Paganism in Orkney, and consequently dating between the eighth and tenth centuries. Since that time the interesting collection of relics found in the Broch itself has been presented to the Museum by Mr Henry Leask of Boardhouse, by whom it was excavated. Among these were several pieces of red Samian ware. One of these, part of a well-known form of the vessels usually manufactured in this ware, has been mended by clamps passed through small holes drilled in the sides of the vessel. This shows that the inhabitants of the Broch prized the ware, which undoubtedly was rare in the regions beyond the Roman province, and it dates the occupation of the Broch conclusively as not much later than the Roman time; while the people who buried their dead over the ruins of the dwelling in which the Samian ware was cherished as a prized possession, may have been a century or two later still, which brings us down to the period of the early Vikings in Orkney.

5. The fragments of another urn of similar character, found at Birstane, St Ola, Orkney, are also in the museum, presented at the same time by Mr Balfour of Trenaby.

6. A set of fragments, the gift of the same donor, from Sanday, Orkney.

7. The fragments of a similar urn, also from Sanday, Orkney, presented at the same time by Mr Balfour of Trenaby.

8. The bottom of an urn of steatite, found at Lopness in Sanday, also presented by Mr Balfour.

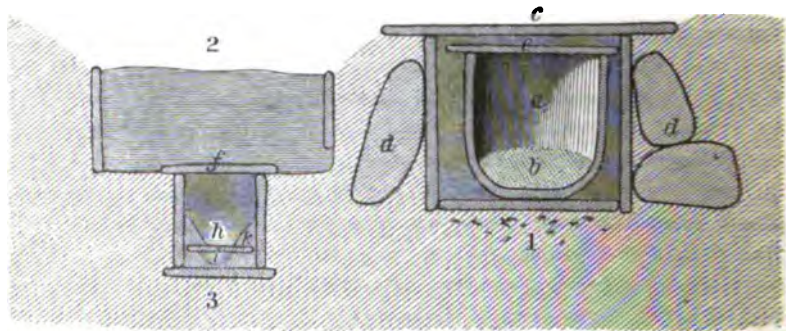
9. In 1855 Mr William Fotheringham, the proprietor of the farm of Newbigging, near Kirkwall, informed Mr Petrie that he had accidentally discovered on his farm a cist containing a stone urn, of oval shape, about 9 inches diameter and 9 inches deep, flat in the bottom, and perforated by three or four holes. When found, the urn had a quantity of ashes and burnt bones in it. It was left exposed, and was smashed by some boys.²

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v. p. 176.

² *Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. 411.

10. The fragments of a large stone urn found in the ground, but without any cist, at "Orem's Fancy," in the island of Stronsay, Orkney, presented to the museum in 1870 by Mr George Petrie, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

11. A large stone urn of an oval form, $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth in the longest diameter, and 18 inches in the shortest, narrowing to 15 inches across the bottom, and 17 inches deep, was found in a cist at Orem's Fancy, in the island of Stronsay, by Mr Petrie,¹ and sent to the museum in fragments. It has been reconstructed, and is figured on page



1. Cist with Stone Urn, Stronsay.—*a*. Urn, seen in section, 17 inches deep.
b. Burnt bones in the urn. *c*. Cist of flagstones, 2 feet square.
d. Boulder stones supporting sides of cist.
 2 and 3. Double Cist with burnt bones, close to No. 1.

539 along with the urn found at Stennis. I have here added a figure showing a section of the cists at Orem's Fancy, as explored by Mr Petrie. The stone urn (*a*) was found in a cist (*c*) about 2 feet square and the same in depth. It was covered by a piece of thin clay-slate, rudely dressed to a circular shape, and was filled to a depth of about half a foot with burnt bones (*b*).

12. Another urn nearly of the same size but thinner and more irregularly shaped, which was found in the same place at the same time, is also in the Museum in fragments.

¹ Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 341.

13. On 19th May 1834, Professor Thomas S. Traill presented to the Society¹ "the fragments of a sepulchral urn, of very large size, found in a small green tumulus in the island of Westray, Orkney. The bottom of it was broken by a pick-axe at the time of the discovery. Its mouth and sides were then entire, but have since been broken. It measured 6 feet in circumference at the mouth. Its form was oval, measuring 2 feet in its widest diameter, and 1 foot 8 inches in another. The sides were 1½ inch thick. The tumulus, near the surface of which it was found, is called Wilkie's Knowe, and is the property of George Traill, Esq. of Holland." On 13th April 1835 there was read to the Society, by Mr M. Paterson, an account of the large sepulchral vase found in a tumulus at Westray, Orkney, and presented to the Society by Dr T. S. Traill.²

14. In the month of August 1863, when some excavations were being made on the summit of a hill called the "Meikle Heog" (*Mikill Haug*), near Haroldswick, in the island of Unst, Shetland, for the purpose of planting a flagstaff as a fishing signal, "the labourers broke into a place of sepulture bounded about with large upright flagstones, and enclosing a large number of human skulls and bones."³ The attention of the late Mr Edmonston of Bunes was attracted to this discovery, and further excavation brought to light another "narrow chamber," similarly formed with upright slabs, and covered by a lintel slab about 3 feet long and 1 foot wide. Unfortunately there is no record of the dimensions of this chamber. In it were found a human skull, some bones of the ox, and six "urns" or vessels of steatite. They were of different shapes and sizes, as follows:—⁴

(1.) A flat-bottomed pot, with irregularly formed sides, 5½ to 7 inches in height, rudely bulging, and having an unsymmetrical four-square outline. (This form is well known in Norway.) Mr G. E. Roberts, who describes these vessels in the "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society," says of this one—"It is cracked and blackened externally from the action of fire, and seems to have been an ordinary boiling pot of the tribe."

¹ MS. Minutes of the Society's Proceedings.

² "Archæologia Scotica," vol. iv. App. p. 26.

³ In one of the graves opened on the Meikle Heog (but it is uncertain which) two beautiful circular bronze brooches of the Scandinavian form were found. They are now in the museum at Lerwick.

⁴ "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London," vol. i. p. 296.

(2.) A tolerably symmetrical four-square vessel, thinner and more carefully shaped, flat bottomed, with slightly bulging lip. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $5\frac{1}{4}$ in width, and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, tapering till the base presents an area of $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width.

(3.) A rude thick vessel, of the same form, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and the same in width.

(4.) A wide tub-shaped pot, oval in the rim, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide.

(5.) An oval-shaped vessel, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 3 inches broad, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

(6.) A neatly-shaped vessel measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 4 inches in width, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, tapering to a base of 2 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is ornamented by two indented lines scored round it underneath the rim.

15. In February 1829, a portion of a vessel of steatite, found in a stone cist in a tumulus on the island of Uyea, Shetland, was presented to the Museum by William Mouat Cameron, Esq. In his letter to the Secretary (read to the Society, March 23, 1829), he states that the discovery was made in 1821, and that six urns, filled with human bones and ashes, were found in the tumulus. It is thus referred to by Dr Hibbert:¹—"On landing at Uyea, I learned that a barrow had been recently opened which contained urns of an interesting description. One of these I had indeed seen, when I was on a visit to Mr Leisk of Lunna. It was a well-shaped vessel, that had been apparently constructed of a soft magnesian stone, of the nature of the *Lapis Ollaris*. The bottom of the urn had been wrought in a separate state, and was fitted to it by means of a circular groove. When found it was filled with bones partly consumed by fire. The barrow was most probably of Scandinavian origin."

16. Four or five pots or vessels of stone, presumably of the same form and character, were found at Quendale, Shetland, in 1830, along with the silver armlets and Anglo-Saxon coins of Ethelbert, Athelstane, &c., as subsequently to be noticed. They were not preserved.

17. There are in the Museum a number of fragments of steatite pots or

¹ Hibbert's "Shetland," p. 412. Other two are described by Dr D. Wilson in his "Prehistoric Annals," vol. i. p. 205. A portion of a sculptured stone which covered a steatite urn in Uyea is in the Museum (see Proc. vol. vii. p. 425), it was found at Stackaberg in digging stones for the Manor House of Uyea. A number of steatite urns, containing burnt bones and ashes, were found.—*Journal of Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. xix. p. 312.

vessels dug up in the island of Unst, as noticed in the communication by the late Mr Thomas Edmonston of Bunes in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 284. They were found in two ancient burying places in that island called Bardle's (St Bartholomews?) Kirk and the Runie¹ of Valsgarth (from the Old Norse *hraun*, a heap or cairn), and when found were filled with burnt bones.

These instances from Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, the old home of the Scandinavian Vikings—may suffice to show the character of these peculiar stone vessels accompanying interments of the heathen time.²

Up to the time of my visit to Scandinavia, I believed that this was merely a variety of our Scottish sepulture after the cremation of the body, in which the clay urns, which are its usual accompaniments, had given place to those of steatite, from local circumstances. I had been puzzled, however, to account for the occurrence of these steatite "pots" in the brochs and ancient burial mounds of Caithness, where there is no native steatite to be found; but, when I went to Christiania, I was surprised to find in the Museum there a large number of similar steatite urns, all filled with burnt bones, sometimes with an iron sword bent three or four times on itself and laid above the bones. Many of these stone vessels had iron hanks riveted round their rims, and iron bow handles hooked into them exactly as the handles are hooked upon our culinary pots. I said to Professor Rygh, the Curator of the Museum, "these must have been culinary pots, and yet they seem to have been used as cinerary urns." "Oh, yes," he said, "we are constantly finding them so used in our grave-mounds of the later Viking period."

I have noted from Nicolaysen's "Norske Fornlevninger" a large number of instances of their occurrence in Norway, of which it may be useful to cite the following:—

1. At Thorshof, in the parish of Gjerdum, and district of Akershus, there are many burial mounds. In one of these, in the year 1837, there were found a

¹ Compare with this the "Rune Pictorum" of the charter of Alexander II. of the lands of Burgyn, Morayshire, to the monks of Kinloss, which is glossed as "the Carn of the Pechts Fieldis," and the Runetwethel of the same charter.—*Regist. Moraviense*, App. No. 4, and *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, Preface, p. xxvii.

² Many more examples might be adduced both from Orkney and Shetland. Mr Petrie has a number of these steatite urns with their contents in his collection at Kirkwall. Wallace notices one as having been found in Stronsay before 1693.

spear-head, two axe-heads, two stirrups, and two bridle-bits, all of iron, and a vessel of steatite, with the remains of its iron handle. The vessel had ashes in it. (*Norske Fornlevninger*, p. 50.)

2. At Hof, in the district of Hedenmarken, round the church are several grave-mounds. In some of these there were found, in 1842, four axe-heads, three spear-heads, fragments of two double-edged swords, a pair of stirrups, two bridle-bits, ten arrow-points, a fire-steel, fragments of a shield-boss, a ring, a kind of pincers, and other fragments, all of iron, along with two vessels of steatite, the one having an iron handle, and the other containing burnt bones and oxidised iron fragments. (*N. F.* p. 57.)

3. In the neighbourhood of Gunnarsby in the district of Jarlsberg and Laurvik, there were found in 1859, in a small stone cairn, among charcoal and ashes, a single-edged sword, an axe-head, a spear-head, a shield-boss, and a double axe-head, all of iron, with a ring-brooch of brass, a bead of opaque glass ornamented with yellow streaks, and a vessel of steatite. (*N. F.* p. 200.)

4. At Thioto, in the district of Nordland, there were found, in 1828, in a stone-chamber occupying the centre of a grave-mound, an axe-head and spear-head of iron, the skeleton of a man in a sitting position, and, at his feet, a vessel of steatite, wherein lay one of a set of long-shaped dice of bone, with circular marks for the numbers 3, 4, 5, and 6 on the four long sides (see p. 547), and ten globular bone table-men, each having a hole bored from the under side to the top, and also an oxidised sword of iron. (*N. F.* p. 677.)

5. At a place called Kjæmpenhaug (the grave-mound of the Kemp or Warrior, *Eng.* champion), in the parish of Sortland in the same district, there were found in a grave-mound, in 1863, the skeleton of a man, with a two-edged sword and a single-edged sword, a knife, fragments of two other knives, two-spear heads, two axe-heads, a palstave, and a dagger-blade, all of iron, fragments of the sword-scabbard, and pieces of a vessel of steatite. (*N. F.* p. 691.)

6. In the parish of Stokke, district of Laurvig, there are two groups of grave-mounds, one consisting of thirteen large and small circular mounds, and the other of eleven round and three long mounds. In one of these large long mounds there was found a brass brooch, having its upper part expanded into an oblong quadrangular plate, rounded off at the corners, a bowl-shaped brooch of brass, and the fragments of a large vessel of steatite. (*N. F.* p. 770.)

7. In a circular grave-mound at Gaarden, Ostre Alm, Hedenmark, there was found an urn or vessel of steatite with remains of its iron handle, a two-edged sword contorted and broken into three pieces, a bent spear-head of iron, an iron axe-head, two shield-bosses of iron, a bridle-bit, a pair of stirrups, a strap-buckle and two iron tags, a portion of a comb of bone, pretty long and toothed only on

one side, made of small pieces of bone held between two slips of bone rivetted together, two hemispherical table-men of bone, and a small figure in bone of an animal resembling a dog. In the urn lay ashes. (*Foreningen for Norske Fortidsmindesmarkers Bevaring*, 1866, p. 88.)

8. At Nordby Sagbrug, Akershus, there were found in a small low grave-mound, the pieces of a bowl-shaped urn of steatite, 7 inches diameter, in which were ashes and burnt bones, and along with it a two-edged sword of iron, the blade $30\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, a spear-head, an axe-blade and other iron relics. (*Foren. for Norske Fortids. Bev.*, 1867, p. 49.)

9. At Elset, in Solum parish, province of Bratsberg, there was found a bowl-shaped urn of steatite of the kind so commonly occurring in graves of the later Iron Age. It had an iron hank round the rim and an iron bow-handle, and was full of burnt bones. (*Foren. for Norske Fortids. Bev.*, 1868, p. 115.)

The foregoing instances of the occurrence of these steatite vessels in Norwegian grave-mounds, will be sufficient to show how common they are, and the details of the articles found with them will serve to illustrate the character and accompaniments of a Norwegian burial of the Viking Period or the later Iron Age.

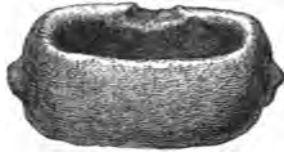
In No. 4 (given above) we find in the steatite pot, placed at the feet of the warrior, sitting in his stone-chamber, one of the set of dice with which he beguiled his leisure. It is of peculiar form, but a form which is characteristic of these interments, and belongs to the Viking time. Part of a set of dice of this peculiar form is in the collection from the Broch, or Pictish Tower of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney; presented to the Museum by Dr William Traill. One of these is here figured, and so close is its resemblance to those found in the Viking grave-mounds of Norway, that there can be little doubt that it belongs to the period of the Norwegian occupation of Orkney. In the same Broch of Burrian, the fragments of a very large steatite pot were found, which are now in the Museum. It differs in no respect from those found in cists with burnt bones in them. The natural inference is that, the latter



One of a set of dice of the Viking time found in the Broch of Burrian.
(Actual size.)

though used as cinerary urns, were in the first instance utensils of domestic use.

In the Broch of Mousa (which is recorded to have been twice occupied by Northmen¹), there was found a circular vessel of steatite, and, in a similar structure at Brough in Shetland, there was found an oval pot of steatite with handles at the ends. An almost exactly similar pot of steatite also, with handles, is figured in "Foren. til Norske Fortids. Bevaring, Aarsberetning for 1871," plate iv. It was found with a double-edged sword of the later Iron Age, in a grave-mound at Mogenes in Akershus.



Stone Vessel found at Brough,
Shetland.
(12 inches long.)

A vessel somewhat resembling the one noticed above, but probably of later date, was dug up in Unst, and sent to the Museum along with the urns obtained at Bardle's Kirk. It was found in what Mr Edmonston supposed to be the remains of an ancient habitation, and it is here figured as a specimen of a domestic vessel of steatite, for comparison with the sepulchral. It is clear, however, that those found with burnt bones in them, were, in the first instance, vessels of domestic use.



Stone Vessel dug up in Unst,
Shetland.
(17 inches long.)

In the Sagas we have historical evidence of the use of stone pots for culinary purposes in the Viking time. In the account given of the battle of Stiklestad (A.D. 1030), in the Saga of King Olaf the Holy, we are told of one of the warriors who was hit by an arrow, that he was brought to a nurse-girl to be tended, and her *modus operandi* is thus described:—"Now she had stirred together leeks and other herbs and boiled them in a *stone-pot*, and of these she gave to the wounded man to eat. By this she discovered if the wound had penetrated into the cavity of the belly; for if the wound had gone so deep, then it would smell of

¹ See the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v. p. 158.

leek"—a rough, but, on the whole, a rather useful diagnosis in those days of rough and ready treatment.

From an examination of the circumstances in which these stone urns are found in the Viking grave-mounds of Norway, and the relics with which they are usually associated, I come to the conclusion that the steatite pots and urns found in Scotland (which, be it observed, are confined in that country to the area occupied by the Northmen), are probably of the Viking time; and they are interesting to us as suggestive of the existence of cremation in one portion of Scotland so late as between the close of the eighth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. When I was in Orkney last summer, I saw, in Mr Petrie's collection, a fragment of one of these urns which I could have no hesitation in regarding as Norse, for it had still the remains of the iron *lug* which held the bow of the pot riveted through the stone.

In the grave-mounds of Norway these steatite pots are found associated with the group of objects which marks the Norse occupation of the north of Scotland, the peculiarly-shaped sword, tortoise brooches, bone dice of a peculiar form, cut from the middle of a sheep-shank bone, and long round-backed combs—all articles which only began to be brought over to this country by the Vikings in the end of the eighth century.

II. TORTOISE OR BOWL-SHAPED BROOCHES.—This strikingly peculiar class of relics has a special interest as illustrative of the style of that purely Pagan art, which flourished in Scandinavia even after the rest of Europe had been leavened with the refining influences of Christianity.

The following specimens have been found in Scotland:—

1. The fine brooch here figured is one of a pair found at Castletown, Caithness, in 1786. It is noticed in the list of donations to the Museum for the year 1787, printed in the Appendix to the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. iii. p. 61, as one of several articles presented by James Traill, Esq., among which were:—

"Two oval brooches of copper gilt, embossed and decorated with rich carvings, each surrounded with a double row of silver cord near the edge, with an iron tongue on the hollow side, much corroded; the length of each brooch, 4½

inches, the breadth 3 inches. These were, in September last (1786), dug out of the top of the ruins of a Pictish house in Caithness, lying beside a skeleton, buried under a flat stone with very little earth above it."

One of this pair of brooches was given to Mr Worsaae, on his visit to Scotland, along with other Scottish specimens, in exchange for representative specimens of Danish antiquities; and I had no difficulty in recognising it in one of the cases of the Museum at Copenhagen.

The notice of the interment with which these brooches had been deposited states that it had been made on the top of one of the mounds covering the ruins of a Pictish broch. This is what we should expect of



Tortoise or Bowl-shaped Brooch, found with a Skeleton at Castletown, Caithness.

a Norwegian burial of the period when a "how" or mound was always selected or made for the interment.

The specimen here figured belongs to a class of these oval brooches common in Norway, and still more frequent in Scania in Sweden. The pattern is nearly always the same, though with slight variations in the details. The centre of the brooch is occupied by a bold ornament resembling a crown, and the four ornamental bosses below it are shaped like horses' heads. The body of the brooch is double, the lower shell being highly gilt, and the pierced upper part has been ornamented with silver chains laid in the

channels dividing the ornament into compartments, as is still seen in the case of the Tiree brooch, to be subsequently noticed. The "double row of silver cord near the edge," mentioned in the description of the brooch in 1787, no longer exists.¹ In this case the brooches were associated with an unburnt burial.

2. Another pair of these oval brooches from Caithness were found in a short cist on the top of a mound of gravel, called the Longhills, a little below the Broch of Kettleburn, near Wick, in 1840. Though in a very fragile condition, they have been carefully preserved by James Henderson, Esq. of Bilbster, on whose farm of Westerseat they were found, and by whom they were exhibited at the Archæological Exhibitions at Edinburgh in 1856 and at Aberdeen in 1859. In consequence of my inquiries after them, through Mr John Cleghorn of Wick, Mr Henderson has generously presented them to the National Museum of the Society, in order to secure their permanent preservation as part of the series of relics



Tortoise or Bowl-shaped Brooch, found in a cist in the Longhills, Wick.

illustrative of this interesting period. They are both formed of double plates, the upper being secured to the lower by small rivets, and the twisted chains of fine silver wire which filled the channelled depressions

¹ Worsaae figures, in his "Nordiske Oldsager" (1859), fig. 423, a brooch of this oval form with a twisted silver cord round the edge.

in the pattern of the upper shell are still visible in some places. The brooches are different in pattern. One is similar to the Tiree brooch figured on p. 560. The other, which is here figured, differs from all the Scottish specimens in having eight bosses of open work arranged round the central boss.

3. A single brooch of the oval bowl-shaped form found in a grave on the Links of Pierowall, Westray, and presented to the Museum in June 1851 by Mr William Rendall. It is thus referred to in the Donation List: "A bronze oval brooch, ring-brooch, and various iron relics, including a hatchet, spear-head, and portion of the umbo of a shield,—all found in one of a remarkable group of graves on the Links of Pierowall, Westray, Orkney; also a male human skull from the same grave."



Bronze Bowl-shaped or Tortoise Brooch found in a grave at Pierowall,
Westray.

The interesting group of interments from which this brooch came, consisted of several graves surrounding a tumulus situated at some distance from the sea, near the head of Pierowall Bay.

(1.) In one grave, in a cist formed of large stones, there was found the skeleton of a man lying on the left side, with the head to the north, the knees drawn up to the chest and the arms crossed on the breast. At the head was an iron shield-boss; on the left side an iron sword, nearly 4 feet in length. A whetstone, a comb, and some glass beads were found in the cist.

(2.) In another grave of the same group there was the skeleton of a woman, with the head to the south. On the breast lay a pair of oval shell or bowl-

shaped brooches, and between them, but lower down, one of the trefoil or clover-blade-shaped ornaments which so commonly accompany these brooches in Norwegian graves of the Viking time.

(3.) In a third grave of this group another pair of oval bowl-shaped brooches were found, and also two long combs with semi-circular backs, one of which lay above each shoulder. These brooches and combs passed into the possession of Mr Crofton Croker, and were subsequently acquired by Mr Bateman, in whose museum, at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire, they are still preserved.

(4.) A fourth grave of this group contained, with the skeleton, a pair of oval brooches, a bodkin, and a pair of long combs, one of which is here figured.



Comb found, with two Oval Brooches, in a grave in Westray.

It is uncertain to which of these interments the brooch in the Society's Museum belongs, or whether it belongs to any of them. It may have been found in a subsequent excavation, of which we have no record. It is, however, very much of the same style as the one figured by Mr Bateman,¹ and is formed of a single plate, as all the three pairs found in Orkney appear to have been. They are poorer in design and more coarsely finished than those found in Caithness and the Western Isles, and this seems to suggest that they may have been manufactured in Orkney, while the others may have been brought from Norway. Similar brooches of a single plate, however, are not unfrequently found in Scandinavia, and one of the same pattern as this Orkney one, dug up at Sundal, Nordmore, Norway, is figured in the set of photographs of the Christiania collection presented to our Library by his Majesty the late King of Sweden, who was an Honorary Fellow of this Society.

¹ Mr Bateman's figure is reproduced in Dr Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals," vol. ii. p. 305.

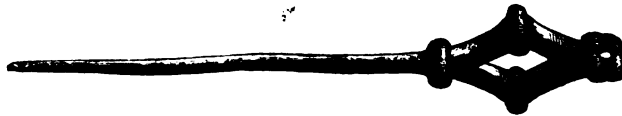
4. A pair of these brooches were found in a grave near Dunrobin, in Sutherlandshire. The under shells of them are now in the Duke of Sutherland's museum at Dunrobin Castle.

5. A brooch found at Ospisdale, in Sutherlandshire, is in the possession of Mrs Gilchrist, Ospisdale House.



Bronze Bowl-shaped or Tortoise Brooch found in Islay.

6. A pair were found in the island of Islay, and presented to the Society's Museum, in May 1788, by Colin Campbell, Esq. of Ballinelly. They are thus noticed in the Donation List:—"Two ancient oval brooches of brass, embossed and decorated with rich carvings; the length of each brooch $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the height, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch."



Bronze Pin from Tiree.

7. One of a pair found in the island of Tiree was presented to the Museum, in June 1872, by the late Rev. Dr Norman Macleod. Nothing further is known concerning the circumstances of their discovery than

that they were found in a grave along with the peculiarly-shaped and massive bronze pin here figured. (See also p. 560.)

It is noticed in the "Old Statistical Account of Tiree" that, in digging at Cornaigbeg, there were found, at different times, human skeletons, and nigh them the skeletons of horses. Swords were found diminished with rust; silver work preserved the handles; there were also shields and helmets, with a brass spear.

This brooch measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height. It is double, the under part having a flat rim with a band of lacertine ornamentation in panels. The plain portion of the under shell has been gilt. The upper shell has a raised boss in the centre, pierced with four openings. Two similar bosses are placed at the extremities of the longer and shorter diameters of the oval, and half way between each pair of these bosses there are spaces for beads or studs, four in number, which have been fastened on by rivets of brass, one of which still remains *in situ*. From the central boss to the other bosses there are channelled depressions in the metal, in which are laid three rows of a small silver chain, formed of two strands of a very fine wire twisted together, and forming a double diamond figure on the oval surface of the brooch.

On 15th March 1847, a notice of a similar brooch, found in Tiree, was read to the Society and the brooch exhibited by Sir John Graham Dalzell. It is described as "resembling, to minuteness, several in the Museum," and, as these brooches usually occur in pairs, it was probably found with the one presented by Rev. Dr Macleod.

8. A pair were found by Commander Edge in a grave-mound in the island of Barra. The mound had a *bauta-stein*, 7 feet high, standing on the top of it. The skeleton lay with the head to the west, and along with it was an iron sword, with remains of the scabbard, a shield-boss, and remains of the shield, a whetstone, the two brooches, and a comb 8 inches long.

9. A single brooch, one of a pair, closely resembling those from Pierowall, is figured in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. ii. pl. xx.:—"It was found, together with a brass pin and a brass needle, one on each side of a skeleton, in the isle of Sangay, between the isles of Uist and Harris." It is stated that "the fellow of it is in the British Museum."

10. A pair, found in St Kilda, are preserved in the Andersonian

Museum, Glasgow. One of these is figured in a paper by Mr J. J. A. Worsaae, entitled "Nordeuropas Tidligste Bebyggelse og Kulturudvikling" in the "Aarboeger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed" for 1873.

11. Two oval bowl-shaped brooches, now in the museum at Lerwick, were found at Clibberswick, in the north end of the island of Unst, Shetland, along with a trefoil brooch, ornamented with dragons, whose feet twist under and grasp parts of their bodies. The trefoil brooch closely resembles one found in Denmark, and figured in the "Memoires de le Soci  t   Royale des Antiquaires du Nord" for 1840-44. Along with them were found a plain silver bracelet and two glass beads, ornamented with twisted streaks of white and blue. This pair of tortoise brooches had the usual mark of cloth on the inside of the inner shells. A notice of them by James T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot., is given in the "Journal of the Arch  ological Association," vol. xix. p. 313.

Martin probably mentions another pair in the following notice:—"There was lately discovered a grave in the west end of the island of Ensay (between Barra and Harris) in which was found a pair of scales made of brass and a little hammer,"—probably a "Thor's hammer."—*Western Islands*, ed. 1716, p. 50.

Thus we have notices of the occurrence of fourteen pairs of these brooches in Scotland, viz., one pair in Shetland, three in Orkney, two in Caithness, two in Sutherland, and six in the Western Isles,—twenty-six specimens in all, of which only eight have found their way to the Museum.

We have in the Museum, however, one specimen from Norway, dug up from a grave in Haukadal near Christiania, one from Denmark, and one from England. The English specimen is one of a pair found on the breast of a skeleton which was discovered near Bedale, Northallerton, Yorkshire, some years before 1848. The other brooch of the pair is engraved in the "Arch  ological Journal" for November 1848 (vol. v. p. 221). It is there described as having been found only one or two feet below the surface, with a skeleton, the breast of which had been transfixed by a long spear-head. No other remains were found with it.

In Norway these tortoise brooches are associated with the urns of steatite formerly mentioned, and with burial by cremation, as well as with unburnt burials. It may be interesting to cite a few examples of

their occurrence in connection with cremation as illustrative of the prevalence of this mode of burial to the comparatively late period which is characterised by this peculiar form of brooch:—

(1.) A pair of oval bowl-shaped brooches, and a clover-blade-formed brooch, and two bronze bracteates, were found in 1870, in a long grave-mound in Tornbek Gaard, along with the fragments of a steatite pot or urn of the usual form. The oval brooches were double-shelled, having a large knob in the centre, and around it four others in the shape of animals' heads. The brooches seem to have been in the fire. (*Foreningen for Norske Mindesmaerker's Bevaring*, 1870, p. 80.)

(2.) An oval bowl-shaped brooch of bronze, double-shelled, was found, with some small articles of iron and burnt bones, in a small round grave-mound in Romsdal parish, Hedenmarken. (*Foren. for Norske Mindes. Bev.*, 1873, p. 69.)

(3.) An urn or pot of steatite of the usual form of the later Iron Age, which had been clamped with iron, and an oval bowl-shaped brooch double-shelled, were found in a round grave-mound at Bringsvaa in Nedenes, with the bones of a horse. In the stone pot were burnt bones and a dozen round brass knobs like buttons. (*Foren. for Norske Mindes. Bev.*, 1873, p. 73.)

(4.) In case 96 in the Museum at Stockholm, there are six oval bowl-shaped or tortoise brooches, each of a single plate, and one pair of double-plated brooches, which were found in 1866 along with fragments of clay urns and burnt bones, and among them two spear-heads of iron and some glass beads, in a grave-mound at As-Husby in Uppland, Sweden.

(5.) In case 100 in the same Museum, there is a pair of these oval brooches, a trefoil brooch, and three spear-heads of iron, which were found, in 1855, among ashes, charcoal, and burnt bones, in a grave-mound at Tanno, near Jonkoping, Sweden.

These instances are sufficient to show the association of the oval brooches with the custom of cremation, though they are much more frequently found with unburnt burials.

The brooches themselves have, moreover, a technical interest to the student, on account of the story they have to tell of the ancient processes of manufacture.

And first as to the material. We have no analyses of the Scottish specimens, but in Scandinavia it has been found that the metal of which they are composed is not bronze but brass. It is characteristic of the

relics of the earlier bronze period, that the alloy of which they are composed is one in which copper and tin are the principal ingredients. It is characteristic of the Iron Age, that much of the bronze-like metal that was then used so abundantly for decorative purposes, is not the older alloy of copper and tin, but a new alloy in which copper and zinc form the principal ingredients. It is, in fact, not bronze but brass, though differing considerably in the proportions of its constituent elements from the brass of more modern times.

This change in the composition of the metal from tin-bronze to zinc-bronze, is a useful distinction to be noted in considering the age of relics which are of bronze-like metal, "Zinc," says Morlot, "is never present in the bronzes of the Bronze Age, even as an impurity." The researches of Göbel have also shown that zinc is absent even from the Greek bronzes, which are composed of copper, tin, and lead. Zinc only begins to appear as an ingredient in Roman alloys, and it is only towards the commencement of the Christian era that it begins to be present in them.¹ The commencement of the Iron Age in Central Europe is pretty well defined by the occurrence of leaf-shaped swords of iron with flat handle-plates, which are actual copies in the new metal of the older form of bronze sword—a form quite unsuited to the malleable material, though excellently adapted to be cast in bronze. These have been found associated with relics dated approximately as of the third century before the Christian era. It is only after the commencement of the Iron Age that we meet with zinc bronzes, so that the presence of this ingredient in the metal is proof that the object belongs to the Iron Age and not to the age of bronze, even though it may be a form which otherwise would have been assigned to the bronze age. For instance, there is in the Museum at Stockholm, a leaf-shaped bronze sword, found in 1868 at Qvie, in Gotland. It was found in a stone cist 2 feet (Swedish) square, among burnt bones. Along with it an iron axe was found, showing it to be a bronze sword of the Iron Age. But if the iron axe had completely disappeared through oxidation, the composition of the metal of this *bronze*

¹ See Morlot's observations in a paper entitled "Les Metaux employes dans l'age du Bronze," in the Memoires de la Societe des Antiquaires du Nord for 1866, p. 29.

See also a series of analyses of ancient bronzes in Kruse's "Necro-Livonia."

sword would have conclusively established its period as that of the Iron and not of the Bronze Age.¹ Its analysis gave—

Copper,	85.45
Zinc,	12.00
Tin,	1.59

The metal of which these brooches were made seems to have been always an alloy of very variable composition, often containing a good deal of lead, if we are to judge from the effects of age and oxidation, but in the absence of analyses it is impossible to speak with certainty on this subject.

Let us now examine how these brooches were made. It will be observed that they are formed in two separate pieces, which fit like one inverted bowl placed over the bottom of another. The upper shell is pierced with open work, the under one unpierced but richly gilt, the intention being that the gilding should show through the openings. These upper shells appear to have been cast in moulds of hardened clay. The inside of the under shell, however, presents an appearance of peculiar interest. In most of them it is very distinctly marked with the impression of coarse linen cloth. Close examination reveals that it really is an impression in the metal, and not the result of corrosion in contact with cloth. That also may be seen on some of them, but its appearance is different. I was long puzzled to account for this peculiar appearance of the inside surface of these brooches, and the explanation suggested by some of the Scandinavian archaeologists, to whom I mentioned my difficulty, viz., that they were cast on pads of cloth, did not remove it. But when I mentioned the matter to Mr John Evans, he suggested an explanation, which seems to me to be in most cases, probably, the true one. These under shells were cast in *stone*-moulds, prepared in this way:—the side of the mould corresponding to the convex surface with its ornamental border, was cut in soft stone. A thickness of wet cloth was then fitted into it corresponding to the thickness of the metal, and over this a lump

¹ Similarly a plate of unmanufactured bronze-like metal which was found in the Broch of Carnliath, Dunrobin, along with a number of relics of the later Iron Age, was found, on its analysis by Dr Stevenson Macadam, to be composed of—copper, 82.25; zinc, 15.84; tin, 1.46; lead, 0.21.

of tough clay was rammed hard, and left to harden sufficiently. The clay cover was then lifted and the cloth removed, thus leaving a cavity for the metal. The clay became one side of the mould and the stone the other, and when the metal was run in it took the impression of the cloth retained



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Tortoise Brooch found in Tiree.

1. Under Shell of Brooch, Gilt.
2. Upper Shell, of Pierced and Chased Work.

upon the backing of clay. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the single plate brooch from Pierowall, Orkney, it is evident that the ornamental side of the brooch is cast from a clay impression made by a pattern cut in wood. It becomes apparent on examining the details of the ornament that they have been cut with a knife, or graver, which has run less smoothly wherever it has turned to cross the grain of the wood. The

marks where it has slipped, are sometimes even discernible. But whether the matrix in which the metal was cast may have been hardened clay or stone, the process was the same, and the inner side of the mould was formed in soft clay rammed over the necessary thickness of cloth. Thus we are presented with castings in metal of the textile fabrics of the eighth and ninth centuries, showing the thickness of its threads, the method of weaving, and the general finish of the fabric. That is as regards the cloth used in the preparation of the moulds in which these brooches were made.

But there is a still more singularly interesting circumstance connected with these brooches and the cloth of the period when they were made and worn. In some instances they have not only preserved its impression in the metal, but have actually preserved small portions of the dress in which they were worn, or, at least, in which they were fixed when they were committed to the tomb with the body of the wearer. It is a peculiarity of these brooches that they have all had large thick pins of iron, hinged at the one end, the point fitting into a hooked iron plate or catch projecting from the under surface of the brooch, now usually enveloped in a lump of oxidation. In this one from Tíree, and the one I brought from Haukadal near Christiania, I have ascertained by a careful examination of this lump of oxidation, that it has inclosed and protected from decay a minute portion of puckered cloth which had been caught in between the point of the thick pin and the catch when the brooch was last fastened on the dress. I have been able to remove and mount for microscopical examination some small scraps of this cloth. So far as I can judge of its appearance under the microscope, it seems to be linen cloth, with a partial admixture of another fibre which I take to be hemp, and I can detect no material difference between the cloth in the specimen from Norway and that from the island of Tíree on our own western coast. These, then, are actual specimens of the linen manufacture of the Viking time.

Let us now look at the range and distribution of these brooches. As they mark the Viking period they also indicate the range of territory frequented or conquered by the Northmen. In the Museum at Stockholm I saw about 400 of them, in Christiania about half that number, and a large collection in Copenhagen. They are found with the charac-

teristic Viking remains in Livonia, where the Northmen established a Russian kingdom; in Normandy, which they made their own; in Iceland, associated with Cufic coins of the tenth century; in Ireland with characteristic swords of the Viking time, as at Larne, Kilmainham, and Island Bridge, and in the Phoenix Park of Dublin; in England, in Yorkshire and Lancashire; and in Scotland, in Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, the Hebrides, and even in remote St Kilda.

Then as to their associations. In Norway and Sweden they are found both with burnt and with unburnt bodies. An Arab writer states that they were worn on the breasts of females, and their being found in this country in some instances along with combs, needles, and spindle whorls, seems to prove the Arab right. In other cases, however, they are found with swords, shield-bosses, and armour of men. This may suggest either that they were worn by men as well as by women, or that in these instances a woman was slain and buried along with the man, either by the chances of war, or in accordance with the horrible rites of immolation described by Ibn Fozlan¹ as practised among the Northmen so late as in the tenth century.

III. CHARACTERISTIC WEAPONS OF THE VIKING PERIOD.—The interments in Orkney, in which the warrior, though unburned, is accompanied in the grave-mound by the bones of his horse and his dog, and by the remains of his iron-mounted shield, his iron axe, and his long iron sword, are all of the heathen Viking time. A number of examples, chiefly

¹ See the narrative of Ibn Fozlan in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 520. The practice of cremation existed in these northern regions long after Ibn Fozlan's time. Gruber, in his "Origines Livoniæ," states that, in 1225, the Esthoniens, whose heathen customs were akin to those described by Ibn Fozlan, relapsed into paganism after a brief nominal conversion to Christianity, took back the wives they had given up, exhumed the dead who had been buried in Christian cemeteries "et more paganorum pristino cremaverunt," and burned them after the fashion of the old pagan times. In Dreger's "Codex Diplomaticus Pomeraniæ," there is a deed of contract dated A. D. 1249, between the converts and the brethren of the Holy Cross of Livonia, in which the converts come under obligation "quod ipsi et heredes eorum in mortuis comburendis vel subterrands cum equis sive hominibus, vel cum armis, seu vestibus, vel quibuscunque aliis preciosis rebus, vel etiam in aliis quibuscunque, ritus gentilium de cetero non servabunt, sed mortuos suos juxta morem Christianorum in cimiteriis sepelient et non extra."

from the island of Westray, in Orkney, will be seen in the case devoted to finds from these graves in the Museum.

Swords.—A large number of these interesting weapons have been found from time to time in the northern and western parts of Scotland, but such "rusty bits of old iron" had no charms for antiquaries of the old school. The Rev. Mr Pope records a remarkable find of Scandinavian weapons at Haimar, near Thurso, in Caithness, and remarks of the swords, that "they were odd machines of rusty iron resembling plough-shares." We have specimens in the Museum of both forms of the Scandinavian sword of the Viking time; the earlier with larger blade, short, square guard, and massive square or triangular pommel; and the later with lighter blade, recurved guard, and trilobed pommel. The following details of the occurrence of Norse swords in Scotland, meagre as they are, will show how very rarely these fine weapons have been properly cared for even when they have been found:—

1. The finest specimen of the Viking sword that has been preserved is one which was recently presented to the Museum by the representatives of the late Professor Thomas S. Traill, through Rev. G. R. Omond, F.C. minister of Monzie, a Fellow of this Society. This sword was only known to me by a drawing of it which is preserved among the collection of drawings in the Society's Library, and which had been made apparently with a view to its publication in the Society's Proceedings, although never engraved. I find from the minutes of the Society's meetings, that in May 1834 this sword was exhibited at one of the Society's ordinary meetings by Professor Traill, and it is most likely that it was on this occasion that the drawing was made. Through the good offices of Rev. Mr Omond, the sword itself, which was not in the collection previously presented by the representatives of the late Professor Traill,¹ is now added to the Society's collection, and I am enabled to add the accompanying representation of it, along with a figure of a similar sword of the Viking time, ploughed up near a grave-mound at Vik in Flaa Sogn, Norway, in 1837, and figured in the series of photographs of the Christiania Museum.

From a note-book of Professor Traill's, which contains a drawing of the sword, with a short note of the circumstances of its discovery, it appears

¹ See the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 389.

that it was turned up by the plough in the year 1826, at Sweindrow, in Rousay, "near the spot where the unfortunate Earl Paul Hakonson, of Orkney, was seized by the famous Orkney Viking, Swein Asleifson, and carried off by him to Athol." "On this field," says Professor Traill's note, "there are many graves, in one of which the fragments of an iron helmet were found several years ago." In a letter addressed to Professor Traill by William Traill, Esq. of Woodwick, of date October 17, 1836, he refers to the satisfaction which he had felt in the anticipated visit of Professor Traill to Orkney, with the view of opening some of the tumuli at Sweindrow, and adds, "the place where the sword was found I have not yet touched, as I intend to reserve it for your appearance. The



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Viking Swords.

1. Sword ploughed up at Sweindrow, Rousay, Orkney.
2. Sword ploughed up at Vik, Norway.

sword cannot be better than in your possession, and I now send some remains of what appears to me to be a helmet found in the immediate vicinity, to keep the sword company." The supposed "helmet" is referred to in the minute of the meeting in 1834, at which the sword was exhibited as "the boss of a baldrick" which was found near the sword. It is now in the Museum, having been one of the articles in the collection of the late Professor Traill, presented by his representatives in 1870. It is in many fragments, but is easily recognisable as the iron boss of a

shield of the Viking period, and precisely similar to other two shield-bosses in the Museum, which are also from Viking graves in Orkney.

From Professor Traill's notebook I have copied the following notes and measurements, made when the sword was more perfect than it is now:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Extreme length of the sword,	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Length of the blade,	2	8
Breadth of the blade 1 inch from the point,	0	1
Do. at 6 inches from the point,	0	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Do. at 13 inches from the point,	0	2
Do. at 22 inches from the point,	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length of the cross-guard,	0	5
Depth of the cross-guard,	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Length of grip,	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Width of pommel,	0	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Height of pommel,	0	3

"The blade has been two-edged. There are remains of a wooden scabbard adhering to it, and the hilt has been of bone or horn, ornamented with a metal which appears to be an alloy of copper and silver. The sword was broken by the plough into four pieces.

"The boss of the baldrick? (shield-boss) is 4 inches in diameter, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches over its centre."

The sword is now in many pieces, but the hilt is still in good preservation. It shows the massive triangular pommel and straight cross-piece with convex sides, characteristic of these Viking weapons. The blade is double-edged, tapering, and obtusely pointed. It has been in the scabbard at the time of its deposit, and blade and scabbard are now converted into a mass of oxidation. The scabbard has been made of thin laths of wood, covered with some substance, probably leather. There are now but slight remains of the plates of bone or horn which covered the grip of the handle; but the metallic mounting,¹ which adorned both ends of the grip, still remains. It looks like brass gilt; but it is so much

¹ A similar mounting remains on the grip of one of the Norse swords (of the same form as this one), dug up at Island-bridge near Dublin, and preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. See "Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities," p. 167, for a figure of it.

altered by oxidation that it is difficult to determine the character of the metal. The form of the ornament is a series of animals' heads, having some resemblance to the dog or fox, and is suggestive of the heads adorning the fine silver brooches subsequently to be referred to.

Barry describes the place where these remains were found, as follows:—

“A plain on the shore, about a quarter of a mile to the west of Westness (in Rousay), has on it immense piles of stones, evidently the ruins of some ancient structures, around which are to be seen graves formed with stones set on edge, as in some other places; and the name of Sweindrow, which it bears, points it out, with great probability, as the scene of the capture of Earl Paul, by Swein, the son of Asleif, and the slaughter of his attendants.”¹

The exploit of Swein Asleifson here alluded to,² as detailed in the “Orkneyinga Saga,” was the seizure of Earl Paul, in 1136, as he was otter-hunting with his men on a heap of stones beneath a headland at one end of the Island of Rousay. The “Saga” says, that Swein's party killed nineteen men and lost six. Professor Traill thought that this sword might probably have belonged to some of those who fell in that conflict, and possibly to Earl Paul himself. All that we can say of it with certainty, however, is that it is a sword of the Viking period, and that, judging from its form, it may be one or even two centuries earlier than Earl Paul's time.

2. There is in the Museum another fragment of a sword of similar form, with short square guard and square-shaped pommel, also from Orkney. It was found along with a spear-head, much corroded, in a grave in the island of Westray, and presented to the Museum in 1863, by Colonel Balfour of Balfour and Trenabie, F.S.A., Scot.

3. I have received from Dr Arthur Mitchell a note and pencil sketch of another sword of this form, but with a more rounded pommel, which was in the possession of Walter Denison, Esq., Brough, Sanday. The blade (which is broken) is 25 inches long and 2½ wide, and double-edged, the guard being 4 inches long, and of the usual straight form with square ends. A note attached to the sketch says, “This sword was found in a tumulus at Sties.”

¹ Barry's “History of Orkney,” Kirkwall edition, 1867, p. 64.

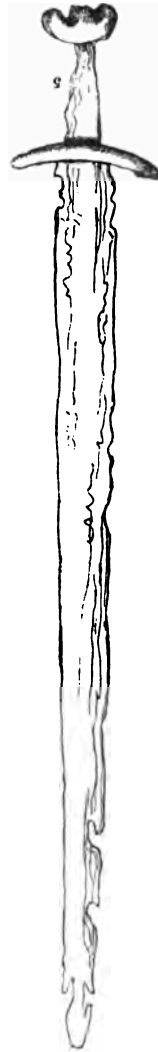
² “The Orkneyinga Saga,” Edinburgh, 1873, p. 105.

4. Pennant, in the second volume of his "Tour," plate xliv., figures an iron sword of this type, with short square guard and pommel of the same form. The only reference to it in the work seems to be in the descriptions of the plates, where it is noticed as "part of a rude iron sword found in Islay."

5. Of the later form of sword of the Viking time, with curved guard and trilobed pommel, we have a fine example in the one here figured, which was found in making a cutting on the Strathspey Railway, at Gorton in Morayshire, and was presented to the Museum in February 1864 as Treasure Trove. This sword is 35 inches in length, of excellent workmanship, damascened along the centre of the blade, while the pommel and recurved guard are beautifully inlaid with silver. The blade is fully $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, and the grip is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. The recurved guard, which is 5 inches in length, and 1 inch wide, having a thickness of $\frac{3}{8}$ inch, is now loose, having an opening in the centre through which the tang of the sword-blade passes. The pommel is trilobed, the middle knob being imperfect. An enlarged figure of the hilt of this sword is given on the next page, showing the inlaid ornamentation. Swords with recurved guards, similarly inlaid with silver, are frequently found in the grave-mounds of Norway of the later Iron Age.¹

6. A fragment of a sword consisting of the hilt and part of the blade dug up in 1824, from a depth of six or seven feet in gravel, in the village of Ballaugh, Isle of Man, and presented to the Museum by Mr J. R.

¹ Examples of these are engraved in the "Foreningen for Norske Fortidsmindesmaerkers Bevaring, Aarsberetning" for 1868, Plate vi. fig. 35; and "Aarsberetning" for 1869, Plate v. fig. 26.



Sword found at Gorton, Morayshire.

Oswald, in September 1824. From a paper communicated to the Society by Mr Oswald at that date, and preserved in the Society's MS. Communications, it appears that the sword and a spear-head (which seems to be no longer in existence) were found together in a small gravelly mound. They lay parallel to each other, and the gravel for some distance round them was marked by a dark discoloration. The spear-head had remains of the wooden shaft in the socket, and Mr Oswald remarks, that "there



Hilt of Gorton Sword. Enlarged to show ornamentation.

are also some appearances of oak on the handle of the sword, as well as some remains on the blade, that would indicate it to have been sheathed in a scabbard of yew." The progress of the oxidation which so often destroys such relics, has thoroughly removed these interesting traces of the grip and scabbard from the sword, and it is now merely a thin film of iron, retaining, however, the form of the blade and handle. The length of the grip is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the length of the remaining portion of the blade 8 inches. It is double-edged, and 2 inches wide. The guard is recurved, 1 inch wide, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick. It has an oval opening in the centre through which the blade is passed. The pommel is of the same form as the guard, but wants the terminal ornament, which seems to have fallen off.

7. A portion of the hilt end of a sword similar to the last,¹ which was

¹ A sword precisely similar to the two last described was found in the bank of the Tweed at Norham, and is figured in the "Archæological Journal," vol. xxiv. p. 80. It is there assigned "with much probability to the thirteenth century, or even, as some have supposed, to an earlier period." The sword represented on the coins called Peter's Pennies, which were struck at York during the rule of the Scandinavian kings in Northumbria, is of this form.

dug up in the churchyard of St Maughold, Isle of Man, and presented to the Museum in September 1824, by Mr J. R. Oswald. "This sword," says Mr Oswald, writing in 1824, "was dug up in the churchyard of St Maughold, many years ago, and re-discovered in a manner rather singular, and which it is necessary to relate as an evidence of the relic being genuine. About eight years ago, I heard that such a sword had been found, and after a good deal of inquiry, learned that it was supposed to have been thrown with other rubbish, soon after its disinterment, beneath the seat of the clerk's desk (in the church). Having got admission into the church, I directed the clerk to the place, and he to his great astonishment, discovered it without difficulty."

Besides these, which may be all taken as undoubtedly Scandinavian, we have in the Society's collection of drawings, water-colour sketches of an iron sword, with short straight guard and pommel of similar form, a shield-boss of iron of semi-globular form, and a spear-head of iron, which are preserved at Rossdhu Castle. These sketches were made by a Fellow of this Society, Hope J. Stewart, Esq., and exhibited in illustration of an interesting communication which he made to the Society in February 1853.¹ The relics in question were found in April 1851, in the top of a mound called Boiden, near the Lower Bridge of Froom. They were about 2 feet below the surface, and lay altogether within a space of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. The sword, which is greatly bent, is 35 inches in length, the blade 2 inches in width and double-edged, the bar at the end of the hilt is nearly equal in size to the guard, and in general character it much resembles the Westray sword in the Museum. The spear-head is 11 inches in length, and 2 inches broad. The shield-boss, which had a broad flat rim, is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches deep.

In the MS. Communications to the Society, there is an account of the discovery of a grave at Ballindalloch in Morayshire, in 1829, containing a number of iron relics, which seem also to be of this period. The grave contained a human skeleton along with the skull and bones of a horse, and in it were a quantity of rings and bits of iron, one of them a great hoop—in all probability the iron rim of the shield. Mr Stewart obtained the bridle-bit, which consisted of two bronze (brass?) rings joined by a double-link of iron, and he gives a sketch of what he calls "a curious little iron

¹ Printed in the Proceedings, vol. i. p. 142.

cup found in the grave," which will be at once recognised as the boss of a shield.¹

If these last-mentioned relics are Scottish, I know no others like them. They are so similar to the weapons from Viking graves in Orkney and



Compartment of Legionary Tablet found at Bridgeness.

in Ireland, that I would have felt no hesitation in assigning them to the Viking period, if it had not seemed possible that they may have belonged to the Early instead of the Later Iron Age. It is suggestive of this, that on the sculptured legionary tablet found at Bridgeness, and now in the Museum, the square shields of the Caledonians are represented with bosses, which (allowing for the deficiencies of the sculpture) seem to be not unlike the Rossdhu example, while the sword hilt on the sculpture is of the same form as that delineated by Mr Hope Stewart.

Shield-bosses.—We have in the Museum fragments of three shield-bosses, of semi-circular form, and one entire one, found in different parts of Orkney.

No. 1 is the shield-boss found in the cist at Pierowall, Westray, with the tortoise brooch previously described, and the spear-head and axe-head to be subsequently noticed, and presented to the Museum in 1851 by Mr William Rendall. It consists of two fragments forming rather more than the half of the boss, which has been $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high in the centre, having a flat rim $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth, with small rivet-holes for fastening it to the shield.



Shield-boss of Iron, found in a Cist at Pierowall, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.

¹ Dr Daniel Wilson, describing this find, suggests that it may represent the tomb of a "Charioteer," the form of the shield-boss, he thinks, suggesting for it an Anglo-

No. 2 is of the same form, and seems to have been of about the same size, as No. 1. It was found at Sweindrow, in Rousay, Orkney, with the sword figured at p. 563, and presented to the Museum in the collection of the late Professor Traill. It is now in many fragments.

No. 3 is a smaller shield-boss, more conical in shape, and is entire, but somewhat unshapely, from the masses of oxidised incrustation attached to it. It measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and 3 inches high. This shield-boss also formed part of Professor Traill's collection, and a note in his handwriting inserted in it informs us that it was found in a "how" in Orkney.

Spear-heads.—Iron spear-heads are rare with us, and we have only four in the Museum that may be considered of this period.

1. A spear-head found in a cist at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney, with the oval bowl-shaped brooch formerly described, an axe-head, and the shield-boss above figured, and presented to the Museum by Mr William Rendall in 1851. It is much decayed, the socket part being almost entirely gone, and the blade much corroded and split. It measures 8 inches in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in greatest breadth, but has been considerably larger.

2. A spear-head found in Westray, with the sword previously mentioned, and presented to the Museum by Colonel Balfour. It is 10 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide in the widest part of the blade, but is broken and corroded.

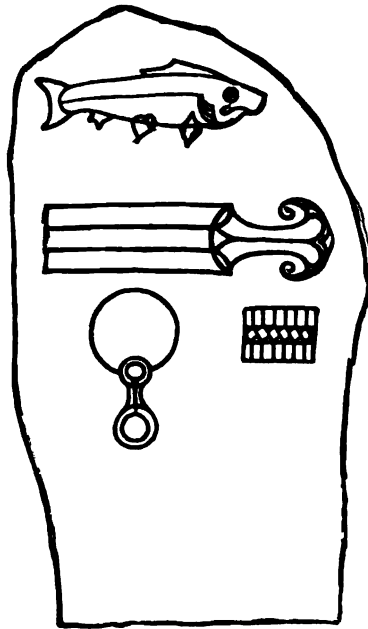
3. A spear-head, 10 inches in length, found in, or close beside, a cist at Watten, Caithness. It is of peculiar form, long, narrow, and almost lozenge-shaped in section, and has a spur-like projection at the widest part of the blade, and a long slender neck between the blade and socket. The socket is of the unclosed form, which is also characteristic of Anglo-Saxon spears.

4. A fragment of the socket portion of a large spear-head found in a cist at Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland. The cist was a remarkable one,

Saxon origin, and adds, that if it be so, it is a remarkable indication of the presence of the Pagan Saxon so far beyond the limits of the most northern kingdom of the heptarchy. But the "great hoop" which suggests the chariot-wheel is more likely to have been the rim of the shield, and the umbo is of a form which was Scandinavian as well as Anglo-Saxon. It may have been Scoto-Scandinavian.

and is thus described in a paper by Dr Ross, communicated by Mr John Stuart in May 1854:—

“The cist was about 8 feet long, the direction of its length being about from south-west to north-east. It was built in at the sides with three flat pieces of sandstone, and regularly paved on the bottom with similar pieces; below this paving was the sand mixed with round shingly stones, such as are found on the



Sculptured Stone found covering a Cist at Dunrobin Castle.

neighbouring sea-beach. The grave had been covered on the top by three flat slabs of stone, two towards the foot, common pieces of sandstone like those encircling the sides, and one larger and thicker towards the head, and having the emblems shown in the accompanying woodcut cut on its upper surface. The stone itself is irregular in shape, and quite devoid of any sculpture on its edge. The bones

found in the cist consisted of portions of two separate skeletons, both of adult men. The bones of one skeleton were hard, white, and in good preservation. Those of the other were darker in colour, and very much decayed. It seemed as if two people had been interred in the same grave, with a very considerable interval of time between."

Mr Stuart remarked "that this sculptured stone was one of a class which frequently appeared as erect pillars along the north-eastern coast of Scotland; and it was most probable that in the present case it had been diverted from its original purpose to form along with other slabs a cover for the cist. From the locality, which was frequented, and for some time possessed by the Norsemen, there was a likelihood that the cist was a Scandinavian one."

Axe-heads.—The axe was a favourite weapon with the later Vikings, as it was in earlier times with the Franks. The only axe-head in the Museum of the Viking period is the one found in the cist in Westray, with the spear-head, shield-boss, and tortoise brooch previously noticed, and presented by Mr William Rendall in 1851. It is now a mere fragment, having split and scaled off till the blade is quite thin, but enough remains to show that it was precisely similar in form to those that are characteristic of the later Iron Age in Norway—the "Skjaegöx" of the Sagas. A fragment of one similar to the Westray specimen is figured in the "Foreningen for Norske Mindesmaerker's Bevaring" for 1870, plate iv. fig. 23. It was found with a two-edged sword, spear-head, and a pair of oval bowl-shaped brooches, each of a single plate,—forming a group of relics identical with the group from the Westray cist.

Sheath-mounting.—A sheath-mounting or small scabbard-point of a form not uncommon in Scandinavia is among the objects found in one of the graves in Westray,¹ associated with objects that leave no doubt of its Scandinavian character. It measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length and half an inch in diameter across the socket.

¹ See the Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 158.



1.



2.

1. Sheath-mounting found in a grave in Westray, Orkney.
2. View of Knob of do.

It is silver gilt, and has a grotesque figure of a human face upon the rounded knob.

Iron Sickle and Key.—The iron objects found in this grave were a knife, a sickle, and a key. This is the only example we have of the sickle, so commonly found in graves of this period in Norway. It is a thin curved blade, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. Nicolaysen notices upwards of sixty instances of the occurrence of this *sigblad* in the Norwegian grave-mounds. This example of the key of the Viking time is also unique in Scotland. It is of the simplest form, being merely an iron rod, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, having a loop at one end for suspension, and a squarish hook-like termination, somewhat similar to that of a modern pick-lock.



Iron Key from a grave of the Viking time in Westray, Orkney.

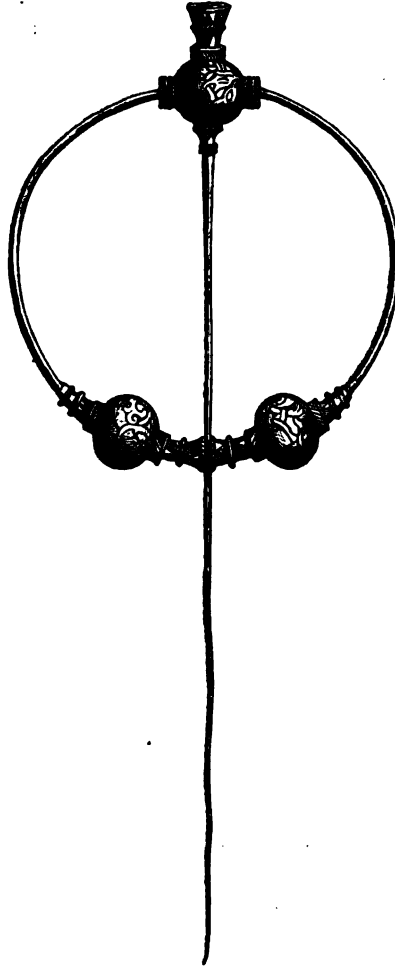
An iron key exactly similar to this one is figured in the series of photographs of objects in the Christiania Museum. It was found in a Viking grave mound at Gudbrandsdal in Norway. Another of similar form, but having two projections at the base of the hook, is also figured from a grave mound in Gudbrandsdal. They are common accompaniments of interments of this period in Norway, about thirty instances being given by Nicolaysen. Similar keys are also found in Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent.

IV. HOARDS OF SILVER ORNAMENTS.—One of the most characteristic features of the remains of the Viking period, whether in Scandinavia or in Britain, is the frequency of the occurrence of hoards of silver ornaments and silver coins, presumably the hidden plunder of Viking rovers, or the concealed stores of traders derived from the proceeds of these plundering expeditions.

Silver appears only in the Iron Age. It is never found in connection with hoards of the Bronze Age, nor does it occur in the barrows either of the Stone or Bronze period. The silver hoards of the period of which we speak, or the later "Iron Age," are characterised by certain peculiari-

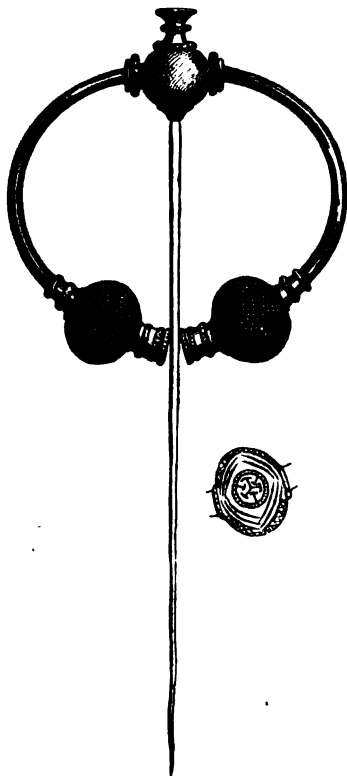
ties which sufficiently distinguish them from those of the earlier period, and are usually associated with Cufic, Anglo-Saxon, and other coins, dating in or about the tenth century.

1. *Hoard of Brooches, Neck-rings, Bracelets, &c., at Skail, Orkney.*—The most remarkable discovery of relics of the Viking period ever made in Scotland was that of a hoard of silver ornaments, ingots, coins, &c., found in the month of March 1858, between the parish church of Sandwick and the Burn of Rin, not far from the shore of the Bay of Skail, in the parish of Sandwick and mainland of Orkney. The discovery was made by a boy chasing a rabbit into a hole, and finding a few of the fragments of silver which had been unearthed by the rabbits at the mouth of their burrow. The news of the discovery having got abroad, a number of people from the neighbourhood joined in the search, and the articles, as they were unearthed, were speedily dispersed in various quarters. Owing to the prompt and zealous exertions of Mr George Petrie, one of our Corresponding Members, to whom the Society is under lasting obligations for his services in this and many other



Bulbous Ring-Brooch (No. 1) found at Skail,
15 inches long.

matters, the whole was recovered for the Exchequer as treasure trove, and ultimately deposited in the Museum. The aggregate weight of silver amounted to 16 lbs. avoirdupois. It consists of nine large penannular ring-brooches, fourteen twisted neck and arm rings, twenty-three solid armillæ of penannular form, eleven ingots and bars of silver, and a quantity of fragments of brooches, armlets, &c., which had been cut or chopped up into small pieces. There were also three Anglo-Saxon coins, seven Cufic coins of the Samanian, and three of the Abbaside caliphs. The latest of the coins is one of the Abbaside series, struck at Bagdad in A.D. 945.



Bulbous Ring-Brooch (No. 5), found at Skail, with ornament on the reverse of the bulbs.

As this important find has not been described in our Proceedings,¹ a somewhat detailed notice of the more remarkable objects may not be out of place in this paper.

No. 1 is the most complete of the large ring-brooches. It consists of a plain penannular ring of silver, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, terminating in two bulbous knobs, having a strong resemblance to thistle heads. These knobs are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. One-half of their surface is perfectly smooth, and the other half has a pattern of lacertine knot-work, deeply and boldly incised, as seen in the accompanying figure. The acus, which has an ornamental head of the same bulbous thistle-like form and

¹ An inventory by Mr. Petrie is given in the Donation List of the Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 247.

ornamentation, is 15 inches in length, and swells slightly in the middle, where it passes from a cylindrical to a squarish section, and tapers gradually, like a large nail to a flattened point.

No. 2 is a similar brooch, wanting the acus. It is a penannular ring of silver, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, having its bulbous ends unornamented on the bulbs, but incised on the portions between the bulbs and the termination, with a T-like ornament and chevrony bands.

No. 3 is a similar brooch, consisting of a ring $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It wants the acus, but has the head still remaining on the ring. The head is furnished with a point, and the acus must have had a socket to fit on this point, to which it may have been soldered or tightly wedged on. The bulbous extremities and head of the acus of this brooch are ornamented with lacertine knot-work on the one side, and a prickly-like ornamentation, as if in imitation of thistle heads, on the other.

No. 4 is a similar ring-brooch of stronger make, but similar in its ornamentation. It is formed of a circular bar of silver, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick and 8 inches in diameter, terminating in bulbous ends $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, having the one half of the circumference covered with prickly ornamentation, and in the other half a circular band of interlaced work.

No 5 is a massive and very handsome ring-brooch of the same form, with bulbous ends, having the characteristic prickly ornamentation boldly rendered. The ring is a solid bar of silver, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The bulbs, as in all these brooches, are hollow; and the attenuated ends of the ring, which pass through the centre of the terminal bulbous ornaments, are hammered to a rivet head to prevent their slipping off. The ornamentation of the reverse side of the prickly bulbs is shown below the figure of the brooch. (See the fig. p. 576.)

These bulbous ring-brooches are unknown in Scotland, except in connection with this hoard. One with plain knobs, having a flattened circle on one side, similar to No. 5, and similarly ornamented, with a segmental pattern clumsily executed, was found in ploughing a field at Casterton, near Kirby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, in 1846, and is engraved in vol. vi. of the "Archæological Journal," p. 70. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and wants the acus. Another specimen, of similar form but of extraordinary size, the ring measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and the acus 21 inches in length, was found, in 1785, at Newbiggin, near Penrith, Cumberland. It

is figured in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for that year, p. 347. The weight of this gigantic brooch is 25 oz. avoird. The smallest specimen I know is one found in Antrim, Ireland, the acus of which is 6 inches long, and the ring only $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter. They are not common in Ireland, though several specimens have been found.

On the other hand, these brooches have been found singly both in England and in Ireland, while the most recently discovered example was associated not with objects of foreign, but of distinctively native manufacture. I allude to the interesting discovery at the Rath of Beerasta, County Limerick, in 1868, of a magnificent silver chalice in which were four silver brooches. Three of these brooches were of the usual Celtic penannular form, ornamented with interlacing work. The finest of the three is gilt on the upper surface, which presents no fewer than forty-four panels of exquisitely beautiful interlaced work, similar to that on the Cadboll brooch, to which it also presents an interesting similarity of design in the raised bird's-head ornaments, bending over the raised border of a depressed space filled up with triquetras. The fourth brooch was one of those styled thistle-headed brooches. The chalice is elaborately ornamented with interlaced work in panels, and is assigned by the Earl of Dunraven¹ to the ninth or tenth century. Here, then, is one instance in which a brooch of this form is found associated with objects of Irish art of this period, and with them exclusively. The large size of these brooches answers to the ancient descriptions of the ornaments of Irish chiefs. We have no specimens of the ordinary penannular brooch to match the description of that worn by Midir, the great Tuatha de Danaan chieftain,² "which, when fastened on his breast, reached from shoulder to shoulder," or with pins so long as to fall under that section of the Brehon Laws, which provided for safety in a crowded assembly by enacting that, "Men are guiltless of pins upon their shoulders or upon their breasts, provided they do not project too far beyond it, and if they should, the case is to be adjudged by the criminal law."

In Denmark these bulbous brooches only occur occasionally. Worsaae figures two specimens in his "Danske Oldsager" (1859), figs. 410, 411. A few specimens are in the Museum at Stockholm, among the hoards of

¹ Transactions of the Irish Academy, vol. xxiv. p. 452.

² O'Curry's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 162.

silver ornaments found with Cufic coins chiefly in the eastern provinces of Sweden. There are also several specimens in the Christiania Museum, which have been found in Norway under similar circumstances. One of these, which was found at Vullum, near Trondheim, is exactly similar to the plain variety in the Skaill hoard. With it there were found a number of the neck rings and bracelets of twisted wires, which are also exactly similar to those found at Skaill.

The Scandinavian archæologists agree in ascribing to these brooches an Oriental origin, concluding that they have been imported from the East by the Vikings.

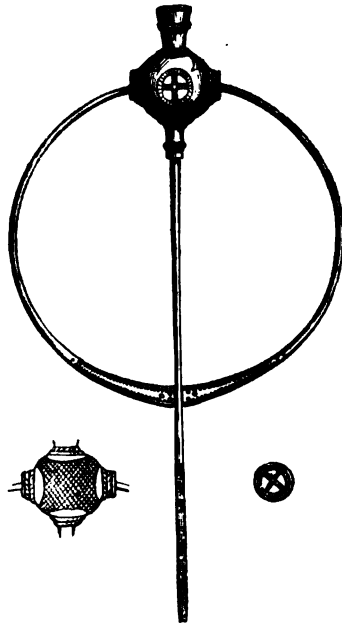
Bror Emil Hildebrand, in his work¹ on the Anglo-Saxon coins found in Sweden, says (p. xi):—

“The Cufic coins (found in Sweden in hoards, along with coins of Anglo-Saxon, German, and Danish moneyers), are generally associated with hoards of silver ornaments, for the most part large rings for the neck or the head, formed of wires twisted together; smaller rings for the arm, partly of wires twisted together, partly made of a single thin piece of silver, of which the ends are made into fastenings with a beautiful knot; bracelets, sometimes with patterns made with a punch; ingots, both complete and broken; lumps of silver, and broken pieces of the ornaments, mostly beaten together and rolled up for convenience of transport, or cut into small pieces to be used as bullion-money in exchange. There can be no doubt that these ornaments, ingots, and lumps of silver were brought with the coins from Asia, where silver is more easily obtained than in the northern parts of Europe, even if we suppose that the little silver which is to be found in the mines in the mountains of Scandinavia was known and worked at the period we speak of. This view is confirmed by the fact that somewhat similar ornaments are still worn in some parts of Asia.

“If these objects had been manufactured in Europe we ought to find them throughout the countries to which the coins that accompany them belong, but they are only rarely found in the countries bordering on the Baltic. The Cuerdale hoard in England is an exceptional instance; the treasure was doubtless carried from Sweden or Denmark to France, and then to England, where it was secreted in the ground, augmented by a quantity of French and Anglo-Saxon money. The museums of the towns in the valley of the Rhine have none of these objects, though the money of these towns is abundant in the hoards discovered by us. If we should wish to draw the conclusion that these ornaments

¹ “Anglo-Sachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl-Mynt Kabinettet, funna i Sveriges Jord.” Af Bror Emil Hildebrand. Stockholm, 1846, 4to, pp. xi. cix.

were manufactured in Sweden, it would be necessary to show whence they obtained the silver for their manufacture, and to say why they discontinued both the manufacture and the use of them in the eleventh century, for they are not found with money of a later date than that. The fact that these ornaments are so very frequently twisted together without the least regard to their appearance as ornaments, or broken up into bits (as the coins themselves often are), shows that both the ornaments and the coins had no value with the people who possessed them here, except the intrinsic value of the metal. Weighing scales are also frequently found with these hoards, and weights which correspond with the Byzantine weight, the *solidus aureus*, or *solotnik*, of the Russians, equal to 4.266 grammes. These objects, also, very frequently bear the marks of a cutting instrument by which they have been tested, without doubt to ascertain their purity and intrinsic value. This reveals the trafficker, and not the warrior, who carries off his spoil without any such careful examination."



Ring-Brooch (No. 6) found at Skail, with ornaments of reverse and top of its bulbous head.

$\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and 5 inches diameter. The acus has an ornamental head of the same form as No. 1. This specimen is remarkable on account of its having a well-defined cross within a circle as the central ornament of the bulbous head of the acus. The cross is again repeated on the top of the acus, as shown in the small fig. below the figure of the brooch on the right of the acus.

Besides these bulbous brooches, there is another form of ring-brooch of which No. 6 is the best example. It differs from those previously described, in having its extremities slightly flattened and expanded, instead of swelling into the bulbous form. The ring is a bar of silver

No. 7 is a brooch of the same form as No. 6, but smaller. The ring is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. The ornamentation on the expanded ends is dragonesque interlaced work slightly engraved with a very fine point. The acus is flattened at the top, and the flattened part bent round so as to form a loose collar grasping the ring of the brooch.



Neck-Ring (No. 10) found at Skail.
($5\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.)

No. 8 is similar in form to the preceding one but smaller, and the acus is bent into the form of a hook.

No. 9 is also of similar form but wanting the acus.

No. 10 is a neck-ring of twisted wires $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches inner diameter, and formed of three double twists spirally twisted together and intertwined with a double strand of very small twisted wires which lie in the interstices of the larger plaits. The larger wires taper slightly towards the extremities, where they are welded into solid flattened ends which are

ornamented with triangular markings, with a single dot made by a punch. One of the ends terminates in a hook which fits into an eye on the opposite end in order to fasten it when worn.

Nos. 11 to 21 inclusive, are similar rings of twisted wires, intertwined with plaited or twisted strands of very small wires. Sometimes the whole of the wires are simply twisted spirally, and in other cases they are first twisted separately in double strands, and then twisted all together.



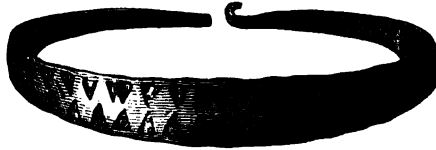
Armlet (No. 23) found at Skail.
($3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.)

No. 22 is a large neck-ring of twisted wires with recurved ends terminating in spirals. The central portion of the twisted part is welded into a solid knob.

No. 23 is an arm-ring or bracelet, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches inner diameter, of very elegant design, formed of a number of double strands of wire, which are first twisted together, and then the whole of the double twists are inter-

twined spirally round each other. The wires are welded together into solid ends terminating in dragonesque heads.

No. 24 is a flat arm-band of thin metal, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches inner diameter, tapering at both ends, one of which terminates in a hook; the other end is imperfect. The ornamentation on this bracelet consists of an impressed stamp made by a small punch of triangular form, with two raised dots in the field of the triangle. This style of impressed ornamentation is commonly found on the silver work deposited in hoards of this period. Sometimes there is one dot only in the field of the triangle, and in other cases two or three. It has been supposed to mark the Oriental origin of the silver-work, of which it is the characteristic ornament; and I noticed that



Flat Arm-Band (No. 24) found at Skail.
($2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter.)

this triangular impressed ornament with three dots in the field of the triangle, was used in precisely the same manner on a modern silver anklet from Algeria, in the South Kensington Museum. But, on the other hand, it occurs on a thin flat silver ring, dug up in the Island of Bornholm among burned bones, and associated with relics of the early Iron Age;¹ and in one of the hoards found in Denmark, there was one of the little amulets known as Thor's Hammers (not likely to be of Oriental origin) marked with the same ornament.² This peculiar style of ornamentation is commonly associated in the silver hoards, with an allied style of square impressed markings arranged in short rows, precisely similar to the ornamentation on the Irish Crannog pottery of the later Iron Age.

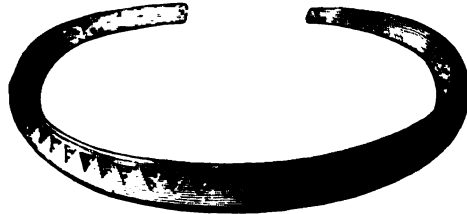
No. 25 is an arm-ring or ankle-ring, penannular in form and triangular in section, and ornamented with impressed triangles, with three dots in

¹ Bornholm's *Aeldre Jernalder*, in the *Aarbog for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* for 1872, plate i. p. 25.

² Worsaae's *Afbildninger af Danske Oldsager*, 1859. No. 469.

the field of the triangle. Rings of this form are the commonest of all the personal ornaments of this period, and they are constantly alluded to in the Scaldic songs and Sagas. The specimen here figured is the only one in the hoard which bears any ornament. Twenty-five others of the same form were found in the hoard, but they are all plain.

2. *Silver Armlets found at Stennis, Orkney.*—Wallace, in his description of Orkney,¹ states that in one of the mounds near the circle of standing stones at Stennis, there were found "nine silver fibulæ of the shape of a horse-shoe, but round." He figures one of them, from which we are able to identify the form, and to class them with the others as belonging to this period.



Arm-Ring (No. 25) found at Skail.
($3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.)

3. *Silver Armlets found at Caldale, near Kirkwall.*—A number of penannular silver armlets were found at Caldale, near Kirkwall, in 1774, along with a horn containing about 300 silver coins of Canute the Great. One of these, figured by Richard Gough in his "Catalogue of the Coins of Canute,"² is of the same form as those found at Skail.

4. *Silver Armlets found at Quendale, Shetland.*—In November 1830, six or seven armlets of silver, of this form, were found at Garthsbanks, Quendale, Shetland,³ along with a horn full of Anglo-Saxon coins of Ethelred, Athelstan, Edwy, and Eadgar. They were found in the ruins

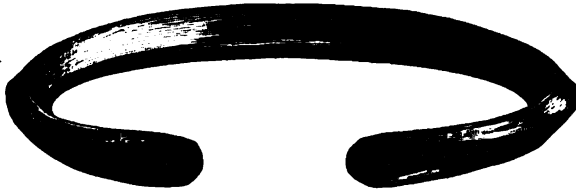
¹ An Account of the Islands of Orkney, by James Wallace, M.D., London 1700, p. 58.

² Catalogue of the Coins of Canute, King of Denmark and England, by Richard Gough, London, 1777, 4to.

³ MS. Letter in the Society's Library.

of a built structure, and with them there were four or five "broken stone basons," or steatite pots.

5. *Silver Armlets found at Kirk o' Banks, Rattar, Caithness.*—In 1872 some workmen, in cutting a drain through an ancient enclosure on the southern shore of the Pentland Firth, in which there is an old chapel called "Kirk o' Banks," near the mouth of the Burn of Rattar, came upon a small cist, the cover of which was about 2 feet long by 18 inches wide, and lay about 6 inches under the surface. The cist was filled with earth and small stones, among which eight penannular silver armlets of the form here figured were found.¹



Penannular Silver Armlet, found in a Cist at Kirk o' Banks, Caithness.
(3 inches diameter.)

The discovery was made known to the Procurator-Fiscal at Thurso, by whom the armlets were secured for the Exchequer, and subsequently five of them were presented to our National Museum by the Lords of H.M. Treasury, through Stair Agnew, Esq., Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer for Scotland, and the remaining three were deposited in the Museum at Thurso.

These armlets have a general correspondence in size, form, and weight with those in the great hoard at Skail; but they differ slightly in having their extremities hammered flat, and rounded off at the ends. If we are to accept the Scaldic stanzas in the Saga of King Hakon Hakonson in their literal sense, it would seem that in 1263 King Hakon, then on his way to Largs, levied a tribute in "rings" from Caithness.

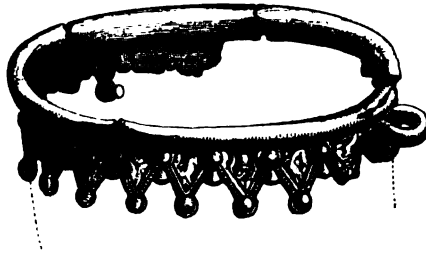
6. *Silver Armlets found in Skye.*—There are in the Museum two silver

¹ See communication by Mr Campbell, schoolmaster, Dunnet, in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 422.

penannular armlets of this form, with broken fragments of four more, which were found in a sepulchral mound in the island of Skye in 1850, and presented by Dr Daniel Wilson in June 1863.

7. *Silver Armlet found in Kirkcudbright.*—The flat silver armlet found with an amber bead in a cairn at Blackerne, Crossmichael, Kirkcudbright, ornamented on the flat side with parallel markings made by a chisel-shaped punch, is precisely similar in character to some of those found at Cuerdale, and probably belongs to this period, although there is nothing to connect it decisively with the Scandinavian incursions into Galloway.

8. *Silver Mounting of a Drinking Horn found at Burghead.*—The silver mounting of the end of a drinking horn, here figured, which was found at Burghead in the course of the excavations for the formation of the new town of Burghead previous to 1826, is so similar in character to the very common relics of this kind in Scandinavia, that there need be no



Silver Mounting of a Drinking Horn found at Burghead.
(2½ inches diameter.)

hesitation in assigning it to the Viking period of the Northmen. Burghead is in the parish of Duffus, the Dufeyrar of the Orkneying Saga,¹ and was at an early period a fortified settlement of the Northmen.

V. BEAKER OF GLASS, FOUND IN A GRAVE IN WESTRAY.—Beakers of glass are not rare in Scandinavian grave-mounds of the early Iron Age, though they are perhaps more common in Anglo-Saxon graves in the south of England. The Anglo-Saxon forms, however, are different from the Scandinavian, and mostly belong to an earlier period than the Viking

¹ See the Orkneying Saga, Edinburgh, 1873, pp. 114, 123.

time. The specimen in our Museum is a very thin milky-coloured glass vessel, with plain lip and sides, and a flat bottom, ornamented with a double raised moulding round the centre. It was presented by the Rev. Dr Brunton in March 1827, and is described as having been "found in a stone coffin in Westray, and the only specimen hitherto discovered."

VI. SCOTTISH OR CELTIC BROOCHES, &c., FOUND IN VIKING GRAVES IN SCANDINAVIA.—If it be an interesting illustration of the early relations of the Northmen with this country to find these peculiarly Scandinavian

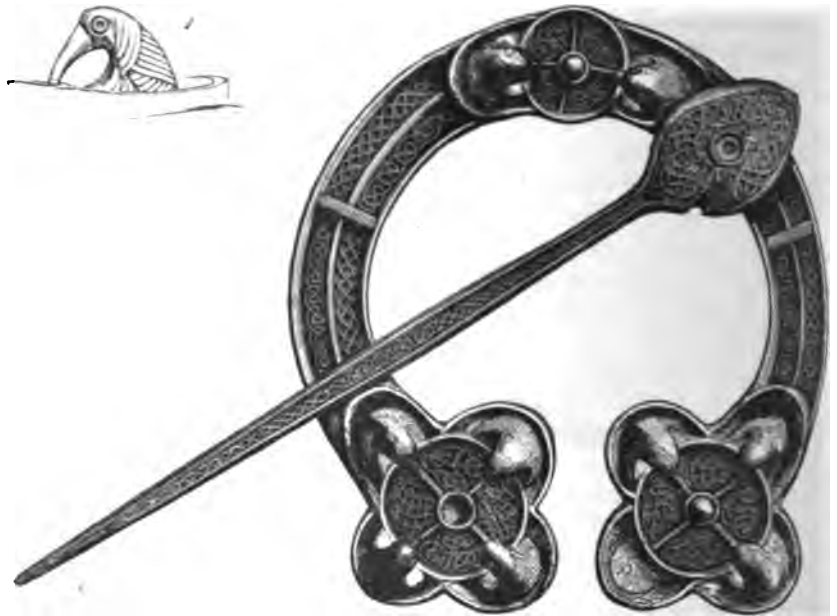


Silver Brooch, with Interlaced Work, found in Sutherlandshire.
(In the possession of R. B. Æ. Macleod of Cadboll, Esq.)

relics in Scotland, associated with their Pagan burial customs, it is no less interesting to find that our Celtic brooches are occasionally dug up in Sweden and Norway, and sometimes associated with the Pagan custom of cremation. The art of these Celtic brooches of this particular form and style is, I think, as clearly Christian¹ as that of the tortoise brooches is

¹ Sometimes, as in the case of the brooch found in King's County (Arch. Jour., xxx. 184), the cross appears as one of its ornamental decorations. In the Museum we have a very remarkable bronze brooch of this class which has the cross combined with the penannular form as part of the brooch itself.

Pagan. Their style of ornamentation (which is well shown in the examples figured on pp. 587-8) is that which was so beautifully elaborated, first in the Celtic MSS. of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, and subsequently on the sculptured stones and monumental crosses, and on the metal-work—the shrines, bell-covers, crosiers, &c.—of the early Celtic



Silver Brooch, with bird's head ornaments, found in Sutherlandshire.

(In the possession of R. B. Æ. Macleod of Cadboll, Esq.)

Church, as well as on the personal ornaments of the rich and great of the time. It is not my purpose to trace the development of this style of art, or to establish the sequence of its application to the work of the pen, the chisel, and the graver, as exemplified in the MSS., the memorial sculptures, and the metal-work. But that the period of this

work upon brooches and personal ornaments is that of its latest development may be inferred, I think, from a consideration of the natural circumstances of the case. The art was perfected by the scribes before it was adopted by the sculptors and jewellers. The elaborate intricacy of detail, which is one of its most special characteristics, could never have been developed in stone or metal-work. Its most complicated designs, flowing easily from the pen, might be copied in the more durable material, but they could scarcely have originated, and certainly they would never have arrived at such perfection, if the artists by whom they were elaborated had been merely workers in stone or metal. The Earl of Dunraven, describing the Ardagh brooches (which were found in the magnificent silver chalice before alluded to, says :—"Judging from a comparison of the dates already fixed of MSS. and metal-work, it would seem that the art of the scribe preceded that of the jeweller ; and when the latter reached its highest development, the former was already declining." On this view, the best period of the metal-work had not been reached before the ninth century, which brings the approximate date of these magnificent brooches quite within the Viking period. Accordingly, we find them occasionally appearing in connection with Viking remains in Scandinavia.

In the Stockholm Museum there are two specimens of these Celtic brooches, dug up in Gothland. They are described by Mr Montelius, in his "Brief Description of the Museum,"¹ as "having been brought over from Scotland, or perhaps, rather made after a Scottish pattern."

It is suggestive of the imitation by Scandinavian artists of the work of the Celtic school, that we sometimes find both the Celtic and the Scandinavian styles combined, as in the case of the magnificent sword found in the grave-mound of a Viking at Ultuna, Sweden. The circumstances of its discovery are thus related by Dr Oscar Montelius, in his newly published work on Prehistoric Sweden :—²

"One of the most remarkable discoveries of the middle period of the Iron Age³ was made in 1856, in a tumulus at Ultuna, near Fyrisa, to the

¹ Statens Historiska Museum, Kort Beskrifning til Vägledning för de Besökande, af Oscar Montelius, Stockholm, 1872, p. 55.

² La Suede Prehistorique, par Oscar Montelius, Stockholm, Paris, and Leipzig, 1864, p. 114.

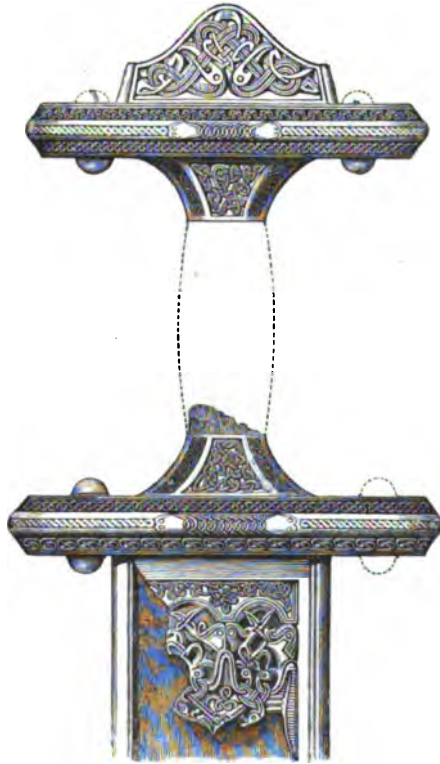
³ Dr Montelius divides the Iron Age of Sweden into three periods, styled respec-

south of Upsala. The tumulus contained the remains, still distinctly visible, of a ship in which a warrior had been entombed along with his arms and two horses. The iron nails which fastened the planks together were still visible in their places. The vessel appeared to be a galley of no great size, carrying a single mast. Alongside of the body, which was unburnt, was found a sword, the blade of iron, and the splendid hilt (which is here figured) of gilt bronze is decorated with interlaced patterns of extreme beauty and elegance. Remains of the wooden sheath and its gilt mountings were also found. A helmet of iron was also found, having a crest or ridge of bronze, containing zinc as an ingredient—the only helmet of the pagan period in Sweden hitherto known. There were also found a magnificent umbo or boss of a shield, in iron plated with bronze, and adorned with patterns of interlaced work, the handle of the shield, nineteen arrow heads, the bits of two bridles, a pair of shears, all in iron; thirty-six table-men and three dice, in bone. Besides these there was an iron gridiron and a kettle of thin iron plates rivetted together, with a swinging handle, as also bones of swine and geese, probably the remains of the funeral feast. The burials of this period, however, have usually the remains of the incinerated bodies.”

I have figured here one side of this splendid specimen, and it will be seen on comparing the details of its ornamentation with that of the Scottish brooch figured on p. 588, that the style is identical, and the patterns are even to some extent the same, while it also exhibits traces of the Scandinavian style, and on the opposite side has a pattern which is purely Scandinavian in style and treatment. If the Scandinavian archaeologists are right (as I think they are) in calling this a style of art imported from Scotland, the archaeological interest of the facts, as distinct from the artistic, lies in this imported style of Celtic Christian art being found in Scandinavia associated with all the accompaniments of heathenism, and specially with the custom of cremation of the dead.

tively the Early, Middle, and Later divisions of the Iron Age. The Early Iron Age, commencing with the Christian era, reaches to A.D. 450; the Middle Period extends from A.D. 450 to A.D. 700, and it is to the close of this period, or the seventh century, to which this pagan interment, with its remarkable works of art are referred; while the Later Iron Age, extends from A.D. 700 to the close of the eleventh century. It is to this latter period that our Scandinavian relics belong.

In the Christiania collection there is also a most beautiful example of a Celtic brooch of this period. In form it resembles the Hunterston Brooch,¹ the body of the brooch being closed instead of open and penan-



Sword hilt found in a Grave-mound at Ultuna, Sweden.

nular. The Norwegian archæologists describe it somewhat happily as "padlock-shaped." It is ornamented on both sides, and has been set with glass or amber. A photograph of it is given (C 758) in the series

¹ See the figure of the Hunterston Brooch in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 462.

presented to the Society by His Majesty the late King of Sweden and Norway, which I now exhibit. I find from Nicolaysen's "Norske Fornlevninger" that it was dug up in the glebe of the parish of Snaasen, in North Trondheim before 1836, and that several tortoise brooches were found about the same place, but, unfortunately, there are no more precise descriptions of the circumstances of the find. The brooch, however, will speak for itself, and there can be no doubt as to its identity with the Scottish and Irish forms.

In the Museum at Christiania I also saw about twenty fragments of similar workmanship, all exhibiting the same character, and obtained a promise from Professor Rygh to give us electrotypes of them, with notices of the circumstances in which they were found,—a promise which I trust he will live to fulfil. In general terms, he told me that they were found in Viking grave-mounds, and that they did not consider them to be of native origin or workmanship.

I find also in the Annual Report of the Society for the Preservation of the Ancient Monuments of Norway at Christiania, an account of the exploration of a number of small round grave-mounds at Nordre Gjulem in Rakkestad. In one of these there was found, in 1866, among ashes and burnt bones, a bronze brooch of unusual form,¹ and of exquisite workmanship, along with one of a set of the bone dice so common in Norse graves. "This brooch," says the report, "is of the form of which No. 427 in Worsaae's Oldsager is an example. [Brooches of this form are not known in Scotland, but the form occurs in Ireland adorned with Late Celtic ornamentation.] They are not common in Norway. Besides the present specimen there is one in the Bergen Museum, and two in the collection of the Scientific Society of Trondheim. They are all ornamented in the same peculiar style—a style which does not seem native to Norway, but may have been brought over from Scotland or Ireland, where it is found alike on personal ornaments and on sculptured monumental slabs and crosses."

It is suggestive that in the Irish example, which bears the closest resemblance to this Norwegian one, we have a combination of the peculiar ornamentation characterised by the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern,

¹ Only four of these brooches have been found in Norway. Foreningen, 1870 p. 50.

and known as "Late Celtic," with the interlaced ornamentation characteristic of the (later) Christian Celtic period. We have thus in the Irish example the blending of the two styles of the ornamentation of the Celtic metal-work, the earlier of which never appears in Scandinavia, while the later style, which is most characteristic of our Christian MSS., monuments, and metal-work, is found as an importation into Scandinavia, adopted by Scandinavian artists, and adorning the weapons deposited with the bones of heathen Vikings. Traces of this peculiar art are found abundantly in the later Christian period of Norway, in the splendid wood-carvings which decorated their churches; while, singularly enough, it survived in Scotland to be applied to the ornamentation of Highland shields, dirk-handles, and powder-horns.

In closing this paper I must plead guilty to a greater amount of diffuseness and discursive treatment than I had anticipated before addressing myself to its details. This, however, is unavoidable in the case of a first attempt to group together the relics of what may be termed the Heroic Age of Scottish history—a period of singular interest alike in connection with its history, its archæology, and its art. It seems to me, also, to have an important bearing on the chronology of Scottish archæology if I have been able to show that in certain areas there was an overlapping of the heathen burial customs within the Christian period, and that, consequently, a distinction must be observed between this intruding cremation and the older cremation of the native heathenism. I think it is conclusively established by the facts that I have adduced, that the custom of cremation was not extinct (as it is usually represented to have been) when the Norsemen were settling on our northern shores, establishing the earldom of Orkney and the kingdom of Man and the Isles, and founding the dynasties of the Hy Ivar in Limerick and Dublin.

And I cannot conclude without expressing the hope that the Iron Age of Scotland (which is so much less worthily represented in our Museum than any other period) will receive a greater share of the attention of our active archæologists; and that the most interesting specimens of this period, among which I would specially notice the two splendid brooches exhibited by Mr Heiton of Darnick, a Fellow of the Society (which I regret that I have been unable to engrave), and the still more magnificent brooches now called of Hunterston and Cadboll, may yet be brought out

of their comparative obscurity to become the pride and ornament of our National Collection, and representative examples to all future ages of a style of artistic workmanship unrivalled in any period of our country's history.



Bronze Brooch in the Dunrobin Museum.

III.

NOTES ON SOME ANCIENT CHAPELS AND OTHER REMAINS IN THE ISLAND OF MULL. BY J. W. JUDD, Esq., F.G.S., ETC. COMMUNICATED THROUGH THE REV. J. M. JOASS, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

RUINED CHAPEL OF PENNEGOWN, ISLAND OF MULL.

This chapel is situated about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Salen, on the road to Craigmora. The burial-ground round it is still used for interments. The internal dimensions of the building are 40 feet by 17 feet. The building is placed in true position; the altar at the east end. The walls are constructed of blocks of basalt and felstone from the immediate neighbourhood,—the little carved work of the doors and windows being wrought in a freestone of the cretaceous rocks (Upper Greensand), which must have been brought from Gribun, Inch Kenneth, or Morven. The same material is similarly employed in the buildings of Iona. There is only one door, which is situated not in the usual position of the principal entrance of churches (namely the south-west), but at the north-west. Its dimensions are 6 feet 3 inches high by 2 feet 10 inches broad; it is round-headed, and surrounded by a continuous, simple, but not very

deeply-cut roll-moulding. There are indications of hinges, but not of a bar-hole.

The chapel is lighted by three windows, which are all simple, round-headed lancets, surrounded by a simple roll-moulding; the thick walls being deeply splayed internally, as is usual in early English work. The western widow is 40 inches high by 6 inches broad, the other two windows are situated at the east end of the north and south walls respectively, so as to overlook the altar. They are 45 inches high by 6 inches broad.

In the east wall, on the south side of the altar, is a small ambry, 14 inches high by 12 inches broad; but I could find no trace of the existence either of Piscina or Sedilia, and all vestiges of the altar itself have disappeared. At the west end we find two very rude corbels for the support of an arch.

According to a tradition in the neighbourhood, this chapel was never completed, the sudden death of three lairds in succession, who attempted to roof it in, having operated as a check to all later undertakings of the kind.

Judged by our English standards, the date of this little chapel would certainly be the thirteenth century; but the structure is so very simple, and destitute of almost all characteristic ornament, that one may well hesitate in pronouncing a decided opinion on the subject.

Inside the chapel, and facing the altar, is the fragment of a beautiful cross, still erect. The position of this cross, taken in connection with its age, may lend some support to the tradition, that the chapel was never completed.

The material of this cross is a fine-grained black mica-schist, similar to that of which the crosses of Iona and Inch Kenneth are constructed. I have enclosed a rough sketch of the beautiful work upon it. The fragment is 40 inches high. Most of the work is still very distinct; but portions of the Madonna, especially the features, and portions of the child, are much worn. The style of the workmanship appears to point to the Early Decorated or Late Early English (*i.e.* Geometric or latter part of the thirteenth century), as the period at which it was executed; this date appears to be confirmed by the presence of the nail-head moulding.

Outside the chapel are to be seen, on the ground, two slabs of soft

(cretaceous) sandstone, which have evidently formed the tops of altar-tombs. The figures upon these are in alto-relievo, but very rudely executed, owing to the softness of the material; also the sculpture is not well preserved.

One figure is that of a knight lying with his head on a kind of square pillow, the legs *not* crossed, and the toes turned awkwardly outwards. His right hand grasps the pommel of his sheathed sword, and his left holds a long dagger that lies along his left thigh. The only portion of the dress which shows any character is the helmet, of which I give a rough sketch. The other figure is that of a lady. Her head rests on a similar square pillow to that of the knight; she is clothed in a simple dress, very rudely carved, which is without any characteristic details or ornament, and does not appear to differ, so far as it can be made out, from a modern gown. Her feet are in the same awkward position as those of the knight, this position having been apparently determined by the thickness of the blocks of sandstone on which the figures are sculptured. The arms, however, lie easily across the body, with the hands united. The head-dress can be fairly well made out, but appears to be destitute of all ornament.

Altogether these altar-tombs are very much ruder than those common in England, in which the figures are sculptured in full relief, and the details of the dress are given with such fidelity, that antiquaries, who have made the subject of mediæval dress and ornament their special study, find little difficulty in fixing the date of these monuments within very narrow limits.

PENNYCROSS.

This is a very celebrated cross, which gives its name to a district, and a title to a laird. The cross stands near the road which traverses the Island of Mull, from Loch Dow to Bunessan, and about eight miles from the latter place, near the southern shore of Loch Scriden.

I have enclosed a rough sketch of this cross. It is very rudely cut out of a block of Easdale slate, probably brought from the opposite mainland, or one of the adjoining islands. It is fixed by a well-cut mortice into a square block of (cretaceous) sandstone from Gribun, and this rests on a pyramidal pile of basalt blocks from the immediate neighbourhood. The cross is 4 feet 6 inches high, and the pile of stones on which it stands, 5

feet high. There are many scribblings on the cross ; but on its east side, at the point indicated in the sketch, are letters and a date carefully cut. These are, of course, long posterior in date to the cross itself, but from the character of the letters, &c., it appears to be a genuine inscription of that period.

In the "Nun's Cave" at Carsaig, on the south coast of Mull, there are several rudely incised crosses upon the soft sandstone, which form the walls. Piles of stones at the end are called "altars," but may only be bed-places ; for the cave is still used as an occasional dwelling by wanderers.

At Ardnacroish and Achenacroish, in spite of their names, I could find no trace of the existence of any crosses at the present time. The other interesting mediæval monuments of Mull and the adjoining islands, namely the chapels and crosses of Iona and Inch Kenneth, are too well known to require description at my hands. In Glen Lonnán in Lorn, I saw an interesting cross, of which I give a sketch from memory. It stands on a pile of stones, and consists of a simple block of slate, upon which is carved a cross (incised), standing upon a sphere (in bold relief).

MEGALITHS, &c.

At Ardnacroish, half way between Salen and Tobermory, is a "standing-stone," 10 feet high, and another prostrate one in its neighbourhood. They consist of the basalt of the vicinity, and stand on a sloping hill-side. Close at hand are two circles of stones, each about 5 yards in diameter, with some barrows at a short distance from them. On the opposite side of the road, and near the farm house, is another similar circle of stones. From their position these stones could hardly have formed part of a great circle, but seem to have been monumental. The circles seem to have been the boundaries of cairns or barrows.

On the farm of Baliscate, near Tobermory, there are, on a small tract of elevated ground, two standing-stones, 9 feet and 6 feet high respectively, with a prostrate one in their vicinity. These may *possibly* have formed part of a great circle. At the south end of Glen Lonnán, in Lorn, there is a very fine monolith. Barrows, cairns, and hut-circles are by no means rare in Mull and the adjoining islands. On the shores of Loch Nell, in Lorn, rises the striking hill, dignified by the title of "Berego-

nium." At its summit are clearly seen the remains of one of the remarkable "vitrified forts;" but this has doubtless been already fully described.

Of interesting mediæval castles, the district exhibits very numerous examples: Dunstaffnage, Dunolly, and Loch Nell in Lorn, Ardtornish and Kinloch Aline in Morven, Mingary in Ardnamurchan, Gylan in Kerrera, and Duart, Aros, and Moy in Mull. These are generally more interesting from their picturesque position than from their architectural beauties; they are generally of but insignificant proportions, and do not exhibit evidences of any great antiquity.

MONDAY, 13th April 1874.

DAVID MILNE HOME, Esq., LL.D., in the Chair.

On the recommendation of the Council,

SAMUEL FERGUSON, Esq., LL.D., Public Record Office, Dublin,
was balloted for and elected an HONORARY MEMBER of the Society.

The following Gentlemen were also elected Fellows:—

JAMES A. BEATTIE, Esq., C.E., Aberdeen.

JAMES MACDONALD, Esq., Rector of Ayr Academy.

MALCOLM M'NEILL, Esq. (late 78th Highlanders).

WILLIAM PAXTON, Esq., 11 Lauder Road.

GEORGE HUNTER THOMS, Esq., Sheriff of Orkney.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

- (1.) By JAMES DALGARNO, Esq., Merchant, Slains, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., through William Ferguson of Kinmundy, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A. Scot.

Celt or Axe-Head of Grey Flint, 7 inches long, 2½ inches wide at the broad and 1½ inches at the narrow end, finely polished and of unique form, being triangular in section across the middle, and expanding slightly

towards the two extremities. It is finished to a curved adze-like edge at both ends. One end is slightly broader and thicker than the other, and the crown of the triangular ridge of the back is ground away to a rounded outline. (See the accompanying woodcut.) A celt of somewhat similar



Polished Celt of Grey Flint, found at Ferny Brae, Slains, Aberdeenshire
(7 inches in length).

form, with the sides expanding at both ends, and of chalcedonic flint, but lozenge-shaped in section and roughly finished, found in Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire, is figured by Mr Evans in his "Stone Implements, &c., of Great Britain," p. 83, but no implement similar to this one in form or beauty of finish has hitherto been published. It was found with sepulchral remains at the Ferny Brae, in the moss of Lochlundie, parish of Slains, Aberdeenshire. (See the previous communication by Mr Ferguson of Kinmundy, in the present volume, p. 509).

(2.) By ROBERT HERDMAN, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Celt of a Green Mottled Stone, almost resembling jadeite, and beautifully polished, found on the banks of the Erich, in the parish of Rattray, Perthshire. It measures 8 inches in length, is pointed at one end, and 3 inches across the cutting face, and nowhere exceeds an inch in greatest thickness. It is beautifully polished over the whole surface, the edges straight and fine, and the section of the middle of the implement is a flattened oval.

(3.) By Rev. GEORGE MURRAY, Balmacellan, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Oblong Pebble of Quartzose Sandstone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, worn at one end by use as a pivot, probably for a field-gate, found near Balmacellan.

(4.) By ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Double-spiral Brooch of Bronze Wire, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with spirals $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. It is formed of a single piece of wire wound closely into two flat spiral coils in opposite directions from the centre, where the wire is twisted into a figure-of-eight ornament. The ends of the wire are brought to the back of the brooch from the centres of the spiral coils, one end forming the pin and the other the catch for the pin. Similar brooches are found in Italy, Germany, and Denmark, with interments of the later Bronze and early Iron Ages.

Handle of a Bronze Vase, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, terminating in an ornamental figure of a human head.

Oval Penannular Ring or Bracelet of Bronze, flattened on the inside, and rounded on the outside, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.

Oval Penannular Ring of Bronze, hollow and beaded on the outer margin, 4 inches in diameter.

Small Spatula of Bronze, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.

All found in the neighbourhood of Maçon, France.

(5.) By GASTON FEUARDENT, Esq., 61 Great Russell Street, London.

Dentated Mace-Head of Bronze, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, pointed and encircled by three rows of pointed projections, found in the neighbourhood of Maçon,

France. A dentated bronze ring, encircled with two rows of pointed projections, but having no pointed extremity, is in the Museum. It was found near Merlsford, on the Eden, Fifeshire. Another, with three rows of rounded knobs, is also in the Museum, locality unknown.

(6.) By WALTER DICKSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Letter of Dispensation by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow and Papal Nuncio, removing the impediment to the Marriage of William Houston and Catherine Kilpatrick, 1532.

(7.) By DAVID GRIEVE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Manuscript Volume, entitled "The Genealogie of the wholl Nobility of Scotland, collected out of History," &c. "Written and begun the 2d March 1685, and ended the 16th of the same moneth, by H. R., by command of H. M'K."

(8.) By the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society. Vols. XIII. to XXVII. inclusive, 8vo.

(9.) By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE.

Lapidarium Septentrionale, or a Description of the Monuments of Roman Rule in the North of England. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. Folio. 1874.

(10.) By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, London.

Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vols. XLIII. Pt. 2, and XLIV. Pt. 1. 4to. 1874.

(11.) By REV. B. H. BLACKER, M.A., the Author.

Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin. Fourth Part. 12mo. 1874.

The following communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF AN OGHAM INSCRIPTION IN THE CHURCHYARD OF ABOYNE, ABERDEENSHIRE. By W. F. SKENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

A cast of the Aboyne stone having been presented to the Museum by the Marquis of Huntly, an opportunity of deciphering its Ogham inscription has been thereby afforded, and the results are communicated to the Society in the following letter to the Secretary by Mr W. F. Skene:—

MY DEAR STUART,—I examined the Aboyne stone on Friday, and copied the inscription. The Ogham on the edge is very difficult to read. The inner Ogham is very distinct, and there is little doubt about the reading.

Applying the same alphabet I used for the Newton stone (see vol. v. Plate xx.), and reading from top to bottom, it makes—

b r r o u d d a f o i n n a m,

but reading from bottom to top, it makes—

m a q q o i t a l l u o r r h.

The well known Maqqoi or Maqi for *fili* shows that this is right. If you look at the list of the Pictish kings in the Pictish Chronicle, you will see that this name first appears as Talore, then Talorg, then Tallorcen, and finally Talorgen. This stone gives the transition from first to second. The line is this, so that you can test it for yourself—

m a q q o i t a l l u o r r h

The other line, if read from top to bottom, gives an impossible reading, but if read from bottom to top, may read—

n e a h h t l a r o b b a i t o e a n n e f f

Neahhtla—a local form of Neachtan, thus, Saint Neachtan (8 Jany., Festology) is locally Nathalen and Nachlan.

Robbait—compare Robaid, immolavit, in Book of Deer.

Ceanneff is Kinneff, a church in the Mearns. Between castle and church is St Arnty's kill (*Stat. Acc.*), said to be St Arnold's cell; but Reeves shows that Arnty and Arnold are corruptions of Adomnan, and Aboyne was dedicated to Adomnan.

Maqqoi seems to be Maccu in old Irish, and probably dative singular; but Maqqoi Talluorh may be a tribe name. Compare the use of Mocu in Adomnan.—Yours very truly,

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

1st March 1874.

II.

VACATION NOTES IN CROMAR, BURGHEAD, AND STRATHSPEY. BY
ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.

Including

NOTICE OF ONE OF THE SUPPOSED BURIAL-PLACES OF ST COLUMBA.

By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

These notes are founded on observations chiefly made during a holiday in the month of August 1873. They were originally embodied in a letter to David Douglas, Esq., but have since been extended in various directions, preserving, however, their epistolary and discursive character.

In the extensions I have made I have been often and largely aided by Mr Joseph Anderson—so often and so largely that a general acknowledgment becomes almost the only thing possible.

The notes refer only to those objects of archæological interest which I happened to see, and regarding which—or oftener perhaps regarding what they suggested—I had something to say which appeared to me more or less new.

I. CROMAR.¹

(1.) EIRDE HOUSES.—The first old thing I had an opportunity of examining was one of those subterranean structures, called Eirde Houses, which are so numerous in the county of Aberdeen. It is situated

¹ The Rev. John M'Hardy, in the *New Statistical Account* (vol. xii. p. 1070), describes Cromar as a district of Aberdeenshire, comprehending part of five parishes.

at Mill of Migvie, and has been figured and described by Mr Jervise.¹ Towards the outlet, the passage bends sharply on itself, instead of pursuing the curvilinear sweep which is usual in such structures where the stones of the districts in which they occur have not more or less of the character of flags.

At Culsh, in the adjoining parish of Tarland, I saw other two Eirde Houses. One of these has been described by Dr Stuart,² and also by Mr Jervise, who figures it;³ but the other, so far as I am aware, has not yet been described. The boulders used in the construction of these two houses appeared to me unusually large.

Both at Culsh and Migvie the terminal chamber, instead of being pear-shaped, is more or less rectilinear, contrary, I think, to what might have been expected where such building material had been employed.

(2.) ST WALLACH.—To this illustrious Scottish saint and “first Bishop of Aberdeen,” who is so intimately associated with the district of Cromar, my attention was soon and often drawn, and I propose to say something about his stone in Logie; about his well and kirk in Glass; about the northern people he laboured among; about the house he lived in; about a possible relic of him in Coldstone; and, as suggested by the last, about some objects which were occasionally buried with persons who had led saintly lives.

It will be convenient to write of these things under separate headings.

In the *Old Statistical Account* (vol. vi. p. 223), the Rev. Mr Maitland says:—“Cromar is a division of Mar in Aberdeenshire, and comprehends in it the parish of Coul in the east end, the parishes of Tarland and Migvy, of Coldstone and Logy, and part of the parish of Tullich in the middle and west end of it.” In Sir James Balfour’s *Collections*, MS., Cromar is thus described:—“This prettey little countrey layes in a bottome plaine,” and consists of “five parochiall churches ore parishes, viz., 1. Logey Mar; 2. Colstaine; 3. Migvie; 4. Tarland; and 5. Coule.”—(*Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Spalding Club*, p. 86.) In the *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen*, again, the district is thus defined:—“Cromar, that is, *The Heart of Mar*, either because it is the middle or the choicest part of it, is a bottom lying between Dee and Don, surrounded with four hills, and containing these three cures, two of which are double—Tarlan and Migvie, Logy-Mar and Colstane, now called Logy-Colstane, Cowl.”—*Collect. on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 85.)

¹ Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. vol. v. p. 304.

² Op. cit. vol. i. p. 261.

³ Op. cit. vol. v. p. 283.

(a) *Wallach's Stone*.—The stone which carries the name of St Wallach,¹ stands just outside the old burial-ground of Logie Mar. It bears no inscription or sculpture of any kind. Its existence appears to have escaped the notice of the Bishop of Brechin when preparing his *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, though it was described by the Rev. James Wattie in a letter to Dr Joseph Robertson, from which Dr Stuart quotes in his paper on Crannoga.²

It is a handsome monolith, 6 feet high; and one would not have been surprised to learn that tradition made it a petrification of the Druid whom St Wallach dispossessed.³ It is written of the early saints that they sometimes disposed of the priests of the more ancient faith in this manner. In the life of Maedhóg, Bishop of Ferna, for instance, we are told that Cailin, an Irish saint, and the school-pupil of Maedhóg, performed a famous miracle on the Druids whom Fergua, king of Briefne, sent against him. He turned them into stones, "and," it is added, "they still remain as standing stones."⁴ "A.D. 624 was the date when Maedhóg resigned his spirit to heaven,"⁵ so that we have an approach to the time of this miracle.⁶

¹ The saint is also remembered in the following rhyme:—

"Wallach's fair in Logie Mar,
The thirtieth day of Januar."

Though St Wallach's fair appears thus to have been on the 30th, his festival day is on the 29th of January. In the parish of Glass his fair was held on the Tuesday before Christmas. (*Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*)

² Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 171.

³ See *Legends of the Braes of Mar* (Abdn. 1861, p. 3), for a Cromar story of an interview between a Druid and an early Christian missionary.

⁴ *Martyrology of Donegal*, compiled by Michael O'Clery in 1630. Published by the Irish Arch. and Celtic Society, p. 37.

⁵ *Martyr. of Donegal*, *op. cit.* p. 33.

⁶ Druids, too, are believed to have had the power of turning men into stones. In many parts of Ireland this is what the common people believe to be the history of standing stones (Huddleston's edition of Toland, Montrose, 1814, pp. 130 and 295). And according to Martin, the people of Lewis say of many such pillars there that they are "men by enchantment turned into stones." (*Western Highland*, 1703, p. 9.) This superstition, indeed, appears to exist very widely. The two standing stones near West Skeld are believed by the people of Shetland to be metamorphosed wizards or giants (*New Stat. Acct. Shetland*, p. 111), and Unda, in one of his rare books, says that in the Highlands you may often hear the people gravely talk of

(b) *St. Wallach's Kirk and Well in the Parish of Glass.*—St Wallach's northern¹ mission is described as having been to Mar, Strathdon, and Balveny—that is, to the tribes inhabiting the stretch of country thus indicated, for there were no dioceses or parishes, as we understand them, in those days, nor indeed sooner than the reign of Alexander I.,² the relations of a spiritual oversight being primarily rather to the clan than to the territory.

In the Balveny end of St Wallach's northern missionary district—in the parish of Glass—we find him quite as well remembered as in Logie-Coldstone.

There was a “yearly mercat” held there on the Tuesday before Christmas, at the village called the Haughs of Edinglassie, near the bridge which spans the burn of Invermarkie, and over which the Barons of Edinglassie used to hang such of the Highland thieves as they managed to catch. The market is no longer held, but the Rev. Dr Duguid tells me that fifty years ago, in his own day, it was in full force.

He tells me also that the old Font is still to be seen in the aisle of the ruin of what is called Walla-Kirk, and that the well and bath³ which bear St Wallach's name, were quite recently in fame for their healing qualities.

The well, which is about 30 yards below the old kirk-yard, is now dry, except in very rainy weather, in consequence of the drainage of the field above it. It was frequented by people with sore eyes, and every one who went to it left a pin in a hole which had been cut either by nature or by

these pillars as petrified giants, fiends, and necromancers. (Shetland Revisited, by Unda, p. 40.) He makes the superstition classic, by reminding us that Kingsley recites that “Polydectes and his guests, after being shewn the Gorgon's head by Perseus, sit on the hill side, a ring of grey stones, until this day.” (Op. cit., p. 40.) It is probable that research would disclose a similar superstition existing in most of the countries of the world—of which, perhaps, there is an illustration in Shaw's *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, in his chapter on Ras Sem or the Petrified Village. (2nd ed., 1757, p. 155.)

¹ He had a southern one to Galloway—Candida casa.

² *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, by Cosmo Innes, p. 11; and Dr Stuart's *Book of Deer*, pp. 126 and 132.

³ In a reference to the bath and well in Chambers's *Dom. An. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 323, Wallach is spoken of as an anchoritic saint, who dwelt in the parish of Glass in the fifth century, and who is reckoned the first Bishop of Aberdeen.

art in a stone beside the well. Dr Duguid says he has seen this hole full of pins at the end of May. It was thus not on the saint's day, the 29th of January, but in May, that both the well and the bath were frequented, in late times at least.

The bath is a cavity in the rock, 3 or 4 feet deep, and is supplied by a small spring coming out of the brae about twenty yards above the bath, and the water trickles over the east end of the cavity, falling down the rock some 4 feet into the river. It was famed for curing children who were not thriving; and Dr Duguid says that when he first came to the parish hundreds of children were dipt in it every year—a rag, an old shirt, or a bib from the child's body, being hung on a tree beside the bath, or thrown into it. When the Deveron was in flood it got into the bath, and swept all the offerings down to the sea. Dr Duguid adds that one person was this year (1874) brought to it from the seaside.

(c) *St Wallach's Life*.—St Wallach's northern work evidently made a deep and lasting impression. This is not to be wondered at, if all that is said of him be true. To show what I mean, I quote some passages from his life in the Aberdeen Breviary.¹

“More than four hundred years after our Lord had suffered for us,” says his biographer, “while this one faith, which the Roman Catholic preaches had not been received through all Scotia, on account of the paucity of the teachers of the said church; among these, blessed Volocus,² the bishop, a distinguished confessor of Christ, is said to have flourished with remarkable miracles in the northern part of that country, and to have chosen for himself a place of dwelling among the high rocks.

. “He voluntarily submitted himself to the greatest hunger,

¹ Kalendar of Scottish Saints, by the Bishop of Brechin, p. 460; Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars. hyem. fol. 44, 45.

² His name is written Walach, Wellach, Wallach, Walloch, and Wella in the Macfarlane MSS.; Wallak, Wolok, and Walla in the Presby. Book of Strathbogie; Volocus in the Abdn. Breviary; Mac-Wolok and Makuolocus in Camerarius; Makuolok in King's Kalendar; and Makuvolokus in Dempster. The writer of the View of the Diocese of Aberdeen talks of Camerarius as confounding Wolok with Makuolok, as if they were different persons. (See Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 128; see also Antiq. of Abdn. and Banff, vol. ii. 180 185). The prefix *Mak* here is not the Celtic word meaning *son of*, but the Celtic word meaning *my*, and conveying an idea of endearment. The *k* is introduced for the sake of euphony

thirst, and cold, that in this life he might satisfy for his own sins and for those of others in his church.

“For he preferred a poor little house, woven together of reeds and wattles, to a royal palace. In this he led a life of poverty and humility, on all sides shunning the dignities of this world, that he might achieve to himself a higher reward in heaven, and for an eternal guerdon receive a perpetual crown.

“But the race whom he preferred to convert to the faith of Christ, and whom actually by his preaching and exhortation he did convert, no one would hesitate to describe as fierce, untamed, void of decency, of manners, and virtue, and incapable of easily listening to the word of truth, and their conversation was rather that of the brutes that perish than of men.¹

“For they had neither altar, nor temple, nor any oratory in which they might return thanks to their Creator; and as they believed not that Christ had been born, so they had neither knowledge nor faith, but like brute animals, given to eating, sleeping, and gorging, they finished their lives in the blindness of unbelief, asserting that there was no eternal punishment for sins to be inflicted on the unjust.

. “At length in extreme old age, on the 4th of the kalends of February, with angels standing around, his soul passed away to Christ, and in his honour up to this time, the parochial churches of Tumeth² and Logy in Mar are dedicated.”

¹ Dempster calls St Wallach *Episcopus sodorensis*, and says he taught the precepts of a better life to those Scots of the Woods who are called Hibernians—*Scotis illis silvestribus qui Hibernienses dicuntur*. I do not know whether any special tribes were designated *Scoti silvestres*, or whether the term was loosely applied to any tribe inhabiting inaccessible regions—much as we hear of *wilde Scots* and *Redd-shankes*,—in John Elder's letter, for instance, to Henry the Eighth, in 1542 or 1543 (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Edin. 1847, p. 26). He says that these *wilde Scots* “spake none other language but Yrische,” and that they were called Eyringhe or Irelandemen, Scotland itself being known as Eyrn veagg or Little Ireland.

In these references, Scots of the Woods and Hibernians are made the same people, but Bishop William of Orkney, in a letter to King Christian of Norway, appears to regard the *Scoti Silvestres* as different from the *Sodorenses Ybernanses* (Letter dated 28th June 1461. See *Diplomatorium Norvegicum*, Christiania, 1861, vol. v. p. 606.)

² The old parish of Dunmeith is now included in the parish of Glass.

(d) *Character of the People among whom St Wallach laboured.*—We have not a flattering account here of the condition of the northern tribes among whom the saint laboured in the eighth century. It is quite possible, however, that the people of these districts were as good then as they are now; that is, as good potentially, or with as great mental power and capacity for culture. Nor is this saying little; for where can a people be found superior to those now in the district? After the Gallovidians, the men of Aberdeenshire have the largest heads in Scotland;¹ as regards stature and bulk they are seldom surpassed;² and they make themselves felt, both by mind and body, wherever they appear. In spite of this, perhaps some of the things said of them by St Wallach's biographer might still be said. It is possible, for instance, that there are persons now among them who do not believe in the eternal punishment of sin; and the returns of the Registrar-General might be held by strict people to indicate a certain "void of decency, of manners, and virtue." In the opinion of sound churchmen, I suppose they might still be described as without altar, temple, or oratory in which they can thank their Creator for his goodness. It is even a question whether some might not be found among them who would doubt the sufficiency of the grounds on which the Saint himself rested his hopes of a "reward in Heaven," and his faith in the satisfying for sin by the endurance of hunger, thirst, and cold. In certain aspects, therefore, the present character of the people may perhaps be regarded as a venerable antiquity.

(e) *The Wattled House in which St Wallach lived.*—St Wallach is said to have lived in a poor little house woven together of reeds and wattles, and this seems to have been reckoned a hardship and a mark of humility. We cannot, however, safely infer from this that the people among whom he laboured, and who were neither self-denying nor humble, lived in houses of a different and more comfortable character. Indeed, it seems surprising to find so much made of the Saint's wattled dwelling, since houses constructed more or less completely of *wattle and daub* still exist among us; and I know that they can be tolerably com-

¹ Memoir of the Anthropol. Society, ii. p. 444.

² Beddoe's Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles.

fortable. At Inverie, in the parish of Glenelg, I once¹ slept in a house the partitions of which were of wattling plastered with clay; and I find an entry in my journal (16th Oct. 1866), in which I say that in Kintail, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, and Lochaber, "wattled partitions plastered with clay are frequent—outside walls too, but these generally for sheds or byres." Another entry occurs, on the 17th of September 1864, very much to the same effect. Captain Thomas tells me, from personal observation, that wattling was till lately, and probably still is, common in some parts of the Highlands. Nor was it confined to the dwellings of the poor. In Duthil, for instance, the old house of Inverladnan, in which Prince Charles passed a night, had creel partitions; so had the house of Shillochan in the same parish.² At Stronmilchain, in the parish of Glenurchy and Inishail, M'Gregor of Glenstrae had a house built of wattles, said to have been surrounded by a moat, and accessible only by a drawbridge,³ and about the end of the eighteenth century, the second son of Cluny, afterwards the Chief, brought home his bride, a daughter of Lochiel, to a wattled house at Nuid, near Kingussie.⁴

Walker, again, writing between 1760 and 1786, says, "When wood is at hand they erect what is called creel houses. These are formed of wooden posts, interlaced with branches of trees, like wicker-work, and covered on the outside with turf."⁵

When we hear of persons living in creel houses, it would be entirely wrong to conclude that they are either half-barbarous or peculiarly wretched. The fact may be nothing more than an outcome of circumstances, and no mark at all of inferiority or misery. The early settlers in Australia were persons who had been born and brought up in stone houses, in which not a few of them had lived luxuriously, yet we read that their houses in Melbourne "were most primitive in

¹ In 1859, or 1860. Mr W. F. Skene, when reading these notes in proof, kindly furnished me with the additional fact that the well-known Macdonell of Glengarry built one of these wattled houses at Inverie, and occupied it as a summer residence for many years. Mr Skene adds that he has often slept in it.

² I state this on the authority of Mr David F. Ross. It was in the house of Shillochan that a remarkable piece of Scotch carving on fir was lately discovered. See *Inverness Courier* of 24th September and 15th October 1874.

³ New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. p. 97. ⁴ Book of Deer, by Dr Stuart, preface, p. cli.

⁵ Walker's *Econom. Hist. of the Hebrides and Highlands*. Edin. 1806, vol. i. p. 95.

form and construction," and, "were chiefly limited to one storey, and usually built of wattle-stems interlaced, and plastered with mud, known as wattle and daub."¹ Mr Robert Tennent tells me that he long lived in such a house, of which he has shown me a photograph, and in which he enjoyed no little happiness and comfort.

Wattle-built churches² were common, and have received notice at the hands of various writers;³ but in the "Martyrology of Donegal"⁴ there is an interesting reference to one, for which, as for very many other references, I am indebted to Mr Anderson. We are there told that Mochaoi or Caolán, Abbot of n'Aondrium, in Uladh, went with seven score young men to cut wattles to make a church, and that he was himself cutting timber like the rest when a bird, "more beautiful than the birds of the world," spoke with him from a black thorn close by, and continued speaking for 300 years, while the saint slept "a sleep without decay of the body"—his bundle of wattles lying the while by his side, like himself keeping fresh and without decay. Machaoi is said to have been alive in A.D. 496. St Patrick gave him a crozier, called from the legend of the Wattles the *Buculus Volans*, or Winged Crozier.

(f) *The Coldstone Cross and St Wallach's Grave.*—The Aberdeen Breviary vaguely makes St Wallach to have lived and died "more than 400 years after our Lord;" Dempster says he flourished in the year 320; and Camerarius places his death in 733. The last is certainly nearest to the truth, and is probably pretty near it. No one, however, tells us where he died and was buried, but it is fairly probable, or at all events possible, that it was in some part of that northern district in which

¹ Glimpses of Life in Victoria. By a Resident. Edin. 1872, p. 10. See also Voyages to the East Indies, by John Splinter Stavorinus, Lond. 1798, vol. i. p. 57.

² An oratory built of wood, wattling, or clay was said to be built "after the manner of the Scots," and one of stone "after the Roman manner." The wooden oratory which King Edwin erected at York was enclosed in the stone church which he afterwards built there; and William of Malmesbury tells us that the "old church of wattled work"—St Mary of Glastonbury—was, at the end of the sixth century, "covered with a coating of boards" by order of Paulinus, Bishop of York.—(See Babington, Arch. Camb. 1857, vol. iii. p. 147.)

³ Dr Stuart, Book of Deer, p. cxlix. to clvii.; R. Perrott in the Arch. Camb. 1857, vol. iii. p. 147; and Reeve's Adamnan, pp. 106, 114, and 177.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 177-9.

his great missionary work was done. I am the readier to believe it was there, because the fact would suit a theory I formed regarding a very interesting stone in the old burial ground of Coldstone, to which my attention was directed, several years ago, by the Rev. George Davidson. The sketch which I subjoin (fig. 1) fairly exhibits its character.

Fig. 1.



It is a flattish, water-worn, undressed stone, about 22 inches long by 11 inches wide and 3 inches thick. On one of its faces, an oval of about 12 inches by 8 inches is sunk, and within this oval there is a Latin cross in relief.

I believe the late Dr Joseph Robertson, when visiting Sir Alexander Anderson at Blellach,¹ in Logie-Coldstone, saw this stone, and regarded it as belonging to the eighth century, that is, to the time of St Wallach.

It is not a fragment, but a complete stone; and it is clear that it never was intended to stand erect. On the other hand, it is too small and light to have been laid on the top of a grave, with any hope that it would long remain there.

It is a stone, however, of some pretension and of great character. When I saw it, I knew of no other similar stone, and on asking myself what purpose it could have served, it occurred to me that it might have been buried with St Wallach, or have taken the place of his body in the grave, if his remains were ever removed for enshrinement.² The fact that it was found in the burial ground of Coldstone and not in that of Logie constitutes no difficulty. So far as our information goes, the interment of St Wallach in the one place is neither more nor less probable than

¹ The late Dr Robertson thought that Blellach was a corruption of Bal-Wallach, but I believe the general opinion is that this etymology of the word is not correct.

² On asking Mr Weale of Bruges, whether he knew of any case in which it was recorded that some sacred object had taken the place of the body of a saint when it was removed from the grave for enshrinement, he said that he was not aware that any such occurrence had been recorded, but that it seemed to him probable that something of the kind might be done, and he showed me drawings of three cromlech-looking structures, which he knew to have been erected over the graves of translated saints, and which I hope he will soon describe in the pages of the "Beffroi."

his interment in the other. Both places were within his mission, as were other parishes. Though I first thought of his grave as the one of which it might once have been the tenant, my speculation, however, allowed of its having been entombed with, or in the place of, any one remarkable for a saintly life.¹

(g) *Iona Cross and St Columba's Grave.*—On showing Mr James Drummond my sketch of the stone, and telling him to what use I thought it might have been put, he produced the drawing of another stone found in Iona, strikingly like the one at Coldstone; and he told me that he had come to a similar conclusion as to the purpose it had served. I begged him to put his views into writing, and communicate them to the Society when I read my notes. This he kindly did, and they are embodied in the following—

NOTICE OF ONE OF THE SUPPOSED BURIAL-PLACES OF ST COLUMBA.

By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

About no saint's remains are there more conflicting opinions than about those of St Columba. The Irish say that he was buried at Down in the same grave with St Bridget and St Patrick, in fulfilment of a prophecy by St Patrick. This is denied by the Islanders, who insist that the body was buried at Iona. Pennant also mentions that in the Pope's library there is a life of the saint, which had been translated by Cail O'Horner, in which it is stated that he was buried at Iona. The best confirmation, however, is the fact that his body was lifted in the eighth century, and put

¹ Mr Skene has suggested that Wallach is the same person as Faelchu, the 12th Abbot of Hy. His ground was that Faelchu is the Irish equivalent of the Latin form Volocus, as Fechin is of Vigeanus, Finan of Vyninnus, and Fergal of Virgilius. In 717, the year after Faelchu's accession to the chair, the Columbian community were driven by King Nechtan *trans dorsum Britannie*. Faelchu was then 75 years old, and he died at 82 in 724. It is scarcely possible that he commenced his mission in the North after the age of 75, and if he be the same person as Volocus, and met his death in Cromar, he must have returned to the north, which, perhaps, is not altogether improbable in view of the schism which occurred in the Church at Hy about this period, and of the difficulties by which it appears to have been caused.

in a shrine which was of the most costly description. This shrine was concealed somewhere against the ravages of the Danes, who in 825 invaded the island to secure it. Failing in doing so, they massacred St Bláithmaic and his monks. But still the question remains, Where was St Columba buried? Had it been in the consecrated ground at Reilig Orain, it would perhaps have been mentioned; but it was desirable to keep this secret, considering the claims of the Irish, and their anxiety to possess the body: and some spot might have been selected to which the saint himself was partial. Tradition speaks to two places—the one to the west of the cathedral, the other in a place called the Desert, about a quarter of a mile to the north of this. As to the former it seems unlikely, although the shrine might have been concealed thereabouts, and may have traditionally come to be called his grave. It is of the other situation¹ that Pennant says Bishop Pocock had mentioned to him that he had seen two stones, 7 feet high, with a third laid across on their top, an evident trilithon. It is odd that Pennant does not say whether he had or had not seen these himself. I have, however, both seen and sketched them. Besides the upright stones there is a continuous enclosure formed by a series of large boulders, the uprights being the entrance to it, and close by them, inside, is traceable the foundations of what may have been a cell or small chapel, from which the enclosure was called Cladh Iain, or St John's burial ground, and sometimes from its situation Cladh an Discart, or the burial place in the Desert. It is very unfortunate that the upper stone of the trilithon or Cromlech (by which name it still goes) was, some years ago, thrown down by some one about the farm, in case it should fall and injure any of the cattle. It lay on the ground for some time, and about six or seven years ago was broken up to assist in the building of a new farm-house. This is much to be regretted. The height of the two upright stones is now 5 feet 6 inches (this, with the upper stone which was broken up, would give the height mentioned by Bishop Pocock), the distance between them 4 feet 6 inches. It was near this that Mr Alexander M'Gregor, a young doctor who lives on the island, and who is

¹ Dr Reeve, in my opinion, falls into error in identifying the place of which Pennant speaks with Cill ma Neachdain. I am led to this opinion by the following among other reasons:—The spot of which Pennant speaks was called a burial place, and the structure described by Pocock as existing there, still exists at Cladh an Discart.

nephew to the clergyman of the Established Church, found a most interesting relic, a heart-shaped granite boulder, $20 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and having a cross with a nimbus rather rudely sculptured on it. In answer to some enquiries, Mr M'Gregor wrote me—"the heart-shaped stone which I found, with the shape of a cross on it, was lying on the surface of the ground about 150 yards from the 'Claodh na Disert,' it was near no building or enclosure, but evidently was taken there for the purpose of closing up a drain. It was quite on the surface, and within 20 or 30 yards of that large boulder of granite under which I have heard it said that Saint Columba was buried."

It was carried by the finder to the enclosure of Cladh Iain, from whence it was taken last summer (1873) to the cathedral for preservation. The corner was broken off by the wheel of one of the farmer's carts passing over it. From its shape, it could have been of no use as a grave-stone, as from its form it could not stand upright, but it might have been used to lie on the top of a grave; its rounded shape would not have prevented this (fig. 2). The only use to which I could imagine such a stone really to have been put, would be to place it in a grave; and my

conjecture is, that when the remains of St Columba were enshrined, this stone, with the sacred emblem carved upon it, was put in the place where the saint's body had lain.

It is worthy of note that the person who had charge of the shrine and conveyed it in 1090 from the north of Ireland, where it was for the time, to Kells, was Angus O'Donnellan, who was Coarb of the Disert of Columille at Kells, which gives us the fact that there was a Disert Icomkille at Kells as well as at Iona.

In the enclosure at Cladh Iain was found the fragment of a cross, on which was quite distinctly seen the crucified figure, and interesting results

Fig. 2.



might follow a little judicious digging at this spot, as it is rumoured that drains in the neighbourhood have been covered with flat stones found here.

Postscript.—Since I wrote what precedes, my attention has been directed by Mr Joseph Anderson to the following passage in Adamnan's Life of St Columba :—“ . . . ubi pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem, qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus titulus stat monumenti.”¹

The translation of this passage in the Life of St Columba, by the Bishop of Brechin, is thus given :—“ . . . where he had a bare flag for his couch, and for his pillow a stone, which stands to this day as a kind of monument beside his grave.”²

The question naturally arises—Can the stone I have described be the pillow to which Adamnan refers? If this could be proved, it would certainly be a stone of great interest. It would be of still greater interest if it could be also shown that it took the place of the body of the saint when it was removed.³ It is certain to have been a relic held in great veneration. Reeves tells us that the stone pillow of St Kieran of Clonmacnois existed in the monastery when his life was written, and was “venerated by all.”⁴ A still more worshipful esteem was sure to be accorded to the pillow of St Columba; and if it was not buried out of sight—taking the place of the saint's body in his grave—it is probable that we should hear of it either as a relic remaining in Iona, or as having been removed to some such place, as Kells or Dunkeld. Petrie states that the penitential bed of St Columba still exists in his house at Kells⁵—a flat stone 6 feet long and 1 foot thick. We learn nothing, however, of the fate of the sacred pillow, nor should we expect to learn anything about it, if, at the time of the saint's enshrinement, when it was no longer required to stand on his grave as a “titulus monumenti,” it took the place of the translated body in the grave itself.

It is true that the late Dr Joseph Robertson ingeniously raised a theory that the stone pillow was among those relics of St Columba which Ken-

¹ Reeves' Vita Sancti Columbæ, pp. 233-4.

² Historians of Scotland, vol. vi., p. 97.

³ About the end of the eighth century.

⁴ Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 233, footnote.

⁵ Round Towers, p. 426; and Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 233.

neth MacAlpin transported to Scone in the ninth century, and that it was there used as the famous coronation stone now at Westminster. But Mr Skene has conclusively shown that this theory is not tenable,¹ and we are really left without any tradition as to what became of the stone pillow, though we can have little doubt that to few of the relics of the saint would so much sanctity be attached.²



(h) *Pillow Stones in the Graves of Saintly Persons.*—The reference by

¹ The Coronation Stone, by W. F. Skene, Edin. 1869, pp. 24–26.

² It is open to question, I think, whether the Bishop of Brechin has been altogether complete in the English rendering of the passage from Adamnan which has given rise to Mr Drummond's postscript. There appear to be some grounds for thinking that "quasi quidam titulus monumenti" means more than "as a kind of monument."

The words *titulus monumenti* occur in the Old Testament (Genesis xxxv. 20, Vulgate), where it is said—"Erexitque Jacob titulum super sepulchrum ejus; hic est titulus monumenti Rachael, usque in presentem diem." In our version of the Bible this passage reads as follows:—"And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachael's grave unto this day."

Titulus appears in several inscriptions on early Christian graves. Thus we have—"Sub hoc titulo . . . quiescet Landulda virgo," &c. (Anzieger für Schweizerische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, No. 1, Apl. 1855); and in the Mainz Museum the two following:—"In hunc titulo requiescit bonæ memoriæ Bertisindis," and "In hunc titulo requiescit Andolendis," &c. (Lindenschmits Alterthumer, &c., vol. ii. heft v. tab. v.). There is an interesting Irish example too on St Berkcheart's tomb at Tullylease, co. Cork, the inscription on which runs as follows:—"quicumque hunc titulu legerit orat pro berechiune" (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. vi. p. 266). We have also inscriptions in which the buried person or his body is said to be *titulatus*, as for instance in the inscription on the cruciform leaden plate, which was found in a stone coffin on the south-east side of the Minster Close at Lincoln, in 1847, and which runs thus:—CORPUS: SIFORDI: PRESBITERI: SUE · ELENE · ET · SCE · MARGARETE. TITULATUS · HIC · JACET (Proc. of the Archæolog. Institute, Lincoln, 1848, p. xliv.).

The word occurs also in heathen inscriptions. Thus, on a Roman stone found at "Ould Pereth," recording the short lives of a man and girl, it is said—"Vindicianus titulum posuit;" and on another Roman stone, found at Housesteads, recording in like manner, the length of the life of one *Dagwaldus*, it is said—"Pusinna conjuz titulum faciendum curavit" (Hübner's Inscript. Lat. Brit. 1873, Nos. 826 and 692).

Juvenal speaks of the *titulus sepulchri*, and other old writers use such phrases as *titulis decorare sepulchrum*, and *addere titulum busto* (See Du Cange, verb. *Titulus*).

The original idea of the *titulus* seems to refer simply to the *inscription*. By an

Mr Drummond in his postscript to the pillow stones of St Columba and St Kiernan suggests a notice of pillow stones¹ of a somewhat different character, for which, however, the Coldstone and Iona stones might readily enough be taken.

In a field, now called Cross Close, believed to be the cemetery or God's acre attached to the Nunnery at Hartlepool, over which St Hilda presided as abbess in the early part of the seventh century, a number of skeletons were found in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. Most of them were those of women; and they lay north and south, not in cists, but on the limestone rocks, with their heads resting on flattish unsculptured pillow-stones about 5 inches square.

Over the skeletons were also found a number of stones, the largest less than a foot square, and varying in thickness from 1 to 4½ inches, with crosses on them, and inscriptions either in Roman, Saxon, or Runic characters, consisting simply of a name, or of a name coupled with a request for the prayers of the faithful. The crosses resemble the cross which appears on the stone afterwards to be alluded to as having been found in St Breacan's grave. One at least of those inscribed stones is said to have been found as a pillow below the head of a skeleton, and with reference to it Mr Haigh says,² that if it were really so found, he "could only suppose that as it is usual in early times to translate from their usual place of burial to a

easy process it came to include the object on which the inscription existed—generally a pillar. It was only a step further in this direction which brought it to mean a *basilica*.

According to this view, the words quoted from Adamnan would have a meaning like this:—"Where it stands to this day near his grave, as a sort of inscription on his monument"—revealing, in other words, the fact that the grave was that of St Columba, and not the grave of any other person. The pillow, in short, from its association with the saint, became, in a certain sense, the inscription of his monument, saying to all, as plainly as words could say: *Hic jacet sanctus Columba*.

Professor Geddes of Aberdeen has ingeniously suggested to me that, as no monument existed, perhaps the phrase *titulus monumenti* should be held as equivalent to *monumentalis titulus*.

¹ My information regarding these stones is derived from the Arch. Association Journal, Mr Haigh, vol. i. p. 185-196; and Mr George Stephens' Old-Northern Runic Monuments, 1866-7, vol. i. p. 392-397; but reference is also made to them in the Archæologia, vol. xxvi. 1836, p. 480; in Cutt's Manual of Sepulchral Brasses, 1849; and in Pettigrew's Chronicles of the Tombs, 1864, p. 29.

² Notes on St Begu, p. 23.

more honourable one the bodies of those whose sanctity was believed to be evidenced by miracles, these stones were buried in the graves of those of the community who were most remarkable for the holiness of their lives, in order to assist, at a future time, the search which might be made for their remains." I give this quotation because it shows that others have speculated much in the same direction as Mr Drummond and myself regarding the use of what Mr George Stephens calls "these tiny slabs buried with the dead, and not intended for erection outside the grave."¹

Pillow-stones under the heads of skeletons have occurred likewise in some Kentish barrows,² and in the Burgundian graves at Charnay, the stones were not only placed below, but above and all round the head.³

(i) *Objects Found in Christian Graves—General Remarks.*—Various other objects have been found in the graves of persons distinguished for their pious lives. There appears indeed to have existed, and perhaps there still exists more frequently than is thought, a desire to bury with those who have been much loved and honoured some object either endeared to them while in life, or associated with the feelings of respect in which they were held, or calculated to secure a peaceful sleep in the tomb. The desire seems to be one which is natural to man. It has in all ages been felt and gratified both by Christians and pagans. The purpose is not always and everywhere the same, whether we have to do with the practice as followed in heathen or Christian lands; but there is no essential difference between the idea which prompts to the burying of a flint arrow head, a stone celt, a bronze sword, a charm stone, or a badge of office with the body of a rude tribal chief noted for feats of arms or for governing powers, and the idea which prompts to the burying of a crucifix, an altar stone, a chalice, a formula of absolution, or a copy of the Gospels with some leader in the Church distinguished for his zeal and success or for his holiness and humility.

¹ The Old-Northern Runic Monuments, by George Stephens, vol. i. p. 393.

² Haigh, Notes on St Begu, p. 23.

³ Henri Baudot—Mém. sur les Sépult. des Barbares de l'Epoque Méroving, Paris, 1860, pp. 17-18.

It may possibly throw light on the purpose of the Coldstone and Iona stones, if I briefly describe some of the objects which have been found in Christian tombs. I have already spoken of Pillow stones, to which class of objects these two crosses might well have belonged, whether we refer to such Pillow stones as we know St Columba and St Kieran used while in life, or to the stones which were simply placed as pillows under the heads of the dead when laid in the grave, as was done in the case of the Nuns at Hartlepool. To other classes of the objects so buried, it has been suggested to me that the Coldstone and Iona stones might belong,—as, for instance, to the Sculptured or Inscribed stones, to the Cure and Oath stones, or to the Portable Altars, which have all more or less frequently been interred with those held in veneration for the holiness of their lives. With others of these objects—such, for instance, as the copies of the Gospels, or the Leaden Crosses of absolution or protection against evil spirits—they could not be confounded. I shall, however, briefly notice all these classes of objects, since they are all the outcome of one feeling, and represent mere variations of one custom.

(j) *Sculptured or Inscribed Stones Found in Graves.*—In the tomb of St Breacan, on the island of Aran Mor, there was found a stone with a cross on it, which Dr Petrie¹ says was discovered about the beginning of this century, nearly six feet below the surface, in a circular enclosure known as the grave of this saint.

There appear to have been two Breacans, and Miss Stokes² thinks it probable that this is the tomb of the Munster saint, whose day was the 1st of May, which day, and not the 6th of December, the day of Breacan of Ard Breacan, was celebrated in Aran. We learn from her, too, that the stone now stands near St Breacan's grave at Tempul Breacan, in Aran Mor. It is of an irregular square form, with a diagonal of about fifty inches. It has a cross cut on it within the symbolic circle, and the words *sci breccani*, being the only instance as yet found in Ireland of the formula 'sancti' on a tombstone.

¹ Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1845, vol. xx. p. 138-9; Essay by George Petrie on the Round Towers of Ireland.

² Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, edited by M. Stokes, 1873, Part iv. pp. 19 and 20, and figs. 24, 25, and 26.

With the permission of Miss Stokes, I give a woodcut of this interesting relic (fig. 3).

Fig. 3.



Another stone, much smaller, was also found in this grave. Dr Petrie's account leads to the supposition that it was found under the stone just referred to, and at the same time; but Miss Stokes gives the date of its finding as 1822, and records the fact in Dr Petrie's own words. Speaking of the opening of the graves, he says—"On digging to the depth of about four feet, they came to a large flag of a square form, about ten feet in diameter, but no inscription was looked for or noticed on it. On raising this flag a

deep grave was found, filled with rounded stones from eight to ten inches in diameter, which had been brought from the adjacent strand,¹ and on throwing them out of the grave one was found containing an inscription in the Irish character." It was of black calc or limestone, water-worn, of a roundish form, nearly flat on one side, and about 3 inches in diameter and 1½ inch thick. On the flat side there was a plain Latin cross, and around this the words—OR AR BRAN N-AILLITER, "Pray for Bran the Pilgrim,"² or "A prayer for Breacan the Pilgrim."³

The first of these two inscribed stones is much larger and the second much smaller than the Coldstone cross.

Among the cists in the Kirkheugh burial-ground at St Andrews, there was found a sculptured stone still smaller than that found in St Breacan's

¹ The occurrence of the rounded water-worn stones in St Breacan's grave appears to me of great interest, from the fact that such stones are of frequent occurrence in sepultures which are regarded as pre-Christian. Another instance has been already referred to on p. 618, as having occurred in the Burgundian graves at Charnay, which were also Christian.

² Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* Part iv. pp. 19, 20.

³ Dr Petrie, *op. cit.* p. 138-9.

grave. It was "a small bit of freestone about two inches long, with rudely carved crosses on each side."¹

At the foot of the wonderful Kilnasagart pillar, there "was a round slightly disked stone, not unlike those found at New Grange, but much smaller." It has a rude Latin cross sculptured on it, and as some think, may have been buried in one of the graves forming the remarkable circle of graves beside which it lies² (fig. 4).

Fig. 4.



In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there is a portion of a very small cross—2 feet 1 inch in height—which was dug up in making a grave in the old churchyard of Donauchmore, near Cavan, county Meath.³ From the description this appears to me to resemble the interesting little cross at Rodil.

The stone cross of Ethelwold, which, according to Symeon, was always carried about with the body of St Cuthbert,⁴ cannot have been a large one, and may have been a cross either of the type of the one at Coldstone or of that at Rodil. It is strange that it does not appear anywhere among the relics of the saint.⁵

(k) *Cure and Oath Stones found in Graves.*—It has been suggested to me that the two stones described by Mr Drummond and myself might belong to this class of objects. I do not think this at all probable, but there is sufficient in the suggestion to make some allusion here to these

¹ Stuart's Sculptured Stones, vol. ii. notices of the plates, p. 4.

² Journal of Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Arch. Soc. vol. i. new series, p. 317.

³ Catalogue of Museum, Dublin, 1857, p. 142.

⁴ Simeon Dunelmensis ap. Twysden, p. 7.

⁵ In digging a deep grave in the churchyard of Ruthwell, a fragment of sandstone was found, having on it the image of the Supreme Being, with the Agnus Dei on his bosom. This proved to be a fragment of the famous Cross, but the Rev. Dr Duncan in recording the fact says—"It had probably been surreptitiously buried along with the body of some votary of the Church of Rome, from a superstitious belief in its supernatural virtues" (Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 319).

stones desirable, especially as they are sometimes found in graves, and have the cross sculptured on them. For instance, we are told in the life of St Declan, that a small stone was sent to him from heaven while he was saying mass in a church in Italy. It came through the window and rested on the altar. It was called Duivhin Deaglain or Duivh-mhion Deaglain, that is, Declan's Black Relic. It performed many miracles during his life, being famous for curing sore eyes, headaches, &c.; and is said to have been found in his grave, sometime I think during last century. Its size is $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and on one side there is a Latin cross, incised and looped at the top. At the bottom of the stem of this cross there is another small Latin cross. On the other side of the stone there is a circle $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and 6 holes or pits.¹

The points of interest here are the finding of a cure stone buried with a saint and the occurrence on it of a cross tastefully sculptured.²

¹ Kilkenny Arch. Soc. Journal, Mr Fitzgerald, vol. iii. new series, p. 51.

² These miracle stones were often believed to fall from heaven like Declan's Black Relic. Here is the notice of another, and on it too the cross was sculptured:—

"In that time (1229) there was a great tempest at Cremona, and a large stone fell in the Monastery of Gabriel, on which there was a cross, and the image of our Saviour, with these words written over it—IHESUS NAZARENUS REX JUDEORUM" (Extracta E Chronicis variis Scocie, Abbotsford Club, p. 97).

Cure and oath stones were held in great veneration, and frequently had their place on the altar. In St-Ronan's Chapel in Rona, during Martin's time, there lay upon the altar a plank of wood, 10 feet long, with a hole at every foot's length, "and in every hole a stone, to which the natives ascribe several virtues," and Martin adds, "one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy delivery for a woman in travail" (Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 21; and Voyage to Shetland, Orkney, and W. Isles, Lond. 1751, p. 41). Again, on the altar of St Columba's Chapel in Fladda, there lay a round blue stone, which was always moist. The washing of it procured favourable winds. It also served the commoner purposes of a cure stone and an oath stone (Martin's Descrip. of West. Islands, p. 166).

The quality or texture of this stone, causing it often to appear wet when the reverse might have been expected, no doubt originated the belief in its mysterious powers. A strange form given by nature to a stone appears sometimes to have had the same effect. At a place called the Relig, for instance, near Bruckless, in the parish of Killaghtee, co. Donegal, there is a fragment of a stone cross on the top of a small cairn. In a cleft or hollow of this cross is kept a famous healing stone, in whose virtues there is still a belief. It is frequently removed to houses in which sickness exists; but it is invariably brought back, and those living near the cross can always

(7) *Sacred Books Buried with Saints*.—Books appear somewhat frequently among the objects known to have been buried with saints.

Before his death St Martin requested that his Book should be placed on his breast in the tomb; and he predicted "that a holy and blessed man should come from Erin after a time, half whose name should be called from the bird whose figure John saw descending on Jesus, and the other half from the Church"—all of which, after the lapse of a century, was duly done by Colum Cille.¹

When the relics of Patrick were enshrined, sixty years after his death, three precious reliquaries were found in his tomb, namely, the Cup, the Angel's Gospel, and the Bell of the Will.²

In the year 752 a book (The Gospels, now at Wurtzburg) was found in the tomb of St Killian.³

tell where it is to be found if it has been so removed. It has a dumb-bell shape given to it by natural agencies, and it is about 5 inches long by 3 inches thick (Journ. of Hist. and Arch. Ass. of Ireland, Mr Patterson, vol. i. 4th series, p. 467).

The resting-place of this stone is a cleft or hollow in a cross, but more frequently such stones were deposited in a cup-shaped cavity in the pedestal of a cross. Pennant, for instance, tells of a cross a little to the north-west of Oran's chapel in Iona, on the pedestal of which lay certain stones which visitors were in the habit of turning thrice round, according to the course of the sun; and he quotes a statement of Sacheverel, that originally there were three noble globes of white marble placed in three stone basins, which were turned round as the present stones are, but the Synod ordered them, some sixty years before his time, to be thrown into the sea (Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Lond. 1790, vol. ii. p. 289). I have myself seen more than one cross in the pedestal of which there existed a cavity, in which tradition said, that a cure-stone once had its resting-place.

These stones are often called *globes*, as those were, which lay at the foot of the cross at the chapel of St Oran. On "Baul Mulay, *i.e.*, Molingus, his stone globe," in Arran, decisive oaths were sworn, and when placed beside a sick person it moved away of its accord if no cure was to be effected (Martin, *op. cit.* p. 225; New Stat. Ac. vol. v. p. 24; and Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 245); and the white stone from the Ness which was blessed by St Columba and sent to cure Brochan the Druid, was preserved in the treasury of King Brudeus—"in thesauris regis Brudsi" (Reeves' Adamnan, p. 148). The black stones of Hy were Oath stones, in a more special sense than any others of which I know (Martin, *op. cit.* p. 259).

Those interested in this subject may consult a paper by Albert Way in the Arch. Journal, vol. xv.; a paper by Sir J. Y. Simpson in the Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. vol. iv. p. 211; and the Catalogue of the Museum of the Irish Academy, p. 131.

¹ Martyrology of Donegal, p. 157.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. 326.

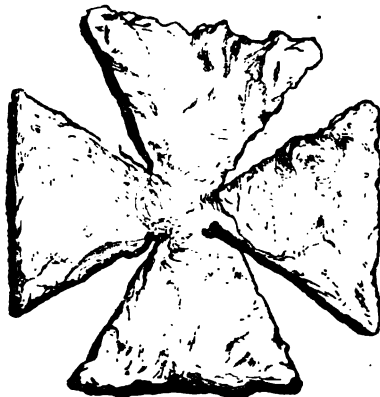
³ Stuart's Sculpt. Stones, vol. ii. Ap. to Preface, p. iii.

The Gospels lay on the breast of St Cuthbert when his coffin was opened in 1104;¹ and so also on the knee of Charlemagne, when his tomb was opened in 997, the book of the Gospels was found lying.²

Other instances I have little doubt could be given, but these sufficiently illustrate the desire which existed in the early history of the Church to bury with those who had led lives remarkable for holiness, objects held by them in veneration and associated with their work and hopes.

(m) *Leaden Crosses found in Tombs.*—L'Abbé Cochet, in his "*Sépultures Gauloises*,"³ devotes a chapter to a practice of burying crosses of absolution with the dead which existed during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries in Normandy, France, and England. These crosses were usually made of lead, and they varied in size from 8 to 20 centimetres in their longest diameter. They affected the Greek form,

Fig. 5.



and, as Cochet points out, closely resembled in style the consecration crosses which appear on the walls of sacred buildings both in this country and on the Continent. He says, too, that their style corresponds to that

¹ Raine, pp. 76 and 78.

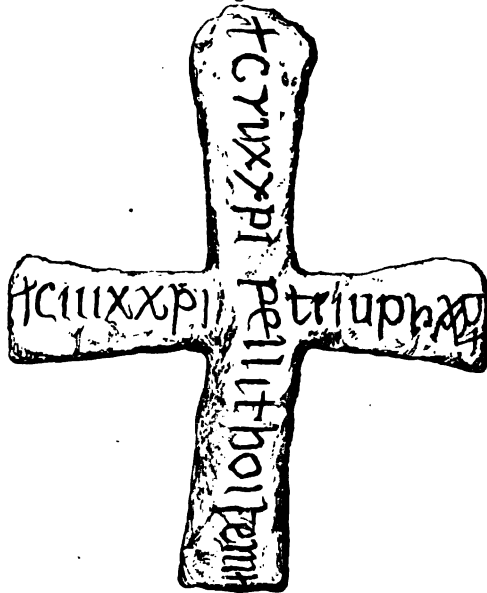
² Stuart's *Sculpt. Stones*, vol. ii. Ap. to Pref. p. iii.

³ *Sépultures Gauloise, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes*, par M. L'Abbé Cochet, Paris, 1857, ch. xiii. pp. 303-318.

which appears in the crosses on monumental stones during the same centuries (fig. 5).

These leaden crosses have generally some formula of absolution written on them. In England they have been found at Lincoln, Chichester, and Bury St Edmund.¹ As a rule, these differ somewhat in form and inscription from those found in Normandy—the crosses being rather Latin than Greek, and having on them, instead of a formula of absolution, the words, "*Cruz Christi triumphat,*" and "*Cruz Christi pellit hostem*" (fig. 6).

Fig. 6.



One of those, however, found at Bury St Edmund is exactly of the same type as the Normandy crosses, and very closely resembles some of the consecration crosses on old ecclesiastical buildings. To show this resemblance I reproduce here woodcuts of two of the consecration crosses which

¹ The English specimens are described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 298–304, and in the *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Lond.* vol. iii. pp. 165, 166.

appeared in the last volume of the Society's Proceedings (p. 379), (figs. 7 and 8).

Fig. 7.

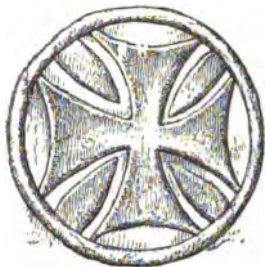


Fig. 8.

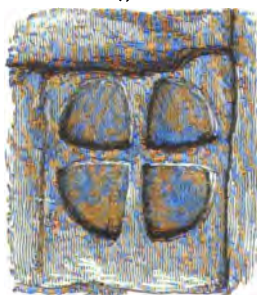


I also take this opportunity of inserting a woodcut (fig. 9) of the consecration cross on Iona Cathedral, which Mr Drummond has kindly placed at my disposal.¹

L'Abbé Cochet thinks that these leaden crosses were placed on the breasts of the dead as a protection "contre les obsessions et les possessions démoniaques."² The "Crux Christi pellit hostem" on the English specimens leaves little doubt that this is a correct view of their purpose.

We learn, too, from M. Cochet that M. de Gerville recounts of Pépin-le-Bref that he expressed a wish to be buried face down, with a cross below his face; and also on the authority of M. Ernest Feydeau, that Hugh Capet's wish was to be buried in the Porch of St Denis with his face on a cross. We do not know whether in these cases the crosses were of stone or metal.

Fig. 9.



¹ For another specimen of a consecration cross see R. N. Shaw's "Sketches from the Continent," plate 83.

² Professor Duns has suggested to me that small crosses in graves might be placed there as indicating a persistent appeal by the deceased or his friends to *the great ground of hope*; and he tells me, in illustration of this idea, that in Thibet, when men or women come of age, they choose a smooth stone from the bed of a stream, engrave

(n) *Portable Altars*.—It has also been suggested to me that the Coldstone cross might be a *portable altar*, an object which a high authority alleges to be the rarest article of church furniture now to be met with.¹ It is often confounded with the super-altar, a term which designates an entirely different object of sacred use. A portable altar, in fact, is perfectly described by its name, being an altar which can be easily carried about.

Bede, who lived in the eighth century, says, that the two Ewalds offered the holy sacrifice of the mass daily on a consecrated table which they carried about with them; but it was not till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that these portable altars came into much use.² As late as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, special concessions to carry about or use such altars were given both to private individuals and to gilds.³ In the early history of the Church, when regular places of worship were few, bishops carried them about in visiting their flocks;

a prayer on it, and leave it *ever to be looking up for them*. Such a stone he has sent me, and I have had it engraved in fig. 10.

Fig. 10.



Professor Duns has also sent me a little stone with a rude cross on it, which he picked up on the sacred Eilan Maree. It somewhat resembles a stone found in a tomb figured by Cochet at p. 11 of vol. xxv. of the *Rev. Archæologique*. Its face measures $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch thick.

¹ Roach Smith's *Collect. Antiq.* vol. v. p. 109.

² Viollet-le-Duc *Dict. du Mobil. Français de l'époque Carloving, à la Ren.* Paris, 1872, p. 19.

³ Albert Way, *Arch. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 248.

but they were chiefly used by missionary priests, and by priests attending armies in time of war.

It is clear indeed, Willemsen says in the "Trésor de St Servais," p. 8, that portable altars must have preceded fixed altars, since the necessity for them must have been felt during the early centuries of the Church, when Christians scarcely had any fixed place in which to celebrate the sacred mysteries. And we know that Hinewar, Archbishop of Rheims, instructed his clergy, in case of necessity, until churches and altars should be dedicated, to provide a tablet of marble or black stone, upon which, after he had consecrated it, the sacred rites might be celebrated.¹

That portable altars were numerous is rendered probable by the purpose they served, and it is proved by the frequent mention of them in old lists of relics preserved in ecclesiastical establishments.

There is not one portable altar, however, so far as I am aware, in Scotland, and I only know of three in England. This is singular in view of the facts—(1) that they are objects which must have been held as very sacred, (2) that they are not easily destroyed, and (3) that they were of such a nature as to be readily removed to places of safety.

In the Museum of Adare Manor there is a curious triangular stone, 16 inches at the base line, 18 inches on the other two sides, and 3 inches thick, which, on the suggestion of Dean Graves, is accepted as a portable altar. It was

Fig. 11.



¹ Albert Way, Arch. Journ. iv. 241. It was absolutely necessary that the stone should be consecrated. The 31st of the Canons enacted under King Edgar runs thus:—"And we enjoin that no priest on any account ever celebrate mass except on a hallowed altar."

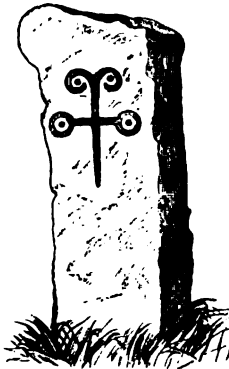
picked up near the Cloghans or Beehive houses at Kilvichadownig, near Fahan.¹

When I saw the drawing of this stone, which appears in Lady Dunraven's book, and which is copied in the woodcut (fig. 11), I thought it just possible that the Coldstone cross might be a portable altar; but investigation convinced me that Dean Graves had not been happy in his suggestion, and that the Adare stone² could not be a specimen of the *autel portatif*.

The *portable altar* derives its interest here from the fact that it is known to have a place among the sacred objects which have been found buried in the graves of saints. One of them, for instance, was found on the breast of Acca, the Bishop of Hexham, who died A.D. 740, when his tomb was opened about the year 1000.³ Another was found in the tomb of St Servais, and still another lying on the breast of St Cuthbert,⁴ when his coffin was opened. The workmanship of the last leaves no doubt that it was coeval with the saint himself. It was probably buried with him A.D. 688. It is still preserved in the Chapter Library, Durham, and is figured by Raine. It consists of a rectangular slip of oak, $6 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in thickness. This

is covered with a plate of silver attached to it by silver nails. On this is a cross somewhat of the type of that on St Breacan's Stone, and also a Latin cross. There may have been other crosses, since much of the silver sheathing is gone. On the wood below the silver there is an inscription, and at least two rude

Fig. 12.



¹ Memorials of Adare Manor, by the Countess of Dunraven. Parker, Oxford, 1865, p. 155.

² The cross on this stone is of a peculiar form. There is one of a similar form on a standing stone in the old burial-ground at Mid-Clyth, in Caithnessshire, which I saw and sketched in June 1863, and which is fairly though roughly represented in the woodcut (fig. 12).

³ Simeon Dunelm, ap. Twysden, p. 101; Raine's Account of the Opening of St Cuthbert's Tomb, Durham, 1828, p. 199; and Lingard, p. 268.

⁴ Raine, *op. cit.* p. 199.

Latin crosses. The space between the arms of the larger cross is filled with interlaced ornamentation. There is no stone in this specimen, a fact which makes it exceptional.¹

¹ The other two portable altars known by me to exist in England have also been figured. One of them belongs to Canon Rock. Its size is 12 × 7½ inches. The stone, which is of Oriental jasper, is 10½ × 6 inches, is set in wood, and is surrounded with a silver border, ornamented with niello (figured at p. 320 of vol. xix. of the Arch. Journal; at p. 247 of vol. iv. of the same Journal; by Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* pl. ii.; and by Parker in his Gloss. of Architect. vol. i. p. 19). The other is in the possession of Lord Londesborough. Its size is 10 × 9 inches, and as usual it is rectangular (figured in pls. viii. and ix. of vol. v. of Roach Smith's Collect. Antiq.)

These interesting objects of antiquity are perhaps somewhat more numerous on the Continent. Mr W. H. T. Weale of Bruges, a high authority on such matters, tells me that he thinks there may be in Europe from 50 to 100, of the existence of which we have knowledge, but, after all, this is really a very small number. Viollet-le-Duc speaks of a *Glossaire et Répertoire*, par M. le Comte de Laborde (Paris, 1853), which contains a curious catalogue of portable altars, extracted from various inventories, but I have not had an opportunity of seeing this book. There are only four mentioned in Mr Weale's Guide as being preserved in Belgium (Weale's Belgium, Lond. 1859). One is in the Cathedral at Maastricht. It consists of a piece of dark green marble set in a wooden frame, covered with thin plates of silver adorned with foliage. Its size is 19 × 15 millimetres, and it is 6 millimetres thick. It was found in the tomb of St Servais, and I mention it because it is figured by Willemsen in his "Trésor Sacré de S. Servais," p. 9.

I notice another of the Belgian portable altars, because I have had an opportunity of examining it. It forms one of the objects in the collection of Reliquaries now preserved in the Convent of the Sœurs de Notre Dame, at Namur, but which formerly belonged to the Priory of Oignies sur Sambre. Through the kindness of the Sisters I was allowed to copy the entry relating to this altar, which appears in the catalogue of the collection. It runs thus:—"Portable altar of Jacques de Vitry, (Bishop of Ptolemais, who died at Rome on the 30th April 1244), of green-grey marble, surrounded with a border of gilt copper. The upper side is covered with a plate of gilt copper, on which is seen Christ on the cross between the sun and moon. Below the cross there is the tomb of Adam, pointing to the resurrection. The legends on it disclose the relics which the altar contains." Its size is about 9 × 7 inches, and it is adorned with niellos, enamels, and engraving.

There is an interesting and beautiful specimen of the portable altar which belonged to Prince Soltykoff, and which is figured by Viollet-le-Duc (*Op. cit.* p. 20, 21, and 22). The prince, he says, obtained it from the collection of Debruge-Dumenil, which has been described by Jules Labarte (Paris, 1847, p. 737), but it came originally from the Abbey of Sayna. It belongs to the 13th century.

It will be seen from the measurements I have given that the usual size of these altars runs from 8 to 12 inches by from 5 to 9. I think I have read of one, however, in the Monastery of St Laurence at Liège, which is as small as 2 × 3 inches.

(o) *Concluding Remarks on the Coldstone Cross*.—My notice of this interesting and uncommon stone has led me into many digressions. The following inferences, it appears to me, may be drawn from what has been said about it, and about the various objects of antiquity to which it has been suggested that it might possibly belong:—

1. There are many small objects in stone, with the Christian or other symbols cut on them, about the use of which we have generally a very imperfect knowledge.

2. Some of these objects have such well-marked characters in common, that it is difficult to resist the belief that they have served a common

I think all of those which are known to exist are oblong and rectangular, unless it be a doubtful one of white marble, with various symbols cut on it, which has the form of a disc, and which is now "*Encaissé dans la muraille au fond du chœur de la Cathédrale de Besançon*" (Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* p. 22); but the Lady Petronella de Beutede is said to have given a circular one of jasper encased in silver, about 12 inches in diameter, to the Abbey of St Albans (Albert Way, *Arch. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 243. Perhaps the stone at Besançon was a *foundation stone* such as that of St Mark's Church at Venice, described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 215-219.

They were nearly always made of stone, set in wood, and encased in silver. In fact, there was a symbolism in the use of two materials, and the practice resulted from the teaching of St Anselm (Roach Smith, *op. cit.* vol. v. p. 110). The favourite stones were jasper (symbolic of faith), porphyry, chalcedony, agate, marble, alate, and jet (the last apparently a special favourite in England), but they were also made of terra-cotta, ivory, bone, oak, and ebony.

Relics were often enclosed between the stone and the encasing wood, but sometimes they were enclosed in a sealed cavity or *sepulcrum* in the stone itself. Such *sepulcra* I have seen in ordinary altar stones in Flanders. In Rome the placing of the relics of saints in these little graves was at one time attended with very much the same observances as the entombment of the saints themselves in the Catacombs (Roma Sotter., Northcote and Brownlow, Lond. 1869, Ap. 403).

These ordinary or fixed altar alabs, 12 to 24 inches long, and 10 to 18 inches wide, are sunk into the wood of the altar table, and we generally find on them the five crosses—one at each corner and one in the centre—representing the five wounds of our Saviour, and cut on the spots on which incense was burned during consecration (Roach Smith, *op. cit.* v. 110).

It is probably a portable altar made to form part of a fixed altar, which is spoken of by Ledwich, in describing the small room kept for a chapel in Kilkenny Castle (Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, 1804, p. 483). "The altar," he says, "is of wood, and in the centre is a stone covered with coarse canvas, and called the holy stone; it is an oblong of about 8 inches by 4, with an inscription, in old Gothic letters, of some text. At first sight it was judged a relique, but on further consideration, it was

purpose, and constitute by themselves a class of sculptured stones. The resemblance, for example, between the Iona and the Coldstone crosses is very striking.

3. The burial of venerated objects with venerated men appears to have been a common practice, though the purpose was not always the same; and among these objects, sculptured stones not unfrequently appear.

3. **STONE PIVOT.**—The next object which I have to describe differs in character, almost as far as is possible, from the Coldstone cross. It is a stone pivot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, which was presented to me by the Rev. George Davidson of Logie-Coldstone, on whose glebe it was found. It is well represented in fig. 13.

I am led to believe that it once served the purpose of a pivot-hinge to an ordinary field-gate; and I am told that, within the memory of those living, such stones often served such purposes in this district. The Rev. Mr Michie informs me that one of them can at this day be seen in actual use somewhere on the estate of Invercauld.

The diagram, fig. 14, explains the way in which it is said to have been employed. A longish water-worn stone is partially sunk into the lower end of the gate-post. Another piece of wood, of about the diameter of the gate-post, is driven into the ground, and a cup or concavity in its

found that by the first canon made by Archbishop Comyn (Ware's Bishops, p. 316), in 1186, it is ordered that altars be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size cannot be got, then a square, entire, and polished one be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated; of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and to bear the foot of the largest chalice."

It is possible that the *small altar*, on which Bede tells us the apostate Redwald, king of the East Saxons, sacrificed to devils, was one of these portable altars,—the larger one in the same temple, on which he sacrificed to Christ, being a fixed altar, such as I have last noticed (Early Races of Scotland, Forbes Leslie, i. p. 226) and (Hor. Brit.: Hughes, p. 287).

On the sculptured stones of Scotland, Ecclesiastics are sometimes figured carrying an object, which by general consent has been regarded as a book; but it might quite as fairly be taken for a portable altar. (See pl. xliii. fig. 1, and pl. lxxxviii. fig. 2 of vol. i., and pl. lxxix. of vol. ii., of Dr Stuart's Sculptured Stones.)

On two of the stones in Dr Stuart's great work there is represented what is believed to be a small altar, but these two objects differ considerably from the portable altars with which we are now acquainted. (See pl. xxviii. of vol. i., and pl. xxi. and xxii. of vol. ii.)

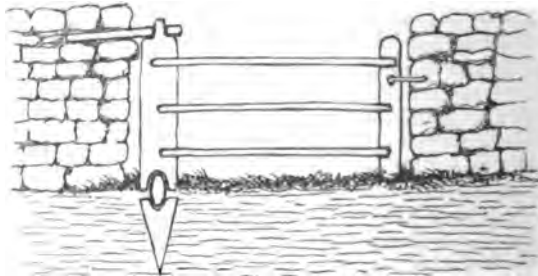
upper end receives the free part of the stone. The top of the post is

Fig. 13.



held in position by passing through a hole in a piece of wood, which is built into the dyke, and the post turns in this hole.

Fig. 14.



There is a modification of this mode of constructing a gate, which I have often seen in Shetland, and which consists in making the lower end

of the post revolve in a cavity in a stone, which has been made earth-fast. Mr Gilbert Goudie has presented to the Museum a stone socket of this kind, which he recently found in actual use. In it the concavity is circular and smooth, and without any pointed elevation or depression at its bottom. At both ends,¹ however, of the stone pivot which I am describing (see fig. 13) there is a pointed prominence. It is not clear how this has been produced, but it is naturally suggested that it may depend on the nature of the socket in which the pivot moved. In order to determine this I instituted some experiments, but they have not succeeded. We know, however, that the pivot which moved in the stone socket presented to the Museum by Mr Goudie was of wood, and in that case the cavity is round and smooth, and without any pointed projection or depression at its base, and it becomes almost certain that the end of the gate-post would have a form corresponding to the cup in which it turned. Again, there is in the Nairn Museum a stone socket of quartzose, sunk into a log of oak, in which an iron spindle is known to have revolved. It formed a part of the old Meal Mill at Geddes, and was found there, and placed in the Museum by Dr Grigor. He tells me that the cup is round and smooth, and without any pointed elevation or depression at its base. This stone was in actual use as the socket of a spindle thirty years ago, and it was then a quarter of a century old, if not more.

Sometimes these stone sockets show a little pointed prominence at the base of the cup. This appears in one which I obtained from Cromar, through the Rev. George Davidson (fig. 15); but in another, for which I am also indebted to Mr Davidson, the concavity is round, smooth, and flat at its bottom (fig. 16). We should expect to find on the end of the spindle, which worked in the first of these sockets (fig. 15), a depression corresponding to the elevation in the socket, but neither depression nor elevation on the end of that working in the second (fig. 16).

It has been suggested to me that the stone under notice (fig. 13) could not have been the pivot of a gate, since complete and swift revolutions would be necessary to give it its form and polished surface. But the round and smooth surface of the Shetland socket, to which I have referred, does away with this difficulty.

¹ It seems to have been used first at the one end and then at the other.

We are speaking of an implement of stone, but it is by no means on that account necessarily old. Nor would it be right to conclude that the constructors of such gates as I have described must be a rude people, of little power, or even of little culture. This would be a great error, since good authorities on farming still recommend the principle on which they are made. Captain John Henderson says, that farm gates should move on an iron pivot in a stone socket;¹ and Mr Milne Home tells me that the gates in Berwickshire frequently turn on an iron pivot which is secured to an earth-fast stone, and moves in an iron thimble sunk into the end of

Fig. 15.

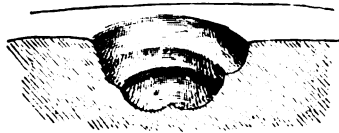
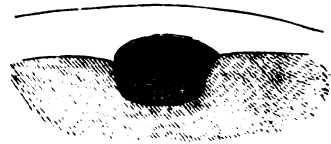
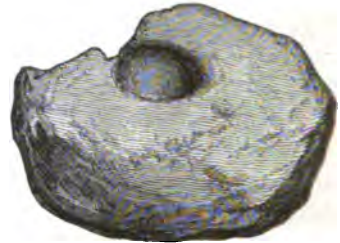


Fig. 16.



the post. The Shetland and Cromar gates were not less serviceable, nor less lasting, nor less sound in the principle of their construction than these. Iron was not used, because it was dear and difficult to get. Wood and stone were cheap and plentiful;² and, time being of little value, the farmer himself, without the assistance of blacksmiths or ironfounders, made a useful gate out of the materials at command, and, in doing so,

¹ General View of the Agriculture of Caithness. London, 1812.

² A popular rhyme says that wood was at one time so abundant in Cromar, that

“A cat could loup frae tree to tree,
“Twixt Logie Mar and Corrachree.”

showed ability. If the conditions spoken of should reappear in Cromar it is probable that these gates would also reappear. Where they have continued to exist, as happens to a large degree in Shetland, we have the continued existence of the gates.

When a practice like that under notice dies out it is surprising how soon all about it becomes completely unknown, or involved in obscurity. Thus it has happened that not a few things of yesterday have had a halo cast about them by a borrowed antiquity.

4. CORRACHREE SYMBOL STONE.—I have now to speak of another sculptured stone, which I was fortunate enough to see during my stay in Cromar. So far as I am aware it has not hitherto been noticed. It belongs neither to the utterly heathen sculptures, like the cup-stones, nor to the purely Christian, like the Coldstone cross, but probably to something between; for, I venture to include it among the symbol stones of Dr Stuart—those stones, so curiously limited in their geographical distribution, which, to the symbols probably indicating the rank and class of those to whose memory they were erected, not unfrequently added the great symbol of our religion. It will be seen from this that I substantially adopt Dr Stuart's view as to the meaning of the figures on these stones.

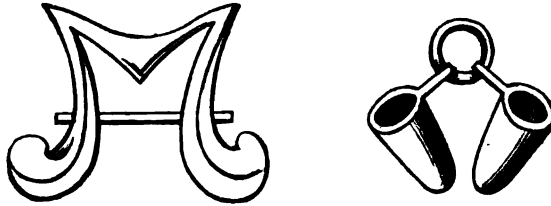
Some of these figures, like the comb and the mirror, are tolerably faithful representations of real objects—of such objects too as we can easily imagine to have been adopted as cognisances or badges. Others of them, again, resemble no object with which we are acquainted. But it would be wrong, I think, to conclude from this that they are not conventional representations of real objects; for such modifications of real form are common in heraldry. Every one, for instance, acknowledges without a misgiving that the Maltese cross is the Christian symbol, though it has no closer resemblance to the cross of Calvary than it has to a score of other things. We all see the Greek letters χ and ρ in the Labarum, though their presence there is certainly obscure. We know the Bowget or Budget,¹ to be the conventional representation of the vessels in which the Crusaders carried water across the deserts (fig. 17). The Maunch in the arms of the House of Hastings is the conventional

¹ Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, London, 1845, p. 42.

form of the Maunch or Sleeve which appears on the seal of Roger de Conyers in 1143-1174¹ (fig. 18).

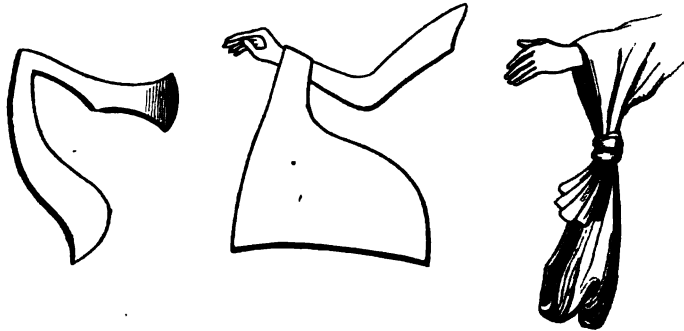
It so happens that we know what these heraldic charges represent, that is, what real objects, when they were first used, they truthfully depicted;

Fig. 17.



but regarding others we are not so well informed. We cannot tell, for example, whether the Fleur de Lis stands for a spear head, a toad, or an iris.² M. Rey (in 1837) wrote a book of two volumes on the origin of this common heraldic charge without settling the question.

Fig. 18.



Such figures, therefore, as those we call the sceptre, the crescent, the spectacle, and the horse-shoe, though they resemble nothing we know of,

¹ W. S. Ellis' *Antiquities of Heraldry*, London, 1869, p. 178.

² Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 190.

may nevertheless be conventional representations of real objects. Perhaps, indeed, no real object ever attains the rank of a stable and widely-accepted symbol or cognisance without losing to some extent its real, and assuming a conventional form. These departures from truthful representation, however, may be slight in some cases, and great in others. This, in fact, is just what happens among existing heraldic charges. It would not be correct, therefore, because the comb and mirror are probably pictures of known objects, to conclude that the crescent and sceptre, which are frequently associated with them, are not also representations of real objects, though so greatly modified as not to be recognisable. All we know of kindred matters should lead rather to the conclusion that some of these sculptures, if they do really constitute a set of symbols, have probably undergone the change to which I refer.¹

Dr Stuart thinks it probable that many of the figures on the sculptured stones of Scotland represent articles worn on the person as decorations, and regarded as badges, or marks of office. He may be either right or wrong in this, however, or both right and wrong, without much affecting his general views as to the meaning and origin of the figures. For instance, the original cross was the cross of Calvary. As a symbol of Christianity it is worn in its various forms on the person as a pendant or brooch or as a figure on some other personal ornament; it is erected as a monument, carved on tombstones, tattooed on the skin—appears, in short, in every possible attitude, but always as the badge or symbol of Christianity. Something of this kind may be true of the figures on these stones. The spectacle symbol, for instance, may be the conventional representation of a real object, which itself had nothing to do with the decoration of the person; yet, when it became a symbol of rank, tribe, family, or creed, it may have given shape to a brooch, the wearing of which would then be a badge; and it may also have served as a cognising decoration on other ornaments, as perhaps it actually did in the case of the Norrie's Law plate,² and the terminal ring of the Thornhill chain.³

The defined and limited geographical distribution of these sculptures gives, I think, some support to the view that they are to some extent

¹ I scarcely know whether these views are strengthened or weakened by the fact that we find none of them in what may be called the transition stage of their form.

² Proc. Soc. of Antiq. vol. x. p. 339.

³ *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 333.

heraldic. Just as the *Craigellachie Rock* keeps to the land of the Grants, so these symbols may be confined to the lands of the tribes who used them. They are not found here, there, and everywhere; but are restricted to a well-defined and limited region—a region which we can easily imagine to have been peopled by many tribes and families under one great chief. No one can study them without feeling that they give as much scope for all sorts of family distinctions—for differences, cadencies, augmentations, abatements, and what not—as do the heraldic charges of our own or any time. The sceptre alone, in its various forms, could accomplish marvels in this direction.

In the whole range of Scotch antiquities there is nothing perhaps of greater interest than these singular sculptures, which have been made so fully known to the world by Dr Stuart. If they were really of the nature of badges or cognisances, it follows that among a more or less primitive people a somewhat perfect system of heraldry must have been elaborated—to be completely forgotten in the course of a few centuries.

The stone which has led to these remarks stands in a field behind the House of Corrachree. I had as my companion during several long walks in Cromar our Corresponding Member, the Rev. Mr Michie; and one day he told me that he had recently been informed by an old man of the district, that in this field there stood a stone with a circular figure on it resembling a gridiron. Mr Michie had never seen the stone; but next day, along with him and Mr Coltman of Blelack, I walked to Corrachree, and without much difficulty we found the stone. We stood beside it for a considerable time before we made out the two lower figures of the sketch (fig. 19), though when once seen they are quite distinct.¹

As I have said, the stone is standing, but it is nevertheless a fragment, the rough sketch (fig. 19) indicating the large portion, which is now away. It is a stone of considerable size, being more than 4 feet wide at the base, and about 5 feet high and 2 feet thick.

We left it without being able to find on it any figure which bore resemblance to a gridiron; but a day or two after, it was revisited by Mr

¹ The same figure appears to have been repeated on the stone, which, though an unusual, is not an unknown occurrence. If I am correct in classing this stone with Dr Stuart's symbol stones, it probably adds a new figure to the symbols.

Michie and myself, and then we made out a circular figure at the top of the stone, which I have endeavoured to indicate in the sketch; but the weathering of centuries has made it so obscure that I scarcely like to risk a description. When I say that it appeared to me to be a circular figure with curved lines radiating from the centre to the circumference, I have said all I can venture to say.¹

Fig. 19.

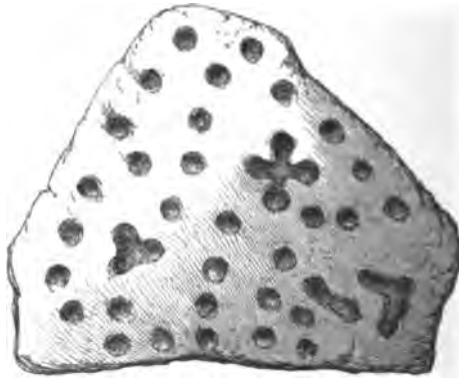


5. CUP STONE.—Behind the church of Migvie, on the road-side near a kiln, there is a sculptured stone of a very different character from the little cross in the Logie Coldstone Churchyard (fig. 1), or the symbol stone at Corrachree (fig. 19). It is one of Sir James Simpson's cup stones, and it is alluded to by him in his "Archaic Sculpturings," p. 67. At one place four of the cups are joined so as to form a sort of cross, and at others two and three are joined; but all this is the work of a late hand or of the weather. The face of the stone on which the cups occur is irregularly triangular, and its longest measurement is about 3 feet. The thickness of the stone is about 16 inches.

¹ There is a stone built into the gable of one of the houses of the farm-steading which bears the date 1611.

The following woodcut is from a rough sketch and rubbing made by myself.

Fig. 20.



There are many of these cup stones in Scotland, the existence of which is still unrecorded.

Dr Batty Tuke tells me there is one on a moor forming part of Lochmalonie farm, in the parish of Logie, Fifeshire.

In June 1870 Dr James Howden and I, when visiting Caterthun, found a very large one, broken into two parts, and lying at the south-west part of the second ring of stones forming the fort. Its length was 5 feet 9 inches, and its greatest breadth about 3 feet. There was no evidence that it had ever been a standing stone, nor that it had formed a part of a cist. One of the fragments—the lighter one—was turned over by Dr Howden at a subsequent visit, but no cups were found on the under side. I have drawings of this stone made by Dr Howden, but it is unnecessary to give them here, as the stone is figured (Plate XI.) by Miss Maclagan, in her work on the Hill Forts, Stone Circles, &c., which has recently been published. So far as I am aware, this is the only instance in which a sculptured stone of this kind, or indeed of any kind, has been found in connection with such a hill fort as that at Caterthun.

On a hill on the farm of Laggan, near Grantown, in Strathspey, there is another of these stones. My attention was drawn to it by Mr David F. Ross, to whose active interest in antiquarian matters I have been often indebted. We visited it together, being guided to it by Mr Clark, on whose farm it lies, and who had observed the peculiar markings on it, and had spoken of them to Sir James Simpson before the publication of the "Archaic Sculpturings," though there is no allusion to the stone in that work. It is a huge mass of mica schist almost earth-fast. The top is flattish, and measures 12 to 14 feet across. On this surface there are, as counted by Mr Ross, 53 cups.

Near Corriemony, in Glen Urquhart, close to the road-side, there is a cairn of considerable size, which I had an opportunity of visiting a dozen years ago or more. It is surrounded by two circles of standing stones, and on one of these stones there are cup markings. On the top of the cairn there is a large flat stone, on which also numerous cups appear. I made a plan of the cairn, and sketches of the cup stones, at the time of my visit, and I recently sent these to Major Grant of Drumbuie, with a request that he would revisit the cairn, and test the accuracy of my drawings and notes. This he kindly did, and I am thus able to make my description tolerably satisfactory.

The cairn is between 10 and 11 feet high, and about 20 yards in diameter. The inner circle of standing stones, which are of small size, is close to its base. With two exceptions, these stones are gone, or are hidden by the grass and the small stones which have rolled off the cairn. The outer circle is $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards from the base of the cairn, so that its diameter is about 27 yards. In this outer circle there are 9 stones still standing. Their relative position is correctly indicated on the plan fig. 21. Their average height above the ground is 4 feet 2 inches, the highest being 4 feet 9 inches, and the shortest 3 feet 5 inches.

The stone on which the cups appear stands on the N.W. side of the circle. Its position on the plan is marked by an asterisk. It is 4 feet 7 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches broad, and 7 inches thick. The cups are on the face of the stone which looks away from the cairn.

The other cup stone is a large flag, 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 16 inches thick. It lies loosely on the very top of the cairn, but it appears that it was placed in its present position in 1830. When Mr Ogilvy

bought the lands of Corriemony it lay on the west side or slope of the cairn, about 7 feet from the top.

These two stones are shown in the woodcuts figs. 22 and 23, from

Fig. 21.

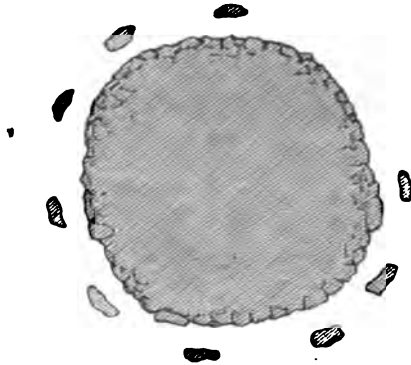
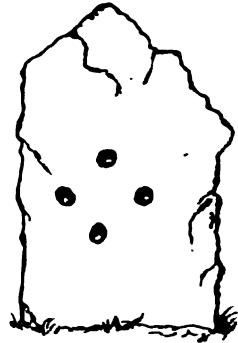
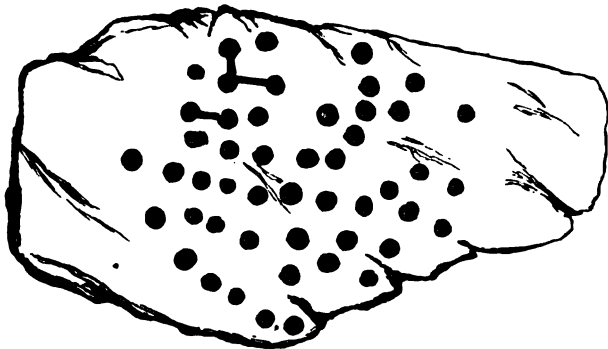


Fig. 22.



rough sketches made by myself, and compared with the originals by Major Grant.

Fig. 23.



After Mr David Ross and I had visited the cup stone at Laggan, he

wrote me that he had heard from Mr M'Bain of Auchterblair of two huge granite boulders, situated on a shelving rock over an abyss on the Loch Avon side of Cairngorm, with hand-made cups on them about a foot wide and correspondingly deep—"sitting on which is said to be efficacious in cases of barrenness." He informed me, too, that he had heard from Mr M'Bain of pilgrimages to them undertaken within the memory of people still living.

I have not seen these stones, and feel doubtful about their really belonging to this class of cup stones; but if they do, we are furnished with an instance—the only one so far as I am aware—of a superstitious practice being found in association with the cup markings.

There is one stone, however, with which I have long been familiar, and which shows on its face a remarkable cup-like excavation, the very existence of which is known to be due to a superstitious practice. It is in the churchyard at Burghead, and this leads me to the second of the districts to which my notes refer.¹

II.—BURGHEAD.

1. CRADLE STONE AT BURGHEAD.—I first saw this stone in 1863, and then made a sketch of it, and noted the interesting superstition to which I shall allude. I have often seen the stone since; and quite lately, through Dr Norris Mackay of Elgin, I obtained a tasteful drawing of it, executed by Mr James C. Kennedy, a young artist of promise (see fig

¹ Before leaving Cromar, Sir John Clark drove me over the hill to Strathdon to visit the ruins of Glenbucket, and the old keep of Craigievar which is still inhabited.

Glenbucket has considerable architectural pretensions, yet the main door is only about 5 feet 6 inches high. Above the door is written [John Gor] "done: Helen Carnege: 1690;" while every entrant is reminded that [Nothing on] "earth remains bot faine." The letters within brackets are effaced.

In the dining-room at Craigievar there are some good examples of old Scotch furniture, and a specimen of the Branks. On the walls and roof of the same room there are various pious sayings, such as "Lux mea Christus" and "Post tenebras spero lucem;" but opposite the main door, in the best bed-room, and in other parts of the house, there is inscribed this rather terrifying caution to visitors, "Doe not vaken sleepin dogs." I observed the following dates on Craigievar—1610, 1612, 1625, and 1626.

24). Dr Mackay also tested the correctness of my notes regarding the superstition, being kindly assisted in this by Mr Alexander Fraser and Mr Morrison the harbour-master.

Fig. 24.



The stone is built into the wall of the burial-ground called the Chapel Yard, at the south-east corner. It is 35 inches high by 20 inches wide. Close above it, and also built into the wall, there is a hewn lintel-like

stone, 37 inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. On the narrow exposed face of this there is no sculpturing.

The woodcut (fig. 24) shows the position of the cup-like hollow, which is 4 inches wide and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, and quite round and smooth. This hollow has been produced by the children of Burghead, who are in the habit of striking the spot with a beach stone, and then quickly putting their ears to the place, when the sound of a rocking cradle, the crying of a child, and the crooning of an old woman hushing the child to sleep, are heard as if coming from a cavern deep under ground.¹

It is said that, as far back as any one can remember, the children of Burghead have been led to believe that all babies come from below this stone; and I am told by Dr Mackay that *Nancy*, the present midwife, always informs inquisitive children that she finds the babies there.²

2. BURNING OF THE CLAVIE.—There is another superstitious practice still existing at Burghead, which is well worthy of notice. It is called *the burning of the clavia*.³ There is no account of this curious ceremony at

¹ In Brittany there are certain standing stones termed "Pierres Creuses," or "hollow stones," because they emit a bell-like sound on being struck with another stone. It is a common practice with the children of the locality so to strike them, especially when a stranger is passing, in the hope of getting a few sous for calling the tourist's attention to one of the things which ought to be observed in the district. At a meeting of the Society, in March 1875, Mr James Miln exhibited (among other sketches of dolmens, &c., in Brittany) a drawing of one of these sounding or hollow stones, which showed a girl in the act of striking the stone, and Mr Miln remarked that as the stone was usually sounded by being struck on one particular spot, there resulted a basin-shaped hollow in that part of the stone. The Pierre Creuse thus figured and described by Mr Miln is at Menec, about one mile from Carnac.

It is also said that among the Breton peasantry, married couples who are childless, visit the Menhirs by moonlight, in the hope of removing sterility.

² The tombstone on which the cup occurs probably belonged to some person of the name of Geddes—a name which is common in the district. On this point no one could give me any definite information. I have not been able to read the inscription fully. It is much worn out by the constant rubbing of the children's clothes against it. A neighbouring tombstone to the memory of a person of the name of Geddes, who died in 1737, has the same style of spelling and the same form of lettering.

³ There is an excellent notice of the clavia in Dr Macdonald's exhaustive and learned paper on *The Broch*, in the *Proc. of the Antiq. Soc.* vol. iv. p. 359. Those who would like to see a pictorial representation will find one executed with much spirit in *The Graphic* of 27th Feb. 1875.

all so good as that which Mr Robert Chambers picked out of the *Banffshire Journal*, and which appears in his *Book of Days* (vol. ii. p. 789). I reproduce it here almost *in extenso*.

Mr Chambers says—"A singular custom, almost unparalleled in any other part of Scotland, takes place on New-year's Eve (old style) at the village of Burghead, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth, about nine miles from the town of Elgin. It has been observed there from time immemorial, and both its origin, and that of the peculiar appellation by which it is distinguished, form still matter of conjecture and dispute for antiquaries. The following extract from the *Banffshire Journal* presents a very interesting and comprehensive view of all that can be stated regarding this remarkable ceremonial:—

'Any Hogmanay afternoon, a small group of seamen and coopers, dressed in blue overcoats, and followed by numbers of noisy youngsters, may be seen rapidly wending their way to the south-western extremity of the village, where it is customary to build the Clavie. One of the men bears on his shoulders a stout Archangel tar-barrel, kindly presented for the occasion by one of the merchants, who has very considerably left a quantity of the resinous fluid in the bottom. Another carries a common herring-cask, while the remainder are laden with other raw materials, and the tools necessary for the construction of the clavie. Arrived at the spot, three cheers being given for the success of the undertaking, operations are commenced forthwith. In the first place, the tar-barrel is sawn into two unequal parts; the smaller forms the groundwork of the Clavie, the other is broken up for fuel. A common fir prop, some four feet in length, called the 'spoke,' being then procured, a hole is bored through the tub-like machine, that, as we have already said, is to form the basis of the unique structure, and a long nail, made for the purpose, and furnished gratuitously by the village blacksmith, unites the two. Curiously enough, no hammer is allowed to drive this nail, which is 'sent home' by a smooth stone. The herring-cask is next demolished, and the staves are soon undergoing a diminution at both extremities, in order to fit them for their proper position. They are nailed, at intervals of about two inches all round, to the lower edge of the Clavie-barrel, while the other ends are firmly fastened to the spoke, an aperture being left sufficiently large to admit the head of a man. Amid tremendous cheering, the finished Clavie is now set up against the wall, which is mounted by two stout young men, who proceed to the business of filling and lighting. A few pieces of the split up tar-barrel are placed in a pyramidal form in the inside of the Clavie.

enclosing a small space for the reception of a burning peat, when everything is ready. The tar, which had been previously removed to another vessel, is now poured over the wood; and the same inflammable substance is freely used, while the barrel is being closely packed with timber and other combustible materials, that rise twelve or thirteen inches above the rim.

'By this time the shades of evening have begun to descend, and soon the subdued murmur of the crowd breaks forth into one loud, prolonged cheer, as the youth who was despatched for the fiery peat (for custom says no sulphurous lucifer, no patent congreve, dare approach within the sacred precincts of the Clavie) arrives with his glowing charge. The master-builder relieving him of his precious trust, places it within the opening already noticed, where, revived by a hot blast from his powerful lungs, it ignites the surrounding wood and tar, which quickly bursts into a flame. During the short time the fire is allowed to gather strength, cheers are given in rapid succession for 'The Queen,' 'The Laird,' 'The Provost,' 'The Town,' 'The Harbour,' and 'The Railway,' and then Clavie-bearer number one, popping his head between the staves, is away with his flaming burden. Formerly the clavie was carried in triumph round every vessel in the harbour, and a handful of grain thrown into each, in order to insure success for the coming year; but as this part of the ceremony came to be tedious, it was dropped, and the procession confined to the boundaries of the town. As fast as his heavy load will permit him, the bearer hurries along the well-known route, followed by the shouting Burgheadians, the boiling tar meanwhile trickling down in dark sluggish streams all over his back. Nor is the danger of scalding the only one he who essays to carry the Clavie has to confront, since the least stumble is sufficient to destroy his equilibrium. Indeed, this untoward event, at one time looked on as a dire calamity, foretelling disaster to the place, and certain death to the bearer in the course of next year, not unfrequently occurs. Having reached the junction of two streets, the carrier of the Clavie is relieved; and while the change is being effected, firebrands plucked from the barrel are thrown among the crowd, who eagerly scramble for the tarry treasure, the possession of which was of old deemed a sure safeguard against all unlucky contingencies. Again the multitude bound along; again they halt for a moment as another individual takes his place as bearer—a post for the honour of which there is no little striving. The circuit of the town being at length completed, the Clavie is borne along the principal street to a small hill near the northern extremity of the promontory called the 'Doorie,' on the summit of which a freestone pillar, very much resembling an ancient altar, has been built for its reception, the spoke fitting into a socket in the centre. Being now firmly seated on its throne, fresh fuel is heaped on the Clavie, while, to make the fire burn the brighter, a barrel with the ends knocked out is placed

on the top. Cheer after cheer rises from the crowd below, as the efforts made to increase the blaze are crowned with success.

Though formerly allowed to remain on the Doorie the whole night, the Clavie is now removed when it has burned about half an hour. Then comes the most exciting scene of all. The barrel is lifted from the socket, and thrown down on the western slope of the hill, which appears to be all in one mass of flame—a state of matters that does not, however, prevent a rush to the spot in search of embers. Two stout men instantly seizing the fallen clavie, attempt to demolish it by dashing it to the ground: which is no sooner accomplished than a final charge is made among the blazing fragments, that are snatched up in total, in spite of all the powers of combustion, in an incredibly short space of time.

Up to the present moment, the origin of this peculiar custom is involved in the deepest obscurity. Some would have us to believe that we owe its introduction to the Romans; and that the name Clavie is derived from the Latin word *clavus*, a nail—witches being frequently put to death in a barrel stuck full of iron spikes; or from *clavis*, a key—the right being instituted when Agricola discovered that *Ptoroton*, i.e., Burghead, afforded the grand military key to the north of Scotland. As well might these wild speculators have remarked that Doorie, which may be spelled *Durie*, sprang from *durus*, cruel, on account of the bloody ceremony celebrated on its summit. Another opinion has been boldly advanced by one party, to the effect that the clavie is Scandinavian in origin, being introduced by the Norwegian Vikings, during the short time they held the promontory in the beginning of the eleventh century, though the theorist advances nothing to prove his assumption, save a quotation from Scott's *Marmion*; while, to crown all, we have to listen to a story that bears on its face its own condemnation, invented to confirm the belief that a certain witch, yclept 'Kitty Clavers,' bequeathed her name to the singular rite. Unfortunately, all external evidence being lost, we are compelled to rely entirely on the internal, which we have little hesitation, however, in saying points in an unmistakable manner down through the long vistas of our national history to where the mists of obscurity hang around the Druid worship of our forefathers. It is well known that the elements of fire were often present in Druidical orgies and customs (as witness their *cran-tara*); while it is universally admitted that the bonfires of May-day and Midsummer-eve, still kept up in different parts of the country, are vestiges of these rites. And why should not the clavie be so too, seeing that it bears throughout the stamp of a like parentage? The carrying home of the embers, as a protection from the ills of life, as well as other parts of the ceremony, finds a counterpart in the customs of the Druids; and though the time of observance be somewhat different, yet may not the same causes (now unknown

one) that have so greatly modified the Clavie have likewise operated in altering the date, which, after all, occurs at the most solemn part of the Druidical year?"

The observance of this superstitious ceremony had for its main object to secure the fruitfulness of the industry of the place—in other words, to secure a good fishing. There is a link, therefore, between this superstition and that attached to the cradle stone. In both of them the existence of a power presiding over, or controlling, increase and fertility is acknowledged. Of course, as these things are actually practised in our day, they are but idle ceremonies,—occasions for laughter, joke, and frolic—without any meaning soberly attached to them. But, as once practised, beyond doubt this would be otherwise. Even after all exact knowledge regarding the nature and origin of such a ceremony as the burning of the Clavie had been lost, there would naturally remain a real, though not an openly admitted belief that it concerned the well-being of the community that it should be observed. Feeling sure that this was true, it occurred to me that I should find in the Church records of the district, if those of a sufficiently remote period had been preserved, some evidence of an effort on the part of the Church to suppress the heathenish practice by punishing those who took part in it. Accordingly, I visited the Rev. James Weir of Drainie, who is clerk of the Presbytery in which Burghead is situated, and with his help examined the records. Relevant entries were soon discovered, and these were afterwards carefully extracted by Mr Weir, who also made a more minute and successful search than was possible at my visit to the Manse. I had also an opportunity, through the Rev. Dr Brander and Mr John Nicoll, of examining the session records of the parish of Duffus, in which Burghead is situated, and in these also I found references to the Clavie. From the kirk-session records of the parish of Inveravon I also obtained an interesting entry through the Rev. Dr. Sellar of Aberlour. It was extracted for me by Mr Adam Myron, the session-clerk. I had previously heard of it from that zealous and accomplished antiquary, Mr Robert Young of Elgin. I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all these gentlemen, but especially to Mr Weir.¹

¹ In most of the following extracts the words contracted or given in obsolete characters are not *written out*, *q* being used for *con*, *y* for *th*, &c. The other signs are used as they appear in the MSS.

Extracts from Records of Presbytery of Elgin.(1.) *Elgine Jar* 11 1655 Convened Mo^r & remnant members &c

The S^d day a regat maid by M^{rs} All: Saunders da Collace & W^r Campbell anent some of their Seamen who superstitiously caried fyrr torches about ther boats y^e last day of Dec^r. The presbetrie did seriously recommend it to the severall Sessiones to tak speciall notice of all such persones in ther severall paroches & that all who were found guiltie as afores^d should make publick acknowledgment off the same before the congregaⁿe in sackcloth & to stand as many dayes as the Sessiones should Judge fitt.

The first allusion in the existing Presbytery records to *the burning of the Clavis* is the entry which I have just given. The word *clavie*, however, does not occur in it. The ceremony is described as the carrying of fir torches about the boats on the last day of December. It is similarly described in the set of entries which follow, and which give us the whole history of the Presbytery's dealings with a special occasion on which the "idoltrous and heathenish practice" had been observed at Stotefield and Causie, in the parishes of Kinneddar and Oggstown, now known as Drainie. In the first of these entries the ceremony is spoken of as "burning torches—crossing their boats therewith;" but I have found nothing to show that the word *crossing* here has any special significance.

(2.) *Januarie* 19. 1670 Convened L B & brethren

Concerning y^e ref^{co} anent y^e fishers wⁱⁿ the parish of Kinneddor M^r Michael Cumfing reported y^t haveing qveened these persons following John Edward W^m Innes W^m Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold with Alex^r Jafrae in Causie befor the Session of Kinneddor & all of y^m haveing acknowledged & qfessed y^r Idolatrous & heathnish practise of burning torches crossing y^r boats y^rw^t upon y^e Last of December last. They were remitted from y^e Session f^rs^d & s^ummoned to this meeting f^rs^d persons being once called & not com^pearing are ordained to be s^ummoned pro 2^o. The s^d M^r Michael humblie intreated y^t y^e obligaⁿ & act passed & emitted against & upon Alex^r Innes in Kinneddor & W^m Young in Causie fr suppressing & bearing doun y^e f^rs^d Idolatrous practise might be put in execuⁿ against the f^rs^d Alex^r Innes & W^m Young & to y^t effect the Clerk of the presbytrie was ordained to bring the presbytrie book to the next meeting y^t y^r engagements and obligaⁿes may be seen & cognosed

(3.) *At Elgin Februaire 9 1670* Conveened L B w severall of the brethren

Concerning the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor Mr Michael Cumming reported y^t according to the ordinance of the last meeting he had caused Summons these w^{thn} the toune of Stotefold viz John Edward W^m Hesben W^m Innes Thomas Edward John Tam & Alex^r Innes for his interest These being thrice called and not compeiring are ordained to be Sumoned pro 3^o as also these fishers w^{thn} the toune of Causie were sumoned to this meeting viz W Young Michael Robertsons Thomas Young and Thomas Steel these being called compeired & being charged w^t y^r guilt of heathnish & Idolatrous custome of burning torches on y^e new yeires even All of y^m declared they were ignorant y^rof & in no waies in accession y^rto but the L B & brethren having revised the Presbytrie book according to y^r last ordinance doe find by ane act emitted by y^m y^t the S^d W^m Young in Causie & Alex^r Innes in Stotfold are bound and obleidged for suppressing this Superstitious Idolatrous & sinfull custome in y^r respective townes & the L B & brethren finding this y^r act to be q^raveened they doe hold y^e s^d W^m Young & Alex^r Innes lyable to the penaltie y^rin q^rained to wit 20 lib Scotts each of y^m with w^h they did obleidge y^mselves The L B & brethren doe ordain the s^d W^m Young w^t Alex^r Jafrae his domestick servant & Alex^r Smith in Causie (these as being the fire bearers) to keep y^e next meeting

(4.) *At Elgin Februaire 23 1670* Conveened Moderator w^t y^e remnant brethre of the exercise

John Edward W^m Innes W^m Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam fishers in Stotefold sumoned to this meeting pro 3^{tho} thrice called compeired not it was reported by Mr Michael Cumming y^t none of these for the present were at home being drave by a tempest from y^r own shoare they are as yet ordained to be sumoned pro 3^{tho}

Called and compeired Alex^r Innes in the parish of Kinneddor who being charged w^t his breach of act of presbytrie in not restraining & suppressing y^t heathenish custome practised by his fishers on y^e new yeires even the s^d Alex^r Innes declared y^t he did not allow nor approve of y^r practise yea y^t he did inhibit & expreslie dischairge y^e samyne the s^d Alex^r is sumoned apud acta to keep y^e next meeting

W^m Young in Causie Alex^r Jafrie his servant & Alex^r Smith y^r sumoned to this meeting thrice called & not compeiring are ordained to be sumoned pro 2^o

(5.) *At Elgin March 9 1670* Conveened my L B w^t the brethren of the exercise

Concerning the referr of the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor John Edward W^m Innes W^m Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold being

sumōned to this meeting pro 3^{tho} thrice called & not compeiring they are declared obstinat And Mr Michael Cūming is ordained to go on in the processe by giveing y^m the first publick admoniⁿ the next Lords day

W^m Young in Causie w^t his domestick servant Alex^r Jafrie being Sumōned to this meeting pro 2^o compeired the s^d W being chairged w^t y^e f^{rs}^d Idolatrous heatnish custome stood still to his vindicaⁿ declareing he was no waies in accession to it Alex^r Jafrie compeiring confessed he was one of the bearers of the torches & being posed whether he was comānded countenanced or approve by his maister answered negativelie The matter is continued to the next meeting by reason of the other bearers absence and the s^d W^m w^t his servant are sumōned apud acta to be present

(6.) *At Elgin March 23 1670* Conveened L B w^t the brethren of the exercise

Anent the refer of the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor M^r Michael Cūming reported y^t he had given unto John Edward W^m Innes W^m Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold the first publick admoniⁿ they being present this day were first sharply rebuked for y^r contumacie & disobediance then being chairged w^t y^r abominable heatenish practise in bearing torches they all did confesse y^r guilt in the s^d transgression The L B & brethre haveing thoroughly examined this busines being now after mature and serious deliberaⁿ ripe to pronounce y^r sentence they remitt Alex^r Innes in Kinneddor¹ & W^m Young in Causie being convinced of breach of the Act of Presbytries to the Session of Kineddor for y^r modificaⁿ of y^e f^{rs}^d penaltie of 20 lib Scotts

As for the bearers of the torches viz John Edward W^m Innes W^m Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold w^t Alex^r Jafrie in Causie they are ordained to go to the Session of Kinneddor to receive y^e Presbytries sentence qch is y^t each of y^m mak publick profession of his repentance in sackloth befor the congregaⁿ of Kinneddor & each of y^m to pay 30s

(7.) *At Elgin May ii 1670*

Mr Michael Cūming reported y^t the fishers w^tin his parish are going on in the publick profession of y^r repentance

(8.) *At Elgin June 8 1670*

Concerning the fishers in Kinneddor Mr Michael Cūming reported y^t all of y^m have satisfied the discipline of the church except Alex^r Jafrie servant to W^m Young in Causie who for his disobediance is remitted to the Session of Kin-

¹ Mr Weir tells me that Kineddar is the name of a farm as well as the old name of the parish. The occupier of this farm probably owned the boat, and employed the fishers.

nedor & summoned to this meeting the sd Alex^r being thrice called & not compeiring is ordained to be summoned pro 2^{do}

(9.) *At Elgin June 22 1670*

Alex^r Jafrie in the Parish of Kinneddor summoned pro 2^{do} to this meeting thrice called & not compeiring is ordained to be summoned pro 3^{do}

(10.) *At Elgin Julie 6 1670*

Alex^r Jafrie in the parish of Kinneddor being summoned to this meeting pro 3^{do} thrice called & not compeiring he is declared qtumax & the processe ordained to go on to the first admoniⁿe

(11.) *At Elgin Julie 20 1670*

Mr Michael Cuming reported y^t Alex^r Jafrie in Kinneddor (notwithstanding of his former obstinacie) is now going on in the publick profession of his repentance

(12.) *At Elgin Agust 24 1670*

Mr Michael Cuming mad report y^t Alex^r Jafrie in y^e parish of Kinneddor hath now at length given satisfaction to y^r discipline

These twelve extracts are from the Records of the Presbytery of Elgin, but those of the Kinneddar (Drainie) Kirk-Session also contain allusions to the same act of heathenish idolatry. I give one of these, in order to show how the transgressors were punished.

Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Kinneddar, now Drainie.

(1.) 17 *Aprilis* 1670 After Sermon the Session Assembling &c.

The said day the fishers of Stotefold & Cousea being remitted from y^e Presbetry to this Church discipline for satisfaction .of y^r great & gross scandall & Idolatrous custome in burning torches on y^e new years even The Presbetry having ordained y^t those psons mor in accession in this transgression yⁿ oy^{rs} satisfy y^e discipline in Sacco And oy^{rs} according to the arbitrement of y^e Sessione

The Session do y^rfore ordain John Edward in Stotefold to satisfy in Sacco on day & to pay 20s
 James Jafray in Cousea to satisfy in the Joges two dayes, W^m Innes W^m Hesein Thomas Edward & John Thome all of y^m to testify y^r Repentance by standing at y^e pillar And ilk ane of y^m to pay 20s

Alex^r Innes owner of ye Boats of Stotefold, W^m Young owner of y^e boats of Cousea each of y^m are ordained to pay 4 lbs
 In regard y^t that they had not restrained this abuse Conform to y^r engagement before y^e Presbetry in Aⁿo 66 The fors psons all of y^e and Compeing y^r sentence being intimated unto y^m they accepting & submitting to disciplina were sharply rebuked exhorted to serious Repentance & enjoined to satisfy conform to y^e ordinance The next Lords day

I give two other extracts from the Session Records of Kinneddar, 35 and 36 years later than the last, showing that the ceremony was then regarded as an *old custom*. In these extracts, moreover, the word *clavic* appears, and is used as if it were synonymous with torch. They speak of "lighted clavies or torches," and of "lighted clavies."

Further Extracts from the Session Records of Kinneddar.

(2.) 23 Dec 1705

Also (after sermon y^e min^r) did guard y^e Seamen to beware of y^e old Heathenish superstitious practice of carrying of lighted Clavies or torches about y^r boats on new years even certifieing all that should be found any manner of way to concurr w^t or contribute to y^e said work—should be put in y^e hands of y^e civill magistrate

(3.) December 22nd 1706

Some of y^e Elders were enjoined to watch y^e Seamen on new-years-even lest they carrie the lighted Clavies about y^e Boats as y^r custom was

The allusions to the burning of the clavic in the extracts which follow have an immediate relation to Burghead.

Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Duffus.

(1.) 7th January 1666 The qlk day the sex skippers in the Burghsea were delated for burning their clavies upon Satturday last before new yeires even ordained to be charged against the next Lord's day and also some of the bukmen

(2.) 14th January 1666 The foresaid skippers Andrew Sutherland Walter Robertsons George Hutchie and Alex^r Cramond Alex^r Grigor (Robert Sutherland's man) William Steill bukmen being summoned called compeired and confest they burnt their clavies about their boats upon Saturday before New yeires even

Therefore (according to the [] of the L Bshp and Presbyterie with whom the minister did advyse the last Presbyterie day concerning the said burning of clavies) one man out of everie boat of the saidis sex boatts (after their appearing before the Session) are ordained to compeir before the L Bshp and Presbyterie the next Presbyterie day being Wednesday next

(3.) 21 *January* 1666 The minister reported that John Pro^t Robert Steill James Skein, Alex^r Cramond George Hutchie seamen have compeired before the L Bshp and Presbyterie where they enacted themselves ilk ane under pain of 20 libs Scots never to doe the like business again which persons also were referred back to the Session again and did compear this instant day Sicklyke the minstre & session thinks fitt to doe the lyke with all the seamen in the Burghsea and for that end (God willing) he resolved to goe himself with his elders and James Clark to the said Burghsea the first convenient day and take them all enacted under the foresaid penaltie and censure of the church if they doe the lyke agayne

(4.) 28th *January* 1666 The qlk day the minister reported that he was in the Burghsea upon Fryday last and there before the two elders and James Clarke did take the skippers and buksmen enacted that they sould never burne clavies on new yeires even or new yeires day under the pain of 20 lib ilk boat and the censure of the Kirk

(5.) 20th *Januarie* 1689 William Broun a young lad in Brughsea with others his accomplices delated to have hade a burning clavie paying a superstitious worship and blessing their boats after the old hethnish custome contrarie to all rules of Christianitie and still condemned here in this place ordained to be summoned against the next Lord's day

(6.) 27th *Januarie* 1689 The said day compeared W^m Broun & confest that he went and kindled a clavie of firre and went to the boats but being a boy did it ignorantly imitating others of the toun of greater age such as Alex^r Farq^r W^m Steilles forman & John Farq^r Francis Steille's forman John Marnoch a boy and Elspet Young mother to the s^d W^m Broun all of them ordained to be summoned against the next Lord's day

(7.) 3^d *Februarie* 1689 Compeared William Steille skipper anent the clavie and being posed denyes he was witness or in knowledge to such a work but did not see his man Alex^r Farq^r who being summoned compeared and confessed that he did carrie meat & drink to the boat side and did cast drink upon the boat

Compeared John Farqr being summoned & deponed that he did kindle a candle and went about the boats as others did

Compeared John Marnoch and he declared he carried a torch off candles about the boats as the rest did

Compeared Elspet Young & denyed she kindled anie light or went near the boats but its found proven that she was there and carried meat & drink to the boats therefore is found guilty with the rest therefore the minister and elders does ordain them to stand at the pillar one day before the congregation and pay each of them 40s penalty

One further extract remains to be given—perhaps of more interest than any which precede. It is taken from the Session Records of the parish of Inveravon. We have already seen that the burning of the clavier was customary, not in Burghhead only as generally supposed, but in many, if not in all, of the fishing villages on the Morayshire coast, where the object, however, always was the blessing of the boats. But this extract presents the ceremony to us, under the same strange name, in a Banffshire parish far inland, and with a new object, namely, the blessing of the corn-fields so as to secure fertility and good crops. Probably further search would disclose that it was at one time—perhaps not very remote—observed widely in Scotland. From more than one source I have heard that the Inveravon practice was common in some districts till quite recent times, and something very like it is said to be still customary in parts of Ireland.

Extract from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Inveravon.

16th Aug^t 1704

Ane Act against Clavier That whereas it hath been the custome and practise of many in this parish of Inveravine, to goe about y^r folds and cornes with kindled Torches of firr, superstitiouslie and Idolatrouslye ascribing y^t power to the fire of sanctifying y^r cornes and cattell qch is only proper and peculiar to the true and living God a practise proper rather to the heathens who are ignorant of God than to be practised by them y^t live under the light of the glorious Gospell Therefor the Session did and hereby doeth enact that whosoever shall be found guiltie of the fors^d superstitious and heathnish practises shall be proceeded ag^t as scandalous persons and censured according to the demerit of y^r crime and if it shall be found that they be children not capable of Church censure that in y^t case their names be kept in record and they declar'd incapable of any Church-priviledge when arrived att the years of

discretion or any testimonial from the Session till they remove the scandal
The Session closed with prayer

The conclusions which are pointed to by the results of this research into the Church records are as follows:—

(1.) The *burning of the clavie* is not a ceremony peculiar to Burghead, and has no special connection either with that spot or with a sea-going community.

(2.) It is a relic of the worship of fire, as the source of all increase; and the essence of the ceremony consists in carrying fire round the objects to be rendered productive and prosperous, whether these are fishing-boats, corn-fields, or anything else.¹

(3.) It is an old custom, being already regarded as old 200 years ago and more.

(4.) The ceremony has always been observed at the close of the year—on “the night of the year”—and there is nothing to show any relation between it and the fires of May.

(5.) The word *clavie* belongs to the ceremony, and not to the place.²

¹ This might be done either in a very simple manner, or more picturesquely and with higher ritual, as now happens at Burghead, where, however, it appears to have been originally as simple and informal a ceremony as at Inveravon.

² In the Church Records the word *clavie* appears to be used as the equivalent of *torch*. It is not probable, however, that these two words are really synonymous. The most likely meaning of *clavie* is that suggested to me by Mr Joseph Anderson. He thinks that it is an old or altered form of *clivvie*, which Jamieson gives as a Banffshire word, meaning a cleft stick for holding a rush-light. In Shetland the same word takes the form of *clivin*, the tongs; and Mr Laurensen states that it is still in use among the fishermen. This makes the etymology of the word plain; and *clavie* would not be the *torch*, but the thing which carried either the torch or fire in any shape. The Rev. Walter Grigor of New Pitsligo, the author of the “Dialect of Banffshire,” informs me that “he has heard the word, but not often, and not for a long time.” He has never met it in any ballad or story. He gives me a sketch of an instrument for holding “fir can’les,” which sufficiently answers Jamieson’s description of the *clivvie*. A modification of this instrument I once saw in actual use in the parish of Keith. I made a sketch of it, but failed to record the name by which it went. Mr Grigor says it is known as “the peer man.”

It has been suggested to me by that great Celtic scholar, Iain Campbell of Islay, that *clavie* may come from the word *cliabh*, a basket; and certainly the basket-looking instrument, in which the fire is now carried at Burghead, gives some support to this view of the origin of the word.

(6.) It is different with the word *Dourie*. That belongs to *Burghead*. Whether it has, or has not, any true connection with *the burning of the clavie*, I cannot tell. I learn from Dr Macdonald that about the year 1809 the part of the ramparts, which up to that time had been used as the *Dourie*, was removed, and the present spot was afterwards fixed on by the clavie burners as suitable for their purpose. This makes the name movable, and shows it not to have been fixed to a particular spot of the promontory.¹ The fact rather implies that a *Dourie* somewhere was needed in the ceremony, at least as practised in its higher development at *Burghead*.

2. OLD NAME OF BURGHEAD.—Remembering that Mr George Anderson, who was full of antiquarian tastes, gives *Torrietown* as an old name of *Burghead* in his *Guide to the Highlands*,² it struck me that possibly the *Torrie* in this name might be the same word as *Dourie*. The change would be small. But then it becomes a question whether the place was really ever known as *Torrietown*. Grant in his "*Survey of Moray*"³ says, "the old inhabitants of the burgh, within these fifty years, called it *Torytown* or *Terytown*, which approaches near to the name *Ptolemy* gives it of *Ptoroton*." Chalmers, again, referring to Grant, says, "till recent times the *Burghead* was called, in the common speech of the ancient people, *Tory-town* or *Tery-town*."⁴ Dr Macdonald, who refers to this alleged old name, tells me that when he was preparing his *Notices of the Broch*, the Rev. Dr Gordon of *Birnie* informed him, that he had heard Mr Young, the late proprietor of *Burghead*, say, that on one occasion, when crossing from the *Sutherland* side of the *Firth*, the boatmen called the headland, as they approached it, by the name of *Torrytown*.

This name, however, never occurs in the church records. In them the place is almost invariably called *Burgh-sea*, but occasionally it is simply

¹ Dr Macdonald says that *Dourie* is "a well-known name in Scottish topography" (*Proc. of Soc. of Antiq.*, Vol. IV. p. 366); and in a letter he gives me two instances, viz., *Dourie*, a farm near *Portwilliam* in *Wigtownshire*; and *Al-dourie*, an estate in *Inverness-shire*. I am inclined, however, to think that Dr Macdonald's statement is too broad, and in this opinion I think he now concurs.

² P. 165. Ed. 1834.

³ P. 53. 1798.

⁴ *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 129, note.

called the Burgh.¹ Yet it struck me as not altogether improbable, that a place, having a prominent and important part called the Doorie, might readily enough be designated Doorie-town; which, again, might as readily assume the form of Torry-town. Or Doorie might be the corruption of Torry, and not Torry of Doorie.

I would remark, in passing, that the difficulty of determining whether Burghead ever went by the name of Torry-town within the last 100 years, should tend to raise our respect for the erosive action of a century. If it ever did go by such a name, the probabilities are, I think, that it was a corruption of *πτερωτόν*, and that it got into the popular mouth—remaining in it only for a short time—after Bertram's forgery,² had led to the identification of Burghead with the *Πτερωτόν στρατόπεδον* of Ptolemy. *Pterōton*, or *Ptoroton*,³ became Terry-town or Torry-town. When the alleged discovery that the place had once been an important Roman station had lost its novelty and interest, the people would soon give up their attempts to call it by that Greek name, which was held to refer to it in the work of the Alexandrian geographer.

This seems probable, yet there is enough, I think, to justify the speculation as to the possible connection between the Doorie and Torrie-town; and, perhaps, enough also to raise a question as to whether Burghead may not possibly be the *Promontorium Taurodunum* of Ptolemy (*Ταυροειδὸν ἄκρον*). This is a Celtic name in Greek clothing, and means Cape Bull-town or Bull-fort. No name could be more appropriate or more descriptive of Burghead, with which, in some way or other, the *Bull* was most intimately associated, in times, too, which must be very remote. Many stones have been found there with the figure of a bull cut on them. Five of them still exist. It is said that in the diggings at the time of the erection of the harbour no fewer than 30 were found;⁴ and Mr Carlisle, in exhibiting a cast of one of them in 1809 to the Society

¹ *Vide* Reeve's Adamnan, p. 191 (footnote), and the Preface, p. xxxii., for evidence that the place was possibly, if not probably, called the Broch as far back as the tenth century.

² "De situ Britanniae." Previously *Πτερωτόν* had been identified with the "Castrum puellarum, vulgo Edinburgh." See Ed. Basil. 1540, and Ed. Lugd. 1618.

³ When written *Ptoroton*, as it is by Grant and others, the word is entirely destroyed.

⁴ Highland Note-Book, Carruthers, p. 220.

of Antiquaries of London, said that "many others" existed at Burghead.¹ These statements disclose a very remarkable fact. Similar sculptures have been found nowhere else—not even singly, much less in what may be called a crowd. They prove, I think, that long ago the bull *must* have figured very prominently, and in some singular manner, in the on-goings of those who resided in, or who frequented, the Broch. I shall again refer to these bull stones, one of which has not been previously figured (see fig. 26). At present I mention them only to show that Ptolemy's *Tarvedum*, as a descriptive name, might well refer to Burghead.

Against such a theory, however, there is on the threshold the fact, that hitherto Cape *Tarvedum* has been accepted as merely another name for Cape *Orcas*, and this is justified by the usual renderings of Ptolemy. He mentions *Tarvedum* twice and *Orcas* thrice—the first always in connection with *Orcas*, but *Orcas* once alone. His first mention of it is as follows:—*Ταρουδούμ, ἢ καὶ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα.*² This is as Wilberg gives the Greek; and his translation is, "*Tarvedum sive Orcas cautes*;" but the same Greek is sometimes translated, "*Taurodunum quod et Orcas promontoria*," or "*Tarvedum and Orcas promontories*,"³ or "*Taruedume et Orcas promontorium*."⁴ There is uncertainty, if not faulty grammar in these renderings, but this perhaps proves little. It appears, however, that in one edition of Ptolemy, by Jacobus Aeszler, 1513, the Greek is thus given,—*Ταρουδούμη καὶ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα;*⁵ and this clearly makes two promontories, namely, Cape *Taurodun* and Cape *Orcas*.⁶

I am not aware that any student of Ptolemy has come to the expressed conclusion that *Taurodun* and *Orcas* are two capes, except Captain Thomas; but he identifies *Taurodun* with Cape *Wrath*, and *Orcas* with *Dunnet Head*. So far as I can make out, after examining numerous editions of Ptolemy, the reasons for thinking that his *Taurodun* and *Orcas* are not one, but two promontories, are but slender. In a slender shape, however, they exist;

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xvi.

² Wilberg's *Cl. Ptol. Geog. Essend.* 1838-39, p. 104.

³ As in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, p. xii.

⁴ Ed. 1482, Ulm. In the Ed. Univ. Lib.

⁵ Wilberg, *op. cit.* p. 104.

⁶ There are two other Greek readings given by Wilberg, and found in MSS. copies of Ptolemy, which may be accidental modifications of the readings of the Codex followed by Aeszler. They are—*Ταρουέδα μῆ καὶ Ὀρκ.*, and *Ταρουέδου μῆ καὶ Ὀρκας ἄκρα.*

and if they be two capes, I venture to suggest that the first, from the peculiar and close applicability of the name, may refer to Burghead. Beyond this I do not go.¹

3. BULL STONES.—Five of these stones are known to be in existence. Of these one is in the British Museum; a second in the Elgin Museum; a third in the possession of Mr George Anderson, and now in the office of the Inverness Parochial Board; and the fourth and fifth at Burghead, in the possession of Mr Young the proprietor.² The fourth was found in 1862 on the south quay, when the line of railway was being continued along the pier. The rubbish among which it lay had been taken from the Baileys. The head of the bull was injured by the hammer of the labourer who found it. The fifth was found in 1867³ when pulling down an old house, on the site of which Donald Sutherland has built another. The fifth has not yet been figured; but Mr Young having kindly consented to send both it and the fourth to Edinburgh, an opportunity has been afforded for having them well drawn, and they are now successfully represented in the woodcuts which follow.

They are both small stones or slabs, irregular in their outline, with the edges and back at some parts apparently rounded and smoothed by the action of water. They look like water-worn blocks taken from the sea-shore. The fourth (fig. 25) is 19 inches in the long, and 12 inches in the short measurement of its face, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The corresponding measurements of the fifth (fig. 26) are 11 inches, 10 inches, and 3 inches.⁴

¹ For an account of the other old name of the Broch, the Narmin of Boece, see Dr Macdonald's paper (Proc. of Soc. Antiq. Vol. IV.)

² The first is generally supposed to be the one figured in the *Archeologia*, vol. xvi.; the second, third, and fourth, are figured in Dr Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. i. pl. xxxviii., and vol. ii. pl. cviii.; and the first, second, and third in Dr Macdonald's *Notices of the Broch* (Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq., Vol. IV. Pl. XI.)

³ I saw and made a rubbing of this one about six weeks after it was discovered.

⁴ The measurements of the stone in the British Museum, as I learn from Mr Little of the India Museum, are as follows:—Length $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches, greatest breadth 21 inches, thickness about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Its edges, he says, present an appearance strongly suggesting the action of water, and the same appearance is exhibited on its face and back. It was presented to the Museum in 1861 by Mr Sowerby, Secretary of the Royal Botanical Society, who found it in his garden, where he supposed it to have

These two stones could not have been standing stones, and it is difficult to see how they could have been built into a wall. In both of them the drawing of the bull is spirited and energetic. The style of art shows great antiquity. The hand which executed the sculptures may have be-

Fig. 25.



longed to a man who in a certain sense was uncultivated, but he most certainly possessed a high capacity for culture.

Of the use of these stones we have no knowledge; but it is not im-

lain for many years. Mr Little adds that the work is regarded by Mr Franks as of the fourth or fifth century.

The measurements of the Elgin stone, as I learn from the Rev. Dr Gordon of Birnie, are 20×14 inches, and about 6 inches thick. He says it does not look so much like a water-worn block as some of the others; but he describes the edge of one side as rubbed round, and says the back seems to exhibit glacier action. It was presented to the Elgin Museum by the representatives of Mr T. Milne.

As regards the Inverness stone, I am informed by Dr Aitken of the District Asylum, that its face measurements are 27×13 inches, and its thickness between 3 and 4 inches. Dr Aitken could not detect on it any of the smoothing or rounding effects of the action of water. This stone was given to Mr George Anderson by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

probable that they were connected with some form or ceremony of religious worship, which had its home in a special manner at Burghead. And here the question naturally arises,—Can they, like the *clavie*, be associated with the worship of fire? Was there ever, for instance, a temple of Mithras at Burghead? Was the Broch at one time a place of resort¹ for the faithful, who had favours to ask of the creative god, and who were either wholly pagans, or “half Christians and half pagans?”²

Fig. 26.



Mithras was the sun or fire itself.³ The sacrifice of the bull was the great feature of his worship;⁴ and “mysterious burnings were practised

¹ It is perhaps worthy of note here that the word *turus* in the Irish language is said to be applied to the stations to which people resort on certain saints' days (Sir Henry James, *Plans of Stonehenge, &c.*, p. 17). *Turusachan*, for instance, is said to mean a place of pilgrimage.

² Montfauçon, *Antiq. Explained*, London, 1721, vol. i. p. 232.

³ In Roman inscriptions found in Britain, Mithras is spoken of as *Deus sol Mithras*, or *Deus sol invictus Mithras* (Hübner's *Inscript. Lat. Brit.*, No. 890 and No. 833 b), that is, Mithras is the sun himself. But he is also described as the companion of the sun—“*Deus invictus solis socius*” (Hübner, *op. cit.*, No. 1039).

⁴ His priests were called priests of the lowing ox (Montfauçon, *op. cit.* i. 318, and Julius Firmicus *De Errore Prof. Relig.*, pp. 10-12). The bull was sacred to him, and “the spilling of its blood was supposed to communicate fertility to the earth” (Bruce's *Rom. Wall*, third edition, p. 393). Taurus, indeed, as well as Mithras,

in the Mithraic rites."¹ Two boys, wearing the Phrygian cap or *tiara*,² and carrying *torches*, one turned up and the other turned down, formed a part of his statue.³ His rites were celebrated in temples that were subterranean, and which contained a well, or were permeated by a stream of water.⁴ His mysteries are said to have been performed in secret caverns.

We know that such temples were erected to him in Britain.⁵ One of them, for instance, was discovered at House-steads in 1822,⁶ a rectangular chamber of the character of a cave, with a strong feeder of water on the spot. Fragments of a tablet, representing Mithras slaying the bull, were found in it.

The character of this structure, and of other Mithraic temples which he had seen in Italy, led Dr Grigor of Nairn to suggest to me that the Baileys' Well⁷ at the Broch might possibly be a temple of Mithras. His

was regarded as "the operative cause of all things, and the lord of generation" (Hodgson, quoting Porphyry, *Archæol. Æliana*, old series, vol. i. p. 294). The bull was slain in sacrifice to him wherever he was worshipped (Porter's *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, vol. i. p. 538). The Taurus Trigaranus, as written on a stone discovered under Nôtre Dame de Paris in 1710, is regarded as the name of a Celtic deity. The spelling of the word is thought to be a Latinised form of the Erse word for bull,—*tarbh*, or *taruc*,—the *u* following instead of preceding the *r* (*Trans. of Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1846, Kirkmann, p. 132; Borlase's *Cornwall*, book ii., ch. 16, p. 109; *Myth. of Brit. Druids*, Davies, pp. 132 and 161; and Montfauçon, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 270).

¹ Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 324–390).—From Montfauçon, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 309.

² So called by Lucian and Luctatius.

³ The *torch* in fig. 6 of Montfauçon might almost stand for the Burghead *clavis*.

⁴ Bruce's Roman Wall, third edition, p. 127.

⁵ In two instances the erection of a temple to Mithras is recorded (*ædis*, or *templum*)—once on a stone dug up in Rochester, and again on a fragment found at Birdoswald. Altogether, the name of the god occurs on about thirteen of the stones which appear in the volume of Hübner's *Corpus Inscriptionum* referring to Britain.

⁶ Bruce's Roman Wall, third edition, p. 399, and *Arch. Æliana*, old series, vol. i.

⁷ It is now called the Roman Well; but for long after its discovery, in 1809, it was called the Baileys' Well, because it was within the baileys.

It is uncertain whether the Baileys or Baillies of Burghead really refer to the fortifications or to the ditches which are said to have separated the peninsula from the mainland. (See "Jamieson's Scot. Dict.;" sup. verb. Bail.) The fortifications are now spoken of as The Baileys. It is quite possible, however, that the name is not really applicable either to the fortifications or to the ditches; and that it may be the

speculation appeared to me to derive some support from the fire-worship in the burning of the *clavie*, and the reference to a producing power in the superstition of the *cradle stone*.

Of this at least there can be little doubt, that there is a singular resemblance between the Baileys' Well and many of the continental Mithraic temples;¹ while on the other hand there is little if any resemblance between it and any other known well. More labour and thought have been bestowed on its construction than was usually bestowed on what was simply to serve as a water supply, for which, moreover, its size and many of the arrangements in its design were unnecessary.

The burning of the *clavie* takes place on the last night of the year, and the great Mithraic festival² was on the first day of the year. The two ceremonies, therefore, occur at the death of one year and birth of another.³ The *kalends of January*, indeed, appears to have been a day on which heathen sacrifices and ceremonies were common in this country; and there is often a distressed allusion to this day in the lives or letters of the early Christian missionaries.⁴ One of the canons enacted under King Edgar forbids among stone worshippings and other things "the vain practices which are carried on *on the night of the year*."⁵ The Hog-

word *Bailis*, a great fire—the site of the fire or *bailis* coming eventually to be called the *baillia*, as the word passed out of general use and its meaning became obscure.

¹ For an account of the singularly situated temple of Mithras, below the oldest Christian church in Rome (see Mullooly's *San Clementi*, Rome, 1869; the *Bolletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 2d ser. 1870, De Rossi; and the *Revue Archeologique*, vols. xxiv. and xxv., 1872 and 1873, in which there are several articles by Th. Roller and a plan of the cave (pl. xvi. of vol. xxiv.) The introduction of Mithraic worship into Rome from the East did not greatly precede the introduction of Christianity, and only with the epoch of the Antonines did it begin to be the religion of the Roman world.

² The Mithralia on the 16th of September and six following days constituted a sort of valedictory festival when the sun entered the tropic of Capricorn (Hodgson, *Arch. Ælian.*, old series, vol. i. p. 298, and Hyde's *Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, pp. 244–247).

³ It scarcely affects the idea of the period of the two festivals that among the Persians the first day of the year was in March. The last day of the year at Burghead is still on the 11th of January, and it is on that day, as the close of the year, and not on the 31st of December, that the burning of the *clavie* takes place.

⁴ *Vide Sancti Bonifacii Opera*, Giles, Lond. 1844, p. 104 and p. 109.

⁵ Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, vol. ii. p. 249.

many clavie burning, therefore, appears to be something distinct from the Baal-fires of May.

Mithraism lasted long in a modified form. It was in a special manner a successful opponent of Christianity. "It rejected polytheism, adopted a rationalistic creed, and imitated Christian rites."¹ It borrowed ceremonies similar to Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Confirmation, and corrupted itself in order to prevent the spread of a pure Christianity. St Jerome says that Abraxas, the name given to the Almighty by Basilides, the great corrupter of Christianity, corresponded to Mithras.²

Christianity on its side did very much the same thing. It tolerated and often adopted the rites of paganism—doing so even with those of them which were of a very pronounced character. It did this, too, from the very same motives which led the priests of Mithras to copy the Christian ceremonies. Nor in this matter did the Christian missionaries act without high authority. They merely obeyed definite instructions from the head of the church, as we learn from the famous letter which Pope Gregory addressed to the Abbot Mellitus in the year 601.³

This letter counsels more than a mere toleration of the sacrifice of bulls in the worship of dæmons; and we know that after a time bulls came to be sacrificed in the worship of the Christian missionaries themselves. They were so sacrificed to St Cuthbert at Kirkeubright in 1164, to St

¹ Bruce's Rom. Wall, 3d ed. p. 398.

² Montfauçon, *op. cit.* p. 319.

³ What follows is a quotation from this letter:—"Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur; quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitatis immutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosi convivii sollemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abecondere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur."—(Bædæ, Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum, lib. i. cap. xxx.; and Mon. His. Brit., p. 141.)

Beyno of Clynnog in 1589, and to St Maury in Applecross so late as 1656.¹ But more than this happened. The Christian missionaries polluted their ministry by becoming themselves the priests who sacrificed bulls to the gods of the pagans. We learn this from a letter which Pope Zachary sent to Boniface, A.D. 748, a quotation from which is given below.²

Thanks to Mr Joseph Anderson, I am able to give the following instance of what may be called the *uncompleted* sacrifice of a bull at the shrine of a Christian saint. It is recorded by Dugdale, who says, "Among the lands with which the sacrist's office (of the Abbey of Bury St Edmund, Suffolk) was endowed were those of Haberdon, the tenants of which were bound to provide a white bull as often as any matron of rank or other female should come, out of devotion, to make what were called the oblations of the white bull at the shrine of St Edmund. On this occasion the animal, adorned with ribbons and garlands, was brought to the south gate of the monastery, and led along Church Gate, Guildhall, and Abbey Gate streets to the great west gate, the lady all the time keeping close to the animal. Here the procession ended. The bull was returned to its pasture, and the lady made her offerings at the shrine in hope of becoming a mother."

There are two points of interest here: first, the object of the ceremony was to obtain fertility; and, secondly, the bull was not really sacrificed, but commutation offerings were made at the shrine, and these were called "the oblations of the white bull."

With reference to the first point, we are told by Pliny that among the Druids white bulls were sacrificed to give fecundity to whatever animal was thought to be sterile.³ The general object was to secure increase

¹ Superstitions relating to Lunacy, by Dr Mitchell, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. Vol. IV.

² Zacharias Bonifacio (A.D. 748):—"Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum, habentes et pollutum ministerium, ipique adulteri esse inventi sunt, et defuncti.—(Sti. Bonifacii Opera, Giles; Lond. 1844, i. 169.)

³ "Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit; falce aurea demetit; candido id excipitur sago. Tam deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum Deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Fecunditatem eo potio dari cuicumque anima-

and prosperity. The removal of barrenness was a special part of this general object. The ceremony was the worship of a creative power—the giver of increase and the lord of generation.

With reference to the second point of interest, it is not surprising that the actual sacrifice of the bull should be rarely made. Such an offering would, as a rule, be too costly. Hence, probably, the offering in commutation, or as a substitute for the bull. What this offering was we are not told, but it was called *the oblation of the white bull*.¹

At the Lemuralia there was a symbolic sacrifice of human figures made of rushes; and to cakes of flour and wax the shape of animals were given, and these were offered as symbolical sacrifices in place of the real animals, when these could not be procured, or when they were too expensive for the sacrifice.

All this suggests the question—Can the bull-stones be such offerings, either as *ex voto* or as substitutory sacrifices? Their great number, their small size, their shape and character, and the simplicity and uniformity of the sculpturing, point perhaps to an affirmative answer. So perhaps do the Mithraic look of the well, the fire worship of the clavic burners, and the knocking for children at the cradle stone. From one point of view all these things appear to be beads on one thread. I have endeavoured to add to the number of the beads by passing the string through the Dourie, and Torrytown, and Taurodunum. I do not affect, however, to answer the question. These are discursive vacation notes, and not an exhaustive research.²

lium sterili arbitrantur.”—(Monumenta Hist. Brit. p. civ., Ex Caio Plinio Secundo—Hist. Nat., lib. xvi. sect. 95 ed. Harduini, Paris, 1723.)

¹ In many places in Spain, and especially in the city of Truxillo, there is a fraternity who celebrate the festival of St. Mark by leading in procession a tame bull, which, after certain prayers, is sprinkled with holy water and led to the church, and kneels before the altar while the service is being performed. In consequence of this, in some Spanish sculptures or paintings, St. Luke with his appropriate bull has been mistaken by the common people for St. Mark.—(Arch. vol. xxvi. pp. 221–2; De Ayala, Pictor Christianus Eruditus, Madrid, 1780, folio, p. 261.)

² That there was some place in the far north famous for the celebration of religious rites or mysteries, in which women took a part, we may perhaps infer from what is said by Dionysius Periegetes, who flourished at the end of the second or beginning of the third century. What follows is taken from a free translation of the *Periegesis* by Priscianus the grammarian, who lived in the sixth century:—“Nec spatium distant

III. STRATHSPEY.

Carr Bridge, in Strathspey, where I halted for some time, was a well-known place in the old coaching days, though it is little heard of now. It is in that part of the parish of Duthil which is properly so called. The Garten range of hills, stretching from east to west, divides the parish into two parts,—one *to the north*, called *Duthil*, and the other *to the south*, called *Deshur*. The Dulnan River runs through the first, and the Spey forms a southern boundary to the second. The ecclesiastical establishments are now situated in Duthil; but *Deshur* once enjoyed equal privileges, the site of the old church being at a place now called both Chapel-town and Bail-an-chaibeil. The name of no saint has kept hold of the place, and I found the burial-ground under crop.

1. **FUARAN FIONNTAG—WELL OF VIRTUE.**—There is a well close to the supposed site of the old chapel, still yielding a copious stream of deliciously pure and cold water. It goes by the name of *Fuaran Fionntag*, which may be translated into *the cool refreshing spring*. It is famed for its power of curing the toothache, and is the only well I know whose waters are supposed to possess this special healing quality. It is said that visits are still paid to it by those who suffer from this tormenting malady.

2. **TOM PITLAC.**—The nearest railway station to Carr Bridge is called Boat of Garten, and close to it there are the remains of an ancient stronghold called Tom Pitlac. It is situated on a high bank of the Spey—the side next the river being very steep—at one time so steep and so close to the water that it is said to have been customary to fish from one of the windows of the castle. Round the other three sides of the oblong plateau, on which the building stood, there is a moat about 8 feet deep. Nothing now remains of the structure but grass-covered lines, indicating the foundations. These, however, are sufficiently distinct to show that

Nesidum litora longe: In quibus uxores Amnitum Bacchica sacra Concelebrant, hederæ foliis tectæque corymbis, Oceani tranans hinc navibus æquor apertum Ad Thulem venies" (Mon. Hist. Brit., p. xx.) What are the places or who are the people referred to here I cannot tell; nor do I know of any other allusion to a prominent part in religious ceremonies having been taken by the women of ancient Britain; but we are told,—“*Apud Græcos licet mulieribus sacrificium sacrificare.*” —(Confess. of Egbert, Thorpe *op. cit.* p. 163.)

the length of the ground-plan was about 70 feet. The width cannot be ascertained, as the side of the bank next the Spey has been considerably eroded.

3. BIGLA CUMIN, AND THE STORY OF THE HEN-TROUGH.—As already stated, the name of this stronghold is Tom Pitlac, which means the hill or castle of Bigla or Matilda. The whole country side is full of strange stories about this Bigla, who is remembered as the great lady of Strathspey, and who is, in fact, quite an historical personage, being the only child of Gilbert Cumin, Lord of the lands of Glenchearnach. He married a daughter of Macdonald of Clanranald, Lord of the Isles, and is commonly known as Gibbon More. Though in his time the Grants had already got possession of Freuchie, he was still a chieftain of power in Strathspey, and many of the oppressed from neighbouring districts sought his protection. These he adopted as clansmen by a somewhat profane ceremony of baptism. The font he used was the stone hen-trough, which stood near the castle door; and the Cumins so created were called Cuminich clach-nan-cearc, or Cumins of the hen-trough, to distinguish them from the Cumins of blue blood. So the story goes, and so, in all its essentials, is it told by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder;¹ but I fell upon it by actually hearing a boy, who had been adopted into a family of Grants, spoken of as a Grant of the hen-trough. The words, therefore—of the hen-trough—appear already to have acquired a broadened sense, and to be applicable to any one who has been incorporated into a family to which he does not belong by birth. It adds to the interest of this fact, that the man, who spoke of the boy I have alluded to as a Grant of the hen-trough, knew nothing whatever about the origin of the phrase.

Very curiously, and also very instructively, there is another story connected with Strathspey, which might have given rise to an epithet having exactly the same meaning.² According to Sir Walter Scott, the designa-

¹ *Highland Rambles*, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Edinburgh, 1853, vol. ii. p. 230. Sir Thomas makes the ceremony to have been performed at Kincherdie, and not at Tom Pitlac.

² Mr Anderson has furnished me with a very remarkable illustration of the way in which similar legends repeat themselves, if not rather of the possible transplanting of a legend to a district far removed from its real home. His note is as follows:—

tion of the race of the trough was given to some of the descendants of a

The story of John o' Groat's House, now a "household word," was first written by the Rev. Dr Morison in the first Statistical Account. He adds in a note that John Sutherland of Wester, from whom he received his information, had the particulars from his father, who said that he had seen the letter written by James IV. in the possession of George Groat of Wares. Thus the story is traced to a Groat whose disposition of his lands in Duncansbay and Latheron "with the ferry-house, ferry, and ferry-boats of Duncansbay," is dated 16th March 1715. Why the Groats should have come from Holland, and above all why they should have brought a letter with them from James IV., is not explicable. The statement that they purchased lands in Duncansbay is borne out by the inventories of the titles of the estates of Malcolm Groat of Wares preserved in Orkney, from which I think it is more likely they came originally. In 1496 John Grot received a charter of a ferry and land in Duncansbay from William St Clair, Earl of Caithness, dated at Girnigoe Castle 14th March. The inventory recounts thirty-three deeds to successive Groats, of which nineteen are to Groats of the prenomens *John*. In 1525 John Groat, presumably he who came over in James IV.'s time (1488-1513), and got the charter of 1496, was chamberlain and baillie to the Earl of Caithness. Hence he was an important man to begin with. But the John Groat who became the legendary John o' Groat, I think must have been John son of Finlay Groat, who in 1549 was infested by the Earl of Caithness in "the ferry-house and ferry, and 20 feet round the ferry-house." So that the Groats were the ferrymen at least from 1549 to 1715; and as the prevailing name among them was *John*, there is no difficulty in seeing why this name should become well and widely known in connection with the locality where travellers left the mainland for the isles beyond. (See Calder's History of Caithness, where these deeds are noticed.)

As to the probability of the existence of the legend of the octagon house of John de Groat in the locality before it was written by Morison, it is remarkable that it is not mentioned by Pope of Reay, nor by Pennant who describes Duncansbay pretty minutely, and would have been sure to have picked up such a tellable story. I do not think it is to be found among Macfarlane's Collections in the Advocates' Library; but that might be worth looking into.

Then as to the origin of the eight-sided legend, the *only* old story of an eight-sided house is that provided for the Great Bardic Association of Ireland by Guaire son of Colman, King of Connaught, in the seventh century, which exists in the Leabhar-na-Huidhri and the Book of Leinster, written in the twelfth century, and is published from a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century in the fifth volume of the Transactions of the Ossianic Society. When Sennchon succeeded to the presidency of the Bardic Association, they resolved to visit King Guaire, and he "made a mansion for them which had eight sides to it and a door between every two sides; and there were eight first-class beds between every two doors, and a low bed beside every chief bed. The reason he made this arrangement was, that whosoever of those that occupied the beds, in case they should have a quarrel or strife and get out of them, he might find the lower bed ready for him. And he constructed eight fountains for these men and eight fountains for their women; for he did not wish that the water used in washing the

tribe of Farquharsona. The story, as he tells it in the "Tales of a Grandfather," is to the following effect:—

The Laird of Grant was on one occasion dining at the Marquis of Huntly's Castle, and after dinner he saw all the remains of the feast thrown into a large swine trough. Then a hatch was opened and a huge mob of unwashed and almost unclothed children rushed out, and fell upon the food, fighting and clamouring for the largest share. The Laird asked an explanation of so strange a sight, and was told that these little wretches were the orphans of a tribe of Farquharsons on Dee Side, on whom he and the Marquis of Huntly had made a raid the year before, killing nearly every man and woman, and leaving the Marquis with 200 little children on his hands for whom he provided in the manner described. Greatly shocked, the Laird begged the children from the Marquis, took them to Castle Grant, dispersed them among his clan, and had them decently brought up, giving them his own name of Grant. Sir Walter says that their descendants are still called the Race of the Trough, to distinguish them from the families of the tribe into which they were adopted.

My attention was called to this version of the story by the Rev.

hands of the professors should touch the hands of the women, nor that the water of the hands of the women should be used in washing the hands of the professors; and feasts and banquets were ordered for their entertainment, and he sent messengers to invite them."

Here we have the octagonal arrangement as a provision against the danger of quarrelling,—the same idea as that embodied in the myth of John de Groat. This ancient legend, like other Fenian legends, was doubtless current in the north of Scotland, and must have got mixed up with some story of the Groats. The proof is not quite satisfactory, I must confess; but how otherwise are we to account for the two stories about the house with eight sides, and its purpose?

¹ Tales of a Grandfather, chap. xxxix. p. 398. In the second series of *Lectures on the Mountains, or the Highlands and Highlanders of Strathspey and Badenoch*, London, 1860, p. 115, the story is told very much as Sir Walter tells it. The author professes to have derived his information from an *old MS. history of the Grants*. He calls the race Slick-na-mar, or trough men, and says that those of the Farquharsons who remained in Huntly's land took the name of Gordon or of Sangster, and that some of those who were brought to Strathspey became M'Finlay Roys in Culchoich Beg, and M'Jameses in Inverallan parish. The story is also given in Sir Walter Scott's way in the *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*, Aberdeen, 1861, p. 50; but the author calls it "a total misrepresentation of the case."

William Forsyth of Abernethy, who, in writing to me regarding it, says of the Farquharsons who were brought to Strathspey—"They all took the name of Grant and settled in the county. Some of their descendants remain to this day, and are known as 'Sliochd an amair,' that is, 'The Race of the Trough.'"

It is quite possible, therefore, that in speaking of a *Grant of the Trough*, reference to one of these Grants might be intended. But the epithet, as I heard it used, was simply meant to tell me that the boy did not really belong to the family of which he was an adopted member. Either story, however, supplies an epithet which might readily come to have this meaning.¹

There is a stone in the Duthil churchyard which might be, and I believe has been, taken for Gibbon More's hen-trough. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's informant said he had often seen the trough when a boy, that is, within the present century.² The Duthil stone referred to is generally called a baptismal font, but it might have been either a *knockin' stane* or a *hen-trough*. It is sunk into the ground close to the wall of the church. Its upper face is about 20 inches across each way, and the concavity is about 12 inches in diameter at the mouth, and about 5 inches at the bottom. This, I think, shows more tapering than is usual in a *knockin' stane*.

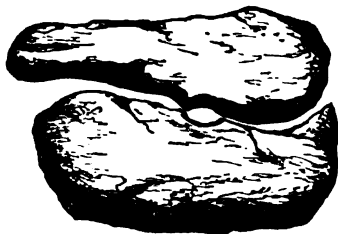
4. BIGLA'S KEY STONE.—After her father's death, about the year 1434 Bigla married Sir John Grant—"the fremyt Freuchie," as Gibbon More called him, and the race of Glenchearnach came thus to an end. It is said that she built the church at Duthil, and that she rode regularly over the Garten Hills to worship there. Somewhere on her route, as the story goes, she had a hiding-place for her keys, below or beside a great stone. Not one, of the many from whom I heard of this, gave a better reason for the hiding of her keys than that she carried them till she was tired and then hid them. The story had little interest, till one day, when walking

¹ The trough story of the Grants and Gordons, as told by Sir Walter, appears to start from the beginning of the seventeenth century; but Gibbon More lived about two centuries earlier. Whether both stories are fabrications, or both have a foundation in fact, or the one is a copy of the other, I cannot tell.

² Highland Rambles, vol. ii. p. 280.

through the woods which now cover the Garten Hills, my companion pointing to a stone, suddenly said, "There is the Clach-an-tuill-Pitlac, or The Stone of Bigla's Keys." I heard it often afterwards called Bigla's Key Stone, but the Gaelic name really means Bigla's Stone of the Hole. It is about 3 feet long and 2½ feet broad, and is lying flat on the ground, broken lengthways into two. Near the centre there is a hole about 4 inches in diameter, not drilled straight through, but bored conically from both sides towards the centre. Fifteen years ago it is said to have been whole

Fig. 27.



and standing. Fig. 27 gives a rough representation of the stone. Why it was placed there, and why the hole was bored through it, I cannot tell; but if we had found it in Orkney, we should have been ready to conclude that the oath of Odin had at some time been sworn by those whose hands were clasped in the hole. Whatever its history may be, I think we may safely say

that only by accident does it now get the name of Bigla's Key Stone. And this suggests the question whether the present names of some other stones may not in like manner reveal some accident in their history rather than their true history or purpose.

5. BIGLA'S LOUPIN'-ON-STANE.—A little further on, as you cross the hill from the Deshur to the Duthil side, there is another stone to which the name of Bigla is attached. It is a great fragment of rock, and she is said to have used it as a *loupin'-on-stane* in her journeys to and from the kirk of Duthil. It is also said that on this stone she received the rents of her estate.

6. THE MIRACLE STONE OF THE SPEY.—I pass from the vestiges of Bigla Cumin to a thing of yesterday—linked, however, to an alleged occurrence several centuries ago. I have collected and given an account of many strange superstitions still existing in remote parts of Scotland, but I have recorded no such wonderful illustration of a living superstition

as that furnished by *The Miracle Stone of the Spey*, which was erected in 1865 close to the banks of the river, about 150 yards lower down than Tom Pitlac. The legend of the miracle, as it appeared in the "Inverness Courier"¹ is as follows:—

"In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a certain lady of the family of Mackintosh of Kylachy (a branch of the Mackintoshes of which the late Sir James Mackintosh was the representative, and the best it ever had) was married to one of the eighteen sons of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorum, and grandson of the first Laird of Grant. The laird gave Patrick the farm of Luirg, in Abernethy, as a marriage gift. After many years of domestic happiness Grant died, and was interred in the churchyard of Duthil, and soon after his lady followed him to the grave. The latter, on her deathbed, expressed a wish to be buried in the same tomb with her husband. Her friends represented the impossibility of complying with her desire as the River Spey could not be forded. 'Go you,' said she, 'to the water-side, and if you proceed to a certain spot (which she indicated,—a spot opposite the famous Tom Bitlac, the residence of the once famous Bitlac Cumming), a passage will be speedily effected.' On arriving at the river side, at the place pointed out, the waters were instantly divided, and the procession walked over on dry ground! The story goes on to say that the people, on observing an immense shoal of fish leaping and dancing in the dry bed of the stream, were tempted to try and capture some of the salmon which thus found themselves so suddenly out of their natural element; but the angry waters refused to countenance the unmerciful onslaught, and returned once more to their channel. That the men thus engaged should have escaped with their lives was considered almost as great a miracle as the former one, and on their coming out of the water Bitlac and her servants liberally supplied the company with bread and wine, and a 'Te Deum' was sung by the entire multitude for their miraculous deliverance from the perils of the waters. The funeral attendants continued their journey until they reached the summit of the rock immediately above the present farm of Gartenbeg. Here they rested, and erected a pole some thirty feet long, with a finger-board on the top pointing to the particular spot where the passage was accomplished. Not a vestige of this pole is now to be seen."

¹ April 1865.

This is the quietest and tamest of the many versions of the story which are in circulation. Its great defect is that it reveals nothing of the popular belief as to the character and habits of the woman; but it also wants consistency and is clearly inaccurate as regards dates and persons. For instance, it makes Bigla Cumin to have lived two centuries before she did; and there was assuredly no Grant of Tullochgorum with eighteen sons in the thirteenth century.

It makes the "certain woman" one of the Macintoshes of Kylachy, but other versions say she belonged to the Macintoshes only by marriage, her first husband being the Fear-Cyllachie, and her second the Fear-na-Luirgan. She appears, indeed, sometimes as a spinster, sometimes as once a wife, sometimes as twice, sometimes as a Strathdearn, and sometimes as a Duthil woman; now as having lived in the thirteenth, then in the fourteenth, then in the fifteenth, then in the sixteenth, then in the seventeenth century—most frequently, I think, in the sixteenth or seventeenth; sometimes as a Macintosh, sometimes as a Cumin, sometimes as a Macdonald, occasionally as a Grant, but generally as *a certain woman* without a name. I speak from what I myself heard. In short, the tradition has no fixed form, and the measure of its variations is exceedingly great. I was struck, however, by the fact that in nearly every version of the story there was some incident or bit of description which might be called picturesque or romantic, and some happy touch in the way of delineating character. Even in the method of telling the story there was usually an attempt at that art in which Highlanders often so greatly excel.

While in the district I put together the striking portions of all the versions which reached me, introducing details, as fully as possible, and carefully omitting nothing which related to character. It is unnecessary to give this version here. It makes the miracle a comparatively late event—not earlier than the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. It attempts to disclose the peculiar character of the woman's saintliness, and so helps to a right understanding of the action taken in regard to her by such persons as *the men* of Duthil. Perhaps, however, we need nothing more to help us in this than the knowledge of the fact that she is commonly known as HOLY MARY OF LUIRG.

The legend fell asleep till a small farmer at Stock, called William

Grant, some years before his death began to speak of erecting a stone to commemorate the miracle. This Grant was one of those religious leaders of the people who are known as *the men*,¹ and who have their stronghold in Sutherland and Ross-shire, though they have also been long a power in this particular parish. Grant of Slock was in the front rank of *the men*, and according to the belief of many was "gifted not only with the spirit of prophecy, but with that of second sight."² Some days before his death he is said to have expressed a desire that a monumental stone, which years before he had procured for the purpose, should be dressed and erected to commemorate and indicate the place of the dividing of the waters; and he instructed his followers to place on the stone a suitable inscription, both in English and Gaelic. He is also said to have predicted at the same time that two broom bushes would spring up on each side of the stone, and eventually cover it, and that it would be a day of trouble to Scotland when this took place.

Grant's followers faithfully carried out the instructions of their leader; and, on the 9th of March 1865, the stone was erected, an appropriate inscription to the following effect having been previously cut on it:—

"Erected at the request of the late William Grant Slock for a memorial of a signal manifestation of the divine power in dividing this water and causing a passage whereby the remains of a certain woman were carried over on dry ground."

In a loving spirit towards Slock's reputation as a prophet, which overrode their patriotism, they are said to have erected the stone between two growing broom bushes.

The ceremony of inauguration has been described as very solemn. It is said that, after devotional exercises, the tablet was consecrated, and dedicated in all time coming as a memorial of the miraculous passage of the Spey.³

It is right, however, to record that the ceremony is not always described

¹ *The Men* are written about and described in very different ways, as will be seen by consulting the New Stat. Accot. of Scot., Sutherland, p. 36, the Rev. Mr Auld's *Ministers and Men of the North*, and the Rev. Mr Kennedy's *Apostle of the North*.

² "Inverness Courier," April 1865, and "Scotsman," 21st April 1865.

as in every respect solemn. It is alleged, for instance, by some that the cart on which the stone was conveyed from Slock to Garten was old and rickety, and broke down by the way; that the horse, which was harnessed to it, was a frail beast not equal to its work, except under constant stimulation; and that the people followed the cart smoking their short black pipes.

Whether these things are wholly or partially true, or not true at all, it remains as certain that the erection of this memorial stone was seriously and earnestly gone about as a pious act.

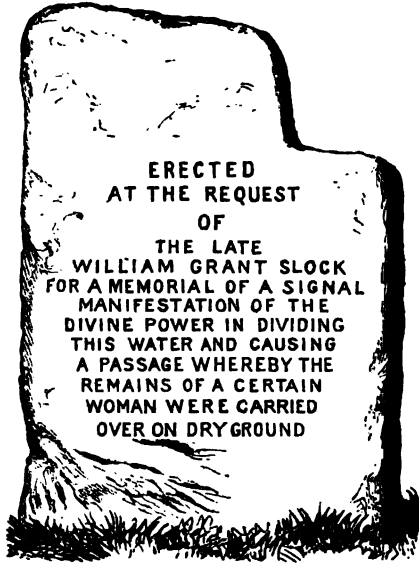
Luckily, in the very year of its erection (1865), I saw the stone, and then made the sketch of it which is given in fig. 28. Luckily, I say, for the stone is now no more. About two years after its erection, on the night of the 19th of February 1867, it was ruthlessly broken and cast into the river, where the fragments can still be seen when the water is low.

As might be expected, such a thing as the erection of this stone in Scotland, in the nineteenth century, attracted attention, and it was in many quarters freely spoken of as a disgrace to the parish. The outcome of this was a strong local anti-stone party, and a further outcome the destruction of the stone. Who the perpetrators of this sacrilege were no one as yet dare tell. The secret is well preserved, and the iconoclasts are only named as *certain persons*. I was told, however, that one man, suspected to have been of the party, was killed by an accident soon after; and it was beyond question meant that I should understand his death to have been a punishment from God. As a rule, neither the erection nor the destruction of the stone is lightly spoken of; and it appeared to me that condemnation of the monument was seldom quite fearless. The tongue seemed to be restrained by something of the nature of a superstitious awe, quite as much as by prudential considerations, though these were no doubt in operation. The Free Church minister who was in the parish in 1865 is said to have spoken honestly and somewhat strongly, though perhaps not altogether wisely, against the putting up of the stone. It is not thought that he added to his comfort by so doing. Very outspoken condemnation has come from the lips and pen of Mr James Cameron, farmer at Tullochgriban, and as yet, I am happy to say, he looks none the worse.

When the river is low, what remains of the stone can be got at, though with some difficulty. It is said that pieces are broken off and preserved as relics or charms. I am even assured that such fragments are to be found in various parts of the northern counties.

There is a story worth recording which I heard regarding the pole, which, as will be remembered,¹ was placed on the cairn erected at the top

Fig. 28.



of the Garten Hill by those who carried the remains of *Holy Mary* to her grave. My informant was a shrewd and intelligent man, and he vouched for the truth of what he told me as being within his own knowledge.

Fifty years ago and more, he and another boy were herding cattle near Gartonbeg. His companion, in frolic, pulled down the pole, and that afternoon became seriously and strangely ill. The doctor came, but could make nothing of the illness. The boy was then urged to tell

¹ See p. 677.

whether anything had happened to account for his alarming and puzzling condition. He went over all the events of the day, and at length mentioned the pulling down of the pole. The origin of his malady was at once suspected. He was carried to the cairn, and there in his presence the pole was replaced. From that moment his disease began to leave him, and he went home whole.

I happened to be inquiring into this legend about the time of the Paray le Monial pilgrimage, and I could not help seeing in Holy Mary a Duthil edition of Marguerite Marie Alacoque. The church set her seal on Marguerite's devotion, and recognised, proclaimed, and recommended it to the faithful. What else did the men of Duthil do but a like thing for another Marie? The journey to Garten with the miracle stone was in many respects a counterpart of the pilgrimage to Paray. Very different, it is true, was the ceremonial. Only the rough sons of industry formed the rude procession from Slock. There were no lords and ladies among them. No elegance—no polish—no refinement—no saying of the joyful and the sorrowful and the glorious mysteries of the Rosary—no repeating of paters, or of aves, or of litanies of the Sacred Heart—no singing of Magnificats or Te Deums attended the consecration on Speyside of the undressed miracle stone, with its vulgar inscription, as they did the consecration at Paray of the English people to the Sacred Heart. The two pilgrimages, however, were identical in one grand respect—they were both the result of earnest religious convictions. Rough though the proceedings were in the one case, and polished in the other, there was no difference between them when regarded as the result either of intellectual or emotional operations. The polish of the Paray ceremonial marked neither a higher order of intellect nor of religious emotion. It marked nothing but a higher general culture, not a higher nature or constitution. The absence of aestheticism and refinement at Duthil resulted from no inferiority either of intellectual powers, or moral qualities, or religious feelings. Those who put up the rude miracle stone on the Spey were the same people, and lived at the same time, and were under the influence of the same kind of religious belief, as the pilgrims to Paray.

Perhaps I should go further, and call to mind that they were the same people as their neighbours, who went neither to Garten nor to Paray. It would certainly be incorrect to regard them as inferior in mental power

to those living round about them, and I doubt if they ought to be considered as in reality more superstitious. Is it not true, to a greater extent than we would like to acknowledge, that all of us yield, in our different ways, to superstitious feelings, even at times when we are able to recognise their true nature?

6. THE CAIRNS OF DUTHIL.—It is a great leap from the discussion of a superstition to a description of cairns, but that leap I now take.

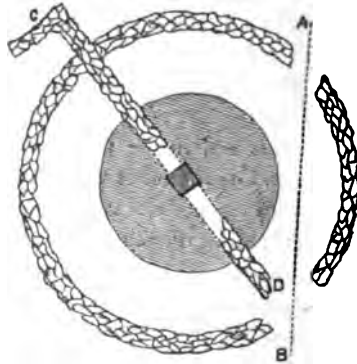
It was impossible to live for weeks at Carr Bridge and not see a considerable number of cairns. Close to it, indeed, there is a district called Docharn, which probably means the Davoch of the Cairns. I did not count the number of small cairns which are to be found on this and the adjoining farms, but I am certainly correct when I say that there are hundreds. The majority of them are small. There are three, however, of great size. The largest of these is at Tom-tigh-an-leighe—The hill of the house of the Doctor. There is a story that every father and mother of an illegitimate child in the parish was obliged to bring a great stone to this cairn, and that thus it was erected. If we believed this, we should be obliged to conclude that there must have been many births and few marriages in Duthil during the good old times.

The second in size of the three great cairns is on the top of a knoll in the wood, just above Dochlagie. It is 60 feet in diameter, and 9 to 10 feet high. With the assistance of some labourers I carefully examined this cairn, but I found no chamber or structure of any kind in its interior. I also ascertained that it was not bounded by anything like a wall or circle of stones. Running north from it; however, for about 40 feet, there is what I can most easily describe as a paved way, about 3 feet wide. The stones, however, of which this way is formed differ very greatly in size, and are merely laid on the ground and not sunk into it. At its remote end it appeared to bend a little to the east, and we thought that its other extremity entered for some distance into the body of the cairn itself, which, if a correct observation, is an interesting and peculiar feature.

Near the old house of Inverladnin, where Prince Charles once passed a night, there is a much smaller cairn. In this case too there exists a similar line of stones about the same width, running from east to west,

having its course through the cairn tolerably distinct, reappearing at the opposite side, and exhibiting at one extremity a bend, like that observed at the great cairn to which allusion has just been made. This is shown in the subjoined diagram (fig. 29), from which it will also be seen that this cairn is surrounded by a line of stones of the same character as that which seems to pass through the cairn. In the centre there is a well-formed short cist, with a huge stone covering it; and in this, when first opened, there were human remains, but these had been removed before my visit. The dotted line on the plan represents the position of a wire

Fig. 29.



fence, during the erection of which the ring was broken at A and B. It is difficult to say now whether the pathway (C D) really ended at D, or passed the circle where the fence cuts it at B. I speak here of C D as a pathway, but this is scarcely correct, for it much more resembles a long low flat heap of stones than a paved way. It looks, too, as if it had been made before the cairn, and as if the cairn had been erected over it.

What I have said of these cairns supports the idea that there is an anatomy of cairns,—that they are often constructed on a definite plan, and are not mere heaps of stones. Through Mr Anderson we all know the singular and well-marked characters of the Caithness cairns. These do not in the least resemble what I have been describing; but the

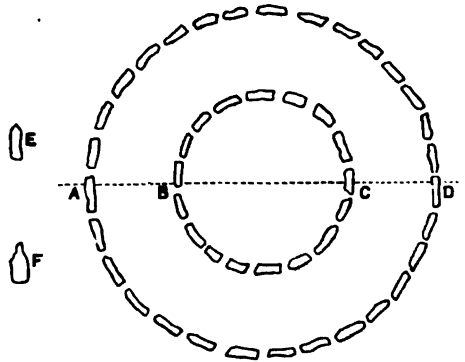
character apparently possessed by the Duthil Cairns renders it increasingly probable that cairns of different districts may possess distinctive characters.

There is another thought, which seemed ever present to my mind while I was living beside these great cairns and seeing them constantly. It was this, Do we not look too contemptuously on the people who erected them? Whoever they were, they built tombs for their great men, and over these raised vast and enduring monuments. A cairn, 70 feet across and 20 feet high, is no insignificant conception, nor is it an easy thing to erect such a cairn. They were not stupid savages who conceived and erected such memorials. In whatever light they regarded death they certainly treated their dead with respect, and thought greatness worthy of commemoration. If we are descended from them, as I hope we are, we have no reason, I think, to be ashamed of our ancestors, who, though uncivilised, were certainly not feeble. It is possible, indeed, that they were potentially as good men as we are. Even in numbers they can scarcely have been much behind us—that is, if we leave out of view our great cities. Looking, indeed, at the number and size of the cairns still remaining in this district, it seems to me that there must have been as great a population between the two Craigellachies in the cairn times as in ours. And if this be true of Strathspey, it is even more probably true of Caithness with its countless brochs, and cairns, and other evidences of an early occupation by a sturdy and numerous people.

7. THE GREINISH CIRCLE OR RING CAIRN.—The curious structure which I have next to notice, so far as I know, is unique in Scotland. I first saw it in October 1866, along with the Rev. William Forsyth of Abernethy. Since that time I have had several opportunities of visiting it. It lies in the Greinish wood, about five miles from Carr Bridge, on the way to Aviemore, on the west side of a small loch, called Loch na Carraghean. It consists of two great circles of standing stones—the outer circle being 60 and the inner 24 feet in diameter. It is thus a structure of great size. The stones forming the circles are about 3 feet above ground, and are close together. The space between the two circles is 18 feet wide, and it is filled to the level of the top of the standing stones which define it with loose stones, which are not large, are generally water-worn, and

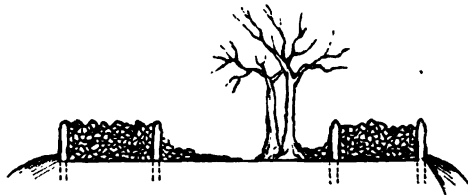
exhibit no sign of building. A plan of it and a section are given in figs. 30 and 31. These are taken from large drawings, in reducing which the space between the two circles has been made too small, and the diameter

Fig. 30.



of the inner circle too great. There are some reasons for thinking that at one time the loose stones between the circles were heaped up above the level of the boundary stones; and, if such were the case, the structure would become a sort of *ring cairn*.

Fig. 31.



I was informed that two circular-built chambers had once been found covered by the stones in the space between the circles, and that many

cists had also been found at various times in the same space. But I saw nothing to show that this had been the case.

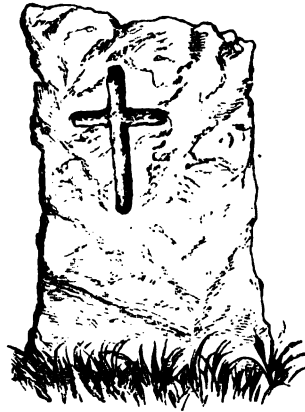
There are two stones, formerly standing, but now prostrate, of considerable size (one 9 feet and the other 7 feet long) to the west of the circle in the position indicated by E and F on fig. 30.

About 35 paces to the south-west of the circle there is a small cairn; and about 100 or 120 paces to the north-east there is another flat cairn, about 26 feet in diameter, and situated on a peninsula jutting into the lake. This last is surrounded by a circle of stones.

On the opposite, or east side, of the loch, in the wood, there are two circular grass-covered mounds—one 50 and the other 40 feet in diameter. On the same side of the loch three small cairns are also to be seen. Altogether there is abundant evidence that much importance must at one time have been attached to this spot,—the great and leading feature being the singular structure I have just described.

I do not waste time either in showing that it was not a broch or that it was something else. It is a huge erection, and must have been put up at a great cost of labour; but for what purpose, I cannot even guess. The popular belief is that it was a place of worship; and it is said that an innkeeper at Aviemore once took away from it some large stones, of which he stood in need, and that as the result he never after thrrove.

Fig. 32.



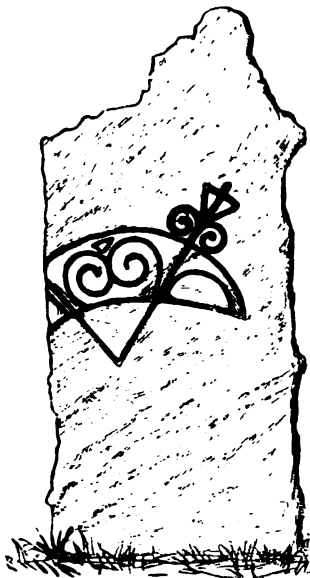
8. LAGGAN CUP STONE.—This has already been noticed at page 642. So far as I am aware, it is the first one discovered in Strathspey. Thanks to the science-loving farmers at Laggan, the sculpturing on it did not escape observation.

9. INVERALLAN CROSS.—This stone stands in the Inverallan churchyard, and must be known to many, but I do not think that it has ever been noticed. It is a rough, undressed slab with a Latin cross rudely cut on both sides.

From its great simplicity and the absence of laboured art, it appears to me to exhibit the symbol of our Faith very impressively. I have endeavoured, though with poor success, to represent it in fig. 32.

10. THE LYNCHURN OR TULLOCHGORUM SYMBOL STONE.—This stone was brought under my notice by Mr David F. Ross, and I visited it along with him and Mr Grant of Lynchurn. Mr Ross had previously sent me a sketch, so that I knew it to be one of Dr Stuart's symbol stones.

Fig. 33.



It was recently found in a field on the farm of Lynchurn, close to the Spey, and not far from the Boat of Garten; and Mr Grant was breaking it up for a lintel when he observed some sculpturing on it, and desisted. It was prostrate when found, but it is now standing near the spot where it was discovered. Unfortunately it had sustained considerable injury before the sculpturing was noticed. What remains of it is about 5 feet 10 inches long,—3 feet 10 inches being above ground and about 2 feet below. Its greatest width is 18 inches, and its average thickness about 10 inches. Fig. 33 is from a sketch I made on the spot. It is roughly to scale, and I think gives a tolerably accurate representation of the symbol.

The face of the stone is much weather-worn, and shows no other sculpture except that given in the sketch.

This is the fifth of these symbol stones which have recently been brought to notice in Strathspey,—two having been found at Congash, one at Finlarig, one at Freuchie, and one at Lynchurn. The two found at Finlarig and Freuchie I was fortunate enough to obtain for the Museum, where they now are. Four of the five have been figured by Dr Stuart.

The symbol on the Lynchurn stone is the well-known combination of the sceptre and crescent, and in its details there is no feature of special interest. Any uncertainty which may exist as to the character of the Corrachree stone (fig. 19) is entirely absent here.

11. CHURCH OF DUTHIL.—I conclude these notes with an extract from the Macfarlane MSS. (Advocate's Library), containing a reference to the old church of Duthil; and I do so because the allusion to the door of the old church with its ornamental hinges may possibly throw light on the origin of the curious piece of carving in fir-wood which was recently found in the house of Shillochan.

Extract from the Macfarlane MSS., Geog. vol. iii. p. 272.

“About the middle of the river standeth the kirk of Duthell, a large church, but a poor provision, as all the churches of this countrey of Strathspey have not exceeding 500 merks Scots for each minister, who serveth at two churches, and some of them having seven miles betwixt their kirks; and in the whole world there are not worse payed ministers and more neglected. The bands of the kirk doors are very rare, made after the manner of a tree casting out its branches, and covering the whole door, after the manner of needlework.”

The decoration of the old kirk door must have been somewhat unusual to have led to this special notice, and we may safely assume that the internal fittings of a church with such a door would not be destitute of ornamentation. A probability, therefore, arises that the carved work discovered at Shillochan may have once formed a part of an important pew in the old church. This probability is increased by the fact that good judges of carved work think it likely that it may have once served such a purpose.

I have to return my best thanks to Mr Joseph Anderson, Mr W. F. Skene, Dr James Macdonald, the Rev. George Davidson, the Rev. James Weir, the Rev. W. Forsyth, and Mr D. F. Ross, for their kindness in reading the whole or parts of these Notes *in proof*, and for many useful suggestions, tending to secure accuracy as to matters of fact.

III.

NOTICE OF TWO BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA ; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE ONE SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AT NORHAM, AND NOW IN THE SOCIETY'S MUSEUM. BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, OF WOLFELE, K.C.S.I., F.S.A. Scot.

Several years ago my attention was attracted by some bronzes in the Calcutta Museum, acquired shortly before, and I succeeded, through the curators, in purchasing two similar specimens of each kind, but of a third form in the museum, like a partizan or halberd with lateral processes, no more remained in the finder's possession.

The simplest of the two forms, of which a specimen is now exhibited, is a long heavy blade of nearly equal width for about two-thirds of its length, and tapering thence to the point with an elliptical curve. It has a stout midrib running down the centre of the blade, and terminates at the butt end in a flat tang about one-third of the width of the blade, which has a curved spine-like projection on one side. (See fig. 1 in the accompanying woodcut.) Its dimensions are, length, $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; width at the butt, 4 inches ; length of tang, 4 inches.

The other weapon is much more complicated in construction, resembling a triply-barbed harpoon, but so massive and heavy that if handled and used as a harpoon it could only be wielded with difficulty by a very strong man. It consists of a tapering blade rather more than 6 inches long, having a strong midrib which thickens as it proceeds backwards till it merges in the rounded stem of the weapon. This blade is terminated by two strong rounded barbs, bent back till they converge somewhat towards the stem of the weapon, and other two pairs of stronger barbs of similar character are placed about an inch apart, and the same distance behind the first. A shorter cross-piece, having one of its arms pierced by a small round hole, is placed behind the barbs, and the weapon terminates in a blunt, tapering, rounded tang about 3 inches in length. (See fig. 2 in the accompanying woodcut, which is here repeated from vol. viii. p. 293.) The whole length of the weapon is 12 inches, its greatest breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It weighs $25\frac{1}{2}$ ounces.

In looking through the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1868, I observed a notice of the presentation of a copper spear-head,



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

copper bangles, and other implements, from Manipuri, different from anything now in use.

Dr Oldham, director of the Geological Survey in India, remarked on their great interest, and described one as a fine specimen of a flat celt.

Another, he said, "appeared to be a spear-head of peculiar form, the sides of the implement being cut into a series of teeth pointing downwards and projecting from the central rib." With these were a number of rings, which were obviously bangles or wristlets, and identical in form with what the Antiquaries of N. Europe were wont to call "ring-money." But what he considered most important was the fact, that no implements of copper, brass, or bronze had hitherto been found in India.

I wrote and told him of the bronze weapons I had seen in 1841, to which he replied that there was a record of some such article, but it could not now be found, and added that I was mistaken in describing them as bronze, and that if I examined my own specimens, he had no doubt I should find them to be copper. At first I thought he was right. They certainly appeared on casual inspection to be of pure copper, but a careful analysis by Dr Stevenson Macadam of the two specimens now presented to the Society shows them to be true bronzes,¹ of which the constituents are as follows:—

The Long Blade.

Copper, 95·68

Tin, 3·83

 99·51

The Barbed Weapon.

Copper, 93·18

Tin, 6·74

 99·92

Meantime I had searched the published Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, from their first appearance in 1831, but could find no other trace of those I had seen in 1841 save a letter from the Secretary of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of the North, dated 18th October 1838, acknowledging the receipt of "two specimens of ancient warlike weapons of copper"² in the preceding year, by the hands of Dr Theodore

¹ For an analysis of the bronze harpoon of this type previously in the Museum, see *infra*, p. 695.

² The two bronze weapons sent by Mr Prinsep, secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, were found "at Niorai, in the province of Etawah, lying between the Ganges and Jumna." They were described and figured in "Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskabs, Aarsberetning, 1838." The account given of them in the Royal Northern Society's Report represents them as not uncommon in the Punjab, and indeed says "they are frequently dug up in the neigh-

Cantor, a Danish assistant-surgeon in the E. I. Co.'s Service, and a nephew of Dr Wallich, and inviting a more frequent intercourse, which does not seem, however, to have taken place.

Notwithstanding the somewhat loose description of the spear-head quoted above in Dr Oldham's words, I have little doubt that it refers to a weapon of the same form as these now before us. His observations called attention to the subject, and other specimens were brought forward.

Two or three months afterwards, Colonel (now General) Strachey exhibited an axe, described by the president as resembling those found in Europe, with a long curved and sharp edge, gradually attenuating behind into a kind of straight handle, which had the edges flattened so as to be easily held in the hand. If it were of bronze he expected it to be the first example of a true bronze weapon of this kind found in India. It was afterwards analysed and found to consist of

Copper,	86·7
Tin,	13·3
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	100 ¹

Two or three years later (in 1871) Captain Samuells of the Trigonometrical Survey sent two articles of copper from the Rewah District, which he thought were bronze or copper. Dr Oldham states one to be a flat piece of rough copper, just as run from the smelting furnace; the other had one-half of the surface rough as it had cooled, while the other half had been "hammered into two shoulders or semicircular recesses, admirably suited for the application of a handle of split bamboo or other wood, so as to serve for a very effective axe or club, but not a cutting instrument," and he expresses astonishment that people who could hammer the one part so neatly should not have beaten out the edge still more, so as to make it cut.

Unfortunately, none of these descriptions are accompanied by figures to give a more definite idea of the forms so vaguely described. But this want was supplied in transmitting 8 silver and 17 copper implements as

bourhood of the Hindoo towns Mathura and Bindraband, and the natives regard them as belonging to the heroic age of the Mahábhárata." (See Proc. vol. viii. p. 298.)

¹ General Strachey has since informed me that it has been lost.

specimens of a much larger find exhumed in 1870 near the village of Gungeria, in the province of Mhow. Those of silver were in the form of rings and thin plates, some circular, some cornuted, the edges bearing marks as if they had been inserted in wood or mortar for purposes of ornamentation. Those of copper were of various shapes and thickness, mostly long, like spades or ploughshares, others like chisels or axes. They were found neatly arranged in transverse layers, the silver lying in a heap by their side.¹ The ruins of an ancient Buddhist temple were to be seen about three miles off. General Cunningham describes and figures a very ancient copper celt excavated at Mathura last year. (Archæol. Rep. vol. iii. p. 18.)

The people of India have practised the reduction of copper ore from an early period. Mr V. Ball of the Geological Survey has described the remains of extensive mining operations in the rich copper districts of Singbhúm and Mánbhúm, in Central India. He attributes them to an extinct race whom he conjectures to have been Aryan colonists, who, he says, carried their metallurgical habits everywhere, even to the silver mines of Spain. The present inhabitants have a tradition that they were exterminated by the ancestors of the Kóls and Hós 700 years ago, but Colonel Dalton assigns to them an antiquity of not less than 2000 years. They call them Seraks or Sráwaka, a term applicable to Jains or Buddhists, who were distinguished for their proficiency in literature, science, and the arts.

From what has been said, it appears that bronze implements of nearly the same composition, but often of forms differing widely from the bronze instruments of Europe, are characteristic of Indian archæology, and Mr Anderson's subsequent examination of the specimen at Copenhagen received from Calcutta enables him rightly to assign the Norham specimen to an Asiatic source.

How it has travelled so far to the west is another question. Examples are not wanting of the most incongruous objects occurring in close juxtaposition which could not have had a common origin. Witness the Chinese vase found by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in a mummy case, and the ancient Hindu gold ring dug up on the Fort Hill at Montrose, and described by Colonel Tod in the "Trans. R. As. Soc." ii. 559.

¹ I have since seen some of these in the British Museum.

A possible mode of conveyance for this article may be imagined. Every year invalided soldiers are embarked at Calcutta for England. When a regiment is relieved, most of the men volunteer into other corps, but a certain number prefer to return home. We may easily suppose one of these men to have become possessed of such a curiosity, and to have carried it home to his native Berwickshire.

It may be interesting, for the purpose of comparison, here to repeat the analysis of this "Norham Harpoon" made for Dr J. A. Smith by Dr Stevenson Macadam :—

"ANALYTICAL LABORATORY, SURGEONS' HALL.

"The bronze implement found near Norham, which you sent me ten days ago, has the following chemical composition :—

Copper,	.	.	.	.	91·12
Tin,	.	.	.	.	7·97
Lead,	.	.	.	.	0·77
Loss,	.	.	.	.	0·14
				————	100·00

"These proportions indicate a hard bronze capable of taking and retaining a somewhat fine edge, which would be specially serviceable in a defensive arm or cutting instrument."

Mr Franks of the British Museum has since informed me that he has received a large consignment of bronze and copper implements from Central India, which he purposes to describe on his return from Stockholm, and I am glad to observe that he has presented the Museum with one of the flat celts from Gungeria for comparison with our British series.

MONDAY, 11th May 1874.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq., in the Chair.

The Secretary announced that the Council at their last meeting had elected Miss M. STOKES, Editress of "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," &c., &c., a Lady Associate of the Society.

A ballot was then taken, and the following Gentleman was elected a Corresponding Member:—

JOHN ANDERSON, Esq., M.D., Curator of the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

The following Gentlemen were also elected Fellows:—

JAMES ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Esq., yr. of Stracathro.

REV. EDWARD KING, B.A., Launceston.

GEORGE SCOTT, Esq., Curator, Brighton Free Library and Museum.

J. IRVINE SMITH, Esq., 21 Northumberland Street.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1.) By JOHN ANDERSON, Esq., M.D., Curator of the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

Seven small and finely polished Stone Implements or Celts from Momien, province of Western Yunan, China, viz.—

1. Small Chisel-shaped Implement of highly polished greenstone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, with a keen rounded edge, and slightly flattened towards the square ended butt.

2. Small Triangular Implement of reddish quartz, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, 1 inch in breadth across the cutting face, tapering to a rounded butt, and about $\frac{3}{8}$ th of an inch in greatest thickness. The edge is formed like that of an adze, by grinding from one side.

3. Small Triangular Implement of compact jade-like stone, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, 1 inch in breadth across the cutting edge, tapering to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch at the rounded butt, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The edge is formed like that of an adze.

4. Small Truncated Triangular Implement of speckled jade-like stone,

$1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch broad at the cutting edge, tapering to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch at the slightly rounded butt, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The edge is more axe-like than adze-like.

5. Implement of similar form and material, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch long by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch broad at the cutting edge, tapering to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch at the slightly rounded butt. It has a keen rounded axe-like edge.

6. Implement of similar form and material, but darker, and with an adze-like edge considerably broken. It measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness.

7. Implement of similar form and material, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by 2 inches broad and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with keen rounded bevelled edge.

Dr Anderson gives the following account of these implements in the Appendix to his "Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan *via* Bhamo" (Calcutta, 1871):—

"Noticing a stone implement exposed for sale on a stall in the Momien bazaar, I purchased it for the equivalent of a few pence. No sooner was my liking for such objects known than I was besieged by needy persons, who willingly parted with them for sums varying in value from four to eighteen pence each. After my first investment, specimens to the number of about one hundred and fifty were procured by different members of the expedition; but all were purchased, none being discovered by any of us.

"I was informed at Momien that stone implements were not unfrequently turned up in ploughing the fields, and that they were occasionally found lying exposed on the surface soil. The belief prevails that they, and also bronze implements, are thunderbolts, which, after they fall and penetrate the earth, take nine years again to find or work their way up the surface.

"The Burmese and the Shans of Burmah also regard stone implements as thunderbolts or *miogyos*, and have the same superstition about these finding their way to the surface of the soil in after years.

"Burmese, Shans, and Chinese alike attribute great medicinal virtues to stone and bronze implements, and some of the latter are so highly prized in Yunan that their weight in gold alone can purchase them. The fresh fractures result from small pieces having been chipped off to be ground down and sold as medicine, which commands fabulous prices.

Both kinds of implements are also carried about the person as charms to ward off the evil influence of badly disposed persons.

"The high estimation in which they are held, both in Yunnan and Burmah, suggests the suspicion that the Chinese in former days did not neglect to take advantage of the desire to possess those implements or charms, and made a profitable traffic in their manufacture. A consideration of the character of some of the Yunnan implements has led me to this conclusion. A considerable percentage of them are small, beautifully cut forms, with few or none of the signs of use that distinguish the large implements from the same localities, and, moreover, all of them are of some variety of jade. These facts, taken in conjunction with their elaborate finish, and the circumstance that jade was formerly largely manufactured at Momi into a variety of personal ornaments, are the reasons which have made me doubt the authenticity of many of the small forms, and to regard them as only miniature models of the large and authentic implements manufactured in recent times as charms to be worn without inconvenience."

(2.) By Sir WALTER ELLIOT of Wolfelee, K.C.S.I., F.S.A. Scot.

Large Harpoon-like Implement of Bronze, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide in the blade, with recurved projecting barbs, similar to that described and figured in the Proceedings, vol. viii. pp. 293-300.

Large Straight-sided Broad Blade of Bronze, $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, 4 inches wide at the butt, and of nearly equal width throughout, strengthened with a thick midrib, and having a broad and strong tang of about 4 inches in length, with a hook at one side of the tang. (See the preceding communication of Sir Walter Elliot.)

(3.) By A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Flat Celt of Coppery-like Bronze, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 5 inches wide at the broad end, and 2 inches at the narrow end, the edge unsharpened, from Gungeria, Central India.

(4.) By CLAUDE MACFIE, Esq., of Gogar Burn, through Professor DUNS, D.D., New College, Edinburgh.

Sixteen Circular Mirrors of Bronze, with ornamented backs, and varying

in size from 2 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, from Japan. These mirrors are simple discs of cast bronze, with a projecting rim on the back, like the lid of a circular box. The mirror face is highly polished and silvered, and the back is ornamented in various ways by figures in relief. The centre is usually occupied by a tortoise, through which a hole is made for the insertion of a cord to support the mirror on a stand, or to suspend it from the dress. The ornamental patterns on the backs are often of great beauty, consisting sometimes of landscapes, sometimes of geometrical patterns, sometimes of floral patterns arranged in symmetrical forms, and occasionally of figures of birds, &c. This peculiar form of mirror, without a handle, is an old form in Japan, and has continued in the temples of the Sintoo religion till quite recently.

(5.) By JAMES DALGARNO, Esq., Merchant, Slains, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Three-pointed Bead of vitreous paste, with spirals of yellow enamel.

Triangular Arrow-head of flint, with barbs and stem.

Both found in the neighbourhood of Slains, Aberdeenshire.



(6.) By the late Mr ROBERT FORREST, Writer, Kirriemuir, through A. JERVISE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Wooden Snuff-box, or Mill, of cylindrical form, swelling out towards the upper part, 8 inches high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in greatest diameter, provided with an iron spoon, attached to the top of the lid by two links and a staple, from Clova, Forfarshire.

(7.) By GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Curator of Coins.

Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus, sive Gemmarum et Numismatum Græcorum in Cimeliarchis Electorali Brandenburgico elegantiorum series, etc. A. L. Begero. Coloniae, 1696. Folio, 3 vols. in 2.

(8.) By CUMBERLAND HILL, Esq., the Author.

Reminiscences of Stockbridge and Neighbourhood. Edinburgh, 1874. 8vo.

(9.) By the ROYAL GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, Vol. XIII. Pt. 3, 1872-3. 8vo.

(10.) By the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1639. Royal 8vo. 1874.

Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1606-1608. Royal 8vo. 1874.

Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, Vol. II. Royal 8vo. 1874.

(11.) By the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE.

The Smithsonian Collections, Vol. X. 8vo. U. S. Geological Survey of Montana, Utah, &c. 8vo. 1872.

The Smithsonian Report for the year 1871. 8vo.

Report of the Chief Signal Officer for 1872. 8vo.

The following Communications were read :—

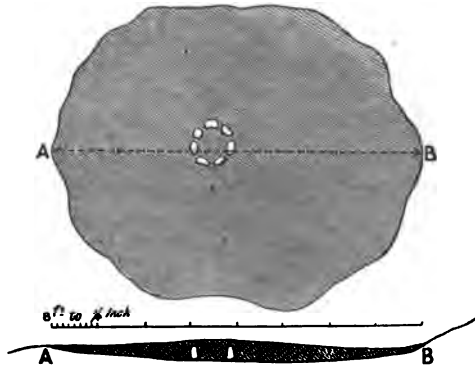
I.

NOTE OF A BURNT CAIRN DUG OUT IN CULCALDIE MOSS, NEAR LOCHINCH, WIGTONSHIRE. IN A LETTER TO JOHN STUART, LL.D., SECRETARY. BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF STAIR, F.S.A. SCOT.

In his letter Lord Stair states that he has enclosed an account of the discovery of this curious cairn in the progress of some operations connected with the making of a new approach to Lochinch, together with a plan and section of the mound which had been made by Mr A. Fowler, gardener at Lochinch, by whom the discovery was reported to his lordship as follows :—

In making the new approach to Lochinch, we came in contact with what appeared to be a small knoll in the little field known as Culcaldie Moss. The knoll had evidently been levelled down to some extent, spread out, ploughed and harrowed over in the course of cropping the field for an unknown period. As it was near the line of approach, it was necessary to lower the level of the higher portion of it, and in the process of doing so we came in contact with seven large stones which were found standing on end, as shown on the plan.

The large stones were of various sizes and shapes, all boulders common to this locality, longer than they were broad, the larger ones about 2 feet 6 inches by 20 or 22 inches. The others were somewhat smaller. The interior of the circle formed by the large stones was from 4 to 5 feet in circumference. They did not stand exactly in the centre of the raised part, but a little towards the one side, as shown on the plan. When being removed, all but three of the stones fell to pieces from the effects of the fire. The mound was composed of broken stones, and either peat or wood ashes in nearly equal proportions. Nothing else was observable. The stones were generally from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, a few being larger



Plan and Section of Burnt Cairn in Culcaldie Moss.

and many smaller. The stones have all passed through the fire, and consequently are all reddish coloured. They appear to be different from the stones of the district, but perhaps the action of the fire may account for the difference in appearance. There are a number of similar old fire-sites in Balker farm. There are three forming a triangle in the Tower park, near its centre, standing less than 2 yards apart; one nearly as large as the one described above. The other two much smaller. The park being ploughed they are at present easily seen from a considerable distance.

II.

NOTICE OF SOME UNPUBLISHED RECORDS OF GOLD AND OTHER MINES IN SCOTLAND. BY R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

[These records, which contain a large amount of detailed information regarding the working of the gold and other mines in Scotland, are so voluminous, that anything more than a selection of extracts from them would have been unsuited for the Society's Proceedings. It is probable, however, that the unprinted documents connected with the subject of this paper will be put in a more permanent form by the author.]

III.

LETTER FROM ST KILDA. BY Miss ANNE KENNEDY. COMMUNICATED WITH NOTES, BY CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

Having, by the courtesy of Captain Otter, an opportunity of visiting St Kilda in 1860, besides photographing many of the inhabitants, and seeing as much as I was able, I made the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr Kennedy, who was then missionary there. Subsequently a string of questions was forwarded to him on points of antiquarian interest; but he, probably not to give offence to weak brethren, turned the letter over to his niece, and I have no reason to believe that the subject lost by the exchange.

As the opportunities of going to St Kilda seem likely to increase, I have transcribed the substance of her letter, which may serve as a guide to archæologists as to what to observe in that remarkable group of islets.

“ST KILDA,¹ 9th April 1862.

“DEAR SIR,—I have endeavoured to collect some of the traditions of St Kilda according to your request. I do not find any one in St Kilda who can tell me more about *Banaghaisgeach* or *Gobha Chuain*;² they have heard of the *Banaghaisgeach*, but not of the *Gobha Chuain*. But I have got some other stories—though, may be, they are of no importance—from Euphemia Macrimmon,³ the oldest woman in St Kilda. The [first] Macdonald⁴ who came to St Kilda was with his brother on the shore [of

Uist?], gathering seaweed; he struck his brother on the head, and he thought he had killed him. He fled to St Kilda and had a family there. He had a son named Donald. Donald and another man, named John Macqueen,⁵ were going up to Oiseval,⁶ the most eastern hill, to hunt sheep. As they were passing a little green hillock⁷ they heard churning in the hill. John Macqueen cried, 'Ho! wife, give me a drink.' A woman in a green robe came out and offered him a drink [of milk]; but although he had asked for it, he would not take it. She then offered it to Donald, and he said he would take it with God's blessing, and drank it off. They then went to their hunting, when John Macqueen fell over a precipice and was killed; and it was thought he met his fate for having refused the drink.

"Donald Macdonald lived in St Kilda till he was an old man. He then went to Harris, where he was seized with the smallpox, and died there, about 133 years ago.⁸ The next year his clothes were brought to St Kilda by one of his relations, when the inhabitants were all seized with the disease, so that only four grown up persons were left alive on the island; but they are the descendants of this same Macdonald, who continue in the island yet.

"The houses were then [133 years ago] built in two rows with a causeway between them, which they called the Street. The houses were very different from what they are now; they had not beds, but holes in the heart of the wall, as in *Tigh na Banaghaisgeach*. There were two apartments, as at present,—one for themselves, the other for the cattle. In their own end they spread the ashes on the floor, then a coat of peat dust, then another of ashes, and so on, until the time for sowing barley, by which time the floor was raised to a great height. It was counted a good manure for barley and potatoes, and is still made, not in their dwellings, but in a little house beside their dwellings. About thirty years ago⁹ their houses were altered and set as they are now. When they were making a level space for the foundations, they discovered a house in the hillock, which was built of stone inside, and had holes [beds] in the wall, as in *Airidh na Banaghaisgeach*, or *croops* as they call them, which seems to have been the fairy's residence. There was another house of the same kind discovered a little afterwards above the burial-ground, and it is there yet; they found ashes and half-burnt brands in it.¹⁰

“ Before the forefathers of any of the present inhabitants came to the island, there were two men named Dugan [Duncan] and Ferchar Mor, who were in Oiseval gathering heather ; and they cried ‘ *Loingeas cogaidh*, the *loingeas* (war-galleys) are in Boreray Caolas [Sound of Boreray] ; *teichibh teichibh do Teampull na Trionaid*,’ i.e., flee to Trinity temple or church. Trinity was the name of a temple¹¹ which stood where the burial-ground is now. Some of the inhabitants remember seeing it ; it had two doors, and the roof was covered with green turf. The people, in alarm at the enemy, fled to the temple, when the two men, Dugan and Farquhar, came with burdens of heather, and put them to the door of the temple, and set them on fire. They burnt all the inhabitants to death except one woman who escaped in the smoke. She fled to another temple,¹² that was on the south side of the island, at a place called Ruaival, which is beside the Island Dun. She hid herself there, and came to the village through night, unknown to them, and brought away some corn, and a hand-mill, and some fire, by which she was supported and preserved until a boat came to St Kilda. When the boat came, the men went cheerfully to meet it, thinking that no one was on the island but themselves ; but the woman waited till the boat was at the shore, when she made her appearance and told the boatmen all that had happened. The boatmen seized the men, and put Farquhar on Stacharumil,¹³ a small island beside Boreray,¹⁴ for punishment ; and as they left him there, he jumped after the boat into the sea and drowned himself. The boatmen took Dugan to Soay,¹⁵ another island of St Kilda, and left him there as a prisoner. They took the woman away with them, and St Kilda was left desolate and without an inhabitant. It is not known how long St Kilda was left uninhabited ; but after a time Dugan’s bones were found in a cave in Soay, and a dirt stuck in the ground where the bones lay. The cave is called after his name, Dugan’s cave, till this day.¹⁶

“ There is no other name known in St Kilda for the Dun, but the Castle of Dun ;¹⁷ neither is it known who built it.

“ But there were two brothers, one named Colla Ciotach,¹⁸ the other Gilespeig Og or Young Archibald ; each of them had a boat, and both were racing to St Kilda, for he who got there first was to be the proprietor. When they neared St Kilda, Coll saw that his brother would arrive there first ; so Coll cut off his hand and threw it on the east point, which the

boats pass as they come into the harbour, and he cried to his brother, 'This [the hand] is before you ;' and the point is called Gob Cholla, or Coll's Point, to this day ; and there is also a well not far from the point, called also Tobar Cholla, or Coll's Well.

"Coll and his brother used to war with each other. Coll resided in the Dun,¹⁹ and Archibald in a large house, built under ground in Boreray. The house is called Tigh a Stalair,²⁰ after the name of him who built it. It was built on stone pillars, with hewn stones [?], which it was thought were brought from the point of the Dun. It was round inside, with the ends of long narrow stones sticking through the walls round about, on which clothes might be hung. There were six croops or beds in the wall, one of them very large, called Rastalla ; it would accommodate twenty men or more to sleep in. Next to that was another called Ralighe, which was large, but rather less than the first. Next to that were Beran and Shimidaran, lesser than Ralighe, and they would accommodate twelve men each to sleep in. Next to that was *Leaba nan Com*, or the Dog's bed, and next to that was *Leaba an tealich*, or the Fireside bed. There was an entrance [passage] within the wall round about, by which they might go from one croop to another without coming into the central chamber. The house was not to be noticed outside, except a small hole on the top of it, to allow the smoke to get out and to let in some light. There was a doorway on one side (where they had to bend to get in and out) facing the sea, and a large hill of ashes a little way from the door, which would not allow the wind to come in. Bar Righ was the name of the door. The present inhabitants of St Kilda, when in Boreray fowling, or hunting sheep to pull the wool off them, which is their custom instead of shearing them, used to live in the house until about twenty years ago, when the roof fell in. Some of the croops are partly to be seen yet.

"It is not known in St Kilda whether Tigh a Stalair was built when the Dun was built.

"There was a temple in Boreray built with hewn stones. Euphemia Macrimmon remembers seeing it. There is one stone yet in the ground where the temple stood, upon which there is writing ; the inhabitants of St Kilda built *cleitean* or cells with the stones of the temple. Euphemia Macrimmon has seen stones in Tigh a Stalair on which there was writing. There was also an altar in Boreray, and another on the top of Soay.

"A son of the king of Lochlin²¹ was wrecked on a rock a little west of St Kilda. He came ashore in a small boat, and while he was drinking out of a water-brook a little west of the present church, those who were then the inhabitants of St Kilda came on him and caught him by the back of the neck, and held his head down in the brook until he was drowned. The rock on which he was wrecked is called *Sgeir Mac Rìgh Lochlain*, or the Rock of the Son of the King of Lochlan, until this day.

(Signed) "ANNE KENNEDY."

Notes on the foregoing Communication. By Captain Thomas.

¹ "St Kilda." St Kilda, temp. Charles II. (p. 298, De. Re. Alb.); St Kilder (Peter Goas, 1663); St Kildar (Map, 1583). I. St Kilda (Nep. Fran. 1693). Island of St Kilda is the English form of *Eilean Cheile Dé naomh* (Gaelic) = Island of the Holy Culdee. Hirth, Hirta, Hyrta, Hirt. In modern speech the island is called Hirt (pronounced Hirst), being a contraction of *h-Iar-tir* (Gaelic) = West-land, West country. There is a Gaelic saying, "as far as from Hirst to Pirst," i.e., as far as from St Kilda to Perth. A native of St Kilda is called "*h Iartach* (pro. Hirstach).

In an atrocious "Tabula Nova," in the Strasbourg edition of 1525, of Ptolemy's Geography, in which "*S. Andreas*" is in the centre of Scotland; "*donde*" placed by Duncansby Head; *Argatt* = the Orkneys; "*Lisree*" = Islay; and "*bra*" = Jura—the most western isle (except the famous "*Brazil*," by which Rokol may be intended) is "*Danchuli*," which possibly represents *Sun-chul(d)i*, for St Kilda; if so, this is apparently the earliest occurrence of the name.

² "Gobha Chuain." This is in reply to the question if any traditions of these mythological persons remained. See p. 225, Vol. III. Proc. S. A. Scot.

³ "Euphemia Macrimmon." Miss Euph. Macrimmon, of the same name as the hereditary pipers of Macleod, stated herself to be 60 years of age in 1860. Her photograph is sent with this paper.

⁴ "The first Macdonald." This tradition may refer to Archibald (Gillespie) Dhu, who murdered his two (legitimate) brothers about 1506. Gregory says he afterwards joined a band of pirates; and it is quite possible that he harboured in St Kilda and had children there. I have a traditional account of the murders, but it is too long for insertion here. This, however, does not square with the tradition that the clothes of the son of the "first Macdonald" caused the outbreak of small-pox in St Kilda, which happened in 1730; nor with the account by Macaulay (pp. 263, 266, "Hist. of St Kilda"), that the Macdonalds of St Kilda claimed kinship with Clanranald of South Uist; for Gillespie Dhu was of the clan Huisten of Slata. Of the two clans formerly in St Kilda, the *Mac Ille Mhoirre* (*Mac Ghille Mhuire* = son of the servant of Mary) is plainly Morrison, from Lewis; but I can make no sense out of *Mac Ille Rhiabhich*, which appears to mean the son of the servant of the Grizzly (man). Perhaps this can be explained in South Uist.

⁵ "John Macqueen." "The people of this island have a tradition that one *Macquin*, an Irish rover, was the first person who settled himself and a colony in their land" (p. 51, Macaulay, "Hist. St Kilda"). In 1861 there were seventy-two Macquiens and Macqueens in North Uist, eight Macqueens in Harris, and fourteen in Lewis. The name in Gaelic is *Mac Chuinn* = son of Conn.

⁶ "Oiseval." Called by Macaulay *Ostrivaill*, and misprinted *Oterveaul* by Martin for *Oserveaul*. The word is plainly *Austr-fell* (Norse) *i.e.*, the East Hill. In the Orkneys *Aust-sker* has become Au-skerry.

⁷ "A little green hillock." That is, a *Sithean* (pro. Shean), the usual abode of fairies. The adventure related is one of a large class. On the mainland, at *Achadh-na-ghirt*, or the field of the standing corn, I am told by one of my correspondents, that two men were ploughing; one of them said to the other that he wished his thirst was upon the dairy-maid that he heard churning the milk in the rock. A few minutes after a woman came out with a cog of milk. The first man to whom she offered it refused to take it, on which he fell down dead. The other took it; the woman then said to him [in Gaelic, of course] "May it be as nourishing to you as your mother's milk."

⁸ "133 years ago." Compare chap. xi. Macaulay's "Hist. St Kilda."

⁹ "About thirty years ago." See p. 32, vol. ii. Wilson's "Voyage round Scotland." There are plans of two of the houses in Plate XXX. Vol. VII. Proc. S. A. Scot.

¹⁰ "Brands in it." This is an interesting notice of two primitive dwellings. They were of the class called "Picts' houses" in the Orkneys. See a paper on "Primitive Dwellings," in Vol. VII. Proc. S. A. Scot.

¹¹ "Temple." Both Martin and Macaulay call it "Christ's" church; and they are probably right, but the point is worth inquiry. It is said that only cathedral churches were dedicated to Christ, and certainly of the sixty-four named chapels in the outer Hebrides none are dedicated to Him; but also there is only one dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Wilson (p. 38, vol. ii. *l.c.*) increases the confusion by calling the chapel "St Mary." Miss Kennedy has written "*Tobar*" (Well) in mistake for "*Teampull*" (chapel), but the context clearly shows what was intended.

¹² "Another temple." The chapel referred to is that of St Brendan, and St Kilda is an appropriate place to find a chapel dedicated to the navigating saint, who was born at Tralee, in Kerry, in 484; he "spent seven years sailing about on the western sea, and landed on various strange places." Was St Kilda one of them? There was another chapel, dedicated to St Columba, situated between St Brendan's and Christ-church.

¹³ "Stackarumil." Probably a mistake for Stackarumin. This is the *Stac an Armium* (Stack of the Hero) of Martin and Macaulay.

¹⁴ "Boreray." There is another Boreray by North Uist, which has a remarkable "hole" in it; hence its name, *Bor-ay*, or *Boru-ay* (Norse) = Bore or Hole island. But I have not heard of any such hole in the St. Kilda Boreray.

¹⁵ "Soay." Soay, Soa, for *Sanda-ay* (Norse), *i.e.*, Sheep (or Wether) island. The word is obsolete in modern Danish and Swedish; and even in the Orkneys and Shetland, Sheep-island is *Færay*; modern, *Fara* and

Faray; so that Soay is an ancient form fossilised in the Gaelic. The Gaelic equivalent is *Eilean nan Caoirich*. Fordun refers to Soay without naming it, stating that near Hirth (St Kilda) is an island twenty miles long, where wild sheep are said to exist, which can only be caught by hunters. There is a Soay on the south side of Skye, and another south of Iona.

¹⁶ "Till this day." This is a very curious and, as far as I know, original tradition.

¹⁷ "Castle of Dun." So *Dun Fír-bolg* is obsolete.

¹⁸ "Colla Ciotach." There is here, no doubt, the confusion which must frequently arise when a narrative is kept in memory by word of mouth. The historical Coll Ciotach (Coll the Left-Handed) was a Macdonald of the family of Colonsay, who, having escaped from the surrender of Dunyveg, in Islay, led a life of piracy in the spring of 1615. (Gregory, "Hist. of the Isles"). Among the few sentences that are not copied literally from Martin in Buchan's "History of St Kilda," is one (p. 46) to the effect that after the Irish rebellion of 1641, Coll Ketch, having lost his right hand and been defeated, was forced to fly for his life. He came to St Kilda, where the inhabitants fled from him; but he reassured them by showing his handless arm, and came to terms by presenting his mull. He lived with them for three-quarters of a year. It was at this time that the inhabitants were discontented with their ignorant priest. An appeal was made to Coll, when he pronounced the ludicrous decision "that he had never heard of a priest being deposed for not knowing Pater Noster." (Compare p. 227, Macaulay's "Hist. of St Kilda," where Col. (Colonel) is printed in mistake for Coll.) Tober Cholla, or Coll's Well, is thus spoken of by Martin (p. 25, "Hist. St Kilda"), "There is a very large well by the Town, called *St Kilder's Well*, from which the island is supposed to derive its name. . . . There is another well within half a mile of this, named after one *Conirdan*, an hundred paces above the sea."

The Archibald Oig of the text is probably the son of Coll Ciotach, who, in 1644, commanded the Irish contingent, and acted as lieutenant-general under Montrose. But the tradition refers to something long antecedent to

the seventeenth century, and commemorates a civil war in this small community. The way in which St Kilda became the property of the Macleods is told with greater probability in Morrison's "MS. Traditions of Lewis." Macdonald of Skye and North Uist, and Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, both laid claim to St Kilda, when it was agreed that both should have a boat of the same size and made by the same builder. They were to cast lots for the choice of boat, and to start together, and whoever arrived at St Kilda first and "kindled a fire thereon" was to be the proprietor. Macleod won the race, and possessed the island. The historian of the Macdonalds tells that the "good" John of Isla, first Lord of the Isles (who died 1380), "gifted Hirta or St Kilda to the Laird of Harris," p. 298, De Reb. Alb.

¹⁹ "The Dun." I regret not having been able to visit Dun Fir-bolg to ascertain whether it had been a Pictish tower or a mere walled space. The photograph of the point on which it stands—taken from near the Manse—is of little assistance. The point will, however, be seen to be much more sober in outline than the view given in Wilson's interesting "Voyage Round Scotland" (vol. ii. p. 5). Wilson "could discover no trace of fortification, except that towards the extremity a rude wall seemed to cross it, so as to prevent any one who had landed from the sea being suddenly attacked or incommoded by others from the main island." It is desirable that this Dun should be more fully investigated.

²⁰ "Tigh a Stalair." The paragraph describing this primitive dwelling has been quoted in a paper on "Primitive Dwellings," at p. 172, Vol. VII. of Pro. S. A. Scot. I have but little to add to what is there stated. Macaulay (p. 54, *op. cit.*) tells that the "Staller" headed a rebellion against the steward, which—considering the oppression practised by him till quite recent times—was no great wonder. The "Staller" retired with sixteen persons to Boreray (in the text *Soay* is misprinted for *Boreray*), built this house, and maintained himself there for some time. Both Macaulay and Miss Macrimmon note a resemblance between the stones of Tigh a Stalair and Dun Fir-bolg.

Boreray is deserving of a complete investigation, and Tigh a Stalair should be carefully planned. It is most important, archæologically, as

being a *Pict's house* which has been inhabited till the present generation, and goes far to prove the *original* intent of those structures. I use the term "original" advisedly, for although they were constructed for dwellings, it is quite possible that they became the sepulchres and monuments of their former possessors. Although many cairns have been made for purposes of sepulture, yet it is to be noted that these cairns are modelled after the fashion of chambered cairns, which were undoubtedly dwellings. In fact, a chambered cairn with a hole in the apex is a dwelling; if it is closed, it is a sepulchre; so that those cairns which were constructed by or for the magnates of prehistoric times were literally *houses* for the dead.

²¹ "Son of the king of Lochlain." It would take many a page to relate all that is said to have happened in the isles to a son of a king of Lochlain; but in every place he appears to have come off "second best."

IV.

ON CERTAIN BELIEFS AND PHRASES OF SHETLAND FISHERMEN. By
ARTHUR LAURENSEN, Esq., LEWICK.

The native population of the Shetland Islands is Norse in blood and origin. There is not, nor has there been, any appreciable Celtic element in it. To this day the Norse physiognomy of the people is distinctly marked; nowhere do you find the Celtic type. The language, now rapidly merging into English, has for the last three hundred years been departing from the old Norse which was once the tongue of the islands; but still the traces of the ancient speech are clearly manifest. An hundred years ago they were yet more so; at that period, in the remoter islands, old people might still be found who could repeat some corrupt Norse which tradition had preserved. Now, however, the relics of the old tongue consist of isolated words and phrases of Norse derivation still in daily use, of the substitution of the singular personal pronoun for the English plural form in all conversation, and of some peculiar modes of expression more Norse or German in idiom than English.

The fishermen retain more of the old words than any other class in the islands. Perhaps from boats and all pertaining to them having been in

use in the days of the Norse occupation, and so having then been named, and that use continuing uninterrupted, and without the influence of strangers who might have imported their own nomenclature with them, the ancient terms have come down to our days with scarcely any alteration. For it may be observed that of all Scotch immigrants into the islands during the present period of Scotch and English occupation, hardly any devote themselves to fishing or to maritime pursuits. These employments have always been in the hands of the native population, and the words and phrases peculiar to the sea and fishing were thus especially protected from foreign alterations.

But another cause has contributed to this end. Fishermen of all countries are peculiarly superstitious—given to standing on the ancient ways—averse to innovations. Those of the northern isles are no exception to the rule. From of old they put faith in omens, charms, visions, ancient rites and customs, almost all of which are heathen in origin—survivals of the pagan period. These things forbidden by the church, and denounced by the priest of the Christian faith as arts of devils and evil spirits, were nevertheless at no time abandoned by the people nominally Christianised. They were merely practised in secret, and treated with all reserve. The doctrine of the church on the subject was never openly denied—on the contrary, would have been apparently acquiesced in—but the same man or woman who would not have risked the safety of his soul by the omission of a sacrament, would the next day have participated in a pagan ceremony wholly contradictory of the Christian creed. At this day (nine hundred years since that creed was adopted in the north) rites and ceremonies pagan in character are still practised. Still the Beltane fires are kindled, and the “children passed through the fire to Moloch;” still people are charmed for fairy and troll influences; still magic spells are wrought on men and women; still cattle are bewitched by envious neighbours, and have to be re-charmed into health; and it is a curious and suggestive fact, that while the Roman Catholic faith has passed away utterly from memory or tradition, leaving not the faintest traces behind it in the islands, save the hardly distinguishable ruins of its numerous chapels, that the heathenism which it supplanted, and which it vainly boasted to have overcome, now survives it, and in many corners of the land still flourishes a living thing, after a thousand

years have come and gone since it was said to have passed from among men.

It is, however, always difficult to ascertain the extent of this pagan survival. As a general rule, it is useless to inquire of the people about it. You will obtain hardly any information if you are suspected to be asking in a sceptical way, or out of idle curiosity. The subject is evaded, or ignorance of the matter declared. And one powerful obstacle to getting any information from people who believe in such things, is their conviction that it is forbidden to speak openly of these dark matters, and that to do so is to expose yourself to the displeasure of the unseen powers. Thus, there is much more superstitious belief extant than is generally imagined, because it is exceedingly difficult to explore the subject.

The fisherman, brought into constant and close contact with the wild powers of that Nature from which he with hardship wrings a bare subsistence, has a blinder faith in the ancient ways than other men. It is evident that all distinctively Christian teaching has been lost upon him. So deeply imbued is his nature with the hereditary faith of his pagan forefathers, that in the present day he holds to it—the notions of the ninth century have been carried down unaltered into the nineteenth.

For example, two things may be mentioned which are to this day believed in and acted on by living men. At any rate, within living memory they have in numerous cases been known as certainly as anything can be. One of these is the belief that it is "unlucky," or more correctly, "forbidden," to save a person from drowning. The real grounds on which this belief rests are difficult to ascertain. Sir Walter Scott and some others account for it by the explanation, that it was imagined that the rescued would afterwards injure his rescuer, and that he was fated to do so. But from what I have with difficulty learned, I rather believe the notion is that the man who prevents another from drowning will himself perish instead—that the sea will have its prey, and if a man deprives it of its victim, he himself must supply the victim's place. This is clearly a pagan belief pure and simple. The evil spirit—or the god of the sea, good or evil—must have his sacrifice; if you hinder him, you awake his anger, which another victim alone can appease. It is told how a man not only declined to put off his boat to rescue another drowning

close inshore, but took the oars out so as to prevent it being used for this purpose; how three men stood and looked at their neighbour drowning before their eyes, and then turned around and walked homewards; how another pulled past a floating woman, and paid no heed. These things have happened within forty years, and many other similar cases in every district of the country.

The other peculiarity in fishermen's observances is their custom of proscribing certain words and names of persons or things as forbidden to be uttered while at sea. Prominently among these are the ordinary terms relating to the church, the minister, or his abode; and from this the inference may be drawn that at an early period it was believed that the mention of the new faith and its priests was hateful to the sea-god, and likely to bring his displeasure on those who named it. Later, when the English tongue was displacing the Norse of the islands, the old words were employed instead of the new when it was necessary to mention those forbidden or unlucky things, and thus, as in a dead language, these fishermen's words and phrases were preserved and handed down to the present day. Regarded latterly by the people who used them as an unknown tongue, and by the post-Reformation clergy—all Scotchmen ignorant of the speech and traditions of the islands—as unmeaning gibberish, many of them yet survive, more or less corrupted, as evidence of an older faith and a vanished language. They are all, however, old Norse. Here may be given some of them:—*baldung*, a turbot; *birtick*, fire; *bænie*, a dog; *bænibider*, a dog (this is bone biter); *büanhoos*, *banehoos*, the church; *clivin*, the tongs; *kirser*, a cat; *keedin*, the cheek; *damp*, a rope's end; *finnie* or *funa*, the fire; *fistin*, the chimney crook; *fitting*, the cat; *hælicks*, mittens; *matratla-stilhad*, minister's house; *mudveeties*, swine; *ringrody* or *ringlody*, a kettle; *suntogs*, eyes; *skünie*, a knife; *ønga*, a cat; *yunsie*, a hen; *yera*, the ear; *upstanda*, the minister; *faigr*, the sun; *furr*, a boat; *foodin*, a cat; *glouriks*, the eyes; *heckla*, the dog-fish; *hemma*, a wife; *hoydeen*, the minister; *kirkasucken*, the buried dead in churchyards; *koy*, a bed; *kunie*, a wife; *pirrainia*, a girl; *prestingotø*, the minister; *rems*, *remmaks*, the oars; *riv*, the dawn; *runk*, an old woman; *soolen*, the sun; *soyndick*, the eye; *steng*, the mast; *taand*, a fire-brand; *tevrdin*, thunder; *trulla-scud*, a witch; *ungadrengrur*, a young man; *vamm*, to bewitch; *voaler*, a cat; *yink*, a lover. From this short

list it will be observed that the cat is more frequently spoken of by different names than anything else. Always regarded as more particularly "unlucky" than any other animal, the fisherman had a special horror of it; but it does not appear why he should have been at such pains to name it in so many various ways.

That these terms, and others used by the Shetland fishermen at the present day, are of very great antiquity can be easily shown. As an illustration, let us take two or three of the most ordinary words, and trace them back at least one thousand years.

I. *Humlabund*, i.e., the thong—sometimes of hide, sometimes of rope (in old times always of hide)—which secures the oar of the Shetland boat near the wooden "kabe" against which it is pulled. This thong is rove through a hole in the gunwale, and forms a bight in which the oar is thrust, and so retained in its place. The present modern Norse word in use in the north of Norway is *hamulan* or *humelan*. In Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest," vol. i. 570, the following occurs:—"We now learn incidentally that the standing navy of England, both under Cnut and under Harold, had consisted of 16 ships, and 8 marks were paid seemingly yearly, either to each rower singly or to some group of rowers." To this is appended the note:—

"Chron. Petrib., 1040.—'On his [Harold's] dagum man geald xvi. scipan cet celcere hamulan [hamelan in Chron. Ab.] viii. marcan.' On the word *hamulan*, Mr Earle (p. 343) remarks, 'This being a dative feminine, the nom. must be *hamule*, *hamele*—at first, perhaps, signifying a rowlock strap, and so symbolising some division of the crew. There is not money enough to give eight marks to every rower. The *hamule*, then, would be analogous to the "lance" in mediæval armies. But Florence clearly took it to mean a single rower, 'octo marcas unicuique suæ classis remigi.'"

II. In the "Hymisquidha," one of the lays of the Elder Edda, and evidently one of the oldest of the cycle, is an account of Thor going a-fishing with the giant Hymir. Stanza 21 may be translated thus:—

"Then on his line	The strong Hymir
Drew two whales	Out of the sea,
Which in the stern	Odin's son,
Veorr, craftily	With rope secured."

The Norse phrase, "aptr i skutt," given here in English "in the stern," would be more correctly and literally translated by the Shetlander of the present day, "aft in the shot." This "shot" meaning the aftermost division of a fishing-boat, into which usually fish are thrown.

In verse 26, when the expedition is over, and the god and the giant have brought their boat to land, Thor, like any every-day fisherman, proposes to his comrade to halve the work remaining of securing the boat and carrying home the fish :—

"Thou must halve	The work with me—
Either the whale	Bear to the house,
Or make fast	With me the boat."

Thor makes quick work of his share of the labour. In verse 27

"The Hardhitter went,	Gripped the stem,
Tossed up the ship	With the water in her—
With the oars	And the auskerry,
He bore to the house	The Jotun's fish,
And fared down	To the earth cavern."

The third line of this verse in the original is,

einn med árom	ok austkotr (austakoto).
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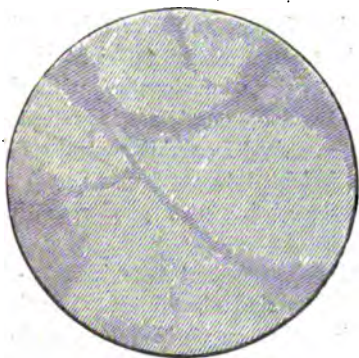
The Shetland fisher word for oar is "ar," pronounced as the English "ere." The "auskerry" is the boat scoop for baling out water. The word is in regular use. Note, too, that the Norse word here translated "gripped" is "greip."

It is a curious fact that almost the only trace left in the language of the people of the long supremacy in the islands of the Catholic Church, is the remembrance of certain holidays and saint's days, now of course no longer celebrated, although not forgotten. Besides the well-known festivals still recognised, and the legal term days of Christmas, Candlemas, Lammas, Whitsunday, Martinmas, Pasch-Sunday, and St John's Day (December 27), there are still dated Laurence Mass (August 23), Korsmas (3d May and 14th September), Fastern Eve (before Lent), Catherinemass (22d December) Boo Helly (fifth day before Christmas), Bainer Sunday (first before Christmas), Antinmas (twenty-fourth day after Christmas), or Uphellia Day, Solomon's Even (3d November), Sow-day (17th December), Martinbullimas (St Swithin's Day), Johnsmass (24th June).

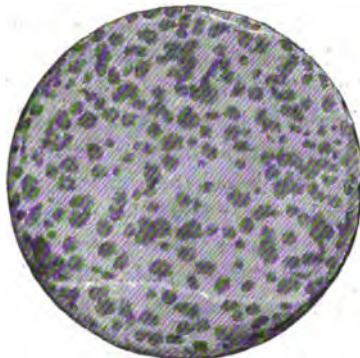
V.

NOTES ON SOME POLISHED STONE DISCS OF UNKNOWN USE, IN THE MUSEUM. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

The presentation of a number of small Japanese mirrors of bronze in the form of simple discs of metal polished and silvered on one side (see donation list of the present meeting), has induced me to revive an old conjecture of mine regarding the probable use of certain discs of polished stone, of which we have several examples in the Museum. They are usually about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, neatly finished round the edges, and highly polished on both the flat surfaces, as shown in the accompanying woodcuts.



Polished Disc of Marble from a broch in Orkney, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.



Polished Disc of Mica Schist from Urquhart, Elginshire, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.

Besides the two here figured, we have a third in the Museum from the Broch of Burray, Orkney, presented by Mr Farrer. Mr George Petrie, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., has two in his collection at Kirkwall. I found

one in the Broch of Old Stirkoke in Caithness.¹ I have not noticed any specimens in the collections of Scandinavia or England. There was one of granite found in the Kirkhead Cave at Ulverston,² with Romano-British relics, and two, also of granite, have been found in Irish crannogs.³ It is clear, therefore, that they belong to the Age of Iron, and not to the Age of Stone, but so far as I am aware, no suggestion as to their probable use has ever been hazarded.

It is more with the view of drawing attention to these peculiar "implements" of stone (if such they may be termed) than of establishing a hypothesis which in the meantime lacks evidence to support it, that I venture to suggest the possibility of their having been mirrors of stone.

In starting this hypothesis I do not overlook the fact that these objects are of the Iron Age. Had they been of the Stone Age I should not have hazarded the conjecture. The smallness of their size, their simple disc form, and the dulness of the polished surfaces, may be urged as objections against the possibility of their use as mirrors. But, on the other hand, it may be taken for granted that alongside of these Japanese mirrors the small size and the simple disc-form are in themselves no sufficient objection. The dulness of the surface is due to their long contact with the soil, and its lustre may be restored so as to enable one to see his reflected image by simply dipping the disc in water. And I exhibit several specimens of polished stone (for which I am indebted to Professor Duns) to show by ocular proof that a high polish does bring up a good reflecting surface even on the darkest stone.

But apart from probabilities, it is the fact that stone mirrors were made and used by the ancients, Both Pliny and Theophrastus mention mirrors made of calcareous spar or selenite, of green vitrified lava, and of the black marble of Chios. "The first glass mirrors, indeed," says Beckman, "appear to have been made in imitation of the obsidian stone." In fact, the first mirrors made of glass were failures on this account, being so much surpassed by those of metal that they never came into general use, and it was only after the process of silvering the back of the glass came into use in the 13th century that the modern form of the mirror

¹ Archæologia Scotica, vol. v. p. 143.

² Mem. Soc. Anthropol. Lond. vol. ii. p. 360.

³ Kilkenny Arch. Journal, iii. 88 and iv. 36.

was generally adopted. John Peckham, an English Franciscan monk, who wrote a treatise on optics in A.D. 1297, speaks of mirrors made of glass and also of iron, steel, and polished marble, and states that in certain stories of weak colour the reflected image is better seen than even in glass. When the Spaniards went first to Peru they found mirrors of stone in use among the Peruvians. These are described as being made of a kind of obsidian, and also of marcasite, and the size of these Peruvian stone mirrors removes the objection of the smallness of the Scottish specimens, as they are described as being no more than three inches diameter.

Since these notes were read to the meeting of the Society, I have been favoured by Dr John Alexander Smith with a transcript of the passage from Peckham's work, which he kindly obtained for me from the British Museum, and also with a note of a specimen in the Museum of Economic Geology in Jermyn Street, labelled as follows :—

“Polished Marcasite or white Iron Pyrites, probably used as a mirror. Found in 1866 embedded in peat on the site of ancient pile dwellings at London Wall, associated with Roman pottery and coins ; iron and bronze implements ; leather soles of shoes or sandals ; kitchen-middens, or heaps of refuse shells ; bones of the red-deer, wild boar, wild goat, *Bos longifrons*, &c. Presented by Colonel Lane Fox, 1866.”

The conclusion to which I come in view of all these facts, is not that these discs of polished stone which I have exhibited were made to be used as mirrors, but that the hypothesis that such discs of stone may have been mirrors, similar to those used by the Peruvians, and noticed as having been used in Europe, both by classical authors and writers of the Middle Ages, is not altogether an improbable one.

MONDAY, 8th June 1874.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, Esq., M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A ballot having been taken, M. EDOUARD MACNAB of Faix, near Vierzan (Cher), France, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The following gentlemen were also elected Fellows, viz:—

HENRY W. HOPE of Luffness, Esq.

FREDERICK JOHN HORNIMAN, Esq., Surrey House, Forest Hill,
London.

ROBERT LOVE of Lochwinnoch, Esq.

Rev. JAMES PETER, M.A., Manse of Old Deer.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors:—

(1.) By DAVID LAING, Esq., For. Sec. S.A. Scot.

Two old paintings, viz, Portrait of King Charles the First; and Portrait of King Charles the Second.

(2.) By Mr JAMES BAYNE, Hanover Street, through Mr SANDERSON, Jeweller, &c., 92 Princes Street.

Punch for making Tokens, and Token of the Edinburgh Berean Church, dated 1795.

(3.) By Rev. WILLIAM GORDON, Abernethy.

Two Roman Lamps of Terra Cotta, from Italy; American Flint Arrow-head; Confederate States 20-dollar Note; and a United States Note for 10 Cents.

(4.) By Mr KUNO MAYER, 1 Darnaway Street.

Three Assignats of the French Republic, 1790.

(5.) By Mr ROBERT DOUGLAS, 4 Arthur Street.

Roman Denarius (illegible) found in an old building in the Grassmarket.

(6.) By JAMES T. IRVINE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Memoirs of a Short Tour through part of the Netherlands in 1733.
MS. 12mo.

(7.) By the POWYS LAND CLUB.

Collections, Historical and Archæological, relating to Montgomeryshire.
8vo, 1874.

(8.) By Rev. BEAVER H. BLACKER, the Author.

Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook in the
County of Dublin. In four parts, 12mo, 1874.

(9.) By the MANX SOCIETY.

The Manx Miscellanies. Vol. I., 8vo, 1874.

(10.) By Mr JAMES GOURLAY, through Rev. Mr BEVERIDGE, Minister
of Inveresk.

A Nuremberg Token found on the Glebe Lands of Inveresk.

There were also Exhibited:—

(1.) By Rev. JAMES MACFARLANE, Ruthwell, through GEORGE SETON,
Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

A portion of the Shaft of a Sculptured Cross, with interlacing patterns,
recently dug up at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire.

(2.) By The Right Hon. Lord RUTHVEN.

A Sculptured Stone, in the form of an arch, measuring 8 feet across the
bottom of the arch from outside to outside, 3 feet 6 inches in height, and
12 inches thick, sculptured with three human figures, and a cross standing
on a pedestal, with an animal beside it, in the centre. This stone, which
was described by Mr W. F. Skene in a paper read to the Society on 23d
January 1832, is figured in the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. iv. p. 271,
where an abstract of Mr Skene's paper is given. It is also figured in Dr
John Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. plate ciii.

The stone has since been deposited in the Museum by Lord Ruthven.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

MRS ERSKINE, LADY GRANGE, IN THE ISLAND OF ST KILDA.

By DAVID LAING, Esq., For. Sec. S.A. Scot.

(PLATE XXIII. *Fac-simile of an Original Letter.*)

The interesting communication from Capt. Thomas, read at the last meeting of the Society respecting the Island of St Kilda, brought to my recollection one or two remarkable Autographs, connected with the strange episode of Mrs Erskine, known by the title of Lady Grange. This has been a subject of continued interest since the appearance of Dr Samuel Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides in 1773. These Autographs I now exhibit. A few words only of explanation seem to be necessary.

The Hon. JAMES ERSKINE of Grange, second son of Charles, tenth Earl of Mar, was born in the year 1679. He was admitted advocate in July 1705, and in the course of a few years was promoted to several important offices. When raised to the bench in March 1707, he took the name of Lord Grange, and in 1710 became Lord Justice-Clerk. His wife was RACHEL CHEISLEY, sister of Major Cheisley of Dalry, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.¹ After they had been married more than twenty years, and having a family of eight children, he took such an insuperable aversion to her, that they agreed to live separately; yet as he considered her to be a dangerous spy on his proceedings, and that she might be the means of implicating him with the Government, he resolved by some means or other to get rid of her. She is said by all parties to have been jealous of his irregularities, of a fierce revengeful temper, and a victim of intemperance. He himself, however, was a singular compound of good and bad qualities;—he was an acute and accomplished man as a lawyer, somewhat profligate in private life, with great pretensions to piety, restless and intriguing in political affairs, and yet with all his manœuvring, his ambitious schemes were signally disappointed. Most of these points in his character are clearly exemplified in a volume of extracts from his Diary, edited by Mr

¹ Their father had the unenviable distinction of being the assassin of Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, Lord President, who thus became a victim to private revenge on the 31st March 1869.

James Maidment, under the title of "Extracts from the Diary of a Senator of the College of Justice.¹ M.DCC.XVII.—M.DCC.XVIII." Edinburgh 1843, 8vo.

On the 22d of January 1732, after 11 o'clock at night, Lady Grange, then living in lodgings with a Highland woman, next door to her husband's house, was seized by a party of Highlanders, who carried her off, blindfolded, in what may truly be called a brutal manner, until they had reached the remote Island of Hesker, near Skye, where she was detained a prisoner for two years. In order to conceal the fact of her abduction, and to prevent any further inquiries by her friends, Lord Grange gave out, not only that she was a mad-woman, but also circulated a report that his wife had died suddenly. In 1734 she was conveyed to the still more remote and isolated Island of St Kilda,

"Placed far amidst the melancholy main."

I have no intention to enter into any investigation of Lady Grange's case. It may be sufficient to furnish a list of some well-known works in which the matter is more or less fully detailed.

1st, The "Edinburgh Magazine," 1817, p. 333. This, if I am not mistaken, was communicated by Sir George Stuart Mackenzie of Coull, Bart.

2d, "Chambers's Edinburgh Journal," No. 114, New Series, March 7, 1846.

3d, "Genealogie of the Hayes of Tweeddale, by Father Richard Augustin Hay," &c.; Appendix, p. 106-112, edited by James Maidment, Esq., advocate, Edin. 1835, 4to. Appendix No. 4, John Chiesly of Dalry, and No. 5, An Account of the Misfortunes of Mrs Erskine of Grange, commonly known as Lady Grange. Reprinted from the Scots Magazine, November, 1817.

4th, "Lives of Simon Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes, of Culloden," by John Hill Burton, advocate, Edinburgh, 1847; and more recently, in his History of Scotland, Chap. xci.

5th, "The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Volume Third," 1846; "Letters of Lord Grange," pages 1-67, edited by John Stuart, LL.D.

6th, Since this communication was read to the Society, another article has appeared in Chambers's Journal, July 14, 1874.—"The Story of Lady Grange," by Dr William Chambers.

It was believed, and the opinion still prevails, that the plan of kidnapping or carrying her off to some remote place in the North, and of circulating a report of her death, was devised, if not actually carried into execution, by Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, while he carefully avoided anything like personal interference in the abduction itself. No doubt, he boldly denied having had any concern in it; and among his original letters in my own possession, is one, from which a passage to that effect was quoted many years ago, addressed to his cousin Mr Thomas Fraser, writer, at Edinburgh, dated Beaufort, September 16, 1732. "As to that story about my Lord Grange (he says), it is a much less surprise to me, because they said ten times worse of me when that damn'd woman went from Edinburgh than they can say now; for they said, it was all my contrivance, and that it was my servants that took her away; but I defy'd them then, as I do now, and do declare to you, upon honour, that I do not know what is become of that woman, where she is, or who takes care of her; but if I had contrived, and assisted and saved my Lord Grange from that devil, who threatened every day to murder him and his children, I would not think shame of it before God, or man; and where she is, I wish and hope that she may never be seen again, to torment my worthy friend."

But any assertions or denials on the part of a man who was devoid of all principle, can carry but little weight; and it required the influence and bold resources of such a man as Lovat, rather than her husband, to have attempted and carried out such a scheme. Mrs Erskine of Grange, in her statement, dated 1741, makes this very clear, and she continued to assert—

"One of Lord Lovat's lyes, which he said to John Macleod the young man of Dynwick, that I was going to kill my husband—you know that a lye."

"I hear Alexander M'Donald in the Hasker is dead: His wife has since married. . . *She knows 'twas Lord Lovat and Roderick M'Leod that stole me.* The minister's daughters saw me taken out of Mr M'Lean's house by Rod. M'Leod.

The article in the "Edinburgh Magazine," November 1817, concludes, "From the above curious document, it appears that Lady Grange was at St Kilda nine years after she was taken from Edinburgh. When the author of the notice which precedes the narrative was at St Kilda, in the

Vol. X, Plate XXIII.

... ..





year 1800, he was informed by an old man, who remembered having seen Lady Grange, that she had been seven or eight years on that island. On making inquiry respecting what happened afterwards to this ill-fated woman, he was informed by a gentleman in Skye, that in consequence of a dread of discovery, she had been removed to Assint (the Western district of Sutherland), and from thence to Skye, where she died."

The Autographs I now exhibit, which fell into my hands unexpectedly, and not at one time, are as follows:—

I.

The original letter of Rachel Erskine, dated St Kilda, January 20th 1738, giving an account of her treatment. At the foot it is marked, "To the Solicitor." This was Charles Erskine of Tinwald, who had been a Regent and Professor in the University of Edinburgh; he was admitted advocate in 1711, appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland in 1723, and Lord Advocate in January 1737 (a fact which Lady Grange could not have known); and afterwards, he was raised to the Bench, by the title of Lord Tinwald, in 1744, and promoted to be Lord Justice-Clerk in 1748.

As perhaps the only existing specimen of the handwriting of Lady Grange, a facsimile is here given of the beginning and the close of her letter, written at St Kilda in 1738 (see Plate XXIII). The faintness of the ink, and the folds of the paper, rendered a good facsimile of the four folio pages scarcely practicable. Nor was this very necessary, as a literal transcript is here subjoined without any corrections. It was evidently written at different intervals, and the smaller size of the letters near the end was occasioned by the necessity of completing it on a single sheet of paper.

ST KILDA, *Jan. 20, 1738.*

SIR,—It is a great blessing and happiness to a nation when the King employeth such a man as you are to Act and do for him who I'm perswadid his the aw and fear of God on him. Job was a just man and a perfect and the cause that he know not he searched out to deliver the poor and oppressed and him that had none to help him, a Paterne for on in your office. I have the Honour to be your Relation and I know you have much interest with Lord Greange if you can make Peace for me you know the promices that is to the Peace maker, you know I'm not guilty of eny crime except that of loveing my husband to

much, he knowes very well that he was my idol and now God his made him a rode to scourgeth me. Most just, you know he took a dialike and hatred to poor unfortunate Me can a woman get or ask better security of a Man then Vows and Oaths from a man of Conscience and Honour that tho he swearn to his own hurt yet changeth not, he told me he loved me two years or he gott me and we lived 25 years together few or non I thought so happy there is no person but his a fault but ought he not to forgive me as he desires or expects to be forgiven of God, his heart of Iron is in God's hand and I know he can turne it as he Pleaseth. I know he will do much be the advices of friends. I pray God to incline your hearts to intercess'd for me nou on earth his so much power with Ld Grange as Lord Dun and you have if you both favour me I hope it will do. Make my complements to L^d Dun I would have written to him but I want paper I'm sorrow for the great losses that his been in his family since I had the Honour to see him last you may remember you heard the Queen of Spain was put in prison and the Princess Sobeseke went to a Monastre you heard the reason of both no doubt and yet the Pope and other friends made Peace for them if friends take paines the same blessing may happen to me I'm sure you cannot but see how great a dishonour and blot it will leave on his memorie, but if friends can not prevail with L^d Greange then let me have the Benefit of the law it is impossible for me to write or for you to imagine all the misserie and sorrow and hunger and cold and hardships of all kindes that I have suffered since I was stolen if my paper allowed me I would give a particular account of the way but I must be short and I have a bad pin, upon the 22d of Jan 1732, I lodged in Margaret M'Lean house and at a little before twelve at night Mrs M'Lean being on the plot opened the door and there russed in to my room some servants of Lovals and his Couson Roderick Macleod he is a writer to the Signet they threw me down upon the floor in a Barbarous manner I cried murther murther then they stopp^d my mouth I puled out the cloth and told Rod: Macleod I knew him their hard rude hands bleed and abassed my face all below my eyes they dung out some of my teeth and toere the cloth of my head and toere out some of my hair I wrestled and defend'd my self with my hands then Rod: ordered to tye down my hands and cover'd my face with a cloath and stopp^d my mouth again they had wrestl'd so long with me that it was all that I could breath, then they carri'd me down stairs as a corps at the stair-foot they had a Chair and Alexander Foster of Carsboony in the Chair who took me on his knee I made all the struggel I could but he held me fast in his arms my mouth being stopp^d I could not cry they carri'd me off very quickly without the Ports, when they open'd the Chair and took the cloath of my head I saw I was near to the mutters of hill it being moonlight I then show'd them that all the linnins about me were covered with blood. they had there about 6 or 7 horses

they set me on a horses' behind Mr Foster and tyed me fast with a cloath to him that I might not leope of. if I remember right it was Peter Fraser, L^d Lovael's page that set me on the horse, Rod: Macleod and L^d Lovael's servants rode along with me and Andrew Leishman come attending M^r Foster he is a servant in Wester Pomeise he knows the names of Lovael's Ser: we rode all night it being Saturday we mett no body or day breake they took me into a house which belong to John Macleod advocate a little beyond Lithgow, I saw in that house a Gardener a Ser: of Johns and a Ser: of Alex: Macleod advocate but I'm not sure if he was his first or his second man. they keep me there all day at night I was set on a horse behind M^r Foster they rode with me to Wester Pomeise it belongs to M^r Stewart, and M^r Foster his Factore he took me to the house of Pomeise thro a vault to a low room all the windows nailed up with thick board and no light in the room he was soo cruel as to leave me all aloan and two doors lock'd on me, a Ser: of L^d Lov: kept the keys of my prison James Fraser, And: Leishman mention'd before is a tannant in Pomeise near thirtie years he brought whar meat and drink I got and his Wife mead my bed and wash'd my linens. I was kept so closs I grew sick then And: told M^r Foster he would not have a hand in my death then I was allow'd to the court to get the Air I then saw a son and three daughter which this Wife his born to And: I told them I was L^d Grange Wife in hopes they would let it be knowen, for M^r Fos: kept a Garner George Rate and his Wife in the house that what provisions came might pass as to them he had a meal yard and house in Stirlin, they had two sons and a daughter come often to see them I gave them some thing to tell the ministers of Stirlin Hamilton and Erskine that I was a prissonr in Pomeise but all in vain. I was their near seven moneth Aug 15 Peter Fraser L^d Lov: page came and three men with him I had kept my bed that all day with grief and sorrow Peter and James Fraser tho I was naked took me up by force they set me on a horse behind M^r Foster I fainted dead with grief as they set me the horse, And: Leishman rode that night journey with me, when ever I cri'd they came to stope my mouth, they rode to the highlands with me our guide a Servant of Sir Alexander Macdonald Ron'd Macdonald he since marri'd to Lady Macdonald own Cousin, We rode all night or day breake they took me into a little house M^r Foster never came near me after that night, but left the charge of me to Lov: Servants I saw Rod Macleod at that house and a servant of his Duncan Irvine since that bond aprentice to a wright in or about Edin' M^r Foster and Rod: Macleod rode a part of the way with us I was set on a horse behind that wild fellow James Fraser, I cannot write the anguish and sorrow I was in I never read or heard of any Wife whatever was her crime so cruelly and barbarously treatt as I have been. Peter and James Fraser left me with the three men that came to Pomeise for me and two other came one of them belong'd to L^d Lov. two days after we came to a Loch on Glengarry ground Loch

they had a sloop waiting.

own house and keeps me till farther orders

to this Glengarry his wife

Georges Sons Ronald

and John came to the sloop and saw me on Sep 30 we came to the Isle

it belongs to Sir Alexander Macdonald and this man is the tannent, after I was

some time there he thought it was a sin to keep me he said he would let me go

for tho Sir Alex: should take the Isle from him he could not take his life, I sent

a man for a boat and he ran away with my money in

1734 Rod: sent

for the tannant of this Isle his name Alex. Macdonald to come to the Captain of

Clan Ronalds house he told him I was to be taken from him on the

John Macleod and his Brother Norman came with their Galley to the

for me they were very rud and hurt me sore, Oh alas much have I suffer'd often my

skin mead black a blew, they took me to St Kilda. John Macleod is called Stewart

of the Island he left me in a few days no body lives in but the poor natives it is

a

poor Isle I was in great miserie in the Husker but I am ten

times worse and worse here, the Society sent a minister here I have given him

a much fuller account then this and he writ it down, you may [be] sure I have

much more to tell then this, When this coms to you if you hear I'm alive do me

justes and relieve me, I beg you make all hast but if you hear I'm dead do what

you think right befor God.

I am with great Respect

your most humble servant

but infortunat Cousen

RACHELL ERSKINE ..

I pray you make my
Complements to all your
young Family
To the Solicitor.

II.

Letter from Thomas Hope of Rankeilor, Esq., Edinburgh, December 13th, 1740, addressed "The Right Honble. Charles Erskine, Esq. His Majesties Advocate."—From this letter it would appear he had only two days previously received information, in the above letter, No. I., respecting this ill-fated woman.

MY LORD,—This day when you appointed me one of your busy hours on Monday, your Lop/ had not heard what I said. the affair is concerning poor Lady Grange, I inclose you a Letter from her of an old date, and shall shew you on to myselfe of the same date. they were left att my House two days ago by an unknowen hand. She left a Factory for me with my wife, a little befor her intended Journey for London. I told her I would never use it till I heard she was at a

distance from her Husband so as she could not disturb him.—After she was carried off, and being assured she was well entertained and cared for, I thought it was best not to move in that affair, And now this is the first time I have heard from her. She bids me apply to your Lops/ first, and ended I would have don it whether or not for your advice in so tender ane affair, and if it cannot be compromised among friends, that I should call for her money and take all legall steps to relieve her. She has been so harshly and barbarously used, that I dar say her Husband knows nothing of it, for his friends from him I suppose, alway assured me all care was taken of her. I doubt not but she may be dead by this time, but if she is alive, the hardest heart on earth would bleed to hear of her sufferings. and I think I can't in duty stand this call, but must follow out a course so as to restore her to a seeming liberty and a comfortable life: And it shall be don with that caution and moderation as your Lops/ shall direct, and Grange and his Friends could wish; though she has mett with much cruelty and barbarity as ever a Chrystian did, and more than any almost is able to bear. I am sure I never thought she could have been alive under much hardships. I would have waited of you to night, but being confined with a Collick, and your time uncertain, I thought proper to delay it. But if am able to come abroad to morrow, and that you are to take tea by yourself, in the afternoon, I shall have the honour to wait on you, as I have of being

Sir

Your most obedt humbel Servant

Tho. Hope.

Eden. Saturday 13th Decr, 1740.

Mr Hope of Rankeillor also, on the 6th of January, addressed a letter to Lord Grange himself, whose reply, containing a Vindication of his own conduct, dated London, 17th January 1740-1, along with Mr Hope's answer, Edinburgh February 23, 1741, are contained in the Spalding Miscellany, Vol. III.

III.

Lady Grange's account, as printed in the "Edinburgh Magazine" and other works, with the date January 21st 1741. This manuscript has no date, and wants pages 5 and 6, which had been supplied from some other copy. It begins, "*I, the unfortunate wife of Mr James Erskine of Grange,*" and appears to have belonged to the Rev. Dr Carlyle of Inveresk. It is unnecessary in this place to republish this statement, as it is easily accessible.

I shall only add, that when the friends of Lady Grange in Edinburgh, were made aware of her situation in 1741, measures were taken for her release. The chief result of this, however, was her being removed to Assint in Sutherland, and from thence to the Island of Skye, where she ended her days in May 1745. Lord Grange himself, who spent most of his latter years in London, died there, January 24, 1754, in the 75th year of his age.

II.

NOTICES OF ST PALLADIUS' CHAPEL, AND OF A COFFIN-SLAB, AT FORDOUN. BY ANDREW JERVISE, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.

Having elsewhere spoken of the tradition concerning the reputed murder of King Kenneth, while on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Palladius at Fordoun, and noticed the more important points of historical and antiquarian interest in the parish,¹ I shall here confine myself to a few observations regarding the alleged antiquity of the present building of St Palladius' chapel, and a sepulchral monument which was recently found within it.

The chapel, which is a plain one-storey building upon the south side of the kirkyard, is about 38 feet in length, 18 feet in width, and 8 feet high. A recess, with circular top and mouldings (6 feet 7 inches by 5 feet 2 inches) is in the east end, and there, according to tradition, was placed the shrine which contained the bones of St Palladius. But, although the owners of the recess cannot now be identified, it is much more probable, if we are to judge by similar objects in other churches, that it had been rather a recess tomb than the receptacle for the shrine referred to.

It is somewhat remarkable, although the Wisharts of Pitarrow were proprietors and residents in the eastern part of Fordoun from earliest record down to the first half of the 17th century,² that the site of their burial-place at Fordoun is unknown.

Whether the recess tomb had been erected by the Wisharts or the Falconers is uncertain; but a vault below the east half of the chapel, and

¹ Proceedings of Society, ii. 464-6; Memorials of Angus and Mearns.

² Reg. Vet. et Nig. de Aberbrothoc.

immediately in front of the recess, is sometimes called the *Glenfarquhar*, more frequently the *Falconers Vault*. It is said that certain of the Falconers of Glenfarquhar lie there, also some of the parish ministers.

If the vault was constructed by the Falconers, which is not improbable, it cannot be of older date than the early part of the 17th century, as it was during that time the Falconers first acquired property in Fordoun.

The Monboddo burial-place is in the north-west corner of the chapel, where a chest-shaped tomb presents bold carvings of the Irvine and Douglas arms, together with mortuary emblems. It also bears the following interesting inscription, the first portion of which is carved in raised capitals round the top or lid, and the latter, or eulogistic part, is incised upon the south side of the tomb :—

C. R. I: E. D.

“1668: In spem beate resurrectionis hic veluti siffitus thalamo svaviter in Domino obdormit dvx ROBERTVS IRVIN, a Monboddo, Dominvs, qvi pie fatis ccessit 6 Ivliv, anno salvtis hvmanæ 1652. et ætatis svæ anno 80.

Conjvge, progenie felix, virtvtis, honesti
Cultor, et antiqvus exorivndvs avis,
Hoc cvbat IRVINVS monvmento. Cætera norvnt
Mvsa et vitiferis Seqvana clarvs aqviv.”¹

It is clear that no part of the present building of St Palladius' chapel can lay claim to great antiquity. The east gable appears to be the most ancient portion, and may be safely set down as not older than about the close of the 15th century. The aumbry at the north door, with its arched top, is probably the next oldest feature of the building, and it appears to be in much the same style as the aumbries and doors of the old kirks of Fetteresso, Cushnie, Rathen, and some others, which were built during the first half of the 17th century. Still, a very different tale is told by the following inscription, which was recently placed into the west wall, and over the door of the chapel :—

“ST PALLADIUS' CHAPEL.

ERECTED A.D. 452—RESTORED A.D. 1872.”

This piece of *Aiken Drum*-ism, to which there is something similar upon the old kirks of Gamrie, in Banffshire, and Rattray, in Aberdeenshire,

¹ Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Burial-Grounds in North-East of Scotland, 4to. Edin. 1875, pp. 62, 356.

has arisen by mixing up two very different events, namely, the period which tradition ascribes to the settlement of St Palladius at Fordoun, and the time of the building of the chapel.

The notion of "Erected A.D. 452," as applied to any part of the present building, is too absurd to need any comment; and the work of *Restoration* in 1872, which was rendered compulsory by the falling in of the roof, merely consisted in the chapel getting a new fir door with iron bands of antique pattern, and a new, though certainly not a very substantial roof; in the plaster being knocked off the walls, and in the stonework of the interior undergoing the process of a rough chiselling, of which, unfortunately, the piscina has had a share.

The piscina or lavatory, which is cut out of a single piece of freestone, is by far the "oldest piece of furniture" connected with the chapel, and must have belonged to an earlier building than the present. It is built into the south side of the recess tomb, and is here represented:—



Although Fordoun is admittedly one of the earliest seats of Christianity in the north, and called "the mother church of the Mearns," it is curious to find that it was much later in being recognised as a *church* properly speaking, than almost any other in the county.

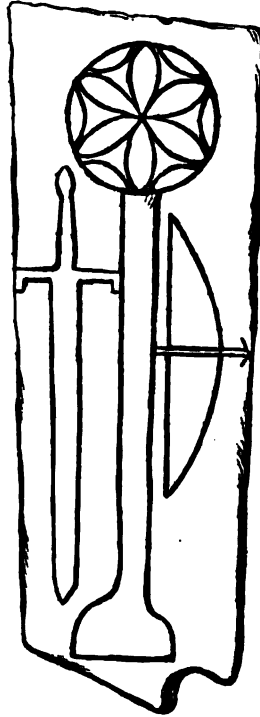
It is frequently mentioned in the records of the Priory of St Andrews,

from about 1183, but only as a *chapel*;¹ and, so far as I have noticed, it had not the designation of a *church* until 1244, when it was dedicated by Bishop David.² It was one of the mensal churches of the diocese, and is said to have been given to the Priory of St Andrews by Robert the Bruce.³

The traditions of Bishop Schevez having presented the kirk of Fordoun with a costly shrine in which to hold the relics of St Palladius, and of its being stolen by Wishart of Pitarrow about the time of the Reformation, are among the points which have been elsewhere noticed;⁴ but it ought to be stated that the sculptured stone, which tradition has associated with the fate of King Kenneth, and which was too long "left out in the cold," has now been placed within the chapel.⁵ It is fixed to the north wall with iron hooks, near the sepulchral slab which was lately discovered there.

It was in 1872, when the chapel was being repaired, that the workmen came upon this slab, which had been used, time out of memory, as the inside lintel of the north door of the chapel. It is about 4 feet 10 inches long, by about 20 inches in breadth.

The figures are all incised, and (as shown by the accompanying woodcut) two of the objects represent a sword and a stringed bow and arrow. The shaft which runs up the middle of the stone, with a curious bulging base and ornamented circular top, are common features in



¹ Reg. Prior. S. And., p. 59 *et sub.*

² Robertson's *Concilia Scotiae*, p. 300.

³ Lyon's *Hist. of St Andrews*, ii. p. 268.

⁴ Mem. Angus and Mearns, pp. 80-90.

⁵ Engraved in vol. i. pl. lxxvii. of "*Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*" It may be stated that Boethius' story of "The Murder of King Kenneth," is given in a ballad of that name, printed for the booksellers (8 pp.)

coffin-slabs; and while there is room for conjecturing that the shaft may represent some sort of rest or staff for the soldier or sportsman, and the top or floral portion a target or shield, the whole is possibly meant to represent nothing else than simply a cross.

Although I have seen a good number of these monuments, this is the first I have found with the figures of the bow and arrow. Mr Cutt, who gives two examples of the same objects (one at Papplewick, Notts, the other at Bakewell, Derbyshire), seems to think that the bow and arrow have reference to the office of a forest ranger.¹ But it is quite likely that these objects had adorned the tombs of others who had a taste for field sports, which, in old times, was more a necessity than a pastime; and as the north and east of Fordoun still afford ample scope for those who indulge in the sports of the dog and the gun, its attractions in these points had been much greater in early times when there was but little cultivation and but few residents in the glens. Record informs us regarding the district that the monks of Arbroath employed their great territory of Glenfarquhar for the pasture of cattle and swine, &c.²

In the absence of inscription and armorial insignia, there is no knowing, at this distance of time, to whom the coffin-slab had belonged. It had probably covered the grave of some person of local importance; and, as it is of the same type as the slabs which were common to Scotland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is just possible that it may have belonged either to the Wisharts or the Strachans, who were contemporary lairds in Fordoun. Being in a rude and late style of art, I am inclined to think that it belongs rather to the latter than to the former period.

So far as now known, the Wisharts were the only resident proprietors in the east of Fordoun before the time of the Bruce; but in 1342 Thomas Strathdwyn had a grant of the greater part of the old Cumin property in the district.³ Among other lands which were subsequently acquired by the Strachans were those of Monboddo, from which they assumed their designation; and it is a noteworthy fact (although it cannot be considered as proving to what period the slab belonged), that it was found in 1872 in close proximity to the Monboddo burial-place.

The Strachans of Monboddo having failed in the male line, the property

¹ Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, pls. xxvii. xlvi.

² Reg. Vet. de Aberb.

³ Reg. Vet. de Aberb., p. 13.

passed by marriage to one of the Irvines of Drum. In like manner Monboddo came to a son of Burnett of Leys, and the celebrated Lord Monboddo was the last male representative of this branch of the Burnetts. He was succeeded by his daughter, Mrs Kirkpatrick Williamson, grandmother of the present Laird of Monboddo.

I have long been of opinion that the swords and axes, &c., which are represented upon coffin-slabs, as well as the more familiar objects of combs and mirrors, &c., upon the older sculptured stones, are, as a rule, of the natural size; and that these were made by placing the object upon the stone, and carefully tracing its outline upon the surface. By this means a reality is given to the different articles represented—often accompanied by a minuteness of detail—the value of which cannot be overrated by those who care to inquire into the progress of civilization, whether at home or abroad.

III.

NOTICE OF A CURIOUS MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, CONTAINING DRAWINGS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF SCOTTISH COINS. BY R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scor.

This manuscript, of part of which a photographic fac-simile is herewith presented to the Society, is preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. (Tiberius D. II.) in the Library of the British Museum.

It consists of eighty-three leaves, of which fos. 1–40 are occupied with drawings of the coins of various countries, all executed by the same hand. Fos. 41 to 57 contain a treatise on the French coinage by the same hand, and the remainder of the manuscript contains drawings of shields of arms.

The author of the manuscript is not known. It must have been written between 1580 and 1582, as the last date given in the original hand is 1580, while another hand (as may be seen at the close of the third sheet of the Scottish coins) has added various coins minted in the latter year. Fos. 14, 14 b, and 15, contain the Scottish coins, and these are now laid before the meeting.

The first coin figured is called a groat of Alexander the Second, and is certainly not known now to exist, whatever may be its origin. It is

curious, however, that there has always been a tradition that Alexander the Third coined larger pieces than the penny. Ruddiman, p. 64, mentions this, and Macpherson¹ refers to it also in his "Annals of Commerce." It is said that at one time a half groat of this reign existed in the Sutherland collection, but if this ever was the case, it is not there now. It must be noticed that the lettering on the coins in the manuscript does not follow the original. The form of the king's name (Alexandrius) does not occur on any coin of the Scottish series that I am acquainted with, nor the title "Rex Bonge." The drawing is evidently copied from a coin, whatever it was, and the space between the head and the front of the crown which is found on the pennies of Alexander III. is faithfully copied in the drawing. The weight is said to be two deniers four grains, or 42·7 grains Troy weight of the modern standard, and nine penny twenty grains fine.² It is said that James VI. after his accession to the English throne had certain coins struck representing an imaginary coinage of the earlier sovereigns of England. One of these pieces is figured in the work referred to. It represents Henry II. as king of England and Duke of Normandy. Possibly this groat of Alexander may have the same origin, though it is difficult to account for it appearing in a work which apparently represents well-known and common coins, and written at a period when forgeries of Scottish coins for the purpose of taking in collectors were probably unknown.

The remainder of the coins noticed are of ordinary occurrence (with the exception of a jetton of Mary Stuart), and the chief interest of the manuscript consists in the particulars given as to their weight and fineness.

¹ Vol. i. p. 432.

² De Vet. Num., p. 191.

IV.

NOTES ON THE LAKE-DWELLINGS OF WIGTOWNSHIRE. BY THE REV.
GEORGE WILSON, GLENLUCE, CORRESPONDING MEMBER. No. II.

1. *Barlockhart Loch*, in the parish of Old Luce. This small lake lies three-quarters of a mile south-east of Glenluce village, to the west of the old road to Wigtown, five furlongs from the sea, and about 160 feet above its level. It was formerly about 800 feet long and 580 feet wide; but about thirty years ago it was reduced by drainage to 580 by 400 feet. The part laid dry is peat moss. Except on the east the water is fringed with reeds and water-lilies, both white and golden. There are perch, trout, and sea-trout. Near the west end is a crannog 60 by 50 feet, the greater axis lying north-east and south-west. At its south-eastern part, next the deep water, near the end of the shorter axis, is a curved row of oak stakes. I have noticed seven in a space of 22 feet, and outside of the fifth is another 7 inches in diameter. Among the willow bushes on the crannog lie a number of large stones, and others have been removed by anglers and laid as stepping-stones among the water-lily roots outside of the stakes. On the south shore I found among the peat a piece of oak 10 feet long, 9 inches broad, and 4 inches thick, with one side dressed flat with an axe, the marks being quite distinct and not those of a stone axe. West of the crannog a ditch is cut to the end of a hedge-row, in which an ash tree marks the former end of the hedge at the old shore line. About 18 feet south of this tree a causeway or platform of large stones on the surface of the peat ran eastward from the shore for about 240 feet, stopping 83 feet from the crannog, the gap being still a shaking bog even in dry weather. When the loch was partially drained, the present farmer's father cleared away about 80 feet of the causeway to make way for the plough, laying the stones beside the hedge. One granite boulder remains *in situ*. Early in 1873 the farmer cleared away the stones for about 80 feet more. Next the shore I found the causeway 9 feet broad; next the crannog it is 6½ feet, and the stones are fewer there. About 140 feet from the old margin, where the causeway bent a little eastward, I found a very distinct circle, 11 feet in diameter, of large stones. 20

feet farther along was another circle with a large flagstone about 4 by 3 feet, and a large granite boulder split and laid with the flat sides upward, forming a floor. I think these circles mark where two dwellings have stood. Just beyond the second circle, in 1872, a labourer cut a drain 40 inches deep across the causeway, and raised three oak stakes pointed with an axe and hardened by fire, and in the bottom an oak beam about 40 inches long, 8 inches broad, and 4 inches thick, dressed flat by an axe, laid with the round side undermost on stones, packed at the sides with small stones, and having a hole sunk in the round side which the point of one of the stakes fitted. The labourer thought the stakes had been driven to keep the kerb stones of the causeway in position. The farmer buried some of the large stones at this place, but observed no timber. Lord Rosehill, who visited the place with me, thought it like the platform work of the Swiss lake-dwellings. He found a ridge-shaped greywacke stone which bears marks of having been used for polishing. A part has been broken off and lost. The remainder, in two pieces, is 7 inches long; one of the sloped surfaces is quite smooth, the other has a slight hollow $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, apparently worn by rubbing some small tool. In a former paper I described a gravel causeway leading under water to a crannog, and I have observed several other examples of the same thing; but a structure such as I have described in this paper, with the foundation or floor of circular dwellings on it, is a thing hitherto not observed in this county. Two granite querns have been found about the causeway, apparently one for each of the two dwellings, for both are *upper* stones. Two roughly-made spindle whorls were also got on the Crannog.

2. *Sunonness Loch*, in the parish of Old Luce. This loch was drained about the close of last century by a deep cut. It lies in a hollow between Low Sunonness and the Mull of Sunonness. It is about four miles south-east of Glenluce, about 1500 feet from the sea-shore, and at a low level. It was probably about the same size as Barlockhart Loch. At the north-west part, lying on the peat, there is a circular bed of stones; the diameter from north to south is 110 feet, and that from east to west 104 feet. A gravel road runs westward to the shore line. It is 80 feet long and 16 feet broad. Where it touches the shore line there is a low rocky knoll on which may still be seen the foundation of a large cairn. The stones

are water-worn, and have been carried from the small patch of beach at the mouth of the Airriewiggle Burn, which drains the bed of the loch. It is difficult to find a stone larger than a man's fist which is not broken in two. I have observed no traces of piles or wood-work among the stones, but have not digged for them. This also appears to be a distinct type of lake-dwelling.

V.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF CISTS ON THE FARM OF SLAP, NEAR TURRIFF, ABERDEENSHIRE. BY MR JOHN LEDINGHAM. IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY.

On the 30th June 1873, whilst digging sand from a natural rolling hillock on this farm, where nothing unusual was expected, the men came on a stone which proved to be the east end of a cist 3 feet by 2, lying east and west, with a large oblong block on the top, leaving a height inside of about 20 inches. The stones composing the cist were sandstone conglomerate, packed up with a few outlying boulders, not unlike an old-fashioned stone drain. The large stones might have been got near the surface, and within a quarter of a mile of the spot. Very little, if any, labour had been expended in squaring or dressing the stones, save a little flattening on the inner surfaces.

On careful search being made in the interior of the cist a few pieces of flint were found, but no finished implements, although some of the flakes indicate design. Such as they are, they show the period to which the cist belongs. With the exception of a little blackened sand, no organic remains were found. The bottom of the cist was nearly 5 feet from the present surface; but being, as before stated, on a slightly rolling eminence, where dwelling-houses stood about thirty years ago, it might have been at one time considerably deeper.

Nothing further was observed until January 1874, when another cist was discovered, giving decided evidence of sepulture. It was similar in size and construction, about the same depth from the surface, and packed about with boulders in the same way. It is about ten yards in a north-east direction from the last-found cist. In this case we had the bones to

indicate the way in which the body had been laid. The skeleton seemed to have been of the ordinary size, and was doubled up so as to be got into the small area of 3 feet by 2, and laid on its right side. There remained one tibia and fibula, one thigh bone, and part of another, the pelvis, some of the spinal processes, some bits of ribs, one radius or ulna, and one humerus, rather more than half of the cranium, and half the under jaw. The skull is well developed; the teeth have all been sound, and are in remarkable preservation, all a little worn on the crown, but not indicating more than fifty years of age.

At the back of the head, in a corner of the cist, stood the clay urn or vessel here figured. It is of hand made pottery, 6 inches high by $5\frac{1}{2}$



Urn found in a short cist at Slap, near Turriff.

inches diameter at the mouth, and of similar shape and material to one got in a barrow, nearly a mile to the north-west, some years ago; but unlike it in having no herring-bone marks on it, and unlike it also in being empty, whereas the one found in the barrow was full of calcined bones, and was not enclosed in a cist. In this cist, also, we found one piece of flint fully $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches square, two of its sides a little chipped.

VI.

NOTE OF AN UNDERGROUND STRUCTURE AT GRESS, NEAR STORNOWAY, AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.
BY PETER LIDDEL, Esq., Gress. IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY.

1. *Underground House, Gress.*—The underground house at Gress is of circular form, 9 feet diameter internally, approached by a slightly curved passage 2 feet wide, and having a recess of 2 feet 6 inches on both sides just before it enters the chamber. The whole is built with unmortared and unhewn stones, and a pillar of masonry stands in the centre of the floor of the circular chamber, evidently designed to give support to the roof, which is formed of large flag stones. Part of the roof next to the sea-shore has fallen in, and thus disclosed the existence of the chamber. It is filled with blown sand, and contains large quantities of split bones and shells of the edible molluscs, among which there are a number of the large whelk (*Fusus antiquus*) which seem to have been used as lamps.

Crannog at Tolsta.—In a lake recently drained at Tolsta I have examined a crannog which seems to me to possess some interest. A drain has been cut through part of the crannog which affords a section of its construction. At the outside there is a row of piles 5 or 6 inches diameter, then large stones, then another row of piles, then heather and moss, the whole covered with earth and gravel. The remains of three houses built of unhewn stones are still visible upon it. All round the crannog, but inside the outer row of piles, there is an immense quantity of shells, plentifully intermixed with bones, ashes, and twigs of trees. The shells are those of the ordinary edible shell fish, the mussel being the most common. The bones are chiefly those of deer, and the small Highland sheep still found on the island. The only implement I found was part of a stag's horn, with the brow-antler thinned. Three hollowed stone vessels or knocking-stones were found on the surface, but they were destroyed or lost sight of. A causeway of large stones under water led to the crannog.

Castle-Rock at North Tolsta.—This ancient strength (of which I send you a rough ground-plan), is built on a nearly perpendicular stack of rock 100 feet high, and isolated at high water. The building, which the

inhabitants of the district call "The Castle," consists of an oblong chamber of irregularly rectangular shape, nearly 40 feet long and 13 feet wide, with a smaller chamber about 10 feet by 8, opening off it by a door 2 feet wide in the centre of the end wall. Close to this end of the building there is a circular space nearly 6 feet diameter and 3 feet deep, which has been quarried out of the rock, and may have been a well. Fragments of the coarse pottery called "craggans" were found in it. I dug all over the floor of the chamber. The walls are of unhewn stones, backed with earth. There had been a fireplace at each side of the door, close beside the wall. Broken "craggans" and stones which had been used as hammers or pounders were found all over the floor. There were but few bones, which may be accounted for by the facilities they had for disposing of them by throwing them at once over the rock.

Perforated Stones, Cure-stones, &c.—I have a few perforated stones, a description of which may be interesting.

No. 1 is a whorl made of a black softish sandstone, and is of the usual flat and round form.

No. 2 is of the same kind of stone with a smaller hole, flat on the one side and convex on the other. Both these were dug up at the village of Back. They are called "serpent stones" by the people.

No. 3 is a whorl of a greyish blue soapstone, with a smaller hole. It was found near a shieling on Back Moor about fifteen years ago, and is said to have cured a girl in Back of a supposed snake-bite about two years ago.

No. 4 is a perforated stone found on the Hill of Monad about forty years ago. I do not see for what purpose it may have been intended originally, but the inhabitants now call it a "serpent-stone," as they call every perforated stone, believing that the serpents make the holes through them, and that they are able to do so instantaneously. This stone has frequently been used for curing cattle that are supposed to be "serpent-bitten."

No. 5 is a perforated round stone, having the appearance of amber, semi-transparent, weathered on the surface, and waterworn. It belonged to an old man named Donald M'Leod, who got it sixty years ago from a very old woman, who had it a long time in her possession, so that it has probably been in the keeping of these two parties for upwards

of a century. Extraordinary virtue is ascribed to its curative properties, both with regard to man and beast, when they happen to be serpent-bitten. I had great difficulty in getting possession of it even for a short time, and I have reason to believe that its loss would be regarded as a great calamity by the whole district. It has been sent to all the villages for many miles round about, and was in special request when the ordinary serpent-stones failed in effecting a cure.

No. 6 is a whorl of clay slate, ornamented on the upper and lower sides, the edges plain. The people here have not seen any other like it.

No. 7 is a small square-shaped stone, slightly fuller at the middle than at the ends, and perforated by a small hole at one end. It is of a fine-grained reddish sandstone. This stone was found by a woman (now residing at Back) about forty years ago, at Stoer Head, Assynt. It is said that at the place where it was found the cattle used sometimes to drop down dead without any apparent cause. The stone was warm when it was found, owing, it is believed, to its having been newly thrown or shot at some of the cows by the invisible members of the elfin world. These stones are credited with the power of being able to vanish the instant you take your eye off them, that is, if they are not secured the moment they are first seen. The belief is common on the west coast that if you keep one in a house it will be a protection against fire, but this belief is unknown among the people of the Lewis.

No. 8 is a stone axe of gneiss, highly polished and quite perfect. It was found 4 feet under the surface, in a gravelly knoll here.

Snuff Querns.—I have a few snuff querns found in the ground here from time to time. To account for this, I may state that one of my predecessors in this place was an extensive fish-curer. He had a number of vessels employed transporting his cured fish to the Continent, and they brought back quantities of tobacco-leaf which did not all pass through the Custom House. But there has been none imported now for nearly seventy years, so that the querns have not only fallen out of use but out of mind. Three of them are 6 inches, 6½ inches, and 7½ inches respectively. One of them has a mould on the reverse side for forming the common lamp for burning fish oil.

Other kinds of hollowed stones, mostly of an oval form, are common in the islands. The people call them holy-water stones. Every one of

them has one edge broken. One dug up at Gress measures 14 inches by 11 inches inside, and 4 inches deep, but most of them are larger. Probably they were rubbing stones.

Spoons, Horn, &c., found under Peat.—About four years ago there was found at Vatskin Moss, under about 7 feet of peat, a fireplace made of three stones, between which the ashes still remained. Near it there were found six spoons, four small single-piece wooden dishes, and an ox horn, all enclosed in a large box of wood, also made of a single piece. All were destroyed except one spoon, which is in my possession. It is of Scotch fir apparently, and the bowl appears to have been hollowed out by burning.

This being the last meeting of the Session, thanks were given to the Office-Bearers, and the Society adjourned to St Andrew's day, 30th November 1875.

ERRATUM

P. 481, after the title to the woodcut, "Section of Borness Cave,"
delete the words "Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot."

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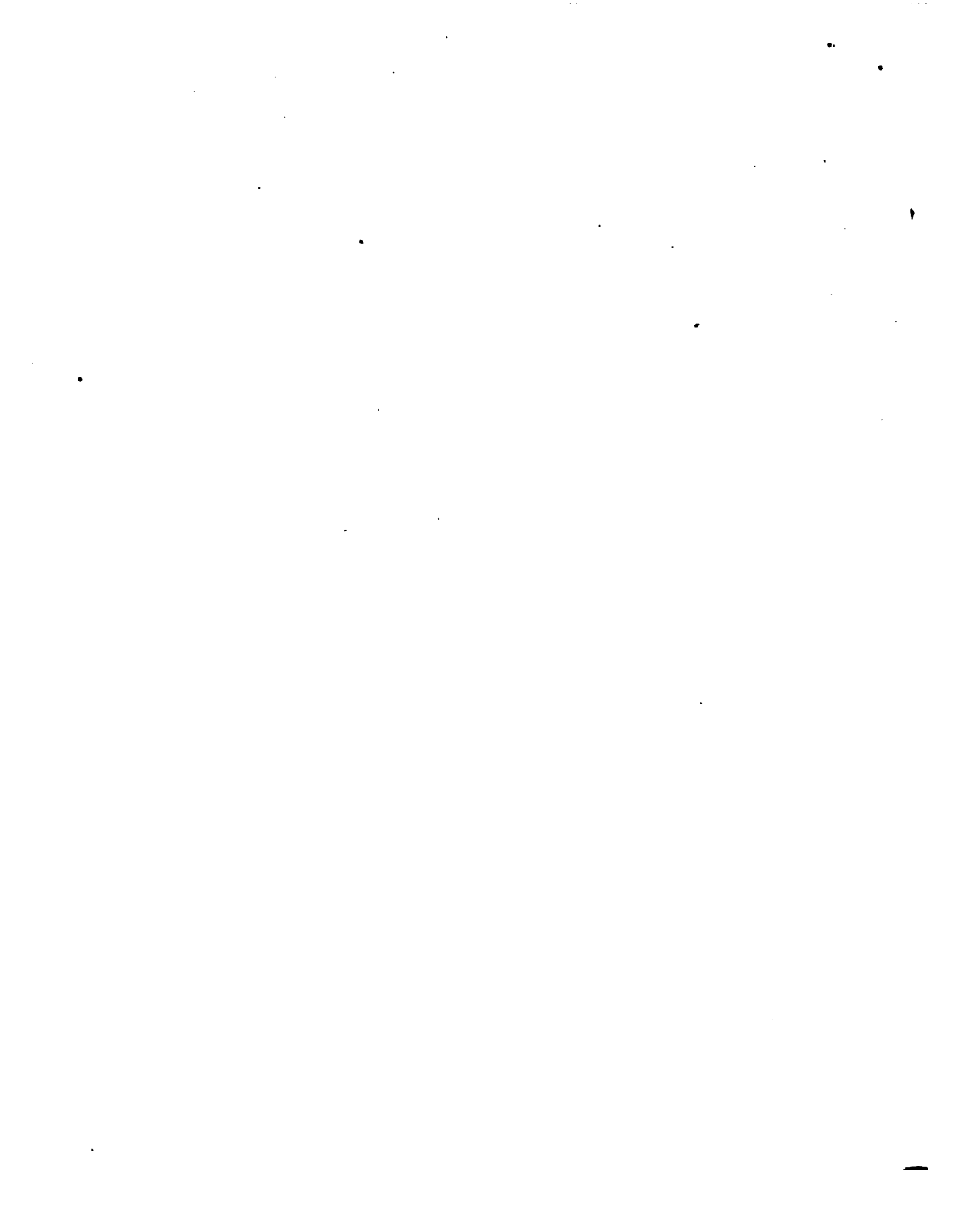
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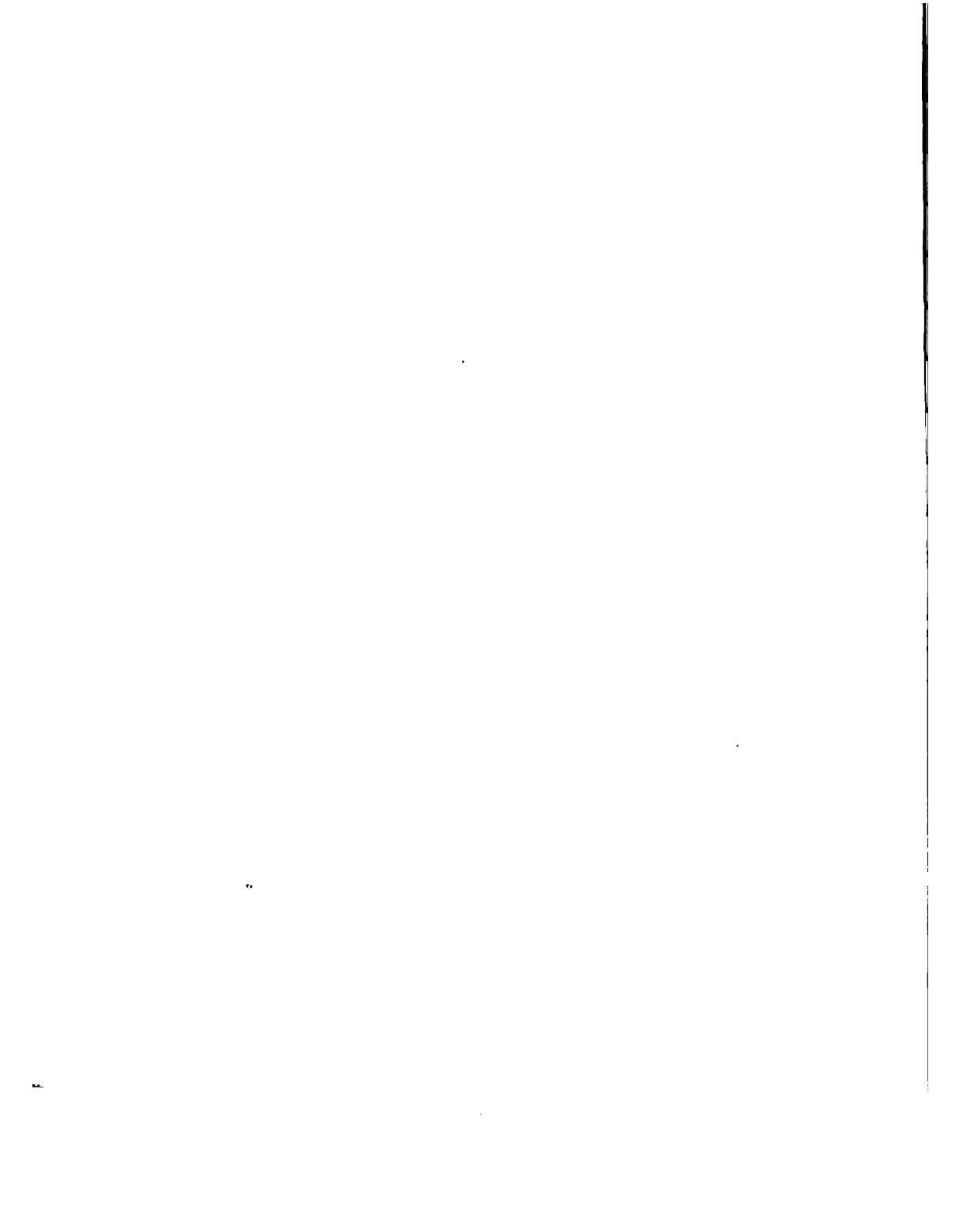


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