IV.

NOTES ON SAINT ANTHONY'S CHAPEL; WITH VIEWS AND PLANS. By FRED. R. COLES, Cor. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Scot.

The site and surroundings of the picturesque ruin called Saint Anthony's Chapel are well known, and have been frequently described. In Maitland's History of Edinburgh, in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, in descriptions by Arnot, Chalmers, Gordon, Forbes, Grose, Wilson, and Sir Walter Scott, in almost illegible mediæval MSS., and in the latest local guide-books, a Chapel of Saint Anthony is nominally well represented. But, strange to say, in no single sentence from any of these sources of information do we light upon a vestige of authentic evidence for the date, the architect, or the dedication of this Chapel, with its adjoining cell or hermitage. That an ecclesiastical building erected so near the capital of Scotland, and connected, by tradition at least, with so great and potent a saint as Anthony the Eremite, should be absolutely unmentioned, so far as is known, in any pre-Reformation records, is both surprising and unaccountable.

The buildings do not figure either in Gordon of Rothiemay's View of Edinburgh, of 1647, or in the "View of the Citie of Edenburgh from the South" by John Ogilvy, of 1670.

Its name appears in no historical work earlier than the volume of Maitland (circa 1753), who, when describing Holyrood, adverts upon this hermitage and chapel, taking fairly accurate note of their dimensions, but paying no heed to the other lines of ruined walls which extend considerably to the south. Maitland, however, adduces no evidence in

¹ Briefly recounted, the history of this famous Order is as follows: "It was begun in 1118 under Baldwin, second King of Jerusalem, who gave them a Habitation near the Temple, whence they afterwards took the name of Templars . . . In the year 1128 they were confirmed by the Council of Troyes, who gave them a particular Rule, and ordered a Habit, which was a White Mantle, &c., to which Ewgen the 3rd not many years after added a Reid Cross." The Order was introduced into Scotland

support of the name. It is noteworthy, moreover, that he does not write of the Chapel in connection with South Leith, where, as is well known, a Preceptory of the Knights of St John¹ was dedicated to Saint Anthony, and with which institution popular belief has connected the chapel and cell at present under notice.

The earliest anthentic document available to me having reference to this Preceptory of Saint Anthony in Leith, is one of the MSS.¹ in the Balfour Collection. It is a deed of renunciation by Friar Michael Gray, dated "18 March 1445." But neither this document, nor any other I have seen, connects, or can be supposed to connect, Saint Anthony's Chapel on Arthur's Seat with the Preceptory of South Leith.

Failing to find light in this direction, the only other course left open was to ascertain if possible what likelihood of evidence there was forthcoming, on the assumption that the Chapel may have belonged to the parish of Holyrood. Its position, its proximity to the Abbey, and the fact that the original bounds³ of the parish extended much farther than is usually supposed, all seem to strengthen this assumption. Certain statements in the volume of *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, still further confirm it. For example, under date 1473, is the following entry:—

"In expensis for the Chapell. Item vj Febr. to offer in Sanct Antonis in the Crag to the King xij s."

by King David I. in 1153. The Torphichen Brotherhood seems to have been founded by King Malcolm; and one "Archibaldus, Magister de Torphichen, is witness to a charter of Alexander, Grand Steward of Scotland, anno 1252." "At what period their estates in Scotland were transferred to the Knights Hospitallers is uncertain." But even "at the time of the Reformation, when the Order was dissolved, the whole lands, excepting the larger baronies, were indiscriminately called Temple lands. Perhaps one reason for this was the right of Sanctuary, which conferred an importance and value on Temple property which did not attach to any other." (Templaria: Papers relating to the History of the Scottish Knights Templar, &c.)

¹ See Balfour, Collection of Charters of Religious Houses, in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 34, fol. 19.

³ See Gordon's Monasticon, i. pp. 163, 165.

² The deed refers merely to a quarrel that arose between Michael Gray, Preceptor of the House of the Hospital of the holy Confessor St Anthony, and the Chapter of St Andrews, over the possession of the Church of Liston. In the deed, Michael Gray gives up all claim to the church, and this document confirms his deed.

Again, in a Discharge, dated August 1492, we read: "Item [on Sonda xviii Marche in the Abay of Holyrud hous] to Wille Spycehouss at he lent the King to offer at Sanct Antonis j vnicorn."

In 1496:—"Item, at he laid down for the King on Saint Anthonis day in S. Anthonis Chapel besid Edinburgh to the King's offerand ix s." And in 1498, this, at first sight, equally significant entry:—"Item to the Kings offerand in Sanct Anthonis of the Crag xj s. viij d."

Now, it is to be observed, that though the inference from these various entries is that the name "Chapel of Saint Anthony of the Crag" was in common use at that period, there is no precise locality specified from which the identification of any particular chapel can be made. So specific a phrase, however, as "Saint Anthony of the Crag" seems to indicate the existence of some separate chapel in close proximity to either Salisbury Crags or some other rocky site on Arthur's Seat.

During my inquiry, among many books, the text of Billings' Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland was consulted, and one sentence there, in the third volume, annexed to plate xvi., seemed suggestive. The author, in concluding his account of the Chapel, refers to an important litigation (without giving a date, however) that once took place over the question: Whether the King's Park was in the Parish of Holyrood or not? and a footnote directs the reader to "Pleadings in the case of Ross v. Hamilton, by J. Riddell." This, owing to an error in the second name, is very misleading. The proper title of the case is "Ross v. Haddington"; and the litigation, which arose through Lord Haddington's refusal to pay certain poor's rates in the parish of Canongate, can be consulted in the Advocates' Library, in the eightysecond volume of the General Session Records for June 1824, the year after that in which the case was tried. Various interesting historical and parochial details, outside the present inquiry, are furnished by the Information for the Pursuer, Ross, who won his case on the first hearing, so far as its main point was concerned, which was, "that the parish of Canongate and the parish of Holyrood are one and the same." His Lordship, therefore, had to pay the rates. Later, fresh litigation began. Counsel for Lord Haddington, having had more time to go into the

matter, proved, among other points, that the King's Park (within which the property supposed to be liable for taxes was situated) was never included in the parish of the Canongate, -admitting, however, that "for a short period the parish of the Canongait, from an accidental circumstance, went by the name of the Parish of Holyroodhouse. pursuer, Ross, has been at great pains to allege that the original name of the parish was Holyroodhouse, that the parish was not a burgh parish. but included the Abbey and the property of the Abbey; and then, his object is to show that the King's Park, including Arthur's Seat and Salsbury Craggs, was part of the property of the Monastery of Holyrood; and from thence he has inferred, as a matter of presumption, that the King's Park must have been within the same parish as the Abbey." From an impartial study of the clauses of King David's original charter to the monastery, and a perusal of the contents of this mass of evidence, it seems to me indisputable that Lord Haddington's main contention, that his right to the property of the King's Park (as hereditary ranger thereof) did not involve him as a ratepayer in Canongate, was quite coherent and clearly proved. This result, at the same time, excludes the building now called Saint Anthony's Chapel from the precincts of Holyrood; and, so far as direct evidence from the voluminous pages of this litigation is concerned, we are as completely in the dark as ever.

In the information compiled for the pursuer, Ross, however, there is a quotation from Forbes to the effect that there are many chapelries in Scotland—otherwise called Free Chapels—as "the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, our Lady of Loretto's, near to Musselburgh, Saint Catherine's Chapel, beside Edinburgh." These were all suppressed at the Reformation, and their revenues applied in educating bursars at the different universities. It is possible, therefore, that had this list of chapelries been extended, our Saint Anthony's Chapel would have been named.

As to the intention and use of the buildings, as recorded by various authors, let the following quotations speak for themselves.

Maitland says: "the area of the chapel is in length 32 feet and breadth of 12 and height of 14 feet; it has two arched doorways and two windows on each side, of the same form, with a handsome Gothic roof of three compartments: In the Southern wall near the altar is a small arched Niche, wherein was put

the holy water, and another opposite, of larger dimensions, which was strongly fortified, for keeping the Pix with the consecrated Bread. Beside, by the door and Arch on the inside, I imagine there must have been an Entry from the West, and the room over the said Arch I take to have been the Vestiary, ascended to by a ladder and a few steps above the said Arch; and, without, in the wall at the Eastern end, was a handsome stonern seat." ¹

Chalmers says: "In the King's Park, on the declivity of Arthur's Seat, was a beautiful Chapel of Gothic architecture, consecrated to Saint Anthony; and there was a Hermitage adjoining to it, wherein a succession of anchorets, who here rested their weary age, lived remote from all the pleasures of a guilty world." ²

In Billings' monumental work the following less poetic paragraph occurs: "By one tradition it is said to have been merely established for the guardianship of the sacred fountain in its vicinity. By another it is said to have been a post for watching vessels, from the imposts on which the Abbey of Holyrood derived part of its revenue, and to have thus formed a sort of ecclesiastical Custom-house station." ³

In Grose's Antiquities of Scotland 4 is this remarkable passage: "This situation was undoubtedly chosen with an intention of attracting the notice of seamen coming up the Firth, who in cases of danger might be induced to make vows to its tutelar saint. Such hermitages were very common on the sea-coasts, or near dangerous passes on rivers. There is one at Cherberg in Normandy, called the Vigne Blanc; several on the banks of the Rhine in Germany, near the different falls; one such formerly existed at Reculver in Kent, and another on the coast of Dorsetshire. And," adds Grose, "the general patron or tutelar saint of these hermitages was St Anthony the Hermit".... "not," he is careful to point out, "the saint known as St Anthony of Padua."

Sir Walter Scott has penned,6 amongst other brief descriptions, this:- "The

- ¹ History of Edinburgh, p. 152.
- ² Caledonia, ii. 770.
- 3 Bar. and Eccles. Antiquities of Scot., vol. iii.
- 4 Antiq. of Scot., i. p. 40.
- ⁵ This, however, is a pure assumption of Grose. Turn to Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, and all the facts obtainable concerning Saint Anthony the Eremite are these:—There are at least fifteen more or less famous pictorial representations of the Saint, in all of which, either the staff, shaped like a T, the bell, the pig, or some combination of the three symbols, is conspicuous: he does not appear in sacred heraldry; still less is he the patron of any art or trade (all the saints to whom this honour was devoted being clearly tabulated); and lastly, he is patron saint of only one spot, Pesaro, a small town on the shores of the Adriatic, about midway between Ravenna and Ancona.
 - ⁶ Prov. Antiq., accompanying view of Edinburgh from St Anthony's Chapel.

history of the Hermitage has not been handed down to us. The Chapel has been a plain but handsome Gothic building. A high rock rises behind the cell, from the foot of which gushes a pure and plentiful fountain, dedicated of course to St Anthony, the *genius loci.*" And he quotes the stanza from the well known Ballad:—

"Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be pressed by me;
Saint Anton's Well shall be my drink,
Since my true love's forsaken me."

Wilson writes of "certain wells of the saintly Eremite in the North of Ireland; for there his waters are gifted with the special power of erasing such bitter memories as those which the Marchioness of Douglas bewails in the old ballad." (Reminiscences, vol. ii. p. 58.)

Lastly, we have this reference to the Chapel and Hermitage by Sir Daniel Wilson:—"The ancient Hermitage and Chapel of St Anthony, the ruins of which occupy a site of such singular beauty underneath the overhanging crags of Arthur's Seat, are believed to have formed a dependency of the Preceptory at Leith, and to have been placed there to catch the seaman's eye as he entered the Forth, or departed on some long and perilous voyage, when his vows and offerings would be most freely made to the patron saint, and to the hermit who ministered at his altar." And again: "The tower is represented in the view of 1544 as finished with a plain gabled roof; and the building otherwise corresponds to this description."

In his Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh (vol. ii. 44) Wilson has an interesting discussion of the symbolic swine accompanying Saint Anthony in pictures, and notices the use of a peculiar name, which shows how deep a root the tradition of this saint had struck in the minds of our forefathers:—"a piece of ground on the south slope of Arthur's Seat, known in last century by the odd name of 'Hermits and Termits,' perpetuated, according to Lord Hailes, a manifest corruption of 'Eremitæ Sanctæ Eremi,' or, the Monks of St Anthony of Egypt."

But, indeed, regarding the ruins of the edifice itself, there is hardly less conjecture than about the origin of its name and its history. As already noticed, Maitland, who wrote circa 1750, gives a fairly full description of it. His dimensions of the Hermitage—quoted, I may remark, by every other writer without alteration—are 16 feet 8 inches by 12 feet 8 inches; and he alludes to the remains of two doors at the S.W. and N.E. corners. The Chapel was 43 feet 6 inches long by 18 feet wide; and at its west end was a tower 19 feet square, and perhaps

¹ Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time, vol. ii. p. 268.

upwards of 40 feet in height. He also speaks of having seen a wall from the western precipice, along the south side (of the Chapel, I presume) and the east end, to the northern precipice of the said hill. (See ABC for these points in my plan, fig. 4.) He does not, however, note any standing wall along the scarp-edge, between the west end of the Chapel and the outermost stones of the Hermitage, where there are even yet evident remains of such a structure; nor does he describe what are still the almost megalithic remains of the long wall (DE) extending for 120 feet on the south, at nearly right angles to the main wall of the Chapel.

With regard to the numerous and varied views and pictorial representations of the Chapel, I have made a selection out of about twenty more or less interesting ones, and here reproduce those that seemed most

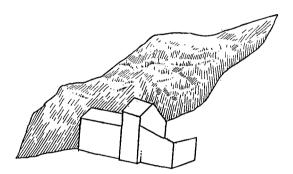


Fig. 1. St Anthony's Chapel (1544).

useful from the antiquarian point of view. Even with these to assist us in ascertaining the structural features of the buildings, many difficulties have to be met; but some of these may disappear if we bear in mind Wilson's remarks that "the wanton destruction of this ruin proceeded within our own recollection; but its further decay has at length been retarded by some slight repairs, which were, unfortunately, delayed till a mere fragment of the ancient Hermitage remained."

The oldest representation of the Chapel is to be found in a volume of Original Maps and Plans among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Mr David Laing has reproduced this quaint sketch of Edinburgh, in facsimile, in the first volume of *The Bannatyne Miscellany*. It accompanies a Latin description by Alexander Alesse (a native of Edinburgh, born in 1500), written for Munster's *Cosmography*, a folio volume published at Basle in 1550. Laing annotates this description, and assigns to the sketch the date of 1544. It contains scarcely any place-names; but shows, perched under its crag, a building of three parts,—a long gable-roofed east wing, a central narrow portion higher than the first, also gable-roofed, and two sides of a squarish and apparently uncompleted or mutilated wall. Slezer's view of the Chapel (1718) shows it roofless.

A lapse of 235 years brings us to the Chapel in a state of ruin, as shown in the drawing,² fig. 2,—a view taken in 1779 by T. Hearne, and specially valuable because of the details of some parts of the interior. It is also noteworthy from the extreme west wall being so narrow, proving that much of what we now see has been a recent addition or attempted restoration.

In a collection of maps and plans preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh is one entitled "The North Prospect of the City of Edinburgh." It bears no date; and the name of the person, who in the dedication to Queen Anne is called her "most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant," is not given. In it the crags and valleys of Arthur's Seat are fairly depicted, and a faulty representation of the Chapel—its upper line of wall being level from east to west.

The drawing next in point of time, engraved by J. Newton, and published in December 1788 by S. Hooper in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, shows the ruins from the south, the favourite standpoint; and it proves that at that date a considerable portion of the main south wall

¹ In the University Library is the facsimile of a Bird's-Eye View of Edinburgh, copied from a work entitled *Theatre des Cites du Monde*, published 1575.

² It is plate xx. vol. i. in *The Antiquities of Great Britain*, a work published by Hearne and Byrne in 1807. In the text, which is written in French and in English, the author says:—"From this elevated situation you command a very extensive and finely varied prospect, that is at once highly pleasing and terrific," &c.—["elle plate et affraie à la fois"]. The connection between the Monastery in Leith and this Chapel of St Anthony is stated as if it were a fact.

and the east wall remained in situ. This drawing is of further interest because it shows that within the Chapel itself, at its N.W. corner, a small roofed building, with a very low entrance, had been made within ten years—a structure anything but ecclesiastical in appearance. This Newton engraving is specially to be noticed, however, not for what it shows, but for what it fails to show,—we look in vain in it for any vestige of the western bounding-wall seen in part and described by

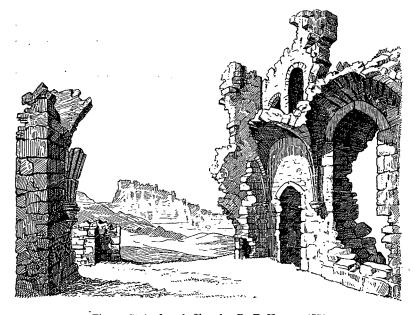


Fig. 2. St Anthony's Chapel. By T. Hearne, 1779.

Maitland, a portion of it being shown, as already noted, in the 1540 sketch. The artist's point of view cannot be held responsible for this; because, in another view, taken from the north side by T. B. Shepherd in 1829 (published in Jones' *Modern Athens*), part of this walling is distinctly shown. A portion at least of this mass of masonry must have been visible from every other point of view except that shown in Storer's Graphic and Historical Description of the History of the City of Edin-

burgh; and the only conclusion we can come to is, that in the Newton drawing that archæologically reprehensible practice of using an "artist's licence" led to the entire omission of this feature. If my conclusion on this point be correct, then the drawing by J. Ewbank from Lizars' Pictorial Views of Edinburgh (1825), fig. 3, which shows the west end of the Chapel completely, and a part of the Hermitage, must come under the same category.

Two other drawings should be noticed. One is a small engraving, signed "Æ. M'Pherson, Delt. and Sculpt.," of about the same size as the views in *Grose*; and it is valuable for showing a large portion of the S.E. wall standing, with its tall window exactly opposite the remains of the window on the N.E. This engraving is in the Watson Collection



Fig. 3. St Anthony's Chapel from S.W. By J. Ewbank, 1825.

in the National Portrait Gallery, from which, through the courtesy of Mr Caw, I made a tracing of it, as well as of the other view, a drawing in aqua-tint, which is remarkable chiefly for its omission of important features. At present neither the date of these drawings nor that of their producers is obtainable.

A third representation deserves notice. It is a small copperplate etching, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$; and shows the ruin full in front from the south, the three wide arches of the north wall and part of the fourth at the N.E. angle being clearly shown, with portions of the south wall also. I am unable to state from what collection of etchings this one is taken.

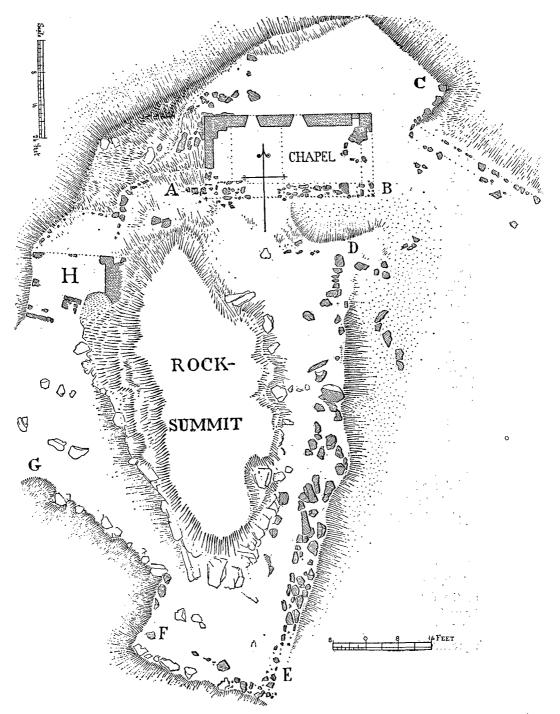


Fig. 4. General Plan of St Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage.

The Chapel is also figured in Cardonnel's Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland, in which it forms pl. xxii. of the second volume.

The remains at present visible and measurable are those shown in my plan (fig. 4), in which I have shown structure in shaded drawing, leaving outlines for the rocks.

The space included between the natural scarp on the north and the footing of the wall E F measures 168 feet N. and S. by 130 feet E. and W., the last portion of this eastern walling being traceable to within 16 feet of the Crags. Like much of the other wall-remains, this short piece has been built 3 feet wide, and it can be clearly followed to the right angle at C, where very large stones have been placed on the very From D to E, a length of nearly 120 feet of huge edge of the scarp. stone walling is to be seen, some of the masses of rock, squarish or pentagonal by nature, having fallen down into the hollow between what is now the path to the Chapel and the rising ground at the Crags. A broad natural and grassy terrace leads round from F by the edge (G) of the precipice to the Cellsor Hermitage (H) (of which an enlarged plan is given in fig. 5), an enclosed area 18 feet by 16, the only portion of which now extant that is much above ground being the wall on the east, built into the rock. This wall-face is divided into two squarish spaces, the upper 2 feet 6 inches wide and 12 inches high, the lower 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. The squared stones shown in the plan of the Hermitage are but an inch or two above ground, with the exception of the group on the S.E., which are nearly 2 feet high. Between H and A are irregular traces of a wall: its actual line would be extremely difficult to decipher. Of the Chapel itself, of which an enlarged plan is given in fig. 6, scarcely one-half even of its basement remains: the whole of the south side, a third of the west wall, and fully threequarters of the east end have been destroyed; a large portion, indeed, of the west wall itself, the most conspicuous fragment of picturesque ruin in the view, is really quite a modern supplement, added, no doubt, at the date alluded to by Wilson, with the intention of rescuing the tower from total demolition.

What remains, however, on the site, and what can be gleaned from representations of former structure, afford sufficient material to raise

doubts concerning the origin, the purpose, and the date of this curious edifice.

That scepticism as to its ecclesiastical character has more than once swayed the minds of observers and antiquaries is shown by negative evidence. We do not expect Continental architects, such as Wilars de Honecort, to depict specimens of Scottish masonry; though it is not to be overlooked that we owe to Munster the earliest of all the views here

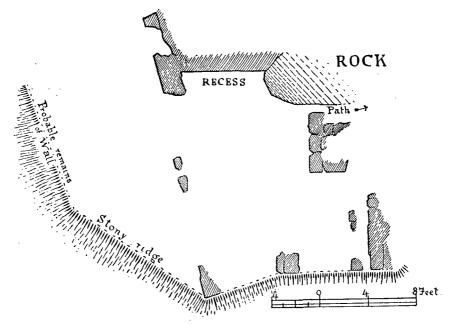


Fig. 5.

brought under notice. But it is matter for surprise that none of our historians—not Pinkerton, nor Hill Burton, nor Buchanan, Cosmo Innes, or Tytler—even print the name of Saint Anthony's Chapel in the index to their respective works; that Walcot passes over it in silence; and Gordon, when giving lists (*Monasticon*, i. 165 and ii. 202) of the chapelries, &c. 'dependent upon the Abbey of Holyrood, never mentions Saint Anthony's name.

We scan the pages of Muir's Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, and discover that, though he names over forty small churches and chapels of the Norman period, his index does not contain the name of Saint Anthony's Chapel, even though, in the introduction to his Ancient Churches of Scotland (p. xxvi), he does record among the wells "S. Anthony's, Holyrood."

Again, as before stated, in the excerpts from the Lord High Treasurer's

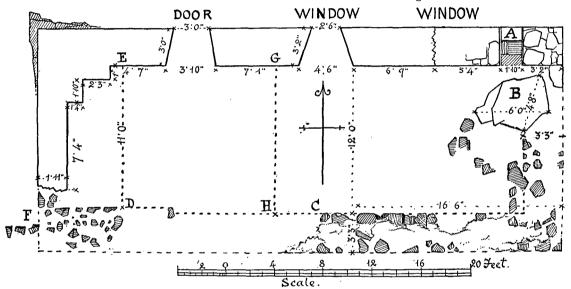


Fig. 6. Enlarged Plan of St Anthony's Chapel.

Accounts, though the name is familiar, no locality is specified for the Chapel of Saint Anthony of the Crag; and lastly, we must bear in mind the fact that Fordun styles the Abbey itself "The Monastery of the Crag of the Holyrood"; and Johannes Hagustaldensis, the continuator of Simeon of Durham, calls it simply the "Monastery of the Crag." 1

The conclusions to which we are forced from such considerations are that, first, there being no documentary evidence to uphold the connec-

¹ Monasticon, i. 144.

tion of this twin-building with the Preceptory in Leith, that theory must be the offspring of either tradition or fancy.

Secondly, that the epithet "of the Crag" being applied to the Abbey of Holyrood itself is in favour either of this building being really connected with the Abbey, on the assumption that its strictly parochial boundaries extended so much to the east; or, possibly, of there having been a Chapel of Saint Anthony attached to the actual precincts of the Abbey, as the term was understood, say, during the latter end of the fifteenth century.

Description of the Remains at present standing.

The dimensions of the building called the Chapel are, outside, 43 feet by 18 feet 3 inches. The north wall, 3 feet 2 inches thick, has been pierced by a window near the middle, and a door and a window,

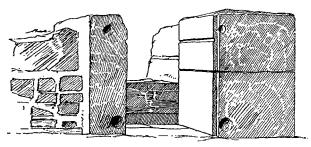


Fig. 7. Ambry in St Anthony's Chapel.

nearly equidistant, on the sides; this second window having only its west side in situ. Between it and the N.E. angle is a small niche or aumry, I foot 10 inches wide, and the full depth of the wall. On its outer side the walling remains I foot high (A in plan); in front of it are three slabs, forming the original base of the niche (fig. 7). The inside of these uprights is grooved, 5 inches from their tops, with an inch-wide groove, as if for sliding a shelf or panel upon. Immediately in front of this corner is a large mass of fallen masonry (B), important

¹ There is a part of the Cathedral of Saint Giles called Saint Anthony's Aisle. See Wilson's *Memorials*, ii. 169.

because it contains, embedded in its under side, part of the corbel from which sprang the angle-arch of the chancel. Though not much above the level of the ground, many of the stones of the east end remain in situ, and from this corner to a point 19 feet westwards the south wall stands nearly 3 feet high. From that point (C) only vague traces of it are visible, till within 4 feet 6 inches of the west wall, where, at D, is a well-set stone, at right angles with what must have been a parti-

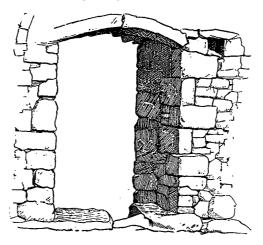


Fig. 8. Doorway in St Anthony's Chapel.

tion wall projected from the north wall at E, where, a few feet up this wall, a fragment of it remains.

Between this wall D E and the west wall at F probably the wheel stair was carried. Thus a space of 32 feet 9 inches by 12 feet is left for the dimensions of the interior of the Chapel proper.

The tower described by Maitland would have sprung on arches based upon line G H: that this was the base is proved by the remains of the upper return-wall of the tower.

That the little chancel, 23 feet 6 inches long and 12 feet wide, was lighted by a wide window on the east wall and by two others not so wide, opposite each other, about half-way up the north and south

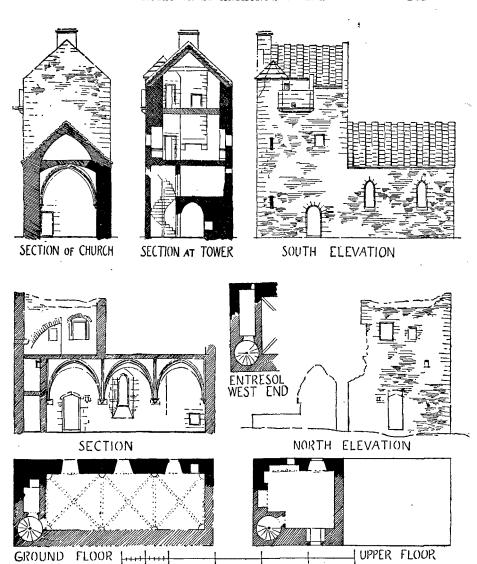


Fig. 9. Plans and Elevations (restored) of St Anthony's Chapel. (By Thomas Ross, Architect, F.S.A. Scot.)

walls, can be determined by a comparison of the various drawings here reproduced.

At the extreme west end of the south wall (F) three stones lie, suggesting that here very likely was a buttress to the tower. There may also have been a doorway eastwards of D on the south wall, where there is a large stone suggestive of it; but it is perhaps equally probable that there was a narrow arched doorway at F, as some details in the Hearne drawing and others seem to point to this.

In fig. 8 I have shown the details of the masonry of the doorway; and Mr Thomas Ross, F.S.A., has in fig. 9 given plans and elevations of the Chapel as it probably was in its original condition, which speak for themselves. In making this restoration on paper, his accurate knowledge has been guided partly by the substantial remains of the Church of the Carmelite Friars at South Queensferry, the plans, sections, and elevations of which, drawn by Mr Ross, may be seen in the second volume of the new series of the Edinburgh Architectural Association's Sketchbook.

ST ANTHONY AND THE PRECEPTORIES OF THE ORDER.

Before concluding this notice, it may not be out of place to epitomise the main facts regarding the life and labours of Saint Anthony the Eremite, and the symbolism connected with his representations.

Butler, who draws upon the work of St Athanasius for the bulk of his information, styles the saint, Antony the Abbot; naming Coma, a village in Upper Eygpt, as his birthplace, and the date of his birth A.D. 251. In his 21st year he disposed of all his worldly possessions, and devoted himself to prayer and pious exercises; was subject to frequent assaults from Satan, whom he at last vanquished, in the manner familiar to us through the numerous "Temptations of St Anthony" forming the subject of pictures by mediæval painters. In his 35th year he crossed the eastern branch of the Nile, and took up his abode in the ruins of an old castle on the top of the mountains. In A.D. 305 he founded his first monastery at Phaium; and some seven years later he built a second, called Pispir, near the Nile. "He died in the year A.D. 356, probably on the 17th January, on which day the most ancient

martyrologies name him, and which the Greek Church kept as a holy day soon after his death . . ." "About the year 561 his body was discovered, in the reign of Justinian, and with great solemnity translated to Alexandria, thence it was removed to Constantinople, and is now at Vienne in France." Saint Anthony and his disciples, like the Pythagoreans, abstained from the use of flesh-meats.

Up to this point there is no ground for associating any animal with the Saint. As the exponent of a severe asceticism, a healer of diseases, a founder of monasteries, and a hermit-like man, of ardent contemplation, and a lover of solitude, we can picture him clearly enough from Butler's pages. Whence sprang the legend of St Anthony's Fire? of his companion Pig? of the Tau-handled Staff? and the Bell? with all of which he is in art closely associated.

To such questions there is no definite reply. After his death, "the fame of Anthony," says Dr Smith in the *Dict. of Christian Biography*, "spread rapidly through Christendom. . . . In the next century he began to be venerated as a saint by the Greek Church, and in the ninth by the Latin."

But long prior to the earlier of these dates there is said to have been instituted an Order of Knights of St Anthony in Æthyopia. It is alleged to have been founded in A.D. 370, only fourteen years after the death of the Eremite, by John, Emperor of Æthyopia; and in Bonanni's Ordinum Equestrium et Militarium Catalogus there are four plates, with descriptive context, which I shall briefly note. The text to pl. iv. is entitled "Eques S. Antonii in Æthyopia." The engraving shows a figure in a woollen tunic, reaching below the knees, decorated with a cross trefoiled at top and end of each arm, with a maniple and fourcornered hood; girdled, and in the girdle a sheathed knife; the left hand holds a staff (or sword?) handled with an eagle's head. In pl. v. is shown a member of the Holy Order, wearing a long tunic to the ground, and a full hood. On the left breast, the black texture of the tunic is relieved by a pure white cross, shaped like the Greek T. Pl. vi. is named "Magnus Abbas seu Magister Equitum S. Antonii in Æthyopia." The dress is a black woollen tunic under a wide cuculla 'circa collum crispatum'; over the left breast, a blue cross of the same

form as in pl. iv.; the "crux cærulea" is said to distinguish this from all other orders. The title of pl. vii. is "Eques S. Antonii in Hannonia," and the description runs:—"Eorum insigne cingulum erat quo Eremitæ utuntur a quo baculus et campanula aurea dependebat." The figure shows a man in breast-mail, resting left hand on lance; an eagle-headed sword hanging by his side; he wears a narrow loose collar, with a little stick, like a hammer long-handled, and a bell.

Pictorial representations of Saint Anthony are very numerous. In Mrs Jamieson's Sacred and Legendary Art there are many descriptions of them; and from a study of these, it is possible to trace the growth of many of the emblems which in later times came to be held as distinctive of this Saint. Perhaps the oldest representation—a Greek panel picture of the twelfth century—shows the Saint "in the habit of a Greek monk, wearing a sort of coif on his head; with the right hand he gives the benediction in the Greek form, in the left he bears a scroll."

In another at Naples, dated A.D. 1371, the Saint is shown bald, with a very long white beard, holding in one hand a book, the other raised in the act of benediction.

In a print by Durer we first light upon one of the more special emblems: from a cross, standing beside the Saint's sitting figure, hangs a bell.

But in Italian art, so early as 1270, Cimabue depicts the Saint with the staff like the letter T only. When, precisely, the number of the emblems attached to the Saint increased is open to dispute; however, by the close of the fifteenth century, as a picture in the Leuchtenberg Gallery by Carotto proves, he is shown with the crutch (with a ram's head), the bell and the book hung to it, and a pig by his side. Other pictures show him with flames under his feet, the Devil under his feet, and the Devil in the form of a goat. (Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, p. 14.)

Regarding these distinctive attributes, it seems clear that, as Mrs Jamieson points out, in art influenced by Greek traditions the letter T on the left shoulder, always in blue, is conspicuous; that the crutch or T-headed staff marks his age and feebleness; that the bell has reference

to his power to exorcise evil spirits; and, perhaps also for the same reason, is the asperges, or rod for sprinkling holy-water, put into his hand; and that "the hog was the representative of the demon of sensuality and gluttony, which Anthony is supposed to have vanquished by the exercises of piety and by Divine aid. The ancient custom of placing in all his effigies a black pig at his feet, or under his feet, gave rise to the superstition that this unclean animal was especially dedicated to him, and under his protection. The monks of the Order of Saint Anthony kept herds of consecrated pigs, which were allowed to feed at the public charge, and which it was a profanation to steal or kill: hence the proverb about the fatness of a 'Tantony pig.'"

"The monks of the Order," says Gordon in the Monasticon, "were in the custom of rearing pigs"; but the origin he assigns for the representation of a bell suspended from the neck of the pig is at least interesting: Prince Philip having been killed, A.D. 1131, in consequence of a collision with a hog in one of the faubourgs of Paris, "an Order was issued forbidding pigs in future to be kept in the streets; but the monks of Saint Anthony remonstrating against it, were allowed the exclusive privilege for theirs, on condition of their hanging a bell round the neck of each." The pigs added considerably to the revenues of the Order; "for," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "there is not a town or castle in France where they are not fed."

The seal of the Order of Knights of S. Anthony (the original matrix of which is now in the Museum) shows the figure "placed within a kind of niche, ornamented with foliage at the sides and bottom, and at the top the tau-cross. The design," says Mr Laing, whose description I quote, "is altogether in the equivocal style which prevailed about the latter part of the sixteenth century, at which period the seal was most likely executed. The inscription is—s' COMUNE PRECEPTORIE ANTHONII PROP. LEICHT.

Another seal, appended to a charter by Sir Richard Thomson, Preceptor of the House of St Anthony, and of date A.D. 1519, is shown with the first-named on p. 280 of the second volume of Gordon's Monasticon.

The Order had but this one monastery in Scotland. In England

there were several Hospitals dedicated to S. Anthony. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* there are named the following: At Lenton, Nottinghamshire, seven bovates of land in Bradmere were given to this Hospital for the sustentation of such as should be troubled with St Anthony's Fire—a disease described as "a kind of dangerous leprosy," which raged all over Europe in 1089.

At Tywardreth, Cornwall, between Fowey and Lostwithiel: here was a Cell dedicated to Saint Anthony; and being mentioned in Gervase of Canterbury's Catalogue, this must have existed as early as the time of Richard I. [1189]. Near St Mawes, Cornwall, there was also a Cell: "a lease of the premises and demesnes of this cell was granted by Henry VIII., in the thirty-first year of his reign, at the rate of £27 per annum, to Henry Thomas, of London, yeoman, for 21 years."

London had a Hospital of S. Anthony, which was on the north side of Threadneedle Street, in the parish of S. Benet Fink. It was originally a Jewish synagogue, but in 1231 was given by Henry III. to the Brethren of St Anthony of Vienne in France. It existed up to 1560, but was soon after ruined.

[In Grant's Old and New Edinburgh (vol. ii. p. 319) it is stated that, with regard to St Anthony's Well, "the spring originally flowed from under the little stone arch, but about the year 1674 it dried up, and after a time broke out lower down, where we now find it,"—that is, flowing from beneath a boulder on the pathway up to Arthur's Seat.

While going to press, a MS. belonging to the Society was placed in my hands by Dr Anderson. It is a letter from the Author of Caledonia, to John Richardson, Esq., upon matters relative to the Kings Park. In it Chalmers refers to the antiquity of the church of Duddingston, which, with the lands and manor of East and West Duddingston, were acquired as early as the reign of William the Lion, by the Monks and Abbot of Kelso, who feued out the lands to several persons for payment of feu-duty:—"When King James was forming his new park beside Holyrood House, he took into it part of the lands and parish of Dodingston; and on the 24th January 1541, he paid, by his treasurer, £400 money of that age, to Sir David Murray of

Balvaird, Knight, in recompense of his lands at Dudingstoun tane into the new park beside Holyrood house."

But, although this implies that Arthur's Seat was thus taken into the King's Park in 1541, "the superiority and jurisdiction of Arthur's Seat and also of the parish remained in the Abbot and Monks of Kelso."

It is disappointing to have to add that the dates at which Murray of Balvaird possessed and afterwards sold these lands are not traceable in the *Registrum Magni Sigilli*.]