II.

THE CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE KIRKYARD MONUMENTS OF THE SCOTTISH LOWLANDS; PARTICULARLY IN PERTH, FIFE, ANGUS, MEARNES, AND LOTHIAN. BY D. CHRISTISON, M.D., SECRETARY.

The Churchyard Monuments of the Lowlands, in contrast with those of the Western Highlands of Scotland, have attracted but little attention. The beauty and antiquity of the latter caused them to be illustrated with a fulness, accuracy, and artistic skill that could not be surpassed, but there was little to attract the pencil of a Drummond in the comparatively homely designs on the low-country tombstones, while their more recent date seemed almost to remove them from the field of antiquity, and thus it has happened that, were it not for a few incidental drawings here and there, and for the occasional illustrations bearing on

\(^1\) Sculptured Monuments in Iona and the Western Highlands. James Drummond, R.S.A.
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS. 281

the subject in Mr Rae Macdonald's recent heraldic papers, we should be absolutely ignorant of the character of the post-Reformation monuments in the country kirkyards, with the notable exception of those in Crail. The inscriptions have fared better, as besides several local accounts of the epitaphs in particular parishes, those in the counties of Aberdeen, Angus and Mearns have been exhaustively dealt with by the indefatigable Andrew Jervise. But in none of these has the style of the lettering been shown by illustrations, a deficiency which this paper in some measure supplies.

My own investigations were made during the last six years in about fifty kirkyards, chiefly in Fife, Perth, Angus, Mearns, and Lothian. My chief object being to show the nature of the carvings on the monuments, this paper is necessarily to a great extent pictorial, and to keep it within limits, I have been able to say very little about the history of the kirkyards or of the persons commemorated.

Although almost all the monuments in the kirkyards are of the post-Reformation period, I have thought it advisable, in order to make my review complete, to say something of the very few of earlier date that are still to be found in them, and the plan I follow is, first, to devote a short chapter to these, including the monuments dating from the earliest times down to the end of the sixteenth century, and then to describe those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taking in only a very few from the early part of the nineteenth century. In dealing with this latter mass of material, I treat first pretty exhaustively of the monuments in six kirkyards, selected as good examples from different districts, taking up subsequently, in a systematic manner, the material from the kirkyards in general, and concluding with some general remarks.

The illustrations are partly from photographs or drawings supplied by various kind friends, but the great majority are pen-and-ink sketches of

3 Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Burying-grounds and Old Buildings in the North-east of Scotland. Andrew Jervise, 1875-79.
my own, generally reduced from my rubbings. It was not possible to reduce the illustrations directly from the rubbings, as with the large field I was anxious to cover, I had not time to take them with sufficient care, even when the relief was not so high as to make a good rubbing impracticable. But even hasty rubbings I found of much service as a foundation for drawings, in helping them out or correcting them, and in saving measurements. As in an undertaking of so great an extent it was impossible for me to make careful drawings on the spot, a rather conventional shading has been adopted to bring out the carvings, and no attempt could be made to show minor imperfections; the same shading is sometimes used with raised letters, but in general these are distinguished from incised letters by thickening the stroke on one side. As it was impossible to keep to one scale, where the size of the objects varied so much, a scale generally accompanies each figure. The reduction necessary to bring many of the monuments within the limits of the pages of the Proceedings, perhaps makes some of them look more trivial than they really are.

PART 1.

THE EARLY MONUMENTS DOWN TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The churchyards, properly speaking, could only have come into existence with the parochial organization of the country in the middle of the twelfth century, but some of them were established on sites already long held sacred, and thus have come to contain monuments which are in them but not of them. Of this kind are the Early Christian monuments, some of which stand in the kirkyards in this accidental way, almost as fresh as when they were carved a thousand years ago, while the puny tombstones of yesterday are fast decaying around them. Connecting these with the mediæval period is the class of "Hog-backed Monuments," some of which, whether originally placed in the churchyards or not, certainly rest in the most natural fashion in them now. Both these classes have been so well described that I shall pass them by and go on to the mediæval class.
Until the present year I had not met with a single instance of a mediaeval monument in the kirkyards; but last August, in the old kirkyard of Kilmadock, I came unexpectedly upon an evidently early example, which is the subject of my first illustration (fig. 1). Unfortunately, I could make out neither name, title, nor date, on the black-letter inscription. This fine monument was removed a few years ago, along with four other more modern slabs, from various positions in the yard, to a space enclosed by a low stone margin, and whether it may not originally have come from the interior of a former church is a question not now soluble.

As far as my experience goes, we have to skip several centuries and reach the Reformation period, before meeting the next oldest example, which is a slab in St Mary’s kirkyard, Hawick, in honour of John Deinis, *stan in delait*—i.e. defence—*of his NIchbouris geir*, 1547. I have to thank Mr D. M. Watson and Mr Adam Laing for the illustration (fig. 2), from the Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society, vol. i., new series, 1888-90, p. 51, where there is an account of the monument by Mrs Oliver, Thomwood. The monument is specially interesting as one of the earliest in honour of so humble an individual as the *tenent kyndlie* of a mill.

Next in date is a slab in the Greyfriars Ground, Perth (fig. 3), which bears simply the initials I. B. and date 1580, well cut in raised letters sunk in panels.

The only other kirkyard monument of the sixteenth century I have seen is at Foulden, Berwickshire. It is a slab bevelled on the margins and raised on four small pillars to keep it level, as it is on a slope. It commemorates the death, in 1592, at the age of seventy-six, of George Ramsay, *Fulden Bastel* (fig. 4, from a copy made by my father in 1822, when his twin brother, the Rev. Alex. Christison, was minister of the parish). This copy shows the original cuneiform shape of the letters, now greatly lost through re-cutting which took place in 1864 and 1884, as I am informed by the present incumbent, the Rev. John Reid.
Fig. 1. Kilmadock, Perth.

Fig. 2. Hawick, Roxburgh.
The lines within the marginal inscription forcibly express the contrast between early peaceful days in Fife and the troubled life of a Borderer at a time when the comparatively well disciplined hosts of England and its foreign mercenaries repeatedly devastated the south of Scotland with merciless cruelty.
DESIGNS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES IN SIX SELECTED CHURCHYARDS.

Introductory remarks on the classification and terms used.—The churchyard monuments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be divided into three principal classes, according as they are Recumbent, Erect, or Mural.

1. The Recumbent Class, divisible into—

   a. The slab proper, when simply laid upon the ground.

   b. The table stone, when the slab is raised either on pedestals, leaving the space below the slab open, or upon flat slabs closing it in, and thus forming, as it were, an above-ground but empty cist.

   The distinction of these varieties, however, is not always reliable, as the supports of the table stones, having no foundation, are apt to give way and to be removed, so that in such cases a table stone becomes a simple slab.

   2. Roof-shaped stones.—This class probably grew out of the last, as in some of the examples the roof is so flattened that the form differs but little from that of the simple slab, but in others the resemblance to a roof is well marked, the sloping sides bearing the inscription, while the ridge is either sharp, or flattened so as to give space for a series of emblematic carvings. In this sub-division sometimes the roof is
continuous to the gables, which are perpendicular, while in other cases
the ends also have sloping roofs; but these differences are mere varieties
and do not require classification. This kind bears some resemblance to
the hog-backed monuments, and is limited in its range.

II. Erect Monuments or Head Stones.—The majority of this class have
the familiar plain rounded top, but in many of the older examples this is
modified and altered by decorative carving. Square tops also frequently
occur, and in a few instances the form of the stone is completely altered
both on the top and sides, but I do not think this class requires sub-
division.

III. Mural Monuments.—In this class the monuments may be either
on the outside walls of the church, or on the walls of the yard. They
are sometimes simple tablets, but are often of elaborate design, and tend
to a Renaissance character. They are rare in the smaller country church-
yards, Crail constituting a brilliant and almost unique exception, and
chiefly occur in the more important towns, as at the Greyfriars burying-
grounds at Edinburgh and Stirling.

I. KILMADOCK, PERTHSHIRE.

The churchyard of Kilmadock, with its long abandoned and ruinous
kirk, is beautifully situated on the north bank of the Teith, about two
miles above Doune. The parish is not mentioned in the *Origines
Parochiales*, neither is its history given in the *Red Book of Menteith*,
but according to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (1793), the site
was originally occupied by a monastery to which six chapels were
attached, remains of all which still existed in the parish in 1793,
although all traces of them have now disappeared. The church, having
become ruinous in 1744, was taken down, and a new one was built at
Doune in 1746.

By far the most ancient monument now to be seen in the churchyard
is the black-letter slab already noticed (fig. 1). Following at a long
interval, the seventeenth century is represented by at least twelve
monuments, of which nine are of the first half of that century, and
at least four of these are in memory of farmers or mechanics. Lying
beside the black-letter slab are four other slabs commemorating a
family named Dog (the ancient form of Doig). This family was of
considerable importance in Menteith from an early period. James Dog
witnesses a charter of Queen Margaret in 1528, and in the same year
Jacobus Dog, junior, witnesses an agreement. A precept of Queen
Margaret in 1529 is addressed “to our luffit Walter Dog our mayr of fe
within our lordship of Menteith,” and on the same date another “to our
lovittis Walter Dog, (and) Andrew Doin our officiaris in that part.” In
a discharge by Mary Queen of Scots in 1567, “the miln and miln landis
of Cessintually pertening to Paule Dog” are mentioned.

The four slabs resemble each other in being about 6 feet long and
rather narrow; in having an inscription in relief, going first round the
margin and ending within it in the upper half of the stone (a common
arrangement in the seventeenth century); and in having lower down a
shield, and below that a death’s head with the motto, “memento mori.”
Each shield displays two daggers, or a sword and dagger, but one of the
shields has in addition two objects, one nearly defaced, the nature of
which is obscure, and the letter D.

The earliest of the slabs (fig. 5) is dated 1618, and the carving is rude,
the letters being irregular in size and spacing. The inscription is partly
effaced, but is in memory of “Margrate Cunyghame, spous to Paul Dog
of Dunrobin,” a place that must almost certainly have been in Menteith,
although I cannot find it on the map. She is described as L . . YE
BALGENDES, but that name also does not seem to exist now in
Menteith. The small P tacked on to the S of spous is peculiar.

The next slab (fig. 6) is dated 1619, and bears a Latin inscription in
of the inscription is much defaced, but “AET. VERO . SVÆ 28”
remains, and it ends with “DORMIVIT.” His shield is the excep-

1 The Mair of Fee was a hereditary officer under the Crown, whose power seems
to have resembled in some respects that of the present Sheriff-Substitute.
Fig. 5. Kilmadock, Perth.

Fig. 6. Kilmadock, Perth.
Fig. 7. Kilmadock, Perth.

Fig. 8. Kilmadock, Perth.
The inscription is much more regularly cut than in the last, and the only peculiarity is that *Filius* is represented by a very small F, there being no other contracted word.

The third slab (fig. 7), dated 1620, records *JAMES DOG ELDER* OF BALLINGREW MAIR OF FIE and CHALMERLAN OF MENTEITH. We have already seen that nearly a century earlier the office of *Mayor of Fe* and *Officier* of the Crown was held by a Walter Dog, no doubt of the same family.

A considerable portion of the fourth slab (fig. 8), was destroyed by the fall of a tree, but the shield with two daggers indicates that the monument was to a DOG, and the inscription tells that he was a Portionar of Murdostone, and died in 1631, aged 66. The two places above mentioned, Ballingrew and Murdostone, still exist as farms.

The kirkyard contains another monument, dated 1689, which possibly indicates the prominence of the same family in the district three or four centuries still further back. This is a small slab (fig. 9) leaning against

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1 See footnote, ante, p. 288.
the wall in a railed enclosure. At the top, beneath a helmet and mantling, is a shield: on the dexter side are what is no doubt intended for the arms of Drummond, with the initials I. D.; and on the sinister a calvary cross, sword and dagger, with the initials E. D. Now as the same emblems occur on the black-letter slab (fig. 1), it is not an extravagant supposition that the E. D. of 1689 was a DOG, and believed that slab to be an ancestral monument.

Two other slabs in the same style as those of the DOG family lie in the kirkyard. One of them (fig. 10) records in Latin the death, in 1630, of ROBERTVS SETONIVS, AETATIS VERO SVÆ 18, the VERO here, as in the slab (fig. 6), being apparently used as a conjunction. The Seton shield occupies the top of the stone within the marginal inscription, and has below it an interesting assertion of the youth's Life and Death in Christ.

The other (fig. 11), dated 1647, is finely cut in large well-formed letters. It is in honour of THE . RICHT . WORTHIEY . ALEX-ANDER . STEWAR . T OF . AVINET ., the cutter having committed the strange errors of putting a stop between the R and T of Stewart, instead of after the T, and of putting an F instead of an E in AGE. A sunk panel contains what is no doubt intended for a lion rampant, as beseems the tomb of a Stewart.

Another slab (fig. 12), of later date, 1688, is in quite a different style. It has a raised border, on which is incised, in beautifully cut thin capitals, the familiar text from Job xix: “Though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.” This inscription occupies about two-thirds of the raised border, and the last word, “God,” is upon a narrower raised band, which crosses the stone to the other side, in such a manner as, in conjunction with a similar band lower down, and with the middle part of the marginal border, to bound an octagonal space within which is a raised panel with nothing on it but the initials J. F. M. J. The very lowest part of the stone was destroyed by the fall of a tree, so that a second inscription is fragmentary. The beginning, WE LIVE TO LIFE WE . . . , and the end
Fig. 10. Kilmadock, Perth.

Fig. 11. Kilmadock, Perth.
(ETERN)ALIE, are all that remain. What is apparently meant for a very long shaped human head, not a skull, balances at the foot the skull at the top. No name is recorded. Perhaps humility dictated the commemoration by initials only.

We now pass on to another class of monuments, not generally pertaining to persons of family or distinction, but to the commonalty. For, although the two occur side by side in the first half of the seventeenth century, the former seem to die out in the latter half of that century, while the latter run on through the eighteenth century. The earliest is

![Fig. 13. Kilmadock, Perth.](image)

a six-feet slab containing the date 1614 and initials, raised in sunk panels, and excellently carved, at the upper end of the stone (fig. 13a), but nothing more. A slab to HARIE DOW, 1618, also very well cut in relief, has been much broken in the middle, but is very perfect at the ends. At the top there is a neat shield with a star in it (fig. 13b). The inscription is in parallel lines separated by strings, and the lower part (fig. 13c), has a hyphen connecting the syllables of the last word in the two last lines. I have met with no other instance of the use of a hyphen in these old inscriptions.

Of slabs to agriculturists the earliest (fig. 14a), bears the rudely
incised date, 1627, of which the 1 is erased. Below are incised the
initials of the deceased, and the yoke, culter, and share of a plough.
Another slab with initials, and dated 1733, has an incised ploughshare

and culter (fig. 14b), fitted together so as to resemble, as it happens, the
figure 4. A complete plough (fig. 14c), occurs at the top of a slab dated
1787, enclosed in a square border along with a spade and what looks
like a rammer, all in relief. A very small plough is carved in high

Fig. 14. (b, c, d, on same scale as a) Kilmadock, Perth.
relief (fig. 146), on a headstone of 1762, and being at the bottom, and consequently having been covered with earth, is in perfect preservation.

The spade occurs, not unfrequently, as the chief or only implement on tombstones at Kilmadock and some neighbouring kirkyards, perhaps indicating the prevalence of spade husbandry formerly in the district. Nowhere else have I seen the spade as an agricultural rather than a horticultural implement; although it is frequently used, small in size, as an emblem of mortality. Two of the three examples given from
Kilmadock are incised. One of them (fig. 15) is remarkable for its perfect simplicity; it bears nothing whatever but the figure of a spade 4 feet long. In another (fig. 16) the spade is 2 feet 3 inches long.

Fig. 16. a, Kilmadock; b, Thornhill, Perth.
long, and has initials above it. As neither of these are dated, I give an example (fig. 166), from the neighbouring parish of Thornhill, with a spade 3 feet long, and an inscription which is a model of brevity—

1677, HER LYS P.G.

Fig. 17. Kilmadock, Perth.

The third example at Kilmadock (fig. 17), bears, all in high relief, a winged cherub head, the date 1732, a blank shield, a very short-handled spade, 18 inches long, and on either side of it a small coffin (?) The incised inscription is much concealed by lichen, but the surname
Balfour is visible immediately below the spade. The name occurs in the district as early as 1523, when William Balfour of Boquhaple grants a precept, and again in 1528, when Bartholomew Balfour along with Walter Dog testifies a deed. In 1566 James Balfour of M'Canestoun, with others, complains that their lands in Menteith have been totally destroyed by the Clan Gregor, and in 1598 George Balfour was appointed Curator of the Earl of Menteith, then a minor.\footnote{Red Book of Menteith.}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig18.png}
\caption{Kilmadock, Perth.}
\end{figure}

In a more humble
position than these, Dugald Balfour is mentioned in the O.S.A. Scot. as a skilful farmer, who introduced great agricultural improvements in 1784.

Fig. 19. Kilmadock, Perth.  
Fig. 20. Kilmadock, Perth.

Of tombs to mechanics the oldest I have noticed, dated 1673, is that
of a shoemaker (fig. 18a), as testified by his very rudely incised tools. He seems to have taken possession of a stone of an earlier owner, as the remains of a crown flanked by the letter I and the first two figures of the date are well carved in relief, whereas the last two are poorly incised, the 3 is turned the wrong way, the initials are shabby, and an S is also turned the wrong way. Another (fig. 18b), has also the implements rudely incised and has no date or inscription, but merely the initials H. I.

Of a later date, 1778, is the shoemaker's knife under a crown (fig. 18c), along with a small hammer, and what looks like a weaver’s shuttle.

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 21. Kilmadock, Perth.

On the beautifully preserved slab to a smith (fig. 19), with initials 7 inches to 1 foot in length, but no date, the implements of his trade;—hammer, anvil, shovel, square, horseshoe, nail and pincers, nail extractor, and axe;—are admirably carved in relief, surmounted by a rude crown, such as a smith might readily plan and execute.

A slab to a mason (fig. 20), dated 1755, and with incised initials, contains a mallet, two chisels, a square, and a hammer in relief, and a measuring board incised.

There are several "merchant's," i.e., shopkeeper's, tombs with the symbol resembling the figure 4, of which I give one example (fig. 21a), erected 1726, to Agnes Finlayson, spouse to a merchant in Burn of
Cambus, and another (fig. 216), to Peter Taylor, 1735, in which the symbol has on one side a sugar loaf, and on the other a pair of scales, all three in relief.

![Fig. 22. Kilmadock, Perth.](image)

The last example I have to give, although it by no means exhausts the objects of interest at Kilmadock, is a bugle (fig. 22), carved in very high relief, the significance of which I could not make out. It is on a headstone dated 1741.

2. LOGIE-PERT, FORFARSHIRE.

The ruined church of Pert, dating probably from the middle of the sixteenth century, and abandoned in 1775, when a new edifice was erected half-way between it and the old church of Logie-Montrose, to serve the conjoined parishes, is picturesquely situated on the south bank of the north Esk. Considering its much smaller size, Pert is quite as prolific in monuments of interest as Kilmadock. There is a considerable difference in the style of the tombstones at the two places. At Pert the inscriptions are in smaller capitals, and are more regularly cut on the slabs; headstones are more prominent, and none of the monuments seem to belong to persons of rank or influence; and while at Kilmadock man is represented by little else than the skull and crossbones, at Pert humanity, both clothed in the flesh and as a skeleton, is conspicuous.

The earliest monument I saw (fig. 23a), is a slab 5 1/2 feet long and 2 feet 2 inches broad, with a handsome double string border and
Fig. 23. Logie-Pert, Angus.
rounded angles. It has a kneeling stag with the letters I S within a panel at the top. The same initials are repeated with the date 1662 between, and then follows the well-cut inscription to JANNET GORME SPOVS TO JAMES STRATHAVCHN. Jervise has made several mistakes in his transcription, particularly at the end, where IN THE YEAR OF GOD THE 28 DECEMBR. should be IN THE FEAR OF GOD THE 28 DECEMB. 1637.

Beside this is a handsome hexagonal slab (fig. 23b), to ELSPEIT. FVLLERTON. DAUGHTER. TO ROBVRT. FVLLERTON. IN. BALACHIE. A PIOVS. AND. WERTEOV. DAMISELL. who died in 1667, aged 19. It contains within the marginal inscription the following lines of poetry:—

TO. CHRYST. MOST. DEIRE. WHO. SCHED. FOR. HER
HIS. BLOOD. UPON. THE. TREE
AND. NOW. HATH. HER. ASSVMED. TO. BLISSE
TO. REING. ETERNALLYE

and lower down—

THE. STONE. IS. WHITE. THE. NAME. IS. NEW
CROVNE. SCHEPTER. AND. THE. THRONE.
ARE. HERS. BY. RIGHT. THAT. IS. IS. BY. GIFT.
OF. THAT. MOST. HOLY. ONE

This monument and its epitaph are not noticed by Jervise.

Near this lies the largest and perhaps the handsomest slab in my collection (fig. 24). It is 7 feet 2 inches long and 4 feet 9 inches wide, and has a fine minutely ornamented border. At the top is a Latin inscription with this English translation below:—

(BY). THIS. STONE. COVERD. IS. THE. BODY. OF.
BONE. ROBERTSONE. BVT. THAT. PAIRT. WHICH.
BETER. IS. AVAY. TO. HAVEN. IS. GONE. THE.
PATHE. OF. DEATH. IS. TO. BE. TRODN. BY. AL.
AND. EVRY. ONE. WHO. IN. THE. EARTH. DOE.
DVOL. BVT. FAITH. IT. OVERCOMES. The deaths of
Fig. 24. Logie-Pert, Angus.
William Robertson in 1646 and of his son William in 1664 are then recorded, but the date of the death of Bone Robertsone himself is not given. A death's head, cross bones, hour glass, and crossed spades adorn the foot. The name BONE is given as IHONE by Jervise, but my rubbing clearly shows it to be BONE, and besides in the Latin it is rendered BONI ROBERSONI. Probably Jervise could not believe in such an odd Christian name. I have met with it, however, as the surname of a Scottish family.

The next slab (fig. 25), dated 1666, has a marginal inscription to AIN. FAMES. YOUTH. SON. TO. JOHN. SMITH., and is remarkable for the extraordinary spelling and omission of stops in the central epitaph. COM. ALAND. SE. ASYOVOGOBY. EN. HONRED. CORPS. HIRLOV. DOLY. AS. YEARNOV. SO. ONC. VAS. AY. AS. AY. AM. SO. SAL. YE. BE. REM(ERE). MAN. THAT. THOV. MOST. DEI. The father is described as SOM. TYM. GOODMAN. IN. GARROV. His plough-yoke, an hour glass, crossed spades, and death's head above a long bone are carved beneath the inscription; also a bell, which is a rare symbol on the tombstones. The diminution of the two last figures of the date is to avoid a pebble embedded in the sandstone.

Other slabs, probably of the seventeenth century, I failed to uncover and decipher properly. One, to “James Fettes in the Hill of Perte,” 1697, has this well-carved, though dumpy-fingered hand (fig. 26a), pointing to HERE, the first word of the marginal inscription, also the ploughshare (fig. 26e), in which the culter and share are crossed.

A similar treatment of the ploughshare, upon a shield with initials and a heart, occurs on a headstone (fig. 26c) of date 1681; and in fig. 26f, dated 1763, we have the whole plough of George Touns, sometime tenant of Dobtoun, well cut in very high relief.

Headstones with mechanics’ tools in relief are pretty numerous. Those of James Wallace, weaver, Ballachie, 1742, are well displayed (fig. 26b) on a shield, adorned with a star on the shield and two lilies sprouting from its foot; and the same implements, of about the same
Fig. 25. Logie-Pert, Angus.
Fig. 26. Logie-Pert, Angus.
date, occur again in fig. 27, enlarged from a photograph taken by Miss Maude C. Christison. Here the shield is surmounted by a human head instead of the usual helmet.

![Fig. 27. Logie-Pert, Angus.](image)

A mason's tools are shown in fig. 26d; and again, from a photograph, in fig. 28, with helmet and mantling, the shield bearing above the tools

![Fig. 28. Logie-Pert, Angus.](image)

1 For the photographs from which figs. 28, 29, 31, and 33 are taken I am indebted to my nephew, Mr Arthur Cassels Brown.
a heart with initials on either side, and below them the date 1760.

We now come to a class originating about the middle of the eighteenth century, and not represented at Kilmadock, in which humanity appears at full length, either clothed in the flesh or in skeleton form.

In fig. 29 we see a headstone in which a panel at the foot is filled with a dignified, winged and crowned figure, blowing through a twisted trumpet into the ear of a skeleton, representing Death, with his dart reversed, who arises with an air of pleased surprise from a coffin, above which is introduced a disproportionately large hour-glass. The middle of the stone contains inscriptions to members of a farming family of Buchanans, cut at different periods from 1737, when the monument seems to have been carved, down to 1892. At the top, two very human-like "cherub" heads, with winged and feathered bodies,
exquisitely carved, flanked on the outer sides by a rose growing out of a pot and crowned by a star, are surmounted at the very top of the stone by a much smaller head and neck, with wings but no body.

Remarkable as the front of the stone may seem, it is perhaps outdone by the unique carving on the back (fig. 30), in which the passing of Time, and the changes it brings to man, are typified by a wheel, on the four sides of the square axle-cover of which stand four figures. The one at the top, with the motto I DO RING,\(^1\) wears a handsome crown and

\(^1\) *Ring* and *rang* are old Scots for reign and reigned (*Jameson’s Scottish Dictionary*).
has his hands on his hips. The opposite figure, with the motto I ONCE RANG, has a coronet, and his hands spread out on his breast. The two figures at the sides are treated alike, wearing a kind of cap with turned-up brim and a button at the top, and having one hand on the breast, the other on the rim of the wheel. Their mottoes are I DID RING and I SHALL RING. The vacant spaces are filled up with well-carved lilies and roses in two rows, one springing from the bottom motto-ribbon, the other from the ears and arms of the horizontal figures.

In fig. 31, at the top of a headstone, Adam and Eve, in primitive innocence, appear to be walking in the Garden of Eden; each holds forth in one hand a large rose; the other arm is crossed on the breast,

with possibly a small flower in the hand. The fatal tree finds no place here, but between the figures stands a lily growing in a very diminutive pot and with a huge flower bigger than their heads, and other plants fill up the sides of the design. Beneath is the inscription beginning

HERE . LYES . ANNA . ANNANDAL
WHO . DEPARTED . THIS . LIFE
MAY . FIRST . 1743.

Evidently by the same artist is the temptation scene (fig. 32), where the primeval pair, one on either side of the stem, stand under the fateful tree, with its load of apples, and Eve stretches forth her right hand to receive one, which the serpent descending the tree offers to her. Unfortunately the arm of Eve and the head of the serpent have been broken
off, perhaps by some descendant indignant at the weakness of our first parent, as the rest of the monument is in good preservation. As if to typify the readiness of Adam to accept the fatal gift, one arm with open palm is stretched towards Eve. A rose springs from Eve's right and Adam's left ankle, and on the outer side of each figure a conventional but elegantly foliaged, single-stemmed rose tree, with a large flower at the top, completes the design. The date of the stone is 1742.

More primitive in style is the same theme, in fig. 33. The figures, as before, stand one on either side of the stem of the tree, which bears alternate leaves and apples on the branches; the serpent descends the tree, but without an apple in his mouth; and our first parents stand with hands clasped in front of them, as if still able to resist the tempter's wily tongue. The heads, of which Adam's is in profile, turned as if he were
conversing with the serpent, are not wanting in dignity, but the artist has been quite unable to cope with the bodies and limbs, the arms in particular being treated quite conventionally. Above Eve, and close to the margin of the stone, are incised the words HOMO DAMNAVIT.

This is the last remaining in the kirkyard of a unique group of seven stones seen by Jervise only some forty or fifty years ago. He says they appear to have been supports of a table stone, and he thus describes them:

1. UNDER . THIS . STONE . DOOTH . LY . TUO . PERSONS . WHO . KEEPT . ANE . HONEST . FAMILIE . BUT . NOU . THEY . ARE . PAST . INTO . ETERNITY . , above the figure of a thistle.

2. PALLIDA . MORS . ÆQUO . PVLSAT . PEDE . PAV-
PERUM . TABERNAS . REGUMQVE . TURRES. Figure of the sower of the parable, below.

3. KOMMANDING . DEATH . THAT . CROUL . DEART . DOUNE . THRO . AND . VOUND . OUR . HEART. Figures of Death, a dart, a scythe, and a coffin.

Fig. 34. Logie-Pert, now built into a cottage at Lutherbridge, Angus.

4. HOMO . DAMNAVIT. Alongside of Adam and Eve at the forbidden tree.

5. MOSES, who is represented striking the rock.

6. KING DAVID. A harp and lily accompany his figure.
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS. 317

7. ARON. Figure wears mitre, breastplate, and long robe, and carries a censer suspended from the end of Aaron's Rod, represented as a round-headed, short, knotty stick.

Acting on information from the Rev. Mr Landreth, Logie-Pert, that the figure of "Aron" had been built into a cottage at Lutherbridge, Mr F. R. Coles was sent to take a drawing of it, and to make inquiry about the missing stones. The massive, vigorous treatment of Aaron (fig. 34) makes the cruel fate of the others the more deplorable. It appears that about thirty-six years ago the father of the present occupant brought the other five stones from Pert, intending to build them into the cottage wall, but having gone from home for a few days, he found on his return that the blacksmith had carried them off from the front of the cottage, where they were lying, and had broken them up to make a hearth for his smithy!

3. LAURENCEKIRK, MEARNS.

I have chosen for my third example the churchyard of Laurencekirk, because it contains the best instances I know of the roof-shaped stones, a class not met with in either Kilmadock or Pert. The present site is probably not a very ancient one, as during and after the Middle Ages Cunoveth or Conveth was the name of the district and parish, and the Church of Conveth, dedicated to St Laurence, the ancient primate of England, is believed to have stood about a mile east of the present village. No trace of this church or a churchyard belonging to it remains. It is said that the present parish kirk, erected in 1804, took the place of one which was built in 1626 (Jervise).

The oldest monument appears to be the roof-shaped one with sharp ridge, dated 1656, which I represent in a flat plan in fig. 35a. The north side of the roof bears the oft-repeated warning to passers-by that they must one day become like the deceased, who once was alive like them; also that his name was William, son of James Lawasone in Powburn, and that he died aged 13. On the south side are these lines, suggested by the youth of the deceased:—
The roofs at the gable ends bear a heraldic shield and skull and cross-bones. Both these and the letters are in relief.

Fig. 36. Laurencekirk, Mearns.

Fig. 35b is an example of a roof-shaped stone with flattened ridge, on which a wigged head, hour-glass, and bell are carved in high relief, while the inscriptions on the sides are incised. A skull and cross-bones and the enclosing lines of a pentagon containing nothing, on the end roofs, are also in relief. The monument is to another member of the Lawson
family, and is of date 1670, as appears from the inscription on the north side, which is imperfect. That on the south is even more worn, but ends thus:

.... SHEWING ANE INDEX OF A PIOVS MYNDE
.... THROW BILLOWES ALL HEE BRAVELY BEART IT W
.... WHILE HEE ARRYVED AT THE CAPE OF HOPE

Fig. 37. Laurencekirk, Mearns.

A late seventeenth century slab, with an incised inscription, in memory of a young schoolmaster, is represented in fig. 36. It contains ordinary emblems, which I have omitted.

More interesting is the headstone (fig. 37), with its closely-cut inscription in raised capitals, in memory of four young children of David Stuart
and Jean Wallace, who died between 1671 and 1677. Beneath is this quaint inscription in smaller capitals:—

No sooner cam they from the vombs dark cave.
But bak agan they most vnto the grave.
For non of them, but on did years attaine.
In whom gods spirit yorkeing might be seen.
Vherby he did [appear to take] delyt
In them that he an ke to perfyt
Which Christ himself promiceth in his book
Concerning babs in the 18 of lvk.

The skull in the panel at the foot is omitted in the drawing.

It is not easy to say what prompted the cutter to use both upright and sloping capitals in this inscription. Certainly from the perfect carving of the letters it could not be want of skill. Perhaps it was merely to relieve the monotony of his task. The frequent ingenious binding of the letters to each other also afforded scope for variety of treatment, and must have contributed to his interest in the work.

Laurencekirk is not deficient in headstones with quasi-heraldic shield,
helmet, and mantling. The photograph (fig. 38) by the late Dr H. G. Rawdon, Liverpool, shows one of date 1708, with a winged cherub-head above the helmet.

In fig. 39 the shield, besides initials, contains the tools of an honest shoemaker, who has honoured them with a coronet, and to whose humble calling the elaborately and deeply carved helmet and mantling seem singularly inappropriate. On the other side are the following lines:

Make the extended skies your tomb
Let stars record your worth
Yet know vain mortals all must die
(A)s natures sickliest birth
In thy fair book of life divine
(May) God inscribe my name:

A headstone standing upside down is in memory of Alexander Covie, miller, Halcourtoun, who died in 1709, and is remarkable (for a man in his rank of life) in having a Latin inscription within the margin:
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKWARD MONUMENTS. 323

DISCE . MORI . QVICVNC . LEGIS . MEA . SCRIPTA . VIATOR .
OMNES . ÆQUA . MANENT . FUNERA . DISCE . MORI
DISCE . MORI . FRATER . DISCUT . CVM . PRÆVLE . CLERVS .
CVM . INIORE . SENEX . CVM . SAPIENTE . RVDIS

The same inscription, with the following translation, of date 1697 occurs in the adjacent churchyard of Dun:—

Whoe'er thou art that read'st these lines,
Which, Traveller, I have pen'd;
O, learn to die, and know that all
Are equal in the end.
The monk may from the Abbot learn
The young clerk from the old;
The unlettered from the learned know
Our days must soon be told.

4. ANSTRUTHER, FIFE.

Anstruther West.—In the O.S.A., 1792, it is stated that the church appears very ancient from the remains of a large choir and the Gothic character of its steeple; and the writer in the N.S.A. also says that from the style of its architecture it must have existed a considerable time before the Reformation. In Messrs M'Gibbon and Ross's work the tower is pronounced to be of the sixteenth century, and the church is spoken of as modernised.

It is now simply a rectangular box of stone, but the tower remains to redeem it from utter barbarism. A relic of the ancient edifice is inserted in the outside wall, consisting of a couple of tablets (fig. 40a), which must have stood over the entrance. The upper tablet is inscribed ANNO . 1598 . MY . HOVS . IS . THE . HOVS . OF . PRAYER . On the lower one, a wide and narrow door are carved, beneath which is the oddly spelled warning—ENTER . IN . AT . YE . STRAIT . GET . IT . IS . YE . VYD . GET . YAT . LEDS . TO . PERDITION.

Several seventeenth century monuments remain. Probably the most ancient is a slab dated 1626 (fig. 41) leaning against the wall of the
church. The top is gone, which, with the erasure of some letters, makes the Latin inscription not quite intelligible, but it evidently recounts in well incised capitals the many virtues and qualifications of a Mr John

Fig. 40. Anstruther, Fife.
Fig. 41. Anstruther, Fife.
Faire, who from the words PRIMO . ECCLESIAE . , the beginning of an imperfect sentence, may be conjectured to have been the first incumbent of a new or restored kirk. The inscription is marginal, and is continued in smaller capitals from the top down the middle. Below it, framed in the motto MORS VLTIMA RERVM . , a huge death's head occupies the centre of the stone, and is the only deformity in a handsome monument. This head is flanked by an open book with the words disce mori, and a very attenuated hour-glass. At the foot is a shield with three birds on it. Another slab, in the same style, almost obliterated, leans on the wall of a cottage bordering the churchyard.

Three table stones of dates 1641, 1657 and 1651, and a fourth, illegible, but perhaps a little later in date, still stand on their supports. The slabs are of a very flattened roof shape, with inscriptions on the sides of the roof and emblems of a common kind on the ridge or at the gable ends.

The paucity of eighteenth century monuments is remarkable. A probable one has the spirited carving in high relief of a brig (fig. 40b) hoisting or loosening sail. The stone is raised by John Millar, shipowner, to his son, who died 1787, but also bears the date 1811 in memory of his wife.

A nineteenth century stone, of date 1807, I introduce because it is a late example of carved tools (fig. 40c). They are upon the western support of a table stone, the inscription being on the table, and they seem to indicate that the deceased William Taylor was a mason by trade as well as a Freemason. The square and compasses stand crossed between two gate-posts, flanked on one side by mell, chisel, and ladder, on the other by hammer and mortar board. The seven stars form an arch above the gate, and are flanked on one side by a smiling sun and a triumph of squares, on the other by a crescent moon, and the letter M; but a death's head and cross-bones stand above all.

Anstruther East, although in a different parish, is actually continuous as a town with the last. The church tower is called by Messrs M'Gibbon
and Ross a complete and characteristic example of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The church was begun in 1636, and the tower was added in 1646. The latter is too suggestive of being merely a thin section of a square tower, but is picturesque. The south wall of the church has two built up doorways, one broad and round headed, the other rectangular with mouldings. Inserted in the filled in masonry of the former is a date, 1675, and below, but not apparently connected with it, a tablet inscribed—ENTER. YE. IN. AT. THE. STRAIT. GATE. FOR. WID. IS. THE. GAT. AND. BROAD. THE. WAY. THAT. LEADETH. TO. DESTRUCTION., but without a carving of the gates, as at West Anstruther. Awkwardly inserted on the lintel of the square door in poor style is the date 1634.

In the yard are six slabs of the flattened roof type, some of them table stones, and three flat slabs, all evidently of the seventeenth century, the legible dates being 1637, 1641, 1642, 1642, 1642, 1646, some with English, others with Latin inscriptions. They bear the usual small emblems, but one has also the unusual object (fig. 40d) of which some other examples are so worn away as to resemble a toad. On the west wall is a handsome though simple Renaissance mural monument with the Latin inscription in large incised capitals—BEATI. MORTVI. QVI. etc. The date is effaced, but on one of the flat supports of its entablature is an inferior inscription dated 1674.

As at Anstruther West, tombstones of the eighteenth century are few, and I saw none with tools. But of the nineteenth century a shoemaker’s knife surmounted by a crown (fig. 40e), dated 1828, is given as a very late example of the kind; it is on the tomb of John Sime, a mariner, but as he lived to 98 he had ample time to have followed first the one pursuit and then the other. Another mariner’s tomb of the nineteenth century bears a sextant with, on one side, a sun containing a merry front face, and on the other a cherub blowing a small trumpet towards the sextant.

I could see but one ship. It was of date 1813, on a stone erected in
honour of his wife by Captain David Henderson of the "Prince of Wales" Excise yacht. The vessel is a brig (fig. 42) with furled sails, at anchor.

![Fig. 42. Anstruther, Fife.](image)

5. **CERES, FIFE.**

My last example from Fife is the landward parish of Ceres, which is selected because it contains a type not hitherto noticed, as well as two monuments of an exceptional character. The church is a plain modern edifice. The yard is large, even without reckoning a recent annex, and the older part contains numerous slabs, table stones and headstones, many of which have the usual emblems of mortality and winged cherub-heads. Unfortunately the stone commonly used appears not to have been durable, and it is generally difficult to make out the dates and inscriptions even when they are not effaced. From their style the monuments are generally of the eighteenth century.

A unique and much worn slab, of which only a few letters of the marginal inscription remain, is possibly older. I have given a drawing
(fig. 43a) of the mysterious and greatly erased figures on the upper part, beneath which is merely a large tablet which seems never to have had anything on it. What the figures are intended to typify I have no idea. The two upper ones face each other and support with one hand on a level with and behind their heads a kind of yoke, which perhaps was originally connected with another beam held in the other hand in front of and on a level with the lower part of their bodies. Below and between them is a larger and more robust figure with long hair or a wig, whose bust passes into a shield. This figure has only stumps of arms apparently growing into or out of one foot of each of the upper figures.

Of headstones, the most interesting is represented in fig. 43b. It also is in a sense unique, as it is the only example I can recall of a statue or symbolical full length figure of a mechanic. It is on the reverse or west side of the stone, and is in a little railed enclosure. The figure is that of an abnormally muscular smith, nude save for a loincloth, holding erect in his left hand above an anvil a hammer sur-
mounted by a crown. His right arm lies across the body, directed towards the anvil but with apparently nothing in the somewhat effaced hand. A label jutting out from his right elbow may have had a motto. The pediment is supported by handsome, spirally fluted columns, and has a cherub lying at full length on the top on either side. The monument is only about 4 feet high. The inscription on the other side is in memory of "Robert Gourlay, Smith at Haughead, who died Mar. 1732, aged 68 years."

But besides the slabs and headstones, Ceres contains examples of the class, much rarer in country parishes, of mural monuments. Three tablets, almost totally defaced, are inserted in the east wall of the kirk-yard, and on the north wall are two Renaissance monuments. One of
them is a handsome design about 5 feet high with an Ionic column on each side of a tablet, inscribed to Thomas Gourlay, portionar in Balchirsty, 1682. The other is well preserved, but is so covered by a massive overhanging canopy of ivy that I could only with difficulty make out its design (fig. 44) and the date, 1678. A beautiful slender column, on either side of the tablet, which bears the incised inscription, rises from a handsome base and supports the entablature. The base is prolonged laterally, the prolongation having a blank tablet inserted in the wall above it.

6. Abercorn, West Lothian.

My last separate example has been selected from a quite different district, south of the Forth, and from a very ancient ecclesiastical site. Abercorn is one of the very earliest of place names in Scotland, being the Abercurnig of Bede; and the antiquity of the present site of the churchyard is testified, not only by the presence of no less than three “hog-backed” monuments, but by the remains of Norman work in the existing church, which, like so many others in Scotland, mars a beautiful scene, by the ill-judged alterations, “improvements” or “restorations” made on a once handsome and interesting edifice.

Next in antiquity to the hog-backed monuments, and close to the church, is a ponderous slab hollowed from side to side, with an object reposing in the whole length of the hollow, but so worn that it is difficult to say what it has been. Slabs and table stones are few in number, but two of the former with well formed raised letters are probably of the seventeenth century, and succeed the last in point of antiquity. They are close to a ruined part of the church on the south side, and are so overgrown that I could not clear them.

Headstones, on the other hand, are very numerous, and, a durable stone having been used, are generally in fine preservation. They do not seem to begin till after the middle of the seventeenth century, but a large number dating in the first and second half of the eighteenth century are of considerable interest.
Perhaps one of the oldest is a very small but massive and deeply carved stone, of which I give a drawing (fig. 45). A grotesque, smiling human head is squeezed in between the volutes at the apex of the pediment, below which is a cup-like object with initials. The inscription lower down is erased, but a stone close to it in the same style bears a late seventeenth century date.

Passing on to stones with carved tools and implements, in fig. 46a, of date 1734, we have a monument to a man named Dundas, probably a forester, with crossed axe, spade and pruning knife, flanked by two trees, in a small panel; and in a similar panel on the reverse, where the inscription is dedicated to Hugh Meikle, are a pair of compasses, square and saw (fig. 46b). The spade in this monument has two square holes at the upper part of the blade.

More ancient are the crossed shovels (fig. 46c) with this inscription in capitals:

**HERE LYS THE CORPS OF JOHN CLOSE MALTMAN WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 2ND OF JULY 1687.**

A weaver's shuttle and stretchers (fig. 46d) are carved in high relief on a stone dated 1724.

The hour-glass is a favourite emblem in this kirkyard, and is treated
Fig. 46. Abercorn, W. Lothian.
in a great variety of ways. On a large scale it is poised on a skull with cross-bones (fig. 46e), on a stone with an erased inscription, and it is in the same attitude, dated 1743, in fig. 47; and again it occurs, this time with conventional foliage growing from its top, in fig. 46f. In fig. 46g it lies prone upon the top of a pillar, carved on the back of a headstone dated 1773, and on the other side of the same stone it comes in again standing upright (fig. 46h). In fig. 51 it lies horizontally on the top of a skull.

Resuming the trade implements, the hammer, and compasses with a measuring arc attached (fig. 46k), may be noticed on a stone dated 1740, with a skull carved on the right and left sides of the top. A roller with three batches of flour (?) on a shovel, date 1734 (fig. 46i), is unique. On the double panelled stone (fig. 47) are a hammer surmounted by a crown, and an hour-glass balanced on the top of a skull. The carving is
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKWARD MONUMENTS.

of fine quality and quite fresh looking. The inscription on the other side is—

HIC . JACET . JOANNES . AITKEN
QVI . MORTI . OCCUBUIT . DECIMO .
SEXTO . DIE . DECEMBRIS . ANNO .
DOM . 1702 . ÆTATIS . SUÆ . ANNO .
DECIMO .

But the handsomest tombs with implements are either the carpenter's (?) (fig. 48), dated 1748, with helmet and beautifully designed deeply carved mantling, or the mariner's (fig. 49), with sextant flanked by scroll-work, and surmounted by a dignified winged head and some fine carving at the very top.

The very oldest of this class, however, is fig. 50a, dated 1657; the rake and spade are carved in high relief, and are on a much larger scale than is usual with the tools in this kirkyard.

A full length human figure occurs in a recumbent attitude beneath the winged head of a bat (?) on a stone dated 1743 (fig. 50c).

Two winged angels or cherubs (fig. 50b), represented as if running to

Fig. 48. Abercorn, W. Lothian.
meet each other, one holding a scroll, and with a conventional branch or tree between them, similar to that in fig. 46f, are carved at the upper part of a headstone, dated 1709 or 1769. Two figures blowing trumpets, lean, one on either side of a winged head, surmounted by a small winged skull, that forms the apex of a headstone (fig. 51). These figures are so managed that the lower limbs, as well as the ends of the trumpets, are twisted round to the side of the monument. Seen from the side, it is impossible to tell what the strange looking objects are.

**PART III. DESIGNS ON THE CHURCHYARD MONUMENTS IN GENERAL.**

Although in a certain sense all the carvings are symbolical, yet it may be advantageous to restrict the signification of the word to religious
Fig. 50. Abercorn, W. Lothian.

Fig. 51. Abercorn, W. Lothian.
symbolism, when they might be divided into two orders, the Symbolical and the Secular; but as a considerable number show only a slight or doubtful symbolism, it would be a difficult classification to carry out; and as it would also separate from each other many designs which in the main are of the same type, I have preferred to keep all of one type together, at the same time beginning with those in which Religious Symbolism is undoubted, gradually passing in review those in which it is weak or doubtful, till we finally reach those in which it is, in my belief, altogether absent.

A. FROM BIBLE HISTORY.

1. The Garden of Eden.—Such, I believe, is the subject of fig. 31, carved on the upper part of a headstone at Logie-Pert, already described.

2. The Temptation and Fall of our First Parents.—This has been a favourite Symbolic subject from early Christian times. In Scotland the earliest known examples are carved on a Celtic cross, and on the capital of a column at Iona, and on a Celtic cross originally at Farnell and now at Montrose Museum. Perhaps the next earliest (fig. 52), dated 1638, is depicted in a panel of the painted ceiling of the Montgomery Aisle of the Old Church of Largs. Adam and Eve, each followed by a dog, appear to be rushing eagerly to the tree round which the serpent is coiled. Eve holds an apple in her hand. Above the tree is a pavilion with squirrels on the roof, and birds pecking at twigs at each side. Two skulls near our first parents typify their fall. Swans or geese and ducks swim in a pond below.

This Renaissance treatment of the subject is replaced by a much more primitive style, although a full century later in date, on the Scottish kirkyard monuments. The examples, if not very numerous, are widely

2 Scotland in Early Christian Times. Dr Joseph Anderson. 2nd series.
Fig. 52. On roof of the Montgomery Aisle, Old Church of Largs.

Fig. 53. Logierait, Perth.
spread. The twelve known to me occur at Logierait and Dunkeld, Perth; Fettercairn, Mearns; Logie-Pert (2), Angus; Falkirk, Stirling; Biggar, Lanark; Uphall, W. Lothian; Lyne, Peebles; Dryburgh, Roxburgh; Repentance and Kirkconnel, Dumfries.

The Logie-Pert examples have been already dealt with (figs. 32, 33)
tree, on either side of which stand Adam and Eve, wearing aprons of fig leaves, and Eve displaying an apple in her hand. The tomb is that of a farmer. Fig. 54, from a photograph furnished by Sir A. Muir Mackenzie, which had to be reinforced owing to indistinctness produced by lichen, also on a farmer’s tomb, shows Eve holding an apple just received from the serpent, and Adam holding out his hand as if willing to take another. This monument is at Dunkeld.

*Fettercairn.*—The treatment of the subject here so closely resembles that of the one at Pert (fig. 32), that probably the two are from the same hand. But here (fig. 55) under the scene we have the couplet, “Adam and Eve by eating the forbidden tree brought all mankind to sin and misery.” Beneath are the eight lines of poetry shown in Mr Coles’ drawing, and lowest of all a row of the emblems of mortality. On the opposite side, or front, is the family inscription (fig. 56), below which—a very uncommon position for them—are two winged cherub heads above a third head which is crowned, and has much idealised
wings, from which proceed a foliaceous "mantling" at the sides of a shield bearing a plough and initials.

_Falkirk._—Fig. 57, from a fine photograph by Mr Mungo Buchanan, Corr.M.S.A. Scot., shows Eve receiving an apple from the serpent in the tree, and apparently handing another across its stem to Adam. They both wear girdles of fig leaves. The roots of the tree spring from a thigh bone. The inscription on the reverse, in a current hand, records the death in 1750 of Christian Lauder, who died in Callendar House, spouse to Thomas Leishman, gardener, whose tools are carved on the tomb. A skull and a winged cherub head are perched on the top corners of the stone.
Biggar.—The treatment in this example (fig. 58), from a photograph by Mr Michael Rae, forwarded by the Rev. W. Grant Duncan, has the peculiarities that while Eve is nude, Adam wears a loin cloth, the ample end of which reaches the ground in front of him, and that the apples immediately above their heads take the form of skulls. The legible dates are from 1709 to 1747, and the monument is to a farming family of Bertrams.

Uphall.—This example (fig. 59), from a photograph by Mr Alex. Stewart, Broxburn, is upon the end support of a tablestone erected to a tenant and his wife who died in 1733 and 1759, and is remarkable for the extraordinary load of large apples on the tree.
Lyne.—My drawing (fig. 60), shows the Temptation on a larger scale and in a better light than in the photograph of the whole stone taken by Mr Alex. A. Inglis (fig. 61). The treatment of Eve is exceptional, as she faces the tree and stretches her left hand towards the serpent, which seems to be licking it, while she takes a huge apple bigger than her head from the tree with her right. Both she and Adam wear skirts or aprons, and her flowing hair is elaborately dressed. The motto, FUSTI ÆTAS, on the pediment, seems never to have been finished. The inscription on the other side is: "Here lyes Janet Veitch daughter to John Veitch, tenant in Hamiltoun, who dyed the 31st of January 1712 aged 16 years.

"Life is the Road to Death
And Death Heaven's Gate must be,
Heaven is the throne of Christ
And Christ is life to me."

This is the earliest carving of the Temptation on a tombstone that I have met with.
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKWARD MONUMENTS.

Dryburgh (fig. 62).—Although of the same period as the others, and treated in the same conventional way, this example is more artistic, the figures being well proportioned, and the tree more like a tree. Eve has her hand on her head as if still in doubt. The monument is to a gardener, and the date is 1754.

Kirkconnel.¹—Fig. 63 shows a remarkably small tree, bearing a few apples and no leaves. Across the stem Eve’s right hand nearly meets Adam’s left, but no apple is now to be seen either there, or where Eve’s

¹ I am indebted to Mr W. Tennant, Ecclefechan, for the information regarding this and the following Dumfriesshire monuments, and to Mr John Clyde of the same place for the photographs of them (figs. 63, 64, 65, 153, 154, 155).
other hand touches the serpent's mouth. The carving, which is bold and in parts undercut, clear of the background, is on what seems to have been the support of a table stone, now overthrown, which is inscribed to William Garioch, M.D., d. 1768. At the bottom is the couplet:

A wit's a feather and a chief's a rod,
An honest man's the noble work of God.

*Repentance Burying-Ground.*—Fig. 64, from Mr Clyde's photograph, represents a tree with half a dozen apples and as many leaves. Eve
seems to be aided by the serpent in handing an apple to Adam, whose folded arms indicate that he has not yet fallen. The inscription is to Janet Rae, d. 1739, aged 72, and George Douglas her husband, smith in Trailtrow, d. 1768, aged 100.

3. The Tree of Life.—I suggest this as the title of the subject of fig. 65 from a headstone at Hoddom. Two figures, apparently male adults, costumed alike, although the hair may be more elaborately dressed in one than the other, stand on opposite sides of a tree which
they grasp with one hand. The tree bears no apples, and there is no serpent. The nearly erased motto is HOLD IT FAST. The figures do not accord with the ages of the deceased Wightmans, of whom James d. 1777, aged 3; Euginia, d. 1783, aged 1; John, d. 1785, aged 18; David, d. 1812, aged 66; and Janet Hannel, his spouse, d. 1833, aged 83.

Fig. 66. Logierait, Perth.

4. The Sacrifice of Isaac.—I have only heard of three examples of this incident in Bible history, and they are all in the county of Perth.

Logierait.—This was first noticed in Dr Joseph Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, 2nd series, p. 138, and the drawing (fig. 66).
reproduced here, appeared originally in Mr Romilly Allen's "Notes." The angel is in the act of seizing the wrist of Abraham's right hand, which grasps a knife with which he is about to slay his son, represented as a little boy, whose hair he seizes with the left hand. Beneath the angel, who seems to be dancing on it, is the ram caught in a branch by his horns. At the foot of all is a row of emblems of mortality. The date is 1774.

Fig. 67. Methven, Perth.
Methven.—Fig. 67, drawn by Mr F. R. Coles, from a photograph by Dr Galt and Mr Lyttel, of Glenalmond College, shows a totally different treatment of the subject. The angel in the upper right corner is represented by a head with a frill, and small conventional wings. Abraham seems as if about to shave rather than cut the throat of a very tall clumsy Isaac, whose legs dangle over the end of the altar. The entangled ram, an axe, saw, mallet, compasses, millstone with the mill-rynd, and other much-worn objects, are at the foot. At the top is the date 1769, and an open book with "Genes. Chap. XXII," and other letters and figures, the meaning of which I have not been able to make out.

Blairgowrie.—Fig. 68 is from a photograph, forwarded by the Rev. Mr Baxter, Cargill, who was the first to draw attention to the stone.
The treatment is much the same as in the last, but below the scriptural subject there is a recumbent clothed female figure, which Mr Baxter suggests represents Anne Keay, whose initials are above and to whom the inscription on the other side refers.

B. Other Symbolic Designs Derived from Scripture.

a. The Resurrection.

This theme is treated in a considerable variety of ways, but the sounding of the trumpet call is common to them all. A single angel blows his blast into the ear of a skeleton in the case already described at Logie-Pert (fig. 29), but at Inverarity (fig. 69) two-trumpeters have been required to blow into both ears of the rising skeleton of Bety Car. The scrolls displayed by the angels proclaim, not the joys of the resurrection but the terrors of the Judgment Day.
hour-glass and motto HORA FUGIT, and several emblems of mortality, complete the design. The marginal incised inscription runs thus:

"Erected by John Smith, tenant in Hatoun of Inverarity, in memory of his worthy wife Bety Car, who died May 23rd 1737, aged 41 years, mother to nine hopeful children, five sons and four daughters."

A somewhat similar design occurs at Kettins, Angus, but I had only a passing glance at it.

On a headstone at South Queensferry, there is a modification of the same idea, the skeleton being represented solely by the skull, into the ears of which horns are blown by two sitting figures, more of the cherubic than the angelic type, each with a single rather flabby wing (fig. 70).

At Innerleithen there is a further modification in no less than three examples, all evidently the work of the same artist. Fig. 71, from a photograph by Dr W. Cameron Sillar, shows one of them, in which two cherubs or angels, standing facing each other on the back of a small headstone, blow very short trumpets, from the mouths of which scrolls with illegible inscriptions fall down on either side of a large skull which forms the centre of the subject. Another example identical with this, and dated 1751, is carved on the end support of a tablestone. Of the

Fig. 70. South Queensferry, W. Lothian.
third, only the bottom half remains, but it shows that the subject was treated differently, as the skull is placed within a raised circular border at the foot of the stone.

On a headstone at Abercorn the idea is worked out quite differently (fig. 51), as the two cherubs blow their horns towards the sides of the stone into space. They lean on either side of a large winged head, and their bodies are strangely contorted, so that the legs come round to the side of the stone, the appearance from this point of view being very strange and perplexing, as nothing is to be seen but a part of the body and the pair of legs with the mouth of the horn above them.

On the sides of the rounded top of a headstone at Colinton are two grotesque figures blowing trumpets, of one of which I give a drawing (fig. 72).

On the back of a headstone dated 1729, at Forteviot, is the only
instance I have seen in which the rising figures are clothed in the flesh (fig. 73). An angelic head at the top of the stone blows through a sinuous trumpet which goes down the middle, and has on either side of it, aroused by the blast and apparently ascending joyfully, the parents, it is to be presumed, of the boy commemorated thus on the other side—

HER . LYS . THE . CORPS . OF . WILOM . HOVTAN . SON . TO WILOM . HOVTAN . IN . YOUGFIE . WHO . DEPARTED . THIS . LIF . 14 DAY . OF . NOVEMBR . 1719 . AND . AGE . 5 . YEAR.

Fig. 73. Forteviot, Perth.

In the unique monument at St Cyrus, a figure, without the customary wings, standing above a gateway, blows his trumpet towards the heavens, and probably typifies the ultimate resurrection of the grotesque man whom an equally grotesque Death pierces with his spear (fig. 74).

Although not in the Lowlands, the example at Kilbride, Kintyre, dated 1690 (fig. 181) described further on, may be here referred to.

Possibly the Bugle carved in solitary state on a headstone (fig. 22) typifies the resurrection, unless the tomb is a musician's.

A more doubtful representation of the Resurrection is on a monument
Fig. 74. St. Cyrus, Mearns.

Fig. 75. Largo, Fife.
at Largo (fig. 75), on which husband and wife, clothed in Sunday's best, stand on skulls on either side of the inscription, while a half-length angel at the top holds with both hands a rod, or flute-like instrument. The design is not inelegant, but the inscription is strangely spelled.

John Fortun Te' in Pilmuar and Isbel Ermit his wife have depositid hire in hupe of a joyful resurction three of ther children . . . the two last intered in the same Cheist and the same grave. Dates 1763 to 1766.

Fig. 76. Corstorphine, Midlothian.

b. The Sower and Reaper.

At Corstorphine, on a headstone to “James Glog, tenant in Corstorphine,” dated 1738, figures representing a farmer in the full dress of the period as sower and reaper (fig. 76), are carved at the sides of the
inscription. The sower is in the act of putting his hand into the bag of grain, suspended from his neck as in our own day, and the reaper has a pickle of corn in one hand and the sickle with serrated edge, which has not gone very long out of use in some parts of Scotland. The frock coat is plaited at the sides like a kilt; the shoes are buckled, and a frill collar is worn round the neck: the faces have been hacked away, but the reaper's elaborately dressed flowing locks, and apparently a crown on the head, partially remain.

Probably of about the same date is the Sower at Fettercairn (fig. 77), as the costume, including the plaited frock-coat, is similar in style to the last. The hair is elaborately dressed and tied up beneath a very small round bonnet. The figure is in relief in the sunk panel of a tablet.
leaning against the wall of the church. Probably it was an end support of a tablestone.

*The Sower* also occurs at Colinton in much the same style as the others, at the top of a headstone.

Fig. 78. a, b, Corstorphine and Dalmeny, Lothian; Edzell, Angus.

c. The Dove from the Ark.

The well-carved bird upon a bush (fig. 78c) on a headstone at Edzell, to Janet Christison, spouse to David Smart, tenant in Greenlaw, of date 1740, is probably intended to represent the dove alighting from the ark.
d. Faith, Hope and Charity.

In none of the monuments I have seen is the symbolism so varied as on the slab (fig. 79) now standing in Greyfriars Churchyard, Perth. Some modern Goth has cut away the greater part of the inscription at the foot to make room for one to himself, so that we do not know in whose honour this unique monument was raised, but fortunately the date, 1651, remains. Within an ornate border, the words Faith, Charity, Hope, serve as headings to the subjects. Under Faith, a figure, very rudely designed like all the rest, faces the centre of the stone and balances on the finger tips of one hand a "wine glass" or "chalice," while with the other he seems to be pushing forward a boy towards the central subject under Charity. This consists of a saintly and horned head and bust, from which the heart hangs down and is pecked at by two flying birds. On the proper right of the head is another head and bust, emerging from a comb-like object, and with outstretched arm and hand as if worshipping the saint; above this head is another flying bird, and beneath the same head is a figure preaching from a pulpit raised on two round arches, and holding up a "chalice" on which is perched a bird. Above the legend Hope, a larger head, possibly crowned, holds out a crown towards the saint, and below the legend, Hope is symbolised by an extraordinary human-like cock in the act of crowing, turned towards the saint, and by two anchors. In the angles at the foot shields bear a tailor's goose and scissors, indicating the trade of the deceased, between which are two crossed thigh bones, and a tree-like object much defaced. This monument is beginning to scale, and ought to be removed to Perth Museum for preservation.

C. Symbolic Figure Subjects not directly Scriptural.

Time or Death—

At Corstorphine occurs a somewhat impressive bearded and winged figure of Time or Death (fig. 78a), with scythe in one hand and hour-glass in the other, and a loin cloth, rather awkwardly put on.

More often Death is typified by a figure with a dart and hour-glass, as
Fig. 79. Greyfriars, Perth.
at Innerleithen, Abercorn, Colinton, and at Dalmeny (fig. 78b), dated 1722. In theStraton Monument he is represented as a grotesque skeleton-like object (fig. 74), and has a long spear with which he apparently transfixes a living figure.

A very different kind of symbolism occurs, where we might least expect symbolism, in the very prosaic monument at Auchterarder (fig. 80a). The inscription is headed as a “Memorandum,” and is a bald statement of the dates of John Dick’s death and burial. Squat figures of himself and his wife, clasping each other by the hand, stand above the inscription, he with some indistinguishable object turned downward in his right hand, she with the same turned upwards in her left, apparently symbolising his death and the survival of the widow.

In a similar case (fig. 80b) in the neighbouring kirkyard of Blackford, and of the same date, 1731, the wife holds out an open book and the husband grasps an upright object of which only the handle remains.

D. Symbolic Designs of Doubtful Meaning.

I have not been able to attach a definite meaning to a class of heads and figures in deep recesses on the back of headstones, which has its centre in Dryburgh and Melrose, and spreads to a few kirkyards near them. Generally the figures are reading a book, but I could not make out any inscription on the pages. The design perhaps is to inculcate the importance of studying the Book of Life, without pointing to any particular texts; but some of these monuments, such as figs. 81c, 82, contain heads or busts, without the Book.

In fig. 81a, b, from Dryburgh, we have three-quarter length male figures reading; d, from Innerleithen, represents a half-length figure also reading; c, from Melrose, a male bust, surrounded by foliaceous decoration, within an oval panel; and fig. 82, also from Melrose, shows a female head with flowing hair in very high relief; the two latter are without the Book. The Melrose and Dryburgh illustrations are from photographs by Miss Curle, Priorwood, Melrose; and the one from Innerleithen is from a photograph by Mr William Gourlie, Helensburgh.
MEMORAND
THAT MR JOHN DICK
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
MAY 8 1730 AND WAS
ENTERED THE 11TH OF
THE SAID MONTH
BEING THE 29TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE 17 31

Fig. 80. Auchterarder and Blackford, Perth.
Fig. 81. Dryburgh, Melrose and Innerleithen.
The open Book is also carved on the curious monument at Blackford of three females, not remarkable for beauty, standing in a row, facing the spectator, each holding a Book in front of her (fig. 80c). As the stone is clamped to the wall, I could not see the inscription, which probably would be on the opposite face. A book is also in the hand of the female (fig. 80b), at the same place, and it also appears, simply held upright and open by a hand, at Abercorn.

Fig. 82. Melrose.

The recumbent figure with a winged and eared bat's head (?) above it at Abercorn (fig. 50c), already mentioned, must also be classed as doubtful in meaning; as well as the strange, emaciated, nude figure of a man (fig. 83), at Kirknewton.

Still more puzzling is the group at Newlands, Peebles (fig. 84). A nude figure, apparently a female, stands with folded hands under a skull, and on each side of her, standing on a somewhat higher level, is a male figure wearing a plaid over the right shoulder, girt round the body by a belt. Neither of these figures, which are in perfect preservation, has or has had arms. I had not time to puzzle out the inscription on the other side, but saw the date 1748. All the figures are in high relief. The floral design, shown in the figure, is on the sides of the stone.
Fig. 83. Kirknewton, Midlothian.

Fig. 84. Newlands, Peebles.
A remarkable monument at Stirling, of which I give two drawings by Mr F. R. Coles (figs. 85 and 86), might perhaps be classed with the Resurrection stones on the evidence of the figure blowing a trumpet, at the top of the east face of the stone, although the figure seems to be rising from the sea, but the main subject in the centre below is too much worn to explain itself, and the same must be said of the panel on the west face, the circular border of which is formed by an emblem of eternity, the serpent, with its tail in its mouth. Possibly two subjects are represented here, as a tree-like object running up the centre divides the kneeling figure on the right with the legend beginning LORD MY . . . from the two on the left, one of which in profile with a halo (?) above the head grasps the other round the waist, the latter stretching his right hand above an altar (?). Mr David B. Morris, in a letter to Dr Joseph Anderson, states that he made out the date 1629 and the name “John Service,” who may have been the father of a “Johnne Service, maissoun,” mentioned in the Burgh Records of Stirling as having
made a "sone dyell" set up opposite the "mercat croce." The east face of the stone displays down the side all the implements of the mason or carver's craft, and the stone has apparently been used as a target, as it is much pitted with the marks of musket or pistol bullets on both sides.
Some symbolism must attach to the Weaver's monument at Kinneff (fig. 87), where the shuttle and stretchers are displayed on a shield, above which, set back to back, are two heads in profile, very human-like, but no doubt intended for cherubs, as they have wings proceeding from conventional shoulders. With extended arm they grasp the ends of a cord, which passing over their heads is tied in three knots, possibly typifying the Trinity. The monument is to John Reid and Elspet Meldrum.

Fig. 87. Kinneff, Mearns.

E. Symbolic Emblems.

Passing from symbolic subjects, in which the symbolism expresses some historical event from Scripture or some religious idea, we come to the use of objects either singly or in combination, which express some general idea, such as Mortality, the Flight of Time, etc.
Skull—

As an emblem of mortality this naturally holds a foremost place, and in the early part of this paper we have met with its use in various manners, as at Abercorn (fig. 46e), where it is combined with cross-bones and has an hour-glass perched on it, and again at Abercorn (fig. 47), where the treatment is much the same, as also, but without the lower jaw, at Pittenweem. Once more at Abercorn (fig. 51), it is associated with the hour-glass, and here it is the central object on the stone, and again at Abercorn (fig. 46f), with the hour-glass, from which springs a foliaceous growth. At Lyne (fig. 61) it is suspended in a sheet. At South Queensferry (fig. 70) it takes a prominent place in a Resurrection scene. But, in fact, there are not many monuments in which the skull does not play its part, and I can only single out for further illustration an example of 1684 at Blackford (fig. 88a), strangely furnished with a slight beard and a curled moustache; a very primitive incised seventeenth century example, b, at Foulis Wester; and another, c, at the same place in the middle at the foot of a Table Stone, in which a cone projects from one ear, with its pointed end resting on a crescent-shaped "cushion," and directed towards an hour-glass at a respectful distance in the corner of the Table: perhaps the two symbols have no reference to each other, and the cone may represent the last trumpet sounding in the ear of the dead, but the meaning is obscure.

Cross-bones—

This symbol is as common as the skull itself, with which it is generally, though not always, associated. Frequently it is the thigh bone that is intended to be represented, but anatomical accuracy is very rare.

Hour-glass—

Scarcely if at all less common than the skull is the hour-glass. We have just noticed the association of the two at Abercorn in four cases. In the same churchyard it occurs alone, raised upon a column (fig. 46g), and again alone on the opposite side of the same stone (fig. 46h). It is poised aloft in the hand of Time or Death at Corstorphine (fig. 78a),
Fig. 88. a, Blackford; b, c, Foulis W.; d, Dalmeny; e, Cameron; f, g, Colinton.
and again at Dalmeny (fig. 78b). Frequently it is winged and then may form rather an elegant design. Good examples are the two early ones, at Colinton (fig. 88f, g), one dated 1626. Others are given from Cameron, Fife, e, and Dalmeny, d.

Spade—
This emblem of mortality is also extremely common. It occurs either in the ordinary form, or one-sided, i.e., with a half-handle and half-blade, and these two are frequently crossed. Many examples may be seen in the illustrations, and it is scarcely necessary to indicate any one specially.

Coffin—
This is not at all common on Scottish sepulchral monuments, but it is perhaps not always easily recognisable. It is plain enough in its present form at Kippen (fig. 110), of date 1800; and in the Resurrection scene at Logie-Pert (fig. 29), the object from which the skeleton appears to be rising, although not of the present form, can hardly be anything else than a coffin: of the same general form is the apparent coffin at Marykirk (fig. 89b), where it is associated with skull, hour-glass, and a “trophy” of cross-bones, scythe, and dart, at the foot of a large recumbent slab, dated 1777. I have copied only the “trophy” and coffin in the figure. We can only guess that the crossed objects on the ridge of the roof-slab at Pittenweem (fig. 89d), in memory of William Watson, dated 1657, with an inscription in fine large incised capitals, are coffins; and of the two projections flanking the spade in fig. 17 at Kilmadock all we can say is that if they are not coffins it is hard to say what they are.

Dart or Javelin and Spear—
The dart or javelin is seen in the hand of a skeleton, presumably figuring Death on that account, which arises from the tomb in the Resurrection scene at Logie-Pert (fig. 29), and in the hand of a winged figure carrying also an hour-glass at Dalmeny (fig. 78b), and again in the hand of a similar figure at Abercorn.
But it also occurs combined with other emblems in a sort of trophy at *Marykirk* (fig. 89b), where it is crossed with a scythe and cross-bones, and again much in the same way at *Arbuthnott* (fig. 89a), also at *Brechin*, of date 1744 (fig. 89c), where it is crossed with the scythe only. To be classed as a spear rather than a dart is the weapon used by Death in the Straton monument at *St Cyrus* (fig. 74).

**Scythe—**

The scythe is carried by the figure of Death or Time, holding aloft in the other hand a huge hour-glass, at *Corstorphine* (fig. 78a), and we
have just noticed it crossed with the Dart at Marykirk, Fettercairn, and Brechin.

Cup—

In opposition to all those emblems of mortality, one of the few more hopeful objects to be met with, and that but seldom, is the sacramental cup. We have seen it on the Faith, Charity, and Hope monument (fig. 79) at Perth, and there is the kind of bowl, which perhaps has the same signification at Abercorn (fig. 45), but the only other occurrence of a cup, whether sacramental or not, is at Marykirk (fig. 91e), where it is plainly incised above two crossed spades in one upper corner of a large flat stone, much worn, and with the date erased. In the opposite corner is a blank shield, d.

Anchor—

This also figures in the “Faith, Charity and Hope” stone at Perth. Whether it is intended as an emblem of Hope on the headstone, with a much worn and illegible inscription, at St Monans (fig. 90b), or on another headstone, of date 1763, at St Vigeans (fig. 90c), or in company with the sextant and cross-staff at S. Queensferry (fig. 90a), is questionable, as these are the tombs of mariners.

Tools specially used as Emblems—

It is necessary carefully to distinguish the Tools used as emblems, to inculcate some religious or moral precept, from those of far more frequent occurrence which have no such obvious intent.

Hammer—

In the Greyfriars, Perth, there is an interesting slab to PATRICK GOU, Deacon of the Hammermen from 1676 to 1686, who died in 1699. It contains other names down to 1847, and it is recorded on the stone that the inscription was renewed in 1883 by the Incorporation of Hammermen. In a circular panel the Hand of the Almighty emerges
Fig. 90. a, Queensferry; b, St Monans; c, St Vigeans.
Fig. 91. a, b, Dunning; c, Perth; e, Marykirk.
from a cloud, and grasps a hammer which rests on an anvil (fig. 91c). The inscription is:

TIL . GOD . HATH . WROUGT . WS . TO . HIS . WIL.
THE . HAMMER . UE . SHALL . SUFFER . STIL.

Perhaps entitled to a place here is the well-carved hand grasping a hammer on a headstone at Dunning (fig. 91b), erected by Robert Monteith, smith, Gask, to his mother in 1818, and bearing the proud motto, By Hammer in hand all Arts do stand.¹

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**Shuttle—**

On the curious monument to William Blacklaws, weaver, at

¹ "The proud device borne on the flag of the trade of nailmakers." Memorials of St Michael's Church, Dumfries. W. Mc'Dowall.
Arbuthnot (fig. 92), this implement, carved beside a motto in mixed italic capitals and minuscules, is evidently emblematical.

**MY DAYS ARE SUFTER THAN WEAVERS SHUTTLE.**

**Bugle—**

The “Bugle,” carved in solitary state on a headstone at Kilmadock, or some neighbouring kirkyard (fig. 22), may typify the Resurrection.

**Boat—**

At Dunning, a skeleton-like boat with a paddle, tied to a post, is incised on an undated headstone (fig. 91a). As it is at the very edge of the stone, it may be supposed to have crossed from the other edge, and thus to symbolise the end of man’s voyage through life.

![Fig. 93. Greyfriars, Perth.](image)

**Animals—**

Except when heraldic, emblematic animals are exceedingly rare on the kirkyard monuments. The serpent carved in relief in the form of a circle, an emblem of eternity, on a stone of 1726 (fig. 93), on the ship-monument, Perth (fig. 137), and again on the Service monument at Stirling, of 1626 (fig. 81), are my only examples. But although it is probably ornamental rather than emblematic, the *Dragonesque* creature at the top of a headstone of 1682 at Dalmeny (fig. 94), may come in here. Coming directly from the Dragon Head, the body forms the top moulding of the stone, but a second writhing body, if it be not
intended for the hair of the head, fills up the space between the moulding and the pediment.

**Fig. 94. Dalmeny, W. Lothian.**

**F. EMBLEMS not NECESSARILY SYMBOLIC.**

I have ventured to give this title to a class very largely represented on Scottish tombstones, in which there seems no reason to believe that any religious or moral idea is intended to be conveyed, and which
consists mainly of the matter-of-fact representation of the objects, by means of which the persons commemorated made their living. It would be easy, no doubt, to attach a subtle meaning to almost any of these; thus a ship might be held to typify the voyage of life; but this seems to me to be stretching symbolism too far, and that such ideas were not contemplated in this class is, I think, proved by the general absence from it of the emblems of mortality and immortality, which are so common in other classes. The best mode of treating this division of my subject will be to take up each trade or occupation in succession.

Professions—

Carvings on tombs of the professional classes are rare in the country churchyards. One example is at Rosneath, where, on the end support of a tablestone, erected to a clergyman, his library is represented by a row of folio volumes in a bookshelf (fig. 95). Another is at Kirkconnel, where the Temptation is carved on the tomb of a medical man (fig. 63). Perhaps,
however, I should include also as professional, the tomb apparently of a
musician at Melrose (fig. 96, from a photograph by Miss Curle, Priorwood).

Smith—
The smith has always been a kind of aristocrat among the artisans,
not only in mediæval times, when his skill was so important to the
knight and noble, but down to the present day, when the sword and
spear are turned into the plough and reaping hook.

We have already seen his hammer as a symbol in the hand of
Almighty God at Perth (fig. 91c), and again at Dunning (fig. 91b), in
the hand of a haughty smith, who claims for it the proud honour of
being the mainstay of all the arts. A symbolical meaning was probably

\[ \text{Fig. 97. Tayvallich, Argyle.} \]

also indicated on a scroll attached to the statue of a smith at Ceres (fig.
43b), but it is now illegible. In this case there is a crown above his
hammer; and we have now to point out that this crowning of the
hammer is almost universal on the tombs of smiths, the reason, I
believe, being that various guilds of hammermen, if not all of them,
had the right to the use of the crown. Indeed, my colleague, Mr J. H.
Cunningham, has notified to me an instance of this claim being actually
carved on a tombstone in a small burying-ground at the S.E. angle of
Carsaig Bay, Sound of Jura. On a tablestone, above a shield bearing a
crowned hammer and the date 1735 (fig. 97), is a remarkably well cut
inscription to "John Anderson, Hammerman, in Taighbellich," and
at the foot of the stone, the smith proudly boasts in two lines——
"Of all mechanics we have renowne,  
Above the Hammer we have the Crown."

We shall see that the smith was not the only mechanic who crowned his tool; but with the smith the practice was general, while other instances are exceptional, and perhaps confined to one other trade. Mr Cunningham, besides the remote example just mentioned, noticed others at Crossmichael and Kelton in Kirkcudbright, dated 1781 and 1766.

My oldest example of smiths' tools (fig. 98) is incised on a six-foot slab at Blackford, at a greater distance from the date, 1673, than is shown in the figure. In this case, as well as the one at Kippen (fig. 99), the tongs accompanies the hammer, and in both there are only initials, although in the latter a tablet is engraved THE 12 GENERATION OF SMITHS to show the antiquity of the family. In neither of these does the crown occur.

Obviously of early date is the beautifully preserved crowned example
at Kilmadock (fig. 19), but the oldest crowned one with a date, 1682, is on a handsome headstone (fig. 94), at Dalmeny. Innumerable examples upon shields, generally surmounted by helmet and mantling, occur in the N.E. counties. I give as samples, to show the infinite variety, fig. 100, in which a is from Garvock, dated 1763, the crown and hammer, as in all the others, being in high relief. In this case the anvil is introduced, and the hammer is grasped and held over it by a vice; the initials are incised. b is a very fine specimen from a tablestone at Dun, the letters in high relief, date 1724; c, dated 1773, and d, with a buried date, are from Glamis; e, dated 1776, is from Fettercairn, and f, dated 1801, at Old Eassie, is the only example I have in which a horseshoe takes the place of the crown.

**Shoemaker**—

The shoemaker's or saddler's knife is the only other tool that is occasionally crowned, whether by some guild right or not I do not know. An example, of date 1673, occurs at Kilmadock (fig. 18a), where also is an old but undated and uncrowned one (fig. 18b). Of still older date, 1641, is the slab (fig. 101), at Dunblane, bearing the crown, knives, sole-cutter, and an implement not now in use, rudely incised. A handsome crowned example is at Dun (fig. 102), and another, neatly designed, at Thornton (fig. 103a), and yet another, boldly carved but much worn, at Newbattle (fig. 104a). Boot and shoe sometimes appear, and even a boot

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Fig. 99. Kippen, Stirling.
Fig. 100. Crowned Hammers and Crowned Horse-Shoe.
last (fig. 103b) may be seen at Dunblane. Upon a shield (fig. 103c) at Dunnichen, surmounted by a helmet with a modern neck-tie, are a hammer, cutting forceps and a shoe, but neither knife nor crown. Both boot and shoe of large size accompany the crowned knife, and are set off with the motto THIS IS FOR CRISPIN, and with a foliaceous

Fig. 101. Dunblane, Perth.
design (fig. 104b) on a stone, dated 1721, at Rosneath. My representation, taken from a defective rubbing, is, unfortunately, incomplete.

Fig. 102. Dun, Angus.

Fig. 103. a, Newbattle; b, Dunblane; c, Dunnichen.
Lastly, the unusually modern crowned knife at Anstruther (fig. 40e), may be mentioned.

Fig. 104. a, Newbattle, Midlothian; b, Rosneath, Dumbarton.

Watchmaker—
The only stone to a watchmaker that I have seen is at Inverarity (fig.
105). It shows, on a shield, a hand grasping a small hammer delicately between forefinger and thumb, compasses, two forceps, a vice, and another complex instrument.

**Carpenter**—

On a headstone at *Blackford*, dated 1726, the axe and square are engraved in high relief of natural size, and the shield above bears a St Andrew's Cross, engrailed (fig. 106). Another shield at *Marykirk* bears square, compasses, axe and saw (fig. 105b); and another at *Abercorn* (fig. 48), dated 1748, with square and compasses only, is honoured by a very fine helmet and mantling.

For number of tools, however, nothing in Scotland approaches the English mural monument inside the church of *Stratford-on-Avon*, where the whole armoury of a carver's tools, fifty in number, are displayed, stuck round the edge of a shield, or disposed below it (fig. 107, from a photograph by Miss Carter, Shottery Hall). The inscription is—*On the North Side of this wall Lye the Bodys of Thomas Harbert, Carver, and Elizabeth his wife. She died June the 3rd 1736 Aged 76. He died June the 6th 1738 Aged near 80.*
Fig. 106. Blackford, Perth.

Fig. 107. Stratford-on-Avon.
Mason or Builder—

A mason or builder's monument at Anstruther (fig. 40c) has already been described.

A handsome slab at Fettercairn, carved in very high relief (fig. 108), appears, from the mallets, chisels and squares upon it, to be in honour
of a mason or builder. The carving is a good deal defaced in some parts, therefore I only represent fully the upper part; but the Cherub Head above the tools, and the usual emblems of mortality below them, which I have not reproduced, are traceable. The sides of the slab are ornamented with a simple pattern of bosses or buttons. The inscription round the margin is in Latin, ending, however, with English of inferior workmanship.

*HIC. IACET. PIVS. ET. HONESTVS. JACOBYS. ROCHVS. QUI. COMMVTAVIT. LVCEM. IN. ANNO. DOMINI. 1642. HS AGE. 42 Y.*

Two examples from Logie-Pert (figs. 26d, 28), in which a mason's tools are fully displayed on headstones, have already been given, as well as one on a slab (fig. 20) from Kilmadock, and I have only to add a unique carving (fig. 109), dated 1773, at Dalmeny, of a crowing cock, 28 inches long, perched on chisels, between which is the mason's mallet, and an instance from Kippen (fig. 110), where masonic emblems occupy the top, and a trowel and mason's chisel occur with a number of miscellaneous tools and a coffin occupy the bottom.
Weaver—

As might be expected, from the prevalence of weaving formerly in
the villages, few old kirkyards in most parts of Scotland are deficient in
monuments to weavers, and sometimes they are of a rather ambitious
kind; the one at Kinneff, for example, with its obscure symbolism (fig.
87), already noticed. The shuttle we have seen used symbolically at
Arbuthnott (fig. 92). As a tool it often occurs in the simplest possible
form, as at Forteviot (figs. 111a, b), of dates 1756 and 1730, or combined
with the stretchers, as at Abercorn (fig. 46d). Examples in which the
whole apparatus of the loom are exhibited have already been noticed at
Logie-Pert (figs. 26b, 27). On a weaver's tombstone at Dunning (fig.

![Fig. 111. a, b, Forteviot; c, Dunning, Perth.](image)

111c), dated 1738, an interlaced pattern within a circular border may be
taken to represent his web.

Tailor—

Monuments to tailors I have not often met with, but to the elaborate slab
at Perth of 1651 (fig. 79), on which the scissors and goose appear, I have
to add their occurrence on the sides of a headstone at Traquair (fig. 112a),
with this quaint inscription on the face, in equally quaint spelling:—

HEAR LYS
DAVID BEL SON
TO EB WHO DEPERTED
THIS LIEF THE LAST OF FE
BRAVARY 1691 HER SLEEPES DAVID
BEL FOR AN ONEST TYLOR
DOS EXEL
On the reverse are a winged cherub head, above a skull and cross-bones, flanked by a hammer and hour-glass.

Barber—

The barber’s tools are also not often met with, but on the back of a headstone of 1737, at Dunblane (fig. 112b), we find his bason, razor and comb, and at Greyfriars, Perth, 1777, a mourning widow, with questionable taste, has adorned the back of a wigmaker’s monument with an effigy of his block, with a half-made wig upon it (fig. 112c). The wigmaker, having had a sense of humour, gave his block a comic face, while the widow, being destitute of that sense, reproduces the block, rendered more comic by the two open razors that decorate it
behind, and the large and small-tooth combs in front, and no doubt considered the whole quite an appropriate kirkyard monument.

**Baker—**

The only carved monument to a baker I have seen, is at Abercorn (fig. 46t). It displays his board with three batches of flour upon it, and his roller below.

**Merchant, i.e. Shopkeeper—**

I have already noticed two monuments to village "merchants" at Kilmadock (fig. 21a and b), and here is another (fig. 113). In all of
them occurs a mark resembling the figure 4, a mark which as a distin-
guishing sign of property has had a great vogue of old, and the origin
of which has been the subject of much speculation.

The use of distinguishing marks for merchandise, etc., is said to be at
least as old as the twelfth century (Tokens of the 17th Century, p. xviii.
W. Boyne); and formerly, in some parts particularly of Northern Europe,
almost every kind of property was designated by the owner's mark; in
Ditmarsh, for example, it was cut over the door of his house, and
designated his lands, cattle, stall in church, and finally his grave. Also
the Icelandic Code of Law, styled Grágás, contain numerous regulations
for the use of marks for sheep, house-cattle, eider ducks, harpoons, etc.
(“On the Land of Ditmarsh and the Mark Confederation,” Benjamin
Williams, F.S.A., Archaeologia, xxxvii. 364, where many examples in
other parts of Europe are given).

But of all these marks none seems to have achieved so remarkable a
popularity as that which resembles the figure 4, a resemblance, however,
which is purely accidental, because besides its frequent occurrence re-
versed, or upside down, or sideways or reclining, the mark was in vogue
for centuries before the figure assumed its present form. In point of
antiquity the claim is made for it of occurring on a heathen grave in
South Ditmarsh (op. cit., p. 386); at all events, it was a not infrequent
mason's mark in mediaeval times, originating probably as a modification
of the Cross or of an early Christian emblem, and it is found as early as
A.D. 1294 on a seal preserved in the Guildhall of Norwich. The
frequency of its occurrence in that city is indeed extraordinary, as there
are at least seventy examples, chiefly on merchants' and shopkeepers'
seals of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, but
also on tokens, church windows, and even carved on the castle (“Norwich
Merchant Marks,” W. C. Ewing, Jour. Norfolk and Norwich Arch. S.
1850, p. 177). In England, and particularly in London, it was in
frequent use on tokens of the seventeenth century, and from an earlier
period was in great vogue for distinguishing the ownership of bales
of merchandise; all the chests of tea formerly imported by the East India
Fig. 114. The "4" mark
Company, for example, bearing it in a form like that of the first mark, second line, fig. 114. In the same figure I have given examples of English woolstaplers' marks, A.D. 1559 to 1564, in notarial protests at Antwerp for faults in goods (op. cit., lvii. 385), and one at Faversham with the "4" standing on a bale of wool (P.S.A. Lond., 2nd ser. xii. 9), also of English merchant adventurers' marks, two of them, of which one is A.D. 1538, in the old church of Hull (Arch. Assoc. Jour., ii. 115), and two of dates 1605 and 1624 at St Nicholas' Church, Newcastle (P.S.A. Newcastle, viii. 135).

The following additional English and foreign uses have been brought to my notice, chiefly by Mr Charles S. S. Johnston, architect, Edinburgh (who in conjunction with Mr R. O. Heslop, Newcastle, and Mr Gatheral, Birmingham, has paid great attention to the subject, and whose large collection of original rubbings and drawings I have been privileged to inspect):—on postage stamps and coins of the East India Company; on the title-pages of books; accompanying the signatures of sixteenth-century painters on their pictures; surmounting a heart on the thwart of a modern Breton fishing boat; and marked in chalk on head-boards in Breton graveyards. As an example of one of these uses I give (fig. 114) the device of Jehan Granion, circa 1511, on a smaller scale than the original, and without the surrounding elaborate decoration, from the title-page of a folio, Questions morales etc. David Cranston Scotus, in the possession of Mr George P. Johnston, bookseller, Edinburgh.

Passing now to Scotland, we find the "4" mark used, probably only from the middle of the eighteenth century, as the Arms of the Guildry of Stirling, also as a merchants' mark on several seals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Mr Rae Macdonald), and it exists as a seal (fig. 114) on the butt of a silver fork, dated 1717, which with its companion knife, on the butt of which is another seal with his arms, belonged to Alexander Robertson of Struan, and is now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. Carved on stone, it appears on a shield with supporters and the motto, "We love equity," on a tablet (fig. 116) let into the wall of a house in Dunblane, and perhaps formerly connected with the Stirling Guildry; also at West Coates House, within
Fig. 115. The "4" Mark on Scottish Tombstones.
Fig. 116. Dunblane, Perth.

Fig. 117. Edinburgh.
the precincts of St Mary’s Cathedral, Edinburgh on two lintels (fig. 117) dated 1600 and 1601, one of them with the initials K. H. and C. C. L., the other with K. H. only, the former with the inscription in raised capitals, “I prays ye Lord for al his benefits.” These lintels do not seem to be in their original place and may have been removed from some building in the Old Town, where inscribed lintels abounded, till the destruction in our own day of nearly all the ancient closes. Known to have been quite recently removed from a destroyed house is a corbel bearing the 4 mark, now in the Greyfriars’ graveyard.

It is as a mark upon tombstones, however, that the “4” attained its greatest development in Scotland. In this connection I have met with it, incised, but more often in relief, in three graveyards in Angus, five in Perth, one in Fife, one in Stirling, one in Peebles, and one in Edinburgh; but the range is further than this, as Mr Rae Macdonald has rubbed one at Kells in Galloway.

In fig. 115, a to e are from Stirling; f to i from Perth; k, l, from Dunblane; and m from Montrose. By far the greatest number are at Stirling, where Mr D. B. Morris has counted sixteen, and believes that others have been buried under the soil, as only a small part of a good many tombstones is now visible. Examples are also pretty numerous at Perth and Dundee. In Edinburgh there is now only one—in the Greyfriars’ ground, upon the ornate tomb dated 1606, of John Jackson, “ter quaestor,” i.e. “thrice treasurer” of the city; but I am informed by Dr Joseph Anderson that he saw a good many carved on slabs on the floor of St Giles, which were ruthlessly destroyed at the restoration of the church about 1880.

The range of date in the tombstone examples is from 1606 to 1849, the latter at Burntisland, Fife, observed by Mr Charles Johnston, but these are extreme and solitary instances, and the great mass occur in the eighteenth century.

Considering the adoption of the mark as the Arms of the Stirling Guildry, and that in nearly all the inscriptions I have been able to decipher, it is expressly stated that the person commemorated was a
Fig. 118. Blackford, Perth.
"merchant," there can be little doubt that the "4" on Scottish tombstones is simply a merchant's or shopkeeper's mark, and has no occult or superstitious origin.

As no one "4" is the same as another, it would seem that each user had his distinctive mark, although the use of it probably indicated also membership in the Stirling or other Guildry.

**Miller—**

The favourite badge of the miller is the mill-rynd. It occurs in a very simple form at Forteviot (fig. 119b), and on the tomb of the miller.
of Keltie, 1772, at Dunning, d. It is associated apparently with the millstone at Arbuthnott, f; and at the same place it is borne in the heraldic form of the moline, c, or cross mill-rynd. A millstone also occurs at the foot of the monument with the representation of the

sacrifice of Isaac, at Methven (fig. 67). At Edzell on a shield are displayed two hammers, scales, and a peculiar axe (fig. 119e) on the tomb of the miller of Dalbog, 1757.

Waulk-Miller—
The earliest seventeenth century kirkyard monument I have met
with is the elegant slab of a Valkar (fig. 120), at Glamis, dated 1607. It has a marginal Latin inscription in raised letters—

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CORPORI HVMANDO QVICQVID IMPENDITVR.
NON PRESIDIIUM SALVTIS SED HUMANITATIS.
OFFICIVM EST.
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and carved within it at the foot is a pair of shears with some initials, two stars, and AN 1607.

A marginal inscription on a slab at Edzell records the death of another waulk-miller, indweller in Blackmiln of Corstouns, who died in 1670, and of other members of the family. Within the margin are engraved in relief the tools of his trade (fig. 119a).

**Maltster**—

At Abercorn (fig. 46c) occurs the crossed shovels of a maltster, of
date 1687, and fig. 121, from Stirling, seems to represent the shovel of a maltster or miller, together with a sheaf of corn within a semicircular object, possibly only ornamental, and three sheaves of straw (?). With the figure of the sower at Fettercairn (fig. 77), we seem to have the sheaves of straw only.

We now pass from artisan and indoor occupations to open-air pursuits.

**Gardener and Forester**—

An example of each of these has been given from Abercorn (fig. 46a, b);

![Fig. 124. Forteviot, Perth.](image)

but a large rake and spade crossed (fig. 50a) on the back of a gardener's headstone, dated 1657, also at Abercorn, is the earliest example. The gardener's implements are also fully represented on the "Adam and Eve" stone at Falkirk (fig. 57), and again the spade and rake are crossed (fig. 122) on the headstone of John Sim, gardener, 1761, at Fettercairn; but I owe to Mr J. H. Cunningham a more elaborate example than any of these (fig. 123, reoutlined from his photograph, which was ineligible for direct use, owing to the obscurity caused by the growth of lichen on the stone). It is on a headstone at Dundonald, which is elaborately and beautifully decorated with scroll work at the top and down the sides. Within a square border, the gardener, in a poetical attitude, leans with his elbow against a tree and hand on head; his roller
also leans on the tree; on his right stands a spade, and on his left a rake and pair of garden scissors.

The three much-erased trees (fig. 124) at the head of a tablestone at Forteviot are probably emblematic rather than professional; but the occupation of the family of Garrick, Kildow, is not given in the inscription, which bears dates from 1740 to 1775.

Fig. 125. Kells, Kirkcudbright.

Gamekeeper—

Unique is the monument at Kells, Kirkcudbright (fig. 125), displaying the gun, fishing-rod, flask, and dog of John Murray, gamekeeper, who died in 1777. A partridge is also carved, dog and partridge standing dolefully back to back. The stone was erected by the Hon. Captain John Gordon, who offered a prize of one guinea for the most suitable epitaph. The Rev. Mr Gillespie, minister of the parish, won the prize with the following lines:—
Ah, John, what changes since I saw thee last;
Thy fishing and thy shooting days are past.
Bagpipes and hautboys thou canst sound no more;
Thy nods, grimaces, winks, and pranks are o'er.
Thy harmless, queerish, incoherent talk,
Thy wild vivacity, and trudging walk
Will soon be quite forgot. Thy joys on earth—
A snuff, a glass, riddles, and noisy mirth—
Are vanished all. Yet blest, I hope, thou art,
For, in thy station, weel thou play'dst thy part.

This odd character caught the largest pike on record in Loch Pen, 7 feet long, and weighing 72 lbs., and throwing it on the floor at his master's feet, exclaimed, "Ye may catch the next yersel!"

*Factor*—
Closely allied to the large class which immediately follows, is the factor, or country estate agent. The highly ornate monument to Gilbert Conder, factor to Viscount Stormonth, dated 1707, of which I give a drawing, traced over a photograph (fig. 126), stands in the churchyard of Ruthwell, Dumfries. It was originally mural, but is now 2½ feet in advance of the church wall, to which it is fixed by an iron bar. The total height is 6 feet 8 inches, and the width 3 feet 8 inches. Some injury has been sustained at the top, but otherwise the monument is in good preservation, and probably few stones in our country kirkyards excel it in minuteness of detail and elegance of design.

*Farmer*—
It will be convenient to classify the stones commemorating the Farmer according as they bear the Ploughshare, the Plough, or the Spade.

(a.) *Ploughshare*—
The Ploughshare is represented in a great variety of ways. Generally the Culter and Share are either crossed or are fitted to each other, but sometimes they are detached. Often the Ploughshare stands alone, but not infrequently it has the Yoke for a companion. At Kilmadock (fig. 14a), of date 1627, Thornton (fig. 127a, g), 1784, 1794, and Dunblane, e, we see the two parts separated; and at Forteviot, 1752, Perth, 1720, and at Stirling
and Aberuthven, 1796 (fig. 127b, c, f, h), Inverarity (figs. 131, 134b, d), Kilmadock (fig. 14b), and in four at Dunblane (figs. 128, 129, 130), as well as in two at Logie-Pert (fig. 26c, e), they are either crossed or fitted together.

Fig. 126. Ruthwell, Dumfries.
Fig. 127. Ploughs, etc. on Farmer's tombs.
Accompanied by the Yoke, the Ploughshare is met with at Inverarity (fig. 131) on a shield surmounted by a helmet with an interlaced mantling; in the early example, 1627, at Kilmadock (fig. 14a); and in four (figs. 128, 129, 130) of the Dunblane series of five, dating from 1736 to 1759, of which the most ancient (fig. 128) may be singled out for the fine pattern-like effect of the initials cut in relief in a sunk panel.

(b.) Plough—

The complete Plough I have met with much less frequently. Besides
Fig. 130. Dunblane, Perth.

Fig. 131. Inverarity, Angus.
the examples already given at Kilmadock (fig. 14c, d) and Logie-Pert (fig. 26f) I have only seen two, one, dated 1790, at Forteviot (fig. 127d), and the other at Kilrenny (at the foot of the same figure).

Fig. 132. Fettercairn, Mearns.
(c.) **Spade**—

As Dunblane was the centre of the Ploughshare, six-feet slabs, representing farming, so Kilmadock seems to have been the centre of the Spade slabs, and in both instances the spreading to neighbouring kirkyards seems to have been slight. Perhaps the Spade was preferred at Kilmadock because of a prevalence of spade husbandry in the district at that time. I have given four examples, three (figs. 15, 16a, 17) from Kilmadock, and one from Thornhill (fig. 16b).

**Mosgrieve**—

This was the title of the estate-official who formerly measured and superintended the cutting of the peat on the mosses for the use of the tenants. A very fine slab at Fettercairn (fig. 132) is the only instance I have seen of a monument in honour of a mosgrieve. I have only given the upper two-thirds of the stones in my drawing. The central subject is a hand holding a coiled measuring line or tape within a shield, above which is a helmet with a foliaceous and scroll mantling, which is surmounted by a handsome angel or cherub head with an idealised bust from which issue the wings. The inscription round the margin between two richly carved borders runs thus—*Here rests in the Lord John Wallentine late Mosgrieve in Arnhale who departed this lyf 23 Febryr. 1679 and his age 55 yeares. And his spouse Agnes Lowe who departed this lyf the 12 June 1682 and hire ... 6 yeares*
Shepherd—

The Sheep, etc. At St Bride's, Pass of Leny, there is a stone showing one sheep; in a deserted graveyard at Glenalmond, one with a sheep and lamb; and at Row another (fig. 133) with cows (?) and a horse at a manger.

Conjoined Farm Implements—

At Kilrenny a nineteenth century stone displays a sickle, scythe, and crossed rake and two-pronged fork in a row above a plough, which is flanked by harrows and has below it a small three-pronged fork, a spade, and other objects (at the foot of fig. 127).

Conjoined Tools—

At Newlands occurs what we can only call the strange freak of double tools, shown in fig. 134c, one having a spade and a pick-axe at either end, the other two spades, the shaft connecting them taking a rectangular bend. Cross-bones separate the two implements.

(f.) Conjoined Occupations—

The crowned Hammer of the smith is displayed along with the Ploughshare and Yoke of the farmer (fig. 134b) on a shield on the elaborately carved slab to John Smith and Betty Car (fig. 69) at Inverarity. At the same place we find the Ploughshare combined with a carpenter's tools (fig. 134d) on a shield, date 1775.

In the romantic old burying-ground of St Skae, near Montrose, perched on the edge of a cliff overlooking the North Sea, on a large tablestone with many eighteenth century dates erected by William Allardice, tenant in Boddin, two panels (fig. 134a) in the upper corners have on the right his arms above a crown, and on the left various carpenter's or mason's tools, also with a crown below, the only instance I know of a Crown below tools. Between the panels is a highly ornamented scroll, with SEQUITUR MORS CORPUS UT UMBRA.
Fig. 134. a, St Skae; b, d, Inverarity; c, Newlands.
Sailor.

(a.) Ships—

A seafaring life is so different from that of the landsman that a totally distinct class of monuments might be looked for when we come to seaports and fishing villages. Nevertheless, the general type is quite the same as in landward parishes, and it is only occasionally that a ship, boat, or other nautical sign is met with.

Fig. 135. Newhaven, Midlothian.

Nearly a century earlier than any of the kirkyard examples, however, may be here noticed a well preserved carving in relief of a vessel, displaying at the mastheads the Cross of St Andrew, and dated 1588 in raised letters, to which my attention was directed by Mr Alex. A. Inglis, whose photograph of it is reproduced in fig. 135. It is built
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS. 417

into the wall of a house in Main Street, Newhaven, near Edinburgh, and forms the top of a column which seems to be constructed of several heterogeneous pieces. In fact, if the piece with the ship be of the professed date, which there seems no reason to doubt, this must be so, as the panel below displays not only a cross-staff, but a sextant, and I am informed by Mr Scott, the eminent shipbuilder of Greenock, than whom there is no better authority, that the sextant was unknown till more than a century after 1588.¹ The shaft of the column, also originally an independent piece, is not shown in the figure.

The earliest of my ships on a sepulchral stone is of date 1673, at Kilrenny (fig. 136). It is at the top of a large handsome slab leaning against the church wall. The vessel is under sail in a calm sea leaving a huge sun behind her, and sailing towards an equally disproportionately large cross-staff. The inscription is in memory of James Brown, bailie in Kilrenny.

A century later comes a fine monument in the Greyfriars, Perth, my drawing of which (fig. 137) is from a photograph taken by Lieut.-Col. J. Campbell, when Governor of H.M. Prison, Perth. An arched Pediment contains initials within a scroll ornamentation, with a Cherub Head on either side, and is supported by two ornate pilasters, between which is the ship, carved in high relief, and conventionally treated, of which I give an enlarged drawing taken from my rubbing (fig. 138). Beneath it, two sailors (fig. 139), surmounted and surrounded by a deeply carved helmet and mantling, hold a shield displaying a rayed Sun and an Anchor with the motto “SOLI DEO GLORIA” below. On the top of the monument lie two chubby cherubs blowing trumpets,

¹ Mr Scott has referred me to an early treatise on Navigation, The Lightning Columnne, or Sea Mirrour etc. etc., Amsterdam pr. (in English) by J. and C. Lootsman, Booksellers, in the Lootsman, 1698. A copy of this interesting and beautifully got up work is in the possession of Mr G. P. Johnston, bookseller, Edinburgh, who has kindly allowed me to inspect it, and I find that it contains a very full account of the cross-staff and the mode of using it, and that the cross-staff, besides other nautical instruments of the day, is represented over and over again in the ornamental as well as in the scientific illustrations, but there is no notice or drawing of anything resembling a sextant.
HERE LYESTHE CORP
SOF ANEHONESTAND
VERTVOVSMA NJAMES
BROVNSPOVSTOAGNIS
FOORDSOMETIMEBAI
LIE IN KILRENNEYVHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
DECEMBER 22 1673
AND OF HIS AGE 62

Fig. 136. Kilrenny, Fife.
Fig. 187. Perth.
of one of which I give an enlarged sketch in fig. 140, and between
them on the very summit is a skull. The inscription on the other
side tells in Capitals that CIRSTEN BISET SPOUSE TO ROBERT

BROWHOUSE SAILOR lies here, and below, in cursive letters, are the
following lines:—

Happy the soul that lives on hie
Whil dust lyes resting here.
Whose bless is all above the skie
Where nothing breeds us fear
She wants no power nor earthly thron
To raise his figure here
Content and pleased to be unknown
Til Christ his lyfe appear.
Another ship at *Perth* of about the same date, 1755, is given (fig. 141), and a third, undated but probably earlier (fig. 142). Dated 1747 is the curious headstone (fig. 143, from a photograph by Mr Alex. A. Inglis) erected in Old Calton burying-ground, Edinburgh, by Captain John Gray to the memory of his parents, with a rude but forcible carving of a full rigged ship under sail, above the inscription. Flanking the inscription on its left, are successively a skull and a grinning
bearded face, suspending from the mouth, by means of two ribbons, crossed scythes and cross-bones. On the right is a Benign Head with a Halo and clerical bands, below which are a crossed spade and coffin and cross-bones. The skull and heads are well designed and carved. Other eighteenth century vessels are: a neat cutter (fig. 144) at St Vigeans, on a headstone of 1730, to William Spanker and Helen Spink; a brig under sail at Anstruther W., 1786 (fig. 40b); a sloop (fig. 145) at Inverkeillor; a brigantine at anchor in a rough sea with the spray dashing off the bows (fig. 146) at Montrose; and at the same place what has been a spirited rendering of a brig sailing in a rough sea with spray at the bows, and a wave curling round at the stern (fig. 147), but unfortunately the greater part of the vessel has scaled off. To the nineteenth century, besides the brig at Anstruther East (fig. 40), of date 1813, belongs the very fine representation of H.M.S. "London" (fig.
148), running before a fresh breeze, evidently with every rope and sail truly placed, as if the carving had been superintended by the former quarter-master, James Napier, who caused the stone to be put up in 1809 in memory of his grandfather, Bailie John Hunter, tenant in Millplough, who died in 1792.
Fig. 147. Montrose.

Fig. 148. Arbuthnott, Angus.
At Montrose, of date 1818, there is the curious but appropriate carving of a ship on the stocks (fig. 149) in memory of Robert Strachan, a shipbuilder.

(b.) **Boats**—

Boats do not seem to have come into fashion in the kirkyards till the nineteenth century, and they occur but seldom. At Bervie there is a stone erected in “memory of her affectionate husband, Andrew Watt, sometime White Fisher in Gourdon,” by Christian Hay in 1811. The skipper seems to be alone in the large boat, keeping her under easy sail, while the crew row out to her in a smaller boat (fig. 150). At St Vigeans, John Spink, mariner in Auchmithie, has erected a stone...
carved with a boat, anchor, and two life-like haddocks (fig. 151), and at the same place the stone of John Swankie and Helen Cargill displays a boat apparently on the beach with the sails spread to dry, and two whitings crossed (fig. 152).

**Anchor**—
The anchor occasionally appears on sailors' tombs in fishing villages, and has already been dealt with.

![Diagram of boat and anchor](image1.png)

**Cross-staff and Sextant.**
Examples of these nautical instruments occur in figs. 49, 90a, and 136.

**G. Effigies and Portraits.**
The churchyard artist, in carving the human form, seems very rarely indeed to have aimed at portraiture. The only unquestionable instance I know is the medallion head of a musician at Melrose (fig. 96), with his violin and clarionet crossed in a panel below. Possibly some of the comparatively well-designed and expressive recessed heads at Melrose and Dryburgh (fig. 81) are portraits, and the well-proportioned husband and wife, perched on brackets on a headstone at Kirkconnel (fig. 153), approach nearer than usual to portraiture. A nearer approach, however, also at Kirkconnel (fig. 154, like the last and the next, from a photo-
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS.

graph by Mr Clyde), is the half-length of Helen Thomson, d. 1823, aged 25, the prominent lacing of whose dress and her gaunt figure have caused the belief in the district that she died of tight lacing; the small rider on a caparisoned horse below being her spouse galloping for the doctor, who arrived too late! The helmet and mantling and ornamental parts of the design are unusually fine.

But any intention of portraiture can hardly be claimed for the rudely carved children on a stone at Kirkpatrick Fleming (fig. 155), as they are too old to be representations of the infants, aged three days, eight months, and fourteen months, to whom the stone is dedicated. Also in such caricatures as we see in fig. 80, while the costume and the dressing of the hair or wig are faithfully rendered, the features seem to be treated
conventionally; and in the rude figures of a mother and child on a head-stone at Luss (fig. 156), instead of portraiture it seems as if the intention was to show that the child died of disease of the hip-joint. The first part of the inscription on the other side of the stone is: "Here lyes

the Corps of Clementina Loudevick Marie and Ann Grants, children to James Grant, servant to the Right Honorable James Grant of Grant—and Margrie Colquoun his spouse 1731." As more than one child died, the surname is put in the plural.
Medieval effigies are rarely imitated in the seventeenth century monuments of the churchyards, and those that I have seen may be either on the site of a former church, or outcasts from a ruinous church. The few I have met with are in Fife, at Kilconquhar and Pittenweem. At the former place, on the site of an earlier church, several slabs lie together, one with a clumsy figure clad in armour, known as "Jock of Bucklevie," and another, dated 1626, is inscribed to "William Scot of Elie." I had no opportunity of drawing these, but I give in fig. 157 a representation of the single example at Pittenweem. The effigy is nearly five feet long, and is in high relief, although the pretternaturally broad chest is perfectly flat. The costume is that of a civilian without sword or other weapon. The hands are in the usual attitude of prayer, but most of the minor details, as well as the inscription and date, are worn away. A small-hour glass, shield, cross-bones and cross-
coffins, in high relief, flank the lower limbs. It is probably a work of the early part of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 158. Kincardine, Perthshire. (From a photograph by Mr F. J. Martin, F.S.A. Scot.)

But the most remarkable monument in this style is a headstone at Kincardine, Blair Drummond, Perth. Beneath a quaint, winged cherub head, is an open book, flanked by effigies of an adult male and female, with ten children in two rows below, all in high relief. On the pages
of the open book is incised the following inscription in strangely mixed characters, the continuation of the last clause being supposed to be over the stone page.

Inscription on the open book on fig. 158.

The inscription on the stone itself—curiously inserted between the marginal pilasters, the adult figures, and the book—is in memory of "Jennet Forgeson," who died in 1750, "Spouse to George Bachup," who is not otherwise mentioned; neither is any notice taken of the children.

The first child, like his father, is costumed in a tightly-buttoned frock coat, and the mother wears a gown embroidered at the edge all round, but the other children are nude, and their sex is perhaps indicated. The clothed boy has the left hand on his hip and the right arm extended near his side, and the fourth and fifth children stretch their arms toward each other and have their feet turned towards each other, but all the others have their arms close to their sides and their feet turned to the
left. What may be the significance, if any, of this variety in treatment is left to conjecture, as there is no information on the stone.

An inscription on a stone nearly touching this one is to a family of Bachops, tenants of Ochtertyre, a farm close to the burying-ground.

H. Quasi-Heraldic Devices.

True heraldry, or what passes for such, on the tombstones, I have not dealt with, although it sometimes appears incidentally in my drawings, as in the Doig slabs at Kilmadock (figs. 5, 6, 7, 8); the Straton monument, St Cyrus (fig. 74), etc. One more example may be given,

![Fig. 158A. Balquhidder, Perth.](image)

though it is in the Highland kirkyard of Balquhidder, as it is the only gravestone I know that is erected in honour of the Arms of a family (fig. 158A). The double-headed eagle and crown are well cut at the top, although the artificer has put LL instead of U in the DOMINUS of the motto, and the inscription begins with In Honour of the Arms of the Earl of Glasgo, 1723, followed by numerous names and dates much overgrown with moss. The stone seems to have been put up by a lady who had married into the family.

Doubtfully heraldic are the pennons (fig. 159) which occur on the seventeenth century tombs, with recumbent effigies, at Kilconquhar, and there only as far as my observations go.
But it is with the imitation of heraldry that I have chiefly to do, and particularly with the very extensive use of the helmet and mantling by artisans, mainly, though far from exclusively, in the north-eastern counties. Some examples are well and elaborately designed, and being deeply cut, make a handsome show (figs. 28, 38, 39, 48, 65, 131, 132, 137, 154), and there is a really good barred helmet with cushion and a bird perched on the top (fig. 160) on the tomb of a mechanic, dated 1786, at Dunnichen, but the examples are so numerous that, as it seemed unnecessary to multiply them, I soon ceased copying them. Degraded types also prevail, and the final metamorphosis seems to have been the conversion of the helmet into a human head, the mantling being still preserved (fig. 27).

These helmets nearly all have a cord or ribbon round the neck. It is wound round in various ways, but the climax is reached at Dunnichen (fig. 103c), where the form is assumed of the modern neck-tie.

I. OBJECTS OF DOUBTFUL MEANING.

Several objects the meaning of which it is not easy to explain have been already incidentally mentioned, but I here bring together a few others which have not yet found a place.

On the tomb of Margaret Guthrie, 1730, at Arbuthnott, there is carved in relief a circular ball with a chequered pattern, from or into which a worm seems to be wriggling (fig. 161). This bears some resemblance to the heraldic tadpole.
Also at Arbuthnott, on a monument to a family called Chaplain, is an angel-head with a conventional body, winged from the shoulders, and with a heart suspended from it, and a small spear head incised on its right side (fig. 162), inscribed DON: 1726.

Opposite the east end of Foulis Wester church is a half-buried stone, which, as far as can be seen, seems to be a solid semi-cylinder, 5 feet 9 inches long and 1 foot 6 inches wide and 4 inches high above ground, without inscription or date. At one end are beautifully incised an axe and what resembles a short-bladed sword or very long knife, the handle of which has no hilt guard (fig. 163).

It is difficult to attach a meaning to the heads that occasionally occupy the top of a pediment. It is a position similar to that so often taken by the cherub, but the leering face squeezed in between the volutes of the cornice on the headstone at Abercorn (fig. 45) can scarcely be a cherub. The more dignified head at Kirknewton, dated 1705 (fig. 164), has more
claim to the honour, but perhaps in these and similar cases the head is merely an appropriate finish to the design.

Fig. 164. Kirknewton, Midlothian.

**PART IV.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCHYARD MONUMENTS IN GENERAL.**

Besides the numerous inscriptions shown in the figures of stones with designs, I came upon a considerable number in which designs were either absent, or were quite subordinate. The oldest (fig. 165), is the only black-letter one met with, except that at Kilmadock (fig. 1). It is fragmentary, and is built into the coarse masonry of the wall of the kirkyard of Pittenweem, so irregularly (something in the way shown in

Fig. 165. Pittenweem, Fife.

Fig. 166. Pittenweem, Fife.
the figure, except that the three portions are further apart) that it cannot be told how the fragments were originally related to each other.

On a tablet, also at Pilteneeem, is the imperfect Latin inscription (fig. 166).

Another tablet, inscribed with the Latin version of the 1st verse of the xl. Psalm, in handsome raised capitals, 6 inches long, and with an object, which may possibly be meant for a gourd, on a shield at the foot (fig. 167), is at Blackford, and is perhaps a relic of a pre-Reformation
church, as may be the other fragment (fig. 168) built into the kirkyard wall at the same place.

A very handsome slab at Inverarity has a Latin inscription which nearly covers it, and is quite decorative (fig. 169). It is in memory of JACOBVS . RAMISÆVS, and was erected by DILECTA . EIYS . UXOR . MARGARETA . KYNNARD. The date is 1646.

At Dunning (fig. 170), dated 1624, is the earliest headstone I have seen. The inscription is incised.

![Fig. 168. Blackford, Perth.](image)

It only remains to give as specimens of seventeenth century raised lettering the finely-cut capitals, 7 inches long (fig. 171), on a mural tablet at Montrose of 1680, two inscriptions on tablets in the wall of Dun kirkyard (figs. 172, 173), of dates 1690 and 1693, and the remaining parts of the beautiful inscription (fig. 174) which runs in a double line round the top of the cornice of the monument to Arthur Straton at St. Cyrus (fig. 74). Jervise was able to make out more of the outer inscription than is now possible, with whose help it runs thus:

```
...... HIC . SEPVTVS . JACET ..........

................. THVRVS . STRATON ....
MARGRETÆ . LEonis . QVÆ . OBIIT ........

............ 1646 . ÆTATIS SVÆ 58 .......
```
Unfortunately, he does not give the inner line at all.

Inscriptions in a current hand occasionally occur, and sometimes minuscules are mixed with capitals, as in figs. 175, 177.

Fig. 169. Inverarity, Angus.
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS. 439

PART V.—GENERAL REMARKS.

1. HISTORY.

In the first part of this paper it has been explained that the Early Christian Monuments, found occasionally in the kirkyards, are not

Fig. 170. Dunning, Perth.

Fig. 171. Montrose.

Fig. 172. Dun, Angus.

Fig. 173. Dun, Angus.

of them, and that the hog-backed monuments, the next set in point of date, or at least some of them, have a better claim to be regarded as the
first memorials of the dead erected in the kirkyards as such, and not merely accidentally located there. During the following long mediæval period, and even till about fifty years after the Reformation, monuments seem to have been very exceptional in the Lowland kirkyards. Further evidence on this point, no doubt, is desirable, but in my own experience I have seen only one mediæval monument in a kirkyard, the black-letter slab at Kilmadock (fig. 1), and only three of the half century succeeding the Reformation (figs. 2, 3, 4), some of which may have been strays from the interior of early churches; and it is not till 1607 (my earliest example, fig. 120) that the slab was fairly introduced, to be speedily followed by the headstone (my earliest example of which, fig. 170, is dated 1624), although the latter continued to be compara-
tively rare till the next century. But, it may be said, does not this absence of the more ancient monuments depend on their decay, destruction or removal? All these processes may be seen going on under our eyes in the comparatively flimsy monuments of the centuries after the Reformation. The effects of decay are everywhere visible; much destruction has resulted from the "redding up" of graveyards within the last fifty years, the older monuments, varied in type, rich in designs of interest, but scattered in picturesque confusion, and no longer claimed by existing families, having been got rid of to make room for rows of utterly uninteresting headstones drawn up like regiments of soldiers in columns of companies. I have myself known of an instance in which the old stones were sold at a shilling the cart load, and I have been informed of another case in which the sexton habitually chiselled off the carvings and inscriptions from the old stones and sold them to serve as new ones. Then as to removal. Besides the removal and subsequent destruction of uniquely interesting stones at Logie-Pert already noticed, I may quote an example from a well-known fishing village where, when I remarked on the absence of eighteenth century monuments in the kirkyard, I was told—"Oh! you'll find them all forming an excellent floor for Mr So-and-So's fish curing shed!"

But after all not a few kirkyards, deserted or in use, still remain "unimproved," where traces of mediaeval monuments, if they ever existed, might be expected to be found, and from their absence it seems safe to conclude that throughout the mediaeval period, and till about half a century after the Reformation, it was not the custom to erect monuments to the dead in the kirkyards at all.

The tomb of the Borderer George Ramsay (fig. 4), dated 1597, is the only example I have met with that may be said to mark the transition stage. It is not within the church and has neither recumbent figure nor sword carved upon it, but it commemorates a warrior and no doubt a man of good lineage. Only a few years later and how great is the change! During the first half of the seventeenth century, if we take into account the number that must have perished, or that are now
illegible, kirkyard monuments became quite common, but they are no longer in honour of the warrior and aristocrat. The sword of the knight gives way to the plough of the farmer, to the trade emblems of the burgess or shopkeeper, and to the tools of the artisan. For the remainder of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century the kirkyards were literally crowded with tombstones of this kind, and it was only in the nineteenth century that they gave way to the commonplace monuments with which we are too familiar.


Symbolism, restricting the term to a religious signification, is often well marked and unmistakable, but not unfrequently it is feebly manifested, or may be altogether absent. As might be expected from the gloomy history of the country, and the stern austere character of the Church, in the Covenanting period, the symbolism tends to warn or threaten the wanderer among the tombs, rather than to encourage his hopes of salvation. Emblems of mortality everywhere abound, and are treated with much fertility of imagination. The skull, alone or in company with other bones, poses in a great variety of ways, although not often so absurdly as when adorned with a moustache and beard at Blackford (fig. 88a).¹

¹ Its use, however, was not entirely post-Reformation, as it is carved, along with several bones (fig. 176), on the base of a Calvary cross on a slab at St Andrews, in memory of a canon of the cathedral, and dated 1513. From The Ancient Monuments of St Andrews, Rev. Charles Lyon, 1847.
CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON KIRKYARD MONUMENTS. 443

The hour-glass, a more poetic emblem, may be seen plain or ornate, squat or unnaturally elongated, winged, sending up a leafy branch from its top, held in the hand of Time or Death, balanced upright or horizontally on the top of a skull, or reared aloft upon a column.

Or take the more ambitious subject of the Resurrection. Angels or cherubs, clothed or naked, or winged heads of them, blow trumpets of various forms into the ears of skeletons which rise with a half pleased, half surprised air to meet their doom, or into the ears of a skull; in another instance the ascending figures are clothed in the flesh, and a sinuous trumpet is blown between them, not near the ears. Sometimes the trumpets are simply sounding into space and have no connection with figures of any kind. Texts, or mottos upon open books or scrolls, accompanying the designs, show that it is not the glorious Resurrection but the solemn call to judgment that is typified. The inscriptions on the monuments in general, indeed, are more threatening than hopeful, a favourite in the north-eastern counties being the warning to the passer-by that he shall one day be like him who lies below.

Hope, however, is not entirely banished, if we may take the very widely spread and benign-looking winged head as an emblem of heaven and immortality. Its position entitles it to this distinction, as it is almost invariably at the top of a monument, whether it be a slab or a headstone, thus triumphing, as it were, over the emblems of mortality which run down the sides, or are collected at the foot. The head is sometimes cherub-like, with chubby cheeks and curly hair, but perhaps is more often man-like with hair dressed in the fashion of the period and occasionally attains a considerable dignity of expression. The wings are generally conventional, but at times are treated with fidelity, every quill carefully carved. Sometimes they are united under the head, and the evolution may be traced through which this junction becomes a quilled collar or frill and gradually disappears till the wings spring from the head, or even, more definitely, from the cheeks or ears. In the unique case at Arbuthnott (fig. 92) we have three heads with wings so placed, and the heads are perched upon pedestals.
It would take too long to refer to the numerous illustrations in which the cherub or angel head has already appeared, but I add a few more, in which the cherub plays a chief part.

A well designed winged head at Kinneff (fig. 177) dominates the double Latin inscription on a headstone of 1707, erected by Joannes Lindsay to himself, his beloved wife, Joanna Naper, and to his family. In the second part of the inscription the word *mors* is dealt with in almost a punning manner.

The cherubic head is very rarely crowned, but a remarkable instance occurs in fig. 56 at Fettercairn. The only other case I know (fig. 178) is at Kirknewton. Possibly the Almighty may be intended in these cases. I have also only met with one instance of an “angel trumpeter” wearing a crown (fig. 29), at Logie-Pert.
A singular treatment of the cherub occurs at Rosyth. As shown in the drawing (fig. 179), kindly sent to me by Mr Alan Reid, F.S.A. Scot., the head, balancing a skull on the opposite side, looks outwards from the top of the side of a headstone, and from the front is seen in profile, while the wing, proceeding from the head, occupies the top of the face of the stone.

But in many monuments the religious symbolism of the carvings is either slight or altogether absent, and this is particularly the case where tools are displayed. Certain tools, indeed, are often surmounted by a crown, and it would be easy to attach to this combination the symbolical meaning of labour here below and the heavenly reward to follow. But we must not strain symbolism too far, particularly when a simpler explanation is at hand; and I have already shown that in my experience it is only the hammer and the shoemaker's knife that are thus honoured, probably because certain guilds had or assumed a right to the crown.

That no religious signification was intended in these cases seems also proved by the great number of monuments on which nothing whatever is carved but tools. The very number of the tools in individual cases seems to show that they are merely faithful portraits, without any symbolic meaning, other than the expression of an honest pride in the implements by which the man had made his living, at a primitive
time when the gospel of doing as little work, and that as indifferently as possible, had not yet been preached.

Art of the Sculptures.—It may seem a misnomer to speak of art in connection with these post-Reformation monuments. A great authority among ourselves, indeed, has declared that the Scottish Lowlander is incapable of being an artist. But whether we call the sculpture good or bad, art it is, and I believe, when fairly judged, it will be found not altogether contemptible. It is when dealing with humanity that failure is most manifest. Portraiture is probably never attempted, but the figures are at least often meant to be human, and, it must be confessed, they generally fall far short of the ideal.

The ornamental carvings, on the other hand, are often in better taste, and even if some of the details are bad,—and too frequently a grinning skull or hideous death's head mars the design,—yet the general effect is pleasing enough. The shape of the stones, also, is often not inelegant, and the ornamentation on the border of the slabs is far from being contemptible.

The inscriptions are generally skilfully worked into the design, and may even form the chief part of it, as in fig. 169, and the letters, whether raised or incised, are often well cut, although sometimes they are very irregular in size (fig. 5). Another irregularity is the use of upright and sloping capitals in the same inscription (fig. 37), which evidently does not depend on want of skill in the artificer, but perhaps on the desire to escape from monotony in his work. Yet another irregularity is the occasional binding of the letters, which seems to follow the caprice or fancy of the workman rather than any law, unless its use in binding together the names of husband and wife, as in fig. 37, may be intended to typify their happy union.

Inspiration of the Designs.—It is remarkable how little of the decorative carvings has been derived from the beautiful patterns on the Early Christian Monuments. I can only recall two examples of interlaced work, one of which (fig. 111c), in honour of a weaver, was probably inspired by his web. The other (fig. 131), is undoubtedly in
the old interlaced style, the ribbons ending, moreover, in human heads. Another possible derivative of that remote period is the dragon-like head which seems to have two serpent bodies at Dalmeny (fig. 94).

Medieval inspiration comes mainly from the domain of heraldry, and it is not always easy to separate the true from the imitative examples of shields. There can be no doubt, however, about the purely decorative use of the helmet and mantling by artisans and others in a humble station of life, so very common in the north-eastern counties, nor that the accompanying shield is merely adopted for the display of tools, without any heraldic intention.

The Bible, the Church, and the graveyard itself, however, must be looked to for the origin of much that is carved on the tombstones. The Bible, no doubt, prompted the realistic scenes of the Temptation, etc., and the imaginative "Resurrections." In the Church the artist saw the hour-glass, at that period fixed on every pulpit, which he has treated so variously, and in the Churchyard the skulls, bones, coffins, etc., of which he makes such ample use.

The Designers and Artificers.—The monuments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do not appear to have been the product of any centres or schools of art. Rather it would seem that every district, almost every parish, had its own artificer who developed his own style, even if there was much in common to them all. One evidence of this is the limited range of particular kinds of monuments. Thus the large incised ploughshares on six-feet slabs I have found only at Dunblane and a few of the neighbouring kirkyards, while at Kilmadock, only five miles off, large incised spades and very small ploughs in high relief take their place as the farmer's representatives. Then again, the helmet and mantling, although so common in the north-eastern counties that scarcely a churchyard is without one specimen, and some have half a dozen or more, is never treated in the same way. No two of them are alike. Or take the "Adam and Eve" stones. They became fashionable suddenly, and for a brief period as if by a common impulse; but it is not too much to say that hardly one is like another, or could have
been the work of one and the same artist. If it be the case, then, that the monuments were designed by the village mason, we should be the more indulgent in our criticisms, and should rather wonder at the measure of success sometimes attained, than be surprised by their manifold shortcomings.

3. COMPARISON WITH MONUMENTS IN OTHER PARTS OF BRITAIN.

The Highlands of Scotland.—As far as my observations go, the post-Reformation tombstones in some parts of the Highlands resemble a good deal those of the Lowlands, particularly in the eighteenth century, but sometimes they are exceedingly rude, as at Braemar and Crathie (fig. 180). My knowledge of the kirkyards in the north and east Highlands, however, is so scant that comparison must be limited to Argyleshire and the west. One of the most striking facts that my investigations have brought out is the almost entire absence of all warlike weapons on
the tombs of the Lowlands. By the seventeenth century the Lowland countryman had become a peaceful agriculturist or mechanic, and glorified, not the sword, so long the honoured weapon on mediaeval monuments, but the plough, hammer, etc. The Highlander, on the other hand, continued to be a warrior during the whole of that and the following century; and if the beautiful decorated-sword slabs of the west, made familiar to us by James Drummond, had run their course by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the martial spirit of the Gaels was still occasionally manifested on their tombs in less elegant style; and although I can quote no great number of examples, it may be partly because they have not yet been looked for, partly because very few of the West Highland monuments are dated. The latest dated sword-slab in Drummond’s book bears the sword with no decoration, and is probably very early in the seventeenth century, but only the figures 16 survive. Mr Graham gives engravings of a slab, dated 1618, with a rapier on it, of another with a sword and galley, dated 1678, and a third with a full-sized gun, dated 1696, and mentions a slab with a sword and an eighteenth century inscription. All these are in Islay. My own contributions are only two in number; one (fig. 181) is from a hasty drawing which I took of a panel on a tomb at Kilbride, Lorn. It displays a warrior, sword in hand, and round targe held in front of him, with a pistol almost as large as himself on one side and an hourglass on the other, while arranged in a curve round his head are the sun, two stars, and a heart. The whole is enclosed by a circle, outside which, as if from another world, a winged head blows a trumpet down on the head of the warrior. The other, from the burying ground on the island of Mun, Ballachulish, is the latest and most curious example. I regret having no drawing of it, and being obliged to trust to my memory in describing it. A Highlander, named Rankin I think, is represented on a slab in the act of cutting down a horseman, and the inscription is to the effect that “this is what Rankin did to an English Dragoon at the battle of Prestonpans 1745.”

1 The Carved Stones of Islay. Robert C. Graham, 1895.

VOL. XXXVI. 29
But while I have only seven examples to record from the Highlands, this is much compared with the single Lowland one, which is in the kirkyard of Cortachy (fig. 182), and was erected in 1732 by Alexander Winter, tenant in the Doal in Clova, in memory of his uncle, who had assisted in repelling a band of Highland caterans in an affray at the Water of Toughs, which Jervise says took place probably towards the end of the seventeenth century. It is safe to say, however, that on that day James Winter wielded some more efficient weapon than the short scymitar represented on the tomb, and it is characteristic of the contempt felt for the warrior at the time and place, that a puny weapon like this should have been chosen for the monument instead of an Andrea Ferrara.

England.—More fortunate than Scotland, England has found "a Gravestone Rambler" to give us a general idea of the post-Reformation churchyard monuments there, illustrated by eighty-seven figures, to which he has added brief notices of gravestones in Ireland, Scotland and

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In Search of Gravestones Old and Curious. William Thomas Vincent. 1896.
abroad. To institute a full comparison between the monuments of the
two countries would far exceed the limits of such a paper as this. I can
only notice a few leading points. Two remarkable differences noted by
Mr Vincent are the common occurrence, in Scotland only, of carvings and
inscriptions on both sides of headstones, and the use of initials instead
of the full names. It is certainly curious that family tombstones should
so frequently contain nothing but initials, sometimes a long series of
them; but I doubt if, as Mr Vincent supposes, the desire to avoid
ostentation, consonant with the Covenanting faith, be the cause.
Probably initials were deemed sufficient to identify the lair, and were
considered a satisfactory enough memorial by the family and their
neighbours, all well known to each other. An even more striking
difference, not noticed by Mr Vincent, is the apparent entire absence
in England of the raised letter inscriptions which are the rule in the
Scottish seventeenth century stones, and which are often so effective.

Generally speaking, I should say also that there is a less wide range
of subjects in the English than in the Scottish stones. In England
the quasi-heraldic headstones, the representations of ships and boats, the
impressive slabs with large ploughshares or spades, and those with or
without elegant borders covered with designs or finely-cut raised inscrip-
tions, seem to be absent or rare. It is interesting to note, too, that where
the designs in the two countries spring from the same motif—typifying
the frailty of human life and the common fate that awaits us all—the
developments run on different lines, insomuch that there are very few
of Mr Vincent's drawings of which I cannot at once say "that is taken
from an English, not a Scottish monument." The simple prosaic repre-
sentation of tools, without any evident symbolic intent, occurs in both
countries, but is far more common here than across the Border, where
also it is perhaps confined to a few localities.

Having recently been able to examine the monuments in several parts
of England, I may here, for comparison, briefly give the results.

Yorkshire.—Near Harrogate I inspected thirteen country graveyards,
all of great antiquity, and it was a surprise to me to find them almost
entirely deficient in allegorical designs, or designs of any kind. Indeed, I scarcely saw any except some cherub heads. There was an equal poverty in the graveyards of York and Ripon Cathedrals, and I was informed by an official of the latter that the same is true of the whole county. I was also impressed with the matter-of-fact character of the inscriptions. Few dates preceded 1750: the earliest was 1720.

Warwickshire.—The churchyard of Stratford-on-Avon may formerly have contained ancient monuments of interest; a few with very nicely carved cherub heads, sometimes in groups, or other designs, now line one of the paths; but the mass of stones, drawn up in regular lines across the yard, are modern and quite uninteresting. In the neighbourhood I visited also Binton, Bidford, Alderminster, and Preston-on-Suir, where the monuments are chiefly headstones, with but few slabs or tablestones. The pale grey stone used is liable to flake, and to a growth of grey lichen, so that the inscriptions are difficult to make out, but the oldest date noticed was 1723. The commonest carvings are tureen-like urns thinly incised, and a few cherub heads almost complete the list. I saw no skulls, bones, hour-glasses, or tools. Quite exceptional is a scriptural subject at Bidford, dated 1810, and neatly designed—the Good Samaritan pouring oil on the arms of the sufferer, the ass standing by.

In the Colne Valley, Essex, at the ancient churchyards of Colne Engaine, White Colne, Earl’s Colne, Pebmarsh, Copford, and Little Maplestead, very few carvings are to be seen. A few skull and crossbone designs, winged cherub heads, and feeble patterns occur, but the only more ambitious subjects I noticed were an angel blowing a trumpet towards a tomb at Pebmarsh, and a heart, flanked by a coffin and ring, perhaps a serpent ring, at Little Maplestead (fig. 183e). In this district, as in Warwickshire, the light grey, roughened and lichen-covered surfaces of the stones rendered it most difficult to read the inscriptions, but the oldest date I saw was 1738, and I was informed by the Rev. Mr Hill that the oldest at Colne Engaine was 1798. At none of these places did I see stones suggestive of a seventeenth-century date.
Fig. 183. a, b, c, Speldhurst, Kent; e Pebmarsh, Essex; d, f, g, Isle of Wight.
Speldhurst, Kent, proved a richer field. Besides hour-glasses and cherub heads, crossed arrows (as in fig. 183a, dated 1711) occur on a good many headstones, and in one instance (b), dated 1761, the arrows, instead of being crossed, are pointed at a heart. More remarkable, however, are two scriptural subjects, “The Good Samaritan” (fig. 184c), in which the wounded traveller, stripped to the skin, is a woman, while, as it might be, the parson or lord of the manor struts by contemptuously. The other, close to the last, is a Resurrection scene (fig. 184a), of date 1821. The burial vault is rent at the sound of the trumpet, the dead arises, and a winged figure at the side tramples under foot a skeleton Death, breaking his dart, and casting off his crown. Not far off is the only instance of carved tools I had hitherto seen in England (fig. 183c). They are much smaller than any of the Scottish examples. Three hammers are displayed in relief within a circular panel, and a mallet and two chisels within another, at the top of a wide headstone. The date is 1731. None of the monuments seemed earlier than the eighteenth century.

The Isle of Wight also proved a rather richer field than Yorkshire or Warwickshire, and there for the first time in England I saw several undoubted monuments of the seventeenth century.

Brixton.—The earliest (fig. 183f), dated 1628, occurs here. It is a headstone in memory of Richard Mansell, neatly ornamented with a rosette and leaves at the top, and columns at the sides. The inscription, which I did not copy, is skilfully incised in capitals and the spelling is correct. Here also (fig. 183d) are the book, inkpot and quill, globe, compasses and rulers of a schoolmaster on a headstone dated about 1780, and the same occur in a feebler style on a stone of the next century.

Shorwell.—A few cherub heads with wings and crowned hour-glasses were noticed here.

Whippingham contains a plain headstone dated 1704, and another, 1698, with skull and crossbones.

Freshwater.—The cherub head and crowned hour-glass occur sparsely, and scarcely anything else. The oldest date I noticed was 1714.
Fig. 184. a, c, Speldhurst, Kent; b, d, e, Carrisbrooke, Isle of Wight.
Arreton.—A few carvings of urns and cherubs were seen here, and none of the stones seemed of seventeenth century type.

Carrisbrooke contains at least two seventeenth century headstones, one of 1695 with skull and crossbones, the other (fig. 183g), of 1668, with a short but rather obscure Latin inscription. The *Resurrection* (fig. 184b), dated 1768, seemed the only scriptural subject, but there are several neat allegorical ones, such as the crossed trumpet and torch (fig. 184d), and the hand resting on an hour-glass (fig. 184e), dated 1806.

My observations confirm what I have said as to the differences between the two countries, but perhaps the most remarkable difference of all is the apparently much earlier beginning of the post-Reformation tombstones in Scotland. Mr Vincent says that “the period of the allegorical tombstone in England was confined sharply and almost exclusively to the eighteenth century”; and “of gravestones generally it may almost be said that specimens of seventeenth century date are exceedingly few,” and in fact he does not give a single example. My observations confirm this, because although I did see a very few of the seventeenth century in the Isle of Wight and there only, yet it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that the practice of erecting monuments seems to have been generally established in England. But Mr Vincent’s statement, if true of England, certainly does not apply to Scotland, where tombstones of the seventeenth century are quite common, in the districts at least with which I am familiar, and even the first half of that century is represented by from two to six or eight in not a few of the “unimproved” kirkyards.

There can be little doubt that the chief cause of the comparatively early origin and of the richer development of the churchyard monument in Scotland was the more powerful impulse of the Reformation in that part of the kingdom. In England that great event but feebly stirred the heart of the commonalty, while in Scotland it penetrated to their inmost soul, awakening new thoughts and aspirations, which are reflected in the monuments; and if any one event contributed more than another to these results, it was the establishment of the parish
schools by the wise foresight of John Knox and the other reforming leaders. To this influence must be attributed the by no means rare occurrence, in the seventeenth century, of Latin inscriptions on the tombs of farmers, millers, and the like, who, if they did not compose them, must at least have appreciated and valued them.

4. CONCLUSION.

I trust my investigation has proved to be neither trivial nor frivolous, and to be not only interesting in itself, but serviceable in throwing some light upon the history and social condition of our country during two most important centuries of its development. Certainly it cannot be beyond the domain of a society of antiquaries to record a phase of art, if we may call it so, which, after spreading over all Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, died out almost completely a hundred years ago, and is not likely ever to be resuscitated. In opening the first furrow in so large a field, may I suggest that other labourers should lay hand to the plough? An obvious mode of working would be for clergymen or others interested to write a brief history of their church, recording the tombstones, with illustrations, which, in these days of universal photography, should rarely be difficult to obtain. And the time is now; for many of the older monuments, and even of the more recent ones, are rapidly decaying, while the rough hand of the destroyer is by no means stayed. It has been one of my chief satisfactions to record no small number of monuments which in a few years must be decayed almost beyond recognition. Possibly, also, this investigation may impress upon some of the authorities who control the churchyards, that, although they may have the right, they ought not to have the will to destroy, as useless rubbish, monuments which often speak so eloquently of the piety and family affection of our ancestors, humble though their rank may have been.