Proc Soc Antiq Scot, 128 (1998), 1121–1133

Lecture Summaries 1997–8

Finlaggan, Islay: an archaeological overview

David H Caldwell

The National Museums of Scotland have been undertaking an archaeological research project at Finlaggan since 1989. The main focus of attention is on the two islands — Eilean Mor and Eilean na Comhairle, in Loch Finlaggan — identified as the centre of the medieval Lordship of the Isles. In addition, however, the project has uncovered and researched evidence of human occupation around Finlaggan throughout post-glacial times.

Evidence for Mesolithic activity is provided by substantial quantities of lithics, all in secondary contexts. Later prehistoric occupation is also represented by artefacts, including a Neolithic stone axehead and flint implements, Bronze Age pottery and a barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead, and a La Tène fibula.

Excavation into the earliest deposits on the two islands was very limited and has allowed only tantalizing glimpses of prehistoric remains, including possible round-houses on Eilean Mor. Other prehistoric structures have been excavated on the mound at Cnoc Seannda at the head of the loch, including what appears to be a small souterrain. Eilean na Comhairle is entirely artificial in origin, much of its bulk consisting of the ruins of a dun overlying crannog structures of stakes and brushwood.

There is a small embanked enclosure on the lochside adjacent to Eilean Mor, identified as an Early Christian burial ground. Another graveyard next to the medieval chapel on Eilean Mor may also have originated in Early Historic times. A lintel grave was discovered within it.

In the 13th century Eilean na Comhairle formed the base for a stone castle, possibly a keep. It had been totally dismantled by the 14th century, being replaced by three smaller buildings, including a hall and the probable council house of the Lordship of the Isles.

Eilean Mor was surrounded by a timber palisade in the 13th century, protecting several buildings inside. By the end of the 15th century there were up to 20 buildings connected by cobbled paths, including a chapel, two halls and kitchens.

Around 1500, on the basis of coin evidence, several of the buildings were dismantled or destroyed, to be replaced by the drystone houses and barns of a farming township, itself abandoned in the 17th century. A wider study of the area around Loch Finlaggan has identified evidence for early lead mining, going back to at least medieval times, and traces of early agriculture. Settlements of the 18th to 20th centuries are also being researched.

Tracking down Scottish export pottery in South-East Asia

Graeme D R Cruickshank

It is sometimes forgotten that for the best part of two centuries, say 1750 to 1930, Scotland had a thriving and innovative pottery industry. It has been known for a long time that this industry supported a vigorous export trade, though there is a depressing paucity of material which can reveal details of this. Most of the firms involved failed during the Depression; sadly their records have not survived and the occasional fragments of information which appear in other sources can provide no more than a tantalizing glimpse of how this trade operated.

When I first became involved in Scottish pottery studies while a curator at Huntly House Museum, on Edinburgh's Royal Mile, I grew rather perplexed at where all the Scottish export pottery had gone. Clearly the volume produced exceeded what could have been assimilated by the domestic market. The might of Staffordshire accounted for most of England's needs, and the nations of Europe had been developing their own pottery industries. The countries of the British Empire seemed the most likely recipients, and this accorded with the scant surviving records. So I looked in Canada and in Australia, and although antique Scottish pottery is to be found in these countries, it was evident that this was only a partial answer.

The essential conundrum remained: throughout the 19th century dozens of Scottish factories employed thousands of workers who produced millions of items every year. Where was it all? The solution, when it eventually came, combined three quite different avenues of exploration.

Glasgow's programme of urban renewal in the 1970s involved extensive demolition. Although little was done by way of rescue archaeology, Scottish pottery enthusiasts were able to recover quantities of sherds. While the evidence provided by stratigraphy had been lost, sherds recovered in this way can still be of great interest, and among them appeared patterns of Oriental character the likes of which had not been seen before. One in particular attracted much attention — an exotic jungle scene on one side, the maker's mark on the other (J & M P Bell & Co Ltd of the Glasgow Pottery). It was discovered by John Fisher of the Motherwell Historical Society and its importance recognized by Glasgow enthusiast Gerard Quail, who kindly sent me illustrations of both sides, which I was able to publish (Cruickshank 1978). This proved to be a crucial find.

In the 1980s, I spent several summer holidays in the bowels of the Public Record Office in London searching for Scottish pottery registered designs. Expecting to find a few dozen, I was surprised to find more than 400. Among them, dating from the later 19th century to the early years of the 20th century, was a staggering array of Oriental patterns. There were 38 in all; research and fieldwork has indicated that they were aimed at specific target areas, but the scant information available in the PRO makes no allusion to this.

While this research was taking place, a Scottish water engineer working in Java and Sumatra, Edwin Robertson, was finding large numbers of plates which he recognized as Scottish products. The designs they bore were quite unlike anything then known (the majority would prove to be exemplars of the PRO registrations). A quantity of these was shipped back to their homeland, and I was consulted as to their dispersal. I recommended that three museums should share in this find: the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (as it then was), as this discovery was of national importance; the People's Palace Museum in Glasgow, the city where

most of the items were made; and the Huntly House Museum in Edinburgh, which had the largest public holding of Scottish pottery. An appraisal of these wares was published by the National Museum's curator in charge of pottery, George Dalgleish (1984), who was able to demonstrate in a subsequent article (1986) that the main element in Bell's *Pekin* pattern was an actual building in China's capital city — the Temple of the Sun.

The combination of various strands of evidence pointed to the East Indies as the principal target for Bell's extraordinary patterns, and this set me off on a quest which was to occupy much of my time for the next six years (1991–7). It transpires that fully a dozen Scottish factories were involved in supplying export pottery to South-East Asia, located in Glasgow (the principal centre), and also in Kirkcaldy, Bo'ness, Alloa, Pollokshaws and Greenock. Moreover, they were in competition with exporters from Holland, England and, to a lesser extent, France, Germany and Belgium. However, by virtue of its exciting designs, bold use of colour, and a marketing policy which geared production to the needs and wishes of people in specific target areas, Scotland may lay claim to the premier position in this remarkable trade.

By dint of travelling in excess of 50,000 miles I was able to ascertain that Scottish export pottery was widely and profusely distributed throughout the Indonesian archipelago, and also appeared in neighbouring Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. Another major export market in the region was Burma, with Scotland dominant to the near exclusion of competitors, though maintaining a range of goods quite different from that which was despatched to the East Indies.

Having located Scottish pottery in virtually every part of South-East Asia, I determined to seek it in the most inaccessible area within the region, in the jungles of central Borneo. Kuching in Sarawak seemed a sensible base. I decided to follow the mighty River Lupar, and then tackle three of its tributaries. The Lemenak and the Engkori yielded nothing, but several of the longhouses on the Sekarang were home to caches of Scottish plates.

These treasured items generally belonged to the headman, and it took some persuasive talking before he would reveal his prized possessions. They were formerly displayed in rattan holders of the type traditionally used to display the severed heads of enemy tribesmen. Nowadays, they tend to be secreted away and are taken out only on special occasions two or three times a year; they are regarded as heirlooms, imbued with mystical properties. Again, Bell of Glasgow was the principal maker. The style of decoration was a striking combination of polychrome hand-painting and sponge-printing, seemingly reserved for the longhouse communities of south-west Borneo.

This story has many strands, and drawing them together is a mighty task. Some articles have already sprung from this project (1992; 1995; 1997), and, as a book on which I am now working must conform to a limit of 30,000 words, several more articles are likely to follow in due course. I hope other scholars will develop the aspects of this field of study in which I have no expertise. We are as yet only a few steps along the way in exploring this unexpected yet fascinating example of Scotland's capacity for enterprise and ingenuity.

Finally, I would like to thank those organizations whose generous grants enabled me to travel so extensively throughout South-East Asia: the Carnegie Trust of the Universities of Scotland, the British Academy, the Scottish International Education Trust, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Gunning Victoria Jubilee travelling fellowship). I also wish to express my gratitude to my referees: John Simpson of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, my tutor and mentor while I studied there; and Professor Charles Thomas, my first lecturer in archaeology at the University of Edinburgh.

REFERENCES

Cruickshank, G D R 1978 'Bell's Oriental links', *Scott Pottery Archive News*, 3 (1978), 22–3 (illus on following pages).

Cruickshank, G D R 1992 'Scottish pottery in Indonesia', *in Book of the Jakarta Highland Gathering*, 72–4; reprinted in *Himpunan Keramic Indonesia* [Ceramic Society of Indonesia].

Cruickshank, G D R 1995 'Crossing cultural frontiers: the Chinese dragons of Scotland and Thailand'[in Thai], *Siam Arya* [Thai Civilization], 28 (1995), 84–6.

Cruickshank, G D R 1997 'Ceramics in perspective: illustrious eastern past', *Artwork*, 89 (1997), 7.

Dalgleish, G R 1984 'Scottish pottery in South-East Asia', *Antique Collector*, 4 (1984), 64–7.

Dalgleish, G R 1986 'Scotland's Oriental links: Scottish pottery in South-East Asia', *in* Calder, J (ed), *The Enterprising Scot*. Edinburgh.

Riding into history: Scotland's common ridings

Kenneth R Bogle

The Common Riding or the 'Riding of the Marches' refers to community festivals which take place annually in several Scottish towns. These festivals are loosely based on the old custom of a ceremonial procession on horseback around the boundary of the burgh common, which was intended to delineate the area and check encroachment upon it by neighbouring landowners. Several of the ridings also commemorate events from the Anglo-Scottish wars, in particular the battle of Flodden (1513), while some of the customs and ceremonies suggest that the ridings were associated with pagan summer festivals. The earliest records of the ridings date from the 16th century, and in some towns the history of the event has been almost continuous since then. An equivalent event in England is known as 'Beating the Bounds'.

Burghs across Scotland once rode their marches as a matter of course. In the 16th century ridings took place in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Stirling and Dundee; and also in smaller burghs like Haddington, Rutherglen, Arbroath and Inverness. Today, only a few burghs outside the Borders continue to ride their marches. The most important of these are Linlithgow, where a 'Marches Day' has taken place annually since at least 1541; Musselburgh, where the local riding was first recorded in 1682 and has taken place approximately every 20 years since then (although from 1936 the town has also had an annual 'Honest Toun' festival); and Lanark, where 'Lanimer Day' was first recorded in 1570, an event which also boasts an almost uninterrupted history.

However, the home of the Scottish ridings is the Borders. All of the Borders towns stage a summer riding of some kind, and these can be divided into two basic categories. First, there are the 'genuine' Common Ridings, which have developed from the original riding of the marches. Selkirk Common Riding, with its 'Casting the Colours' ceremony, is probably the oldest of the Borders ridings, and was first recorded in the early 16th century. Hawick Common Riding may date from the same time, although the earliest record of the event is in 1640. Langholm Common Riding, which Hugh MacDiarmid loved to attend, dates from 1816, although the Langholm marches were perambulated before then. Finally, Lauder Common Riding, like many other traditional customs, lapsed in the 19th century but was revived in 1911 to commemorate the coronation of George V.

The second group of Borders ridings have a slightly different emphasis from the original Common Ridings, although they retain the element of the town 'riding out'. These festivals were

instituted in the 19th and 20th centuries, and take place in towns which did not possess common land and therefore had no tradition of riding the marches. Instead, these towns have based their riding on notable events in their history. For instance, Galashiels Braw Lads Gathering focuses on, amongst other things, the granting of the town charter. Likewise, Jedburgh (or Jethart) Callants' Festival stages a re-enactment of the Raid of Reideswire (1575), a Borders skirmish in which Jedburgh men played a prominent role. Peebles Beltane Festival revives the tradition of a medieval summer fair, combined with a symbolic riding of the marches. Some towns make formal visits to historic local sites. Melrose and Kelso visit their ruined abbeys, whilst Coldstream stages a 'ride-out' to the Flodden battlefield. These new festivals are sometimes referred to as 'artificial' or 'ersatz' festivals.

The ridings have many individual features, but their general outline can be briefly summarized. Several weeks before the riding, a young native bachelor is chosen to be the symbolic leader of the year's event and to carry the burgh flag on the day itself. The correct nomenclature for this rider is very important and is strictly observed: Hawick, Langholm, Lauder and Peebles appoint a Cornet; Selkirk, The Royal Burgh Standard Bearer; Galashiels, The Braw Lad (and Braw Lass); Kelso Laddie; Duns Reiver; The Melrosian; The Coldstreamer; and so on. Preliminary events include practice rides or 'ride-outs'; concerts of local songs; school and hospital visits; and a civic reception for local emigrants who have returned to the town for the riding. The riding itself begins with the formal presentation of the burgh flag to the principal, who then leads his mounted supporters on the day's ride. Large numbers of followers take part in these events, testifying to their enduring popularity. In the older ridings, riders make a symbolic inspection of the burgh lands, which may include a ceremonial turf-cutting to mark the site of a boundary. Most ridings are accompanied by a programme of horse-races — the Borders is the centre of British 'flapping' or unlicensed racing — and there are also athletic events and a travelling funfair. The riding ends with the return of the burgh flag, followed by dinner and a grand ball. Local people are very proud of their ridings, and these events arouse strong emotions. In 1996, a bitter dispute occurred over the participation of women riders in Hawick Common Riding, which many locals, male and female, saw as a dangerous break with tradition. The depth of feeling aroused by this dispute illustrated the underlying conservatism and traditional maleness of these events.

A new investigation into the Clava Cairns

Richard Bradley

The Clava Cairns are a distinctive feature of the prehistory of northern Scotland and are distributed between Strath Spey to the east and Glen Urquhart to the west. They consist of both passage graves and ring cairns. The monuments are defined by graded kerbs, which are lower towards the north-east and higher to the south-west. They are enclosed within free-standing stone circles which follow the same convention.

Clava Cairns are not located at conspicuous points in the landscape and tend to be associated with valleys, springs, basins and areas of productive agricultural soil. In this respect they differ from their neighbours, the Orkney Cromarty Cairns. Field survey conducted between the southern flank of Strath Nairn and the shore of the Moray Firth shows that the Clava Cairns

were closely integrated into the wider pattern of settlement, as reflected by the distribution of worked flint and quartz.

The cairns in Strath Nairn tend to be larger than the others and include two cemeteries. One of these is the monument at Balnuaran of Clava which is now in state care ('guardianship'). Excavation and field survey carried out there between 1994 and 1997 suggested that the cemetery originally consisted of eight monuments, five them substantial structures built along the course of a gravel terrace. The two passage graves were aligned on the midwinter sunset, while four of the mounds or cairns were laid out in a row orientated on the midsummer sunrise. These opposing alignments were reflected in the structure of the monuments through the selection of stones according to size and colour.

It seems that the Balnuaran cemetery was built in two main phases. The larger monuments probably date from the Early Bronze Age (2100–1700 BC); these dates overlap with those from the ring cairns at Newton of Petty and Raigmore, which fall between about 2300 and 2000 BC. Each monument at Balnuaran was built according to a prescribed plan, and there is no evidence for a prolonged period of construction. The platforms and stone circles surrounding the passage graves were built immediately after those monuments were erected. The same is true of the central ring cairn, where the enigmatic 'rays' may form part of longer alignments linking the inner and outer kerbs to monoliths in the stone circle. The Balnuaran cemetery was reused between about 1250 and 800 BC. One small ring cairn was built at this time, and two other monuments may also have been added to the cemetery. Both the older passage graves were reused at this time. There is similar evidence from Newton of Petty.

The Balnuaran cemetery was probably built in a landscape that had already seen at least one episode of clearance, cultivation and settlement. The evidence from Raigmore suggests that this may have been the case at other sites. Perhaps the settlements of the living were replaced directly by stone-built monuments to the dead. That hypothesis might explain the presence of reused building stone in the cairns and would also be consistent with the results of field survey in the wider landscape.

The Clava Cairns combine architectural elements from passage graves in Sutherland, Rossshire and Caithness, which were being reused at the time, with others found in the stone circles and related monuments of north-east Scotland. Their construction may result from an attempt to forge links with tradition in the face of new beliefs and practices originating in the south.

Bodies, faces and teeth

Iain MacLeod

Archaeology is about people and has mostly concerned itself with the relics and artefacts of the past. It is only relatively recently that scientific study has been applied to the remains of people themselves.

The human remains most often found in an archaeological context are skeletal. A lot can be learned from these, such as sex, height and age. The latter in particular can be assessed from the development and wear of the teeth. One frequently asked question is 'Can the cause of death be ascertained from the skeleton?' The answer is usually no, unless the disease process involved the bones. Certainly injury and trauma to the bones can be detected, as can disease processes

affecting the bones, such as arthritis and neoplasia. More recent studies, using DNA extracted from bones, has provided insights into relationships between individuals and also into the origins of certain disease processes.

Examining skeletal material alone does not reveal what individuals may have looked like during life. The concept of using the skull as a frame for the face is not new; artists for many years have been fascinated by this concept. Facial reconstruction is based upon the predictable relationship between the skull and its overlying soft tissues. This relationship was noted and studied by the anatomist His in the 1860s and a number of further studies were made by other workers during the course of the next 50 years. All were endeavouring to demonstrate that a face built upon a skull would, or would not, be broadly similar to the face which covered the skull in life. This technique attempts to make recognizable that which is unrecognizable, and plays a valuable role today in the field of forensic identification.

The two principal techniques of facial reconstruction are onlaid terracotta, on a plaster copy of the skull, and computer-generated reconstruction based on a scanned image of the skull. The difficulty in applying these techniques to archaeological material is that there is usually no contemporary portrait or bust with which to compare the reconstruction. Consequently, it is essential to attempt reconstructions of individuals for whom such information is available, as this allows assessment of the accuracy of the techniques.

George Buchanan (1506–1653), was tutor to James VI and founder of the 'Tounis College' of Edinburgh (University of Edinburgh). After his death his skull was presented to the University. Numerous portraits are identified as George Buchanan. Some of these appear to show a different individual, though this should not be particularly surprising as the name is relatively common. In this instance the role of facial reconstruction was not only to assess the validity of the technique, but also to assess which of the rival portraits is most likely to be a representation of the George Buchanan whose skull is now in the University's anatomy museum. There were technical difficulties with this project, owing to loss of the lower jaw, teeth and extensive damage to the right cheek bone. The correction of these problems required the help of specialists from various disciplines to enable a suitable plaster framework to be produced for the reconstruction. The end result revealed that a portrait owned by the Royal Society, possibly painted by Adrian Keij, shows a marked similarity to the bust, attesting to both the authenticity of the portrait and also the validity of the reconstruction technique.

In many instances the skull is either inaccessible, as in the case of wrapped Egyptian mummies, or too delicate to allow a straightforward impression-based copy to be made. Recent technology using computerized tomographic X-ray images has been used to create accurate models. Although originally designed for industrial purposes, these techniques have been applied in medicine and in particular in cranio-facial surgery. This technology can also be used to reproduce skulls and, subsequently, to allow facial reconstruction. One example of this work involved scanning an Egyptian mummy, dating from around AD 120, and currently in the possession of the Royal Museum of Scotland. The importance of this work was that the cartonage contained a portrait of the deceased, showing an incredibly lifelike image. But how much of a likeness was this portrait to the deceased? Using computerized radiographic technology, a plastic copy of the skull was reproduced; this acted as a template for facial reconstruction. The outcome revealed a striking similarity between the bust and the portrait, thus underlining not only the value of the method, but also the accuracy of the portrait.

It would be simplistic to claim that such work can reproduce the face of the deceased, as there are obviously elements of the face, such as cheek fatness, scars and minor skin blemishes, of which we can have no real knowledge. The intention, therefore, is to reproduce a face of the

correct proportions, and thus a likeness which would be recognizable by someone who knew the deceased in life.

Edinburgh has an impressive collection of anatomical material, collected over many hundreds of years, housed both by the Medical School and the Royal College of Surgeons. Many famous and some infamous individuals are represented in this collection, including a plaster cast of the skull of Robert the Bruce (1274–1329). Bruce is a subject of legend, with many books and, laterally, films of his exploits. Although much is known about his colourful life, there is little contemporary record about the man himself. It has been recorded that for many years he suffered from a progressive illness, which often left him debilitated, and from which he seemed to recover only to be struck again at a later time. One contentious issue is the possibility that he suffered from leprosy. There is only one reliable contemporary suggestion of this, a description of his suffering from 'la grosse maladie', which was often used as a synonym for leprosy. Certainly leprosy was rife in the Western World at the time. Robert the Bruce himself had a considerable interest in the subject and was responsible for procuring various leper beds. Despite these hints, the record does not indicate any attempt to isolate him, as would have been the case for a known leper, even a king.

Robert the Bruce died at the age of 55 and was buried in Dunfermline Abbey. Surprisingly, the exact whereabouts of his tomb was forgotten, only to be rediscovered accidentally during renovation works in 1818. The tomb certainly appeared to match a description of the site of his burial, and the skeletal remains it contained included a sternum (chest bone) which had been split down the middle, in keeping with the post-mortem removal of the heart. Various bits of cloth found with the remains also suggested a high-ranking individual.

The remains were examined by a group of medical men, including the young Robert Liston, who was later to become famous as the first surgeon in the United Kingdom to operate under general anaesthesia. Liston's report on the skeletal remains was published in 1821 and it is probably to him that we owe the fact that a sculptor, William Scoular, was employed to make a plaster copy of the skull prior to the reinterment of the bones within the tomb. The original cast of the skull is currently housed in Edinburgh Medical School; several copies also exist.

Examination of the plaster skull reveals many features of interest. There is damage to the left eye and cheek bone; this occurred some time during his life and would have resulted in some disfigurement of this part of the face. The upper front teeth are missing and, in particular, the upper central incisors were lost some time prior to death. A peculiar erosion around this region, and additional blunting of the bone margins around the nose, are features all highly suggestive of leprosy. This has been commented on by many experts in the field and can be directly compared to specimens from people known to have died of the condition. This adds weight to the likelihood that Bruce suffered from leprosy, although some experts suggest that the condition may not have been particularly noticeable in the scarred and weatherbeaten face of a warrior king. The general bone structure indicates a man of considerably muscular build.

Despite all that is known about Bruce, and the many later portraits and statues of him, there is no contemporary description of his appearance. The first facial reconstruction based on tissue-depth measurements was undertaken by the Edinburgh sculptor C Pilkington-Jackson in 1958, in collaboration with the then Professor of Anatomy at the University of Edinburgh, Professor Romanes. Although based on tissue-depth measurements, the end result of this bust still includes much of the sculptor's interpretation of the features. More recently, we applied two independent forensic techniques to a copy of the skull: one using onlaid terracotta and the other, by Professor Peter Vanezis, in the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Glasgow, using a computer-generated image. The three reconstructions were then compared by scanning

the images into a computer to produce transparent 'masks' which could then be overlaid, so that the image of one face was visible through the others. This investigation demonstrated that the three reconstructions were very similar and can therefore be regarded as close approximations of the face of Robert the Bruce.

Further studies on Robert the Bruce using evidence from various medical and palaeopathological experts have allowed us to undertake a further reconstruction, this time including the various possible medical features affecting his face. Although it was recognized that this undertaking required an amount of artistic licence, it was considered a reasonable undertaking nonetheless. Furthermore, the project has allowed an assessment of a 'death mask' identified as Bruce (though there is no reliable provenance for this). The 'mask' is in fact carved in stone and forms part of the richly decorated interior of Rosslyn Chapel, in Midlothian. It certainly shows many of the features determined from the skull, in particular the unusual appearance of the left side of the face and eye. These are features which would hardly have been incorporated by a sculptor carving such a famous person without some direct knowledge of his face.

The use of modern medical and forensic technology is moving forward with leaps and bounds. Work which was considered futuristic only a few years ago is now becoming relatively common, and possible future developments are most exciting. From a personal point of view, all the work that we have undertaken has been done with the help of many experts within their own fields and it is only through them that the work has been possible.

The first Glasgow Town House, 1737–60

Hugh Cheape

The first Glasgow Town House no longer exists. The structure of that name which stood at the Glasgow Cross was badly damaged by fire in 1911 and then demolished. No detailed survey or plans were made of the building at the time. This is to be regretted since this was undoubtedly a most distinguished piece of civic architecture occupying a city-centre site. It had been universally admired since its erection in the early 18th century and even Glasgow anecdote and folklore demonstrates how generations of Glaswegians were sentimentally attached to it.

In 1990, the National Museums of Scotland acquired an architectural model of the façade of a formal and imposing neoclassical building which turned out to be a representation of the first Glasgow Town House (NMS reg no A.1990.116). This was by no means certain at the time and, before acquisition, research was undertaken to establish its identity. Not only did this reveal that the model itself could be dated to the mid–18th century (which is *ipso facto* important since early architectural models are rare in Scotland) but it also provided tangible evidence of a remarkable phase of urban development which has been largely obliterated by the rapid growth of Glasgow in the 19th and 20th centuries. The model points *inter alia* to the influence of Palladio, as interpreted in the Banqueting House in Whitehall and in Somerset House New Gallery. It is suggested that the maker of the model had before him the plates of the Inigo Jones work as published in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus.* The Shawfield Mansion of 1711 to the design of Campbell is a comparable contemporary example of this remarkable, dynamic and largely unsung period of urban development and Neoclassicism in Scotland.

The model, in wood — probably mahogany — forms a rectangle approximately 100 cm long by 60 cm high. It shows in its wealth of carved detail a three-storey range of a well-proportioned, 10-bay and arcaded frontage in which the upper storeys are linked by a giant order of Ionic pilasters standing on a substantial plinth above the continuous arcade. A moulded cornice carries a balustrade topped with urns. The design, with its elements of pilasters, arcading and the rustication, with deeply sunk chamfered joints, is based on a formula generally attributed to Inigo Jones and his successor, John Webb. Other design signatures are the windows on the principal floor having alternate triangular and segmental pediments. The quality of workmanship in carving, detail and finish is remarkable, and the model seems to represent in the fullest sense what was considered to be the most distinguished building in 18th-century Glasgow. Detailed research, especially in the records of Glasgow Town Council, suggests that the model was made about 1757 in the workshops of Allan Dreghorn (1706–64), Glasgow 'wright' and man of business. It was probably made under his own careful direction to persuade the bailies and magistrates of the virtues evident in a scheme which extended the existing Town House building from a five-bay into a 10-bay frontage. Dreghorn's architectural work is otherwise represented in the distinguished and sculptural St Andrew's Church (1739–57) in the city centre.

The Town House, as in many other Scottish burghs, had its medieval precursor in the Tolbooth, which in the case of Glasgow survives only in the steeple isolated as a traffic island at the Cross. The Tolbooth was rebuilt in the early 17th century in a late Renaissance and early Classical style, and was extended in stages during the extensive rebuilding which followed the wholesale destruction of the city centre by fires in the 1650s and 1670s. The Town Council minutes record in considerable detail the stages of building and rebuilding of Glasgow in this period, and most significantly the regulating of street frontages, roof lines, building styles, proportions and materials to be used within the city's bounds. In 1737 the first major extension to the Tolbooth was begun, adding a new 'town house' in a three-storey Classical block and instituting the *arcaded piazza* which served as the Exchange for the merchant community. Between 1757 and 1760, a further five bays were added to the west in matching style, with added ornamentation to contain an Assembly Room.

The model of the Town House offers vivid evidence of this early exercise in Classicism and of Glasgow's pre-eminence as a 'Classical City' at a comparatively early date. This distinction is clearly to be inferred from the comments of contemporary observers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, but these comments may have been too often repeated to be taken seriously and a prodigious distinction obscured by the later emergence of Glasgow as the 'Second City of the Empire'. The model serves both social and architectural history in that it provides, on the one hand, an insight into the city's mercantile class, with its own brand of prosperity and energy, and records, on the other hand, the evolution of new structures and urban forms, linked to the emergence of new classes and commercial processes and new patterns of behaviour.

The Romantic interior: Sir Walter Scott and Abbotsford

Clive Wainwright

Though an analysis of the remarkable interiors which survive at Abbotsford formed the core of this lecture I also attempted to place the house in the context of the wider Romantic Movement. The concluding section dealt with the international influence of Scott and Abbotsford.

The Romantic interior I have defined as one in which most of the objects are medieval or Renaissance ones collected especially to furnish it. In the early British examples the collectors who created them frequently acquired objects of similar date but from a range of countries. Thus French medieval glass could coexist in one interior with Flemish carved panelling, Tudor furniture and German metalwork. The best early documented example is Strawberry Hill, created by Horace Walpole over the 50 years following his purchase of the original house in 1747. Though most of the rooms contained objects from several countries, some had a more nationalistic air. The Holbein Chamber is the best example, furnished with objects relating to the Tudor dynasty, including Holbein miniatures, Wolsey's Cardinal's hat and some of his furniture. Scott was interested by Walpole and Strawberry Hill and in 1821 he wrote a perceptive introduction to a new edition of Walpole's Gothic novel *The Castle of Otranto*.

The rediscovery of national identities by countries throughout Europe was greatly stimulated by the Romantic Movement; in Scotland the poems of Ossian made their appearance and Walpole's friend Gray wrote his ode 'The Bard' in praise of the Welsh people. The works of European literary and artistic figures like Chateaubriand, Goethe, Schiller, Schinkel and Caspar David Friedrich all aided this process. Indeed, Scott was much inspired by the German authors. He was also closely associated with the British Romantics; he knew Byron and wrote an interesting review of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

Abbotsford, both inside and out, is a key example of a national style in the making. Scott rejected several sets of plans on the grounds that they were in the English Gothic style, whereas he wanted the house to be in the 'Old Scotch Style'. The two key characteristics of this he perceptively identified as crow-stepped gables and bartizans, thus playing an important part in launching the Scottish Baronial style. The house was created around his collection, but though one might expect the interiors to be crammed with objects like those of Jonathan Oldbuck, brilliantly described by Scott in *The Antiquary*, in fact the Abbotsford interiors are very well ordered. The arms and armour in the Hall and Armoury are hung on the wall and the rooms are not over-furnished. Many of the objects, like Rob Roy's sword and gun, are connected with celebrated Scottish heroes, though some continental objects like the French armour from the battlefield at Waterloo, are displayed with them. The Study and the Library where Scott did his research and wrote his novels are arranged in a practical manner. It is a tribute to the Scott family, who have cherished the house for so long, that it still survives with its contents to give us such a clear impression of Scott's character both as a man and as a collector.

The international influence of Scott's literary works and of Abbotsford was very widespread. In the castle of Rosenau in Coburg, which was built by Prince Albert's father, the library is decorated with paintings after Scott's poems. At Aloupka in the Crimea the Russian Prince Woronzof even employed Scott's friend Edward Blore to design a wing and interiors based upon Abbotsford for his largely Arab-style house. As far away as Bohemia, the library of Schloss Hradec contains Scott's works in both Czech and French editions.

Scottish crannogs: construction, collapse and conflation

Rob Sands, Jon Henderson & Anne Crone

Summary of a paper given at the Wetlands Archaeology (WARP) conference in Dublin, July 1998. Presentation of the paper — by Rob Sands and John Henderson — was supported by a Young Fellows Bursary granted by the Society.

Crannogs have an extremely wide distribution in Scotland and, with over 400 references, can be considered one of the most ubiquitous site types. Their importance, particularly in terms of preserving organic material, has long been recognized. Despite this, Scottish archaeology has been slow to fully integrate crannogs into general settlement or period- based discussions. Over the past 10 years there has been an increase in the survey of crannogs but this has done little more than put further dots on maps. In general, there has been a lack of problem-orientated research, particularly in terms of modern excavation and absolute dating. Even within the wider archaeological community, the limitations of our knowledge about the function, construction and appearance of Scottish crannogs are not fully acknowledged. There seems to be a false impression, particularly in general works, that crannogs represent a homogenous group of sites about which a great deal is already known. However, the term crannog need not imply any chronological, social or functional similarity between these sites.

Reports of crannogs toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century increased awareness of these sites but do not offer the type of detail that modern archaeological procedures require for effective interpretation. During the last 50 years only six sites have been investigated by excavation: Eadarloch, Highland (Ritchie 1942), Loch Glashan, Argyllshire (Scott 1960); Milton Loch, Dumfriesshire (Piggott 1953); Oakbank, Perthshire (Dixon 1984); Buiston, Ayrshire (Barber & Crone 1993; Crone forthcoming) and Redcastle (Hale 1996). Of these, only at Buiston and Oakbank has excavation proceeded below the uppermost layers. Similarly, to date, only three lochs on the mainland, of a potential 31,000, have been surveyed in their entirety: Loch Awe (McArdle *et al* 1973); Loch Tay (Dixon 1982); and the Lake of Menteith, Stirlingshire (Henderson, this vol). Consequently, all our theories about these sites ultimately rest on this very restricted database.

Commentaries on crannogs have tended to present their form and function as known — a single, round, defensive homestead on a platform surrounded by water. The paper presented by two of the writers at the WARP conference, in Dublin, explored this imagery and discussed whether it provided a useful base for furthering archaeological interpretations. The paper went on to explore the theoretical dynamics of the construction, use, collapse and decay of these monuments as a contribution to understanding at least some of the taphonomic processes to which they have been subject. A series of models was proposed and the logical archaeological consequences of the models discussed in the light of findings from the most recent excavations of crannog structures.

It is the writers' opinion that the database is still too sparse to attempt any but the most general interpretations of the chronology, cultural affinities or functions of these sites (Crone 1993; Henderson 1998 and this vol.). In the past, site assemblages have been used to date crannogs and to determine their social context and function. However, in the absence of a clear understanding of the taphonomic processes that form the matrix for these assemblages, any interpretation of date or function based upon them is of questionable value. A clear consideration

of how crannog sites are actually formed must be seen as an essential prerequisite to interpreting them.

REFERENCES

Barber, J W & Crone, B A 1993 'Crannogs; A diminishing resource? A survey of south-west Scotland and excavations at Buiston Crannog', *Antiquity*, 67, 520–33.

Crone, B A 1993 'Crannogs and chronologies', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 123 (1993), 245–54

Dixon, T N 1982 'A survey of crannogs in Loch Tay', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 17–38.

Dixon, T N 1984 Scottish Crannogs: underwater excavation of artificial islands — with specific reference to Oakbank Crannog, Loch Tay. Unpubl PhD thesis. University of Edinburgh.

Henderson, J C 1998 'Islets through time: the definition, dating and distribution of Scottish crannogs', *Oxford J Archaeol*, 27(2), 227–44.

Henderson, J C this vol 'A survey of crannogs in the Lake of Menteith, Sttirlingshire, Scotland'.

McArdle, C, McArdle, D & Morrison, I 1973 'Scottish lake-dwellings survey: archaeology and geomorphology in Loch Awe, Argyllshire', *Internat J Nautical Archaeol*, 2 (2), 381–2.

Piggott, C M 1953 'Milton Loch Crannog I: A Native House of the second century AD in Kirkcudbrightshire', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 87 (1953), 134–52.

Ritchie, J 1942 'The lake dwelling or crannog in Eadarloch', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 76 (1942), 8–78.

Scott, J G 1960 'Loch Glashan', *Discovery Excav in Scot 1960*, 8–9.