Continuation of Mr Macdonald's Paper on "Burghead," from Part I. Vol. IV. of the Proceedings.

The Fortifications.—In their latest form, the fortifications of Burghead seemed to be so constructed as to surround and defend the two unequal terraces at the extremity of the promontory. With this view, each of these areas was enclosed within a rampart of stones, the portion of it that ran between them being, of course, common to both, though belonging really to the upper or more elevated; and three, or more properly four, nearly parallel fosses or ditches with intervening earthworks, separated them from the rest of the headland. In consequence of being thus entirely accommodated to the nature of the ground, the outline of the defences, especially of those of the lower area or fort, was somewhat irregular; and but for General Roy's Plan and Sections, of which Plate VIII. is a reduced copy, it would have now been almost impossible, even with the aid of Shaw and other writers who saw them when comparatively entire, to re-connect the few isolated mounds that are still to be seen. With him, however, as a guide, the course of the ramparts and earthworks, as well as their various measurements, may be accurately determined; while existing remains and appearances, taken along with the descriptions of them by local antiquaries of the last century and the beginning of the present, instruct us pretty definitely in many other particulars.

The southern or upper terrace, in shape not unlike the letter D reversed, was washed on two sides, the south and west, by the sea, above which the rock rose perpendicularly 45 feet. On this there rested 42 feet of gravel and sand, covered over by a thin, black, peat-like deposit, giving the surface of the area an elevation of 87 feet in all. Obviously, little was needed in a rude age to strengthen this already inaccessible spot; but, notwithstanding, what seemed a pile of stones from 7 to 10 feet high and 15 feet broad at the base was reared along its precipitous edge. The east or land side, as well as the north which rose abruptly above the lower terrace, was protected by a continuation of the same stony barrier, with a height, however, of 18 feet, and by a sudden depression of the ground, partly natural and partly artificial, 40 feet deep on the east and 45 on the north. Two openings, each about eight feet wide, broke this encircling bulwark; the one in the west on the extreme right of the terrace, and almost at the very point of the headland; the other in the east but towards the centre. According to tradition, a flight of steps,

cut out of the solid rock, once led from the former down to high-water mark; opposite the latter, the hollow in front of the east side of the area was filled up, so as to give, by means of the opening, easy access to the interior. A portion of this area, as shown by the shading on the Plan and the difference of level in the Sections, was raised a few feet by a covering of stones. Measured inside its defences, the greatest length of the upper terrace was 380 feet and its breadth 225.

The northern or lower terrace, with a height above the sea of 45 feet of sandstone, pebbles, and light mould, was depressed, as it happened, to the same depth beneath the surface of the upper, and had evidently been scooped out by the waves in its side, at a time when the relative level of sea and land was different from what it now is. Of an oblong shape, but becoming narrower towards either end, it extended further inland than the other, if indeed it might not be said to have occupied all the rest of the promontory, the upper terrace being in fact but a corner which, owing to the superior hardness of the underlying sandstone, or for some other reason, had withstood the influences to which the whole headland had once been exposed. For the lower fort, however, a convenient though irregular boundary was found in a ridge of rock, capped by a deposit of sand and a thin stratum of a peat-like substance, which branched off from the north-east angle of the upper area—a narrow prolongation, as it were, of the terrace itself—and was continued in the same direction till it nearly reached the sea. This natural barrier, 120 feet broad at its base, and 50 at the top, and which had an elevation of from 40 to 45 feet above the lower terrace, was raised to an additional height of 12 feet by what seemed a mass of stones. At its abrupt and somewhat rounded termination, an opening was left 10 feet wide, whence, down almost to high water-mark, and then along the shore to the point of the promontory, where it was piled close to the steep side of the upper terrace, ran another rampart, apparently of loose stones, 30 feet in height and from 40 to 50 feet in breadth at its base. The space thus enclosed as the lower fort, had a length of nearly 780 feet and an average breadth of 150 feet.

As a further defence on the east, the only quarter from which the forts were easily assailable, the trenches and earthworks already mentioned were drawn across the headland from sea to sea. These were neither

uniform in size, nor, in consequence chiefly of the irregular landward boundary of the lower fort, quite parallel to one another. The trenches had an average width at the bottom of 20 feet and a depth of about 10 below the surface of the ground, which here sloped gently downwards from the upper terrace as well as from that prolongation of it already described as stretching north-east and partly enclosing the lower; and between them were spaces about 40 feet in breadth, on which the sand and gravel dug out of them lay heaped up in mounds that rose to a height of from 10 to 12 feet, or of 20 above the bottom of the adjoining trench. But these dimensions varied at different points. Near the middle, the earthworks were broken by openings 8 feet wide, opposite to which the soil had either been left untouched or the fosses afterwards filled up.

Such was the appearance which the extremity of the promontory would present to an ordinary observer sixty years ago. It must not be supposed, however, that the ramparts were even then really entire. On the contrary, as will be afterwards shown, the areas had been once surrounded with walls of which the heaps of stones described above were in part the remains; while other structures may have been included in the original plan, every vestige of which had been long removed.

By the natives of Burghead its fortifications were invariably designated *The Broch Baileys*, or simply *The Baileys*, the trenches and earthworks being sometimes called, by way of distinction, *The Brigs*. Detached portions of them alone remain to tell of their former strength. Streets now cross each other at right angles on the site of *The Brigs*, a solitary fragment of the first line of earthworks being all of them that has been spared. The terraces themselves, as Nature's handiwork, have more successfully resisted aggression; but their defences have suffered greatly from a foe they were never meant to repel. Of the rampart which ran round the east, south, and north sides of the upper area, not a trace is to be seen, except a small mound to the left of the opening at the extremity of the headland; while, though a pile of stones still crowns the edge of the steep slope which bounds the area on the north, its proportions are sadly reduced from what they once were. So much of the barrier that enclosed the lower area on the east as was natural, still remains, though greatly altered; the rest, however, has been

swept away, as well as a large portion at either end of its seaward line of defence.

It was certain improvements on the harbour and village, begun in 1808 and carried on for some years, chiefly under the direction of the late William Young, Esq., afterwards sole proprietor of the place, that unfortunately necessitated, or seemed to necessitate, the destruction of these fortifications. The space occupied by *The Brigs* was too valuable to be lost; the trenches were accordingly filled up by the levelling of the earthworks, and the superabundant materials carted down to the south shore, where a large piece of ground was thus reclaimed from the sea. To the same spot were driven thousands of loads of rubbish from the ramparts of the areas, the many well-shaped slabs of freestone which they were found to contain being laid aside and afterwards used for building purposes.

All accounts hitherto given of the manner in which the defences of the areas had been originally constructed are vague and perplexing. Shaw, in reference to the upper terrace, says, that it was "surrounded with a strong rampart of oaken logs, laid deep in the earth, of which some pieces are as yet digged up, and the burnt remains appear in the earth."[1] Cordiner informs us that the areas were fortified by "an immense mound of earth and stones," adding, however, that "the top had been defended by logs of oak piled on one another," of which "many pieces are to be seen half burnt."[2] On the other hand, we are told by Grant, in the "Survey of Moray," that the same area "appears to have been surrounded with a rampart about twenty feet high, built of stone and lime, with some oak planks intermixed;"[3] and elsewhere he remarks, "There have been considerable buildings in this place, as the neighbouring people were long in the practice of carrying away immense quantities of cut freestone, employed in them; and from the hollow sound within the fortifications, it is probable there are vaults yet unopened."[4] One of Chalmers's correspondents who had examined them at his request, also reported to him that the higher area "appears to have been surrounded

[1] History of the Province of Moray, pp. 210, 211.

[2] Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, p. 58.

[3] Survey of the Province of Moray, p. 53.

[4] Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 34.

with a strong rampart 20 feet high, which had been built with old [oak ?] planks, cased with stone and lime;" and the lower, "with a very strong rampart of stone, which is now demolished."[1] Professor Stuart of Aberdeen, who visited Burghead in person in 1809, wrote to Pinkerton, that "all around the top of the rock are seen the remains of a rampart, consisting of pieces of freestone of all sizes, intermixed with lime and fragments of wood, having the appearance of being burned. On some pieces of the freestone are seen remains of mouldings and carved figures, particularly of a bull, very well executed."[2] In a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, Stuart made a similar assertion: "The author found a very large rampart of the most various materials, surrounding the whole interior of the fort,—viz., masses of stone with lime cement, pieces of pottery, baked bricks and tiles, half-burned beams of wood, broken cornices and mouldings of well-cut freestone, along with the outlines of the figures of various animals, tolerably well represented on many of them." In his opinion all this indicated "the ruin not of an ordinary Roman station, but of a considerable town."[3]

Recent Excavations.—As nothing satisfactory could be gathered from such indefinite statements, the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association recently voted a small sum of money out of their funds, which was afterwards supplemented by the liberality of a few gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of endeavouring to ascertain the true state of matters by excavations in the still existing mounds; and the proprietor having cheerfully given his consent, a systematic examination of them, as far as practicable, was accordingly made.

The north rampart of the upper area was first cut through, a little to the east of where it is crossed by the line CD[4] in the Plan. It was found to consist of a mass of stones, so many of them rolled and waterworn that at a mere glance one was apt to fancy the whole ridge a portion of an old sea-beach. Among them, however, were others of a different shape and character, and towards the bottom lay small flags of freestone, a few of them apparently hammer-dressed. Some thin pieces

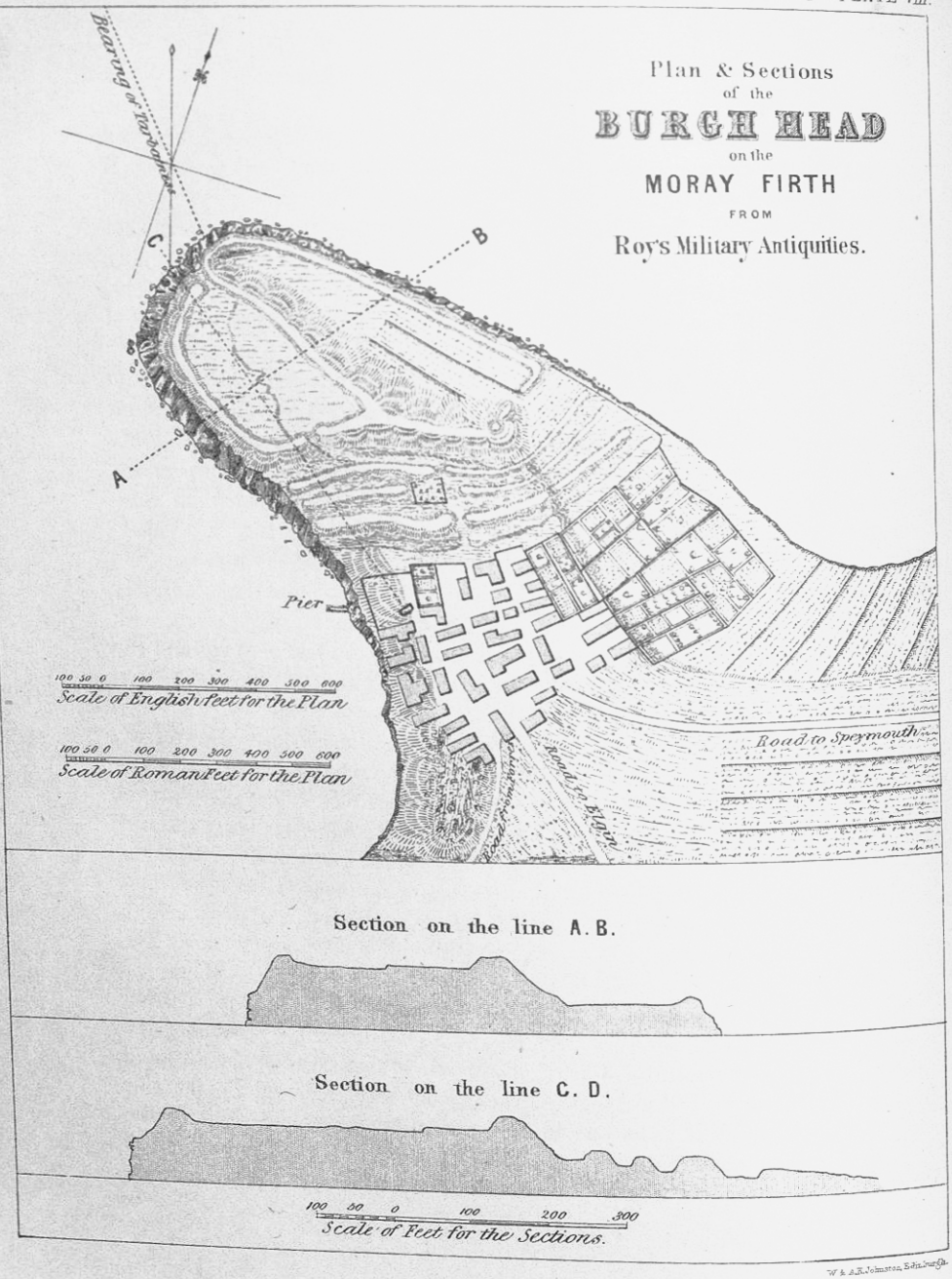
[1] Caledonia, vol. i. p. 130, *note.*

[2] Enquiry into the Hist. of Scot., 2d ed., advt., pp. vii. viii.

[3] Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 289 *et seq.*

[4] See Plate VIII.

Plan & Sections of the BURGH HEAD on the MORAY FIRTH FROM Roy's Military Antiquities.



W. & A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

of oak were met with, and numerous bits of charcoal, but no logs. In the hope of better fortune, a partial section was made near the point of the promontory with like results. The action of fire was, however, very evident on the stones here, and large pieces of charcoal were abundant. The absence of the logs of wood and the slabs of freestone so confidently spoken of by former observers, was afterwards explained. The whole, it seems, had been turned over many years ago by orders of the proprietor, and almost every stone of any value removed.

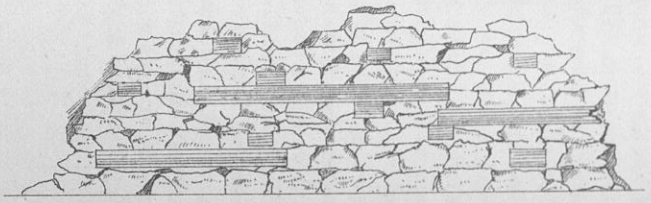
Between the third or innermost of the earthworks and the only opening that led into the lower fort, there was, a hundred years ago, a level space, which, along with the half of the area adjoining, had been covered artificially with a foot or two of mould and so brought under cultivation, as may be seen by a reference to the Plan. Among the improvements of 1809 and subsequent years, was the filling up of this space so as to bring it nearly on a level with the more elevated ground to the north; and, accordingly, the houses in this quarter of the village stand on a mass of stones of varying depth. Here, on breaking up the surface, blocks of considerable size were dug up in several places. Though of a somewhat rectangular shape, it was impossible to say whether they had been cut by the hand of man from the parent bed, or whether, as happens from time to time, a portion of the rocky headland itself, undermined by the sea and dashed into pieces by its fall, might not have supplied materials that were afterwards broken into smaller fragments and roughly squared. When several of these lay near one another, there were generally large vacant spaces between them; and to this circumstance, no doubt, is to be traced, at least in part, the belief still prevalent in Burghead, as in the days of Grant, that there were and are "vaults" or underground passages within the fortifications. In one particular spot, immediately behind a row of houses, the workmen struck on some stones laid with great regularity at about 6 feet below the present surface, and, as was evident from the thin layer of mould which was cut through on approaching them, one or two feet below what was the surface when Roy surveyed the place. On going deeper they turned out to be the top of a wall about 5 feet in height. It had only one face, and that landward; the other side being supported by a mass of small stones. For the most part it had the breadth of one stone only, but they were large, and care-

fully laid, so that the joinings of one row were removed as far as possible from those of the next. Many of them were covered with what looked like a very thin coating of mortar; others with a viscous substance having a resemblance to some kind of cement. On a closer examination, the latter turned out to be the calcareous crust-like state of *Corallina officinalis* and other lithophytes, half decomposed. The stones thus covered had evidently lain some time between tide marks; on some of them were clusters of acorn shells, leaving no doubt whatever on the point. The thin coating observed on others, which appeared like a fine powder dusted lightly over the stone, could not be referred to any such origin; but it was, in all probability, due to the quantity of lime which here enters into the composition of the rock. When exposed to damp, either beneath the ground or in a confined situation, the calcareous particles seem to have a tendency to separate from their matrix and become a deposit on the surface. Not a single grain of sand could be detected, even with the aid of a glass, so that whether the presence of lime was owing to the cause suggested or to some other unknown, the idea that the stones had been imbedded in mortar cannot be entertained. It should be remarked that the same appearances presented themselves in many of the stones dug up elsewhere in the mounds, due, no doubt, to the same causes. Owing to its proximity to the houses, and the expense of excavating at such a depth, the wall was only followed for a short distance; but, as it was thought desirable to know how far it extended, an attempt was afterwards made to determine this by making another opening close to the former, but farther to the west, and in the direction in which the structure seemed to run. Here an older surface was met with at the same depth as before; below, however, instead of a wall, were stones similar in size and appearance to what lay above; and at a further depth of 6 feet, or 12 from the present surface, these were succeeded by 18 inches or more of the bones of various species of domestic animals, embedded in a dark, clammy, greasy earth. Beneath this was a deposit of pebbles, the original surface of the ground and at least the *third* which this spot had owned at different periods in the history of Burghead.

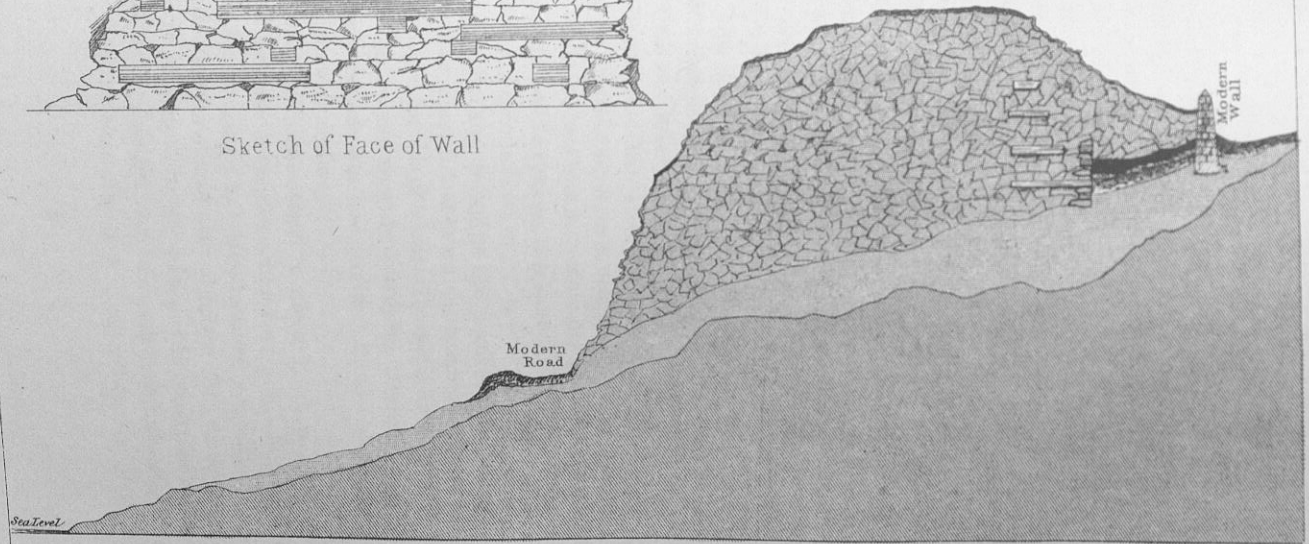
The North or seaward barrier, which guarded the most exposed side of the lower area, and a large portion of which is still pretty entire, was also examined. Recent quarrying operations carried on at its present west-

ern extremity, had revealed the existence within it of some sort of wall; and in order to discover its true nature, the whole was cut through at a point about 50 yards to the west of where it is crossed by the line CD on Roy's plan. The chief results are shown in Plate IX. To the right is seen a low modern wall, raised to prevent the materials of which the rampart consists from encroaching upon the surface of the area; and at the distance of 12 feet from it another wall rises up in the mound, which had at one time served the same purpose. The latter is built of unhewn stones, some of them of a considerable size, carefully laid, but without mortar. It has only one face; but to strengthen it, beams of solid oak, still measuring from 6 to 12 feet in length, take here and there the place of stones; and similar beams, inserted endways, pass into the mass behind. The pieces of oak lying at intervals higher up, show that the wall had once stood at the same elevation as the top of the mound. Between the bases of the two walls are successive layers of a black, peat-like earth, shells of edible mollusks, and light mould, laid down at a time when this space was part of the now adjoining area. Evidently the destruction of the older wall has been caused by the long-continued practice of turning over the mounds in search of building stones. The upper half being broken down in this way, a portion of the mass which it supported would of course fall down in front of what was left; and thus, from being the side of the mound, it would come to be enclosed within it.

Having been less systematically disturbed than the one on the north side of the upper terrace, this rampart was found to contain many pieces of unhewn freestone of all sizes. In the deposit of black earth at the base of the retaining wall, which looked not unlike refuse from human habitations, were many bits of charcoal, and a few bones; at one place a large flattened mass of agglutinated bones and sand lay on its surface, at another a small piece of iron scoria. Here and there, in interstices, often at some distance from the top, were bits of iron, modern-looking buttons, small stones with mortar adhering, and sundry nondescript articles, some of which had evidently found their way into the interior of the mound in the course of some of the probings it had undergone. No weapons or domestic utensils were met with; but the portion examined was of small extent.



Sketch of Face of Wall



Planks (oak)
Mossy Earth
Shells
Sand & Mould
Pebbles
Sandstone

Scale to Section only

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

SECTION,-NORTH RAMPART OF BURGHEAD. 1861.

J. Brechin, del.

W. & A. K. Johnston

From these appearances several inferences seem to follow:—

First, That the ramparts of the areas had been faced, at least on one side, and in some parts, by a wall built of unhewn freestone, without mortar, and ingeniously strengthened by logs of oak laid transversely as well as lengthways.

Second, That as a single retaining wall round the areas is not sufficient to account for the immense quantity of debris, some similarly-built structure or structures had likely once occupied a part of one or both terraces; a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that a considerable portion of the surface of the upper area is still covered by several feet of stones.

And, *Third*, That the "lime cement" of Professor Stuart—an epithet, withal, most expressive of the appearance of the *Corallina*—was nothing else than patches of half-decomposed lithophytes in their young or encrusting state, and that the "lime" (*i. e.*, mortar) of other observers, when not modern, was for the most part either the same, or calcareous particles of the sandstone.

The few examples of partially-dressed stones, and those with the figures of "various animals," will be noticed afterwards.

The Baileys Well.—The termination of the ridge already referred to as forming in part the landward boundary of the lower terrace, is seen in Roy's Plan to be marked by a deep circular hollow, round which the ridge itself appears to turn in a crescent-like bend. Previous to 1809 this spot was a green hollow which tradition had long pointed out as the site of a well; and owing to the much-felt scarcity of water, it was resolved in that year of bustle on the headland to test the truth of the popular belief. Accordingly, after a mass of rubbish of the same nature as the contents of the mounds had been cleared away, a chamber cut out of the solid rock was discovered "at the depth of from twenty to thirty feet from the surface."[1]

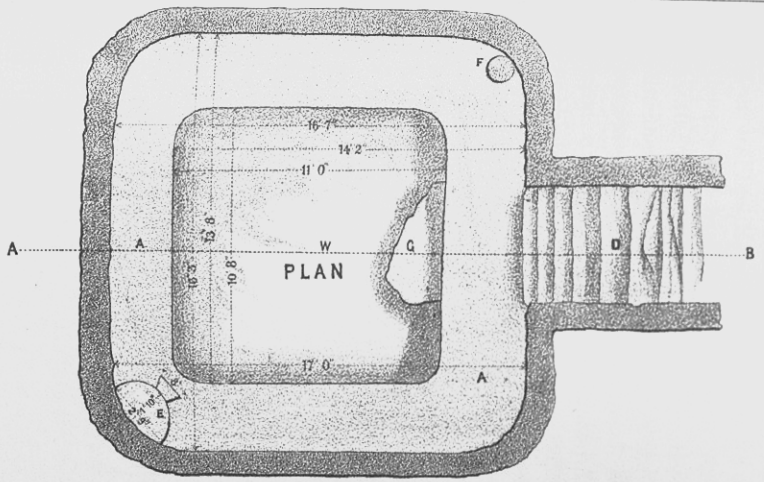
The ground-plan and section in Plate X. show the form and dimensions of this singular reservoir. The floor, reached by a flight of twenty steps (D), 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 5 inches in breadth, and 3 to 5 inches in height, is mostly occupied by a cistern (W), into which a spring of water finds its way from below, a ledge (A) of sandstone about 2 feet 6 inches broad being left between the perpendicular sides of the chamber

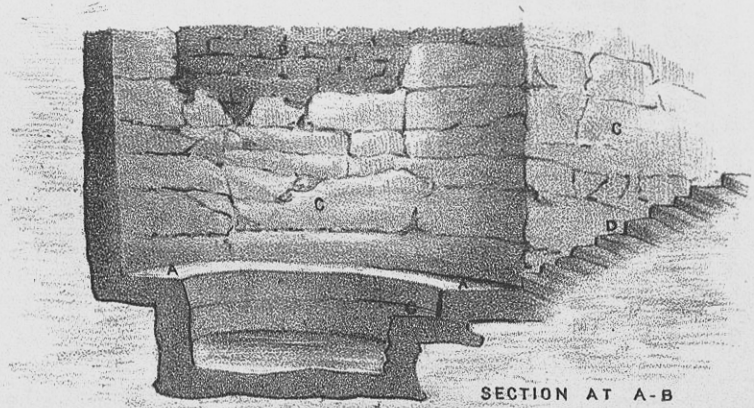
[1] Carruthers' Highland Note-Book. p. 221. Edin.: A. & C. Black, 1843.

and this basin. The dimensions of the latter are as follow:—Greatest breadth of the four sides, 10 feet 8 inches, 11 feet, 10 feet 10 inches, and 10 feet 7 inches respectively; depth 4 feet 4 inches. Its bottom, which was originally quite smooth, was broken up a good many years ago in an attempt to deepen it with the view of increasing the supply of water. A row of thin flat stones, each about a foot or more broad, so placed as to project an inch over the edge, is said to have been found laid all round the ledge when the well was re-opened, but they have been long removed. The sides of the chamber measure 16 feet 3 inches, 16 feet 7 inches, 16 feet 9 inches, and 17 feet; and its height from the ledge upwards is 11 feet 9 inches. The angles of both it and basin are well rounded. In one corner—the innermost to the left hand on entering—a portion of the rock has been left in the form of a semicircular pedestal (E), 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 10 inches in breadth and 1 foot 2 inches in height; while in that diagonally opposite there is a circular hole (F) 5 inches in diameter and 1 foot 4 inches in depth. A step (G) leads down to the well, of irregular shape and very rude workmanship. The sides of the chamber are fissured and rent as shown in the section (at C), so as to have somewhat the appearance of being built of large stones. Portions of the rock have given way from time to time, and been replaced (as at B), by modern masonry.

A view of the doorway and the sides of the entrance to the well is also given in Plate X. The arch, which strangers often conclude to be of equal antiquity with the reservoir, was built shortly after the discovery, when the chamber, formerly quite open at the top, was likewise roofed over and a pump inserted through an opening left for the purpose; a wooden door being at the same time put on the entrance, the lintel of which is still to be seen. It is not unlikely that the whole, including the steps, may have been originally covered over, as tradition bore that the hidden well was approached by a subterranean passage. This, however, if founded on fact, must have had reference to a time long previous to that at which it was re-opened. From the fishing population it generally receives the name of the Baileys Well, in consequence of its being situated within the "Baileys;" but among others it is sometimes known, for an obvious reason, as the Roman Well. Both designations date, of course, from 1809.

WELL AT BURGHEAD





SECTION AT A-B

DOORWAY WITH MODERN ARCH

G. A. Audsley, delt

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinr

The earliest notice of this well is to be found in Chalmers' preface to his "Caledonia" (1810), where he remarks: "Since *Caledonia* was sent to the press, a discovery of some importance has been made. A very slight doubt remained whether the Burghead of Moray had been a Roman station, as no Roman remains had been there found. But this doubt has been completely solved, by the recent excavation within its limits of a Roman bath."[1] Shortly afterwards, we find Professor Stuart describing it to Pinkerton as a "reservoir which seemed a perfect square in form," and whose sides "were very neatly coated with smooth lime plaster;"[2] adding, in his communication to the Society of Antiquaries, that there were "niches in the angles, likely intended for statues."[3] It was doubtless these random words that led the author of *Caledonia Romana* to record the "discovery at Burghead of a Roman bath, and also of a deep well built in the same manner, and with as much regularity as those which have been brought to light within the Roman stations of the south."[4] Another authority, in describing the well, remarks: "This chamber is coated with plaster, which, though faded now, was when first opened up of a deep red colour."[5] With regard to these statements, it may be remarked that the "niches" of Professor Stuart had no existence whatever, unless, which is probable enough, the term was meant to describe the pedestal-like piece of rock in one corner; and that, so far as can be judged from the present appearance of the sides of the chamber, or learned from the testimony of some persons still alive who saw it when re-opened, when he speaks of "a coating of lime plaster," he has likewise been, somehow or other, betrayed into an error. Indeed, apart from all evidence on the point, it may be well questioned whether it is possible that mortar could have remained for centuries adhering to the walls of a damp, underground chamber. There is abundance of it on them now, but the necessity for its frequent renewal is presumptive proof against the presence of any when the well was reopened. At certain seasons patches of something "of a deep red colour," at first sight by no

[1] Caledonia, preface, p. viii.

[2] Pinkerton's Enquiry, adv. to second edition, p. viii.

[3] Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 289 *et seq.*

[4] Stuart's Caledonia Romana, second edition, p. 214.

[5] Anderson's Guide to the Highlands, p. 113. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1842.

means unlike plaster, may be observed growing on the sides of the doorway; but this, on examination, will be found to be a very minute alga (*Callithamnion Rothii*), not uncommonly met with on rocks near the sea.

The Chapel-yard.—A quadrangular enclosure is laid down on Roy's plan, within the first line of earthworks, to the left of the entrance, and shortening the course of the second line. This is the "Chapel-yard," still used as a burying-ground, though with somewhat altered boundaries. Of the writers quoted above, Cordiner is the only one who alludes to it.[1] "One place in the fort," he says, "is marked as a burying-ground, by many moss-grown gravestones; if there has ever been any sculpture on them, it is mostly worn away; on one there is a cross underfaced, and in good relief; on others there seem to be some vestiges of figures and animals; but their truth is too suspicious to admit of any representation."[2]

[1] It is noticed in the description of "Parish of Duffus, in Elginshire, 1725," in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, vol. i. pp. 293, 294; MS. in Adv. Lib.—"The next country village is Outlat. The next is a sea town, of old called Narnia, now Seaburgh, which got the name from the Danes, who then had invaded Scotland, and built a strong fort, which is very likely to have been a garrison, as appears by the ditches casten to the south of it, joyning to the north-west, and to the north-east with the sea. There is among the rubish to be found as yet a great deall of the tyne wood of oak, and the like, of a considerable lenth, which looks to be of the wood, or of the jests. On the south side there is a burial-place betwixt it and the town, with some cornland. There is a good brood of rabbits in it. It is commonly called the Burgh Baillies. There is a great many publick inns in the town, with six good fish boats for their great lines, with other six of a lesser size. It is of distance from the Outlat ½ of a mile—north from the kirk, three miles and ½ north-west."

[2] Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, p. 59. A slab of freestone, ornamented with incised lines after a pattern to be seen on some of the older tombstones in the Chapel-yard, and which is built into the gable of a fisherman's cottage, near the Baileys Well, belongs evidently to this class of monuments. It was found fifteen years ago in digging the foundation of the cottage, and owes its present position to the praiseworthy zeal of a local functionary, under whose directions there was then cut on it the words—"REMAINS OF ROMAN ANTIQUITY." The ground here is that referred to at p. 348, as having been made up in 1809, at which time a part of the burying-ground was included in the line of a new street not far from the spot, and the slab had been among the stones used for this purpose. A mutilated sepulchral effigy lately discovered at Burghead, and now in the Elgin Museum, had also, doubtless, at one time stood in the Chapel-yard.

Yet so late as the beginning of the present century, the foundations of a building were to be seen within its precincts; and tradition bore that a mill which stood fifty years ago on the burn of the Outlet, a rivulet falling into the sea about a mile to the south of the promontory, was partly built of stones taken from the ruins of the "Chapel." In the account of the parish of Duffus, contributed to the "Survey of Moray" by the Rev. William Leslie, of St Andrews Lhanbryde, it is stated that there was a chapel "there (*i.e.*, at Burghead), where public worship was long ago performed by the minister of the parish."[1]

Sculptured Stones.—Amongst the debris on the promontory, sculptured stones have been found at various times, representations of almost all of which that are now known to exist are given on Plates XI. and XII.

Fig. 1, Plate XI., is reduced from an engraving in vol. xvi. of the *Archæologia*, to which the following note is there appended:—"May 11, 1809.—Mr Carlisle exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London an impression of a bull, taken with moistened paper, from a stone found at Burghead, in Scotland, where there are many others of the same description."[2] This stone is in the British Museum.

Fig. 2 was taken from the original, now in the possession of T. Miln, Esq., Elgin, which had been presented to his father by the late William Young, Esq., of Burghead.

Fig. 3 is copied from plate xxxviii. of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Spalding Club). The original, which has been for some time in the garden of George Anderson, Esq., Inverness, was, it is believed, a gift from Mr Young, through Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., to the Museum of the Northern Association for the Promotion of Science and Literature. In this, as in the other examples, the figure of the animal is incised on a slab of freestone.[3]

[1] Survey of Moray, p. 125. [2] Archæologia, vol. xvi. plate lxxi.

[3] Just as this sheet is passing through the press, a *fourth* bull, of the same style of sculpture as the others, and of proportions similar to fig. 2, Plate XI., has been discovered at Burghead by workmen engaged in laying rails along the quay. As the packing of the south pier was being removed, it was disturbed by the pick-axe of a "navvy," which, after smashing the head, was about to break the whole in pieces, when the blow was fortunately arrested by a bystander. It had evidently been carried there from the old Baileys. A friend writes me that the stone seems to be

Fig 1.

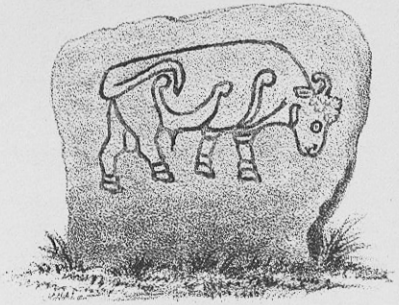


Fig 2.

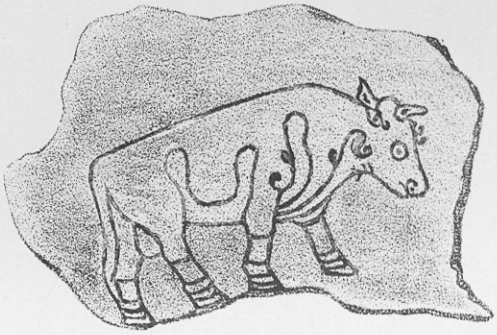
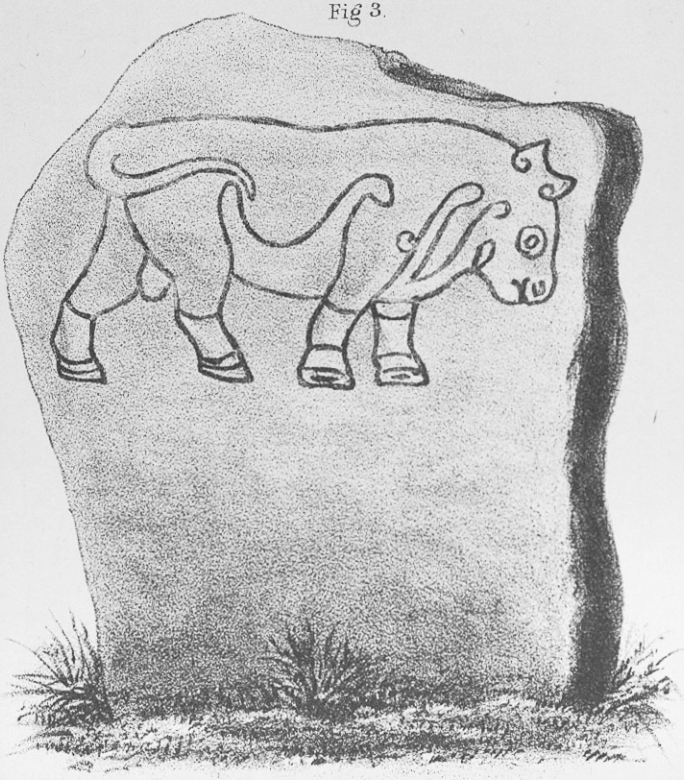


Fig 3.



SCALE OF INCHES

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

SCULPTURED BULLS - BURGHEAD.

These, or such as these, were doubtless the sculptures referred to by Professor Stuart, as already quoted. The statement in the *Archæologia*, that many such were to be found at Burghead, taken along with the following, is worthy of attention:—"In digging at the time of the erection of the harbour, the worthy proprietor informed us his men found about thirty small figures of bulls cut in stone; and, being not a little puzzled guessing at the signification of the sculptures, he sent one of them to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. This learned body decreed that the bulls were trophies carved by the Romans, as we strike medals in commemoration of any signal victory."[1]

Fig. 1, Plate XII., seems to represent a hunting scene. The original is built into the present wall of the "Chapel-yard." It was found about twenty years ago, near the spot, at a few feet beneath the surface, and is probably a portion of the arm of a cross. The figure of the deer is executed with remarkable fidelity and spirit.

Fig. 2 is a drawing of one side of a fragment of a cross, found at Burghead, but which is now at the residence of the proprietor, Fleurs Cottage, near Elgin. The characteristic interlacing knot-work is skilfully cut in bold relief.

Fig. 3 is the other side of the same. Here the figures are incised, and the body of a man, apparently armed and on horseback, is plainly visible. The art is much ruder and perhaps earlier than that displayed in the cutting of the knot-work. Examples of this kind are interesting and by no means common. There is one, however, on the opposite side of the Moray Firth, at Golspie.[2]

Fig. 4 represents a fragment of a cross, now in the Elgin Museum, found a few years ago in digging near the point of the headland. It is

water-worn, picked up, perhaps, on the shore—a remark which also holds good of fig. 2—and that the figure of the animal has been made to suit the size and form of the stone. None of these bulls appear to have formed part of any larger piece of sculpture, or to have been ever built into a wall.

[1] Carruthers' Highland Note-Book, pp. 220, 221. It has been said by more than one writer, that the bulls, at least one of them, were got in clearing out the well. But this is contradicted by the above extract, as well as by the testimony of living witnesses, one of whom points to the north-east corner of the upper terrace as the place where they were dug up.

[2] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, plate xxxiv.

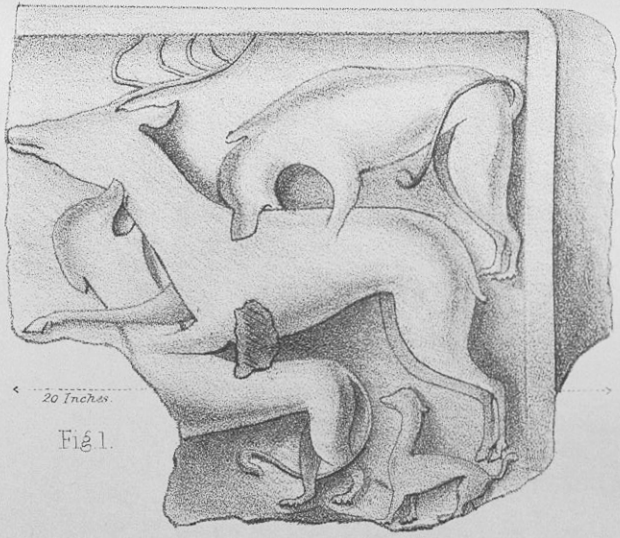


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

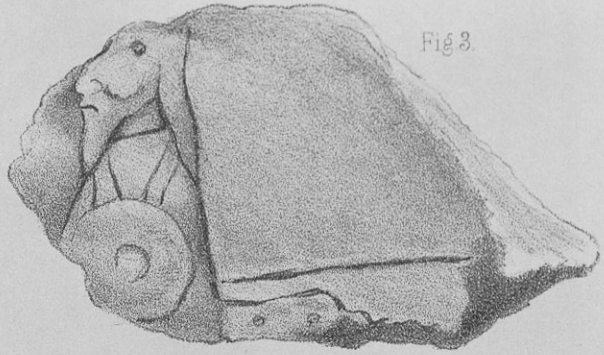
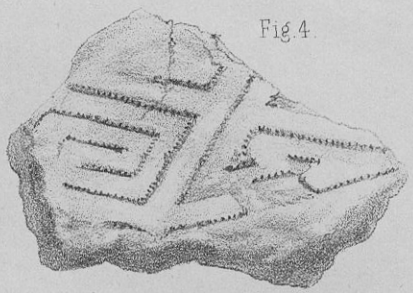


Fig. 4.



SCALE TO FIG. 2, 3 & 4

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches

W. C. Russell & A. Macdonald del.

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

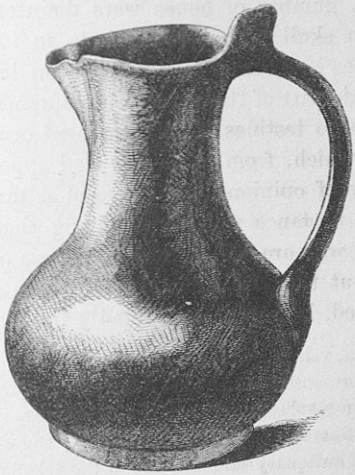
SCULPTURES - BURGHEAD.

sculptured on one side only—a kind of diamond-shaped work not uncommon in this type of stone monuments. Like many of the stones and fragments of wood in this part of the fortifications, it appears to have been at one time subjected to great heat.

Besides the above, there is at present in a garden in Elgin a fragment of a cross, much worn and defaced, which there are good grounds for believing found its way there from Burghead.

St Ethan's Well.—About a quarter of a mile to the east of the village a spring comes naturally to the surface, called "St Ethan's Well." The water is exceedingly pure and wholesome; and the supply, though small, is unfailing even in the driest summer. Nothing whatever is known regarding the origin of the name, but there is reason to believe that the well has borne it from a remote period.

Metal Jug.—The woodcut represents a jug, now in possession of



N. Macleod, Esq. of Dalvey, and said to have been found in the "Roman" well. It is fully 5½ inches in height, and composed of that mixture of copper and tin known as bell-metal. The workmanship and design appear to be both mediæval.

Silver-mounting for a Horn.—An antique from Burghead was figured and described by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, in the "Archæologia Scotica,"[1] as a silver bracelet, and is referred to as such by Wilson.[2] "It was presented to me," says Sir Thomas," by Mr Young, the proprietor of Burghead, by whose workmen it was found during their excavations, preparatory to forming the town of that name." A competent authority, Mr Franks of the British Museum, is of opinion that the relic is not a bracelet, but the mounting of a horn, of either Scandinavian or Saxon manufacture, and of an age not prior to the tenth century.

Other Relics.—During the operations of 1809 and following years, quantities of human bones were got in and near the fortifications. An intelligent old man who had charge for a time of the workmen employed in their demolition, speaks of having seen entire skeletons, as well as pieces of rusty armour; and his statement is confirmed by the fact, that a few years ago, on the removal of a portion of the north rampart of the lower terrace, a number of bones were disinterred from its outer side, among them a skull with a round hole in its upper part, their position being such as if a row of bodies had been laid down on the original surface, and this part of the mound subsequently raised over them. The same observer also testifies to the frequent occurrence of "bits of bone-like buttons" which, from their size and appearance, he and his fellow-workmen were of opinion had been used as money; and of other pieces of the same substance that went among them by the name of "arrows."[3] Many stories are still current of hoards of treasure that were got in those days, but they are probably much exaggerated.[4] A silver penny of King Alfred, however, undoubtedly from Burghead, is now in

[1] Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. plate v.

[2] It has lately been presented to the Museum by Lady Dick Lauder, and a woodcut of it will be found in a subsequent page of this volume.

[3] "Another scrap of Roman antiquity was dug up by the workmen—a small brass coin, which an eminent antiquary said was one of the tokens in common use among the Roman soldiers, to note their allowance of wine."—*Carruthers' Highland Note-Book*, p. 221.

[4] "In clearing out the well, a number of Spanish coins were found among the rubbish."—Rhind's "Sketches of the Antiquities of Moray," p. 67. If these coins have been correctly designated, and if they were found at any considerable depth their presence is difficult to account for.

the Museum of Antiquities. About four years ago a brooch of antique design was met with among the sandhills close to the village. It passed at the time, as a curiosity of value, into the hands of a gentleman now deceased, and cannot be recovered. The late Mr Young was wont to tell that in 1809 a pit of considerable depth, and containing a quantity of barley, was discovered near the point of the promontory. Its sides were lined with wood, and, when opened, the grain in it seemed charred. Among the few legends preserved by the natives of Burghead, is one to the effect that the fort was burned, while held by the Danes, by a king of Scotland, in revenge for some insult offered to a daughter who was married to a Danish prince.[1]

Burning of the Clavie.—No account of the antiquities of Burghead would be complete that did not contain a notice of the burning of the Clavie. On the evening of the last day of December (o. s.), the youth of the village assemble about dusk and make the necessary preparations for this grand annual ceremony. Proceeding to some shop, they demand a strong empty barrel, which is usually gifted at once, but, if refused, is taken by force. Another for breaking up, and a quantity of tar, are likewise procured at the same time. Thus furnished, they repair to a particular spot close to the sea-shore and commence operations. A hole, about four inches in diameter, is first made in the bottom of the stronger barrel, into which the end of a stout pole, five feet in length, is firmly fixed. To strengthen their hold, a number of supports are nailed round the outside of the former and also closely round the latter. The tar is then put into the barrel and set on fire; and the remaining one being broken up, stave after stave is thrown in until it is quite full. The

[1] "A fabulous story prevails among the country people, that a daughter of the king of Scotland was married to a Danish prince, who used her ill, upon which the Scots king threatened revenge for the affront; and, therefore, immediately after the Danes came over, brought a number of pigeons and other birds, besmeared their feathers with tar and oil, set them on fire, and let them loose to fly through the different parts of the garrison; and how soon the Danes saw the flames, they fled with what valuables they could transport with them." (Notice of Burghead in Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xxi. p. 210.) The popular version of the destruction of Silchester, in Berkshire, is strikingly similar.—See Lord Carnarvon's *Archæology of Berkshire*, p. 17. London, 1859.

clavie, already burning fiercely, is now shouldered by some strong young man, and borne away at a rapid pace. As soon as the bearer gives signs of exhaustion, another willingly takes his place; and should any of those who are honoured to carry the blazing load meet with an accident, as sometimes happens, the misfortune excites no pity even among his near relatives. In making the circuit of the village, they are said to confine themselves to its old boundaries. Formerly, the procession visited all the fishing-boats, but this has been discontinued for some time. Having gone over the appointed ground, the clavie is carried to the *Doorie*, a small eminence near the extremity of the headland, once a portion of the natural landward boundary of the lower terrace, which, however, has only been the Doorie since 1809. On its summit a circular heap of stones used to be hastily piled up, in the hollow centre of which the clavie was placed, still burning. It is now, however, laid on a stone column recently built for the purpose by the proprietor, with a cavity in the centre for admitting the free end of the pole. After burning on the Doorie for about twenty minutes, the clavie is most unceremoniously hurled from it and the smoking embers scattered among the assembled crowd, by whom, in less enlightened times, they were eagerly caught up, and fragments of them carried home and carefully preserved as charms against witchcraft. At a period not very remote, superstition had invested the whole proceedings with all the solemnity of a religious rite; the whole population joining in it as an act necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the community during the year about to commence; but of late, the buring of the clavie has degenerated into a mere pastime, and will probably soon be numbered among the things that were.

What these records appear to intimate, regarding the past history of the Broch, remains to be considered.

Antiquities, not Roman—Fragmentary as they unfortunately are, its antiquities at least show that no portion of the fort, as it existed in Roy's day, can have been raised by Roman hands. The contents of the ramparts of the upper areas demonstrate that these defences were not the work of Lollius Urbicus; while the position of the chapel-yard, interrupting as it does the second line of earthworks, proves it to be older than these mounds; for it is most improbable that, with the choice of other more eligible sites, the builders of the chapel had, after clearing away

a mass of earth, erected it between two deep ditches! As no mention is made of it in the Chartulary of Moray, the chapel must have ceased to be regularly occupied as a place of worship before the year 1200, and it cannot have been built earlier than 700, probably not till much later; hence it may be safely assumed, on this ground alone, that the fosses are of a date somewhere between the beginning of the eighth and the close of the twelfth century. The ramparts may be, and probably are, older; but there is not a single fact to lend countenance to the supposition, that any former defences on the ruins of which they may have been constructed, were Roman. Not a trace of anything indubitably the work of that people can be shown to have been found on the promontory, and the remains described above all point unequivocally in other directions. The *Baileys Well* is perhaps unique of its class; yet this does not prove that such a rude, unsymmetrical reservoir is Roman any more than that it is Phœnician. Henceforth, it is to be feared, the Roman theory must be set aside as one of the illusions of those bygone days of archæology, in which the Monkbarns School was in the ascendant.

An Ecclesiastical Site.—The existence of the Chapel-yard is sufficient proof that Burghead is an old ecclesiastical site; while the sculptured crosses testify to its antiquity, as well as give approximately its age. It is more than probable that St Ethan's Well hands down the name of either the saint to whom the building was dedicated, or of some primitive apostle whose labours in the district had been abundant. As there is little doubt that Christianity was first preached in this part of Scotland by Columba and his disciples, Ethan may be a corruption of Ædan or Aidan, a monk of Iona, who was afterwards, as is well known, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, and died A.D. 681. In an old Norman-French chronicle, printed by Petrie and Sharp, the name, exactly as pronounced by the natives of Burghead, is applied to Eata or Æta, one of Ædan's successors in the same see.[1] But this is a point which there is not sufficient data to determine.[2]

The existence of the "Chapel," though hitherto all but overlooked,

[1] Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 663.

[2] No fair is known to have been ever held at Burghead, and all trace of the one held in olden times in the Kirkyard of Duffus appears to be lost. It is a coincidence

accounts for the presence of the crosses, and also, perhaps, for the few roughly-dressed stones that were got in the middle rampart, near where it had stood. The latter likely found their way into the mound during the turning over to which it was subjected; but there is no evidence to show where the former were all met with. The sculptured bulls appear to belong to an earlier period.

Probably a "Pictish-tower," Burgh, or Broch.—The contents of these hitherto mysterious mounds establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, the fact that they were, to a great extent, composed of the ruins of regular structures. This is clear from the statements of Grant and Stuart, as well as from the recent examination of the hitherto undisturbed portion of the seaward rampart of the lower terrace. Nor does the presence of a retaining wall round the areas account for the whole; other buildings, the necessity for which is evident enough, must have contributed some share of the debris. The question, therefore, naturally arises, What was their nature?

There appears to be one, and only one, class of stone structures known with certainty as having existed in Scotland at so early a period, the demolition of which could have yielded such a mass of materials: those "Pictish-towers," Burghs, or Brochs, examples of which, though mostly in ruins, with the exception of that of Mousa, in Shetland, are still to be seen on our north and west coasts. This conclusion is supported by the following considerations:—

(1.) *The Name.*—Burghead, as an appellation of the promontory, only dates from about the close of the last century. Previous to that it was called Burgh-sea, or Broch-sea, or, more commonly, *The Broch.* It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this is the very name by which the so-called Pictish-towers of the antiquary are known among the natives of the non-Celtic districts of the north. In Orkney, wherever Broch

worth noting, perhaps, that Duffus seems to have become the site of a chapel, dedicated to St Peter, about the time at which Burghead was seized by the Norsemen. If it took the place of one consecrated to St Ethan on the headland, Duffus may at first have borne the names of both saints; and if, further, St Ethan be identical with the Columbite Aidan, it is easy to see how his name might come to be discarded. On this supposition, the Duffus fair-day would be either the feast of St Peter *ad vincula* 1st August, or of Aidan, the 31st of same month.

occurs as the designation of a locality traces of one of these buildings invariably exist. Boece's statement, that this name was bestowed on Burghead by the "Danes," is probably one of those little matters of detail in which he is so fond of indulging and which may in general be safely passed over as unworthy of credit.

(2.) *The Situation.*—Headlands are among the sites which such Brochs most frequently occupied.

(3.) *The Character of the Debris.* — The resemblance between the Burghead mounds and the ruins of an undoubted broch can scarcely fail to strike any person who will take the trouble to compare the details given above with a description of one of those buildings. Space is not left for a full illustration of this particular. Suffice it to say, that the immense quantity of unhewn stones, some of them water-worn and bearing evidence of having been taken from between tide-marks; the absence of mortar; the mass of bones of domestic animals and the shells, observed in course of the excavations; the bits of bone resembling buttons, are all appearances more or less characteristic of brochs as well as of Picts' houses, the latter of which some of our most cautious archæologists believe to represent the same style of architecture as the former, though in an earlier stage of its development. In Picts' houses there have also been found charred grain and sculptured stones rudely incised, these last serving to show that though the Burghead bulls are as yet unique of their class their occurrence in a so-called Pictish structure is far from anomalous. It may indeed be objected to this view that Burghead lies somewhat to the south of that part of Scotland to which brochs are generally understood to be confined; but their distribution in ancient times is a matter that cannot be settled without more accurate information on the subject than we yet possess. Besides, the promontory is within sight of, and distant but a few hours' sail from, parts of the opposite shores of the frith where they are known to have been once numerous, and lies in a district that was often visited by the marauding Norsemen, as a refuge against whose inroads brochs are generally supposed to have been erected.

(4.) *The Earthen Ramparts and Fosses.*—Examples of these are not unknown elsewhere in connection with brochs. That at Bressay in Orkney is surrounded on the land side by an earth embankment and

fosse of a horse-shoe shape, the end or heel terminating at the shore on the east and west of the burg.[1]

(5.) *The Position of the Well.*—Excavated chambers, which Mr Petrie, Kirkwall, considers to have been either wells or places for the concealment of treasure, have been met with in some of the northern brochs in a position similar to that of the Baileys Well at Burghead. In his account of the burg referred to above, Mr Petrie says,—"On digging away the rubbish on the outside of the south side of the wall, a stone was accidentally lifted, and a covered way or passage discovered underneath, leading down by a flight of several steps to a well (or something very like it), excavated out of the rock and clay. . . . . The well is between the earthen rampart and the burg, and is about ten feet high from the roof.[2]

(6.) *The Testimony of Boece.*—This, though the strongest and most direct of all, is put last for two reasons: *first*, because there are probably many who will attach no importance to it whatever; and, *second*, because it was not until the preceding facts had impressed the writer with the conviction that Burghead had been the site of a northern broch that Boece's remarkable statement came under his observation. Fortunately it is by no means necessary for our present purpose to enquire into the accuracy of the details into which he enters; but the remark may be hazarded, that the scope and object of Boece's History have been by not a few partly misunderstood. All that he appears to have proposed to himself, following in this respect the example of Livy, was to weave into a continuous narrative the materials he had somehow collected, never pausing to inquire into their historical value, and holding chronology and even probability as of secondary importance. That a work compiled on such principles is seldom alluded to by the lynx-eyed critics of our day, except in terms bordering on contempt, need hardly be wondered at; yet it is surely possible to carry this feeling too far. Whatever may be thought of his references to the unknown Veremundus, it seems unfair to set him down as having fabricated all the assertions which he makes that are otherwise unvouched for. In the case before us, Olave and Enetus may be mythical personages; it may have been

[1] Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 57. Cf. Ibid. p. 5

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 57.

some other king than Malcolm II. that was worsted at Kinloss by the Danes; and still the substance of the story may be true. Let it be admitted, then, that tradition in the days of Boece represented Burghead when assailed and captured by the Norsemen as "*furnished with towers and a wall of great height;*" and the assertion, as explained by appearances, now for the first time brought to light, almost if not altogether establishes the point in question. The period to which these brochs belong, and the race, whether native or intrusive, by whom they were built, are matters which cannot be discussed here.

Occupied by the Norsemen.—Boece's statement, that the Norsemen extended and strengthened the fortifications of *The Burg*, is confirmed by several particulars which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. Owing, however, to the changes the mounds have undergone, no accurate idea can now be formed of the nature of the alterations; and the same difficulty presents itself in other brochs which had been appropriated by these marauders to their own use. Little can be advanced on this point beyond the surmise that they probably destroyed the Chapel, as well as dug the two outermost fosses. Proof is even wanting that changes more or less important may not have been made on the form of the fortifications after the place was abandoned by the Northmen.[1] It may be mentioned that Plate VIII. has reminded some archæologists of the sketch of a fort called Dunbeg, near Fahan, in the county of Donegal, Ireland, given in the "Archæological Journal" for March 1858; and the following sentences from the description which accompanies it, will show that the resemblance is in some respects pretty close, although there are other points in which no likeness can be traced:—"The Cahen or fort of Dunbeg . . . . has been formed by separating the extreme point of an

[1] Something unexplained lurks under the name *Baileys* or *Bailies*. It has been suggested that its origin is similar to that of the Old *Bailey* in London, "so designated from its position, in relation to the ancient wall of the city, and the church of St Peter in the *Bailey* of Oxford, so called from its having been originally situated in the outer *ballium* of the castle" (Edward I. in the North of Scotland, p. 115; Elgin, priv. printed, 1858.) According to this view *baileys* is an Anglicised corruption of *ballia*, the courts within a fortified castle; but the term could only be applicable to Burghead in this sense, on the supposition that it had been temporarily occupied as a feudal stronghold.

angular headland from the main shore by a massive stone wall, constructed without cement, from 15 to 25 feet in thickness, and extending 200 feet from cliff to cliff. This wall is pierced near its middle by a passage which is flanked overhead. . . . . As a further means of defence, a series of three earthen mounds, with intervening fosses, have been thrown up outside the wall, having a pathway through, leading in a direct line to the main entrance. . . . . They are formed out of the drift-clay and gravel which overlie the strata of dull purple grits, sandstones, and slates, of which the promontory is composed."[1]

The exact date of the occupation of Burghead by the Norsemen must likewise be held as uncertain; since, for reasons already given, Boece's authority in such matters is scarcely to be trusted. Even if we accept the account given in the sagas of the battle of Torfness as the Norse version of the event chronicled by him as the battle of Kinloss, its chronology is as difficult to fix as ever.[2] Probably, however, we shall not greatly err if we set down the event as having occurred in the course of the tenth or the eleventh century. Equally puzzling is the singular ceremony of the *Clavie*, which, though likely enough to be of Scandinavian origin, cannot be set down with certainty as such. The popular idea that it is "Druidical" is probably about as well-founded as the theory that the fortifications are Roman. So far as can be ascertained, nothing exactly similar is known in any other part of Scotland.[3]

Charter History.—The following account of the charter history of Burghead has been kindly supplied by Robert Young, Esq., Elgin:—

"After the Norsemen left Burghead, no doubt the whole parish of Duffus, including Burghead, reverted to the Crown, and probably so remained until granted by

[1] Archæological Journal, vol. xv. pp. 2–5.

[2] The latest writer on our early history is inclined to reconcile the Norse and Scottish chronicles by supposing that Kali Hundison was no other than the unfortunate Duncan, and that he must have encountered the combined forces of Thorfin and Macbeth in the neighbourhood of Burghead.—Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i. p. 116, and Appendix P.

[3] Clavie reminds one of Clava in Nairnshire, with its chambered cairns and stone circles; but the resemblance may be purely accidental. Doorie or Dourie is a well-known name in Scottish topography.

King David the First to Freskinus De Moravia. David succeeded Alexander the First in 1124, and died in 1153, which fixes the period when the estate of Duffus fell to the De Moravias. About 1285 the last male representative of this family died, leaving two daughters—Helen, married to Reginald De Cheyne, the younger, and Christian, married to William De Fedderet. Both of these were great Barons of Scotland, and both proprietors in Buchan, where the ruins of their Castles remain to attest their greatness. How the estate was divided between the daughters is not clear, but I think the probability is, that the elder daughter got two-thirds, and the younger daughter one-third. That the younger had a part of the estate appears from a gift of the patronage of St Peter's Church at Duffus, granted to Archibald, Bishop of Moray, by William De Fedderet, and Christian De Moravia, his wife, dated at Kinnedar in 1294. Reginald De Cheyne was a supporter of the English faction, and was evidently in the confidence of Edward the First of England during his occupation of Scotland, but like many others, he no doubt afterwards turned round to Robert Bruce, for his estate was not forfeited, but descended to his family; and his brother, Henry Cheyne, appears to have been Bishop of Aberdeen in King Robert's reign, and is said to have been the builder of the old bridge of Don. William De Fedderet, on the other hand, and his family, disappear from history altogether, and my conjecture is, that they were staunch supporters of Cumin, Earl of Buchan, and the Cumin party, and therefore the declared enemies of Robert Bruce; and if so, his estates would be forfeited and fall to the Crown.

"Reginald De Cheyne died in the year 1313, leaving a son by his wife, Helen De Moravia, also called Reginald, who was at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, and died about 1350, leaving two daughters, Mary and Mariot, so that the male line of the family of Cheynes having failed, by the middle of the fourteenth century the estate of Duffus was again in the hands of co-heiresses. Mary De Cheyne, the elder, married Nicholas, second son of Kenneth, Earl of Sutherland, and the other married John Keith, son of Sir Edward Keith, Marshal of Scotland.

"Duffus was thus divided into three parts: the King's part being probably that which had belonged to William De Fedderet; Duffus part, pertaining to the Sutherlands; and Marshal's part, belonging to the Keiths. Marshal's part was purchased by Alexander Sutherland, grandson of Nicholas, who married Morella, daughter and heiress of Chisholm of Quarrelwood. These three parts of Duffus may be in some measure traced still. Sutherland's part would contain the estate now pertaining to Sir Archibald Dunbar; Marshal's part, the lands of Inverugie, Hopeman, and westward, near to Burghead; and the remaining third, the western division of the parish. Burghead suffered also a tripartite division; being the port of the district it perhaps was considered of some value.

"After this period two-thirds of Duffus, and the like portion of Burghead, remained with the Sutherlands, who were created Lords Duffus, until their estate was sold in 1705. The history of the King's third of Duffus and Burghead is some-

what obscure for a time; but there exists a charter by James III. in favour of James Douglas of Pittendrich, of the third part of Duffus, which, of course, comprehended the third part of Burghead, dated at Edinburgh, the 14th August 1472. The Douglasses seem to have kept possession until 1603, when Archibald Douglas granted a charter of alienation to Alexander Keith, Rector of Duffus; from whose descendants it passed shortly after 1638 into the hands of Sir Robert Gordon, son of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, and who had previously purchased the lands of Plewland and Ogston, in Drainie, from the Marquis of Huntly. In the year 1672, Sir Ludovick Gordon, the son of Sir Robert above mentioned, with consent of Robert Gordon, his eldest son, sold and disponed to Robert Sutherland, in Burg-sea, the lands of Easter Inchkeil, called the King's third of Inchkeil, the lands of Wester Inchkeil, 'and in like manner, the lands, house, larochs, and yards, bigged and to be bigged, and the harbour and sea-port pertaining to them, of the town and sea-port of Burgsea, commonly called the King's third of Burgsea,' &c. &c. Sir Robert Gordon, the grandson of Sir Ludovick, endeavoured to recover the above, and other lands, from the successors of Robert Sutherland; but he failed in this; and after a long process, the King's third of Burghead and other lands were confirmed to Lewis Kay, his great-grandson, descended through a female, by decree of the Court of Session, dated 4th July and 7th August 1767. About the year 1705, the other two-thirds of Burghead and other lands were purchased by Archibald Dunbar, of Thundertown, from Lord Duffus, from whom it descended to his great-grandson, the late Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield, Baronet. Sir Archibald also acquired the King's third of Burghead from Lewis Kay, the successor of Robert Sutherland, by disposition, dated 12th November 1795. Sir Archibald Dunbar thus became sole proprietor of Burghead, and on 5th July 1799, obtained a Crown-Charter over the whole.

"In the year 1808, Sir Archibald made over the property of Burghead to the Duke of Gordon, Colonel Francis William Grant of Grant, John Brander of Pitgaveny, himself, Joseph King of Newmill, George Forteath of Newton, William Young of Inverugie, and Thomas Sellar of Westfield; by whom, jointly, a harbour was erected at Burghead. In the year 1819, Mr Young purchased the shares of the other proprietors, and carried out extensive improvements on the property and the harbour, encouraging, in particular, the settlement of fishermen. About 1835, he extended the north quay-head, so as to make it a suitable berth for steamers. Mr Young died in 1842, and was succeeded by his nephew, the present proprietor."

This paper was illustrated by various water-colour sketches of the sculptured stones and other antiquities, some of which, executed by Lady Dunbar of Duffus, were previously presented by her to the Society; and by the kind permission of the Dowager Lady Dick Lauder, the curious silver ring, already referred to, and the coin of Alfred, were exhibited.

Professor Cosmo Innes, from his local knowledge, was able to illustrate and confirm the statements in the paper.

Mr John Stuart, in adverting to the value and interest of Mr Macdonald's paper, stated that he thought the writer had been very fortunate in the destruction of the theory which attributed the remains to Roman hands, and that the excavations described had been of great use in adding to the materials for forming an opinion as to their real authors. It appeared to him that the upturning and removal of the original materials had been so great that it was almost impossible now to speak with confidence as to their original disposition. He pointed out the occurrence of sculptured fragments at Dinnacair, now an isolated rock near Stonehaven, but probably in early times the point of a peninsula like Burghead, as had been shown by Mr Thomson of Banchory, and referred to this and other similar places on the coast as sites chosen by the early Christian missionaries, and which may have been selected from their being fortified, or secure by nature.

Mr Joseph Robertson anticipated great good from such papers as Mr Macdonald's, which he hoped soon to see printed; and from the facts thus accumulated, and the aid of good ground plans, it might yet be possible to fix the date and the builders of many of our early forts.

Dr John Alex. Smith remarked that the deer shewn on one of the sketches of the fragments of sculptured stones, if correctly drawn, appeared to be that of the Red Deer. The whole subject of the identification of the various species of animals represented on the Scottish Sculptured Stones, in their relation to our extirpated as well as living animals, would, he considered, form a curious and interesting field of inquiry.

After the usual votes of thanks to the Vice-Presidents and other office-bearers during the past Session, the Society adjourned to the commencement of next Winter Session.