

## II.

VACATION NOTES IN CROMAR, BURGHEAD, AND STRATHSPEY. By  
ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.

*Including*

NOTICE OF ONE OF THE SUPPOSED BURIAL-PLACES OF ST COLUMBA.  
By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

These notes are founded on observations chiefly made during a holiday in the month of August 1873. They were originally embodied in a letter to David Douglas, Esq., but have since been extended in various directions, preserving, however, their epistolary and discursive character.

In the extensions I have made I have been often and largely aided by Mr Joseph Anderson—so often and so largely that a general acknowledgment becomes almost the only thing possible.

The notes refer only to those objects of archæological interest which I happened to see, and regarding which—or oftener perhaps regarding what they suggested—I had something to say which appeared to me more or less new.

### I. CROMAR.<sup>1</sup>

(1.) EIRDE HOUSES.—The first old thing I had an opportunity of examining was one of those subterranean structures, called Eirde Houses, which are so numerous in the county of Aberdeen. It is situated

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John M'Hardy, in the *New Statistical Account* (vol. xii. p. 1070), describes Cromar as a district of Aberdeenshire, comprehending part of five parishes.

at Mill of Migvie, and has been figured and described by Mr Jervise.<sup>1</sup> Towards the outlet, the passage bends sharply on itself, instead of pursuing the curvilinear sweep which is usual in such structures where the stones of the districts in which they occur have not more or less of the character of flags.

At Culsh, in the adjoining parish of Tarland, I saw other two Eirde Houses. One of these has been described by Dr Stuart,<sup>2</sup> and also by Mr Jervise, who figures it;<sup>3</sup> but the other, so far as I am aware, has not yet been described. The boulders used in the construction of these two houses appeared to me unusually large.

Both at Culsh and Migvie the terminal chamber, instead of being pear-shaped, is more or less rectilinear, contrary, I think, to what might have been expected where such building material had been employed.

(2.) ST WALLACH.—To this illustrious Scottish saint and “first Bishop of Aberdeen,” who is so intimately associated with the district of Cromar, my attention was soon and often drawn, and I propose to say something about his stone in Logie; about his well and kirk in Glass; about the northern people he laboured among; about the house he lived in; about a possible relic of him in Coldstone; and, as suggested by the last, about some objects which were occasionally buried with persons who had led saintly lives.

It will be convenient to write of these things under separate headings.

In the *Old Statistical Account* (vol. vi. p. 223), the Rev. Mr Maitland says:—“Cromar is a division of Mar in Aberdeenshire, and comprehends in it the parish of Coul in the east end, the parishes of Tarland and Migvy, of Coldstone and Logy, and part of the parish of Tullich in the middle and west end of it.” In Sir James Balfour’s Collections, MS., Cromar is thus described:—“This prettey little cuntrye layes in a bottome plaine,” and consists of “five parochiall churches ore parishes, viz., 1. Logey Mar; 2. Colstaine; 3. Migvie; 4. Tarland; and 5. Coule.”—(*Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Spalding Club*, p. 86.) In the *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen*, again, the district is thus defined:—“Cromar, that is, *The Heart of Mar*, either because it is the middle or the choicest part of it, is a bottom lying between Dee and Don, surrounded with four hills, and containing these three cures, two of which are double—Tarlan and Migvie, Logy-Mar and Colstane, now called Logy-Colstane, Cowl.”—(*Collect. on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 85.)

<sup>1</sup> Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. vol. v. p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. vol. i. p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. vol. v. p. 283.

(a) *Wallach's Stone*.—The stone which carries the name of St Wallach,<sup>1</sup> stands just outside the old burial-ground of Logie Mar. It bears no inscription or sculpture of any kind. Its existence appears to have escaped the notice of the Bishop of Brechin when preparing his Kalendar of Scottish Saints, though it was described by the Rev. James Wattie in a letter to Dr Joseph Robertson, from which Dr Stuart quotes in his paper on Crannogs.<sup>2</sup>

It is a handsome monolith, 6 feet high; and one would not have been surprised to learn that tradition made it a petrification of the Druid whom St Wallach dispossessed.<sup>3</sup> It is written of the early saints that they sometimes disposed of the priests of the more ancient faith in this manner. In the life of Maedhóg, Bishop of Ferna, for instance, we are told that Caillin, an Irish saint, and the school-pupil of Maedhóg, performed a famous miracle on the Druids whom Fergua, king of Briefne, sent against him. He turned them into stones, "and," it is added, "they still remain as standing stones."<sup>4</sup> "A.D. 624 was the date when Maedhóg resigned his spirit to heaven,"<sup>5</sup> so that we have an approach to the time of this miracle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The saint is also remembered in the following rhyme:—

"Wallach's fair in Logie Mar,  
The thirtieth day of Januar."

Though St Wallach's fair appears thus to have been on the 30th, his festival day is on the 29th of January. In the parish of Glass his fair was held on the Tuesday before Christmas. (*Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*)

<sup>2</sup> Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> See Legends of the Braes of Mar (Abdn. 1861, p. 3), for a Cromar story of an interview between a Druid and an early Christian missionary.

<sup>4</sup> Martyrology of Donegal, compiled by Michael O'Clery in 1630. Published by the Irish Arch. and Celtic Society, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Martyr. of Donegal, *op. cit.* p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Druids, too, are believed to have had the power of turning men into stones. In many parts of Ireland this is what the common people believe to be the history of standing stones (Huddleston's edition of Toland, Montrose, 1814, pp. 130 and 295). And according to Martin, the people of Lewis say of many such pillars there that they are "men by enchantment turned into stones." (Western Highland, 1703, p. 9.) This superstition, indeed, appears to exist very widely. The two standing stones near West Skeld are believed by the people of Shetland to be metamorphosed wizards or giants (New Stat. Act. Shetland, p. 111), and Unda, in one of his rare books, says that in the Highlands you may often hear the people gravely talk of

(b) *St. Wallach's Kirk and Well in the Parish of Glass.*—St Wallach's northern<sup>1</sup> mission is described as having been to Mar, Strathdon, and Balveny—that is, to the tribes inhabiting the stretch of country thus indicated, for there were no dioceses or parishes, as we understand them, in those days, nor indeed sooner than the reign of Alexander I.,<sup>2</sup> the relations of a spiritual oversight being primarily rather to the clan than to the territory.

In the Balveny end of St Wallach's northern missionary district—in the parish of Glass—we find him quite as well remembered as in Logie-Coldstone.

There was a “yearly mercat” held there on the Tuesday before Christmas, at the village called the Haughs of Edinglassie, near the bridge which spans the burn of Invermarkie, and over which the Barons of Edinglassie used to hang such of the Highland thieves as they managed to catch. The market is no longer held, but the Rev. Dr Duguid tells me that fifty years ago, in his own day, it was in full force.

He tells me also that the old Font is still to be seen in the aisle of the ruin of what is called Walla-Kirk, and that the well and bath<sup>3</sup> which bear St Wallach's name, were quite recently in fame for their healing qualities.

The well, which is about 30 yards below the old kirk-yard, is now dry, except in very rainy weather, in consequence of the drainage of the field above it. It was frequented by people with sore eyes, and every one who went to it left a pin in a hole which had been cut either by nature or by

these pillars as petrified giants, fiends, and necromancers. (Shetland Revisited, by Unda, p. 40.) He makes the superstition classic, by reminding us that Kingsley recites that “Polydectes and his guests, after being shown the Gorgon's head by Perseus, sit on the hill side, a ring of grey stones, until this day.” (Op. cit., p. 40.) It is probable that research would disclose a similar superstition existing in most of the countries of the world—of which, perhaps, there is an illustration in Shaw's Travels in Barbary and the Levant, in his chapter on Ras Sem or the Petrified Village. (2nd ed., 1757, p. 155.)

<sup>1</sup> He had a southern one to Galloway—Candida casa.

<sup>2</sup> Sketches of Early Scotch History, by Cosmo Innes, p. 11; and Dr Stuart's Book of Deer, pp. 126 and 132.

<sup>3</sup> In a reference to the bath and well in Chambers's Dom. An. of Scot. vol. i. p. 323, Wallach is spoken of as an anchoritic saint, who dwelt in the parish of Glass in the fifth century, and who is reckoned the first Bishop of Aberdeen.

art in a stone beside the well. Dr Duguid says he has seen this hole full of pins at the end of May. It was thus not on the saint's day, the 29th of January, but in May, that both the well and the bath were frequented, in late times at least.

The bath is a cavity in the rock, 3 or 4 feet deep, and is supplied by a small spring coming out of the brae about twenty yards above the bath, and the water trickles over the east end of the cavity, falling down the rock some 4 feet into the river. It was famed for curing children who were not thriving; and Dr Duguid says that when he first came to the parish hundreds of children were dipt in it every year—a rag, an old shirt, or a bib from the child's body, being hung on a tree beside the bath, or thrown into it. When the Deveron was in flood it got into the bath, and swept all the offerings down to the sea. Dr Duguid adds that one person was this year (1874) brought to it from the seaside.

(c) *St Wallach's Life*.—St Wallach's northern work evidently made a deep and lasting impression. This is not to be wondered at, if all that is said of him be true. To show what I mean, I quote some passages from his life in the Aberdeen Breviary.<sup>1</sup>

“More than four hundred years after our Lord had suffered for us,” says his biographer, “while this one faith, which the Roman Catholic preaches had not been received through all Scotia, on account of the paucity of the teachers of the said church; among these, blessed Volocus,<sup>2</sup> the bishop, a distinguished confessor of Christ, is said to have flourished with remarkable miracles in the northern part of that country, and to have chosen for himself a place of dwelling among the high rocks.

. . . . . “He voluntarily submitted himself to the greatest hunger,

<sup>1</sup> Kalendar of Scottish Saints, by the Bishop of Brechin, p. 460; Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars. hyem. fol. 44, 45.

<sup>2</sup> His name is written Walach, Wellach, Wallach, Walloch, and Wella in the Macfarlane MSS.; Wallak, Wolok, and Walla in the Presby. Book of Strathbogie; Volocus in the Abdn. Breviary; Mac-Wolok and Makuolocus in Camerarius; Makuolok in King's Kalendar; and Makuvolokus in Dempster. The writer of the View of the Diocese of Aberdeen talks of Camerarius as confounding Wolok with Makwolok, as if they were different persons. (See Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 128; see also Antiq. of Abdn. and Banff, vol. ii. 180 185). The prefix *Mak* here is not the Celtic word meaning *son of*, but the Celtic word meaning *my*, and conveying an idea of endearment. The *k* is introduced for the sake of euphony

thirst, and cold, that in this life he might satisfy for his own sins and for those of others in his church.

“For he preferred a poor little house, woven together of reeds and wattles, to a royal palace. In this he led a life of poverty and humility, on all sides shunning the dignities of this world; that he might achieve to himself a higher reward in heaven, and for an eternal guerdon receive a perpetual crown.

“But the race whom he preferred to convert to the faith of Christ, and whom actually by his preaching and exhortation he did convert, no one would hesitate to describe as fierce, untamed, void of decency, of manners, and virtue, and incapable of easily listening to the word of truth, and their conversation was rather that of the brutes that perish than of men.<sup>1</sup>

“For they had neither altar, nor temple, nor any oratory in which they might return thanks to their Creator; and as they believed not that Christ had been born, so they had neither knowledge nor faith, but like brute animals, given to eating, sleeping, and gorging, they finished their lives in the blindness of unbelief, asserting that there was no eternal punishment for sins to be inflicted on the unjust.

. . . . . “At length in extreme old age, on the 4th of the kalends of February, with angels standing around, his soul passed away to Christ, and in his honour up to this time, the parochial churches of Tumeth<sup>2</sup> and Logy in Mar are dedicated.”

<sup>1</sup> Dempster calls St Wallach *Episcopus sodorensis*, and says he taught the precepts of a better life to those Scots of the Woods who are called Hibernians—*Scotis illis silvestribus qui Hibernienses dicuntur*. I do not know whether any special tribes were designated *Scoti silvestres*, or whether the term was loosely applied to any tribe inhabiting inaccessible regions—much as we hear of *wilde Scots* and *Redd-shankes*,—in John Elder's letter, for instance, to Henry the Eighth, in 1542 or 1543 (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Edin. 1847, p. 26). He says that these *wilde Scots* “spake none other language but Yrische,” and that they were called Eyringhe or Irelandemen, Scotland itself being known as Eyrn veagg or Little Ireland.

In these references, Scots of the Woods and Hibernians are made the same people, but Bishop William of Orkney, in a letter to King Christian of Norway, appears to regard the *Scoti Silvestres* as different from the *Sodorenses Ybernenses* (Letter dated 28th June 1461. See *Diplomatorium Norvegicum*, Christiania, 1861, vol. v. p. 606.)

<sup>2</sup> The old parish of Dunmeith is now included in the parish of Glass.

(d) *Character of the People among whom St Wallach laboured.*—We have not a flattering account here of the condition of the northern tribes among whom the saint laboured in the eighth century. It is quite possible, however, that the people of these districts were as good then as they are now; that is, as good potentially, or with as great mental power and capacity for culture. Nor is this saying little; for where can a people be found superior to those now in the district? After the Gallovidians, the men of Aberdeenshire have the largest heads in Scotland;<sup>1</sup> as regards stature and bulk they are seldom surpassed;<sup>2</sup> and they make themselves felt, both by mind and body, wherever they appear. In spite of this, perhaps some of the things said of them by St Wallach's biographer might still be said. It is possible, for instance, that there are persons now among them who do not believe in the eternal punishment of sin; and the returns of the Registrar-General might be held by strict people to indicate a certain "void of decency, of manners, and virtue." In the opinion of sound churchmen, I suppose they might still be described as without altar, temple, or oratory in which they can thank their Creator for his goodness. It is even a question whether some might not be found among them who would doubt the sufficiency of the grounds on which the Saint himself rested his hopes of a "reward in Heaven," and his faith in the satisfying for sin by the endurance of hunger, thirst, and cold. In certain aspects, therefore, the present character of the people may perhaps be regarded as a venerable antiquity.

(e) *The Watted House in which St Wallach lived.*—St Wallach is said to have lived in a poor little house woven together of reeds and wattles, and this seems to have been reckoned a hardship and a mark of humility. We cannot, however, safely infer from this that the people among whom he laboured, and who were neither self-denying nor humble, lived in houses of a different and more comfortable character. Indeed, it seems surprising to find so much made of the Saint's watted dwelling, since houses constructed more or less completely of *wattle and daub* still exist among us; and I know that they can be tolerably com-

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of the Anthropol. Society, ii. p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> Beddoe's Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles.

fortable. At Inverie, in the parish of Glenelg, I once<sup>1</sup> slept in a house the partitions of which were of wattling plastered with clay; and I find an entry in my journal (16th Oct. 1866), in which I say that in Kintail, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, and Lochaber, "wattled partitions plastered with clay are frequent—outside walls too, but these generally for sheds or byres." Another entry occurs, on the 17th of September 1864, very much to the same effect. Captain Thomas tells me, from personal observation, that wattling was till lately, and probably still is, common in some parts of the Highlands. Nor was it confined to the dwellings of the poor. In Duthil, for instance, the old house of Inverladnan, in which Prince Charles passed a night, had creel partitions; so had the house of Shillochan in the same parish.<sup>2</sup> At Stronmilchain, in the parish of Glenurchy and Inishail, M'Gregor of Glenstrae had a house built of wattles, said to have been surrounded by a moat, and accessible only by a drawbridge;<sup>3</sup> and about the end of the eighteenth century, the second son of Cluny, afterwards the Chief, brought home his bride, a daughter of Lochiel, to a wattled house at Nuid, near Kingussie.<sup>4</sup>

Walker, again, writing between 1760 and 1786, says, "When wood is at hand they erect what is called creel houses. These are formed of wooden posts, interlaced with branches of trees, like wicker-work, and covered on the outside with turf."<sup>5</sup>

When we hear of persons living in creel houses, it would be entirely wrong to conclude that they are either half-barbarous or peculiarly wretched. The fact may be nothing more than an outcome of circumstances, and no mark at all of inferiority or misery. The early settlers in Australia were persons who had been born and brought up in stone houses, in which not a few of them had lived luxuriously, yet we read that their houses in Melbourne "were most primitive in

<sup>1</sup> In 1859, or 1860. Mr W. F. Skene, when reading these notes in proof, kindly furnished me with the additional fact that the well-known Maedonell of Glengarry built one of these wattled houses at Inverie, and occupied it as a summer residence for many years. Mr Skene adds that he has often slept in it.

<sup>2</sup> I state this on the authority of Mr David F. Ross. It was in the house of Shillochan that a remarkable piece of Scotch carving on fir was lately discovered. See *Inverness Courier* of 24th September and 15th October 1874.

<sup>3</sup> New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. p. 97.      <sup>4</sup> Book of Deer, by Dr Stuart, preface, p. cli.

<sup>5</sup> Walker's Econom. Hist. of the Hebrides and Highlands. Edin. 1806, vol. i. p. 95.



form and construction," and, "were chiefly limited to one storey, and usually built of wattle-stems interlaced, and plastered with mud, known as wattle and daub."<sup>1</sup> Mr Robert Tennent tells me that he long lived in such a house, of which he has shown me a photograph, and in which he enjoyed no little happiness and comfort.

Wattle-built churches<sup>2</sup> were common, and have received notice at the hands of various writers;<sup>3</sup> but in the "Martyrology of Donegal"<sup>4</sup> there is an interesting reference to one, for which, as for very many other references, I am indebted to Mr Anderson. We are there told that Mochaoi or Caolán, Abbot of n'Aondrium, in Uladh, went with seven score young men to cut wattles to make a church, and that he was himself cutting timber like the rest when a bird, "more beautiful than the birds of the world," spoke with him from a black thorn close by, and continued speaking for 300 years, while the saint slept "a sleep without decay of the body"—his bundle of wattles lying the while by his side, like himself keeping fresh and without decay. Machaoi is said to have been alive in A.D. 496. St Patrick gave him a crozier, called from the legend of the Wattles the *Baculus Volans*, or Winged Crozier.

(f) *The Coldstone Cross and St Wallach's Grave*.—The Aberdeen Breviary vaguely makes St Wallach to have lived and died "more than 400 years after our Lord;" Dempster says he flourished in the year 320; and Camerarius places his death in 733. The last is certainly nearest to the truth, and is probably pretty near it. No one, however, tells us where he died and was buried, but it is fairly probable, or at all events possible, that it was in some part of that northern district in which

<sup>1</sup> Glimpses of Life in Victoria. By a Resident. Edin. 1872, p. 10. See also Voyages to the East Indies, by John Splinter Stavorinus, Lond. 1798, vol. i. p. 57.

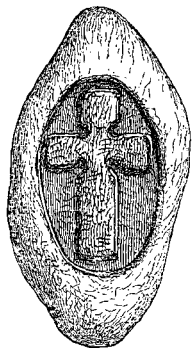
<sup>2</sup> An oratory built of wood, wattling, or clay was said to be built "after the manner of the Scots," and one of stone "after the Roman manner." The wooden oratory which King Edwin erected at York was enclosed in the stone church which he afterwards built there; and William of Malmesbury tells us that the "old church of wattled work"—St Mary of Glastonbury—was, at the end of the sixth century, "covered with a coating of boards" by order of Paulinus, Bishop of York.—(See Babington, Arch. Camb. 1857, vol. iii. p. 147.)

<sup>3</sup> Dr Stuart, Book of Deer, p. cxlix. to clvii.; R. Perrott in the Arch. Camb. 1857, vol. iii. p. 147; and Reeve's Adamnan, pp. 106, 114, and 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 177-9.

his great missionary work was done. I am the readier to believe it was there, because the fact would suit a theory I formed regarding a very interesting stone in the old burial ground of Coldstone, to which my attention was directed, several years ago, by the Rev. George Davidson. The sketch which I subjoin (fig. 1) fairly exhibits its character.

Fig. 1.



It is a flattish, water-worn, undressed stone, about 22 inches long by 11 inches wide and 3 inches thick. On one of its faces, an oval of about 12 inches by 8 inches is sunk, and within this oval there is a Latin cross in relief.

I believe the late Dr Joseph Robertson, when visiting Sir Alexander Anderson at Blellach,<sup>1</sup> in Logie-Coldstone, saw this stone, and regarded it as belonging to the eighth century, that is, to the time of St Wallach.

It is not a fragment, but a complete stone; and it is clear that it never was intended to stand erect. On the other hand, it is too small and light to have been laid on the top of a grave, with any hope that it would long remain there.

It is a stone, however, of some pretension and of great character. When I saw it, I knew of no other similar stone, and on asking myself what purpose it could have served, it occurred to me that it might have been buried with St Wallach, or have taken the place of his body in the grave, if his remains were ever removed for enshrinement.<sup>2</sup> The fact that it was found in the burial ground of Coldstone and not in that of Logie constitutes no difficulty. So far as our information goes, the interment of St Wallach in the one place is neither more nor less probable than

<sup>1</sup> The late Dr Robertson thought that Blellach was a corruption of Bal-Wallach, but I believe the general opinion is that this etymology of the word is not correct.

<sup>2</sup> On asking Mr Weale of Bruges, whether he knew of any case in which it was recorded that some sacred object had taken the place of the body of a saint when it was removed from the grave for enshrinement, he said that he was not aware that any such occurrence had been recorded, but that it seemed to him probable that something of the kind might be done, and he showed me drawings of three cromlech-looking structures, which he knew to have been erected over the graves of translated saints, and which I hope he will soon describe in the pages of the "Beffroi."

his interment in the other. Both places were within his mission, as were other parishes. Though I first thought of his grave as the one of which it might once have been the tenant, my speculation, however, allowed of its having been entombed with, or in the place of, any one remarkable for a saintly life.<sup>1</sup>

(g) *Iona Cross and St Columba's Grave.*—On showing Mr James Drummond my sketch of the stone, and telling him to what use I thought it might have been put, he produced the drawing of another stone found in Iona, strikingly like the one at Coldstone; and he told me that he had come to a similar conclusion as to the purpose it had served. I begged him to put his views into writing, and communicate them to the Society when I read my notes. This he kindly did, and they are embodied in the following—

NOTICE OF ONE OF THE SUPPOSED BURIAL-PLACES OF ST COLUMBA.

By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

About no saint's remains are there more conflicting opinions than about those of St Columba. The Irish say that he was buried at Down in the same grave with St Bridget and St Patrick, in fulfilment of a prophecy by St Patrick. This is denied by the Islanders, who insist that the body was buried at Iona. Pennant also mentions that in the Pope's library there is a life of the saint, which had been translated by Cail O'Horner, in which it is stated that he was buried at Iona. The best confirmation, however, is the fact that his body was lifted in the eighth century, and put

<sup>1</sup> Mr Skene has suggested that Wallach is the same person as Faelchu, the 12th Abbot of Hy. His ground was that Faelchu is the Irish equivalent of the Latin form Volocus, as Fechin is of Vigeanus, Finan of Vyninnus, and Fergal of Virgilius. In 717, the year after Faelchu's accession to the chair, the Columbian community were driven by King Nechtan *trans dorsum Britannie*. Faelchu was then 75 years old, and he died at 82 in 724. It is scarcely possible that he commenced his mission in the North after the age of 75, and if he be the same person as Volocus, and met his death in Cromar, he must have returned to the north, which, perhaps, is not altogether improbable in view of the schism which occurred in the Church at Hy about this period, and of the difficulties by which it appears to have been caused.

in a shrine which was of the most costly description. This shrine was concealed somewhere against the ravages of the Danes, who in 825 invaded the island to secure it. Failing in doing so, they massacred St Blaithmaic and his monks. But still the question remains, Where was St Columba buried? Had it been in the consecrated ground at Reilig Orain, it would perhaps have been mentioned; but it was desirable to keep this secret, considering the claims of the Irish, and their anxiety to possess the body: and some spot might have been selected to which the saint himself was partial. Tradition speaks to two places—the one to the west of the cathedral, the other in a place called the Desert, about a quarter of a mile to the north of this. As to the former it seems unlikely, although the shrine might have been concealed thereabouts, and may have traditionally come to be called his grave. It is of the other situation<sup>1</sup> that Pennant says Bishop Pocock had mentioned to him that he had seen two stones, 7 feet high, with a third laid across on their top, an evident trilithon. It is odd that Pennant does not say whether he had or had not seen these himself. I have, however, both seen and sketched them. Besides the upright stones there is a continuous enclosure formed by a series of large boulders, the uprights being the entrance to it, and close by them, inside, is traceable the foundations of what may have been a cell or small chapel, from which the enclosure was called Cladh Iain, or St John's burial ground, and sometimes from its situation Cladh an Discart, or the burial place in the Desert. It is very unfortunate that the upper stone of the trilithon or Cromlech (by which name it still goes) was, some years ago, thrown down by some one about the farm, in case it should fall and injure any of the cattle. It lay on the ground for some time, and about six or seven years ago was broken up to assist in the building of a new farm-house. This is much to be regretted. The height of the two upright stones is now 5 feet 6 inches (this, with the upper stone which was broken up, would give the height mentioned by Bishop Pocock), the distance between them 4 feet 6 inches. It was near this that Mr Alexander M'Gregor, a young doctor who lives on the island, and who is

<sup>1</sup> Dr Reeve, in my opinion, falls into error in identifying the place of which Pennant speaks with Cill ma Neachdain. I am led to this opinion by the following among other reasons:—The spot of which Pennant speaks was called a burial place, and the structure described by Pocock as existing there, still exists at Cladh an Discart.

nephew to the clergyman of the Established Church, found a most interesting relic, a heart-shaped granite boulder,  $20 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and having a cross with a nimbus rather rudely sculptured on it. In answer to some enquiries, Mr M'Gregor wrote me—"the heart-shaped stone which I found, with the shape of a cross on it, was lying on the surface of the ground about 150 yards from the 'Claodh na Disert,' it was near no building or enclosure, but evidently was taken there for the purpose of closing up a drain. It was quite on the surface, and within 20 or 30 yards of that large boulder of granite under which I have heard it said that Saint Columba was buried."

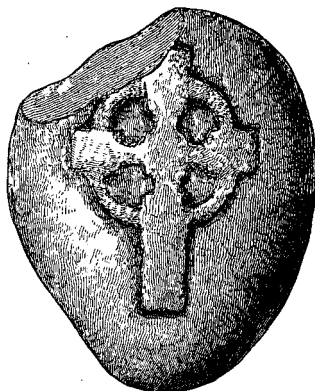
It was carried by the finder to the enclosure of Cladh Iain, from whence it was taken last summer (1873) to the cathedral for preservation. The corner was broken off by the wheel of one of the farmer's carts passing over it. From its shape, it could have been of no use as a grave-stone, as from its form it could not stand upright, but it might have been used to lie on the top of a grave; its rounded shape would not have prevented this (fig. 2). The only use to which I could imagine such a stone really to have been put, would be to place it in a grave; and my

conjecture is, that when the remains of St Columba were enshrined, this stone, with the sacred emblem carved upon it, was put in the place where the saint's body had lain.

It is worthy of note that the person who had charge of the shrine and conveyed it in 1090 from the north of Ireland, where it was for the time, to Kells, was Angus O'Donnellan, who was Coarb of the Disert of Columcille at Kells, which gives us the fact that there was a Disert Icomkille at Kells as well as at Iona.

In the enclosure at Cladh Iain was found the fragment of a cross, on which was quite distinctly seen the crucified figure, and interesting results

Fig. 2.



might follow a little judicious digging at this spot, as it is rumoured that drains in the neighbourhood have been covered with flat stones found here.

*Postscript.*—Since I wrote what precedes, my attention has been directed by Mr Joseph Anderson to the following passage in Adamnan's Life of St Columba:—" . . . ubi pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem, qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus titulus stat monumenti." <sup>1</sup>

The translation of this passage in the Life of St Columba, by the Bishop of Brechin, is thus given:—" . . . where he had a bare flag for his couch, and for his pillow a stone, which stands to this day as a kind of monument beside his grave." <sup>2</sup>

The question naturally arises—Can the stone I have described be the pillow to which Adamnan refers? If this could be proved, it would certainly be a stone of great interest. It would be of still greater interest if it could be also shown that it took the place of the body of the saint when it was removed. <sup>3</sup> It is certain to have been a relic held in great veneration. Reeves tells us that the stone pillow of St Kieran of Clonmacnois existed in the monastery when his life was written, and was "venerated by all." <sup>4</sup> A still more worshipful esteem was sure to be accorded to the pillow of St Columba; and if it was not buried out of sight—taking the place of the saint's body in his grave—it is probable that we should hear of it either as a relic remaining in Iona, or as having been removed to some such place, as Kells or Dunkeld. Petrie states that the penitential bed of St Columba still exists in his house at Kells <sup>5</sup>—a flat stone 6 feet long and 1 foot thick. We learn nothing, however, of the fate of the sacred pillow, nor should we expect to learn anything about it, if, at the time of the saint's enshrinement, when it was no longer required to stand on his grave as a "titulus monumenti," it took the place of the translated body in the grave itself.

It is true that the late Dr Joseph Robertson ingeniously raised a theory that the stone pillow was among those relics of St Columba which Ken-

<sup>1</sup> Reeves' *Vita Sancti Columbæ*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Historians of Scotland*, vol. vi., p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> About the end of the eighth century.

<sup>4</sup> Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 233, footnote.

<sup>5</sup> *Round Towers*, p. 426; and Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 233.

neth MacAlpin transported to Scone in the ninth century, and that it was there used as the famous coronation stone now at Westminster. But Mr Skene has conclusively shown that this theory is not tenable,<sup>1</sup> and we are really left without any tradition as to what became of the stone pillow, though we can have little doubt that to few of the relics of the saint would so much sanctity be attached.<sup>2</sup>



(h) *Pillow Stones in the Graves of Saintly Persons.*—The reference by

<sup>1</sup> The Coronation Stone, by W. F. Skene, Edin. 1869, pp. 24–26.

<sup>2</sup> It is open to question, I think, whether the Bishop of Brechin has been altogether complete in the English rendering of the passage from Adamnan which has given rise to Mr Drummond's postscript. There appear to be some grounds for thinking that "quasi quidam titulus monumenti" means more than "as a kind of monument."

The words *titulus monumenti* occur in the Old Testament (Genesis xxxv. 20, Vulgate), where it is said—"Erexitque Jacob titulum super sepulchrum ejus; hic est titulus monumenti Rachael, usque in presentem diem." In our version of the Bible this passage reads as follows:—"And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachael's grave unto this day."

*Titulus* appears in several inscriptions on early Christian graves. Thus we have—"Sub hoc titulo . . . quiescet Landulda virgo," &c. (Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, No. 1, Apl. 1855); and in the Mainz Museum the two following:—"In hunc titulo requiescit bonæ memoriæ Bertisindis," and "In hunc titulo requiescit Andolendis," &c. (Lindenschmits Alterthümer, &c., vol. ii. heft v. tab. v.). There is an interesting Irish example too on St Berkheart's tomb at Tullylease, co. Cork, the inscription on which runs as follows:—"quicumque hunc titulu legerit orat pro berechtione" (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. vi. p. 266). We have also inscriptions in which the buried person or his body is said to be *titulatus*, as for instance in the inscription on the cruciform leaden plate, which was found in a stone coffin on the south-east side of the Minster Close at Lincoln, in 1847, and which runs thus:—CORPUS : SIFORDI : PRESBITERI : SCE · ELENE · ET · SCE · MARGARETE . TITULATUS · HIC · JACET (Proc. of the Archæolog. Institute, Lincoln, 1848, p. xliv.).

The word occurs also in heathen inscriptions. Thus, on a Roman stone found at "Ould Pereth," recording the short lives of a man and girl, it is said—"Vindicianus titulum posuit;" and on another Roman stone, found at Housesteads, recording in like manner, the length of the life of one *Dagualdus*, it is said—"Puinna conjux titulum faciendum curavit" (Hübner's Inscript. Lat. Brit. 1873, Nos. 326 and 692).

Juvenal speaks of the *titulus sepulchri*, and other old writers use such phrases as *titulis decorare sepulchrum*, and *addere titulum busto* (See Du Cange, verb. *Titulus*).

The original idea of the *titulus* seems to refer simply to the *inscription*. By an

Mr Drummond in his postscript to the pillow stones of St Columba and St Kiernan suggests a notice of pillow stones<sup>1</sup> of a somewhat different character, for which, however, the Coldstone and Iona stones might readily enough be taken.

In a field, now called Cross Close, believed to be the cemetery or God's acre attached to the Nunnery at Hartlepool, over which St Hilda presided as abbess in the early part of the seventh century, a number of skeletons were found in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. Most of them were those of women; and they lay north and south, not in cists, but on the limestone rocks, with their heads resting on flattish unsculptured pillow-stones about 5 inches square.

Over the skeletons were also found a number of stones, the largest less than a foot square, and varying in thickness from 1 to 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, with crosses on them, and inscriptions either in Roman, Saxon, or Runic characters, consisting simply of a name, or of a name coupled with a request for the prayers of the faithful. The crosses resemble the cross which appears on the stone afterwards to be alluded to as having been found in St Breacan's grave. One at least of those inscribed stones is said to have been found as a pillow below the head of a skeleton, and with reference to it Mr Haigh says,<sup>2</sup> that if it were really so found, he "could only suppose that as it is usual in early times to translate from their usual place of burial to a

easy process it came to include the object on which the inscription existed—generally a pillar. It was only a step further in this direction which brought it to mean a *basilica*.

According to this view, the words quoted from Adamnan would have a meaning like this:—"Where it stands to this day near his grave, as a sort of inscription on his monument"—revealing, in other words, the fact that the grave was that of St Columba, and not the grave of any other person. The pillow, in short, from its association with the saint, became, in a certain sense, the inscription of his monument, saying to all, as plainly as words could say: *Hic jacet sanctus Columba*.

Professor Geddes of Aberdeen has ingeniously suggested to me that, as no monument existed, perhaps the phrase *titulus monumenti* should be held as equivalent to *monumentalis titulus*.

<sup>1</sup> My information regarding these stones is derived from the Arch. Association Journal, Mr Haigh, vol. i. p. 185-196; and Mr George Stephens' Old-Northern Runic Monuments, 1866-7, vol. i. p. 392-397; but reference is also made to them in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. 1836, p. 480; in *Cutt's Manual of Sepulchral Brasses*, 1849; and in *Pettigrew's Chronicles of the Tombs*, 1864, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on St Begu, p. 23.



more honourable one the bodies of those whose sanctity was believed to be evidenced by miracles, these stones were buried in the graves of those of the community who were most remarkable for the holiness of their lives, in order to assist, at a future time, the search which might be made for their remains." I give this quotation because it shows that others have speculated much in the same direction as Mr Drummond and myself regarding the use of what Mr George Stephens calls "these tiny slabs buried with the dead, and not intended for erection outside the grave."<sup>1</sup>

Pillow-stones under the heads of skeletons have occurred likewise in some Kentish barrows,<sup>2</sup> and in the Burgundian graves at Charnay, the stones were not only placed below, but above and all round the head.<sup>3</sup>

(i) *Objects Found in Christian Graves—General Remarks.*—Various other objects have been found in the graves of persons distinguished for their pious lives. There appears indeed to have existed, and perhaps there still exists more frequently than is thought, a desire to bury with those who have been much loved and honoured some object either endeared to them while in life, or associated with the feelings of respect in which they were held, or calculated to secure a peaceful sleep in the tomb. The desire seems to be one which is natural to man. It has in all ages been felt and gratified both by Christians and pagans. The purpose is not always and everywhere the same, whether we have to do with the practice as followed in heathen or Christian lands; but there is no essential difference between the idea which prompts to the burying of a flint arrow head, a stone celt, a bronze sword, a charm stone, or a badge of office with the body of a rude tribal chief noted for feats of arms or for governing powers, and the idea which prompts to the burying of a crucifix, an altar stone, a chalice, a formula of absolution, or a copy of the Gospels with some leader in the Church distinguished for his zeal and success or for his holiness and humility.

<sup>1</sup> The Old-Northern Runic Monuments, by George Stephens, vol. i. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Haigh, Notes on St Begu, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Henri Baudot—Mém. sur les Sépult. des Barbares de l'Époque Méroving, Paris, 1860, pp. 17-18.

It may possibly throw light on the purpose of the Coldstone and Iona stones, if I briefly describe some of the objects which have been found in Christian tombs. I have already spoken of Pillow stones, to which class of objects these two crosses might well have belonged, whether we refer to such Pillow stones as we know St Columba and St Kieran used while in life, or to the stones which were simply placed as pillows under the heads of the dead when laid in the grave, as was done in the case of the Nuns at Hartlepool. To other classes of the objects so buried, it has been suggested to me that the Coldstone and Iona stones might belong,—as, for instance, to the Sculptured or Inscribed stones, to the Cure and Oath stones, or to the Portable Altars, which have all more or less frequently been interred with those held in veneration for the holiness of their lives. With others of these objects—such, for instance, as the copies of the Gospels, or the Leaden Crosses of absolution or protection against evil spirits—they could not be confounded. I shall, however, briefly notice all these classes of objects, since they are all the outcome of one feeling, and represent mere variations of one custom.

(j) *Sculptured or Inscribed Stones Found in Graves.*—In the tomb of St Breacan, on the island of Aran Mor, there was found a stone with a cross on it, which Dr Petrie<sup>1</sup> says was discovered about the beginning of this century, nearly six feet below the surface, in a circular enclosure known as the grave of this saint.

There appear to have been two Brecans, and Miss Stokes<sup>2</sup> thinks it probable that this is the tomb of the Munster saint, whose day was the 1st of May; which day, and not the 6th of December, the day of Breacan of Ard Breacan, was celebrated in Aran. We learn from her, too, that the stone now stands near St Breacan's grave at Tempul Breacan, in Aran Mor. It is of an irregular square form, with a diagonal of about fifty inches. It has a cross cut on it within the symbolic circle, and the words: *sci breacani*, being the only instance as yet found in Ireland of the formula 'sancti' on a tombstone.

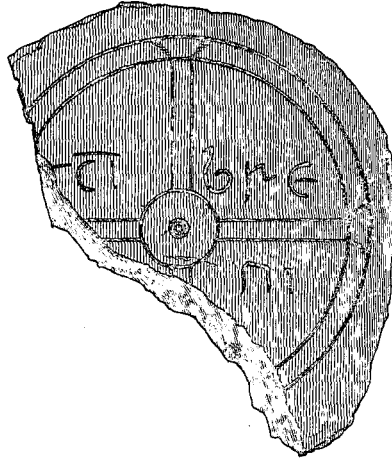
<sup>1</sup> Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1845, vol. xx. p. 138-9; Essay by George Petrie on the Round Towers of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, edited by M. Stokes, 1873, Part iv. pp. 19 and 20, and figs. 24, 25, and 26.

With the permission of Miss Stokes, I give a woodcut of this interesting relic (fig. 3).

Another stone, much smaller, was also found in this grave. Dr Petrie's account leads to the supposition that it was found under the stone just referred to, and at the same time; but Miss Stokes gives the date of its finding as 1822, and records the fact in Dr Petrie's own words. Speaking of the opening of the graves, he says—"On digging to the depth of about four feet, they came to a large flag of a square form, about ten feet in diameter, but no inscription was looked for or noticed on it. On raising this flag a

Fig. 3.



deep grave was found, filled with rounded stones from eight to ten inches in diameter, which had been brought from the adjacent strand,<sup>1</sup> and on throwing them out of the grave one was found containing an inscription in the Irish character." It was of black calp or limestone, water-worn, of a roundish form, nearly flat on one side, and about 3 inches in diameter and 1½ inch thick. On the flat side there was a plain Latin cross, and around this the words—OR AR BRAN N-AILYHER, "Pray for Bran the Pilgrim,"<sup>2</sup> or "A prayer for Breacan the Pilgrim."<sup>3</sup>

The first of these two inscribed stones is much larger and the second much smaller than the Coldstone cross.

Among the cists in the Kirkheugh burial-ground at St Andrews, there was found a sculptured stone still smaller than that found in St Breacan's

<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of the rounded water-worn stones in St Breacan's grave appears to me of great interest, from the fact that such stones are of frequent occurrence in sepultures which are regarded as pre-Christian. Another instance has been already referred to on p. 618, as having occurred in the Burgundian graves at Charnay, which were also Christian.

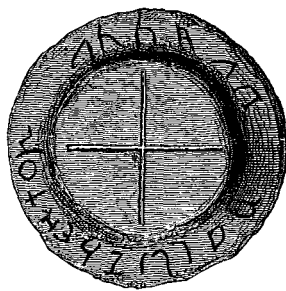
<sup>2</sup> Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* Part iv. pp. 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Petrie, *op. cit.* p. 138-9.

grave. It was "a small bit of freestone about two inches long, with rudely carved crosses on each side."<sup>1</sup>

At the foot of the wonderful Kilnasagart pillar, there "was a round slightly disked stone, not unlike those found at New Grange, but much smaller." It has a rude Latin cross sculptured on it, and as some think, may have been buried in one of the graves forming the remarkable circle of graves beside which it lies<sup>2</sup> (fig. 4).

Fig. 4.



In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there is a portion of a very small cross—2 feet 1 inch in height—which was dug up in making a grave in the old churchyard of Donauchmore, near Cavan, county Meath.<sup>3</sup> From the description this appears to me to resemble the interesting little cross at Rodil.

The stone cross of Ethelwold, which, according to Symeon, was always carried about with the body of St Cuthbert,<sup>4</sup> cannot have been a large one, and may have been a cross either of the type of the one at Coldstone or of that at Rodil. It is strange that it does not appear anywhere among the relics of the saint.<sup>5</sup>

(k) *Cure and Oath Stones found in Graves.*—It has been suggested to me that the two stones described by Mr Drummond and myself might belong to this class of objects. I do not think this at all probable, but there is sufficient in the suggestion to make some allusion here to these

<sup>1</sup> Stuart's Sculptured Stones, vol. ii. notices of the plates, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Arch. Soc. vol. i. new series, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of Museum, Dublin, 1857, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Simeon Dunelmensis ap. Twysden, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> In digging a deep grave in the churchyard of Ruthwell, a fragment of sandstone was found, having on it the image of the Supreme Being, with the Agnus Dei on his bosom. This proved to be a fragment of the famous Cross, but the Rev. Dr Duncan in recording the fact says—"It had probably been surreptitiously buried along with the body of some votary of the Church of Rome, from a superstitious belief in its supernatural virtues" (Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 319).

stones desirable, especially as they are sometimes found in graves, and have the cross sculptured on them. For instance, we are told in the life of St Declan, that a small stone was sent to him from heaven while he was saying mass in a church in Italy. It came through the window and rested on the altar. It was called *Duivhin Deaglain* or *Duivh-mhion Deaglain*, that is, Declan's Black Relic. It performed many miracles during his life, being famous for curing sore eyes, headaches, &c.; and is said to have been found in his grave, sometime I think during last century. Its size is  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and on one side there is a Latin cross, incised and looped at the top. At the bottom of the stem of this cross there is another small Latin cross. On the other side of the stone there is a circle  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, and 6 holes or pits.<sup>1</sup>

The points of interest here are the finding of a cure stone buried with a saint and the occurrence on it of a cross tastefully sculptured.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kilkenny Arch. Soc. Journal, Mr Fitzgerald, vol. iii. new series, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> These miracle stones were often believed to fall from heaven like Declan's Black Relic. Here is the notice of another, and on it too the cross was sculptured:—

“In that time (1229) there was a great tempest at Cremona, and a large stone fell in the Monastery of Gabriel, on which there was a cross, and the image of our Saviour, with these words written over it—*IHESUS NAZARENUS REX JUDEORUM*” (*Extracta E Chronicis variis Scocie*, Abbotsford Club, p. 97).

Cure and oath stones were held in great veneration, and frequently had their place on the altar. In St Ronan's Chapel in Rona, during Martin's time, there lay upon the altar a plank of wood, 10 feet long, with a hole at every foot's length, “and in every hole a stone, to which the natives ascribe several virtues,” and Martin adds, “one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy delivery for a woman in travail” (Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 21; and *Voyage to Shetland, Orkney, and W. Isles*, Lond. 1751, p. 41). Again, on the altar of St Columba's Chapel in Fladda, there lay a round blue stone, which was always moist. The washing of it procured favourable winds. It also served the commoner purposes of a cure stone and an oath stone (Martin's Descrip. of West. Islands, p. 166).

The quality or texture of this stone, causing it often to appear wet when the reverse might have been expected, no doubt originated the belief in its mysterious powers. A strange form given by nature to a stone appears sometimes to have had the same effect. At a place called the Relig, for instance, near Bruckless, in the parish of Killaghtee, co. Donegal, there is a fragment of a stone cross on the top of a small cairn. In a cleft or hollow of this cross is kept a famous healing stone, in whose virtues there is still a belief. It is frequently removed to houses in which sickness exists; but it is invariably brought back, and those living near the cross can always

(1) *Sacred Books Buried with Saints.*—Books appear somewhat frequently among the objects known to have been buried with saints.

Before his death St Martin requested that his Book should be placed on his breast in the tomb; and he predicted “that a holy and blessed man should come from Erin after a time, half whose name should be called from the bird whose figure John saw descending on Jesus, and the other half from the Church”—all of which, after the lapse of a century, was duly done by Colum Cille.<sup>1</sup>

When the relics of Patrick were enshrined, sixty years after his death, three precious reliquaries were found in his tomb, namely, the Cup, the Angel’s Gospel, and the Bell of the Will.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 752 a book (The Gospels, now at Wurtzburg) was found in the tomb of St Killian.<sup>3</sup>

tell where it is to be found if it has been so removed. It has a dumb-bell shape given to it by natural agencies, and it is about 5 inches long by 3 inches thick (Journ. of Hist. and Arch. Ass. of Ireland, Mr Patterson, vol. i. 4th series, p. 467).

The resting-place of this stone is a cleft or hollow in a cross, but more frequently such stones were deposited in a cup-shaped cavity in the pedestal of a cross. Pennant, for instance, tells of a cross a little to the north-west of Oran’s chapel in Iona, on the pedestal of which lay certain stones which visitors were in the habit of turning thrice round, according to the course of the sun; and he quotes a statement of Sacheverel, that originally there were three noble globes of white marble placed in three stone basins, which were turned round as the present stones are, but the Synod ordered them, some sixty years before his time, to be thrown into the sea (Pennant’s Tour in Scotland, Lond. 1790, vol. ii. p. 289). I have myself seen more than one cross in the pedestal of which there existed a cavity, in which tradition said, that a cure-stone once had its resting-place.

These stones are often called *globes*, as those were, which lay at the foot of the cross at the chapel of St Oran. On “Baul Mulay, *i.e.*, Molvingus, his stone globe,” in Arran, decisive oaths were sworn, and when placed beside a sick person it moved away of its accord if no cure was to be effected (Martin, *op. cit.* p. 225; New Stat. Ac. vol. v. p. 24; and Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 245); and the white stone from the Ness which was blessed by St Columba and sent to cure Brochan the Druid, was preserved in the treasury of King Brudeus—“*in thesauris regis Brudei*” (Reeves’ Adamnan, p. 148). The black stones of Hy were Oath stones, in a more special sense than any others of which I know (Martin, *op. cit.* p. 259).

Those interested in this subject may consult a paper by Albert Way in the Arch. Journal, vol. xv.; a paper by Sir J. Y. Simpson in the Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. vol. iv. p. 211; and the Catalogue of the Museum of the Irish Academy, p. 131.

<sup>1</sup> Martyrology of Donegal, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves’ Adamnan, p. 326.

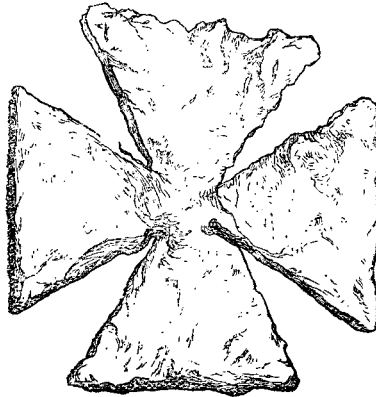
<sup>3</sup> Stuart’s Sculpt. Stones, vol. ii. Ap. to Preface, p. iii.

The Gospels lay on the breast of St Cuthbert when his coffin was opened in 1104;<sup>1</sup> and so also on the knee of Charlemagne, when his tomb was opened in 997, the book of the Gospels was found lying.<sup>2</sup>

Other instances I have little doubt could be given, but these sufficiently illustrate the desire which existed in the early history of the Church to bury with those who had led lives remarkable for holiness, objects held by them in veneration and associated with their work and hopes.

(*m*) *Leadern Crosses found in Tombs.*—L'Abbé Cochet, in his "*Sépultures Gauloises*,"<sup>3</sup> devotes a chapter to a practice of burying crosses of absolution with the dead which existed during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries in Normandy, France, and England. These crosses were usually made of lead, and they varied in size from 8 to 20 centimetres in their longest diameter. They affected the Greek form,

Fig. 5.



and, as Cochet points out, closely resembled in style the consecration crosses which appear on the walls of sacred buildings both in this country and on the Continent. He says, too, that their style corresponds to that

<sup>1</sup> Raine, pp. 76 and 78.

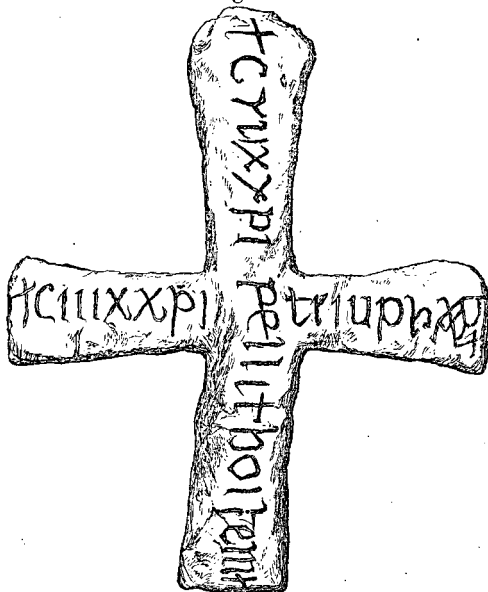
<sup>2</sup> Stuart's *Sculpt. Stones*, vol. ii. Ap. to Pref. p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Sépultures Gauloise, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes*, par M. L'Abbé Cochet, Paris, 1857, ch. xiii. pp. 303-318.

which appears in the crosses on monumental stones during the same centuries (fig. 5).

These leaden crosses have generally some formula of absolution written on them. In England they have been found at Lincoln, Chichester, and Bury St Edmund.<sup>1</sup> As a rule, these differ somewhat in form and inscription from those found in Normandy—the crosses being rather Latin than Greek, and having on them, instead of a formula of absolution, the words, "*Cruz Christi triumphat*," and "*Cruz Christi pellit hostem*" (fig. 6).

Fig. 6.



One of those, however, found at Bury St Edmund is exactly of the same type as the Normandy crosses, and very closely resembles some of the consecration crosses on old ecclesiastical buildings. To show this resemblance I reproduce here woodcuts of two of the consecration crosses which

<sup>1</sup> The English specimens are described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 298-304, and in the *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Lond.* vol. iii. pp. 165, 166.



appeared in the last volume of the Society's Proceedings (p. 379), (figs. 7 and 8).

Fig. 7.

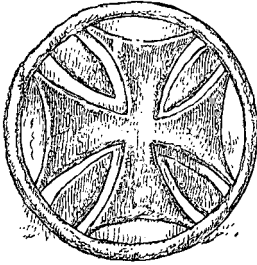
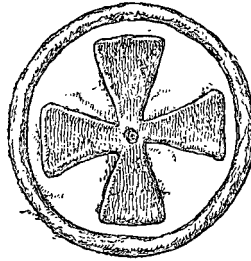


Fig. 8.

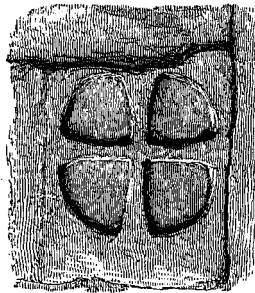


I also take this opportunity of inserting a woodcut (fig. 9) of the consecration cross on Iona Cathedral, which Mr Drummond has kindly placed at my disposal.<sup>1</sup>

L'Abbé Cochet thinks that these leaden crosses were placed on the breasts of the dead as a protection "contre les obsessions et les possessions démoniaques."<sup>2</sup> The "Crux Christi pellit hostem" on the English specimens leaves little doubt that this is a correct view of their purpose.

We learn, too, from M. Cochet that M. de Gerville recounts of Pépin-le-Bref that he expressed a wish to be buried face down, with a cross below his face; and also on the authority of M. Ernest Feydeau, that Hugh Capet's wish was to be buried in the Porch of St Denis with his face on a cross. We do not know whether in these cases the crosses were of stone or metal.

Fig. 9.



<sup>1</sup> For another specimen of a consecration cross see R. N. Shaw's "Sketches from the Continent," plate 83.

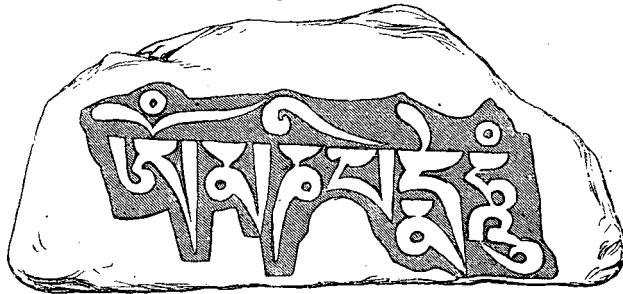
<sup>2</sup> Professor Duns has suggested to me that small crosses in graves might be placed there as indicating a persistent appeal by the deceased or his friends to *the great ground of hope*; and he tells me, in illustration of this idea, that in Thibet, when men or women come of age, they choose a smooth stone from the bed of a stream, engrave

(n) *Portable Altars*.—It has also been suggested to me that the Coldstone cross might be a *portable altar*, an object which a high authority alleges to be the rarest article of church furniture now to be met with.<sup>1</sup> It is often confounded with the super-altar, a term which designates an entirely different object of sacred use. A portable altar, in fact, is perfectly described by its name, being an altar which can be easily carried about.

Bede, who lived in the eighth century, says, that the two Ewalds offered the holy sacrifice of the mass daily on a consecrated table which they carried about with them; but it was not till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that these portable altars came into much use.<sup>2</sup> As late as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, special concessions to carry about or use such altars were given both to private individuals and to gilds.<sup>3</sup> In the early history of the Church, when regular places of worship were few, bishops carried them about in visiting their flocks;

a prayer on it, and leave it *ever to be looking up for them*. Such a stone he has sent me, and I have had it engraved in fig. 10.

Fig. 10.



Professor Duns has also sent me a little stone with a rude cross on it, which he picked up on the sacred Eilan Maree. It somewhat resembles a stone found in a tomb figured by Cochet at p. 11 of vol. xxv. of the *Rev. Archæologique*. Its face measures  $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and it is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch thick.

<sup>1</sup> Roach Smith's *Collect. Antiq.* vol. v. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Viollet-le-Duc *Dict. du Mobil. Français de l'époque Carloving, à la Ren.* Paris, 1872, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Way, *Arch. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 248.

but they were chiefly used by missionary priests, and by priests attending armies in time of war.

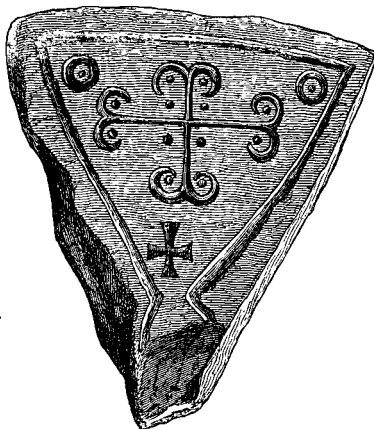
It is clear indeed, Willemsen says in the "Trésor de St Servais," p. 8, that portable altars must have preceded fixed altars, since the necessity for them must have been felt during the early centuries of the Church, when Christians scarcely had any fixed place in which to celebrate the sacred mysteries. And we know that Hinewar, Archbishop of Rheims, instructed his clergy, in case of necessity, until churches and altars should be dedicated, to provide a tablet of marble or black stone, upon which, after he had consecrated it, the sacred rites might be celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

That portable altars were numerous is rendered probable by the purpose they served, and it is proved by the frequent mention of them in old lists of relics preserved in ecclesiastical establishments.

There is not one portable altar, however, so far as I am aware, in Scotland, and I only know of three in England. This is singular in view of the facts—(1) that they are objects which must have been held as very sacred, (2) that they are not easily destroyed, and (3) that they were of such a nature as to be readily removed to places of safety.

In the Museum of Adare Manor there is a curious triangular stone, 16 inches at the base line, 18 inches on the other two sides, and 3 inches thick, which, on the suggestion of Dean Graves, is accepted as a portable altar. It was

Fig. 11.



<sup>1</sup> Albert Way, Arch. Journ. iv. 241. It was absolutely necessary that the stone should be consecrated. The 31st of the Canons enacted under King Edgar runs thus:—"And we enjoin that no priest on any account ever celebrate mass except on a hallowed altar."

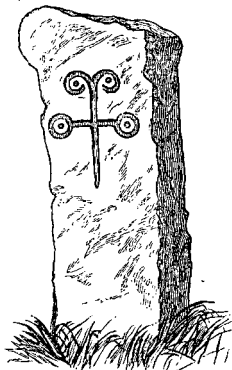
picked up near the Cloghans or Beehive houses at Kilvichadownig, near Fahan.<sup>1</sup>

When I saw the drawing of this stone, which appears in Lady Dunraven's book, and which is copied in the woodcut (fig. 11), I thought it just possible that the Coldstone cross might be a portable altar; but investigation convinced me that Dean Graves had not been happy in his suggestion, and that the Adare stone<sup>2</sup> could not be a specimen of the *autel portatif*.

The *portable altar* derives its interest here from the fact that it is known to have a place among the sacred objects which have been found buried in the graves of saints. One of them, for instance, was found on the breast of Acca, the Bishop of Hexham, who died A.D. 740, when his tomb was opened about the year 1000.<sup>3</sup> Another was found in the tomb of St Servais, and still another lying on the breast of St Cuthbert,<sup>4</sup> when his coffin was opened. The workmanship of the last leaves no doubt that it was coeval with the saint himself. It was probably buried with him A.D. 688. It is still preserved in the Chapter Library, Durham, and is figured by Raine. It consists of a rectangular slip of oak,  $6 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an inch in thickness. This

is covered with a plate of silver attached to it by silver nails. On this is a cross somewhat of the type of that on St Breacan's Stone, and also a Latin cross. There may have been other crosses, since much of the silver sheathing is gone. On the wood below the silver there is an inscription, and at least two rude

Fig. 12.



<sup>1</sup> Memorials of Adare Manor, by the Countess of Dunraven. Parker, Oxford, 1865, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> The cross on this stone is of a peculiar form. There is one of a similar form on a standing stone in the old burial-ground at Mid-Clyth, in Caithness-shire, which I saw and sketched in June 1863, and which is fairly though roughly represented in the woodcut (fig. 12).

<sup>3</sup> Simeon Dunelm, ap. Twysden, p. 101; Raine's Account of the Opening of St Cuthbert's Tomb, Durham, 1828, p. 199; and Lingard, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Raine, *op. cit.* p. 199.

Latin crosses. The space between the arms of the larger cross is filled with interlaced ornamentation. There is no stone in this specimen, a fact which makes it exceptional.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other two portable altars known by me to exist in England have also been figured. One of them belongs to Canon Rock. Its size is  $12 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The stone, which is of Oriental jasper, is  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6$  inches, is set in wood, and is surrounded with a silver border, ornamented with niello (figured at p. 320 of vol. xix. of the Arch. Journal; at p. 247 of vol. iv. of the same Journal; by Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* pl. ii.; and by Parker in his Gloss. of Architect. vol. i. p. 19). The other is in the possession of Lord Londesborough. Its size is  $10 \times 9$  inches, and as usual it is rectangular (figured in pls. viii. and ix. of vol. v. of Roach Smith's Collect. Antiq.)

These interesting objects of antiquity are perhaps somewhat more numerous on the Continent. Mr W. H. T. Weale of Bruges, a high authority on such matters, tells me that he thinks there may be in Europe from 50 to 100, of the existence of which we have knowledge, but, after all, this is really a very small number. Viollet-le-Duc speaks of a *Glossaire et Répertoire*, par M. le Comte de Laborde (Paris, 1853), which contains a curious catalogue of portable altars, extracted from various inventories, but I have not had an opportunity of seeing this book. There are only four mentioned in Mr Weale's Guide as being preserved in Belgium (Weale's Belgium, Lond. 1859). One is in the Cathedral at Maestricht. It consists of a piece of dark green marble set in a wooden frame, covered with thin plates of silver adorned with foliage. Its size is  $19 \times 15$  millimetres, and it is 6 millimetres thick. It was found in the tomb of St Servais, and I mention it because it is figured by Willemsen in his "Trésor Sacré de S. Servais," p. 9.

I notice another of the Belgian portable altars, because I have had an opportunity of examining it. It forms one of the objects in the collection of Reliquaries now preserved in the Convent of the Sœurs de Notre Dame, at Namur, but which formerly belonged to the Priory of Oignies sur Sambre. Through the kindness of the Sisters I was allowed to copy the entry relating to this altar, which appears in the catalogue of the collection. It runs thus:—"Portable altar of Jacques de Vitry, (Bishop of Ptolemais, who died at Rome on the 30th April 1244), of green-grey marble, surrounded with a border of gilt copper. The upper side is covered with a plate of gilt copper, on which is seen Christ on the cross between the sun and moon. Below the cross there is the tomb of Adam, pointing to the resurrection. The legends on it disclose the relics which the altar contains." Its size is about  $9 \times 7$  inches, and it is adorned with niellos, enamels, and engraving.

There is an interesting and beautiful specimen of the portable altar which belonged to Prince Soltykoff, and which is figured by Viollet-le-Duc (*Op. cit.* p. 20, 21, and 22). The prince, he says, obtained it from the collection of Debruge-Dumenil, which has been described by Jules Labarte (Paris, 1847, p. 737), but it came originally from the Abbey of Sayna. It belongs to the 13th century.

It will be seen from the measurements I have given that the usual size of these altars runs from 8 to 12 inches by from 5 to 9. I think I have read of one, however, in the Monastery of St Laurence at Liège, which is as small as  $2 \times 3$  inches.

(o) *Concluding Remarks on the Coldstone Cross.*—My notice of this interesting and uncommon stone has led me into many digressions. The following inferences, it appears to me, may be drawn from what has been said about it, and about the various objects of antiquity to which it has been suggested that it might possibly belong:—

1. There are many small objects in stone, with the Christian or other symbols cut on them, about the use of which we have generally a very imperfect knowledge.

2. Some of these objects have such well-marked characters in common, that it is difficult to resist the belief that they have served a common

I think all of those which are known to exist are oblong and rectangular, unless it be a doubtful one of white marble, with various symbols cut on it, which has the form of a disc, and which is now "*Enchassé dans la muraille au fond du chœur de la Cathédrale de Besançon*" (Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* p. 22); but the Lady Petronella de Beustede is said to have given a circular one of jasper encased in silver, about 12 inches in diameter, to the Abbey of St Albans (Albert Way, *Arch. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 243. Perhaps the stone at Besançon was a *foundation stone* such as that of St Mark's Church at Venice, described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 215–219.

They were nearly always made of stone, set in wood, and encased in silver. In fact, there was a symbolism in the use of two materials, and the practice resulted from the teaching of St Anselm (Roach Smith, *op. cit.* vol. v. p. 110). The favourite stones were jasper (symbolic of faith), porphyry, chalcedony, agate, marble, slate, and jet (the last apparently a special favourite in England), but they were also made of terra-cotta, ivory, bone, oak, and ebony.

Relics were often enclosed between the stone and the encasing wood, but sometimes they were enclosed in a sealed cavity or *sepulcrum* in the stone itself. Such *sepulcra* I have seen in ordinary altar stones in Flanders. In Rome the placing of the relics of saints in these little graves was at one time attended with very much the same observances as the entombment of the saints themselves in the Catacombs (Roma Sotter., Northcote and Brownlow, Lond. 1869, Ap. 403).

These ordinary or fixed altar slabs, 12 to 24 inches long, and 10 to 18 inches wide, are sunk into the wood of the altar table, and we generally find on them the five crosses—one at each corner and one in the centre—representing the five wounds of our Saviour, and cut on the spots on which incense was burned during consecration (Roach Smith, *op. cit.* v. 110).

It is probably a portable altar made to form part of a fixed altar, which is spoken of by Ledwich, in describing the small room kept for a chapel in Kilkenny Castle (Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, 1804, p. 483). "The altar," he says, "is of wood, and in the centre is a stone covered with coarse canvas, and called the holy stone; it is an oblong of about 8 inches by 4, with an inscription, in old Gothic letters, of some text. At first sight it was judged a relique, but on further consideration, it was

purpose, and constitute by themselves a class of sculptured stones. The resemblance, for example, between the Iona and the Coldstone crosses is very striking.

3. The burial of venerated objects with venerated men appears to have been a common practice, though the purpose was not always the same; and among these objects, sculptured stones not unfrequently appear.

3. **STONE PIVOT.**—The next object which I have to describe differs in character, almost as far as is possible, from the Coldstone cross. It is a stone pivot,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, which was presented to me by the Rev. George Davidson of Logie-Coldstone, on whose glebe it was found. It is well represented in fig. 13.

I am led to believe that it once served the purpose of a pivot-hinge to an ordinary field-gate; and I am told that, within the memory of those living, such stones often served such purposes in this district. The Rev. Mr Michie informs me that one of them can at this day be seen in actual use somewhere on the estate of Invercauld.

The diagram, fig. 14, explains the way in which it is said to have been employed. A longish water-worn stone is partially sunk into the lower end of the gate-post. Another piece of wood, of about the diameter of the gate-post, is driven into the ground, and a cup or concavity in its

found that by the first canon made by Archbishop Comyn (Ware's Bishops, p. 316), in 1186, it is ordered that altars be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size cannot be got, then a square, entire, and polished one be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated; of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and to bear the foot of the largest chalice."

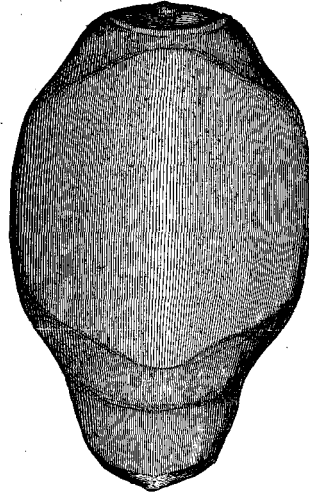
It is possible that the *small altar*, on which Bede tells us the apostate Redwald, king of the East Saxons, sacrificed to devils, was one of these portable altars,—the larger one in the same temple, on which he sacrificed to Christ, being a fixed altar, such as I have last noticed (Early Races of Scotland, Forbes Leslie, i. p. 226) and (Hor. Brit. : Hughes, p. 287).

On the sculptured stones of Scotland, Ecclesiastics are sometimes figured carrying an object, which by general consent has been regarded as a book; but it might quite as fairly be taken for a portable altar. (See pl. xliii. fig. 1, and pl. lxxxviii. fig. 2 of vol. i., and pl. lxi. of vol. ii., of Dr Stuart's Sculptured Stones.)

On two of the stones in Dr Stuart's great work there is represented what is believed to be a small altar, but these two objects differ considerably from the portable altars with which we are now acquainted. (See pl. xxviii. of vol. i., and pl. xxi. and xxii. of vol. ii.)

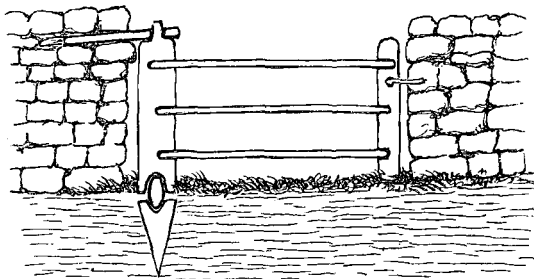
upper end receives the free part of the stone. The top of the post is

Fig. 13.



held in position by passing through a hole in a piece of wood, which is built into the dyke, and the post turns in this hole.

Fig. 14.



There is a modification of this mode of constructing a gate, which I have often seen in Shetland, and which consists in making the lower end



of the post revolve in a cavity in a stone, which has been made earth-fast. Mr Gilbert Goudie has presented to the Museum a stone socket of this kind, which he recently found in actual use. In it the concavity is circular and smooth, and without any pointed elevation or depression at its bottom. At both ends,<sup>1</sup> however, of the stone pivot which I am describing (see fig. 13) there is a pointed prominence. It is not clear how this has been produced, but it is naturally suggested that it may depend on the nature of the socket in which the pivot moved. In order to determine this I instituted some experiments, but they have not succeeded. We know, however, that the pivot which moved in the stone socket presented to the Museum by Mr Goudie was of wood, and in that case the cavity is round and smooth, and without any pointed projection or depression at its base, and it becomes almost certain that the end of the gate-post would have a form corresponding to the cup in which it turned. Again, there is in the Nairn Museum a stone socket of quartzose, sunk into a log of oak, in which an iron spindle is known to have revolved. It formed a part of the old Meal Mill at Geddes, and was found there, and placed in the Museum by Dr Grigor. He tells me that the cup is round and smooth, and without any pointed elevation or depression at its base. This stone was in actual use as the socket of a spindle thirty years ago, and it was then a quarter of a century old, if not more.

Sometimes these stone sockets show a little pointed prominence at the base of the cup. This appears in one which I obtained from Cromar, through the Rev. George Davidson (fig. 15); but in another, for which I am also indebted to Mr Davidson, the concavity is round, smooth, and flat at its bottom (fig. 16). We should expect to find on the end of the spindle, which worked in the first of these sockets (fig. 15), a depression corresponding to the elevation in the socket, but neither depression nor elevation on the end of that working in the second (fig. 16).

It has been suggested to me that the stone under notice (fig. 13) could not have been the pivot of a gate, since complete and swift revolutions would be necessary to give it its form and polished surface. But the round and smooth surface of the Shetland socket, to which I have referred, does away with this difficulty.

<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been used first at the one end and then at the other.

We are speaking of an implement of stone, but it is by no means on that account necessarily old. Nor would it be right to conclude that the constructors of such gates as I have described must be a rude people, of little power, or even of little culture. This would be a great error, since good authorities on farming still recommend the principle on which they are made. Captain John Henderson says, that farm gates should move on an iron pivot in a stone socket;<sup>1</sup> and Mr Milne Home tells me that the gates in Berwickshire frequently turn on an iron pivot which is secured to an earth-fast stone, and moves in an iron thimble sunk into the end of

Fig. 15.

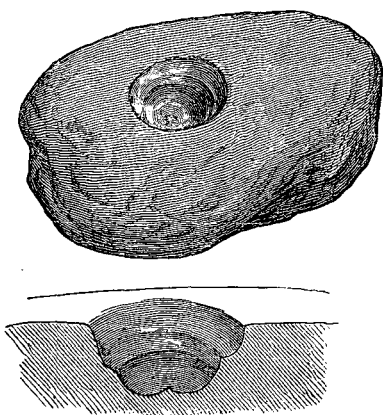
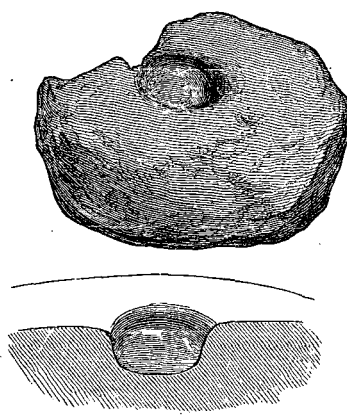


Fig. 16.



the post. The Shetland and Cromar gates were not less serviceable, nor less lasting, nor less sound in the principle of their construction than these. Iron was not used, because it was dear and difficult to get. Wood and stone were cheap and plentiful;<sup>2</sup> and, time being of little value, the farmer himself, without the assistance of blacksmiths or ironfounders, made a useful gate out of the materials at command, and, in doing so,

<sup>1</sup> General View of the Agriculture of Caithness. London, 1812.

<sup>2</sup> A popular rhyme says that wood was at one time so abundant in Cromar, that

“ A cat could loup frae tree to tree,  
 ’Twixt Logie Mar and Corrachree.”

showed ability. If the conditions spoken of should reappear in Cromar it is probable that these gates would also reappear. Where they have continued to exist, as happens to a large degree in Shetland, we have the continued existence of the gates.

When a practice like that under notice dies out it is surprising how soon all about it becomes completely unknown, or involved in obscurity. Thus it has happened that not a few things of yesterday have had a halo cast about them by a borrowed antiquity.

4. CORRACHREE SYMBOL STONE.—I have now to speak of another sculptured stone, which I was fortunate enough to see during my stay in Cromar. So far as I am aware it has not hitherto been noticed. It belongs neither to the utterly heathen sculptures, like the cup-stones, nor to the purely Christian, like the Coldstone cross, but probably to something between; for, I venture to include it among the symbol stones of Dr Stuart—those stones, so curiously limited in their geographical distribution, which, to the symbols probably indicating the rank and class of those to whose memory they were erected, not unfrequently added the great symbol of our religion. It will be seen from this that I substantially adopt Dr Stuart's view as to the meaning of the figures on these stones.

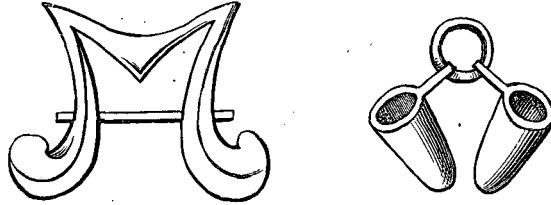
Some of these figures, like the comb and the mirror, are tolerably faithful representations of real objects—of such objects too as we can easily imagine to have been adopted as cognisances or badges. Others of them, again, resemble no object with which we are acquainted. But it would be wrong, I think, to conclude from this that they are not conventional representations of real objects; for such modifications of real form are common in heraldry. Every one, for instance, acknowledges without a misgiving that the Maltese cross is the Christian symbol, though it has no closer resemblance to the cross of Calvary than it has to a score of other things. We all see the Greek letters  $\chi$  and  $\rho$  in the Labarum, though their presence there is certainly obscure. We know the Bowget or Budget,<sup>1</sup> to be the conventional representation of the vessels in which the Crusaders carried water across the deserts (fig. 17). The Maunch in the arms of the House of Hastings is the conventional

<sup>1</sup> Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry, London, 1845, p. 42.

form of the Maunch or Sleeve which appears on the seal of Roger de Conyers in 1143-1174<sup>1</sup> (fig. 18).

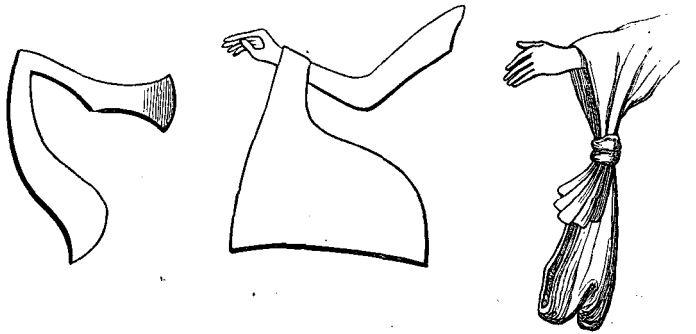
It so happens that we know what these heraldic charges represent, that is, what real objects, when they were first used, they truthfully depicted;

Fig. 17.



but regarding others we are not so well informed. We cannot tell, for example, whether the Fleur de Lis stands for a spear head, a toad, or an iris.<sup>2</sup> M. Rey (in 1837) wrote a book of two volumes on the origin of this common heraldic charge without settling the question.

Fig. 18.



Such figures, therefore, as those we call the sceptre, the crescent, the spectacle, and the horse-shoe, though they resemble nothing we know of,

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Ellis' *Antiquities of Heraldry*, London, 1869, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 190.

may nevertheless be conventional representations of real objects. Perhaps, indeed, no real object ever attains the rank of a stable and widely-accepted symbol or cognisance without losing to some extent its real, and assuming a conventional form. These departures from truthful representation, however, may be slight in some cases, and great in others. This, in fact, is just what happens among existing heraldic charges. It would not be correct, therefore, because the comb and mirror are probably pictures of known objects, to conclude that the crescent and sceptre, which are frequently associated with them, are not also representations of real objects, though so greatly modified as not to be recognisable. All we know of kindred matters should lead rather to the conclusion that some of these sculptures, if they do really constitute a set of symbols, have probably undergone the change to which I refer.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Stuart thinks it probable that many of the figures on the sculptured stones of Scotland represent articles worn on the person as decorations, and regarded as badges, or marks of office. He may be either right or wrong in this, however, or both right and wrong, without much affecting his general views as to the meaning and origin of the figures. For instance, the original cross was the cross of Calvary. As a symbol of Christianity it is worn in its various forms on the person as a pendant or brooch or as a figure on some other personal ornament; it is erected as a monument, carved on tombstones, tattooed on the skin—appears, in short, in every possible attitude, but always as the badge or symbol of Christianity. Something of this kind may be true of the figures on these stones. The spectacle symbol, for instance, may be the conventional representation of a real object, which itself had nothing to do with the decoration of the person; yet, when it became a symbol of rank, tribe, family, or creed, it may have given shape to a brooch, the wearing of which would then be a badge; and it may also have served as a cognising decoration on other ornaments, as perhaps it actually did in the case of the Norrie's Law plate,<sup>2</sup> and the terminal ring of the Thornhill chain.<sup>3</sup>

The defined and limited geographical distribution of these sculptures gives, I think, some support to the view that they are to some extent

<sup>1</sup> I scarcely know whether these views are strengthened or weakened by the fact that we find none of them in what may be called the transition stage of their form.

<sup>2</sup> Proc. Soc. of Antiq. vol. x. p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 333.

heraldic. Just as the *Craigellachie Rock* keeps to the land of the Grants, so these symbols may be confined to the lands of the tribes who used them. They are not found here, there, and everywhere; but are restricted to a well-defined and limited region—a region which we can easily imagine to have been peopled by many tribes and families under one great chief. No one can study them without feeling that they give as much scope for all sorts of family distinctions—for differences, cadencies, augmentations, abatements, and what not—as do the heraldic charges of our own or any time. The sceptre alone, in its various forms, could accomplish marvels in this direction.

In the whole range of Scotch antiquities there is nothing perhaps of greater interest than these singular sculptures, which have been made so fully known to the world by Dr Stuart. If they were really of the nature of badges or cognisances, it follows that among a more or less primitive people a somewhat perfect system of heraldry must have been elaborated—to be completely forgotten in the course of a few centuries.

The stone which has led to these remarks stands in a field behind the House of Corrachree. I had as my companion during several long walks in Cromar our Corresponding Member, the Rev. Mr Michie; and one day he told me that he had recently been informed by an old man of the district, that in this field there stood a stone with a circular figure on it resembling a gridiron. Mr Michie had never seen the stone; but next day, along with him and Mr Coltman of Blelack, I walked to Corrachree, and without much difficulty we found the stone. We stood beside it for a considerable time before we made out the two lower figures of the sketch (fig. 19), though when once seen they are quite distinct.<sup>1</sup>

As I have said, the stone is standing, but it is nevertheless a fragment, the rough sketch (fig. 19) indicating the large portion, which is now away. It is a stone of considerable size, being more than 4 feet wide at the base, and about 5 feet high and 2 feet thick.

We left it without being able to find on it any figure which bore resemblance to a gridiron; but a day or two after, it was revisited by Mr

<sup>1</sup> The same figure appears to have been repeated on the stone, which, though an unusual, is not an unknown occurrence. If I am correct in classing this stone with Dr Stuart's symbol stones, it probably adds a new figure to the symbols.

Michie and myself, and then we made out a circular figure at the top of the stone, which I have endeavoured to indicate in the sketch; but the weathering of centuries has made it so obscure that I scarcely like to risk a description. When I say that it appeared to me to be a circular figure with curved lines radiating from the centre to the circumference, I have said all I can venture to say.<sup>1</sup>

Fig. 19.

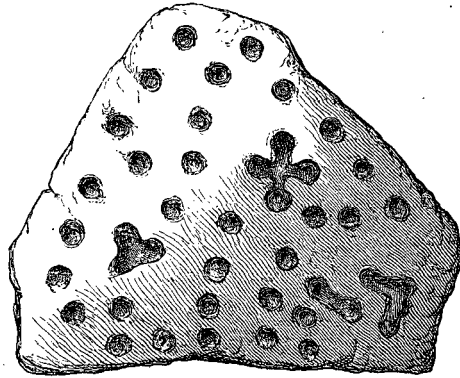


5. CUP STONE.—Behind the church of Migvie, on the road-side near a kiln, there is a sculptured stone of a very different character from the little cross in the Logie Coldstone Churchyard (fig. 1), or the symbol stone at Corrachree (fig. 19). It is one of Sir James Simpson's cup stones, and it is alluded to by him in his "Archaic Sculpturings," p. 67. At one place four of the cups are joined so as to form a sort of cross, and at others two and three are joined; but all this is the work of a late hand or of the weather. The face of the stone on which the cups occur is irregularly triangular, and its longest measurement is about 3 feet. The thickness of the stone is about 16 inches.

<sup>1</sup> There is a stone built into the gable of one of the houses of the farm-steading which bears the date 1611.

The following woodcut is from a rough sketch and rubbing made by myself.

Fig. 20.



There are many of these cup stones in Scotland, the existence of which is still unrecorded.

Dr Batty Tuke tells me there is one on a moor forming part of Lochmalonie farm, in the parish of Logie, Fifeshire.

In June 1870 Dr James Howden and I, when visiting Caterthun, found a very large one, broken into two parts, and lying at the south-west part of the second ring of stones forming the fort. Its length was 5 feet 9 inches, and its greatest breadth about 3 feet. There was no evidence that it had ever been a standing stone, nor that it had formed a part of a cist. One of the fragments—the lighter one—was turned over by Dr Howden at a subsequent visit, but no cups were found on the under side. I have drawings of this stone made by Dr Howden, but it is unnecessary to give them here, as the stone is figured (Plate XI.) by Miss Maclagan, in her work on the Hill Forts, Stone Circles, &c., which has recently been published. So far as I am aware, this is the only instance in which a sculptured stone of this kind, or indeed of any kind, has been found in connection with such a hill fort as that at Caterthun.



On a hill on the farm of Laggan, near Grantown, in Strathspey, there is another of these stones. My attention was drawn to it by Mr David F. Ross, to whose active interest in antiquarian matters I have been often indebted. We visited it together, being guided to it by Mr Clark, on whose farm it lies, and who had observed the peculiar markings on it, and had spoken of them to Sir James Simpson before the publication of the "Archaic Sculpturings," though there is no allusion to the stone in that work. It is a huge mass of mica schist almost earth-fast. The top is flattish, and measures 12 to 14 feet across. On this surface there are, as counted by Mr Ross, 53 cups.

Near Corriemony, in Glen Urquhart, close to the road-side, there is a cairn of considerable size, which I had an opportunity of visiting a dozen years ago or more. It is surrounded by two circles of standing stones, and on one of these stones there are cup markings. On the top of the cairn there is a large flat stone, on which also numerous cups appear. I made a plan of the cairn, and sketches of the cup stones, at the time of my visit, and I recently sent these to Major Grant of Drumbuie, with a request that he would revisit the cairn, and test the accuracy of my drawings and notes. This he kindly did, and I am thus able to make my description tolerably satisfactory.

The cairn is between 10 and 11 feet high, and about 20 yards in diameter. The inner circle of standing stones, which are of small size, is close to its base. With two exceptions, these stones are gone, or are hidden by the grass and the small stones which have rolled off the cairn. The outer circle is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards from the base of the cairn, so that its diameter is about 27 yards. In this outer circle there are 9 stones still standing. Their relative position is correctly indicated on the plan fig. 21. Their average height above the ground is 4 feet 2 inches, the highest being 4 feet 9 inches, and the shortest 3 feet 5 inches.

The stone on which the cups appear stands on the N.W. side of the circle. Its position on the plan is marked by an asterisk. It is 4 feet 7 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches broad, and 7 inches thick. The cups are on the face of the stone which looks away from the cairn.

The other cup stone is a large flag, 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 16 inches thick. It lies loosely on the very top of the cairn, but it appears that it was placed in its present position in 1830. When Mr Ogilvy

bought the lands of Corriemony it lay on the west side or slope of the cairn, about 7 feet from the top.

These two stones are shown in the woodcuts figs. 22 and 23, from

Fig. 21.

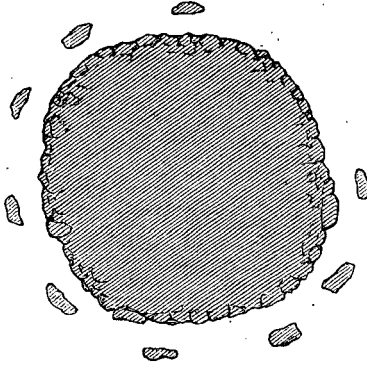
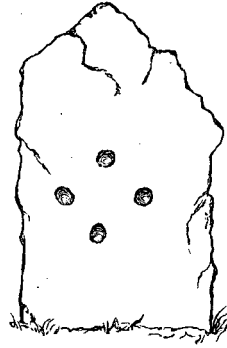
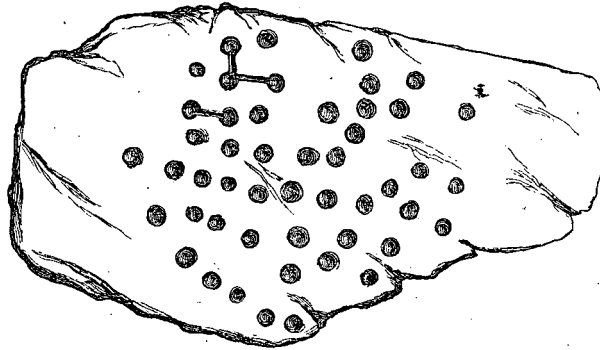


Fig. 22.



rough sketches made by myself, and compared with the originals by Major Grant.

Fig. 23.



After Mr David Ross and I had visited the cup stone at Laggan, he

wrote me that he had heard from Mr M'Bain of Auchterblair of two huge granite boulders, situated on a shelving rock over an abyss on the Loch Avon side of Cairngorm, with hand-made cups on them about a foot wide and correspondingly deep—"sitting on which is said to be efficacious in cases of barrenness." He informed me, too, that he had heard from Mr M'Bain of pilgrimages to them undertaken within the memory of people still living.

I have not seen these stones, and feel doubtful about their really belonging to this class of cup stones; but if they do, we are furnished with an instance—the only one so far as I am aware—of a superstitious practice being found in association with the cup markings.

There is one stone, however, with which I have long been familiar, and which shows on its face a remarkable cup-like excavation, the very existence of which is known to be due to a superstitious practice. It is in the churchyard at Burghead, and this leads me to the second of the districts to which my notes refer.<sup>1</sup>

## II.—BURGHEAD.

1. CRADLE STONE AT BURGHEAD.—I first saw this stone in 1863, and then made a sketch of it, and noted the interesting superstition to which I shall allude. I have often seen the stone since; and quite lately, through Dr Norris Mackay of Elgin, I obtained a tasteful drawing of it, executed by Mr James C. Kennedy, a young artist of promise (see fig

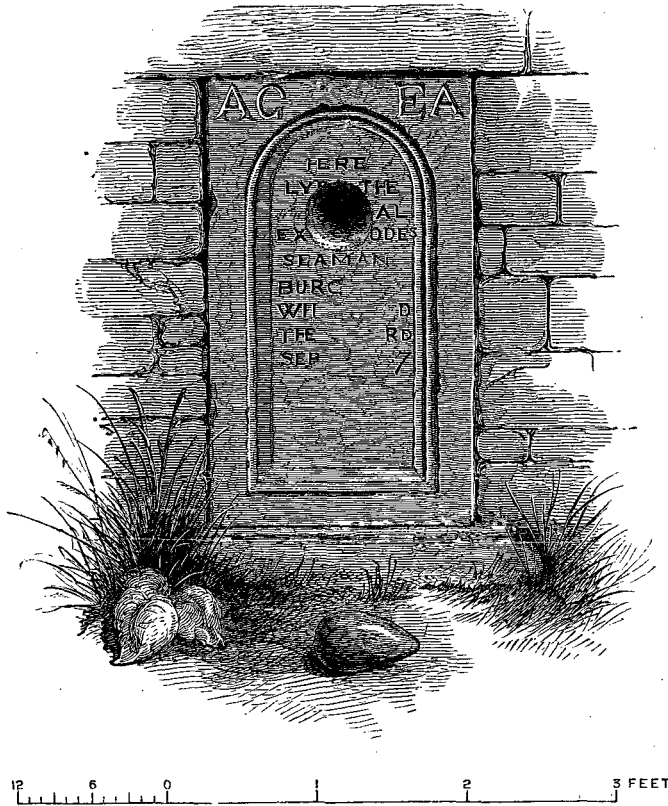
<sup>1</sup> Before leaving Cromar, Sir John Clark drove me over the hill to Strathdon to visit the ruins of Glenbucket, and the old keep of Craigievar which is still inhabited.

Glenbucket has considerable architectural pretensions, yet the main door is only about 5 feet 6 inches high. Above the door is written [John Gor] "done: Helen Carnegie: 1590;" while every entrant is reminded that [Nothing on] "earth remains bot faime." The letters within brackets are effaced.

In the dining-room at Craigievar there are some good examples of old Scotch furniture, and a specimen of the Branks. On the walls and roof of the same room there are various pious sayings, such as "Lux mea Christus" and "Post tenebras spero lucem;" but opposite the main door, in the best bed-room, and in other parts of the house, there is inscribed this rather terrifying caution to visitors, "Doe not vaken sleepin dogs." I observed the following dates on Craigievar—1610, 1612, 1625, and 1626.

24). Dr Mackay also tested the correctness of my notes regarding the superstition, being kindly assisted in this by Mr Alexander Fraser and Mr Morrison the harbour-master.

Fig. 24.



The stone is built into the wall of the burial-ground called the Chapel Yard, at the south-east corner. It is 35 inches high by 20 inches wide. Close above it, and also built into the wall, there is a hewn lintel-like

stone, 37 inches long by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. On the narrow exposed face of this there is no sculpturing.

The woodcut (fig. 24) shows the position of the cup-like hollow, which is 4 inches wide and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep, and quite round and smooth. This hollow has been produced by the children of Burghead, who are in the habit of striking the spot with a beach stone, and then quickly putting their ears to the place, when the sound of a rocking cradle, the crying of a child, and the crooning of an old woman hushing the child to sleep, are heard as if coming from a cavern deep under ground.<sup>1</sup>

It is said that, as far back as any one can remember, the children of Burghead have been led to believe that all babies come from below this stone; and I am told by Dr Mackay that *Nancy*, the present midwife, always informs inquisitive children that she finds the babies there.<sup>2</sup>

2. BURNING OF THE CLAVIE.—There is another superstitious practice still existing at Burghead, which is well worthy of notice. It is called *the burning of the clavie*.<sup>3</sup> There is no account of this curious ceremony at

<sup>1</sup> In Brittany there are certain standing stones termed "Pierres Creuses," or "hollow stones," because they emit a bell-like sound on being struck with another stone. It is a common practice with the children of the locality so to strike them, especially when a stranger is passing, in the hope of getting a few sous for calling the tourist's attention to one of the things which ought to be observed in the district. At a meeting of the Society, in March 1875, Mr James Miln exhibited (among other sketches of dolmens, &c., in Brittany) a drawing of one of these sounding or hollow stones, which showed a girl in the act of striking the stone, and Mr Miln remarked that as the stone was usually sounded by being struck on one particular spot, there resulted a basin-shaped hollow in that part of the stone. The Pierre Creuse thus figured and described by Mr Miln is at Menec, about one mile from Carnac.

It is also said that among the Breton peasantry, married couples who are childless, visit the Menhirs by moonlight, in the hope of removing sterility.

<sup>2</sup> The tombstone on which the cup occurs probably belonged to some person of the name of Geddes—a name which is common in the district. On this point no one could give me any definite information. I have not been able to read the inscription fully. It is much worn out by the constant rubbing of the children's clothes against it. A neighbouring tombstone to the memory of a person of the name of Geddes, who died in 1737, has the same style of spelling and the same form of lettering.

<sup>3</sup> There is an excellent notice of the clavie in Dr Macdonald's exhaustive and learned paper on The Broch, in the Proc. of the Antiq. Soc. vol. iv. p. 359. Those who would like to see a pictorial representation will find one executed with much spirit in *The Graphic* of 27th Feb. 1875.

all so good as that which Mr Robert Chambers picked out of the *Banffshire Journal*, and which appears in his *Book of Days* (vol. ii. p. 789). I reproduce it here almost *in extenso*.

Mr Chambers says—"A singular custom, almost unparalleled in any other part of Scotland, takes place on New-year's Eve (old style) at the village of Burghead, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth, about nine miles from the town of Elgin. It has been observed there from time immemorial, and both its origin, and that of the peculiar appellation by which it is distinguished, form still matter of conjecture and dispute for antiquaries. The following extract from the *Banffshire Journal* presents a very interesting and comprehensive view of all that can be stated regarding this remarkable ceremonial:—

'Any Hogmanay afternoon, a small group of seamen and coopers, dressed in blue overfrocks, and followed by numbers of noisy youngsters, may be seen rapidly wending their way to the south-western extremity of the village, where it is customary to build the Clavie. One of the men bears on his shoulders a stout Archangel tar-barrel, kindly presented for the occasion by one of the merchants, who has very considerably left a quantity of the resinous fluid in the bottom. Another carries a common herring-cask, while the remainder are laden with other raw materials, and the tools necessary for the construction of the clavie. Arrived at the spot, three cheers being given for the success of the undertaking, operations are commenced forthwith. In the first place, the tar-barrel is sawn into two unequal parts; the smaller forms the groundwork of the Clavie, the other is broken up for fuel. A common fir prop, some four feet in length, called the 'spoke,' being then procured, a hole is bored through the tub-like machine, that, as we have already said, is to form the basis of the unique structure, and a long nail, made for the purpose, and furnished gratuitously by the village blacksmith, unites the two. Curiously enough, no hammer is allowed to drive this nail, which is 'sent home' by a smooth stone. The herring-cask is next demolished, and the staves are soon undergoing a diminution at both extremities, in order to fit them for their proper position. They are nailed, at intervals of about two inches all round, to the lower edge of the Clavie-barrel, while the other ends are firmly fastened to the spoke, an aperture being left sufficiently large to admit the head of a man. Amid tremendous cheering, the finished Clavie is now set up against the wall, which is mounted by two stout young men, who proceed to the business of filling and lighting. A few pieces of the split up tar-barrel are placed in a pyramidal form in the inside of the Clavie,

enclosing a small space for the reception of a burning peat, when everything is ready. The tar, which had been previously removed to another vessel, is now poured over the wood; and the same inflammable substance is freely used, while the barrel is being closely packed with timber and other combustible materials, that rise twelve or thirteen inches above the rim.

'By this time the shades of evening have begun to descend, and soon the subdued murmur of the crowd breaks forth into one loud, prolonged cheer, as the youth who was despatched for the fiery peat (for custom says no sulphurous lucifer, no patent congreve, dare approach within the sacred precincts of the Clavie) arrives with his glowing charge. The master-builder relieving him of his precious trust, places it within the opening already noticed, where, revived by a hot blast from his powerful lungs, it ignites the surrounding wood and tar, which quickly bursts into a flame. During the short time the fire is allowed to gather strength, cheers are given in rapid succession for 'The Queen,' 'The Laird,' 'The Provost,' 'The Town,' 'The Harbour,' and 'The Railway,' and then Clavie-bearer number one, popping his head between the staves, is away with his flaming burden. Formerly the clavie was carried in triumph round every vessel in the harbour, and a handful of grain thrown into each, in order to insure success for the coming year; but as this part of the ceremony came to be tedious, it was dropped, and the procession confined to the boundaries of the town. As fast as his heavy load will permit him, the bearer hurries along the well-known route, followed by the shouting Burgheadians, the boiling tar meanwhile trickling down in dark sluggish streams all over his back. Nor is the danger of scalding the only one he who essays to carry the Clavie has to confront, since the least stumble is sufficient to destroy his equilibrium. Indeed, this untoward event, at one time looked on as a dire calamity, foretelling disaster to the place, and certain death to the bearer in the course of next year, not unfrequently occurs. Having reached the junction of two streets, the carrier of the Clavie is relieved; and while the change is being effected, firebrands plucked from the barrel are thrown among the crowd, who eagerly scramble for the tarry treasure, the possession of which was of old deemed a sure safeguard against all unlucky contingencies. Again the multitude bound along; again they halt for a moment as another individual takes his place as bearer—a post for the honour of which there is no little striving. The circuit of the town being at length completed, the Clavie is borne along the principal street to a small hill near the northern extremity of the promontory called the 'Doorie,' on the summit of which a freestone pillar, very much resembling an ancient altar, has been built for its reception, the spoke fitting into a socket in the centre. Being now firmly seated on its throne, fresh fuel is heaped on the Clavie, while, to make the fire burn the brighter, a barrel with the ends knocked out is placed

on the top. Cheer after cheer rises from the crowd below, as the efforts made to increase the blaze are crowned with success.

‘Though formerly allowed to remain on the Doorie the whole night, the Clavie is now removed when it has burned about half an hour. Then comes the most exciting scene of all. The barrel is lifted from the socket, and thrown down on the western slope of the hill, which appears to be all in one mass of flame—a state of matters that does not, however, prevent a rush to the spot in search of embers. Two stout men instantly seizing the fallen clavie, attempt to demolish it by dashing it to the ground; which is no sooner accomplished than a final charge is made among the blazing fragments, that are snatched up in total, in spite of all the powers of combustion, in an incredibly short space of time.

‘Up to the present moment, the origin of this peculiar custom is involved in the deepest obscurity. Some would have us to believe that we owe its introduction to the Romans; and that the name Clavie is derived from the Latin word *clavus*, a nail—witches being frequently put to death in a barrel stuck full of iron spikes; or from *clavis*, a key—the right being instituted when Agricola discovered that *Ptoroton*, i.e., Burghead, afforded the grand military key to the north of Scotland. As well might these wild speculators have remarked that Doorie, which may be spelled *Durie*, sprang from *durus*, cruel, on account of the bloody ceremony celebrated on its summit. Another opinion has been boldly advanced by one party, to the effect that the clavie is Scandinavian in origin, being introduced by the Norwegian Vikings, during the short time they held the promontory in the beginning of the eleventh century, though the theorist advances nothing to prove his assumption, save a quotation from Scott’s *Marmion*; while, to crown all, we have to listen to a story that bears on its face its own condemnation, invented to confirm the belief that a certain witch, yclept ‘Kitty Clavers,’ bequeathed her name to the singular rite. Unfortunately, all external evidence being lost, we are compelled to rely entirely on the internal, which we have little hesitation, however, in saying points in an unmistakable manner down through the long vistas of our national history to where the mists of obscurity hang around the Druid worship of our forefathers. It is well known that the elements of fire were often present in Druidical orgies and customs (as witness their *cran-tara*); while it is universally admitted that the bonfires of May-day and Midsummer-eve, still kept up in different parts of the country, are vestiges of these rites. And why should not the clavie be so too, seeing that it bears throughout the stamp of a like parentage? The carrying home of the embers, as a protection from the ills of life, as well as other parts of the ceremony, finds a counterpart in the customs of the Druids; and though the time of observance be somewhat different, yet may not the same causes (now unknown



ones) that have so greatly modified the Clavie have likewise operated in altering the date, which, after all, occurs at the most solemn part of the Druidical year?"

The observance of this superstitious ceremony had for its main object to secure the fruitfulness of the industry of the place—in other words, to secure a good fishing. There is a link, therefore, between this superstition and that attached to the cradle stone. In both of them the existence of a power presiding over, or controlling, increase and fertility is acknowledged. Of course, as these things are actually practised in our day, they are but idle ceremonies,—occasions for laughter, joke, and frolic—without any meaning soberly attached to them. But, as once practised, beyond doubt this would be otherwise. Even after all exact knowledge regarding the nature and origin of such a ceremony as the burning of the Clavie had been lost, there would naturally remain a real, though not an openly admitted belief that it concerned the well-being of the community that it should be observed. Feeling sure that this was true, it occurred to me that I should find in the Church records of the district, if those of a sufficiently remote period had been preserved, some evidence of an effort on the part of the Church to suppress the heathenish practice by punishing those who took part in it. Accordingly, I visited the Rev. James Weir of Drainie, who is clerk of the Presbytery in which Burghead is situated, and with his help examined the records. Relevant entries were soon discovered, and these were afterwards carefully extracted by Mr Weir, who also made a more minute and successful search than was possible at my visit to the Manse. I had also an opportunity, through the Rev. Dr Brander and Mr John Nicoll, of examining the session records of the parish of Duffus, in which Burghead is situated, and in these also I found references to the Clavie. From the kirk-session records of the parish of Inveravon I also obtained an interesting entry through the Rev. Dr. Sellar of Aberlour. It was extracted for me by Mr Adam Myron, the session-clerk. I had previously heard of it from that zealous and accomplished antiquary, Mr Robert Young of Elgin. I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all these gentlemen, but especially to Mr Weir.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In most of the following extracts the words contracted or given in obsolete characters are not *written out*, *q* being used for *con*, *ŷ* for *th*, &c. The other signs are used as they appear in the MSS.

• *Extracts from Records of Presbytery of Elgin.*

(1.) *Elgine Jar* 11.1655 Conveened Mo<sup>r</sup> & remnant members &c

The S<sup>d</sup> day a regrat maid by M<sup>rs</sup> All: Saunders da Collace & W<sup>r</sup> Campbell anent some of their Seamen who superstitiously caried fyrr torches about ther boats y<sup>e</sup> last day of Dec<sup>r</sup>. The presbetrie did seriously recommend it to the severall Sessiones to tak speciall notice of all such persones in ther severall paroches & that all who were found guiltie as afores<sup>d</sup> should make publick acknowledgment off the same before the congrega<sup>n</sup>e in sackloath & to stand as many dayes as the Sessiones should Judge fitt.

The first allusion in the existing Presbytery records to *the burning of the Clavie* is the entry which I have just given. The word *clavie*, however, does not occur in it. The ceremony is described as the carrying of fir torches about the boats on the last day of December. It is similarly described in the set of entries which follow, and which give us the whole history of the Presbytery's dealings with a special occasion on which the "idolatrous and heathenish practice" had been observed at Stotefield and Causie, in the parishes of Kinneddar and Oggstown, now known as Drainie. In the first of these entries the ceremony is spoken of as "burning torches —crossing their boats therewith;" but I have found nothing to show that the word *crossing* here has any special significance.

(2.) *Januarie* 19. 1670 Conveened L B & brethren

Concerning y<sup>e</sup> ref<sup>co</sup> anent y<sup>e</sup> fishers w<sup>tin</sup> the parish of Kinneddor M<sup>r</sup> Michael Cuining reported y<sup>t</sup> haveing qveened these persons following John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold with Alex<sup>r</sup> Jafrae in Causie befor the Session of Kinneddor & all of y<sup>m</sup> haveing acknowledged & qfessed y<sup>r</sup> Idolatrous & heathnish practise of burning torches crossing y<sup>r</sup> boats y<sup>rwt</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> Last of December last They were remitted from y<sup>e</sup> Session fr<sup>s</sup>d & su<sup>m</sup>oned to this meeting fr<sup>s</sup>ds persons being once called & not com<sup>p</sup>earing are ordained to be su<sup>m</sup>oned pro 2<sup>o</sup>. The s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Michael humblie intreated y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> obliga<sup>n</sup> & act passed & emitted against & upon Alex<sup>r</sup> Innes in Kinneddor & W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie fr suppressing & bearing doun y<sup>e</sup> fr<sup>s</sup>d Idolatrous practise might be put in execu<sup>n</sup> against the fr<sup>s</sup>d Alex<sup>r</sup> Innes & W<sup>m</sup> Young & to y<sup>t</sup> effect the Clerk of the presbytrie was ordained to bring the presbytrie book to the next meeting y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> engagements and obliga<sup>n</sup>es may be seen & cognosced

(3.) *At Elgin Februarie 9 1670* Conveened L B w severall of the brethren

Concerning the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor Mr Michael Cumming reported yt according to the ordinance of the last meeting he had caused Summons these wth the toune of Stotfold viz John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Hesben W<sup>m</sup> Innes Thomas Edward John Tam & Alexr Innes for his interest These being thrice called and not compeiring are ordained to be Sumoned pro 3<sup>o</sup> as also these fishers w<sup>th</sup> the toune of Causie were sumoned to this meeting viz W Young Michael Robertsons Thomas Young and Thomas Steel these being called compeired & being charged w<sup>t</sup> yr guilt of heathnish & Idolatrous custome of burning torches on y<sup>e</sup> new yeires even All of y<sup>m</sup> declared they were ignorant y<sup>o</sup>f & in no waies in accession y<sup>r</sup>to but the L B & brethren haveing revised the Presbytrie book according to yr last ordinance doe find by ane act emitted by y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> the S<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie & Alexr Innes in Stotfold are bound and obleidged for suppressing this Superstitious Idolatrous & sinfull custome in yr respective townes & the L B & brethren finding this yr act to be qtraveened they doe hold y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Young & Alexr Innes lyable to the penaltie y<sup>r</sup>in qtained to wit 20 lib Scotts each of y<sup>m</sup> with w<sup>h</sup> they did obleidge y<sup>m</sup>selves The L B & brethren doe ordain the s<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Young w<sup>t</sup> Alexr Jafrae his domestick servant & Alexr Smith in Causie (these as being the fire bearers) to keep y<sup>e</sup> next meeting

(4.) *At Elgin Februarie 23 1670* Conveened Moderator w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> remnant brethre of the exercise

John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam fishers in Stotfold sumoned to this meeting pro 3<sup>ti</sup>o thrice called compeired not it was reported by Mr Michael Cumming y<sup>t</sup> none of these for the present were at home being drave by a tempest from yr own shoare they are as yet ordained to be sumoned pro 3<sup>ti</sup>o

Called and compeired Alexr Innes in the parish of Kinneddor who being charged w<sup>t</sup> his breach of act of presbytrie in not restraining & suppressing yt heathenish custome practised by his fishers on y<sup>e</sup> new yeires even the s<sup>d</sup> Alexr Innes declared y<sup>t</sup> he did not allow nor approve of yr practise yea y<sup>t</sup> he did inhibit & expreslie discharge y<sup>e</sup> samyne the s<sup>d</sup> Alexr is sumoned apud acta to keep y<sup>e</sup> next meeting

W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie Alexr Jafrie his servant & Alexr Smith yr sumoned to this meeting thrice called & not compeiring are ordained to be sumoned pro 2<sup>o</sup>

(5.) *At Elgin March 9 1670* Conveened my L B w<sup>t</sup> the brethren of the exercise

Concerning the referr of the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotfold being

sumōned to this meeting pro 3<sup>tho</sup> thrice called & not compeiring they are declared obstinat And Mr Michael Cūming is ordained to go on in the processe by givinge y<sup>m</sup> the first publick admoni<sup>n</sup> the next Lords day

W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie w<sup>t</sup> his domestick servant Alex<sup>r</sup> Jafrie being Sumōned to this meeting pro 2<sup>o</sup> compeired the s<sup>d</sup> W being charged w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> frs<sup>d</sup> Idolatrous heatnish custome stood still to his vindica<sup>n</sup> declareing he was no waies in accession to it Alex<sup>r</sup> Jafrie compeiring confessed he was one of the bearers of the torches & being posed whether he was comānded countenanced or approve by his maister answered negativelie The matter is continued to the next meeting by reason of the other bearers absence and the s<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> w<sup>t</sup> his servant are sumōned apud acta to be present

(6.) *At Elgin March 23 1670* Conveened L B w<sup>t</sup> the brethren of the exercise

Anent the refer of the fishers in the parish of Kinneddor Mr Michael Cūming reported y<sup>t</sup> he had given unto John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold the first publick admoni<sup>n</sup> they being present this day were first sharpely rebuked for y<sup>r</sup> contumacie & disobediance then being charged w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> abominable heatenish practise in bearing torches they all did confesse y<sup>r</sup> guilt in the s<sup>d</sup> transgression The L B & brethre haveing thoroughly examined this busines being now after mature and serious delibera<sup>n</sup> ripe to pronounce y<sup>r</sup> sentence they remitt Alex<sup>r</sup> Innes in Kinneddor<sup>1</sup> & W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie being convinced of breach of the Act of Presbytrie to the Session of Kineddor for y<sup>r</sup> modifca<sup>n</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> frs<sup>d</sup> penaltie of 20 lib Scotts

As for the bearers of the torches viz John Edward W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesben Thomas Edward & John Tam in Stotefold w<sup>t</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Jafrie in Causie they are ordained to go to the Session of Kinneddor to receive y<sup>e</sup> Presbyteries sentence qch is y<sup>t</sup> each of y<sup>m</sup> mak publick profession of his repentance in sackcloth befor the congrega<sup>n</sup> of Kinneddor & each of y<sup>m</sup> to pay 30s

(7.) *At Elgin May ii 1670*

Mr Michael Cūming reported y<sup>t</sup> the fishers w<sup>t</sup>in his parish are going on in the publick profession of y<sup>r</sup> repentance

(8.) *At Elgin June 8 1670*

Concerning the fishers in Kinneddor Mr Michael Cūming reported y<sup>t</sup> all of y<sup>m</sup> have satisfied the discipline of the church except Alex<sup>r</sup> Jafrie servant to W<sup>m</sup> Young in Causie who for his disobediance is remitted to the Session of Kin-

<sup>1</sup> Mr Weir tells me that Kineddar is the name of a farm as well as the old name of the parish. The occupier of this farm probably owned the boat, and employed the fishers.

nedor & summoned to this meeting the sd Alexr being thrice called & not compeiring is ordained to be summoned pro 2<sup>do</sup>

(9.) *At Elgin June 22 1670*

Alexr Jafrie in the Parish of Kinneddor summoned pro 2<sup>do</sup> to this meeting thrice called & not compeiring is ordained to be summoned pro 3<sup>do</sup>

(10.) *At Elgin Julie 6 1670*

Alexr Jafrie in the parish of Kinneddor being summoned to this meeting pro 3<sup>do</sup> thrice called & not compeiring he is declared qtumax & the processe ordained to go on to the first admoni<sup>n</sup>e

(11.) *At Elgin Julie 20 1670*

Mr Michael Cu<sup>m</sup>ing reported y<sup>t</sup> Alexr Jafrie in Kinneddor (notwithstanding of his former obstinacie) is now going on in the publick profession of his repentance

(12.) *At Elgin Agust 24 1670*

Mr Michael Cu<sup>m</sup>ing mad report y<sup>t</sup> Alexr Jafrie in y<sup>e</sup> parish of Kinneddor hath now at length given satisfaction to y<sup>r</sup> discipline

These twelve extracts are from the Records of the Presbytery of Elgin, but those of the Kinneddar (Drainie) Kirk-Session also contain allusions to the same act of heathenish idolatry. I give one of these, in order to show how the transgressors were punished.

*Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Kinneddar, now Drainie.*

(1.) 17 *Aprilis* 1670 After Sermon the Session Assembling &c.

The said day the fishers of Stotefold & Cousea being remitted from y<sup>e</sup> Presbetry to this Church discipline for satisfaction of y<sup>r</sup> great & gross scandall & Idolatrous custome in burning torches on y<sup>e</sup> new years even The Presbetry having ordained y<sup>t</sup> those psons mor in accession in this transgression y<sup>n</sup> oyr<sup>s</sup> satisfy y<sup>e</sup> discipline in Sacco And oyr<sup>s</sup> according to the arbitrement of y<sup>e</sup> Sessione

The Session do y<sup>r</sup>fore ordain John Edward in Stotefold to satisfy in Sacco on day & to pay . . . . . 20s  
James Jafray in Cousea to satisfy in the Joges two dayes, W<sup>m</sup> Innes W<sup>m</sup> Hesbein Thomas Edward & John Thome all of y<sup>m</sup> to testify y<sup>r</sup> Repentance by standing at y<sup>e</sup> pillar And ilk ane of y<sup>m</sup> to pay . . . . . 20s

Alex<sup>r</sup> Innes owner of ye Boats of Stotefold, W<sup>m</sup> Young owner of ye boats of Cousea each of y<sup>m</sup> are ordained to pay . . . . . 4 lbs  
 In regard y<sup>t</sup> that they had not restrained this abuse Conform to y<sup>r</sup> engagement before y<sup>e</sup> Presbetry in A<sup>n</sup>o 66 The fors psons all of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>nd</sup> Compeiring y<sup>r</sup> sentence being intimated unto y<sup>m</sup> they accepting & submitting to disciplin were sharply rebuked exhorted to serious Repentance & enjoyned to satisfy conform to y<sup>e</sup> ordinance The next Lords day

I give two other extracts from the Session Records of Kinneddar, 35 and 36 years later than the last, showing that the ceremony was then regarded as an *old custom*. In these extracts, moreover, the word *clavie* appears, and is used as if it were synonymous with torch. They speak of "lighted clevises or torches," and of "lighted clevises."

*Further Extracts from the Session Records of Kinneddar.*

(2.) 23 Dec 1705

Also (after sermon y<sup>e</sup> min<sup>r</sup>) did guard y<sup>e</sup> Seamen to beware of y<sup>e</sup> old Heathenish superstitious practice of carrieing of lighted Clevises or torches about y<sup>r</sup> boats on new years even certifeing all that should be found any manner of way to concurr wt or contribute to y<sup>e</sup> said work—should be put in y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> civill magistrate

(3.) December 22<sup>nd</sup> 1706

Some of y<sup>e</sup> Elders were enjoined to watch y<sup>e</sup> Seamen on new-years-even lest they carrie the lighted Clevises about y<sup>e</sup> Boats as y<sup>r</sup> custom was

The allusions to the burning of the clavie in the extracts which follow have an immediate relation to Burghead.

*Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Duffus.*

(1.) 7<sup>th</sup> January 1666 The qlk day the sex skippers in the Burghsea were delated for burning their clavies upon Saturday last before new yeires even ordained to be charged against the next Lord's day and also some of the buksmen

(2.) 14<sup>th</sup> January 1666 The foresaid skippers Andrew Sutherland Walter Robertsone George Hutchie and Alex<sup>r</sup> Cramond Alex<sup>r</sup> Grigor (Robert Sutherland's man) William Steill buksmen being summoned called compeired and confest they burnt their clavies about their boats upon Saturday before New yeires even

Therefore (according to the [ ] of the L Bshp and Presbyterie with whom the minister did advyse the last Presbyterie day concerning the said burning of clavies) one man out of everie boat of the saidis sex boatts (after their appearing before the Session) are ordained to compeir before the L Bshp and Presbyterie the next Presbyterie day being Wednesday next

(3.) 21 *January* 1666 The minister reported that John Pro<sup>t</sup> Robert Steill James Skein, Alex<sup>r</sup> Cramond George Hutchie seamen have compeired before the L Bshp and Presbyterie where they enacted themselves ilk ane under pain of 20 libs Scots never to doe the like business again which persons also were referred back to the Session again and did compear this instant day Sicklyke the ministre & session thinks fitt to doe the lyke with all the seamen in the Burghsea and for that end (God willing) he resolved to goe himself with his elders and James Clark to the said Burghsea the first convenient day and take them all enacted under the foresaid penaltie and censure of the church if they doe the lyke agayne

(4.) 28<sup>th</sup> *January* 1666 The qlk day the minister reported that he was in the Burghsea upon Fryday last and there before the two elders and James Clarke did take the skippers and buksmen enacted that they sould never burne clavies on new yeires even or new yeires day under the pain of 20 lib ilk boat and the censure of the Kirk

(5.) 20<sup>th</sup> *Januarie* 1689 William Broun a young lad in Brughsea with others his accomplices delated to have had a burning clavie paying a superstitious worship and blessing their boats after the old hethnish custome contrarie to all rules of Christianitie and still condemned here in this place ordained to be summoned against the next Lord's day

(6.) 27<sup>th</sup> *Januarie* 1689 The said day compeared W<sup>m</sup> Broun & confest that he went and kindled a clavie of firre and went to the boats but being a boy did it ignorantly imitating others of the toun of greater age such as Alex<sup>r</sup> Farq<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Steilles forman & John Farq<sup>r</sup> Francis Steille's forman John Marnoch a boy and Elspet Young mother to the s<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Broun all of them ordained to be summoned against the next Lord's day

(7.) 3<sup>d</sup> *Februarie* 1689 Compeared William Steille skipper anent the clavie and being posed denyes he was witness or in knowledge to such a work but did not see his man Alex<sup>r</sup> Farq<sup>r</sup> who being summoned compeared and confessed that he did carrie meat & drink to the boat side and did cast drink upon the boat

Compeared John Farqr being summoned & deponed that he did kindle a candle and went about the boats as others did

Compeared John Marnoch and he declared he carried a torch off candles about the boats as the rest did

Compeared Elspet Young & denyed she kindled anie light or went near the boats but its found proven that she was there and carried meat & drink to the boats therefore is found guilty with the rest therefore the minister and elders does ordain them to stand at the pillar one day before the congregation and pay each of them 40s penalty

One further extract remains to be given—perhaps of more interest than any which precede. It is taken from the Session Records of the parish of Inveravon. We have already seen that the burning of the clavie was customary, not in Burghead only as generally supposed, but in many, if not in all, of the fishing villages on the Morayshire coast, where the object, however, always was the blessing of the boats. But this extract presents the ceremony to us, under the same strange name, in a Banffshire parish far inland, and with a new object, namely, the blessing of the corn-fields so as to secure fertility and good crops. Probably further search would disclose that it was at one time—perhaps not very remote—observed widely in Scotland. From more than one source I have heard that the Inveravon practice was common in some districts till quite recent times, and something very like it is said to be still customary in parts of Ireland.

*Extract from the Kirk-Session Records of the Parish of Inveravon.*

16<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1704

Ane Act against Clavies That whereas it hath been the custome and practise of many in this parish of Inveravine, to goe about yr folds and cornes with kindled Torches of firr, superstitiouslie and Idolatrouslic ascribing y<sup>t</sup> power to the fire of sanctifeing y<sup>r</sup> cornes and cattell qch is only proper and peculiar to the true and living God a practise proper rather to the heathens who are ignorant of God than to be practised by them y<sup>t</sup> live under the light of the glorious Gospell Therefor the Session did and hereby doeth enact that whosoever shall be found guiltie of the fors<sup>d</sup> superstitious and heathnish practises shall be proceeded agst as scandalous persons and censured according to the demerit of y<sup>r</sup> crime and if it shall be found that they be children not capable of Church censure that in y<sup>t</sup> case their names be kept in record and they declar'd incapable of any Church-priviledge when arrived att the years of



discretion or any testimonial from the Session till they remove the scandall  
The Session closed with prayer

The conclusions which are pointed to by the results of this research into the Church records are as follows :—

(1.) The *burning of the clavie* is not a ceremony peculiar to Burghead, and has no special connection either with that spot or with a sea-going community.

(2.) It is a relic of the worship of fire, as the source of all increase; and the essence of the ceremony consists in carrying fire round the objects to be rendered productive and prosperous, whether these are fishing-boats, corn-fields, or anything else.<sup>1</sup>

(3.) It is an old custom, being already regarded as old 200 years ago and more.

(4.) The ceremony has always been observed at the close of the year—on “the night of the year”—and there is nothing to show any relation between it and the fires of May.

(5.) The word *clavie* belongs to the ceremony, and not to the place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This might be done either in a very simple manner, or more picturesquely and with higher ritual, as now happens at Burghead, where, however, it appears to have been originally as simple and informal a ceremony as at Inveravon.

<sup>2</sup> In the Church Records the word *clavie* appears to be used as the equivalent of *torch*. It is not probable, however, that these two words are really synonymous. The most likely meaning of *clavie* is that suggested to me by Mr Joseph Anderson. He thinks that it is an old or altered form of *clivvie*, which Jamieson gives as a Banffshire word, meaning a cleft stick for holding a rush-light. In Shetland the same word takes the form of *clivin*, the tongs; and Mr Laurensen states that it is still in use among the fishermen. This makes the etymology of the word plain; and *clavie* would not be the *torch*, but the thing which carried either the torch or fire in any shape. The Rev. Walter Grigor of New Pitsligo, the author of the “Dialect of Banffshire,” informs me that “he has heard the word, but not often, and not for a long time.” He has never met it in any ballad or story. He gives me a sketch of an instrument for holding “fir can’les,” which sufficiently answers Jamieson’s description of the *clivvie*. A modification of this instrument I once saw in actual use in the parish of Keith. I made a sketch of it, but failed to record the name by which it went. Mr Grigor says it is known as “the peer man.”

It has been suggested to me by that great Celtic scholar, Iain Campbell of Islay, that *clavie* may come from the word *cliabh*, a basket; and certainly the basket-looking instrument, in which the fire is now carried at Burghead, gives some support to this view of the origin of the word.

(6.) It is different with the word *Dourie*. That belongs to *Burghead*. Whether it has, or has not, any true connection with *the burning of the clavie*, I cannot tell. I learn from Dr Macdonald that about the year 1809 the part of the ramparts, which up to that time had been used as the *Dourie*, was removed, and the present spot was afterwards fixed on by the clavie burners as suitable for their purpose. This makes the name movable, and shows it not to have been fixed to a particular spot of the promontory.<sup>1</sup> The fact rather implies that a *Dourie* somewhere was needed in the ceremony, at least as practised in its higher development at *Burghead*.

2. OLD NAME OF BURGHEAD.—Remembering that Mr George Anderson, who was full of antiquarian tastes, gives *Torrietown* as an old name of *Burghead* in his *Guide to the Highlands*,<sup>2</sup> it struck me that possibly the *Torrie* in this name might be the same word as *Dourie*. The change would be small. But then it becomes a question whether the place was really ever known as *Torrietown*. Grant in his "*Survey of Moray*"<sup>3</sup> says, "the old inhabitants of the burgh, within these fifty years, called it *Torytown* or *Terytown*, which approaches near to the name *Ptolemy* gives it of *Ptoroton*." Chalmers, again, referring to Grant, says, "till recent times the *Burghead* was called, in the common speech of the ancient people, *Tory-town* or *Tery-town*."<sup>4</sup> Dr Macdonald, who refers to this alleged old name, tells me that when he was preparing his *Notices of the Broch*, the Rev. Dr Gordon of Birnie informed him, that he had heard Mr Young, the late proprietor of *Burghead*, say, that on one occasion, when crossing from the *Sutherland* side of the *Firth*, the boatmen called the headland, as they approached it, by the name of *Torrytown*.

This name, however, never occurs in the church records. In them the place is almost invariably called *Burgh-sea*, but occasionally it is simply

<sup>1</sup> Dr Macdonald says that *Dourie* is "a well-known name in Scottish topography" (*Proc. of Soc. of Antiq.*, Vol. IV. p. 366); and in a letter he gives me two instances, viz., *Dourie*, a farm near *Portwilliam* in *Wigtownshire*; and *Al-dourie*, an estate in *Inverness-shire*. I am inclined, however, to think that Dr Macdonald's statement is too broad, and in this opinion I think he now concurs.

<sup>2</sup> P. 165. Ed. 1834.

<sup>3</sup> P. 53. 1798.

<sup>4</sup> *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 129, *note*.

called the Burgh.<sup>1</sup> Yet it struck me as not altogether improbable, that a place, having a prominent and important part called the Doorie, might readily enough be designated Doorie-town; which, again, might as readily assume the form of Torry-town. Or Doorie might be the corruption of Torry, and not Torry of Doorie.

I would remark, in passing, that the difficulty of determining whether Burghead ever went by the name of Torry-town within the last 100 years, should tend to raise our respect for the erosive action of a century. If it ever did go by such a name, the probabilities are, I think, that it was a corruption of *πτερωτόν*, and that it got into the popular mouth—remaining in it only for a short time—after Bertram's forgery,<sup>2</sup> had led to the identification of Burghead with the *Πτερωτόν στρατόπεδον* of Ptolemy. *Pterōton*, or *Ptoroton*,<sup>3</sup> became Terry-town or Torry-town. When the alleged discovery that the place had once been an important Roman station had lost its novelty and interest, the people would soon give up their attempts to call it by that Greek name, which was held to refer to it in the work of the Alexandrian geographer.

This seems probable, yet there is enough, I think, to justify the speculation as to the possible connection between the Doorie and Torrietown; and, perhaps, enough also to raise a question as to whether Burghead may not possibly be the Promontorium Taurodunum of Ptolemy (*Ταυροεδοῦμι ἄκρον*). This is a Celtic name in Greek clothing, and means Cape Bull-town or Bull-fort. No name could be more appropriate or more descriptive of Burghead, with which, in some way or other, the *Bull* was most intimately associated, in times, too, which must be very remote. Many stones have been found there with the figure of a bull cut on them. Five of them still exist. It is said that in the diggings at the time of the erection of the harbour no fewer than 30 were found;<sup>4</sup> and Mr Carlisle, in exhibiting a cast of one of them in 1809 to the Society

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Reeve's *Adamnan*, p. 191 (footnote), and the Preface, p. xxxii., for evidence that the place was possibly, if not probably, called the Broch as far back as the tenth century.

<sup>2</sup> "De situ Britanniae." Previously *Πτερωτόν* had been identified with the "Castrum puellarum, vulgo Edinburgh." See Ed. Basil. 1540, and Ed. Lugd. 1618.

<sup>3</sup> When written *Ptoroton*, as it is by Grant and others, the word is entirely destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> *Highland Note-Book*, Carruthers, p. 220.

of Antiquaries of London, said that "many others" existed at Burghead.<sup>1</sup> These statements disclose a very remarkable fact. Similar sculptures have been found nowhere else—not even singly, much less in what may be called a crowd. They prove, I think, that long ago the bull must have figured very prominently, and in some singular manner, in the on-goings of those who resided in, or who frequented, the Broch. I shall again refer to these bull stones, one of which has not been previously figured (see fig. 26). At present I mention them only to show that Ptolemy's *Tarvedum*, as a descriptive name, might well refer to Burghead.

Against such a theory, however, there is on the threshold the fact, that hitherto Cape *Tarvedum* has been accepted as merely another name for Cape *Orcas*, and this is justified by the usual renderings of Ptolemy. He mentions *Tarvedum* twice and *Orcas* thrice—the first always in connection with *Orcas*, but *Orcas* once alone. His first mention of it is as follows:—*Ταροεδούμ, ἢ καὶ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα.*<sup>2</sup> This is as Wilberg gives the Greek; and his translation is, "*Tarvedum sive Orcas cautes*;" but the same Greek is sometimes translated, "*Taurodunum quod et Orcas promontoria*," or "*Tarvedum and Orcas promontories*,"<sup>3</sup> or "*Taruedume et Orcas promontorium*."<sup>4</sup> There is uncertainty, if not faulty grammar in these renderings, but this perhaps proves little. It appears, however, that in one edition of Ptolemy, by *Jacobus Aeszler*, 1513, the Greek is thus given,—*Ταροεδούμη καὶ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα*;<sup>5</sup> and this clearly makes two promontories, namely, Cape *Taurodun* and Cape *Orcas*.<sup>6</sup>

I am not aware that any student of Ptolemy has come to the expressed conclusion that *Taurodun* and *Orcas* are two capes, except Captain Thomas; but he identifies *Taurodun* with Cape *Wrath*, and *Orcas* with *Dunnet Head*. So far as I can make out, after examining numerous editions of Ptolemy, the reasons for thinking that his *Taurodun* and *Orcas* are not one, but two promontories, are but slender. In a slender shape, however, they exist;

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Wilberg's *Cl. Ptol. Geog. Essend.* 1838-39, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> As in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, p. xii.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1482, Ulm. In the Ed. Univ. Lib.

<sup>5</sup> Wilberg, *op. cit.* p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> There are two other Greek readings given by Wilberg, and found in MSS. copies of Ptolemy, which may be accidental modifications of the readings of the Codex followed by Aeszler. They are—*Ταροέδα μῆ καὶ Ὀρκ.*, and *Ταροέδου μῆ καὶ Ὀρκας ἄκρα*.

and if they be two capes, I venture to suggest that the first, from the peculiar and close applicability of the name, may refer to Burghead. Beyond this I do not go.<sup>1</sup>

3. BULL STONES.—Five of these stones are known to be in existence. Of these one is in the British Museum; a second in the Elgin Museum; a third in the possession of Mr George Anderson, and now in the office of the Inverness Parochial Board; and the fourth and fifth at Burghead, in the possession of Mr Young the proprietor.<sup>2</sup> The fourth was found in 1862 on the south quay, when the line of railway was being continued along the pier. The rubbish among which it lay had been taken from the Baileys. The head of the bull was injured by the hammer of the labourer who found it. The fifth was found in 1867<sup>3</sup> when pulling down an old house, on the site of which Donald Sutherland has built another. The fifth has not yet been figured; but Mr Young having kindly consented to send both it and the fourth to Edinburgh, an opportunity has been afforded for having them well drawn, and they are now successfully represented in the woodcuts which follow.

They are both small stones or slabs, irregular in their outline, with the edges and back at some parts apparently rounded and smoothed by the action of water. They look like water-worn blocks taken from the sea-shore. The fourth (fig. 25) is 19 inches in the long, and 12 inches in the short measurement of its face, and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness. The corresponding measurements of the fifth (fig. 26) are 11 inches, 10 inches, and 3 inches.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the other old name of the Broch, the Narmin of Boece, see Dr Macdonald's paper (Proc. of Soc. Antiq. Vol. IV.)

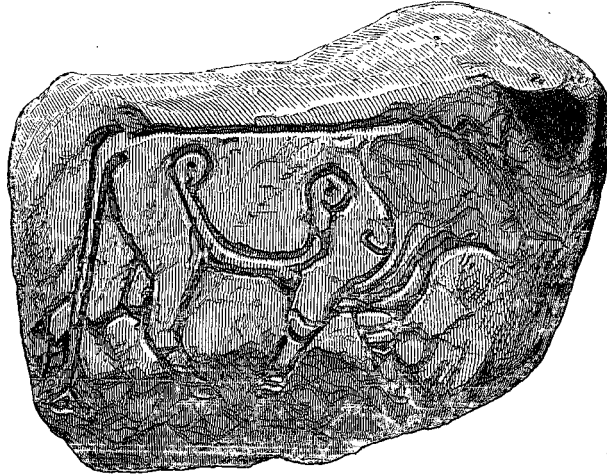
<sup>2</sup> The first is generally supposed to be the one figured in the *Archeologia*, vol. xvi.; the second, third, and fourth, are figured in Dr Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. i. pl. xxxviii., and vol. ii. pl. cviii.; and the first, second, and third in Dr Macdonald's *Notes of the Broch* (Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq., Vol. IV. Pl. XI.)

<sup>3</sup> I saw and made a rubbing of this one about six weeks after it was discovered.

<sup>4</sup> The measurements of the stone in the British Museum, as I learn from Mr Little of the India Museum, are as follows:—Length  $20\frac{1}{2}$  inches, greatest breadth 21 inches, thickness about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Its edges, he says, present an appearance strongly suggesting the action of water, and the same appearance is exhibited on its face and back. It was presented to the Museum in 1861 by Mr Sowerby, Secretary of the Royal Botanical Society, who found it in his garden, where he supposed it to have

These two stones could not have been standing stones, and it is difficult to see how they could have been built into a wall. In both of them the drawing of the bull is spirited and energetic. The style of art shows great antiquity. The hand which executed the sculptures may have be-

Fig. 25.



longed to a man who in a certain sense was uncultivated, but he most certainly possessed a high capacity for culture.

Of the use of these stones we have no knowledge; but it is not im-

lain for many years. Mr Little adds that the work is regarded by Mr Franks as of the fourth or fifth century.

The measurements of the Elgin stone, as I learn from the Rev. Dr Gordon of Birnie, are  $20 \times 14$  inches, and about 6 inches thick. He says it does not look so much like a water-worn block as some of the others; but he describes the edge of one side as rubbed round, and says the back seems to exhibit glacier action. It was presented to the Elgin Museum by the representatives of Mr T. Milne.

As regards the Inverness stone, I am informed by Dr Aitken of the District Asylum, that its face measurements are  $27 \times 13$  inches, and its thickness between 3 and 4 inches. Dr Aitken could not detect on it any of the smoothing or rounding effects of the action of water. This stone was given to Mr George Anderson by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

probable that they were connected with some form or ceremony of religious worship, which had its home in a special manner at Burghead. And here the question naturally arises,—Can they, like the *clavie*, be associated with the worship of fire? Was there ever, for instance, a temple of Mithras at Burghead? Was the Broch at one time a place of resort<sup>1</sup> for the faithful, who had favours to ask of the creative god, and who were either wholly pagans, or “half Christians and half pagans?”<sup>2</sup>

Fig. 26.



Mithras was the sun or fire itself.<sup>3</sup> The sacrifice of the bull was the great feature of his worship;<sup>4</sup> and “mysterious burnings were practised

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worthy of note here that the word *turus* in the Irish language is said to be applied to the stations to which people resort on certain saints' days (Sir Henry James, *Plans of Stonehenge, &c.*, p. 17). *Taurusachan*, for instance, is said to mean a place of pilgrimage.

<sup>2</sup> Montfauçon, *Antiq. Explained*, London, 1721, vol. i. p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> In Roman inscriptions found in Britain, Mithras is spoken of as *Deus sol Mithras*, or *Deus sol invictus Mithras* (Hübner's *Inscript. Lat. Brit.*, No. 890 and No. 833 *b*), that is, Mithras is the sun himself. But he is also described as the companion of the sun—“*Deus invictus solis socius*” (Hübner, *op. cit.*, No. 1039).

<sup>4</sup> His priests were called priests of the lowing ox (Montfauçon, *op. cit.* i. 318, and Julius Firmicus *De Errore Prof. Relig.*, pp. 10-12). The bull was sacred to him, and “the spilling of its blood was supposed to communicate fertility to the earth” (Bruce's *Rom. Wall*, third edition, p. 393). Taurus, indeed, as well as Mithras,

in the Mithraic rites."<sup>1</sup> Two boys, wearing the Phrygian cap or *tiara*,<sup>2</sup> and carrying *torches*, one turned up and the other turned down, formed a part of his statue.<sup>3</sup> His rites were celebrated in temples that were subterranean, and which contained a well, or were permeated by a stream of water.<sup>4</sup> His mysteries are said to have been performed in secret caverns.

We know that such temples were erected to him in Britain.<sup>5</sup> One of them, for instance, was discovered at House-steads in 1822,<sup>6</sup> a rectangular chamber of the character of a cave, with a strong feeder of water on the spot. Fragments of a tablet, representing Mithras slaying the bull, were found in it.

The character of this structure, and of other Mithraic temples which he had seen in Italy, led Dr Grigor of Nairn to suggest to me that the Baileys' Well<sup>7</sup> at the Broch might possibly be a temple of Mithras. His

was regarded as "the operative cause of all things, and the lord of generation" (Hodgson, quoting Porphyry, *Archæol. Æliana*, old series, vol. i. p. 294). The bull was slain in sacrifice to him wherever he was worshipped (Porter's *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, vol. i. p. 588). The Taurus Trigaranus, as written on a stone discovered under Notre Dame de Paris in 1710, is regarded as the name of a Celtic deity. The spelling of the word is thought to be a Latinised form of the Erse word for bull,—*tarbh*, or *taru*,—the *u* following instead of preceding the *r* (*Trans. of Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1846, Kirkmann, p. 132; Borlase's *Cornwall*, book ii, ch. 16, p. 109; *Myth. of Brit. Druids*, Davies, pp. 132 and 161; and Montfauçon, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 270).

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 324–390).—From Montfauçon, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> So called by Lucian and Luctatius.

<sup>3</sup> The *torch* in fig. 6 of Montfauçon might almost stand for the Burghead *clavie*.

<sup>4</sup> Bruce's Roman Wall, third edition, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> In two instances the erection of a temple to Mithras is recorded (*ædis*, or *templum*)—once on a stone dug up in Rochester, and again on a fragment found at Birdoswald. Altogether, the name of the god occurs on about thirteen of the stones which appear in the volume of Hübner's *Corpus Inscriptionum* referring to Britain.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce's Roman Wall, third edition, p. 399, and *Arch. Æliana*, old series, vol. i.

<sup>7</sup> It is now called the Roman Well; but for long after its discovery, in 1809, it was called the Baileys' Well, because it was within the baileys.

It is uncertain whether the Baileys or Baillies of Burghead really refer to the fortifications or to the ditches which are said to have separated the peninsula from the mainland. (See "Jamieson's Scot. Dict.;" sup. verb. *Bail*.) The fortifications are now spoken of as The Baileys. It is quite possible, however, that the name is not really applicable either to the fortifications or to the ditches; and that it may be the



speculation appeared to me to derive some support from the fire-worship in the burning of the *clavie*, and the reference to a producing power in the superstition of the cradle stone.

Of this at least there can be little doubt, that there is a singular resemblance between the Baileys' Well and many of the continental Mithraic temples;<sup>1</sup> while on the other hand there is little if any resemblance between it and any other known well. More labour and thought have been bestowed on its construction than was usually bestowed on what was simply to serve as a water supply, for which, moreover, its size and many of the arrangements in its design were unnecessary.

The burning of the *clavie* takes place on the last night of the year, and the great Mithraic festival<sup>2</sup> was on the first day of the year. The two ceremonies, therefore, occur at the death of one year and birth of another.<sup>3</sup> The *kalends of January*, indeed, appears to have been a day on which heathen sacrifices and ceremonies were common in this country; and there is often a distressed allusion to this day in the lives or letters of the early Christian missionaries.<sup>4</sup> One of the canons enacted under King Edgar forbids among stone worshippings and other things "the vain practices which are carried on *on the night of the year*."<sup>5</sup> The Hog-

word Bailis, a great fire—the site of the fire or bailis coming eventually to be called the baillis, as the word passed out of general use and its meaning became obscure.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the singularly situated temple of Mithras, below the oldest Christian church in Rome (see Mullooly's *San Clementi*, Rome, 1869; the *Bolletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 2d ser. 1870, De Rossi; and the *Revue Archeologique*, vols. xxiv. and xxv., 1872 and 1873, in which there are several articles by Th. Roller and a plan of the cave (pl. xvi. of vol. xxiv.) The introduction of Mithraic worship into Rome from the East did not greatly precede the introduction of Christianity, and only with the epoch of the Antonines did it begin to be the religion of the Roman world.

<sup>2</sup> The Mithralia on the 16th of September and six following days constituted a sort of valedictory festival when the sun entered the tropic of Capricorn (Hodgson, *Arch. Ælian.*, old series, vol. i. p. 298, and Hyde's *Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, pp. 244–247).

<sup>3</sup> It scarcely affects the idea of the period of the two festivals that among the Persians the first day of the year was in March. The last day of the year at Burghead is still on the 11th of January, and it is on that day, as the close of the year, and not on the 31st of December, that the burning of the *clavie* takes place.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Sancti Bonifacii Opera*, Giles, Lond. 1844, p. 104 and p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, vol. ii. p. 249.

manay clavie burning, therefore, appears to be something distinct from the Baal-fires of May.

Mithraism lasted long in a modified form. It was in a special manner a successful opponent of Christianity. "It rejected polytheism, adopted a rationalistic creed, and imitated Christian rites."<sup>1</sup> It borrowed ceremonies similar to Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Confirmation, and corrupted itself in order to prevent the spread of a pure Christianity. St Jerome says that Abraxas, the name given to the Almighty by Basilides, the great corrupter of Christianity, corresponded to Mithras.<sup>2</sup>

Christianity on its side did very much the same thing. It tolerated and often adopted the rites of paganism—doing so even with those of them which were of a very pronounced character. It did this, too, from the very same motives which led the priests of Mithras to copy the Christian ceremonies. Nor in this matter did the Christian missionaries act without high authority. They merely obeyed definite instructions from the head of the church, as we learn from the famous letter which Pope Gregory addressed to the Abbot Mellitus in the year 601.<sup>3</sup>

This letter counsels more than a mere toleration of the sacrifice of bulls in the worship of *dæmons*; and we know that after a time bulls came to be sacrificed in the worship of the Christian missionaries themselves. They were so sacrificed to St Cuthbert at Kirkeudbright in 1164, to St

<sup>1</sup> Bruce's Rom. Wall, 3d ed. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, *op. cit.* p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> What follows is a quotation from this letter:—"Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur; quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt necesse est ut a cultu *dæmonum* in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errore deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiaris concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio *dæmonum* multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitatis immutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutate sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis convivii sollemnitatem celebrent; nee diabolo jam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur."—(Bædæ, Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum, lib. i. cap. xxx.; and Mon. His. Brit., p. 141.)

Beyno of Clynnog in 1589, and to St Maury in Applecross so late as 1656.<sup>1</sup> But more than this happened. The Christian missionaries polluted their ministry by becoming themselves the priests who sacrificed bulls to the gods of the pagans. We learn this from a letter which Pope Zachary sent to Boniface, A.D. 748, a quotation from which is given below.<sup>2</sup>

Thanks to Mr Joseph Anderson, I am able to give the following instance of what may be called the *uncompleted* sacrifice of a bull at the shrine of a Christian saint. It is recorded by Dugdale, who says, "Among the lands with which the sacrist's office (of the Abbey of Bury St Edmund, Suffolk) was endowed were those of Haberdon, the tenants of which were bound to provide a white bull as often as any matron of rank or other female should come, out of devotion, to make what were called the oblations of the white bull at the shrine of St Edmund. On this occasion the animal, adorned with ribbons and garlands, was brought to the south gate of the monastery, and led along Church Gate, Guildhall, and Abbey Gate streets to the great west gate, the lady all the time keeping close to the animal. Here the procession ended. The bull was returned to its pasture, and the lady made her offerings at the shrine in hope of becoming a mother."

There are two points of interest here : first, the object of the ceremony was to obtain fertility ; and, secondly, the bull was not really sacrificed, but commutation offerings were made at the shrine, and these were called "the oblations of the white bull."

With reference to the first point, we are told by Pliny that among the Druids white bulls were sacrificed to give fecundity to whatever animal was thought to be sterile.<sup>3</sup> The general object was to secure increase

<sup>1</sup> Superstitions relating to Lunacy, by Dr Mitchell, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Zacharias Bonifacio (A.D. 748):—"Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum, habentes et pollutum ministerium, ipsique adulteri esse inventi sunt, et defuncti.—(Sti. Bonifacii Opera, Giles, Lond. 1844, i. 169.)

<sup>3</sup> "Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore preparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit ; falce aurea demetit ; candido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum Deus prosperum faciat his quibus dedit. Fecunditatem eo poto dari cuiusque anima-

and prosperity. The removal of barrenness was a special part of this general object. The ceremony was the worship of a creative power—the giver of increase and the lord of generation.

With reference to the second point of interest, it is not surprising that the actual sacrifice of the bull should be rarely made. Such an offering would, as a rule, be too costly. Hence, probably, the offering in commutation, or as a substitute for the bull. What this offering was we are not told, but it was called *the oblation of the white bull*.<sup>1</sup>

At the Lemuralia there was a symbolic sacrifice of human figures made of rushes; and to cakes of flour and wax the shape of animals were given, and these were offered as symbolical sacrifices in place of the real animals, when these could not be procured, or when they were too expensive for the sacrifice.

All this suggests the question—Can the bull-stones be such offerings, either as *ex voto* or as substitutory sacrifices? Their great number, their small size, their shape and character, and the simplicity and uniformity of the sculpturing, point perhaps to an affirmative answer. So perhaps do the Mithraic look of the well, the fire worship of the clavier burners, and the knocking for children at the cradle stone. From one point of view all these things appear to be beads on one thread. I have endeavoured to add to the number of the beads by passing the string through the Dourie, and Torrytown, and Taurodunum. I do not affect, however, to answer the question. These are discursive vacation notes, and not an exhaustive research.<sup>2</sup>

lium sterili arbitrantur.”—(Monumenta Hist. Brit. p. civ., Ex Caio Plinio Secundo—Hist. Nat., lib. xvi. sect. 95 ed. Harduini, Paris, 1723.)

<sup>1</sup> In many places in Spain, and especially in the city of Truxillo, there is a fraternity who celebrate the festival of St Mark by leading in procession a tame bull, which, after certain prayers, is sprinkled with holy water and led to the church, and kneels before the altar while the service is being performed. In consequence of this, in some Spanish sculptures or paintings, St Luke with his appropriate bull has been mistaken by the common people for St Mark.—(Arch. vol. xxvi. pp. 221–2; De Ayala, Pictor Christianus Eruditus, Madrid, 1730, folio, p. 261.)

<sup>2</sup> That there was some place in the far north famous for the celebration of religious rites or mysteries, in which women took a part, we may perhaps infer from what is said by Dionysius Periegetes, who flourished at the end of the second or beginning of the third century. What follows is taken from a free translation of the Periegesis by Priscianus the grammarian, who lived in the sixth century:—“Nec spatium distant

## III. STRATHSPEY.

Carr Bridge, in Strathspey, where I halted for some time, was a well-known place in the old coaching days, though it is little heard of now. It is in that part of the parish of Duthil which is properly so called. The Garten range of hills, stretching from east to west, divides the parish into two parts,—one *to the north*, called *Duthil*, and the other *to the south*, called *Deshur*. The Dulnan River runs through the first, and the Spey forms a southern boundary to the second. The ecclesiastical establishments are now situated in Duthil; but Deshur once enjoyed equal privileges, the site of the old church being at a place now called both Chapel-town and Bail-an-chaibel. The name of no saint has kept hold of the place, and I found the burial-ground under crop.

1. FUARAN FIONNTAG—WELL OF VIRTUE.—There is a well close to the supposed site of the old chapel, still yielding a copious stream of deliciously pure and cold water. It goes by the name of *Fuaran Fionntag*, which may be translated into *the cool refreshing spring*. It is famed for its power of curing the toothache, and is the only well I know whose waters are supposed to possess this special healing quality. It is said that visits are still paid to it by those who suffer from this tormenting malady.

2. TOM PITLAC.—The nearest railway station to Carr Bridge is called Boat of Garten, and close to it there are the remains of an ancient stronghold called Tom Pitlac. It is situated on a high bank of the Spey—the side next the river being very steep—at one time so steep and so close to the water that it is said to have been customary to fish from one of the windows of the castle. Round the other three sides of the oblong plateau, on which the building stood, there is a moat about 8 feet deep. Nothing now remains of the structure but grass-covered lines, indicating the foundations. These, however, are sufficiently distinct to show that

*Nesidum litora longe: In quibus uxores Amnitum Bacchica sacra Concelebrant, hederae foliis tectaque corymbis, Oceani tranans hinc navibus æquor apertum Ad Thulem venies*" . . . . (Mon. Hist. Brit., p. xx.) What are the places or who are the people referred to here I cannot tell; nor do I know of any other allusion to a prominent part in religious ceremonies having been taken by the women of ancient Britain; but we are told,—“*Apud Græcos licet mulieribus sacrificium sacrificare.*” —(Confess. of Egbert, Thorpe *op. cit.* p. 163.)

the length of the ground-plan was about 70 feet. The width cannot be ascertained, as the side of the bank next the Spey has been considerably eroded.

3. BIGLA CUMIN, AND THE STORY OF THE HEN-TROUGH.—As already stated, the name of this stronghold is Tom Pitlac, which means the hill or castle of Bigla or Matilda. The whole country side is full of strange stories about this Bigla, who is remembered as the great lady of Strathspey, and who is, in fact, quite an historical personage, being the only child of Gilbert Cumin, Lord of the lands of Glenchearnach. He married a daughter of Macdonald of Clanranald, Lord of the Isles, and is commonly known as Gibbon More. Though in his time the Grants had already got possession of Freuchie, he was still a chieftain of power in Strathspey, and many of the oppressed from neighbouring districts sought his protection. These he adopted as clansmen by a somewhat profane ceremony of baptism. The font he used was the stone hen-trough, which stood near the castle door; and the Cumins so created were called Cuminich elach-nan-cearc, or Cumins of the hen-trough, to distinguish them from the Cumins of blue blood. So the story goes, and so, in all its essentials, is it told by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder;<sup>1</sup> but I fell upon it by actually hearing a boy, who had been adopted into a family of Grants, spoken of as a Grant of the hen-trough. The words, therefore—of the hen-trough—appear already to have acquired a broadened sense, and to be applicable to any one who has been incorporated into a family to which he does not belong by birth. It adds to the interest of this fact, that the man, who spoke of the boy I have alluded to as a Grant of the hen-trough, knew nothing whatever about the origin of the phrase.

Very curiously, and also very instructively, there is another story connected with Strathspey, which might have given rise to an epithet having exactly the same meaning.<sup>2</sup> According to Sir Walter Scott, the designa-

<sup>1</sup> Highland Rambles, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Edinburgh, 1853, vol. ii. p. 230. Sir Thomas makes the ceremony to have been performed at Kincherdie, and not at Tom Pitlac.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Anderson has furnished me with a very remarkable illustration of the way in which similar legends repeat themselves, if not rather of the possible transplanting of a legend to a district far removed from its real home. His note is as follows:—

tion of *the race of the trough* was given to some of the descendants of a

The story of John o' Groat's House, now a "household word," was first *written* by the Rev. Dr Morison in the first Statistical Account. He adds in a note that John Sutherland of Wester, from whom he received his information, had the particulars from his father, who said that he had seen the letter written by James IV. in the possession of George Groat of Wares. Thus the story is traced to a Groat whose disposition of his lands in Duncansbay and Latheron "with the *ferry-house*, ferry, and ferry-boats of Duncansbay," is dated 16th March 1715. Why the Groats should have come from Holland, and above all why they should have brought a *letter* with them from James IV., is not explicable. The statement that they purchased lands in Duncanstay is borne out by the inventories of the titles of the estates of Malcolm Groat of Wares preserved in Orkney, from which I think it is more likely they came originally. In 1496 John Grot received a charter of a ferry and land in Duncansbay from William St Clair, Earl of Caithness, dated at Girnigoe Castle 14th March. The inventory recounts thirty-three deeds to successive Groats, of which nineteen are to Groats of the prenomens *John*. In 1525 John Groat, presumably he who came over in James IV.'s time (1488-1513), and got the charter of 1496, was chamberlain and baillie to the Earl of Caithness. Hence he was an important man to begin with. But *the* John Groat who became the legendary John o' Groat, I think must have been John son of Finlay Groat, who in 1549 was infefted by the Earl of Caithness in "the ferry-house and ferry, and 20 feet round the ferry-house." So that the Groats were the ferrymen at least from 1549 to 1715; and as the prevailing name among them was *John*, there is no difficulty in seeing why this name should become well and widely known in connection with the locality where travellers left the mainland for the isles beyond. (See Calder's History of Caithness, where these deeds are noticed.)

As to the probability of the existence of the legend of the octagon house of John de Groat in the locality before it was *written* by Morison, it is remarkable that it is not mentioned by Pope of Reay, nor by Pennant who describes Duncansbay pretty minutely, and would have been sure to have picked up such a tellable story. I do not think it is to be found among Macfarlane's Collections in the Advocates' Library; but that might be worth looking into.

Then as to the origin of the eight-sided legend, the *only* old story of an eight-sided house is that provided for the Great Bardic Association of Ireland by Guaire son of Colman, King of Connaught, in the seventh century, which exists in the *Leabhar-na-Huidhri* and the Book of Leinster, written in the twelfth century, and is published from a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century in the fifth volume of the Transactions of the Ossianic Society. When Sennchon succeeded to the presidency of the Bardic Association, they resolved to visit King Guaire, and he "made a mansion for them which had eight sides to it and a door between every two sides; and there were eight first-class beds between every two doors, and a low bed beside every chief bed. The reason he made this arrangement was, that whosoever of those that occupied the beds, in case they should have a quarrel or strife and get out of them, he might find the lower bed ready for him. And he constructed eight fountains for these men and eight fountains for their women; for he did not wish that the water used in washing the

tribe of Farquharsons. The story, as he tells it in the "Tales of a Grandfather," is to the following effect :<sup>1</sup>—

The Laird of Grant was on one occasion dining at the Marquis of Huntly's Castle, and after dinner he saw all the remains of the feast thrown into a large swine trough. Then a hatch was opened and a huge mob of unwashed and almost unclothed children rushed out, and fell upon the food, fighting and clamouring for the largest share. The Laird asked an explanation of so strange a sight, and was told that these little wretches were the orphans of a tribe of Farquharsons on Dee Side, on whom he and the Marquis of Huntly had made a raid the year before, killing nearly every man and woman, and leaving the Marquis with 200 little children on his hands for whom he provided in the manner described. Greatly shocked, the Laird begged the children from the Marquis, took them to Castle Grant, dispersed them among his clan, and had them decently brought up, giving them his own name of Grant. Sir Walter says that their descendants are still called the Race of the Trough, to distinguish them from the families of the tribe into which they were adopted.

My attention was called to this version of the story by the Rev.

hands of the professors should touch the hands of the women, nor that the water of the hands of the women should be used in washing the hands of the professors; and feasts and banquets were ordered for their entertainment, and he sent messengers to invite them."

Here we have the octagonal arrangement as a provision against the danger of quarrelling,—the same idea as that embodied in the myth of John de Groat. This ancient legend, like other Fenian legends, was doubtless current in the north of Scotland, and must have got mixed up with some story of the Groats. The *proof* is not *quite* satisfactory, I must confess; but how otherwise are we to account for the two stories about the house with eight sides, and its purpose?

<sup>1</sup> Tales of a Grandfather, chap. xxxix. p. 398. In the second series of *Lectures on the Mountains, or the Highlands and Highlanders of Strathspey and Badenoch*, London, 1860, p. 115, the story is told very much as Sir Walter tells it. The author professes to have derived his information from an *old MS. history of the Grants*. He calls the race Slick-na-mar, or trough men, and says that those of the Farquharsons who remained in Huntly's land took the name of Gordon or of Saugster, and that some of those who were brought to Strathspey became M'Finlay Roys in Culehoich Beg, and M'Jameses in Inverallan parish. The story is also given in Sir Walter Scott's way in the *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*, Aberdeen, 1861, p. 50; but the author calls it "a total misrepresentation of the case."



William Forsyth of Abernethy, who, in writing to me regarding it, says of the Farquharsons who were brought to Strathspey—"They all took the name of Grant and settled in the county. Some of their descendants remain to this day, and are known as 'Sliochd an amair,' that is, 'The Race of the Trough.'"

It is quite possible, therefore, that in speaking of a *Grant of the Trough*, reference to one of these Grants might be intended. But the epithet, as I heard it used, was simply meant to tell me that the boy did not really belong to the family of which he was an adopted member. Either story, however, supplies an epithet which might readily come to have this meaning.<sup>1</sup>

There is a stone in the Duthil churchyard which might be, and I believe has been, taken for Gibbon More's hen-trough. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's informant said he had often seen the trough when a boy, that is, within the present century.<sup>2</sup> The Duthil stone referred to is generally called a baptismal font, but it might have been either a *knockin' stane* or a *hen-trough*. It is sunk into the ground close to the wall of the church. Its upper face is about 20 inches across each way, and the concavity is about 12 inches in diameter at the mouth, and about 5 inches at the bottom. This, I think, shows more tapering than is usual in a *knockin' stane*.

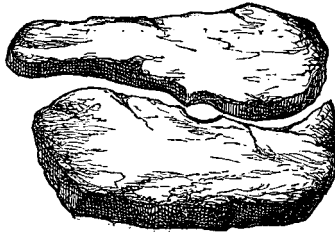
4. BIGLA'S KEY STONE.—After her father's death, about the year 1434 Bigla married Sir John Grant—"the fremyt Freuchie," as Gibbon More called him, and the race of Glenchearnach came thus to an end. It is said that she built the church at Duthil, and that she rode regularly over the Garten Hills to worship there. Somewhere on her route, as the story goes, she had a hiding-place for her keys, below or beside a great stone. Not one, of the many from whom I heard of this, gave a better reason for the hiding of her keys than that she carried them till she was tired and then hid them. The story had little interest, till one day, when walking

<sup>1</sup> The trough story of the Grants and Gordons, as told by Sir Walter, appears to start from the beginning of the seventeenth century; but Gibbon More lived about two centuries earlier. Whether both stories are fabrications, or both have a foundation in fact, or the one is a copy of the other, I cannot tell.

<sup>2</sup> Highland Rambles, vol. ii. p. 230.

through the woods which now cover the Garten Hills, my companion pointing to a stone, suddenly said, "There is the Clach-an-tuill-Pitlac, or The Stone of Bigla's Keys." I heard it often afterwards called Bigla's Key Stone, but the Gaelic name really means Bigla's Stone of the Hole. It is about 3 feet long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad, and is lying flat on the ground, broken lengthways into two. Near the centre there is a hole about 4 inches in diameter, not drilled straight through, but bored conically from both sides towards the centre. Fifteen years ago it is said to have been whole

Fig. 27.



and standing. Fig. 27 gives a rough representation of the stone. Why it was placed there, and why the hole was bored through it, I cannot tell; but if we had found it in Orkney, we should have been ready to conclude that the oath of Odin had at some time been sworn by those whose hands were clasped in the hole. Whatever its history may be, I think we may safely say

that only by accident does it now get the name of Bigla's Key Stone. And this suggests the question whether the present names of some other stones may not in like manner reveal some accident in their history rather than their true history or purpose..

5. BIGLA'S LOUPIN'-ON-STANE.—A little further on, as you cross the hill from the Dshur to the Duthil side, there is another stone to which the name of Bigla is attached. It is a great fragment of rock, and she is said to have used it as a *loupin'-on-stane* in her journeys to and from the kirk of Duthil. It is also said that on this stone she received the rents of her estate.

6. THE MIRACLE STONE OF THE SPEY.—I pass from the vestiges of Bigla Cumin to a thing of yesterday—linked, however, to an alleged occurrence several centuries ago. I have collected and given an account of many strange superstitions still existing in remote parts of Scotland, but I have recorded no such wonderful illustration of a living superstition

as that furnished by *The Miracle Stone of the Spey*, which was erected in 1865 close to the banks of the river, about 150 yards lower down than Tom Pitlac. The legend of the miracle, as it appeared in the "Inverness Courier"<sup>1</sup> is as follows:—

"In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a certain lady of the family of Mackintosh of Kylachy (a branch of the Mackintoshes of which the late Sir James Mackintosh was the representative, and the best it ever had) was married to one of the eighteen sons of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorum, and grandson of the first Laird of Grant. The laird gave Patrick the farm of Luirg, in Abernethy, as a marriage gift. After many years of domestic happiness Grant died, and was interred in the churchyard of Duthil, and soon after his lady followed him to the grave. The latter, on her deathbed, expressed a wish to be buried in the same tomb with her husband. Her friends represented the impossibility of complying with her desire as the River Spey could not be forded. 'Go you,' said she, 'to the water-side, and if you proceed to a certain spot (which she indicated,—a spot opposite the famous Tom Bitlac, the residence of the once famous Bitlac Cumming), a passage will be speedily effected.' On arriving at the river side, at the place pointed out, the waters were instantly divided, and the procession walked over on dry ground! The story goes on to say that the people, on observing an immense shoal of fish leaping and dancing in the dry bed of the stream, were tempted to try and capture some of the salmon which thus found themselves so suddenly out of their natural element; but the angry waters refused to countenance the unmerciful onslaught, and returned once more to their channel. That the men thus engaged should have escaped with their lives was considered almost as great a miracle as the former one, and on their coming out of the water Bitlac and her servants liberally supplied the company with bread and wine, and a 'Te Deum' was sung by the entire multitude for their miraculous deliverance from the perils of the waters. The funeral attendants continued their journey until they reached the summit of the rock immediately above the present farm of Gartenbeg. Here they rested, and erected a pole some thirty feet long, with a finger-board on the top pointing to the particular spot where the passage was accomplished. Not a vestige of this pole is now to be seen."

<sup>1</sup> April 1865.

This is the quietest and tamest of the many versions of the story which are in circulation. Its great defect is that it reveals nothing of the popular belief as to the character and habits of the woman; but it also wants consistency and is clearly inaccurate as regards dates and persons. For instance, it makes Bigla Cumin to have lived two centuries before she did; and there was assuredly no Grant of Tullochgorum with eighteen sons in the thirteenth century.

It makes the "certain woman" one of the Macintoshes of Kylachy, but other versions say she belonged to the Macintoshes only by marriage, her first husband being the Fear-Cyllachie, and her second the Fear-na-Luirgan. She appears, indeed, sometimes as a spinster, sometimes as once a wife, sometimes as twice, sometimes as a Strathdearn, and sometimes as a Duthil woman; now as having lived in the thirteenth, then in the fourteenth, then in the fifteenth, then in the sixteenth, then in the seventeenth century—most frequently, I think, in the sixteenth or seventeenth; sometimes as a Macintosh, sometimes as a Cumin, sometimes as a Macdonald, occasionally as a Grant, but generally as a *certain woman* without a name. I speak from what I myself heard. In short, the tradition has no fixed form, and the measure of its variations is exceedingly great. I was struck, however, by the fact that in nearly every version of the story there was some incident or bit of description which might be called picturesque or romantic, and some happy touch in the way of delineating character. Even in the method of telling the story there was usually an attempt at that art in which Highlanders often so greatly excel.

While in the district I put together the striking portions of all the versions which reached me, introducing details, as fully as possible, and carefully omitting nothing which related to character. It is unnecessary to give this version here. It makes the miracle a comparatively late event—not earlier than the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. It attempts to disclose the peculiar character of the woman's saintliness, and so helps to a right understanding of the action taken in regard to her by such persons as *the men* of Duthil. Perhaps, however, we need nothing more to help us in this than the knowledge of the fact that she is commonly known as HOLY MARY OF LUIRG.

The legend fell asleep till a small farmer at Stock, called William

Grant, some years before his death began to speak of erecting a stone to commemorate the miracle. This Grant was one of those religious leaders of the people who are known as *the men*,<sup>1</sup> and who have their stronghold in Sutherland and Ross-shire, though they have also been long a power in this particular parish. Grant of Slock was in the front rank of *the men*, and according to the belief of many was "gifted not only with the spirit of prophecy, but with that of second sight."<sup>2</sup> Some days before his death he is said to have expressed a desire that a monumental stone, which years before he had procured for the purpose, should be dressed and erected to commemorate and indicate the place of the dividing of the waters; and he instructed his followers to place on the stone a suitable inscription, both in English and Gaelic. He is also said to have predicted at the same time that two broom bushes would spring up on each side of the stone, and eventually cover it, and that it would be a day of trouble to Scotland when this took place.

Grant's followers faithfully carried out the instructions of their leader; and, on the 9th of March 1865, the stone was erected, an appropriate inscription to the following effect having been previously cut on it:—

"Erected at the request of the late William Grant Slock for a memorial of a signal manifestation of the divine power in dividing this water and causing a passage whereby the remains of a certain woman were carried over on dry ground."

In a loving spirit towards Slock's reputation as a prophet, which overrode their patriotism, they are said to have erected the stone between two growing broom bushes.

The ceremony of inauguration has been described as very solemn. It is said that, after devotional exercises, the tablet was consecrated, and dedicated in all time coming as a memorial of the miraculous passage of the Spey.<sup>2</sup>

It is right, however, to record that the ceremony is not always described

<sup>1</sup> *The Men* are written about and described in very different ways, as will be seen by consulting the New Stat. Accot. of Scot., Sutherland, p. 36, the Rev. Mr Auld's *Ministers and Men of the North*, and the Rev. Mr Kennedy's *Apostle of the North*.

<sup>2</sup> "Inverness Courier," April 1865, and "Scotsman," 21st April 1865.

as in every respect solemn. It is alleged, for instance, by some that the cart on which the stone was conveyed from Slock to Garten was old and rickety, and broke down by the way; that the horse, which was harnessed to it, was a frail beast not equal to its work, except under constant stimulation; and that the people followed the cart smoking their short black pipes.

Whether these things are wholly or partially true, or not true at all, it remains as certain that the erection of this memorial stone was seriously and earnestly gone about as a pious act.

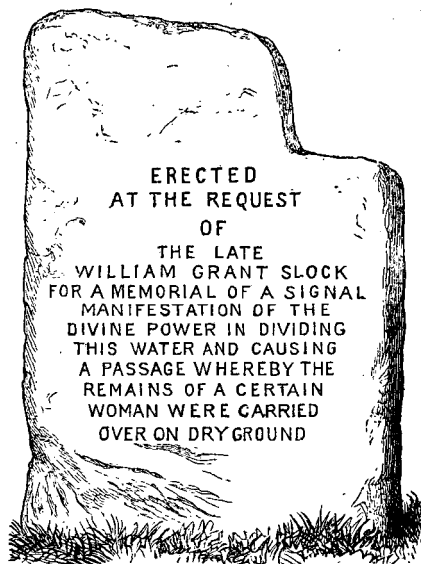
Luckily, in the very year of its erection (1865), I saw the stone, and then made the sketch of it which is given in fig. 28. Luckily, I say, for the stone is now no more. About two years after its erection, on the night of the 19th of February 1867, it was ruthlessly broken and cast into the river, where the fragments can still be seen when the water is low.

As might be expected, such a thing as the erection of this stone in Scotland, in the nineteenth century, attracted attention, and it was in many quarters freely spoken of as a disgrace to the parish. The outcome of this was a strong local anti-stone party, and a further outcome the destruction of the stone. Who the perpetrators of this sacrilege were no one as yet dare tell. The secret is well preserved, and the iconoclasts are only named as *certain persons*. I was told, however, that one man, suspected to have been of the party, was killed by an accident soon after; and it was beyond question meant that I should understand his death to have been a punishment from God. As a rule, neither the erection nor the destruction of the stone is lightly spoken of; and it appeared to me that condemnation of the monument was seldom quite fearless. The tongue seemed to be restrained by something of the nature of a superstitious awe, quite as much as by prudential considerations, though these were no doubt in operation. The Free Church minister who was in the parish in 1865 is said to have spoken honestly and somewhat strongly, though perhaps not altogether wisely, against the putting up of the stone. It is not thought that he added to his comfort by so doing. Very outspoken condemnation has come from the lips and pen of Mr James Cameron, farmer at Tullochgriban, and as yet, I am happy to say, he looks none the worse.

When the river is low, what remains of the stone can be got at, though with some difficulty. It is said that pieces are broken off and preserved as relics or charms. I am even assured that such fragments are to be found in various parts of the northern counties.

There is a story worth recording which I heard regarding the pole, which, as will be remembered,<sup>1</sup> was placed on the cairn erected at the top

Fig. 28.



of the Garten Hill by those who carried the remains of *Holy Mary* to her grave. My informant was a shrewd and intelligent man, and he vouched for the truth of what he told me as being within his own knowledge.

Fifty years ago and more, he and another boy were herding cattle near Gartonbeg. His companion, in frolic, pulled down the pole, and that afternoon became seriously and strangely ill. The doctor came, but could make nothing of the illness. The boy was then urged to tell

<sup>1</sup> See p. 677.

whether anything had happened to account for his alarming and puzzling condition. He went over all the events of the day, and at length mentioned the pulling down of the pole. The origin of his malady was at once suspected. He was carried to the cairn, and there in his presence the pole was replaced. From that moment his disease began to leave him, and he went home whole.

I happened to be inquiring into this legend about the time of the Paray le Monial pilgrimage, and I could not help seeing in Holy Mary a Duthil edition of Marguerite Marie Alacoque. The church set her seal on Marguerite's devotion, and recognised, proclaimed, and recommended it to the faithful. What else did the men of Duthil do but a like thing for another Marie? The journey to Garten with the miracle stone was in many respects a counterpart of the pilgrimage to Paray. Very different, it is true, was the ceremonial. Only the rough sons of industry formed the rude procession from Slock. There were no lords and ladies among them. No elegance—no polish—no refinement—no saying of the joyful and the sorrowful and the glorious mysteries of the Rosary—no repeating of paters, or of aves, or of litanies of the Sacred Heart—no singing of Magnificats or Te Deums attended the consecration on Speyside of the undressed miracle stone, with its vulgar inscription, as they did the consecration at Paray of the English people to the Sacred Heart. The two pilgrimages, however, were identical in one grand respect—they were both the result of earnest religious convictions. Rough though the proceedings were in the one case, and polished in the other, there was no difference between them when regarded as the result either of intellectual or emotional operations. The polish of the Paray ceremonial marked neither a higher order of intellect nor of religious emotion. It marked nothing but a higher general culture, not a higher nature or constitution. The absence of æstheticism and refinement at Duthil resulted from no inferiority either of intellectual powers, or moral qualities, or religious feelings. Those who put up the rude miracle stone on the Spey were the same people, and lived at the same time, and were under the influence of the same kind of religious belief, as the pilgrims to Paray.

Perhaps I should go further, and call to mind that they were the same people as their neighbours, who went neither to Garten nor to Paray. It would certainly be incorrect to regard them as inferior in mental power



to those living round about them, and I doubt if they ought to be considered as in reality more superstitious. Is it not true, to a greater extent than we would like to acknowledge, that all of us yield, in our different ways, to superstitious feelings, even at times when we are able to recognise their true nature?

6. THE CAIRNS OF DUTHIL.—It is a great leap from the discussion of a superstition to a description of cairns, but that leap I now take.

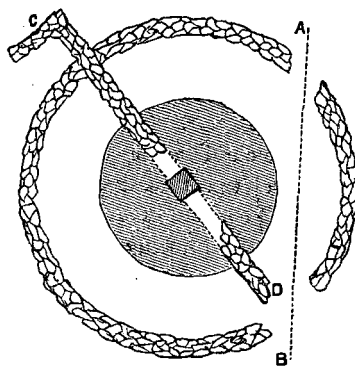
It was impossible to live for weeks at Carr Bridge and not see a considerable number of cairns. Close to it, indeed, there is a district called Docharn, which probably means the Davoch of the Cairns: I did not count the number of small cairns which are to be found on this and the adjoining farms, but I am certainly correct when I say that there are hundreds. The majority of them are small. There are three, however, of great size. The largest of these is at Tom-tigh-an-leighe—The hill of the house of the Doctor. There is a story that every father and mother of an illegitimate child in the parish was obliged to bring a great stone to this cairn, and that thus it was erected. If we believed this, we should be obliged to conclude that there must have been many births and few marriages in Duthil during the good old times.

The second in size of the three great cairns is on the top of a knoll in the wood, just above Dochlagie. It is 60 feet in diameter, and 9 to 10 feet high. With the assistance of some labourers I carefully examined this cairn, but I found no chamber or structure of any kind in its interior. I also ascertained that it was not bounded by anything like a wall or circle of stones. Running north from it, however, for about 40 feet, there is what I can most easily describe as a paved way, about 3 feet wide. The stones, however, of which this way is formed differ very greatly in size, and are merely laid on the ground and not sunk into it. At its remote end it appeared to bend a little to the east, and we thought that its other extremity entered for some distance into the body of the cairn itself, which, if a correct observation, is an interesting and peculiar feature.

Near the old house of Inverladnin, where Prince Charles once passed a night, there is a much smaller cairn. In this case too there exists a similar line of stones about the same width, running from east to west,

having its course through the cairn tolerably distinct, reappearing at the opposite side, and exhibiting at one extremity a bend, like that observed at the great cairn to which allusion has just been made. This is shown in the subjoined diagram (fig. 29), from which it will also be seen that this cairn is surrounded by a line of stones of the same character as that which seems to pass through the cairn. In the centre there is a well-formed short cist, with a huge stone covering it; and in this, when first opened, there were human remains, but these had been removed before my visit. The dotted line on the plan represents the position of a wire

Fig. 29.



fence, during the erection of which the ring was broken at A and B. It is difficult to say now whether the pathway (C D) really ended at D, or passed the circle where the fence cuts it at B. I speak here of C D as a pathway, but this is scarcely correct, for it much more resembles a long low flat heap of stones than a paved way. It looks, too, as if it had been made before the cairn, and as if the cairn had been erected over it.

What I have said of these cairns supports the idea that there is an anatomy of cairns,—that they are often constructed on a definite plan, and are not mere heaps of stones. Through Mr Anderson we all know the singular and well-marked characters of the Caithness cairns. These do not in the least resemble what I have been describing; but the

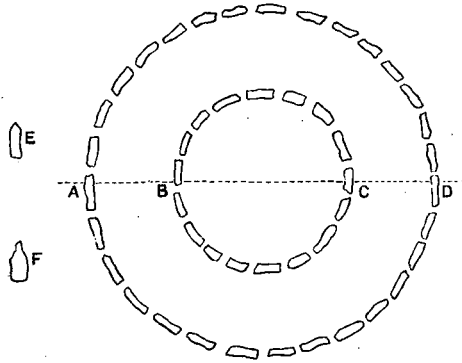
*character* apparently possessed by the Duthil Cairns renders it increasingly probable that cairns of different districts may possess distinctive characters.

There is another thought, which seemed ever present to my mind while I was living beside these great cairns and seeing them constantly. It was this, Do we not look too contemptuously on the people who erected them? Whoever they were, they built tombs for their great men, and over these raised vast and enduring monuments. A cairn, 70 feet across and 20 feet high, is no insignificant conception, nor is it an easy thing to erect such a cairn. They were not stupid savages who conceived and erected such memorials. In whatever light they regarded death they certainly treated their dead with respect, and thought greatness worthy of commemoration. If we are descended from them, as I hope we are, we have no reason, I think, to be ashamed of our ancestors, who, though uncivilised, were certainly not feeble. It is possible, indeed, that they were potentially as good men as we are. Even in numbers they can scarcely have been much behind us—that is, if we leave out of view our great cities. Looking, indeed, at the number and size of the cairns still remaining in this district, it seems to me that there must have been as great a population between the two Craigellachies in the cairn times as in ours. And if this be true of Strathspey, it is even more probably true of Caithness with its countless brochs, and cairns, and other evidences of an early occupation by a sturdy and numerous people.

7. THE GREINISH CIRCLE OR RING CAIRN.—The curious structure which I have next to notice, so far as I know, is unique in Scotland. I first saw it in October 1866, along with the Rev. William Forsyth of Abernethy. Since that time I have had several opportunities of visiting it. It lies in the Greinish wood, about five miles from Carr Bridge, on the way to Aviemore, on the west side of a small loch, called Loch na Carraghean. It consists of two great circles of standing stones—the outer circle being 60 and the inner 24 feet in diameter. It is thus a structure of great size. The stones forming the circles are about 3 feet above ground, and are close together. The space between the two circles is 18 feet wide, and it is filled to the level of the top of the standing stones which define it with loose stones, which are not large, are generally water-worn, and

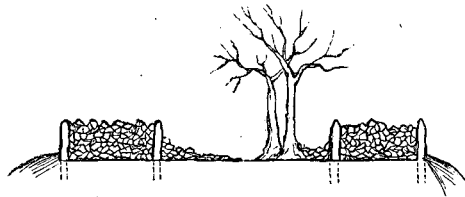
exhibit no sign of building. A plan of it and a section are given in figs. 30 and 31. These are taken from large drawings, in reducing which the space between the two circles has been made too small, and the diameter

Fig. 30.



of the inner circle too great. There are some reasons for thinking that at one time the loose stones between the circles were heaped up above the level of the boundary stones; and, if such were the case, the structure would become a sort of *ring cairn*.

Fig. 31.



I was informed that two circular-built chambers had once been found covered by the stones in the space between the circles, and that many

cists had also been found at various times in the same space. But I saw nothing to show that this had been the case.

There are two stones, formerly standing, but now prostrate, of considerable size (one 9 feet and the other 7 feet long) to the west of the circle in the position indicated by E and F on fig. 30.

About 35 paces to the south-west of the circle there is a small cairn ; and about 100 or 120 paces to the north-east there is another flat cairn, about 26 feet in diameter, and situated on a peninsula jutting into the lake. This last is surrounded by a circle of stones.

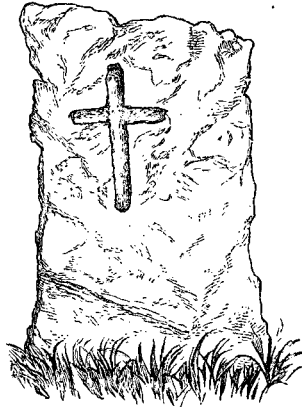
On the opposite, or east side, of the loch, in the wood, there are two circular grass-covered mounds—one 50 and the other 40 feet in diameter. On the same side of the loch three small cairns are also to be seen. Altogether there is abundant evidence that much importance must at one time have been attached to this spot,—the great and leading feature being the singular structure I have just described.

I do not waste time either in showing that it was not a broch or that it was something else. It is a huge erection, and must have been put up at a great cost of labour ; but for what purpose, I cannot even guess. The popular belief is that it was a place of worship ; and it is said that an innkeeper at Aviemore once took away from it some large stones, of which he stood in need, and that as the result he never after thrrove.

8. LAGGAN CUP STONE.—This has already been noticed at page 642. So far as I am aware, it is the first one discovered in Strathspey. Thanks to the science-loving farmers at Laggan, the sculpturing on it did not escape observation.

9. INVERALLAN CROSS.—This stone stands in the Inverallan churchyard, and must be known to many, but I do not think that it has ever been noticed. It is a rough, undressed slab with a Latin cross rudely cut on both sides.

Fig. 32.

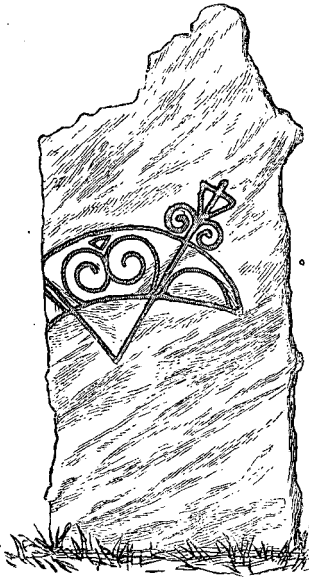


From its great simplicity and the absence of laboured art, it appears to me to exhibit the symbol of our Faith very impressively. I have endeavoured, though with poor success, to represent it in fig. 32.

10. THE LYNCHURN OR TULLOCHGORUM SYMBOL STONE.—This stone was brought under my notice by Mr David F. Ross, and I visited it along

with him and Mr Grant of Lynchurn. Mr Ross had previously sent me a sketch, so that I knew it to be one of Dr Stuart's symbol stones.

Fig. 33.



It was recently found in a field on the farm of Lynchurn, close to the Spey, and not far from the Boat of Garten; and Mr Grant was breaking it up for a lintel when he observed some sculpturing on it, and desisted. It was prostrate when found, but it is now standing near the spot where it was discovered. Unfortunately it had sustained considerable injury before the sculpturing was noticed. What remains of it is about 5 feet 10 inches long,—3 feet 10 inches being above ground and about 2 feet below. Its greatest width is 18 inches, and its average thickness about 10 inches. Fig. 33 is from a sketch I made on the spot. It is roughly to scale, and I think gives a tolerably accurate representation of the symbol.

The face of the stone is much weather-worn, and shows no other sculpture except that given in the sketch.

This is the fifth of these symbol stones which have recently been brought to notice in Strathspey,—two having been found at Congash, one at Finlarig, one at Freuchie, and one at Lynchurn. The two found at Finlarig and Freuchie I was fortunate enough to obtain for the Museum, where they now are. Four of the five have been figured by Dr Stuart.

The symbol on the Lynchurn stone is the well-known combination of the sceptre and crescent, and in its details there is no feature of special interest. Any uncertainty which may exist as to the character of the Corrachree stone (fig. 19) is entirely absent here.

11. CHURCH OF DUTHIL.—I conclude these notes with an extract from the Macfarlane MSS. (Advocate's Library), containing a reference to the old church of Duthil; and I do so because the allusion to the door of the old church with its ornamental hinges may possibly throw light on the origin of the curious piece of carving in fir-wood which was recently found in the house of Shillochan.

*Extract from the Macfarlane MSS., Geog. vol. iii. p. 272.*

“About the middle of the river standeth the kirk of Duthell, a large church, but a poor provision, as all the churches of this countrey of Strathspey have not exceeding 500 merks Scots for each minister, who serveth at two churches, and some of them having seven miles betwixt their kirks; and in the whole world there are not worse payed ministers and more neglected. The bands of the kirk doors are very rare, made after the manner of a tree casting out its branches, and covering the whole door, after the manner of needlework.”

The decoration of the old kirk door must have been somewhat unusual to have led to this special notice, and we may safely assume that the internal fittings of a church with such a door would not be destitute of ornamentation. A probability, therefore, arises that the carved work discovered at Shillochan may have once formed a part of an important pew in the old church. This probability is increased by the fact that good judges of carved work think it likely that it may have once served such a purpose.

I have to return my best thanks to Mr Joseph Anderson, Mr W. F. Skene, Dr James Macdonald, the Rev. George Davidson, the Rev. James Weir, the Rev. W. Forsyth, and Mr D. F. Ross, for their kindness in reading the whole or parts of these Notes *in proof*, and for many useful suggestions, tending to secure accuracy as to matters of fact.