

III.

NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT KIL OR BURYING-GROUND TERMED "CLADH BHILE," NEAR ELLARY, LOCH CAOLISPORT, SOUTH KNAPDALE.
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(PLATES II., III., IV.)

In the autumn of 1875, while on a tour in Knapdale, I visited the ancient burying-ground known as "Cladh Bhile." It is situated about midway down the western side of Loch Caolisport, at a height of over 200 feet above the sea-level, and nearly in the centre of the steep hillslopes immediately abutting upon this portion of the loch, between the Eilean-na-Bruachain at Ellary, and the Rudh-an-Tubhaidh.¹

There are no ecclesiastical remains connected with it, nor tradition of any. Close to the shore, a couple of miles nearer the head of the loch, at Cove, lies an interesting group of ruins, comprising a little chapel dedicated to St Columba, and the cave with its rudely-built altar and crosses carved in the living rock, which gives its name to the locality.

¹ In the Ordnance Survey map, the remains of a fort are indicated on the crest of the hill immediately above this burying-ground, but no notice is taken of the site itself, not even the usual B. G.

In marked contrast to that upon the eastern side, the western shore of Loch Caolisport is exceedingly rugged, seamed by water-courses, and broken up by rocky brows running into the sea; so that, until quite recently, the various localities on its margin were accessible chiefly from the higher ground above, traversed by the road between Kilmory-Knap and Auchahoish. The purchase of the estate by D. Fox Tarrat, Esq., has entirely altered the case. The little onstead of Ellary has given place to a spacious mansion, a private road being conducted to it at great expense close to the water-side. I state this to show that, although distances are not great, there may be no immediate connection between remains like those at Cove and Cladh Bhile. Even now the latter site lies in a trackless and sequestered spot, in the heart of an extensive wood, and could not be found except by some one acquainted with the locality.

At the date of my visit, although the surface still lay in its natural state, I found the site itself cleared from the dense growth of copse and underwood previously encumbering it. Scattered here and there without order of any kind, lay the incised stones to which I have this evening the honour of directing your attention; and I trust that, although not numerous, their antique character may render them not uninteresting. They are in all twelve in number, and range from the magnificent pillar stone or erect slab, No. 1, *a* and *b*, down to the half quern-stone, No. 12. None remain *in situ*, or erect, but they lie half-buried in the soil, or tossed about among tree-roots and stones of irregular shape and various sizes, exhibiting no trace of human handiwork.

Beyond these remnants, the only other indication of this place having been used for the purpose of interment is the evidence that, to a quadrangular outline, measuring over the boundary 120 feet from east to west and 80 feet from north to south, it has been at one time enclosed on all four sides. Like the cashel of the Irish cemeteries, this enclosure took probably the form of a dry-stone dyke. Its principal trace is a thickly-strewn belt of stones, about six feet broad, but some portions still remain partially intact, or mounded up under accumulated moss and soil. There can be, however, no possibility of mistake, as this enclosure forms the well-defined limit of the recent clearance.¹

¹ In the Proceedings of the Society, Capt. White states that this burial-ground is "without enclosures of any kind" (vol. x. p. 385; see also "Arch. Sketches in Knap-VOL. XII. PART I.

In contrast with the great majority of those in the West Highlands there is one curious peculiarity of this burial-place, to which I will only for the present allude, viz., that—as I think, with the exception of one or two indeterminable fragments, I shall be able, in every case, to prove—there is an entire absence of flat or recumbent slabs, sculptured or unsculptured, everything upon the ground that can in any way be ranked as memorials of the dead being exclusively pillar-stones, and intended not to lie flat upon the grave, but to be set upright either at its head or foot.

The burying-ground in question is locally termed “Cladh Bhile.” *Cladh* or *Cladh*, in its primary signification applicable to an artificially-constructed earthen mound, bank, or ditch,¹ is not only used in the Scottish Highlands as a general term for a place of burial, but constitutes not unfrequently part of the local designation.² Although of common occurrence as a place-name, Dr Reeves states that in the above sense “it is rarely used in Ireland.”³ O'Reilly's Dictionary gives *Cladh*, s.m., a grave, dike, ditch, bank, mound; and also *Cludh*, s.m., burying-ground; but I may remark, that even in the chapter on names commemorating “Monuments, Graves, and Cemeteries,”⁴ in his “Irish Names of Places,” the word is never once mentioned by Dr Joyce in this relation. It is quite otherwise with the term *Bhile*, or, in the nominative, *Bile*, a tree, a cluster of trees,—a word equally known in both dialects, but, owing to altered circumstances and social customs, finding its most striking illustrations in the original home of the Scoto-Celt. According to Dr Joyce, in Ireland “*Bile* was generally applied to a large tree, which, for any reason, was held in veneration by the people; for instance one under which their chiefs used to be inaugurated, or periodical games celebrated. Trees of this kind were regarded with intense reverence and dale,” p. 57). That there is no marked enclosure indicative of modern use or attention is true; but that it must have been carefully protected at some former period is evident.

¹ Cladh “generally means a raised dyke of clay, but sometimes a sunk ditch or fosse;” “an artificial mound, dyke, or rampart of any kind.” Vide Joyce's “Irish Names of Places,” p. 31, and 2d series, *sub*. “Artificial Works,” p. 214.

² In Iona alone, Dr Reeves enumerates four several sites to which the term is applied (Reeves' Adamnan, *sub*. Cemeteries in “Additional Notes,” pp. 417-419, and Explanation of Names in Map, p. 426); and a variety of other instances could be adduced, both from the mainland and western islands.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 426.

⁴ First Series, part iii. chap. iii.

affection; one of the greatest triumphs that a tribe could achieve over their enemies, was to cut down their inauguration tree, and no outrage was more keenly resented, or, when possible, visited with sharper retribution."¹ He adds: "These trees were pretty common in past times; some of them remain to this day, and are often called *Bell* trees, or *Bellow* trees, an echo of the old word *bile*."² In most cases, however, they have

¹ It was under these trees that the *Lia fail*, or Stone of destiny, pertaining to the tribe was placed—to break it up or carry it away being a necessary complement to the destruction of the tree. Dr Stuart suggests that Edward I. may have been actuated by analogous motives in carrying off the Scottish "Stone of destiny" from Scone (Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 104).

² To the archaeologist an interesting survival of this term as a place-name, and that which suggested its present application, occurs in connection with the old monastery of Magh-bile, in the county Down, founded by St Finian in the sixth century, and burnt by the Danes *circa* 824 or 825. The different terms used by the annalists in recording its destruction have supplied Dr Petrie, in the sub-sections of his Essay on the Round Towers, with interesting illustrations as to the *derthech* or oratory, and the *erdam* or porch (Ecc. Arch. of Ireland, pp. 340, 435).

The term *Magh-bile*, *i. e.*, "the plain of the old or ancient tree," occurs in various other localities in Ireland, but in all of them it is now modernised as "Moville;" *e. g.*, there is the monastery of *Magh-bile*, or *Domnach-bile*, founded by St Patrick, on the banks of Loch Foyle (Archdall's Monasticon Hib., p. 103), a district lying within sight of Loch Caolisport.

The following instances of the compound use of the term occurring in Dr Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," may be cited as additional illustrations: *Bile-chuais*, "the old tree of the *coos* or cave," modernised as Ballyhoos, in Clonfert, Galway, (p. 8). *Clochán-bile-teine*, "the stepping-stones of the fire-tree," so called "from a large tree which grew near the crossing, under which May-fires used to be lighted," (p. 209), modernised as Cloghaunnatiny, in the parish of Kilmurry, Clare. *Bile-teineadh*, "the old tree of the fire," is a name given by the Four Masters to a place identified by O'Donovan as being near Moynalty, in Meath, and "now called in Irish *Cuill-a'-bhile*, the wood of the *bile*, or old tree" Anglicised as Billywood (*Ibid.*). *Alt-a'-bhile*, "the glen-side of the old tree," modernised as Altavilla, in Limerick and Queen's County (p. 374). *Rinn-bhile*, "the point of the *bile* or ancient tree," modernised as Ringville (p. 393). *Tobar-bile*, "the well of the ancient tree"—"some wells" taking "their names from the picturesque old trees that overshadow them, and which are preserved by the people with great veneration,"—as at Toberbilly in Antrim, and Toberavilla in Westmeath (p. 436). *Garran-a'-bhile*, "the shrubbery of the ancient tree," situated in Tipperary (p. 482), modernised as Garnavilla. Similar instances occur in such combinations as *Gort-a'-bhile*, *Knock-a'-bhile*, *Achadh-a'-bhile*; and at Rathvilly, in Carlow, "one of these trees must have, at some former time, flourished on or near an ancient fort, for it is written by the annalists *Rath-bile*" (p. 483).

long since disappeared, but their names remain on many places to attest their former existence."¹

I think there can be little doubt, then, that this is the correct signification of the term, as applied to the old burying-ground under consideration; and when Captain White states that to the latter half of the name he was "unable to get any clue,"² all it amounts to is that, owing to lapse of time and change of circumstances, a name originally well understood and appropriate has gradually become quite archaic. There is nothing more common than for a place-name to be faithfully handed down over a lengthened period, even when the circumstances giving rise to it have been altogether forgotten. The locality is precisely one of those in which some venerable monarch of the wood may have for centuries braved the winter's storm. It has never been under cultivation at any time, and even now the only purpose to which it can be applied is that of growing timber or feeding sheep.

I will now proceed to describe the extant remains *seriatim*, as they are numbered consecutively on Plates II., III., and IV.

No. 1, *a.* and *b.*—This is not only the largest incised stone upon the ground, rivalling any of the sculptured slabs themselves in dimensions, but it may also well challenge comparison with them in the elaborate character of its ornament, and the minuteness and delicacy with which it is finished. Like most of the others, the material of which it is composed is the mica-schist so prevalent in the district. The extreme length is 6 feet 9 inches, the breadth at top 20½ inches, gradually tapering to 17½ inches toward the bottom. The average thickness of the undressed or lower portion is 4½ inches; in the upper part, where there are two dressed surfaces, it is reduced to 3½ inches. It appears also to have been rudely squared and shaped at the sides and top, which is gabled, and by accident perhaps, truncated at the point. In keeping with the geological character of the stone, the general surface presents a flaky appearance, with a constant tendency to assume circular shapes, owing to the irregular decay or exfoliation of the superficial laminae. All the prominent parts on the upper or more ornate, because exposed, side are flaked and weathered, not a little of the delicate ornamentation being obliterated, otherwise it is quite

¹ "Irish Names of Places," pp. 481-82.

² "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," p. 57.

perfect, and forms a most beautiful and unique example of its own particular class. When I first saw it, the stone lay embedded in the soil, with the enriched side upwards, undisturbed it may be from time immemorial. Convinced from the rough and undressed appearance of the lower portion, that it was not what at first sight it might easily be taken for—a recumbent slab—I requested my guide to assist me in turning it over. This with some difficulty we did, and, on clearing off the adhering soil, the large but rudely inscribed device, represented on No. 1. *b.*, made its appearance, proving at once that it was not a flag but a head or pillar-stone, and its true position vertical, and not horizontal.

The first thing in this slab that cannot fail to attract attention in contrast with all the other stones on the ground, is the purely ornate and carefully executed style of the incised work. In the others, the great object is the direct reproduction of the cross in a variety of forms, sometimes quite plain, at other times with such slight adornment as rather constitute specific varieties of this symbol than mere decoration. But on this particular stone, although the cross is undoubtedly represented, still it is kept quite subordinate to artistic effect. On the principal face, or more highly enriched side, the ornament is composed of two distinct designs, having no necessary connection beyond that of mere juxtaposition. The uppermost of these is contained within a circle 20 inches in diameter, extending to the extreme verge of the stone on either side. This circle is formed by two incised lines, slightly irregular in breadth, but averaging each say $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, and an inch over all, giving an internal diameter of 1 foot 6 inches. The space thus enclosed is up to its full limits occupied with a design so graceful, and in the distribution of its several parts so well composed and appropriate, that it seems rather a conventionalised transcript from nature, than the stereotyped reiteration of a mere symbol.

The design is composed of twelve radiating figures, and if the reference to a natural type were admitted, would represent six leaves, six flowers.

For the sake of illustration let us assume this to be the case. There are, then, first of all, six pointed lanceolate feuilles or leaves extending the full radius of the circle, and constituting depressions on the general surface of the stone, the sides of which depressions slope down with a very flat curve, until they meet in a central line. The intermediate spaces are filled in with six trumpet-shaped flowers, from a narrow attachment

gradually expanding with a curved outline, until the attenuated lips of the corolla on either side curve inwards upon themselves in two bold and decided spirals, the space between these spirals being filled in with an unattached double or C scroll. These floral figures are, like the leaves, formed by a well-marked depression, with this difference that the three sides all decline till they meet in a point.¹ Such are the simple, but gracefully combined features of the upper device. That beneath it is in its character more distinctly conventional and symbolic. Its basis is a Greek cross, about 16 inches either way, without any enclosing circle. The centre is marked by a small pit; from this the arms gradually expand in a triangular form as in the cross *pattée*, but rounded at the angles with a gently curved outline. A broad grooved V-sectioned line, doubled inter-

¹ As a source of enriched effect, these sinkings are often combined with incised work, down to the latest instances of its use. They may be either square-edged and equally reduced, or bevelled down to a V-section, mitring at the angles, and meeting in central lines, straight or curved, or points according to the shape of the depression. Most beautiful instances of this class of work occur in Scotland, not *per se*, but in cases where, to give greater variety, incised work is used in combination with carved work, often in high relief. Two very fine examples, one of them, unfortunately, only a fragment, are represented in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (vol. i. pl. xxv. and pl. xxvi-xxvii.). They are both pillar-stones, and their original sites about one mile apart. The first is at Hilton of Cadboll. The stone has been fractured in the centre of the incised panel, but what remains of the panel is filled with a combination of spiral and crescentic forms, and the interstices filled in with square-edged sinkings, generally developed from the incised lines themselves. The neighbouring stone from Shandwick is of precisely the same character, a panel about 2 feet 9 inches square, and happily complete, being entirely filled with a similar design, some of the sinkings being independent, others developed from the lines. Additional instances occur on the Maiden Stone at the Chapel of Garioch ("Sc. Stones," vol. i. pl. ii. No. 2), the Abbotsford Cross (pl. xcix.), and also on the lower part of the cross at Kiels (*ibid.* vol. ii. pl. xxxii.), and on the fragments at Iona (pl. xlv. and xlvi. No. 3.), stated by Dr Stuart to be "of early design and most elaborate execution." (Notices of the plates p. 27.)

The same peculiarities, in connection with an equally advanced style of work, occur on the highly ornate crosses at Kilkispeen, co. Kilkenny, figured in O'Neill's "Sculp. Crosses of Ancient Ireland" (pl. iv-ix.). A large amount of the ornament, upon them is *incised*, or, as the author puts it, "sunk below the general surface" (p. 2), the sinkings, where they are other than lines, having precisely the same bevelled section terminating triangularly in a point, or forming a continuous line straight or curved, as is noted above. See especially the plate of details (pl. viii.) where the ornament is given to a scale of one-fourth of the full size.

nally at each extremity, forms the outline, and the centre is filled in with a triangular depression precisely similar to those in the device above. The spaces between the arms are filled in with delicately incised double or \mathcal{E} scrolls, but in general so much weathered and worn down, that the full design cannot be traced. All the incisions upon this face of the stone are cleanly and well cut, with an entire absence of tool marks. There are no sharp or hard lines, but all is soft and rounded; even the depressions are carried down to a curved section, and the work is finished throughout with the greatest care.¹

¹ From the general character of the design, and especially the preference evinced for the use of spiral lines, the first impression is that the ornament in question presents an affinity to Irish rather than to the usual West Highland types; and the cross at Kiels, or St Martin's in Iona, are naturally reverted to as instances on which to base a possible analogy. It requires, however, but little reflection to be convinced that the work before us differs materially from such examples or their Irish prototypes, representing rather a style, or *phase* of a style, which, if rare in Scotland, is by no means common in Ireland. Even in it, viewed topographically, and still more historically, there is great diversity of style; and if the examples just cited are old, that is no reason why the stones in question should not be older still, or at least represent an earlier and more initial stage in the progress of Celtic art. It is true that in one sense all spirals are very much alike, and form at once the result and the embodiment of the same principles, whether they occur upon the tattooed skin of the New Zealander, or upon the volutes of the Erechtheium at Athens. Still there are spirals and spirals, and to compare the simple incised forms presented upon this slab with those highly intricate combinations of lines, which, like the swirling eddies of a whirlpool, diverge and converge either round about, or actually upon the convex surface of a series of bosses carved in bold relief, would be as great an error as to place the early products of an art alongside those of its highest perfection. Setting, then, types like these aside as too advanced, if we fall back on Ireland as the cradle of Celtic art, and look rather to the spirit of a style than to the varied forms in which that spirit can be expressed, then, among her earliest lithic monuments of the Christian age, not a few instances do occur where the analogy is too close to be merely accidental. Among other things, I take the mode of using the spiral, that marked feature in Celtic art, to be a crucial test. Wherever employed, in illuminated MSS., in metal work, or on stone, the great and ultimate aim was intricacy, lines running off in different directions and terminating in elaborate knots or ganglii, out of which other lines run, and so covering, it may be, a large surface with involved and ever-varying repetitions of the one idea. Easily produced with the pen or the graver, nothing could be more difficult when attempted on stone, and only by great and long-continued practice could the art have attained its ultimate perfection. Between this Scottish example, then, and those to which I refer in Ireland, there exists this marked analogy. They exhibit a tendency to the use of the spiral, but only in its simplest

The incised ornament on the principal face having occupied so much attention, a brief description must suffice for the reverse side.

and most rudimentary forms, and with no attempt at combination that is not equally simple. They might, indeed, be direct imitations of such forms as are daily presented in nature, for there is little about them that is conventional, and nothing intricate. With this, other points of analogy concur, but these will be best understood by the citation of particular instances. The first I shall adduce are from Kerry. Two of these are given in the recently published "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language" (vol. ii. figs. 5, 8, notices of plates, pp. 5, 6). The first is at Cell-Finten, now Kilfountain. It is a pillar-stone, situated in the ancient, but now disused cemetery, attached to the ruined church of St. Finten, whose name appears prominently inscribed upon the stone, with an undeciphered Ogham. On the upper part, within a circle 7 inches or 8 inches in diameter, a plain *sunk* cross is formed, the arms expanding but slightly rounded or bulbous at the extremities. Beneath this is a double scroll, pronounced by Miss Stokes to be "one of the oldest examples of the divergent spiral design or trumpet pattern yet found incised on stone." ("Christ. Inscip." vol. ii. p. 5). The lines forming this scroll expand as they approach the circle, so as to enclose a broad triangular sinking, the sides of which run to a point precisely in the same manner as do ten out of the sixteen sinkings in the Cladh Bhile stone. From the top of the circle a vertical line runs up, branching off on either side in a single \mathcal{E} scroll. The second is also a pillar-stone, from the now disused burial ground at Reask. It is larger in its dimensions than that at Cell-Finten, and although simple in its general outlines, the space on the surface of the stone occupied by the design extends to about 5 feet by 1 foot 8 inches. Within a circle 1 foot 9 inches in diameter, a plain *sunk* cross is formed, differing from No. I. *b.* only in two things, viz., the centre being cut out and so the limbs connected, and at the extremities, instead of being cleared to the circumscribing circle, segments are left; otherwise allowing for 3 inches of difference in point of size, the one cross is the precise duplicate of the other. The remaining part of the design is a series of repeating spirals almost as simple as the wave ornament of the Greeks, varied in their dimensions and symmetrically arranged on either side of a vertical line, ultimately terminating in a double scroll like that upon the Finten stone. Another of these incised stones is given in the Memorials of Adare, by Lord Dunraven. There is some linear-interlaced knot-work of simple character, but the most peculiar feature is the *sunk* cross, produced in exactly the same manner as in the two stones just referred to and the Cladh Bhile stone No. I. *b.* The careful woodcut by O. Jewitt shows that this sinking presents the same pitted or dabbed appearance as do so many of the stones at Cladh Bhile. The probable date of these stones must be to a great extent matter of conjecture. That they are early, even in relation to the growth and progress of Christian art in Ireland, there can be no doubt. In a letter to the Earl of Dunraven, Dr Petrie states: "With reference to the antiquity of your incised Kerry Crosses, I do not know what I can add to the simple expression of my opinion, that I consider them unquestionably of the fifth, or at the latest sixth, century." ("Memorials of Adare," p. 153). In addition to those just given, many other instances might

With respect to execution, indeed, the contrast is very marked. What design exists is brought out by bold, square-edged, roughly outlined sinkings, and at first sight it appears doubtful whether it is to the sinkings or to the parts in relief attention should be directed, *i.e.*, whether the carver intended to represent a cross-saltire, or a Greek cross. On turning, however, to the carefully executed cross on the principal face, it becomes evident that both are meant to express the same idea, the one being merely a rudely executed repetition of the other.¹ There is the

be adduced from the earliest class of Christian memorials in Ireland, where the same principles apply, especially in the use of the simple involuted spiral, *e.g.*, there is the *Cros-na-Trinide* at Inismurray ("Christ. Inscip." vol. ii. p. 14). The same feature also occurs as a favourite terminal to the limbs of crosses formed of single incised lines, *e.g.* the *Abecedarium* pillar-stone at Kilmalkedar, (*ibid.* fig. 9), the "Cross of the Women," Inismurray (*ibid.* fig. 20), and the cross on the lower part of the pillar-stone at Kilnasgart (*ibid.* fig. 38). Although the ornament upon the Irish examples just cited is much less elaborate than that upon the slab at Cladh Bhile, the approximation of style between them is, I think, very marked, and the points of agreement may be classed as follows:—1. They are all pillar-stones, and situated in ancient, and now disused, cemeteries. 2. The ornament is all *incised*, the design chiefly *linear*, with no carving or sculpture in relief. 3. There is a marked tendency to the use of simple involuted forms, as distinct from the later elaborate and highly intricate spiral. 4. There is the same tendency to combine with the ornament, broad, well-defined sinkings, either square-edged or bevelled down till they terminate in a central line, or, when the sinking is triangular—as in the Cell Finten and Cladh Bhile stones—in a point. In the Cladh Bhile stone, there are sixteen of these sinkings, *viz.*, ten triangular in form and so converging, and six elongated, with the sides sloping downwards to a central line, while in the Finten stone there is but one sinking, also triangular in outline and converging to a point, but the analogy is too marked and characteristic for the coincidence to be merely accidental. Such sinkings very rarely occur in advanced Celtic work in relievo, the principle being that the ornamentation of whatever character or varying degrees of relief rises out of one normal plane. 5. The form of the crosses are precisely analogous, being equal-armed and expanding, as in the Greek or Maltese cross, at Cladh Bhile this characteristic being maintained even when there is no enclosing circle. 6. These crosses may either be expressed by incised lines, *i.e.*, in outline, or by an entire excision of the stone to a certain depth equivalent to relief, with this distinction, that like the rest of the incised work it is still the cross, *i.e.*, the design, which is sunk, while the intermediate spaces remain intact and in relief, these sinkings being also square-edged, and, in so far as can be judged from drawings, of the same rude, simple, and imperfect character.

¹ The dubiety arises from the failure to connect the sinkings, as is usually done by clearing out the centre also. In the ornate cross this is unnecessary, because there the parts in relief form as important an element in the device as the depressions.

little pit in the centre, with the centre itself and the intermediate spaces remaining intact, but instead of the triangular sinkings and raised lines which give an ornamental character to the limbs of the cross, the surface is cut down to one uniform level, and a circumscribing circle 18 inches in diameter run round the entire figure.

It is essential to notice, that although on this side of the slab, the cross is brought out not by linear incisions, but by an entire excision of the stone to a certain depth, still, as in intaglio, it is the device itself which is sunk, and not the intermediate spaces, being in this respect the exact converse of relievo.

I may also remark that the surface of the stone is tooled for about 9 inches below the circle, the remainder being left quite rough as on the other side.

No. 2, *a* and *b*.—This is evidently the shattered remnant of a stone of considerable size; it is in two pieces, and from the sharpness of the various ragged edges, and perfect fit of the small piece on the left, I fear that the fracture has been the result of comparatively recent violence. By putting the two pieces together it forms a mass of very irregular outline, 2 feet 7 inches long, by 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. It is inscribed on both sides, and happily the design seems to be complete. On the principal face, by means of a slight sinking $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad, a circle is described 15 inches in diameter; within this another circle is formed by a raised margin being left, varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 inch in breadth, leaving an internal space 1 foot in diameter, within which is formed in relief a plain equal-armed cross, the arms varying from 3 inches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The crossing of the arms is distinguished by four small circular pits $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, placed towards the several angles. The cross itself is cantoned between four circular pellets from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 2 inches diameter. At the top and just outside the circle, there is also a small Greek cross, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches either way. The chief peculiarity, however, lies not so much in the general design, as in the extreme lowness of the relief given to it, and in the manner of its execution. The depressed

The discrepancy is curious, as showing that, being on the same principle, in all likelihood both were carved by the same man, but at the same time he failed to perceive that what was right to do in the one case, viz., to leave the centre intact, was decidedly inappropriate in the other.

surfaces are all pitted or dabbled, as if produced by repeated blows from a pointed tool vertically delivered, and so the removal of the superficial laminæ effected, but to an extent just sufficient to show the design. This slightness of relief on the principal face becomes all the more curious when we turn to the reverse side and find there, the one planted within the other, a double cross sharply and well cut, to a bold rounded section. Both these crosses are equal-armed, the external one measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches either way, with arms $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, the incised lines measuring about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in breadth; the internal one, formed by two single lines varying from $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in breadth, their extreme length being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches vertical by 6 inches horizontal. They are rounded at the extremities, and so contracted at the centre that the horizontal bar is discontinuous.¹

No. 3, *a* and *b*.—This is a pillar-stone of unmistakable character, 3 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the upper part, and tapering to 6 inches at the bottom. The greatest thickness is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, thinning off toward either end. The principal face shows two crosses in relief, one above the other. The uppermost, a Latin cross, is $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 inches, the limbs 3 inches broad, with deep circular indentations at the axillæ, sunk $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The cross stands on a rudely-formed Calvary, and the reduced surface is semicircled at the top. The cross below is much smaller. It is equal-armed, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches either way, the limbs broad in proportion to their length, varying from 2 to 3 inches. It also stands on a kind of stepped Calvary, but like all the other sculpturings in relief, as distinct from the incised work at this burial-ground, the execution of these two crosses is exceedingly rude, and, owing to the schistose character of the stone, they are much exfoliated and weathered. At the very top of the stone, on the reverse side, is a small equal-armed

¹ A double cross, very similar to this one, enclosed in a circle, and incised on what has evidently been a pillar-stone, is figured in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. i. 2nd ser. p. 275). It occurs in the old burying-ground close to Killyleigh Castle, co. Down. The writer of the notice describes it as "a small and very curiously-shaped slab . . . different both in shape and design from anything that I have seen."

In the same plate a slab from the burying-ground at Glen Columbkille, co. Donegal, is also figured; it is precisely similar to the other, differing only in this, that the two crosses—contained and containing—are both crosses potent.

cross, formed by two well incised lines, each about $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch broad, and rounded at the extremities.

No. 4, *a* and *b*.—In its general proportions this stone is precisely similar to the last. It is 4 feet long, 7 inches broad at the top, gradually expanding to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the centre, whence it tapers again to 8 inches at the bottom, and averages $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The incisions occur only on one face, but on the right edge of the stone there is a boldly cut cross, formed of two lines half an inch broad, the vertical one being 6 inches, and the transverse $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The distance from the top of the stone to the centre of the cross is one foot. The incisions on the principal face are equally well cut. They are peculiar in their character, although unfortunately, in parts, very much scaled away. At the top a cross is formed by two deeply-cut bisecting lines, each half an inch broad, the vertical line being about 13 inches long, and the transverse 9 inches, or the full breadth of the stone. These lines terminate in triangles in the upper limbs, the incisions increasing in depth as well as width, and opening right out upon the sides and top. Although the surface of the stone is at this part considerably wasted, the centre of the cross or point where the lines bisect also shows decided indications of having been angled off in keeping with this mode of termination.¹ In the quarterings four pellets are introduced, fully an inch in diameter, and surrounded with a boldly-incised line. The most peculiar feature, however, is the manner in which the upper arm of the cross

¹ There are three favourite modes of terminating the limbs of the cross frequently employed in Ireland, and through all changes of style, from the simplest incised lines to the most elaborate ornament, each retains its own distinctive character. These are, the triangle, the semicircle, and the square. For leading examples in all these phases, *vide* Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language." In vol ii. fig. 71, a very curious instance occurs of all three terminals being designedly exemplified on one slab, *viz.*, the triangle in the interlaced knotwork of the principal cross, and the square and the semicircle in the smaller crosses in the upper quarterings.

In Scotland the triangular terminal occurs on two headstones at Millport ("Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol ii. pl. lxxiv. Nos. 2 and 8), and on the otherwise severely simple cross incised on the pillar-stone over the well at Kilmory-Oib ("Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xlvi. fig. 1), referred to by the author at p. 103 as "an unusual triangular-shaped head, which is new to me."

The diamonded centre is also a characteristic feature, either in combination with the triangle or otherwise.

finishes. From near the centre of the arm two diagonal lines of the same breadth and depth as the others strike outwards for $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and then return nearly at a right angle, until they unite with the triangular termination and so form a diamond-shaped figure, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 inches.

Lower down, upon the same face, there is a cross saltire, formed by two deep, well cut lines, fully 11 inches in length. The breadths vary, averaging, say half an inch. The cross is cantoned between four rudely cut, equal-armed crosses, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches either way, the lines about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in breadth, and, like those on the cross saltire, all the extremities are rounded.

No. 5, *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.—Although one of the smallest, this is at the same time one of the most interesting stones upon the ground, owing to its being inscribed not on two, but on all four sides. The natural form of the stone itself favours this multiplicity of incisions. It is a rectangular block, slightly rounded at the angles, and tapering off at the end by which it was evidently inserted in the earth. Except the incisions there is no trace of tool-marks or dressing of any kind. It is 1 foot 4 inches in extreme length, by 6 inches square on the sides. On the face *a*, the surface of the stone, especially toward the upper part, is now very much chipped and weathered, and the markings are consequently very indistinct. There has undoubtedly been a cross of some form or other upon it, but the under part alone remains perfect. The shaft is extremely short, and sarcelled or voided at the foot. On the left side there is a diagonal line of slightly elliptical form, sharpened at the ends, and pointing to the centre of the cross.

Face *b*.—This side is very perfect. It is inscribed with a double-barred cross formed of single lines, from half an inch to five-eighths broad, and presents a close resemblance to the form of cross known as "patriarchal," the use of which is restricted in the Romish Church to cardinals and archbishops, with this distinction, that in the cross patriarchal the shorter bar, as emblematic of the title, is placed above and not below the transom. The shaft is 7 inches in length, the transom 5 inches, and the short bar, which may represent the *suppedaneum* or support for the body of the crucified, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.¹ In addition to this,

¹ This bar, placed below the transom, forms another mark of affinity with Irish work. In allusion to this feature, a writer in the "Arch. Cambrensis" (vol. 1870) p. 108.

however, there is a vertical line on each side of the cross; that on the right, nearly 9 inches in length and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch from the central line; the other nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch from the central line, thus cutting both of the transverse bars, while the first cuts the upper one only.

Face *c*.—Like *a*, the surface is very much worn and weathered, and the incisions are very rude and undecipherable. There seems to be at the top a horizontal line, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which cross two irregularly disposed vertical lines $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches long. There are also two diagonal lines similar to that on face *a*.

Face *d*.—Like face *b* this side is very perfect, and the surface smooth and flat. It carries a deeply incised and well graven Latin cross, 9 inches in length, of a stiletto or dagger form. The transverse bar is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and half an inch broad, and rounded at the ends. The upper arm is also rounded, and the same breadth at the top, but contracting as it approaches the centre. The shaft proper, or what would be the blade of the dagger, is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch broad at the top, gradually running out to a fine point.

No. 6, *a* and *b*.—A small slab of micaceous schist, incised on both sides, 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in extreme length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the top by $7\frac{1}{2}$ at the bottom, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

On the face *a* there is a double cross, the one planted in the centre of the other. The first is equal-armed, and formed of two single cross lines 3 inches in length. The containing cross is 9 inches in length, of the Latin form, the arms averaging about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. Beneath

states:—"A curious variety, which seems to belong to this period [ninth century], is found very often in the islands off the west coast of Ireland. It has two, and sometimes three arms; the widest being at the top, instead of the bottom as in the papal cross and the patriarchal cross of the Holy Sepulchre." Examples occur in the "Christian Inscrip." vol. ii. fig. 20, the "Cross of the Women" at Inismurray, figs. 27 and 30, both from St Breacan's, Aranmor. Below the transom of the relieved cross on the pillar-stone at Kilmory-Oib, there is apparently a similar bar, terminating in dilated or bulbous extremities ("Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xlvi. fig. 2), stated at p. 103 to be a "pair of leaves branching from the shaft." In the "Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. lxxviii. No. 7, a cross so double-barred, incised in single lines and combined with the shears, is given from the burying-ground at Balquhidder.

the transom are two circular pellets, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, planted in squares. The incised lines generally are irregular in breadth, and the execution rude. But the most peculiar feature of this cross is the manner in which the elongated lines of the shaft terminate. They are turned outward on either side, in the form of a bold and decided scroll or spiral.¹ On the face *b* there is a Latin cross, 1 foot long by 8 inches across the arms; the several limbs 3 inches in breadth, and the shaft tapering slightly toward the foot, where it is sarcelled or voided. In the centre of the crossing there is a small pit $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, and in the upper quarterings two pellets $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, giving a full breadth across of $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

No. 7.—A small irregular-shaped stone, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by about 9 inches in breadth and thickness at the top, gradually tapering to the lower extremity. It presents one smooth face, of an elongated triangular form, and upon it is incised a well-defined Latin cross, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches in vertical length, by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad; the transom 8 inches long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad. The incised lines are from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad, running out at the extremities of the transom, so as to utilise the full breadth of the stone, and giving a bold, simple outline, in perfect preservation. The most striking peculiarity lies in the termination of the shaft. It is tapered to a point, as in the form well known to heraldry—the cross fitchée. Notwithstanding the extensive familiarity which the use of this form of cross in connection with pilgrimages must

¹ Like most of the other specialities in these crosses, this must by no means be viewed as a mere vagary on the part of the carver. On a slab at Clonmacnois, attributed to the seventh century, the shaft of the cross is terminated in exactly the same manner ("Christ. Inscip." vol. i. fig. 6); and upon another slab at the same place, probably of the ninth century, in the shaft of a double-lined cross, the internal lines run down and terminate in the triangular form characterising the cross fitchée; while the external lines are turned off on either side precisely as in this stone at Cladh Bhile (*ibid.* fig. 92).

When the cross was afterwards adopted as a heraldic emblem, these variations acquired a well-defined and permanent character, the scroll in question being transmuted into the cross molined, or anchored; for, in the quaint but graphic language of one of our oldest books on heraldry, "Certen we haue a crosse whyche is callyd a crosse tornyd agayn, and this crosse is callyd retornyd: for the cause y^t thendes of this crosse on euery syde are retorned agayn by the manere of a ramys horne" ("The Book of St. Albans," *sub* "Blasyng of Armes," Hazlewood's Reprint, 1810, of Wynkyn de Worde's ed. 1496, *rev.* a. iiii.).

have induced, its occurrence is very rare indeed on the incised or sculptured stones of Scotland. It is, however, by no means infrequent in Ireland; and in the "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," nearly a dozen instances, ranging from the eighth century downward, are given from different localities, and in a variety of interesting combinations.¹

From instances such as these it is evident that the cross fitchée dates from a period long anterior to its use as a heraldic emblem. At the same time, it was undoubtedly one of the earliest varieties of the cross so employed. In the early heraldic work already quoted, the following quaint description of it occurs in connection with the crosses pattee and fleury:—

"Of a crosse patent fixibyll. This crosse patent is made dyuers in the fote of the same as it aperyth here, and thene it is called a crosse patent fixible. For in thende suche a crosse maye be pitched in y^e whiche crosse thre of y^e hyer partes are open in the corners and broder than in the myddes, and his fote is dysposed to pytche in therth. . . . And knowe y^e y^t there be many crosses the whiche may be made fixible, as it shall be shewed here folowynge in dyuersly.²

"Of a crosse flurry. This crosse flurry somtyme is borne in armes fixabyll. And thende is called in armes a crosse flurry fixabll; for in thre of his endes he is florysshynge, and ye fote pitchablyl or fixabyll."³

No. 8.—This is a fragment very irregular and ragged in outline, 1 foot 9 inches long by 10 inches broad and 2 inches thick. It is incised upon one face only. The design has been a well-proportioned Latin cross, about 13 inches long by $8\frac{1}{4}$ over the arms, which are 3 inches in breadth, while the shaft is only $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; it is also sarcelled or open at the foot. The lines generally are half an inch broad, and barely $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch deep, with a slightly rounded section, and present the appearance having been formed by means of a small pick, or sharp-pointed tool.

¹ *Vide* vol. i. figs. 14, 18, 56, 59 (a plain Latin cross, of approximately the same size as the above, but more graceful in its proportions. It is curious that here also the transverse arms are shown as being appreciably narrower than the shaft), 89, 92; vol. ii. 30, 36, &c.

² "Book of St. Albans," *sub* "Blasyng of Armes," aij.

³ *Ibid.* aiiij.

No. 9.—This is an irregularly outlined block of micaceous schist 1 foot 9 inches long by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 2 inches thick, quite rough and undressed. It is incised only upon one face, with a double-barred cross, but it is difficult to tell whether the stone is complete or not. The cross itself, or what part of it remains, is $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, the transom 7 inches, and the short bar $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Owing to the exfoliation of the stone, the shaft is very irregular in width, and may range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the one extremity to $\frac{1}{4}$ at the other, and about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch deep, the bars being half an inch broad. In the quarterings are four little pits, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter.

No. 10.—This is a large fragmentary slab of the usual micaceous schist, quite shapeless and irregular in its outlines. Its dimensions are 1 foot 11 inches in length by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The surfaces are quite undressed, and there would be nothing about it to attract attention save for the deeply marked and peculiar incisions which occur upon one of its faces. They evidently form part of a design, of which the major portion has been lost. I cannot give a better idea of what it may probably have been than by referring to the cross or pillar-stone at Millport,¹ so timeously rescued from the destruction which befell the stone coffin found with it. A prominent feature on both sides of this stone is a hexagon, enclosed in a circle. The circles themselves, and the segmental ellipses hexagonally dividing them, are formed by incised *lines*, but the hexafoils radiating from the centre are in each case formed by deeply incised *sinkings*. If we suppose an entire absence of the enclosing circle, or any incised lines whatever, and that in their stead between the points of the radiating foils similar elliptical *sinkings* be placed, then we shall have a design precisely similar to that of which *apparently* this stone at Cladh Bhile presents a portion.²

If this idea be correct, the completed figure would be a hexafoil at least

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. lxxiv. No. 2, and Notices of the Plates, p. 37.

² The Skeith Stone at Kilrenny, Fifeshire, shows eight complete foils enclosed within a circle, produced in the same way ("Sculp. Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. cxxiv.).

16 inches in diameter, inscribed on a stone possibly similar in its dimensions to Nos. 1 and 2. In so far as they remain, the elliptical sinkings are 5 or 6 inches in length, the marginal ones $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, the only remaining radiating foil being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. They are all boldly cut down to a square section nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch deep.

No. 11.—An irregularly outlined block of mica-schist, 3 feet by 2 feet 9 inches, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 inches thick. One end tapers at an obtuse angle to a point, suggesting the mode of its insertion in the earth. In the middle of the stone, on one side, a small cross is inscribed, formed of single lines $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 inches in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in breadth, contracting at the centre. As if to facilitate the work of incision, the vertical line follows the track of a natural vein or channel in the stone.

No. 12.—This stone belongs to quite a different category from the others, and yet while there are no marks upon it indicative of any monumental use, apart from such an object it is difficult to tell by what accident it occurs in such a locality. From the notches cut on each side of the feeding or grain-hole, for the admission of the cross-bar, it is evidently one-half of the rider or upper stone of a quern, which in its complete state has been 2 feet in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The grain hole is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, the notches are $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches over all, and cut $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch deep, and as much in width. The stone is quite flat on the notched or lower face, with no indications of any concavity, and is very rough on the upper surface.¹

From the preceding description I think there can be little difficulty in determining the true character of these memorials to be not flag-stones but pillar-stones. Unless there is reason to believe that the stone had been re-used, or diverted from its original purpose, wherever an incision occurs on other than the principal face, it may reasonably be assumed that such

¹ An instance of the upper stone of a quern being used as a grave-stone is given by Dr Petrie, from Clonmacnois. It is richly ornamented on what has been the under or grinding surface of the stone with four distinct ornaments—"the zig-zag, rope, bead, and Etruscan fret; and though it is not easy to fix its exact date, it will be sufficiently evident from the absence of a surname in the inscription, that it is at least anterior to the eleventh century." The inscribed name is conjectured by Dr Petrie to be probably that of Sechnasach, "Priest of Durrow," who died 928 or 931 ("Ecl. Arch. of Ireland," p. 339; and R. I. Acad. Cat. p. 107).

part of the stone was intended to be kept in view and not concealed. The form of the stones themselves also favours this supposition, presenting as they do either a rough or a prolonged and un-incised extremity, by means of which they were evidently designed to be inserted in the earth. In addition to this, with exception of a few of the largest examples, the dimensions really are such as make it very unlikely that they were intended to lie flat upon the grave.

The question would indeed present very little difficulty were it not that stones of similar character are very rare in the West Highlands. Embodying as it does the result of extensive and accurate surveys personally conducted,¹ on this point I may be allowed to quote the opinion of one than whom few are better entitled to be heard. Mr Muir, in his "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture," combating the prevalent idea of the "sepulchral slabs" found so extensively distributed throughout the West Highland burying-grounds having been purloined from Iona, states:—"To imagine that all, or even any considerable number, came thence, would be to maintain, not only that stones of the Iona type were not in use anywhere except in Iona itself, but that until the monumental exodus took place, no memorial of any kind lay over the body of military chief or churchman deposited in less sacred ground than the Reilig Orain: for it must be remembered, that saving the 'protestant' slab with its long-winded eulogy, no other description of memorials than those just referred to are anywhere existing in the county" (p. 100). And at page 94 of the same work we read:—"Headstone memorials of ancient date seem to be quite as rare as brasses." The complement of this statement being found on the previous page—"It is perhaps needless to remark that brasses are all but extinct in Scotland."

In the various prefaces and appendices to the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" Dr Stuart has so ably discussed the use of the pillar-stone as a sepulchral memorial not only in prehistoric and pagan times, but also its continuation for the same object into the Christian period, that for the elucidation of this point a simple reference to that work will be sufficient.²

¹ *Vide* "Char. of Old Church Arch." *sub* Burying-Grounds and Sepulchral Slabs, pp. 94, 108.

² *Vide* vol. i. Pref. pp i.-vi.; vol. ii. Pref. pp. 37, 38; Note p. 48; Appendix to the Preface, chap. iii. "Early Pillars and Crosses," pp. xliii.-xlvi. and chap. viii. "Early Modes of Burial," pp. lix.-lxv.

The supercession of the pillar-stone by the flat slab is a different question, and one for the determination of which very slight materials unfortunately exist in this country. Owing to the deficiency, indeed, both of well-authenticated remains and of literary records in the West Highlands, a wide gap is all that marks our knowledge of the transition from the monolith of prehistoric and pagan times, erected wherever he whom it commemorates was at once interred, to the effigied or sculptured slab, covering the spot where, in later ages, the remains of the dead, borne often for a great distance over land and sea, were laid in consecrated ground.

In Ireland it is quite otherwise: there almost every step of the process may be traced, through its several stages, from the one mode of commemoration to the other, her ancient and in many cases now disused cemeteries supplying the most authentic evidence regarding early practice in this respect. There the pillar-stone, ogham-graven, or—if, as in the majority of our own West Highland slabs, all personal reference to the dead be absent—exhibiting such simple ascriptions as DNS . DNI . DNO, takes precedence before any other form of memorial. Instances occur at Killeen-Cormac, Kil-Finten, Reask, Killpeacan, Kilnasaggart, and in connection with the oratories of Gallerus and Kilmalkedar. Inismurray and the Aran islands also contribute their quota, and it is just in remote localities like these we may naturally expect such relics of a primitive age to be still in existence.

That the pillar-stone, then, preceded the flag-stone there can be little doubt; but the change from the one to the other must in all likelihood have begun to take place at an early period. Probably no distinction between the practice of pagan and Christian times in relation to modes of interment would more effectually contribute to this result than the consecration of a particular area for the purpose, as it was deemed, of Christian burial. Interment within such ground was supposed to confer peculiar advantages upon those whose dust might at last be found reposing within its sacred limits;¹ and this, not to the great

¹ A curious instance of this feeling was exhibited by Aude, widow of Olaf the White, the first Norwegian King of Dublin. After her husband's death she went to Iceland, which was then pagan, and died there. "She was a Christian, but did not build any church, erecting only some crosses at which she said her prayers, and before her

only, or those to whom a mark of special distinction might be considered due, but as a matter of religious privilege or necessity to all, whether rich or poor. But within so restricted a space, and on ground subject to frequent disturbance, the awkwardness of the pillar-stone, except when it was of comparatively small dimensions, could not fail soon to become apparent. Considerations of convenience would thus do much to subvert the one custom, and the ready command of suitable materials to make the introduction of the other natural and appropriate. Religious prepossessions would also play no unimportant part in the change, the pillar-stone passing into desuetude as associated with pagan times, the cross-graven flat slab gradually taking its place as more distinctively Christian.

While then the use of the pillar-stone in early Christian times must be viewed as the natural continuation of a long-established custom, there can be little doubt, that to the practice introduced under Christianity of general sepulture within a limited area, must (except in the humblest class of memorials, and the more important cases, such as crosses, where proper security could be given to the foundation), be attributed the disuse of all erect, or merely earth-fast stones. It is also evident that what is true of Ireland in this respect, would be equally true of the West Highlands, were it not reasonably open to doubt whether the intermediate stage, of which such unmistakable traces are found in the one country, did ever really exist in the other. But that the Scoto-Celt did not pass *per saltum* from the monolith, even to the earliest of the slabs, other evidence in addition to that submitted this evening might be adduced. For, bearing indisputable evidence of antiquity, and chiefly in out-of-the-way localities, scattered instances do occasionally occur sufficient to render it at least probable that previous to the general introduction of the flat slab, erect stones of similar character to those at Cladh Bhile, must have been in prevalent use.

In the Society's Museum¹ there is an interesting example of such an early headstone from Eilean Mohr. It is a small slab of chlorite-schist, 2 feet

death she expressed the wish to be buried on the part of the beach covered by the sea at flood time, not willing, she said, to rest in unhallowed soil" ("Chron. of Man and the Sudreys," edited by Prof. Munch; Pref. p. xii.).

¹ Presented in 1862 by the late Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart., and figured in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. ciii.

2 inches long by 1 foot at greatest breadth, and 2 inches thick. In the upper part it is of irregular outline, but tapers gradually toward the lower end, where, in the words of the original descriptive notice, it distinctly "shows marks of having been partly buried in the ground."

It is incised upon one side only, and exhibits a cross-potent $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the transom $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the traverses at the ends of the three upper limbs $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and that at the foot of the shaft barely 2 inches long.

But the most curious feature is the incised line carried round the uppermost traverse in a rectangular form, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, as if to add distinction to the head of the cross. The entire length, with this feature added, is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and as the transom exactly bisects the cross at this length (not the 12 inches of the vertical limb), the term "Latin cross" used in the description is thus scarcely appropriate. The lines throughout vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in breadth, and are boldly channelled out with a V-section to the average depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, and show evident traces at the sides that the sinking has been produced by vertical blows of some pointed tool, and left without much polish, except what time may have given. On either side, right above the traverses, are three little pits, $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch broad by $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch deep, forming a slightly isoscelesed triangle $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch on the side.

An additional example both of the cross-potent and the headstone occurs in a small slab preserved in the garden at Tainish House, Loch Swen, but said to have been brought from the old burying-ground at Kilmory-Oib.¹ In form and dimensions it approximates very closely to that just mentioned, except that it is still more triangular in outline.

Of similar style, and from the same district, is the stone apparently still remaining *in situ* at Ach-na-cille, on the farm of Oibmore.² It is about 4 feet by 2 feet, inscribed on both sides with Latin crosses of antique character, variously decorated, and presenting a close analogy to those on some of the stones at Cladh Bhile. Thus, in fig. 3, with exception of the peculiar prolongation of the shaft beyond the circumference of the circle, this circle itself, and the broad equal-armed cross it contains, both in design and dimensions, closely resembles that on the principal face of

¹ Described and figured by Capt. White, "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xliii. figs. 1 and 2, and Descrip. p. 98.

² "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xlvi. figs. 3 and 4, and Descrip. p. 102.

No. 2, *antea*; and although this stone is only a fragment, there can be little doubt it was originally at least as large as that at Oibmore. The crosses upon the other side, both large and small, so far as can be judged from the sketch, may equally be matched from Cladh Bhile.¹

There is also a small stone in the Museum, presented by Captain Thomas, evidently designed for the same purpose, but unfortunately mutilated in the under portion. It is of hornblendic gneiss, and barely 16 inches in extreme length by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. On one side there is inscribed a Latin cross, $10\frac{1}{2}$ or 11 inches long by 6 inches across the arms, formed of two single lines, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad, with a slightly-rounded section not exceeding in depth, at most, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, and very similar to that already mentioned as characterising No. 9, *antea*. The surface of the stone is wasted at the extremities of the lines, except on the left line, which terminates in a decidedly triangular form, similar to No. 4, *antea*. The cross is cantoned between four little pits, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad. Dr Stuart states that it was "found in the walls of a farm-house, and is said to have been removed from the ruined chapel of St Taran,"² in the island of Taransay, Harris.

But what really constitutes the true peculiarity of Cladh Bhile is not only that it contains pillar-stones, but that it does so to the *entire exclusion* of the sepulchral slab or flagstone, in every form it can assume, and this in a district where it is evident that for centuries the use of the latter must have been universal, the words of Mr Muir being strictly applicable to its places of interment generally when he says—"No other description of memorials than those just referred to are anywhere existing,"³ those of modern date excepted.

Among West Highland burying-grounds, then, unique in what it has—

¹ "Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. ciii., and Notices of the Plates, p. 60.

² In the Kintyre volume of the "Archæological Sketches," a small slab, similar to the above, is given. It occurs in the burying-ground at Kilchenzie, and is described by Capt. White as being "probably much the oldest relic of all." It is "a rough oblong stone, about 4 feet in length, with a rude form of wheel-cross, brought out by means of a broadish band or beading in relief" Pl. v., Descrip. p. 127. When the exhaustive character of Capt. White's examination and the facilities at his command are considered, it is matter of surprise that Kintyre and Knapdale should furnish so small a quota of these interesting relics.

³ "Char. of Old Ch. Arch." p. 100.

pillar-stones exclusively, unique in what it has not—the recumbent slab, I would suggest with regard to Cladh Bhile, that, taken in connection with the early character of its existing remains, the most likely reason for this peculiarity may be that it had fallen into disuse prior to the general introduction of the flagstone, at least on the part of those by whom such mementoes of the dead were likely to be employed.

And, after all, the majority of the sculptured slabs do not carry us very far back. In Iona a few of early date do occur, but we have nothing to match that continuous series the sister island is able to present. Iona apart, grant even that the earliest examples occasionally to be met with here and there, *may* go back to the 13th century, how long a period does even this require ere the custom became generally diffused? By what, then, were these slabs preceded? That under Christianity they formed the earliest memento of the dead throughout the West Highland districts we cannot believe. They must, in all likelihood, have supplanted something more rude and simple. May the burying-ground which has this evening occupied so much of your attention not help to give an answer to this question? One thing is certain, the name of the place itself, the style of the art, the form of the crosses, and their distinctive peculiarities, carry us back to a date when the intercourse between the twin branches of the Celtic race was much more intimate than in later times, so intimate, indeed, as to be in its results almost identical. A diligent scrutiny of suitable localities would doubtless bring to light new vestiges of this interesting period, and add fresh links of connection between the earlier and the later practices of that remote age.

As showing the special interest attachable both to the locality in question, and the district in which it is situated, I cannot more appropriately close this paper than by referring to one of the latest and most important contributions to the early history of our native land. In 560 the Dalriadic Scots sustained a severe check at the hands of the Pictish king Bruide, son of Mailchu. Their king Gabhran was killed, and the colony driven back within its earliest limits. This success obtained on the part of a still heathen power against his own countrymen seems to have exercised a considerable influence in stimulating the zeal and missionary enterprise of Columba. Three years after the date mentioned, the first

glimpse we get of him in Scotland is at the court of Conall, nephew and successor of Gabhran.

The notice is almost incidental, and introduced by Adamnan in connection with a "prophetic revelation," or relating, as it does, to an event transpiring at the moment in Ireland, what may more appropriately be called a case of "second sight." Still this notice casts valuable light on Columba's first movements pending the cession of Hy, and gives consistency to his traditional connection with the shores of Loch Caolisport. Alluding to the battle between Bruidhe and Gabhran, and Columba's subsequent visit to Conall, in the recently issued volume of his great work on "Celtic Scotland,"¹ Mr Skene states:—

"The territories occupied by the Scots of Dalriada had in consequence been much restricted, and for the time probably did *not*-extend much beyond the peninsula of Kintyre (inclusive of Knapdale), and perhaps Cowal; and while his predecessors are termed *Ri Alban* by the old annalist Tighernac, Conall bears the title of *Ri Dalriada* only. His chief seat appears at this time to have been at a place which the annalist calls Delgon or Cindelgend,² in Kintyre; and it seems to have been situated on the west coast of Knapdale. The curious cave chapel at Cove, on Loch Caolisport, which, tradition says, was Columba's first church in Scotland before he sailed to Iona, is probably connected with his residence with King Conall."

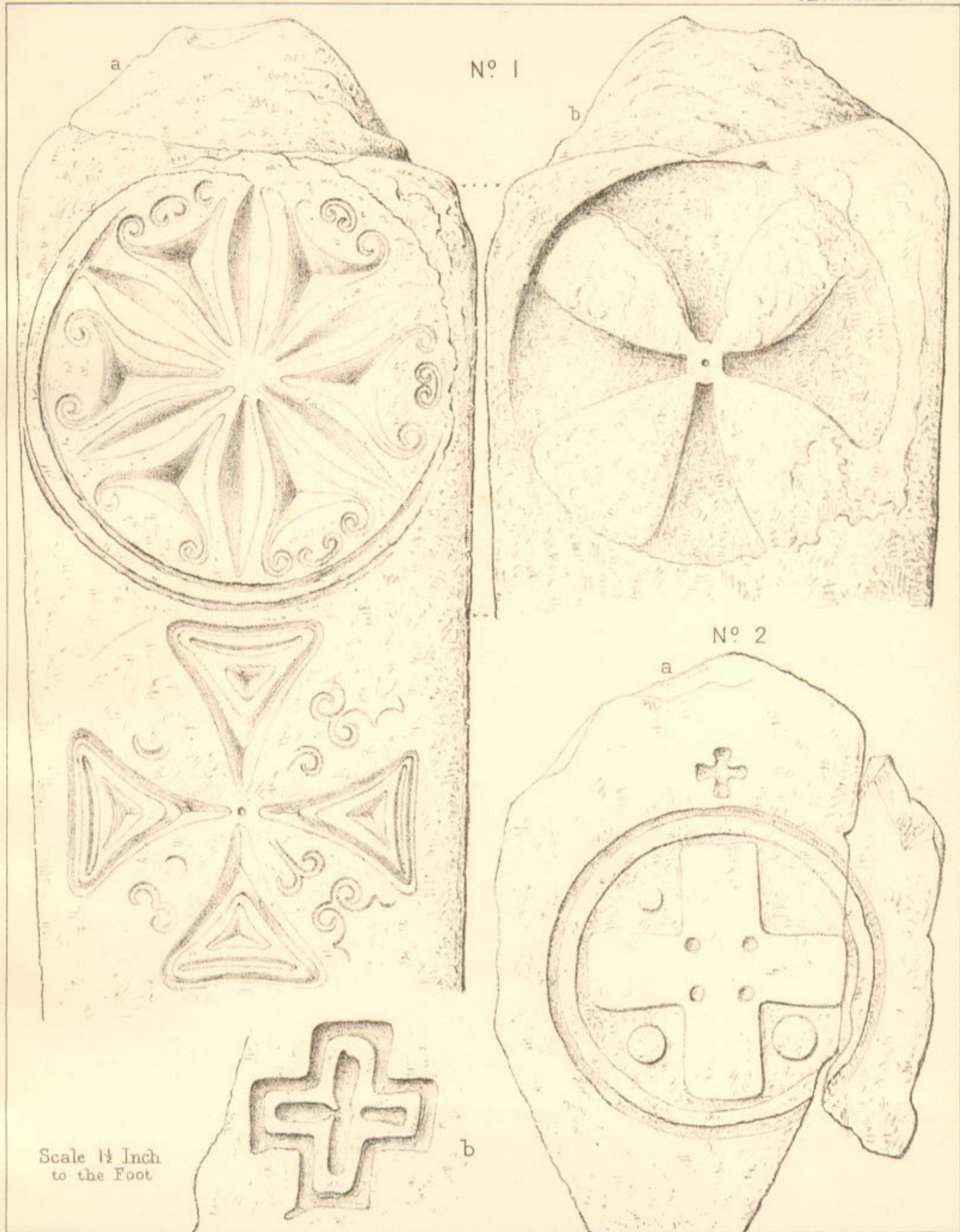
In conveying my acknowledgments to Mr Joseph Anderson for much useful aid, I only express the feelings of those similarly engaged for the courtesy with which his extensive information is placed at their disposal.

[Mr Galloway also exhibited drawings of the Chapel of St Saturnin, at St Wandrille-Rançon, in the canton of Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Inférieure, France. This very curious and ancient building was formerly a small chapel or oratory connected with the monastery of St Wandrille, or Fontenelle, after the abbey of St Ouen, said to be the oldest foundation

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

² Mr Skene also mentions a charter granted by John, Lord of the Isles, and dated from a place called Cleandaghallagan, probably identical with the above.

in Normandy. The original chapel was destroyed in the Norman invasion of 862. The present building dates probably from the tenth, or early part of the eleventh, century. It is cruciform in plan, and of very small dimensions, measuring externally under 41 feet in extreme length, by 29 feet across the transepts. Each limb of the cross terminates in an apse, an arrangement of which the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem is the type. There is a similar structure at Querqueville, near Cherbourg. Mr Fergusson mentions that they form two exceptional churches, which must be considered as representing the religious edifices of the inhabitants of that part of France prior to the Norman Conquest. He further states : "Both are rude and simple in their outline and ornaments; they are built with that curious herring-bone or diagonal masonry indicative of great age, and differing in every essential respect from the works of the Normans when they came into possession of the province. . . . and if they show any affinity to any other style, it is to Belgium and Germany we must look for it, rather than anywhere within the boundaries of France."¹]



W. Galloway. Delt.

H. A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

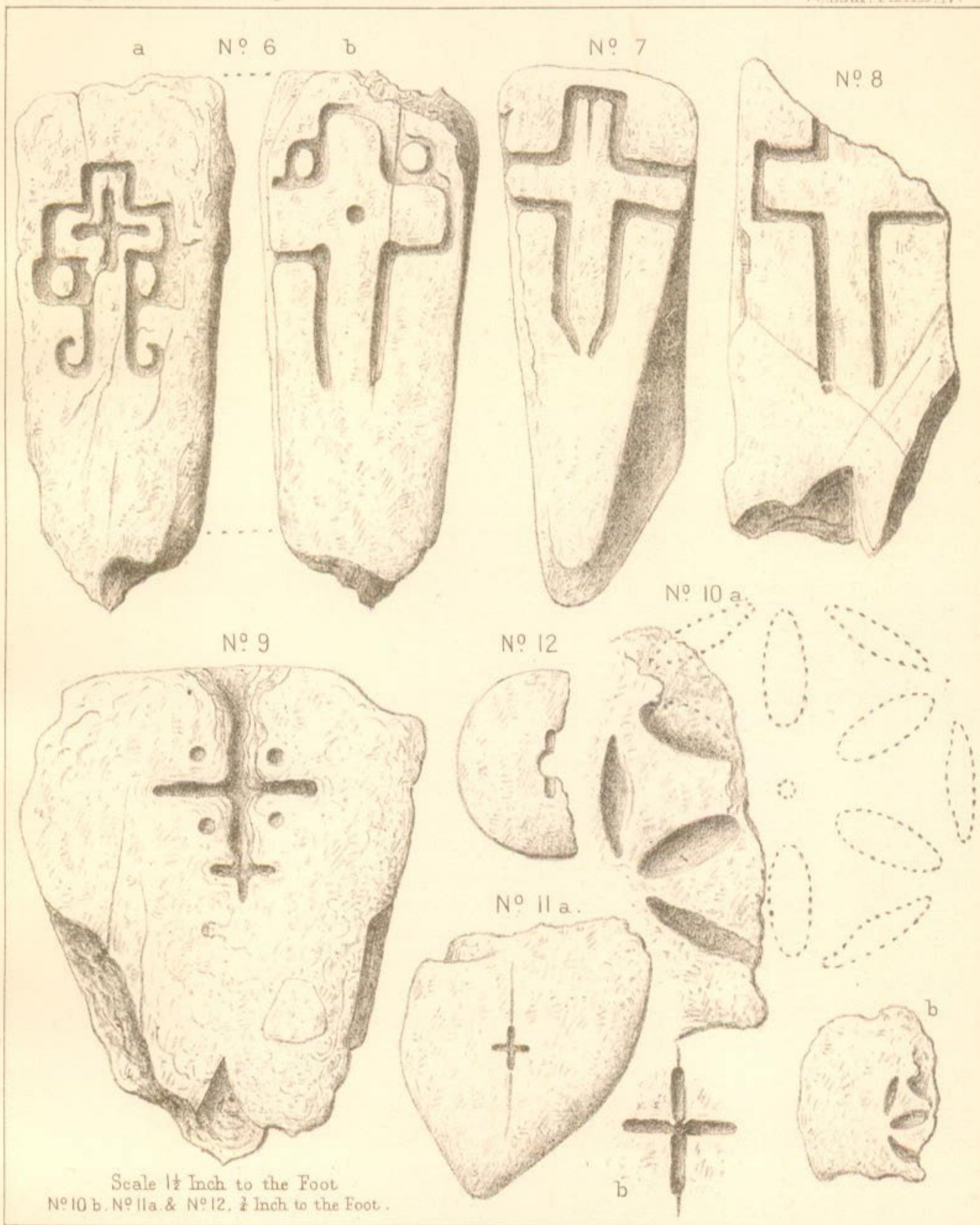
HEAD-STONES CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESHIRE.



W. Galloway, Delt.

W. & A. R. Johnston, Edinburgh.

HEAD-STONES, CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESHIRE.



W. Galloway. Delt.

W & A K Johnston Lithographers

HEAD-STONES, CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESHIRE.