

## II.

ON THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEGIONARY SYMBOL OF  
THE TWENTIETH LEGION OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN BRITAIN.

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Of memorials of the Roman army in Britain the inscribed and sculptured stones set up at sundry times in its northern districts are of special value, as furnishing historical material where none other exists. The memorials of this kind are those mainly of the second, sixth, and twentieth legions, of which those of the twentieth are, for our present object, the most important.

This legion arrived in Britain in the reign of the Emperor Claudian, when the conquest of Britain really commenced, A.D. 43; and where it was resident during nearly the entire period of the Roman conquest and occupation. The command was given some time thereafter to Agricola, the celebrated Roman general, and, after a time, governor in that island, and the share it had in the conflicts with the Britons are recorded in the writings of his son-in-law Tacitus. From the time of the great battle with the Caledonians at the Grampians, however, we trace its operations only in the inscriptions in stone left us by its soldiers.

Owing probably to the unsettled nature of the occupation, no lettered legionary stones that have yet been discovered can with certainty be assigned to an earlier period than that of the construction of the great barrier wall and double earthen ramparts, bearing the name of the Emperor Hadrian, raised during A.D. 120 and subsequent years; or, in other words, during the seventy years, more or less, after the invasion in the reign of Claudian.

To the observance in Britain, as elsewhere, on the part of this great pacificator, of the practice of making treaties with the natives by sacrifices of territory, and in withdrawing from the line of the forts planted

by Agricola across the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde, so as to inspire confidence in his moderation, is, without doubt, owing the fact, that on the sculptured and inscribed stones set up in the line of this barrier during its construction, no traces of conflicts with the natives having taken place have been found. Several stones bearing its name demonstrate the presence and labours there of the twentieth legion. One of these, an altar dedicated to Hadrian himself, is an expression of admiration and reverence for his genius and virtues. On no stone of a mural character pertaining to the original erection is there to be found the legionary symbol to which reference will afterwards be made. In the latest work on this subject, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, by Dr Collingwood Bruce, out of twenty stones found in the region of the wall, only six occur having that symbol, and five of these are placed upon the out or supporting stations north and south of it, and these either constructed or rebuilt at a later period; while the sixth, No. 264 of Dr Bruce's work, is placed on the battlements on a superimposed sentry box, evidently marking a subsequent repair; thus showing that at the time of the construction of the Hadrian barrier the symbol referred to had not been appropriated to the twentieth legion.

The peace secured by the magnanimity of Hadrian did not long continue. After the property qualification had been laid aside, the Roman soldiers, as Gibbon informs us, "were, like the mercenary troops of modern Europe, drawn from the meanest, and very frequently, the most profligate of mankind;" and the auxiliaries who, it appears, chiefly garrisoned the camp (which in reality the barrier composed) were conquered barbarians subjected to military service, and equally disposed to rapine and plunder.

If therefore we find that, about twenty-five years after the completion of this defence, the tribes of the Brigantes, occupying its northern frontier, broke through and committed great destruction of its erections, we are not to assume that the attack was entirely unprovoked.

To punish these outrages, Lollius Urbicus was commissioned, A.D. 139, by the then reigning emperor Antoninus Pius, who not only effected this,

but also resumed possession of the territory previously abandoned by Hadrian, and commenced the construction of the earthen rampart on the lines of the chain of strong forts built by the army of Agricola, which is known as the Antoninian Barrier, on the northern isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, and thus the Roman armies were again brought face to face with the Caledonian Picts. Instead, however, of the uninterrupted labour of the Hadrian defence, the inscribed stones of the Antoninian rampart reveal a constant struggle between the builders and the natives. From Castlehill to Castlecary, and from Castlecary to Carri-den, the stones left by the workers tell of fighting and of victories won from the inhabitants. Groups of captives, kneeling bound and about to be cut down, figure on the carved monuments. In these labours and contentions a vexillation of the twentieth legion took a prominent share.

A vexillation, according to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, is composed of soldiers who, having served in the legion for sixteen years, became *exactorati*, that is, freed from the heavy burden of the daily exercise in camp, but continued to serve, in company with the legion, under a separate vexillum or ensign, until they received their full discharge and territorial or pecuniary retiring reward. The number attached to each legion was five or six, or, according to others, eight hundred men.

A stone found at Whitley Castle, about twenty miles south of the Hadrian barrier (where are the ruins of a supporting station), some years ago, now lost, but figured as No. 743 of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, enables us to trace their route from the legionary headquarters at Chester northward. It contains the letters *Vex. Leg. XX VV Refec.*; showing that on their way they rebuilt this supporting strength destroyed by the invading Brigantes. The absence of the symbol denotes that up to this time it had not been employed by them. The portion of the Antoninian rampart assigned to this vexillation was that extending from near Dumbarton to Castlecary alternating with a division of the second legion, this being the quarter inhabited at that time, according to all authorities, by the Caledonian Picts. Here for the first time we meet on their vexillary

stones with the figure which ultimately became the symbol of the entire legion, viz., the figure of a boar, represented as running away. Of five stones recovered pertaining to this vexillation, four contain this figure, and the fifth, evidently unfinished, has a space left within its border in blank, in the space and of the size assigned to the figure in the other four.

That the insertion of this figure in these stones had reference to repulses of the Caledonian Picts seems to be the opinion of all the writers who have described them. Without more than reference to Camden and Horsley, we may quote Sir Richard Colt Hoare, an English antiquary. In his edition of the *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, by Giraldus de Barry, published in 1806; in giving an account of the carefully engraved stones of the twentieth legion (connected as was that legion with Wales from their headquarters at Chester) contained in his book, and of the stone numbered 22 of these engravings, a stone belonging to the first fort on the west end of the rampart, now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Sir Richard says as follows:—

“The sculptures on it are very curious. It has a pediment supported on two fluted Corinthian pillars. On the face of the stone is a Victory, leaning her left hand upon a globe, and holding under the same hand a palm branch. The right hand rests upon a laurel wreath, enclosing an inscription commemorating the work of the [vexillation of the] twentieth legion. Underneath the Victory on the base of the stone is a boar in the act of running, which was probably an emblem of the northern districts of Caledonia.”

In describing another stone on this Antoninian barrier, engraved in plate ix. fig. 9, of Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*, the author says:—“From behind the inscriptions the figure of a boar is seen advancing towards a tree that fills, in very diminutive proportions, the opposite corner of the stone;” and adds, “here again is the Caledonian boar present, as he frequently is, where the twentieth legion is mentioned.” It may be remarked here, that the tree in the distance may indicate *Caledones*, the British name given to them as inhabiting the woods.

Besides the stones pertaining to this vexillation of the twentieth legion, there are others set up by the second legion on the line of this barrier, also expressive of victories, two of them having upon them the figures of a Dolphin and a Pegasus—animals pertaining to Roman mythology. Their positions on the stones, with *vexilla* or ensigns of legionary cohorts close to them, show that there is no reference by their presence to the native tribes intended. On nearly all the stones pertaining to this legion figures of captive natives appear, whilst none occur on the stones of the twentieth legion, which legion appears to have selected rather the symbols of victory and the emblems of the retreating tribes.

But the occurrence of the figure of a boar on any number of vexillary stones would not constitute that figure a legionary symbol. At Lanchester, in the county of Durham, however, there is a stone, No. 28 of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's engraved copies, belonging to a later period, which proves the adoption of this figure by the entire legion as their legionary symbol. Its inscription (*Leg. XX VV Fecit*) "is enclosed within a verdant wreath, supported by two winged Victories standing upon globes, and bearing palm leaves in their hands. Within the wreath (says Sir Richard) is the usual symbol of the boar. Lanchester is sixteen and a half miles southward from the point where the line of Watling Street crosses the wall of Hadrian. "It is," says the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, "one of the stations mentioned in the *Notitia* as having been "sub dispositione Ducis Britannicorum," and outside of those included as *per linium Valli*, in that document." It forms No. 703 of the woodcuts in that work of Dr Bruce, who says—"This large slab was probably placed over the gateway of the station;" and he states circumstances that make it appear it was built by this legion in the reign of the Emperor Gordian A.D. 238 to 254, at the same time as the one at High Rochester, on the north side of the wall, which latter contains two stones of the vexillation of the same legion; one having on it the word "fecit," and the other the symbol of the boar. These and other additional out or supporting stations may, therefore, have been added to the earlier supporting defences of the wall about this time, in consequence of irruptions of the northern tribes,

and the double victory on the Lanchester slabs represents victories over the Caledonians. From this time onward, it appears that the figure of a boar without inscription or other mark, wheresoever found sculptured on a stone in localities known to have been in the occupancy of the military forces of Rome, is held to establish the presence there, at some time or other, of the twentieth legion, or of its vexillation.

It was a peculiarity attributed to the Caledonian Picts, that they marked, punctured, or tattooed their bodies with figures of animals. Dr Skene notices, in his *Celtic Scotland*, that the Roman soldiers of the army of Severus regarded with wonder the forms and figures of animals presented on the bodies of their Pictish foes. He quotes from Irish writings of the earliest period the name *Cruithnithe* (the meaning of which, he says, is forms or figures) as given to the Picts as well when settled in Ireland as when migrated to Scotland. Dr Stuart states as his opinion that the aptitude of the Picts to represent animals in their sculptured monuments (which aptitude he asserts is one of purely local development) arose from their habitual practice of puncturing their bodies with figures of animals. Again, in various of the sculptured stones found in Pictland, there are figures of boars, viz., on that at Keilor, a stone found undisturbed standing on a cairn covering cists; on that at Knock-na-Gael by Inverness, near to the spot supposed to have been the residence of that powerful king of the Picts who was visited by St Columba: the Boar stone of Gask; and the stone at Golspie churchyard, previously in the church at Craigton. The last has the form of a cross on the reverse face; and the stone of Gask, showing various boars looking with eagerness and emotion towards the extended arms of a cross;—all these circumstances are indicative of an intimate association, apparently of a religious nature, in the sculptures of the Pictish people with the figure of a boar.

From the foregoing statement it appears—(1.) That the origin of the symbol of the twentieth legion dates from the encounter of its vexillation with the Caledonian Picts during the construction of the Antoninian rampart, and must therefore have reference to a similar figure conspicuous

to their vision in use among that people. Some writers state that, when fighting, they were naked (which is suggested by the captives on the engraved stones being represented as nude figures), and this conspicuous object, emblematic of their whole nation, may at first sight be assumed to have been exhibited on their naked bodies; but, for reasons to be given afterwards, it is more likely this conspicuous object was carried as a religious emblem or banner in their battles. (2.) That they did exhibit the punctured forms or figures of animals on their naked bodies. The expression is in the plural, and may only imply figures of one animal on each individual of their forces, or of one more conspicuous animal borne by each individual along with others, of smaller size, indicative of the tribe or clan; and also "the ensigns of honour," which Tacitus, in describing the gathering of their forces on the eve of the battle of the Grampians, refers to in the following terms:—"The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and of the *ensigns of honour* which they had gained by their martial spirit" (xxix.). The chief or monarch of the Picts was so distinguished. According to a statement by Dr Stuart in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*:—"In the Chronicle of the Scots and Picts, thirty of the earliest of the kings of the latter nation are referred to under the single designation of *Bruidhe*," which Mr Stuart supposes was a general name, like that of Pharaoh among the Egyptians, for ruler. This name signified *Acu-punctata*, or punctured with an iron instrument according to Mr Hibbert. The similarity of the name *Bruidhe* to the old Scotch word *Brodie*, in sound as in signification,<sup>1</sup> appears to confirm this opinion. (3.) That

<sup>1</sup> *Broddé* (in Glossary to Gavin Douglas's Translation of Virgil), to prick; (A.-Saxon, *Brodde*, *punctus*;) *Bröder*, French, to puncture with a needle any stuff so as to form any figure thereon; *Bröder*, Sp., to embroider. The lands of Brodie, in Nairnshire, are said to have been called after an ancient family of that name, contrary to the usual practice in Scotland. "Its antiquity" (says Shaw, in his *History of Moray*) "appeareth from this, that no history, record, or tradition (that I know of) doth so much as hint that any other family or name possessed the lands of Brodie before them, or that they came as strangers from any other country. I am inclined to think they were of the ancient Moraviensens."

the figure of a boar occurs on sculptured stones in Pictland during periods extending from the age of cairns with cists, of stone circles, and of cup-marked stones down to that of Christian crosses. The Boar Stone near Inverness, for example, has a cup-mark on it "with a concentric double ring round it, and connected lines forming what is technically known as the single spectacle ornament" (*Proceedings*, vol. xvi. p. 387), thus associating itself with the earliest period of sculptured stones. The Keilor Stone also has similar earliest forms, and is itself directly associated with an undisturbed cairn; yet in the so-called Boar Stone of Gask these animals are engraved *within* the panel containing a carving of a cross; and the Craigton Stone is probably an early sculptured emblem stone used at a later period for the delineation on its reverse of the Christian symbol.

In endeavouring to ascertain the significance of this legionary symbol, we turn at once to the writings of the accurate yet concise historian who narrates the first encounters betwixt the Roman armies and the Caledonian tribes. It is not necessary to remark at the outset that Tacitus, in his two great works, *The Life of Agricola* and the *Essay on the Manners of the Germans*, both, as nearly as can be ascertained, written in the same year, makes a double reference to the apparent identity of the Caledonians and the Germans; in the former work, as respects their large limbs and ruddy hair, and in the latter in respect of the similarity of their languages; for, in describing the manners of the Aestians (a German tribe of the confederated nations called Suevians who lived on the shores of the Baltic) as having the same rites and habits as the other Suevians, he adds—"lingua Britannicæ proprior," viz., the dialect of this people resembled rather that of Britain than the common speech of the country. Now it was the practice of the Romans, we are told by Gibbon, to designate all peoples subjected to their rule, in regions only partly in their occupation, as provincials, as with Cæsar in Gaul, and other writers in reference to Britain. When Tacitus wrote these words the whole island, except the portion occupied by the Caledonians, was under subjection to Roman law, and was known only as "Britannia Pro-



vincia," in which, as in other provinces in the west, the exclusive use of the Latin tongue in all matters, civil or military, as Gibbon informs us, was rigidly maintained. Consequently, when he speaks of "lingua Britannicæ," he means the language of "Britannia Barbara," the name (Dr Skene assures us) given to the unconquered portions of Britain.

It is to these people (the Aestians) then that we look as described by Tacitus for an explanation of the significance of the boar as the symbol of the twentieth legion of the Roman army.

In his treatise on the *Manners of the Germans*, Tacitus, on several occasions (ix., xl., and xlv.) refers to tribes of the Suevian confederation who worshipped the Earth under the figure of a woman; whom they designated, he says at one place, "the mother of the gods," and consider her as "the common mother of all" (xl., xlv.); and elsewhere in the same work he calls her Isis, after the Egyptian goddess, having similar attributes; but of whom, he says, the local name was Herth, and its Latin equivalent Terra. On account of some of these Suevian tribes having, as a symbolical representation of the goddess, the figure of a ship, Tacitus regards the superstition as of foreign origin, and probably hence the name of Isis bestowed on her by him. But the Aestians, and, if we understand him aright, the Aestians alone, of all the earth-worshippers in that region, had for a special symbolical representation of this deity the figure of a boar. "*Matrem Deum venerantur,*" says he, "insigne superstitiones formas aprorum," which they bore "gestant" or carried. This figure of a boar, he adds, they held as a protection equal to arms or armour—"Id pro armis omnium tutela." To bear it was equivalent to worship of the goddess, "*securum Deæ cultorem,*" and it was carried in front of their armies or "*inter hostes præstat.*" "To impress on their minds," says Tacitus (vii.), speaking of the Germans collectively, "the idea of a titular deity; they carry with them to the field certain images or banners taken from their usual depositary, the religious groves."

Whether the adoption of the figure of this animal as the symbol of the worship of the goddess may have been owing to the practice among boars of scraping the surface of the earth in search of acorns and tubers

being regarded as acts of devotion towards their common divinity, will ever be matter of conjecture. It is, however, a habit in pagan mythology to attribute to inferior animals powers or instincts allied to the supernatural. The worship of the goddess Earth, as described by Tacitus (xl.), has nothing in common with that of the Egyptian Isis, except in that most remote epoch before it became associated with licentiousness of any kind. The rites are simple, solemn, and mysterious. No image of the goddess is permitted. At certain times she is supposed to visit the earth at places dedicated to her, and, *being invisible to all*, to make a progress in her sacred chariot, when all wars cease, general rejoicings take place, and festivals are observed along her route. When supposed to be satisfied with her visitation, she is reconducted by direction of the priest to her sanctuary, her chariot being drawn by cows.

Besides the employment of the symbol of the boar, there are other indications of the worship of this goddess by the Caledonian tribes. An altar stone found towards the close of the last century, in the line of the Antoninian barrier (one of four sunk in a pit near to the rampart itself), erected by Cocceius Firmus, a centurion of the second legion, bears the following inscription :—

GENIO  
TERRAE  
BRITAE  
UNICAE  
M COCCEIUS  
FIRMUS  
C LEG II AUG.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare reads these words as a dedication to the genius of Britain. But this would be contrary to various precedents. In his own collection of copies of stones of the twentieth legion, when the genius of Britain is referred to, the expression used is *genio loci*; as in the altar stone, numbered xxx., discovered in Forrest Street, Chester, in 1653 (which in the time of Horsley was in the possession of Mr Prescott),

of the inscription on which Sir Richard gives the full text, showing that two persons named Longus, father and son, natives of Samosasa, a city of Spain, dedicated that altar to the "genio loci" on behalf of the reigning emperors.<sup>1</sup> Where the deity of a particular region or people is referred to on a dedicatory stone, the name of the land or of the people is alone given, and the surplusage "Terra" never used. The inscription of Cocceius Firmus must therefore read—To the Spirit (Genio) of the Earth of the British people; or to the Spirit worshipped in Britain called the Earth.

As before stated, the Britain of the centurion stationed at the extremity of the Roman province, was the Britain beyond that Province; *id est*, the Caledonian Britain. In the same pit, by the same Cocceius, are altars to various special or local powers, as Deities of the Fields or Campestres, Genius of Horses, Goddess of Victories, &c.

It is well known that in course of ages the worship of the Earth as representing all-producing Nature, became associated with that of other spirits, called, in the mythology of these times, her children by her husband Oceanus. Something of this kind appears to have taken place in Pictland. Nearly four centuries elapsed from the time when Tacitus wrote to that of St Columba and the earliest Christian writings in which the paganism of the Picts is referred to. In these writings, as their import is given by Dr Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 109), the character of the paganism of the Picts and Scots is thus described:—"The objects of the popular belief were the personified powers of nature. Mysterious beings who were supposed to dwell in the heavens or the earth, the sea or the river, the mountain or the valley, were to be dreaded or conciliated. These they worshipped and invoked, as well as the natural objects themselves in which they were supposed to dwell." It appears, however, that the powers of these "Earth gods" (as Dr Skene calls them) were equally claimed by the early Pictish saints; and the spirits of the fountains were made to act as conductors of blessings and workers of

<sup>1</sup> "The emperors," says Sir Richard, "on whose account it was erected, were probably Dioclesian and Maximian by the titles of *domini nostri* joined to *invictissimi*."

miracles in answer to Christian prayers and vows—a superstition that is scarcely yet extinct, as witness the fountain on Loch Maree. The stone circles were substitutes for the groves where the great assemblies of the Aestians were held; and the figures carved on the encircling stone rings were by the monks ignorantly called idols as supposed representations of natural powers. Dr Skene inquires whether the cup-shaped markings on the outer stone circles may not be the figures referred to.

The engraved stones among the Picts represent nearly all their human figures as draped with mantles like the Germans described by Tacitus who refers to those of the chiefs as secured by brooches. The naked figure shown on the stone at Arniebog referred to in the Society's *Proceedings* (ix. 474) shows the hair to be coiled up into something like a knot, which Tacitus says is a special characteristic of the Suevians; and the frequent occurrence of combs among the relics of Pictland are conformable to the care to braid their hair and tie it up, which he ascribes to this people. Tacitus likewise informs us that the Aestians gathered amber in the shallows and on the shores of their territory, and were the only people who did so; also that they traded in it with the Romans. Amber has been found in several places occupied by the Picts, as at Aberlady and in Ayrshire. A so-called necklace of amber beads found in a cist, in a barrow at Huntiscarth, Orkney, is described and engraved in vol. iii. of our *Proceedings*, p. 183. This monopoly of amber by the Aestians led to great interest being taken by the Romans in this people. Pliny informs us that "Nero sent a Roman knight to purchase great quantities of it on the spot where it was produced."<sup>1</sup> Tacitus says the natives "pile it in great heaps, and offer it for sale without form or polish, wondering at the price they receive for it."<sup>2</sup> The pieces of amber buried in the Orkney barrow were of unequal sizes and shapes and rude. The metal of the thin plates of gold found in the same cist, a metal which, Tacitus says, was unknown to the Germans, except in the rare case where it was taken in barter for commodities, may probably have been got in exchange for the native amber. Another coincidence remains to be noticed.

<sup>1</sup>*Nat. Hist.*, xxxviii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Germania*, c. 45.

Tacitus must either have travelled in the interior of Germany himself, or been in intercourse of a confidential kind with some intelligent observer (like his friend Pliny) who had done so; for his descriptions are minute and accurate, and his method so perfect, that his materials must have been abundant, seeing they are so skilfully arranged. For this reason, the true value of his work only comes out after careful study of its plan. The following account of the subterranean dwellings of these people is not only an exact description of similar constructions in Pictland (as they have been given in our *Proceedings* on various occasions), but furnishes an explanation of the purposes of their excavation so simple and natural as to render discussion of the subject unnecessary (xvi.) :—" Besides their ordinary habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves, dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with soil; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In these recesses they not only find a shelter from the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treasure escapes the general ravage, safe in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble."

In the year 69, about twelve years before the Romans had even seen the Caledonians, they heard of a strange people to the north who lived chiefly on fish and milk. The most ancient kitchen middens and caves, and the numerous crannogs on the lochs, show remains of fish bones in quantities, confirming the statement as to the former food; and fishing implies familiarity with the sea, which is noted as a specialty of the Picts. Now, the Aestians were of necessity often in the water in search of amber; and it is recorded of the entire confederation of the Suiones, of which they formed part, that they literally lived in the sea, and their boats are described by Tacitus as double-prowed, corresponding to the long boats of the first Pictish arrivals referred to in Bede.

It has been asserted, on the authority of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were destitute of corn; yet twice in the speech of Galgacus, Tacitus makes him refer to this cereal—once as being plundered or demanded as tribute

by the Romans, and a second time in a declaration that there was not arable land in their country to yield corn sufficient for themselves and also for the Romans. No doubt, the native British tribes did not observe any corn in their visits to the country, because it was carefully concealed in their artificial caves. And of the Aestians Tacitus remarks —“In the cultivation of corn and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans.” The earliest writings of the Irish chroniclers often speak of the skill of the Picts “as artificers and cultivators of the soil.”

Finally, the thorough knowledge possessed by Tacitus of German matters, is shown by his giving the native names of various objects—as *fram*, for javelin, and the local names of deities and heroes. In the case of the Aestians (whose language is, he says, like that of the British), the name for the goddess Terra he gives as Herth; the name Aestians means Easterns; the amber, he says, they call Glasse,—all words more or less Teutonic. The last word Glasse<sup>1</sup> is Scotch in the truest sense, being familiar in the west of Scotland as the designation of a substance like semi-transparent amber, sold to young people, composed of molasses boiled with yolk of eggs; and the word glass, in all northern languages of Europe, designates a transparent substance.

As the true purpose of history and archæology is to learn whence we came and who were our ancestors; and as the theory of the Celtic origin of the Picts our ancestors, notwithstanding the laborious investigations of Dr Skene and others, is beset with difficulties; it is hoped that a re-examination of the question is not foreclosed in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, but rather may extend to other aspects of the problem. The fringe of the curtain that has long overshadowed it has only so far been slightly raised.

<sup>1</sup> Glassie. The word in Tacitus is *Glassum*, having the usual Latin termination of gender. The rendering given here is that of the translation of Murphy in Valpy's Collection, 1831.