

## II.

THE DOUNE OF INVERNOCHTY. By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON,  
ABERDEEN.

The Doune of Invernochty is a very conspicuous mound situated at the confluence of the Nochty water with the Don, nearly 45 miles from its mouth at Old Aberdeen. Immediately opposite, on the south bank of the Don, stands the parish kirk of Strathdon; and all around the valley of the main stream and wild Glen Nochty are closed in by wooded and heath-clad summits.

Geologically the Doune seems to be purely a natural feature, and probably originated under the same circumstances as the well-known Bass of Inverurie. Like the latter mound, however, it has at an early period been converted into a place of strength, and the earthworks with which it is surrounded have completely altered its dimensions and outline. Later, upon the stronghold thus formed was erected a mediæval castle in stone and lime, the remains of which are still visible on the summit of the mound, though a complete plan of its dispositions could be obtained only by excavation.

Brief descriptions of the Doune are given by a number of the local topographers, notably in Dawson's notes to the poem "Don" (1805), in Laing's *Donean Tourist* (1828), in the Old and New Statistical Accounts (1794 and 1842), and in Jervise's *Epitaphs and Inscriptions* (1875). In none of these, however, is a scientific account of the earthworks attempted, and all are unaccompanied by a plan. The present brief article is an attempt to remedy an important deficiency in the literature of the early Scottish castles.

The mound (see plan and section, fig. 1) is oval in shape, the long axis lying from north-west to south-east. The summit has been surrounded by a wall 6 feet thick, placed on the edge of the scarp. Its foundations are complete all round the enceinte, and the circumference, measured along the centre of the wall, is 604 feet. The enclosure within measures 247 feet by 127. At the main gate at the south-east end the wall remains for a length of about 49 feet and a height of about 2 feet 9 inches. The gate is represented by a ragged gap, 8 feet wide, the jambs having been removed. The east end of the wall here has a finished return, and a gap of about 11 feet intervenes before the foundations of the east wall of the enceinte are reached. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the remains, it is difficult to make out the dispositions at this point, but probably the gap represents a sally port to a slight prominence of the terreplein which

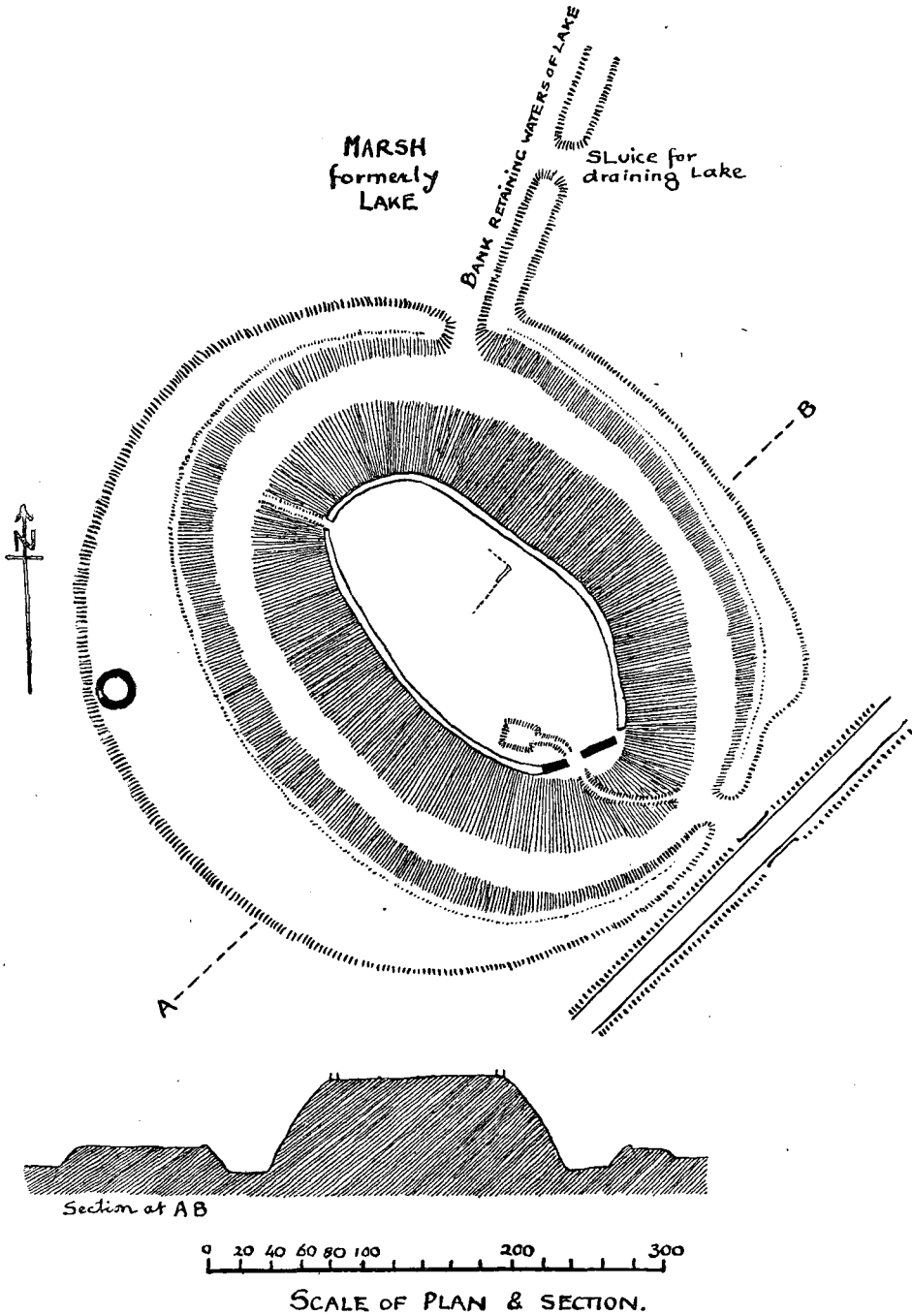


Fig. 1. Plan and Section of the Doune of Invernochty.

extends outside the enceinte here. If palisaded, this spot would form a useful forework or barbican for flanking the gateway. There is no trace of a check at the return.

The approach to the entrance is carried diagonally up the mound from the east, partly, no doubt, to secure a manageable gradient, but more especially in order to permit of the whole ascent being effectively covered from the curtain wall and the forework. Within the entrance, a sunk path, 36 feet in length, bears to the left, and at its far end a rectangular enclosure, 19 feet by 27, is entered—evidently the foundations of an apartment, possibly a guard-room. Jervise, writing in 1875, states that this apartment had been excavated a few years before.<sup>1</sup>

The surface of the mound covers an area of perhaps half an acre. From the main gate there is a somewhat steep ascent to a ridge about 40 feet broad, which traverses the summit at a distance of about 80 feet from the gate. Beyond this ridge the terreplein descends very gradually to the postern. All over the enclosure, sundry banks, hollows, and levelings-up indicate the site of buildings whose foundations must be extant immediately beneath the turf. Seen in the late evening of a beautiful July day, when the setting sun flooded the length of the mound with his golden rays, these lines of foundations stood out with most arresting distinctness, and greatly whetted the desire that the mystery of this ancient fortress should be resolved by use of the spade. The only fragment of masonry which now appears above the surface is a small bit of wall, 11 feet in length and 2 feet thick and about 1 foot in height, as shown on plan. At the east end of this wall traces of a return to the north are visible, and in the other direction the foundations of the wall are continued for some distance as a mound of turf.

The postern at the north-west end is a mere gap in the wall, 4 feet wide; a path thence leads straight down the mound. The descent is so steep that the postern can clearly have been only for use on occasions of emergency.

Very remarkable and interesting are the outworks of the fortress. The mound is about 60 to 65 feet in height, and its base measures 967 feet in circumference. It rises from within a moat varying from 22 to 32 feet in width, with an average of 25 feet. Its mean depth is about 60 feet, but it is somewhat shallower on the east side, where the depth at some places is no more than 11 feet, owing to the level of the ground outside being lower here. At the main entrance the moat appears to have been spanned by a bridge, as Jervise records an oaken plank having been dug up here.

The earth excavated from this moat has been thrown outwards all

<sup>1</sup> *Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, vol. i. pp. 154-155.

round to form a berm or raised platform, round whose inner circumference, on the lip of the counterscarp, is a narrow mound or ridge, probably to carry a palisade. On the east side this berm is 10 feet broad at the north end, and increases gradually to 25 feet at the south-east corner, after which it decreases in width very rapidly towards the south end. On the west side the berm, thin at both ends, is very greatly expanded at the middle to form a crescentic level platform of 74 feet in greatest width, and raised about 8 or 9 feet above the surface of the surrounding fields. Evidently this platform had served as an outer bailey to the fortress, and was probably set apart chiefly for the use of the livestock, which the palisade in its inner side would restrain from entering the moat. Jervise states that here "traces of a number of huts are visible, in which possibly the retainers of the ancient lords of the fort and their animals were housed." These remains are still faintly visible, but have been much obliterated in recent years. The small dimensions of the bailey, when compared with the mound, are probably to be accounted for by the unusual size of the area on top of the latter, which would give room for all the subsidiary buildings that, in fortresses of this description, are usually reserved for the outer enclosure.

The arrangements for filling the moat are well contrived and of great interest.

To the north and north-west of the fortress spreads an extensive marsh, still soggy in the driest weather. Through this marsh trickles the Bardoch, a tiny runnel which descends the high ground to the north and, skirting the east side of the Doune, enters the river Don a little above the confluence of the Nocht. At the end of the eighteenth century, according to the *Old Statistical Account*,<sup>1</sup> the stream entered the moat at the north-west corner and divided into two portions, which flowed one round each side of the Doune and united at the south-east corner. The present course of the stream is largely artificial.

From the north-east corner of the berm a huge bank, 15 feet broad on top and 150 yards in length, runs straight across the swamp to the high ground bordering on the Nocht. Evidently this bank was designed as a dam to retain the waters of the swamp, so that the whole area now covered by the marshy ground must thereby have been converted into a lake. Immediately west of the mound there is a gap or sluice, 19 feet broad, in the berm, through which the moat was filled from the lake. At the opposite end of the moat another sluice carried off the water into the Don. And at a distance of 90 feet along the bank there is a third sluice, 30 feet wide, whose purpose, unless indeed it is a modern cutting, must have been to drain off the water of the lake at will into the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xiii. p. 181.

Nochty. It is on record in Jervise's notes that there was still water in the moat when the turnpike road was made in 1823.

The whole of these works—moat, berm, outer bailey, bank, and sluices—exhibit a high degree of proficiency in military engineering, and are remarkable for the exceeding freshness and distinctness of their outlines. The exterior fortifications are everywhere completely commanded from the top of the mound; even its base in the ditch must have been visible from the allure on the curtain, and there is not a single piece of "dead" ground in the whole fortress.

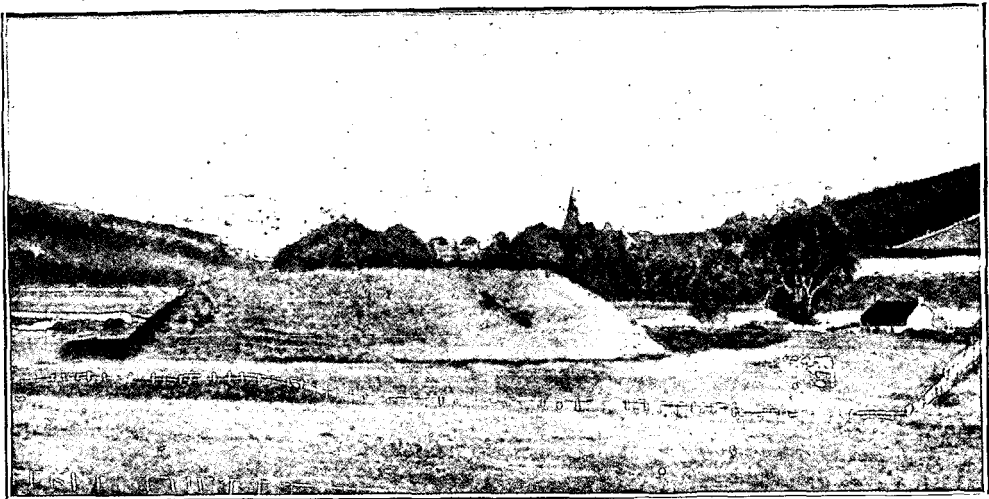


Fig. 2. The Doune of Invernochty: view from north.  
(Reproduced from *Picturesque Donside* by kind permission of the Manager of  
*The Aberdeen Daily Journal*.)

Niched into the western slope of the bailey is a well or cistern (see view from north, fig. 2). It is 14 feet in diameter, and is surrounded by a drystone wall 2 feet thick and 7 in height, in which, on the west side, is a door 5 feet wide. The interior is now choked up and dry, and the wall in a very ruinous condition. It is doubtful if the well has any claims to antiquity, and the wall surrounding it is, in all probability, a comparatively modern structure erected to prevent beasts fouling the water.

The age of these very remarkable earthworks is written with tolerable clearness in their technical characteristics. The whole is an unmistakable example of that type of structure known to modern antiquaries as a "mount-and-bailey fortress," or by the name its builders gave it as a "mote." Such fortresses are now ascertained to have been the original

strongholds which the Norman invaders under William the Conqueror threw up to secure the land of which they had taken seisin on the stricken field of Senlac. They are common in Normandy, and are represented in several places on the Bayeux Tapestry. In all cases they are earlier than the "great towers" of stone which came into general use at the beginning of the twelfth century, and of which London, Colchester, and Malling are the earliest English examples, having been commenced under the Conqueror. Half a century ago it was the universal belief that the Conqueror covered England with stone castles, and in the most unreflecting manner it was believed that Scotland was treated in the same way. In Scotland, Norman keeps in stone are not found; here the motes or mount-and-bailey fortresses remained in use from the advent of the early Norman settlers under David I. to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they began to be succeeded by that elaborate type of stone castle which during the hundred years had been evolved south of the Border from the old "great towers" and shell-keeps, with their baileys and curtain walls. The leading characteristic of the new type of fortress is the high wall, flanked by strong towers and enclosing a courtyard; no better or more complete example can be found in Scotland than the great castle of Kildrummy, about 8 miles further down the Don from Invernochty.

The earthworks of the Doune may therefore be safely assigned to some period in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The handiwork of the great master race of mediæval Europe is written upon its banks and ditches in letters which he who runs may read, and there is nothing about the structure which can be assigned to an earlier date. The lordship of Strathdon, of which the Doune of Invernochty was the chief messuage, was one of the territorial divisions of the great earldom of Mar, but almost nothing is known of its history during the very remote period in which the earthworks of the Doune took origin. It is probable, however, that some light may be thrown upon the question by a general consideration of the history of the earldom during the period—so far as this is preserved by the very scrappy contemporary records.

The primitive Earls of Mar, so far as we may judge from their recorded acts, appear to have been little more than independent chieftains, having scant connection with the central authority. Ruadri, mormaer and first Earl of Mar, "gives consent" to the foundation charter of the Abbey of Scone by Alexander I. in 1120; a few charters issued by his successors are confirmed by the royal seal; Gilchrist, the third earl, actually contests the claim of William the Lion to Aberchirder Kirk, and grants it to the Abbey of Arbroath; and, altogether, the few items of information preserved about these early magnates suggest that they owned but

slender allegiance to the Crown. Moreover, in the great dispute which raged between Duncan, fifth Earl of Mar, and Thomas Durward of Coull, who claimed part of his lands, it can be demonstrated that Alexander II. supported the latter, "with the aim," as one historian very significantly puts it, "of breaking up this old Celtic earldom."<sup>1</sup>

But with the advent of William, sixth Earl of Mar, about the year 1245, all this is changed. Unlike any of his predecessors, Earl William was a great public personage, who held many important posts and played a prominent part in the national transactions of his day. Thus he is mentioned as one of the chief nobles of the kingdom in the negotiations which led up to the famous treaty of Newcastle in 1244; he was appointed Regent during the minority of Alexander III., was ousted through English influence in 1255, but was reinstated in 1257. In 1252, and again from 1263-1266, he was Grand Chamberlain, and in the last-mentioned year held joint command of the army which annexed the Hebrides after the battle of Largs. In 1258 he was signatory to a treaty with the Welsh Prince Llewellyn, whereby the high contracting parties pledged each other not to make peace with Henry III. except by mutual consent. During the extremely delicate diplomatic situation of 1262, when the Scottish Queen, then on a visit to her father, Henry III., in London, was expectant of an heir, Mar was one of the great barons to whom the English King plighted troth for the safety of the child. Earl William lived to a great age, and died in 1273. In every respect he was one of the foremost nobles of his time; and no Earl of Mar before him, and none for many years after—till the days of Alexander Stewart, the hero of Harlaw—wielded anything like his power. The charters extant under his name prove that his control of the affairs in his own district was as efficient as the hold which he exercised on the counsels of the nation.

During the time of Earl Duncan, father of William, an event of cardinal importance in the history of Donside took place, in the erection of the great fortress of Kildrummy, which ultimately became the chief seat of the earldom of Mar. This famous castle was built, as we are told by the historian of the Sutherland family, by Gilbert de Moravia, Bishop of Caithness and Treasurer for the north of Scotland during the period 1223-1245. The castle occupies a very important strategic situation, and formed one of a chain of holds which in mediæval times garrisoned the great route northward from Forfarshire over the "Mounth"—others on the line being Brechin, Kincardine, Loch Kinnord, Strathbogie, Rothies, Elgin, Duffus, Blervie, Inverness, and Dunskaith, all of which were in existence during the thirteenth century. Following the usual practice of the Middle Ages, the Crown entrusted the wardenship of the castle to the local

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh's *Historic Earls and Earldoms of Scotland*, p. 20.

magnate in whose territory it was built, and thus it came in effect to be the chief seat of the Earl of Mar: but all through its history Kildrummy remained essentially a royal fortress, and the Earl had to make it over when required for the use of the King. The building of the castle completed the process of "Normanising" the old Celtic earldom, and capturing it for the interest of the Crown; and the result is plainly seen in the greatly enhanced importance of Earl William.

It appears not improbable, having regard to all the circumstances, that the Doune of Invernochty was erected in the days of the "Normanisation" of the Mar earldom, possibly by Earl Duncan, whose dates are about 1228-1244. It may quite well have been the headquarters of the earldom in the days before the Castle of Kildrummy was reared, in a more important strategical situation, and with a national end in view, by the great ecclesiastical statesman. On the erection of Kildrummy the Doune would probably be abandoned, a circumstance which might be held to account for the utter absence of recorded history connected with a fortress of such evident consequence during the stormy periods of the War of Independence and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The only specific mention of the place which the writer has been able to detect in the mediæval records occurs under the year 1507. On 8th August<sup>1</sup> of that year James IV. granted a large portion of the earldom of Mar—then held by the Crown—to Alexander Elphinstone of that ilk, who became the first of the Elphinstone lords of Mar—his descendants remaining in possession until 1626, when, after a most protracted lawsuit, they were ousted by the Erskines, the representatives of the old Celtic stock. The lands thus granted were constituted into the barony of Invernochty, and it is stated that the chief messuage of this barony was *apud antiquam maneriem de Invernochty*, "at the ancient manor house of Invernochty," where seisin was formally taken.<sup>2</sup> As the lands in question were widely scattered through the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, Elphinstone resigned the whole into the hands of the King, and an excambion was arranged of all territories which lay outwith the lordship of Strathdon. The grant was thereupon renewed in the new terms by James on 10th December 1507,<sup>3</sup> and Elphinstone was designated of Invernochty; but on the 19th July 1508,<sup>4</sup> the King made a further large grant of the Mar lands to him, including the custody of the royal castle of Kildrummy. The Mar title, together with what remained of the estates, continued with the Crown. On the 14th January 1510, the whole of the lands which had been granted by the King to Lord Elphinstone were incorporated

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. xiv., No. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iv. p. 739.

<sup>3</sup> *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. xiv., No. 427.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xv., No. 14.



into the free barony of Kildrummy, with the castle of Kildrummy as chief messuage. The service under which the wardenship of the royal stronghold was entrusted to Elphinstone in this charter is interesting. It is to be held "of the King and his successors in feu and heritage for ever freely," the service required being "a hundred mounted men with lances for service in the King's wars and military operations against his enemies if any such should arise in future" (*et sustinebunt nobis et successoribus nostris centum homines suffultos cum lanceis ad faciendum seruicium nobis in nostris guerris et exercitibus contra nostros inimicos si quos tempore futuro fieri contigerint*).<sup>1</sup> A charter in confirmation of the foregoing, dated 12th August 1513,<sup>2</sup> adds to the grants the advowson (*advocatio*) of the church of Invernochty and frees Lord Elphinstone from the service of spearmen.

In its original state the earthworks of the Doune would be crowned by that type of wooden fortalice which the early Normans designated a "brattice." The brattice consisted of a stout palisading on the summit of the mote, within which were the hall and other buildings of the castle, all of timber. Such a fortress is well represented in the mote-castles of Dinan, Hastings, and Rennes, in the Bayeux Tapestry, and in the celebrated description of Merchem Castle by Jean de Colmieu, quoted in Clark's work. This vivid word-picture gives us an exact description of the appearance which the Doune of Invernochty must have presented in the early thirteenth century. The old Norman-French writer tells us that it had been the custom of the nobles in his land "to heap up a mound of earth as high as they were able, and to dig round it a broad, open, and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole upper end of the mound, instead of a wall, with a barrier of wooden planks stoutly fixed together, with numerous turrets set round. Within was constructed a house, or rather citadel, commanding the whole, so that the gate of entry could only be approached by a bridge, which, first springing from the counter-scarp of the ditch, was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by sets of piers, two or even three, trussed on each side over convenient spans, crossing the ditch with a managed ascent so as to reach the upper level of the mound, landing at its edge on a level at the threshold of the gate."<sup>3</sup>

At what date the mason-work on the summit superseded these wooden defences we have no information. According to the view which has been advanced in these paragraphs, the Doune was allowed to fall into decay on the erection of Kildrummy by Gilbert de Moravia before 1245. It is therefore not improbable that when Alexander Elphinstone in 1507

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iv. p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. xviii., No. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture*, vol. i. p. 34.

took up his residence upon the old deserted Norman mote he converted it again into a place of strength by building a wall of enceinte round its scarp. It may be mentioned that the masonry has a certain appearance of haste not inconsistent with this theory. On this supposition, the Doune would again be abandoned when Lord Elphinstone entered into wardenship of Kildrummy under the charter of 19th July 1508. Thus its occupancy, according to our view, was restricted to the two brief periods: (1) between some date in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and the erection of Kildrummy, shortly before 1245; and (2) between the dates when the charters of 8th August 1507 and 19th July 1508 respectively were implemented. This circumstance would well account for the complete absence of incident which we have already noted as one of the most remarkable peculiarities of this hitherto enigmatical structure.

A persistent tradition bears that the mediæval church of Invernochty (Strathdon), which about the year 1200 was granted by the Earl of Mar to the Priory of Monymusk and in the fourteenth century became a prebend of St Machar's Cathedral, stood originally on the Doune of Invernochty. Both Dawson and the *New Statistical Account* affirm this, and Jervise remarks that "a number of mounds, not unlike graves, may be seen towards the east side." There is nothing improbable in the tradition, as parish churches in mediæval times were frequently placed for security within the precincts of a castle. Porchester is a well-known English example; and it will be remembered that in the thirteenth century the parish church of Dunottar, founded in 1246, stood upon the castle rock, where it was burned by Wallace, under circumstances of appalling atrocity, after he stormed the stronghold in 1298—as related by Blind Harry. Another parallel is the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood, which until about 1150 stood on the castle rock of Edinburgh, and is mentioned in a charter of David I. in which he secures to the canons "possession of this church of the Holy Rood of Edwinesburg"—*i.e.* the Abbey whose ruins remain—"as well as of their old church of the castle."<sup>1</sup> In somewhat the same fashion a castle chapel on occasion took the place of the parish church; an instance of this occurs at Kildrummy, whose noble chapel was, in 1485–1487, utilised as a place of public worship pending the erection of a chapel in the Den of Kildrummy.<sup>2</sup> The chapel was an invariable adjunct of a Norman fortalice, and, if there is any proof in the tradition, it may be that at Invernochty the castle chapel fulfilled also the functions of the parish church. On 22nd December 1409, Alexander Stewart, Earl

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Maxwell, *Official Guide to the Abbey Church, Palace, and Environs of Holyrood House*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ix. pp. 333, 388, 526.

of Mar, grants a charter to Forbes of Brux of the lands of Glencarvie, Glenconrie, and the Ord, in the lordship of Strathdon, for a penny yearly at the south door of the church of Invernochty.<sup>1</sup> Feudal services were usually rendered at the castle, not at the church, and the apparent exception here affords a strong presumption that in this case the church was in fact within the enceinte of the castle.

Evidence of a less ambiguous nature is supplied by Gordon of Straloch's map of the three shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, reproduced in Robertson's *Collections*. Here the church of Invernochty is distinctly marked in the angle between the Nochty water and the river Don, on the exact position occupied by the Doune, and not on the south side of the river, where the church now stands. It may be noted that in the map by Straloch which appeared in Blæu's *Atlas* (1654), and includes only the two shires of Aberdeen and Banff, the church is marked in its present position on the south side of the Don. From this it may be inferred that the change took place about this period.

A few other particulars connected with the district may be given here. In 1438 there is a note of a payment by the King's Chamberlain of Mar—the earldom was then held by the Crown—for conducting the royal stallions from Strathavon to Invernochty (*et quinque hominibus agitancium undecim equos indomitos a Strathown usque Invernochty: v solidi*).<sup>2</sup> This entry might be taken to imply that the Doune was habitable at the period. The lands of Invernochty are mentioned under rather curious circumstances in 1494–1497. It appears that the Crown had leased Invernochty and Bellabeg to George, Earl of Huntly, who about this time was warden or lieutenant-governor of Kildrummy Castle. The Earl had accordingly given Sir William Coutts, vicar of Invernochty, and certain other persons, permission to farm Invernochty and Bellabeg; and this aroused the wrath of Duncan Forbes of Towie, who held or imagined that he held rights on the lands in question. Duncan accordingly brought an action before the Lords Auditors against Sir William and his fellows “for the wrangwis occupatione and manuring and withal ding fra him of the tak and maling of the landis of Invernochty and Ballebeg.” Lord Huntly succeeded in proving his case, but the whole episode is a striking sidelight on the state of chaos to which questions of proprietorship on Upper Donside had been reduced by the long dispute between the Erskine family and the Crown regarding the lands of the earldom of Mar.<sup>3</sup>

The Doune of Invernochty is mentioned once again specifically in a

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. xi., No. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. v. pp. 59–60.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iv. pp. 472–474. Duncan Forbes of Towie is mentioned in connection with the same lands in *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ix. pp. 391, 527.

charter of 1654. At first a Covenanter, John, the twenty-first Earl of Mar, later joined the Royalist cause, and was hard hit in estates and wealth on the victory of the King's adversaries. His son, also John, was present with Montrose at Philiphaugh (15th August 1645), but escaped alive from the fatal field and retired to Kildrummy. In 1654 he succeeded, but the estates were confiscated by the Scottish parliament, and were not restored to the family till the return of Charles II. in 1660. During the interval several grants of lands in the earldom were made by the Keepers of the Great Seal; and one of these, to John Spence of Blair, includes "the lands of Strathdone of old called the barony of Strathdone, with the tower, fortalices, manor-place, fishings, tenandries, service of free tenants and superiorities of the same."<sup>1</sup> This Spence also got a grant of Kildrummy. The mention of tower, fortalice, and manor-place is quite in the mediæval style, the "tower" being the keep, the " fortalice " the bailey, and the "manor-place" the domestic buildings therein.

In the almost entire absence of reliable information, the reader must form his own opinion as to the theories which have been advanced in the foregoing paragraphs. Such information as we do possess is sufficient to demonstrate the interest of the fortress which even in 1507 could be described as "ancient," and which all down the ages has been so closely associated with the great royal stronghold of Kildrummy. An antiquity to which even the oldest castellated buildings on Donside must yield, and an undoubted though obscure history as the chief seat of one of the great territorial divisions of the Mar earldom, are associated with the presence of structural remains which in interest and good preservation exceed all others of the same kind in the North of Scotland—the Castle of Duffus in Morayshire excepted. It is much to be desired that, as a prelude to attempting a more satisfactory account of this remarkable antiquity, the proprietor would cause the Doune to be thoroughly excavated by some competent archæologist. There can be little doubt that the results would be of great importance for the study of the Scottish defensive architecture, and for the history of Aberdeenshire during that shadowy but fascinating period when the congeries of independent Celtic tribes was giving way to a strongly centralised feudal kingdom.

Meantime the smooth grassy surface of the old Norman mote continues to keep its secret, and not a vestige of history illumines its early past, or preserves any record of the haughty lords who dug its ditch and threw up its banks and built their place of strength on its summit to overawe the sullen aboriginals of twelfth-century Strathdon.

<sup>1</sup> *Register of Great Seal, 1652-1659, No. 179.*