

# Records and Opinions: 1780 – 1930

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded in 1780, and received its Royal Charter in 1783. It has thus been in action as a learned body for nearly two hundred years, and its work during that time is well documented by its own periodical publications. It is the purpose of this paper to examine how much light these records throw on the early development of antiquarian thought in Scotland, and 1930 has been chosen as a terminal date for reasons which will appear in due course.

The nature and scope of the records call for a preliminary word. The first volume of the *Transactions* was published in 1792; it covers the Society's initial decade and contains fifty-one papers (570 pp), the first of which, by the Secretary, William Smellie, represents an abbreviation of his separately published *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. This latter incorporates, in full, the inaugural address of the Founder, the 11th Earl of Buchan, and a list of donations from 1780 to 1784. Volume II came out in two parts, dated respectively 1818 and 1823, though the title-page of the complete volume is marked 1822; it contains forty papers (512 pp) and an appendix. Volume III is again in two parts, of 1828 and 1831, and contains twenty-eight papers (328 pp) and a very long appendix; this last contains a list of all the communications made to the Society up to 1830, and of the donations from the end of Smellie's list (1784) as above. It is clear that by no means all the papers and discussions were published either in the *Transactions* or elsewhere. In 1831 the *Transactions* were renamed *Archaeologia Scotica*, in imitation of the London *Archaeologia*, and Volume IV bears this new title; it contains forty papers (450 pp) and an appendix, and, although its first two parts appeared respectively in 1831 and 1833, misfortunes which beset the Society<sup>1</sup> delayed the publication of the third until 1857, the date that appears on the title-page of the complete volume. The final part of this volume, and also the whole of Volume V, thus overlaps the beginning of yet another publication, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*; Volume V is in three parts, dated respectively 1874, 1880 and 1890, and these contain between them seventeen long papers (450 pp). Volume I of the *Proceedings* was published in 1854 and covers the Society's winter Sessions of 1851–2, 1852–3 and 1853–4; Volumes II to XII cover two Sessions each, and since 1878 each volume has normally covered a single Session only.

## OPINION IN 1780

The climate of opinion into which the Society was launched must naturally be examined first, and it cannot be assessed on Scottish evidence alone. Antiquarianism had had a long history

<sup>1</sup> On these see *Arch Scot*, v, 26 ff.

in England, where a Society had been formed, though never formally chartered, at the end of the sixteenth century, and, after a period of eclipse dating from about 1618, it had begun to revive as early as 1707. In this phase, interested people were meeting weekly in a tavern to discuss antiquarian matters, and the Society was formally inaugurated in 1717. The material of the early discussions was defined, in a later record (1770), as ‘the History and Antiquities of Great Britain, preceding the reign of James I but without excluding any other remarkable Antiquities that might be offered to them’<sup>1</sup>; and an extremely ambitious programme was drawn up ‘for the illustration of our National Antiquities’.<sup>2</sup> The items of this programme that are most significant in the present context are probably ‘A Compleat History of Great Britain and Ireland, with their most celebrated Antiquities; also Maps and Charts, and a Chorographical Description of the Counties’; the printing of Domesday Book; ‘An Historical Account of Castles’; ‘An Historical Account of the Coins, and of several Mints’; ‘A Monasticon’ and ‘A History of the Greater Abbies’. In an earlier passage, the author of the paper from which these quotations are taken had had this to say about the scope of the Antiquary’s labours;<sup>3</sup> ‘The History and Antiquities of Nations and Societies have been objects of inquiry to curious persons of all ages, either to separate falsehood from truth, and tradition from evidence, to establish what had probability for its basis, or to explode what rested only on the vanity of the inventors and propagators’; and again ‘The arrangement and proper use of facts is History – not a mere narrative taken up at random and embellished with poetic diction, but a regular and elaborate inquiry into every ancient record and proof, that can elucidate or establish them’. Yet another passage deals with the use of historical evidence, and reads as follows: ‘The most indistinct collection has this merit, that it supplies material to those who have sagacity or leisure to extract from the common mass whatever may answer useful purposes. Here begins the province of the Antiquary, who will never be deemed an unserviceable member of the community whilst curiosity or the love of truth persists.’

The Antiquary’s field was thus evidently thought of as being co-extensive with History, this word itself being understood in its widest sense. The influence of this view appears clearly enough in the selection of the sixty-one papers, of various dates, and some of them as early as 1734–5, that are published in this same first volume of *Archaeologia*; as a cursory inspection of the list suggests that their subjects fall roughly into percentage classes as shown in Table I below. Scottish antiquaries active in the 1770s must have been powerfully influenced by this kind of thinking, particularly as they were concerned, when they came to form their Society, to model

TABLE I

Historical records	31
Foreign, including three antiquities in Rome	21
Roman remains in Britain	20
Medieval remains in Britain	15
Various	7
Classical	3
Speculation on prehistoric subjects	3
	<hr/>
	100
	<hr/>

it on the Society of Antiquaries of London. In addition, by 1780 the work of the great pioneers, from Camden downwards, must have been generally known to interested people; while it may not have escaped notice that, nearer home, Bishop Lesley had prefaced his history, *De Origine*,

<sup>1</sup> *Arch* (ed 1804), I, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*, xxx ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, i f.

*etc, Scotorum* (1578), with a long description of the country, and that George Buchanan, whose *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) had appeared in translation as recently as 1762, had adopted much the same plan – significant parallels to the London Society’s ‘chorographical descriptions of counties’.

The effect of these various influences on contemporary Scottish antiquaries can be judged from the opening paper of the Society’s *Transactions*<sup>1</sup>, ‘An Historical Account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland’, by William Smellie, as well as from the Founder’s inaugural discourse.<sup>2</sup> Some extracts from the former, which embodies a good deal of the latter, merit reproduction here. The paper opens, for example, with the following passage. ‘Like other nations of Europe, the political and historical monuments of Scotland have not only been injured by the natural operations of time, but by many other causes. Our desolating and depredatory wars with England continued for ages. The demolition of ancient buildings, the destruction of public archives, and of private documents, were results of these unhappy contests. When the two nations were *partially* united, by the succession of our James VI to the throne of England, a temporary peace was established, and promised great and mutual advantages. But, not long after this auspicious event, fanatical and feudal dissensions arose, and produced effects equally pernicious to the objects of the Historian and Antiquary. Though these and similar causes have long since ceased, yet, by annihilating our principal materials, they depressed the spirit of inquiry, and made us negligent of those which had escaped the general devastation’. The author then points out that, although the ‘real union’ of the kingdoms under Queen Anne might have been expected to remove ‘every obstruction to the progress of Science and of Literature in this country’, Scotland had had ‘her convulsions’, and ‘not many years have elapsed since the jealousy of the two nations were (*sic*) succeeded by a mutual attachment to the same family and constitution’. During this short period, antiquarian research had not been ‘altogether neglected’, but the labours of individual antiquaries, unassisted by powerful patronage, and destitute of proper repositories, had ‘produced no great light to the public. They, however, excited a taste for inquiries of this nature, which, for some years past, has continued to diffuse itself over the nation’. As a result, an association ‘similar to that of the Antiquarian Society of London, was projected by several gentlemen of eminence and learning, some of whom had made private collections, and were anxious that these, and others which they knew were scattered through the kingdom, should be preserved in a secure and permanent repository. The time, they found, was now arrived when such a Society might be instituted. . . . They considered that some useful materials, which had been amassed by eminent antiquaries, were now perishing in the possession of persons who knew not their value; that others, still existing in public libraries, depended on the fate of single copies, and were subject to obliteration, to fire, and to other causes of destruction; and that it was an object of national importance to bring all these, either in their original form or by accurate transcript, into one great repository, which should be rendered accessible to the Republic of Letters’.

Similar ideas find expression in the Society’s application for a Royal Charter,<sup>3</sup> and in its earliest Statutes.<sup>4</sup> The latter define the Society’s ‘principal objects’ as ‘the ancient, as compared with the modern, state of the kingdom, etc.’, making a reference to the Earl of Buchan’s inaugural address. The application to the King goes into considerably fuller detail. Thus the first article states that ‘your petitioners, consisting of a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of this part of your Majesty’s united kingdom, formed themselves into a Society for investigating antiquities, as well as natural and civil history in general, with a view to the improvement of the minds of mankind, and to promote a taste for natural and useful knowledge’; while other articles allude

<sup>1</sup> Vol 1, pp iii ff.

<sup>2</sup> Smellie, W, *Account of the Institution, etc*, 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions*, 1, vii ff.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, xiv ff.

to the 'ingenious dissertations and valuable donations' contributed by 'many men of the first distinction for rank and learning', and to the 'relics of antiquity' and 'natural productions' included among the donations. The Charter itself empowers the Society, among other things, to acquire, hold and enjoy in perpetuity . . . relics of antiquity, specimens of natural objects, artefacts, books and manuscripts.

Taken in their entirety, these documents suggest that the founder-members were largely inspired by the following set of ideas.

1. *History*. In respect of the nature of history, the Edinburgh Antiquaries took just the same view as did their earlier London counterparts, like them regarding antiquity simply as one aspect of historical study in general. Their concern with natural conditions, topography and so on was part and parcel of this extended view of history, and the statement of their position was most suitably rounded off by the reference to the Republic of Letters. For that matter, an ampler target than 'the improvement of the minds of mankind' could hardly be devised for any intellectual discipline.

2. *Conservation*. The need for preserving original written documents and significant relics of antiquity as the sources of historical research was in any case obvious enough, but in 1780 a particular reason existed for the subject of the Scottish archives to bulk large in the Antiquaries' minds. Before 1662, such public documents as had been spared by Edward I and Cromwell, or had come into being since the latter's depredations, had been stored in Edinburgh Castle, but during the later years of the seventeenth century they were removed to the Parliament House where they lay uncared-for and open to every destructive agency. After 1722, the Town Council made some ineffective moves for betterment, but nothing was achieved until 1765, when the Treasury provided the funds for a proper Record Office. Work then began on the General Register House, but was not finished until 1788. It is consequently natural enough that the Antiquaries, with the new building under construction before their eyes, and having also, very likely, had experience of family charter-chests and private collections of 'curiosities', should have laid great stress on the assembling and careful preservation of all kinds of source-material.

3. *Patronage*. 'Powerful patronage' is mentioned in William Smellie's paper (*supra*) as essential to the success of a plan for a Society of Antiquaries, and it would be natural under the conditions of the time to think of this as being exercised by highly-placed persons, almost necessarily peers. It is also characteristic of the feudal element surviving in Scottish society that even so purely intellectual a movement as this should have to be headed by 'noblemen and gentlemen', and by persons 'of the first distinction for rank' as well as for learning, such as are mentioned in the application for the Royal Charter. In effect, the first five Presidents of the newly-formed Society consisted respectively of a duke, three earls and a baron. Patronage, or at any rate support in respect of the Society's proposed Museum, could also have been exercised by owners of private collections of native Scottish antiquities, of Classical sculpture and pottery, coins or jewellery, and of foreign 'curios' in general; and such collections were largely in the hands of the richest members of the community.

4. *Learning*. The inaugural documents represent the members of the Society as being eminent in learning as well as in social rank, and the expression 'eminent antiquary' suggests that some antiquaries knew more about their subject than others. On the other hand, we have the conception of the 'Republic of Letters', and the by-laws that deal with the publication of papers have a suitably 'republican' tone. It is true that, under them, four officers called 'Censors' are to be elected annually, 'for the purpose of revising such papers and communications as are to form the transactions of the Society'; but in case of disagreement with an author the Censors' recommendations become subject to the approval of a general meeting of the Society, voting

by ballot. It would thus be wrong to think of the Censors as specialist experts in any modern sense; they may well have possessed some degree of practical experience, being able, say, to read a Roman inscription, but the matters coming to an issue between them and the authors were not held to be outside the scope of ordinarily well educated people. To whatever extent the technical expert may, by 1780, have established his position in such fields as engineering or the natural sciences, the possibility of his entering that of antiquities had evidently occurred to no-one. The ‘mind of mankind’ was still the antiquary’s target.

5. *Method.* The ‘investigation of antiquities, as well as natural and civil history in general’, was to be carried out by the reading of papers – ‘ingenious dissertations’ in the language of the petition – to formal meetings of the Society, their discussion by the members, and the subsequent publication of those which were considered suitable. One of the by-laws alludes to ‘the paper of the night’. Due order was required in the conduct of business, and another by-law empowers not only the President, but any member, to ‘call to order any person who, from inattention, may at any time stumble into premature discussion, or frivolous queries’. The quality of the published material was secured by the censorship machinery described above; the mention of ‘immediate’ publication in the seventh clause of the Statutes may or may not imply that papers of secondary importance should be held over for later volumes. In fact, only seven of the twenty-four papers read to the Society in the first year of its life actually appeared in the *Transactions*.

A particularly significant phase of the Society’s early activities was the collection of accounts of parishes, by means of a questionnaire sent out to ministers.<sup>1</sup> This plan derived from the principle that the ‘objects of the Society were not limited to Antiquities alone, but that they were to extend to the Natural productions of the country’. It was considered that ‘the narrowness of the country precluded the practicability of instituting two great and opulent bodies, similar to those of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London’, and that the Scottish Society should therefore assume responsibility for all branches of knowledge; none the less, the Royal Society of Edinburgh was, in fact, founded very shortly afterwards, in 1783. The questionnaire accordingly went far beyond the scope of purely antiquarian interests, touching on all aspects of a local community’s life and thus paving the way for Sinclair’s great project of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–9). The idea of such a survey was not itself altogether new, as something of the kind had been foreshadowed, no doubt under the influence of Sibbald, at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Another great instrument projected for the Society’s purposes was, of course, the Museum. Enough has already been said about the preservation of documents and relics to show the importance attached to the Museum from the first, and it need only be added that, under the by-laws, a ‘descriptive inventory of donations’ had to be read at every meeting.<sup>3</sup>

Further light is thrown on the founder-members’ interests by the list of subjects expounded to or discussed by the Society in its earliest years. The first hundred titles, dated between November 1780 and October 1785,<sup>4</sup> fall into the classes shown in Table II (*infra*, p 246). Thirty-two of the items were printed in the *Transactions*, and a further eight elsewhere.

This list serves to reinforce what has just been said about history and conservation, items A and G representing the conservation of historical facts while much of item B has a historical component. Item D, as has been pointed out above, was rated as an aspect of history in the seventeen-eighties; item C again largely reflects the wide scope of history as this was understood at the time; while items H, J and K would have made their due impact on the ‘minds of mankind’.

<sup>1</sup> Smellie, W, *An Account, etc.*, 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For examples, see Macfarlane, W, *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, especially vol 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions*, I, xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch Scot.*, III, App. 149 ff.

The low figure for item E need not seem out of keeping with the importance accorded to the Museum, as the early lists of donations are extremely long<sup>1</sup> and many of the gifts comprised large numbers of individual objects, especially coins and documents.

TABLE II

A. Record matter, historical and biographical	22
B. Speculation, historical and antiquarian	20
C. Not connected with antiquity	17
D. Descriptions of ancient monuments and sites	13
E. Objects, including coins	7
F. The Society's affairs	6
G. Parish descriptions	5
H. Literary	4
J. Legend	3
K. Not Scottish	3
	100

## FROM 1785 TO 1825

A convenient way to assess the development of antiquarian thought over a period of years would seem to be to tabulate sample groups of papers, taken at regular intervals, for comparison with one another and with Table II above. This method, however, would fail in the present case, as the Society, soon after its formation, began to run into administrative and financial troubles, which cut down its activities and seriously threatened its prospects. In an 'Account of the Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland' (1831),<sup>2</sup> S Hibbert and D Laing, while emphasising how much was owed to the 'patriotic zeal and personal exertions of the Founder', allude to 'the Society's long state of torpor and inactivity' between about 1794 and 1830, and describe the troubles at some length. The second author, too, gives a revised and much more detailed account of the same episodes in another paper, written thirty years later.<sup>3</sup> Evidence of 'torpor and inactivity' certainly appears in the figures for the papers read to the Society at this time; for example, in 1793, 1805, 1809, 1811, 1812, and 1813 no papers are recorded, in each of the years 1802, 1808, 1810 and 1814 only one paper was read, while in other years between 1791 and 1815 inclusive the number only once exceeded seven.<sup>4</sup> These figures contrast strongly with the twenty-five of 1781 and the twenty-one of 1782; and though they began to increase in 1816, apparently as the result of a new impetus given two years earlier,<sup>5</sup> they do not seem to have recovered fully until 1823, when twenty-three are again on record. In view of these facts it will be best to combine the papers, for purposes of analysis, into three groups – one for the phase of prosperity, from 1786 to 1790; a second for that of 'inactivity and torpor', from 1791 to 1815; and a third, for that of improvement, from 1816 to 1825, all inclusive. The results are given below in Table III, the three phases being shown in separate columns lettered A, B and C respectively for reference.

The following points are suggested by Table III.

1. *History and historical records.* The list in *Archaeologia Scotica*<sup>6</sup> gives no more than the titles of the papers and other communications, and except in a minority of cases, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Smellie, W, *Account of the Institution, etc.*, 39 ff; *Arch Scot*, III, App., 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch Scot*, III, App. pp v ff. The first author's name sometimes appears as Hibbert-Ware.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, v, 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup> These figures are taken from the list appearing *ibid*, III, App. 164 ff. A slightly different statement is given *ibid*, p xvi, but its general purport is the same.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p xvii.

<sup>6</sup> Vol III, App., 149 ff.

TABLE III  
PERCENTAGE CLASSIFICATION OF PAPERS READ, 1786-1825

Class	A	B	C	Remarks
	1786- 1790	1791- 1815	1816- 1825	
History	10	9	9	These classes sometimes overlap
Record material	30	7	15	
Roman remains and sites	3	1	4	
Other ancient monuments and sites	9	9	26	Including medieval and later
Topographical descriptions	10	1	-	
Literary, excl. Ossian	3	9	1	
Ossian	-	19	1	
Linguistic	3	11	4	Incl. Gaelic and Pictish
Objects	2	2	12	
Antiquarian speculation	5	17	1	
Various	5	6	4	
Not antiquarian	3	9	3	
Not Scottish	12	-	20	Some are relevant for purposes of comparison
Society's affairs	5	-	-	
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

paper has been published in full, it is difficult to distinguish between those which simply record facts and those which contain, as well, some element of historical thinking. Uninformed speculation, however, can generally be weeded out. History and records can therefore be best treated in conjunction, and on this basis their falling-off from 40% in column A to 16% in column B, with no more than a modest recovery, to 24%, in column C, immediately attracts notice and suggests that the falling-off in column B may mark a lowering of scholarly standards in the phase of 'torpor'. The range of subjects indicated by the titles is too wide for further attempts at classification to be useful.

2. *Monuments and sites.* If Roman remains and Roman and other ancient monuments and sites are taken in conjunction, it will be seen that they fall off from 12% in column A, which compares with the 13% of Table II, to 10% in column B, and then recover remarkably, to 30%, in column C. These variations seem to correspond with those just noted in the historical and record classes; and they may indicate here not only a fall and subsequent rise in standards but also a change of approach to antiquarian problems. It may be that, after about 1815, more effort than before was being expended in the field and less in the study; while the Society's influence may have begun to spread more widely, outside Edinburgh and into the country at large.

3. *Speculation.* The rise in the number of papers whose titles suggest uninformed speculation, namely from 5% in column A to 17% in column B, and their subsequent fall to 1% in column C, would be quite in keeping with the notion, suggested above, of declining standards in the 'torpid' phase followed by recovery when better times returned. More significant, perhaps, is the fall from the 20% of Table II, which points, when phase B is discounted, to a long-term improvement in scholarship.

4. *Topographical descriptions.* The falling-off in this class to a single paper in column B and to none at all in column C, is clearly to be associated with the compilation of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. This great work, which began to appear in 1791, took over the corresponding part of the Society's original programme, and consequently no more parochial accounts were needed.

5. *Ossian.* The high figure of 19% for Ossian in column B is highly characteristic, as

MacPherson's work was extremely popular at the time in Romantic circles though its authenticity had been challenged by Dr Johnson as long ago as 1775. Controversy was still active, and the prominence of this subject in the table is in fact due largely to a series of communications made by the Rev D Mackintosh, who argued that the poems were authentic.

6. *Not Scottish.* Some of the papers in this class are not of antiquarian interest, though no doubt in keeping with the Society's original object of 'improving the minds of mankind'; but others might well have contained comparative matter relevant to Scottish questions. The rather high figure of 20% in column C results in part from papers on runes in the Isle of Man, which certainly fulfilled this condition. The fresh openings for travel and employment overseas that followed the peace of 1815 are also likely to have increased the number of papers on foreign subjects. The extent to which the wars contributed directly to the Society's phase of torpor may perhaps be doubtful, as the wars of the eighteenth century did not involve whole communities, in the modern manner; Hibbert and Laing, in fact, say no more than that 'the volunteering system, and the agitated state of the country in general in regard to the threatened French invasion, had the effect of withdrawing people's minds in a great degree from scientific pursuits of every description'.<sup>1</sup>

7. *Long-term development.* What may be a significant point in respect of the general trend of the Society's development arises from a contrast presented by Tables II and III. For whereas in Table II 37% of the papers dealt with the combined classes of speculation and non-antiquarian matters, while history, records and field-archaeology, likewise in combination, accounted for 35%, by the period 1816-1825 (Table III, C) the corresponding figures were 4% and 54%. This strongly suggests that by now serious study was beginning to come into its own, and that the Society was taking on the form of a real antiquarian body.

8. *The 'torpid' phase.* A final point to consider is whether the 'torpid' phase may not itself possess some antiquarian significance. On the face of it, the Society's set-back was brought about by extraneous causes, Hibbert and Laing attributing it primarily to an indiscriminate admission of Fellows 'too many of whom, being unable to estimate the important scientific objects of the Institution, found far more congenial employment for their minds in the exercise of a trifling and factious spirit'.<sup>2</sup> They describe how subscriptions fell off, financial difficulties were met with in providing the Society with premises, quarrels sprang up, and 'no inconsiderable part' of the Museum collection was lost. Laing, in his paper of 1861, opines that this last is an overstatement,<sup>3</sup> but the suspicion remains that antiquarian enthusiasm now burned less brightly than at the time when the inaugural documents were written, and that the Society's initial prosperity may have been due, in part at least, to the attraction of a cultural fashion rather than to a widely-felt interest in its stated objects. It is also the common experience of societies that their fortunes tend to rise and fall according to the influence of their principal members; in the present case, the Founder was forced into resignation in 1790, and the recovery, when it began, seems to have followed the emergence of new influential leaders.<sup>4</sup>

The contents of those papers which were actually published, the great majority belonging to the period of recovery after 1816, provide some further information about the trend of the Society's development. Several are merely short notices of graves having been opened, and some of the authors are regrettably inclined to connect the remains with recognised historical characters. Descriptions of buildings and tombs are apt to be discursive and to lack precision, though Lord Buchan, in 1787, gives some measurements for the church at Iona and transcribes some of the epitaphs. Both this paper and a later one (1825), on a pair of altar-tombs, are

<sup>1</sup> *Arch Scot* III, App., xvi f.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*, ix.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, v, 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch Scot*, III, App. pp x, xvii.



accompanied by good drawings.<sup>1</sup> At least two descriptions of field-monuments are creditably factual, one, by J Skene on the Barmkin of Echt<sup>2</sup> being illustrated with a plate, and the other, by G Anderson on stone circles,<sup>3</sup> including some quite understandable line-blocks. The latter, it is true, ends in pseudo-historical speculation, and similar speculation bulks large in a paper by J Stuart on ‘some sculptured pillars’.<sup>4</sup> The most valuable papers of the period are probably two on Manx runic inscriptions, by H R Oswald and the Rev J Jamieson,<sup>5</sup> and another by S Hibbert on ‘vitrified sites’,<sup>6</sup> a term which the author adopts to cover burned mounds as well as vitrified forts. This paper of Hibbert’s, together with its associated notes and a second instalment which appeared in the succeeding period,<sup>7</sup> provides an exhaustive review of the facts as they were then known, and of contemporary theorising about them; and it is curious how nearly one of them, by Lord Woodhouselee,<sup>8</sup> with its analogy of ‘coffer’ construction, came to the true explanation of the vitrification process. Hibbert also produced an important paper,<sup>9</sup> more than a hundred pages long, on the Law-Tings of Orkney and Shetland; but this is an historical essay, and not an archaeological study in the ordinary sense. In all, Hibbert read nine papers between 1820 and 1825, and he evidently exerted an important influence in the Society. The only other contemporary Fellow whose name is still generally familiar was the Rev John Jamieson, author of *The Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808, 1825); one of the five papers that he read between 1815 and 1819 was concerned with the language of the Picts, but the rest do not seem to have touched on linguistic matters.

#### FROM 1826 TO 1850

The improvement in the Society’s fortunes that had become established by 1823 proved of rather short duration, as another phase of partial eclipse set in after 1835. David Laing, in his account of the Society’s progress written in 1861,<sup>10</sup> ascribes this decline in part to administrative troubles; but many of the Fellows had evidently begun to lose interest, and things were made worse by the appointment of an ineffective Secretary in 1838. This assessment is borne out by a falling-off in the number of papers read, just as after 1790 (*supra*); for whereas in 1827, for example, twenty-eight communications are recorded, the eight years 1836–43 achieved an average of only just over eight, and in 1843 the year’s figure sank to four. Though the next two years showed improvement, it was not until 1846 that recovery was marked by a respectable total of nineteen. This period, like its predecessor, should therefore be considered in three phases, and Table IV, in which its papers are classified, has similarly been given three columns – A for 1826–35; B for the phase of regression, 1836–43; and C for that of recovery, 1844–50. The titles used for the classes in Table III have been retained, to facilitate comparisons; but the class of ‘Topographical descriptions’ has been omitted, as no items occur.

This table suggests, in the first place, that the Society was continuing to develop, as noted above, towards the form of a regular antiquarian body. In 1844–50 (column C), for example, history, records and Roman and other ancient monuments, in combination, accounted for 62% of the papers read, while the combined figure for speculation and non-antiquarian subjects had fallen to 3%, not exceeding 4% even in the rather unhappy phase of 1836–43 (column B) though in the corresponding phase of 1791–1815 (Table III, column B) it had risen to 26%. This contrast seems to point to a victory for orderly thinking in historical and antiquarian matters. The

<sup>1</sup> *ibid*, pl I.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch Scot*, II, 324.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, III, 211.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, II, 314.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, II, 490 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*, IV, 160.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*, 280.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*, 167.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*, III, 103.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*, V, 1 ff.

TABLE IV  
PERCENTAGE CLASSIFICATION OF PAPERS READ, 1826-50

Class	A	B	C	Remarks
	1826-1835	1836-1843	1844-1850	
History	17	20	10	These classes sometimes overlap
Record material	18	29	21	
Roman remains and sites	5	3	6	
Other ancient monuments and sites	17	16	25	Incl. medieval and later
Literary, excl. Ossian	1	-	X	
Ossian	1	-	-	
Linguistic	1	4	X	
Objects	12	9	12	
Antiquarian speculation	2	4	-	
Various	3	6	7	Incl. folklore
Not antiquarian	1	-	3	
Not Scottish	19	9	14	Relevant for comparison in some cases
Society's affairs	3	-	X	
Classes too small to appear individually as percentages	-	-	2	Incl. figures for items marked X above
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

relationship of history and records, on the one hand, to ancient monuments on the other remains more or less as before, with the former group generally in the lead; this was definitely the case in 1836-43, when the 'arm-chair' subjects scored 49% to the 'field' subjects' 19%, this result being generally similar to that shown in column B of Table III.

In this context, of the general course of the Society's development, notice may usefully be taken of some remarks by David Laing.<sup>1</sup> He pointed out, in 1861, that certain activities which had figured in the Society's original programme had come to be taken over by other societies or persons. Thus Sinclair's *Statistical Account* (1791-9), and the subsequent *New Statistical Account* (1843), had largely fulfilled the Founder's early project of statistical reports on parishes, though of course treating antiquities as only one of their many subjects of inquiry. The principal monastic chartularies, again, had been published by the Bannatyne, Maitland, Spalding and Abbotsford Clubs; while biographies of distinguished Scotsmen, the Scottish coinage, Scottish sculptured stones, Roman remains, Scottish seals and a series of medieval buildings had been treated by individual authors.<sup>2</sup> Laing might have mentioned, in addition, the *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, which first appeared in 1799 and provided an outlet for agricultural papers.

Another point of interest is raised by the papers of non-Scottish subjects, in view of the new work on prehistoric archaeology that was currently in progress in Denmark. The system of classifying prehistoric objects in three Ages, of Stone, Bronze and Iron, was devised by the Danish antiquary C J Thomsen, was put into effect by him in the Copenhagen museum soon after his appointment as its Director in 1816, and was published in his *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed* in 1836. W C Trevelyan, presenting 'An Account of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen' in 1823, may or may not have had something to say about Thomsen's system, and similarly R Bald, who read a 'short notice' in 1828 on a collection of northern antiquities at Copenhagen; but in any case the Society is pretty certain to have heard

<sup>1</sup> *Arch Scot*, v, 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Respectively R Chambers (1834) and W S Irving (1839); J Lindsay (1845); C C Petley (1831) and P Chalmers (1848); R Stuart (1848); H Laing (1850); R W Billings (1845-52).

about it not later than 1843, when ‘Dr Hibbert-Ware briefly stated to the Meeting the nature of a communication on some points of Antiquity, from Professor Finn Magnusen of Copenhagen’,<sup>1</sup> or at latest in 1846, when J R Mitchell read two successive papers<sup>2</sup> on ‘The State of Archaeology in Copenhagen, Upsala, etc., as ascertained during a late Tour’. An English translation of Thomsen’s *Ledetraad* appeared in 1848, as *A Guide to Northern Antiquities*, and was followed in 1849 by *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, a translation of J J A Worsaae’s *Danmarks Oldtid*, in which Thomsen’s system was explained. Worsaae made the points that the classification of objects was essential to their proper study, and that, with a co-ordinated system, the comparison of British and Danish antiquities could produce useful results. Further Danish influence can be inferred from the title of a paper of 1850 by R Chambers, on a ‘Collection of objects for antiquarian Museums, with special reference to the practice in Denmark’,<sup>3</sup> the source of his information being described as ‘a Gentleman connected with the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Copenhagen’, who may well have been Worsaae himself. There is nothing to show that Scottish antiquaries adopted the new Danish ideas, or realised the value of stratified excavation, on which Thomsen’s system was based, for establishing comparative dates; and for that matter they could have come to understand the principle involved even before Thomsen’s time, as E Llwyd had observed a stratigraphical point as early as 1699,<sup>4</sup> and T Jefferson had published the stratified excavation of a tumulus in 1784.<sup>5</sup> Much interest was evidently taken in the ‘opening’ of tumuli, but the diggers’ object was simply to extract the grave-goods as collectors’ pieces.

Standards of accuracy in the description of ancient monuments were evidently rising. It is true that an interest in ‘romantic’ ruins probably helped to popularise communications on architectural subjects, but factual accounts and some good illustrations were published, and one item in the list of titles notes ‘a very accurate plan and drawing’. Descriptions of earthworks confine themselves to obvious superficial features, but here again reasonable accuracy could be obtained, as is shown by a comparison of the accounts, prepared in 1828 by W W Hay, of two hill-forts in East Lothian with the surveys of the same monuments made in 1913 by the Ancient Monuments Commission.<sup>6</sup> On this showing, Hay’s version, though it ends with some characteristically romantic speculation, is seen to be fairly adequate; his plans, though not accurate, indicate the earthworks’ general size and shape, and the fact that he prepared measured plans at all puts him in advance of some later workers in this field. Other creditable papers, which likewise serve to show the trend of Fellows’ interests, are the second instalment of Hibbert’s work on vitrified forts and mounds;<sup>7</sup> two very full descriptions of the Ruthwell cross, with illustrations and discussion of the runes,<sup>8</sup> by the Rev H Duncan and T G Repp; illustrated notes on carved stones, by C C Petbey;<sup>9</sup> and notes by J A Smith on Roman finds at Newstead.<sup>10</sup>

The inference may thus be drawn that the Society was now concerning itself with a much narrower field than the one envisaged in its original programme, and that, although no branch of archaeology was yet approaching professional status, papers were tending to become increasingly competent within the scope of sensible amateurs. That it might also feel responsibility for the conservation of an ancient monument is shown by its memorial of protest of 1844, headed by the signature of D Laing, against the demolition of Trinity College Church.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Arch Scot*, iv, App. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Welsh History Review*, 1966–7, 355; *Antiquity*, XLV, no. 178, p 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Notes on Virginia*, Query XI, reproduced in *Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed Koch, A, and Peden, W, 224. I am indebted for this reference to Professor S Piggott.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch Scot*, III, 301 ff; RCAM, *Inventory of East Lothian*, nos 256 (The Castles) and 259 (Kidlaw).

<sup>7</sup> *Arch Scot*, iv, 280 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 313 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 345 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 422 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 448.

## FROM 1851 TO 1860

With the opening of the long series of the Society's *Proceedings*, which extends from 1851 to the present day, we begin to get access to the full texts of papers, and no longer have to depend mainly on mere lists of titles. This is naturally a change for the better, but it carries with it a considerably increased risk that the number and density of the trees may obscure the character of the wood. Instead, therefore, of working on a tabulation of all the papers, as has been done so far, it will be better to take one Session in each decade, and treat its papers as a sample of the period in question. Such samples will illustrate the scope of contemporary interests, contemporary methods of work, and the progress of knowledge in matters of major import; while papers read during other Sessions of the period, which either deserve comment on their merits or point to significant trends in antiquarian thinking, can be discussed separately later. In addition, a count has been made of the subjects of all the papers read between 1851 and 1930, and the results of this will be found in a final section (p 280). On the other hand, no attempt has been made to deal with the sheaves of reports on the relics, bones and curios that regularly reached the Museum, as they outrun any hope of analysis.

The second Session of each decade will serve as well as any other to provide the samples, and on that basis the sample Session for the eighteen-fifties is the seventy-third,<sup>1</sup> of 1852-53. Of its twenty-eight main communications – others, that is, than short notes, records of donations, and so on – the first is the Anniversary Address, which deals in part with the Society's functions and programme; seventeen refer to Scottish antiquarian subjects, of greater or less moment; five deal with extraneous antiquarian matters; and a further five are historical, Scottish or otherwise, one of the former risking an excursion into proto-history. The Address, by Lord Murray, lays down that 'we are entering, indeed, upon a new era in the history of archaeological investigations', in that 'while, by the laborious and faithful collection of chartularies, and authentic historical documents of every kind, the evidences of history are restored to our use, we are also learning to read aright those other evidences . . . which are stored in the ruder antiquities of primitive ages'; and it likewise congratulates the Society on having resumed the publication of papers, thereby 'fulfilling another of its most important duties' in the renewal of direct intercourse with 'students of antiquities' and with members of 'literary and learned societies'. This language is worth noting, for it shows that the Society's scope was still thought of as generously wide, even if reduced from that envisaged by the Founder; while it further implies that the importance of field-work and excavation was now coming to be recognised.

The five historical papers fall naturally enough into the field defined by the Address. Four of them, three by D Laing (pp 101, 158, 191) and one by J Fenwick (p 118), deal with documented history in the strict sense, but another (p 182) makes an interesting contrast. The author, Henry Rhind, bases his arguments on place-names, and whatever may be the practical shortcomings of his paper – he believed, for example, that Gaelic was indigenous to Scotland, and that languages were hall-marks of ethnic origins – the fault lay with the backward state of knowledge in general, and not with his own approach, which is perfectly sound within the limitations of the time. It is also agreeable to find that, although he has occasion to mention Richard of Cirencester, he expresses extreme distrust of that figure's authenticity.

Of the papers that have little or no connection with Scottish matters, two seem to be within the Society's contemporary scope when this is interpreted broadly. Thus the Bayeux tapestry (A Christie, p 122) possessed a high intrinsic interest, and J W Archer presented his sepulchral brasses (p 175) in a context of general art-history. The three remaining papers, however, seem to

<sup>1</sup> *PSAS*, I, 97 ff.

be quite out of keeping, consisting as they do of an account of Oriental coins in the Museum (p 134), a detailed discussion of a Hebrew inscription (p 150), and a note on a Pompeian vase containing an unidentified liquid (p 197). To this extent, therefore, the Society still showed something of its earlier discursiveness.

Of the seventeen papers concerned with Scottish archaeology proper, nine deal with objects of one sort or another, some exhibited at meetings and perhaps presented to the Museum, and others merely reported. This high number is not surprising in view of the prevailing interest in collectors' pieces and curios. The subjects treated are stone pots, with illustrations (D Wilson, p 115); an iron tool found embedded in a coal-seam (J Buchanan, p 121); finds of various weapons, including a bronze spear-head (H J Stewart, p 142); a finger-ring (H James, p 168) and the Ballochmyle brooch (p 170), both with illustrations; the Moray brass (D Laing, p 191), a find of bronze swords and a datable find of tobacco pipes (D Wilson, pp 181 f); and a boat from the Clyde mud-banks (J Buchanan, p 211). In the last case the author drew attention to the craft's clinker construction, which differentiated it from the better-known dug-out canoes.

Substantial concern with objects again appears in two further papers, though they deal primarily with the finding and opening of cists. In one case (J Stuart, p 139) the discovery was accidental, and the description of the grave-goods, and in particular of certain textiles, does not suggest a prehistoric date. In the other (A Robertson, p 205) a number of short cists were opened purposely; dimensions and structural details are carefully recorded, illustrations of the pottery are given, and the discussion, though ponderous, at least attempts comparisons with other sites. The author, however, commits himself to the remark that the local digger was 'happily quite unbiassed by the Copenhagen theory of periods'.

The remaining six papers describe and discuss field-monuments, and although, like the rest, they seem regrettably long-winded they provide some useful records. Thus R Chambers (p 127) opens up the subject of cultivation terraces, describing several sets and proving himself a sufficiently practised observer to note the boulder revetments at Duddingston. Two papers deal with megalithic monuments, one (J Stuart, p 141) describing three stone circles, inevitably styled 'Druidical', and a standing stone, all in Aberdeenshire; and the other (T A Wise, p 154) attempting to compare European and Indian megaliths. The remaining three papers are Roman – observations (p 145) by D R Rankin corroborating Roy's plans of Castledykes and Cleghorn, with a biographical note on Roy; a telling statement by J Buchanan (p 170) on the traces of a Roman fort recently found at Cadder, with references to Hadrian's Wall; and a revised account (p 213), by J A Smith, of an earthhouse at Newstead discovered in 1845 and then observed and noted by one J Smith. A plan and measurements are given, and the use is recorded of Roman stones in the oversailing wall-heads.

To this review of the sample seventy-third Session, some remarks may be added about other papers read during the Fifties decade.

Archaeology and the Society's functions are discussed in three Anniversary Addresses. The first, by the Rev W L Alexander (II, 299), concludes that 'Archaeology, with her microscopic researches and her nice but at the same time comprehensive inductions' fills up 'the vast gap' between the end of Geology and the beginning of History, 'and so [completes] the story of man as a dweller on earth'. The second, by Lord Neaves (III, 325) discusses the uses and contents of the Museum, and when touching on the opening of graves takes occasion to say (p 337) 'whenever this is done, the observations made should be minute and careful, and of course everything that can possibly be sent to us should take our direction, accompanied by exact descriptions made at the time of discovery'. Already in 1859 he was able to add that photographs would be valued. The third address, by Sir J Y Simpson (IV, 5), devotes no less than fifty-one pages to a

review of important archaeological discoveries made in various countries, together with an exhaustive list of the problems outstanding in Scotland; it includes a strong plea for the building up of the National Museum, accompanied by a spirited attack on 'romantic dilettantism, as a collecting together of meaningless antique relics and oddities', and on the vandal destruction of ancient monuments. He further maintains that the archaeology of the nineteenth century has as little relation to the older antiquarianism as chemistry and astronomy have to alchemy and astrology.

Historical papers continue, several of them being long and specialised; the one by D Laing (III, 8) on the Trinity College alterpiece is of special interest. Some attention is also paid to Gaelic subjects. Relics, as always, bulk large, and they cannot be considered apart from the 'excavations' from which many of them were recovered. For example, it is typical of the times that notice of Rhind's exploration of Kettleburn broch (I, 264) should take the form of a description of the objects found there; a 'memoir' of his operations was given to the Archaeological Institute, but the Society seems to have been chiefly interested in the relics. In some other cases, however, real attempts were made to record the monuments' structure, however little the excavators' methods may have exemplified the 'minute and careful' observations enjoined by Lord Neaves. Thus Petrie supplies a plan and section of a mound near Stenness (II, pl II), and a plan of a chambered cairn on the Holm of Papa Westray (II, pl III); his and Farrer's description and plans of the East Broch of Burray (II, 5, 56; *Arch Scot.*, v, 72) enabled the Ancient Monuments Commission to produce an intelligible account of this monument in 1946;<sup>1</sup> and Sir H Dryden's plan and section of the Broch of Mousa, published with a paper on brochs in general by J Stuart (III, 187) demonstrate the essential features of this type of building clearly enough. From now on there can have been no doubt about the general nature of a broch, even if Gordon's description and diagrammatic illustrations of Dun Telve and Dun Troddan<sup>2</sup> had not proved sufficiently lucid. Other papers of this kind are by Sir H Dryden (III, 124) F W L Thomas (III, 127, 134) and T S Muir (III, 225) on beehive houses; they draw attention to encorbellated construction and mural chambers, and Thomas' work is illustrated with plans and drawings. He was, however, true to his period in adding a body of local folklore. James Macdonald, again, describes and discusses (IV, 321) the fortifications at Burghead, with a *résumé* of traditions and early records and an illustrated note on the 'recent' (1861) excavations, and the *murus gallicus* construction that they revealed. Increasing recognition of the need for scaled illustration is shown by drawings of the Callernish circle (H Callender; II, 380), of cairns at Clava (C Innes; III, 47), and of the Laws broch (J Stuart; III, 440). It is interesting to learn from Stuart's paper on brochs (*supra*) that chambered cairns could still be thought of as dwellings.

The comparative maturity of architectural technique naturally puts the plans and measured drawings of ecclesiastical monuments much in advance of anything achieved by the pioneers of prehistory; examples may be seen in the accounts of Inchcolm Abbey by Sir J Y Simpson (II, 489), of Brechin round tower by A Jervise (III, 28) and R R Brash (IV, 188), and of Abernethy round tower also by R R Brash (III, 303). As a sample of commonsense field-observation by an untrained person, W N Kennedy's paper on the Catrail (III, 117) deserves particular notice; if accepted and remembered, it would have obviated a great deal of ill-founded argument in later times.

Concern for the preservation of ancient monuments, already shown in the memorial of 1844 on Trinity College church (*supra*), reappears (D Laing; II, 7) in a suggested scheme for Iona.

<sup>1</sup> *Inventory of Orkney*, no. 862, p 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 166.

## FROM 1861 TO 1870

The sample Session for the Sixties is the eighty-third, of 1862-3.<sup>1</sup> On the same basis as before, the number of papers to be reviewed is twenty-five, no Anniversary Address having been delivered in 1862. Scottish antiquities now account for much the largest number, as six papers deal with field-monuments and twelve with relics; some of the latter include accounts of the excavations in which the objects were recovered. Four papers may be called historical, one of them not being Scottish; two have rather tenuous connections with Scottish archaeology, and one relates to matter for the Society's archives.

In order to clear the decks, it will be convenient to discuss the smaller classes first. Of the historical papers, one (p 58) covers a warrant dated 1695 which authorised an enquiry into the Glencoe massacre; the full text is printed, but comment on 'this sad affair' is deliberately withheld. A second (T Thomson; p 141) is mainly of legal interest, being a list, with comment and discussion, of certain Edinburgh protocol books. A third (p 34) is unconnected with Scotland, its subject being tribal history in Peru; while the last, by Lord Neaves (p 65) is an essay on the older Scottish language. Of the two papers on the fringe of Scottish archaeology, one by A Mitchell (p 20) discusses traces of a vanished forest in Galloway, and their relationship to various artefacts and animal remains found in the surrounding peat; and it is interesting to find the author applying, in this way, an archaeological method to something quite other than the past history of Man. The other communication in this class (p 79) has not been printed, but evidently covered both the Swiss lake-dwellings and flint implements from the Somme gravels. The former, which had been coming to light since the later Fifties, must have aroused considerable interest in Scotland on account of their superficial resemblance to the native crannogs, about which a good deal was evidently becoming known as a result of the drainage and improvement of loch-margins and the search for marl. Boucher de Perthes' discoveries were likewise a burning contemporary issue, having only recently achieved fairly general acceptance and that only after much controversy. The antiquity of the human race, as 'commonly given by the best expounders of the Sacred Scriptures', evidently figured in the discussion of the Somme flints; while *The Origin of Species*, then very recently published, may well have added fuel to the fire. The last of the minor papers (p 120) is no more than a notice of some letters of a former Secretary, James Smellie, who was also an original Fellow.

Among the descriptions of field-monuments, that of two crannogs in the Loch of the Clans (p 116), by J Grigor, is distinguished by a good plan, with a scale and north point; and the description of the remains, though slight, is sensible and inspires confidence. Sir D Brewster's note (p 119) on an earthhouse at Raits is short, but states essential dimensions and has a good sketch-plan; one is bound, however, to regret an iron lock 'of unusual form' which was 'found among the rubbish' but of which nothing more is said. Descriptions of four stone circles in Kincardineshire (p 130), by A Thomson, give dimensions and some structural details, but the only plan is admittedly no more than a diagram. T M'Lauchlan's disquisition on standing stones (p 46) possesses no factual significance. What may have been a useful paper on early Edinburgh (p 7), by D Laing, has somehow failed to survive; it was held over for publication in *Arch. Scot.* v, but has not, in fact, been printed. Bare allusion is made (p 20) to J Farrer's book on his operations at Maes Howe in 1861, and to the translation of the runic inscriptions inside the chamber; but it is only in the next volume (vol vi) that this monument is treated in detail (see below).

There remain the papers on objects, bones and so forth. The most important of these is by W T M'Culloch (p 165), on the bronze shields from Yetholm later purchased for the Museum.

<sup>1</sup> *PSAS*, v, 1 ff.

It gives dimensions and a few details of construction, discusses parallel examples, and is illustrated with an engraving. Another important accession of this time was the Celtic bell from the Knowe of Saverough in Orkney, but the form in which this object is recorded (p 9) is characteristic of the unfortunate methods of the day. That is to say, the Howe was opened by Farrer in 1861, but he published the account of his work in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, an organ not primarily devoted to archaeological studies, and it was only as a kind of appendix to the list of objects recovered that some extracts from this article found their way into the *Proceedings*. This episode perfectly illustrates an approach to excavation which was all too common not only then but later; and its result, in the present case, was that, although Farrer again attacked the Howe in 1866, all that could be 'safely inferred' about the place seventy years later was that some large building had stood there 'at an early date' and that the site had later become a Christian cemetery.<sup>1</sup> A pointer to the current attitude to relics is supplied by the fact that, of the hundred and sixty-eight pages of the *Proceedings* devoted to this eighty-third Session, no less than twenty-eight are occupied by notices of accessions to the Museum.

A rather more modern approach to excavation is shown by J A Smith's paper (p 84) on a bronze razor and some bones found near Currie. Here careful observations were made of the superincumbent beds of sand and gravel for possible evidence of the history and date of the deposit; many relevant comparisons are quoted, and allusion is made to the 'Ages' of stone, bronze and iron. A note by R Paterson (p 98), on what seem to have been plague-burials found on Leith Links, contains a few useful facts about the shape and construction of coffins; but two other notes on finds of human bones, by A Jervise (pp 100, 135), one associated with cists and the other perhaps connected with a vanished medieval hospital, amount to little more than site-records. Another paper, concerned with a skull from South Leith (D H Robertson; p 102), exemplifies the familiar tendency to connect an object or monument with a well-known local figure, in this case a notorious Logan of Restalrig. Numberless other popular dedications of this kind could be cited, often to such persons as Mary, Queen of Scots, or the Young Pretender.

The remaining five papers are straightforward. They deal respectively with finds of coins (G Sim; p 105), Scottish, English and Roman; with a stone mould (J A Smith; p 53) and a seal-matrix (C Innes; p 138), both of the fifteenth century; and with a book-stamp (H Laing; p 140) of the sixteenth.

While the eighty-third Session is a fair enough example of its time, the following additional points which arise in the course of the Sixties also call for comment, as it so happens that some of the most notable reports of the decade were made during other Sessions than that of 1862-3.

In the first place we have a statement of the Society's functions and achievement which is of interest as expressing the views of an outstanding contemporary scholar. Cosmo Innes, in the course of an Anniversary Address, which was actually the last of these homilies to be delivered, takes pleasure in contrasting (v, 197) 'the old rashness of assertion, the scanty and ill-ascertained facts swimming in a whirlpool of boundless and baseless speculation, of our early Transactions, with the accurate observation, the careful comparison, the avoidance of rash assertion and dogmatising, which seem to me to characterise the present series of our Proceedings'. He reinforces his point about careful comparison later in the same Address (v, 211) by a vigorous attack on local and private museums. 'The great object of a museum is for comparison of similar but different specimens. A local museum . . . does not fulfil this object', while it may intercept and ultimately cause to be lost 'things which would otherwise have found their way to this national repository. A smaller evil, but wider and more universal, is the display of antiquities on the drawing-room tables of country houses. A careless stranger, the housemaid's mop, may ruin an

<sup>1</sup> RCAM, *Inventory of Orkney*, no. 40, p 23.



undescribed relic of the highest interest'. Accuracy in observation is again called for by a committee advising on how best to apply Rhind's legacy, left for excavation in the north-eastern counties. Allusion is made to 'details which are disclosed only to cautious and protracted examination', and consequently 'central chambers and deposits', i.e. of brochs and cairns, should 'only be opened under the eye of competent observers, and with the means of recording, by drawings or otherwise, their appearance before they are disturbed'. It is questionable, however, how far this advice was carried out in practice. The basic facts of stratigraphy were by now well known; Petrie could attribute a high antiquity to the brochs on the strength of intrusive cist-burials in their overlying debris (*Arch Scot*, v, 78), and sketches of three stratified sections are published (e.g. vi, 423); but the committee itself uses the ominous expressions 'clear out' and 'open', and the notion of observing strata in floor-deposits or middens does not seem to have occurred to excavators. Interest was still centred on relics. A standard of accuracy which would not pass muster today is likewise shown in the published plans of brochs, with their walls describing geometrically exact circles and their mural passages neatly and unnaturally concentric. Contemporary concern with relics shows itself in the treatment of several important finds, notably the Norrie's Law silver (vi, 7), the bronze armlets from Auchenbadie and Castle Newe (vi, 11, 13), and crannog relics from Dowalton and Carlingwark Lochs (vi, 109; vii, 7), the Dowalton material being further discussed by J Stuart in a full-length paper (vi, 114) on crannogs in general. Into the same class falls J A Smith's discussion of the Torrs horse-cap and the Deskford carnyx-terminal (vii, 334); he allots both pieces to a 'late Celtic' period but is cautious about their original purposes, considering that the former was probably intended for wear by a man and suggesting that the latter might have been part of a helmet. The Hunterston brooch, with its runic inscription, is discussed by Professor Stephens (vii, 462).

Some important excavations were reported in the course of the Sixties. To begin with brochs, we have an account of the Tappock (J Dundas; vi, 259) which covers its main structural features and is illustrated with good plans, for which the Ordnance Survey officers were perhaps largely responsible. Whether or not the excavators recognised the building for what it was remains uncertain. More important was a paper by G Petrie (*Arch Scot*, v, 71), which gives longer or shorter notes on ten Orkney brochs, descriptions of relics found in these and others, and ground plans of four; appendices list a total of seventy brochs in Orkney, and give overall dimensions for fourteen in Orkney and eleven in Shetland. On chambered cairns, J Anderson, in his first contribution to the *Proceedings*, deals with two important examples in Caithness (vi, 442; vii, 480), giving plans, measurements, descriptions of relics and a discussion of the subject as a whole. His conclusion, firmly stated, was that chambered cairns were tombs and not dwellings, a point which J Stuart's paper on brochs (*supra*) shows to have still been unsettled in 1859. Valuable, too, is Stuart's account (v, 247) of Farrer's operations at Maes Howe in 1861; he gives a plan and sketch of the interior, and also the texts, with translations, of the runic inscriptions as read by Professor Stephens.

Another important monument tackled at this time was Skara Brae. Petrie gives a long and detailed account of the cleared portion (vii, 201), with plans, drawings and descriptions of relics, and some not very fruitful discussion. The problem of the Newton Stone is opened up by A Thomson (v, 224) and further discussed by W F Skene (v, 289); and the Catstane cemetery is described, with a plan of the graves, by R Hutchison (vi, 184).

Several useful papers are devoted to field-surveys. Four, at least, were fundamental for later work on their respective subjects – cup-and-ring carvings (Simpson; vi, App.), crannogs (Stuart; vi, 114), primitive house-types in the Hebrides (Thomas; vii, 153), and vitrified forts, with comparative material from Bohemia (Stuart; viii, 145). E H Courtney likewise makes

a valuable contribution to Roman studies with his discovery of the temporary camp at Kintore (vii, 387). Even cursory observations in Sutherland by the Rev J M Joass (v, 242, 357) helped to build up a list of that county's antiquities; and something of the same sort was done by R A Smith (ix, 81) for the Loch Etive area. On the other hand, C V Irving's account of the Deil's Dyke in Nithsdale (v, 189) shows what egregious mistakes could be made by an inexperienced observer. A survey of an area for monuments of a later period was contained in a paper by T P White on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Kintyre, but only an extract was printed (ix, 227) as the whole was due for publication in book form.<sup>1</sup>

Accounts of architectural monuments are heavily weighted with history. Nevertheless, some useful small-scale plans were produced, and measured drawings of details. In this category may be mentioned papers by T Arnold on Inchcolm Abbey (*Arch Scot*, v, 45), by J Stuart on Restennet Priory (*ibid*, 285), by Sir J E Alexander on Cambuskenneth Abbey (vi, 14), by T P White on Saddle Abbey and its carved stones (viii, 122), and by A Laing on Lindores Abbey (ix, 208). White's paper on Beaulieu Priory (viii, 430) has no plan or drawings, and suggests work in the library rather than on the site. Castles are largely neglected; the account of Craiggaffie by J McLachlan (viii, 384), though professional work and provided with a plan and elevations, is slight, while other papers on architectural subjects, by A Jervise, H Laing, and T E Cooke (iv, 578; vii, 381, 409) seem to show interest only in superficial and easily-observed features, such as inscriptions or carved ceilings, and not in the buildings themselves.

To conclude, it may be said that, while considerable interest in historical papers persisted, fresh information on strictly archaeological subjects was now being published in increasing volume, and also that the general tone of discussion was improving as more facts became available. Prehistoric and 'primitive' matters seem to have aroused more interest than medieval buildings,<sup>2</sup> while of the latter ecclesiastical remains were more popular than castles or houses. A few papers on non-Scottish subjects were still being read, but their numbers were falling off. The exhibition of a photograph to a meeting in 1866, and its use in the preparation of a plate (vi, pl xxvi), are significant of future developments. The names of most of the well-known Scottish antiquaries of the Victorian period appear in this group of volumes, though several had, of course, come to the front in earlier decades. The following, at any rate, did important work in the Sixties - J Anderson, J Drummond, Sir H Dryden, J Farrer, Rt Rev A P Forbes, G Goudie, C Innes, A Jervise, Rev J M Joass, D Laing, Miss Maclagan, A Mitchell, G Petrie, Sir J Y Simpson, W F Skene, J A Smith, J Stuart, F W L Thomas, T P White, D Wilson. J Anderson became Keeper of the Museum in 1869.

#### FROM 1871 TO 1880

For the Seventies decade, the sample Session is that of 1872-3, the ninety-third.<sup>3</sup> Its papers number thirty-five and provide a rather meagre harvest. Excavations and excavated relics account for five, and of these only one, a descriptive list by W Traill (p 5) of relics from the broch of Burrian,<sup>4</sup> is of real importance. J Stuart describes work on a crannog-like structure on the Loch of Forfar (p 31), without, however, positively determining its character; R W Cochran-Patrick reports (p 281), again without diagnosis, on a mound near Dalry with a staked structure inside it; and A Jervise gives a longish paper (p 287) which opens as an account of an earthhouse

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Sketches in Scotland*, II.

<sup>2</sup> Considerable public interest in prehistoric matters is vouched for by the appearance in 1863 of a second edition of Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, first published in 1851.

<sup>3</sup> *PSAS*, x, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the excavation, see p 260 below.

at Tealing but shortly digresses into notes on the local church. All these three papers have plans and sections, but the earthhouse had evidently been ‘cleared out’ before Jervise saw it. The final paper in this group, by the Rev R J Mapleton (p 306), is not illustrated but provides a sufficiently lucid account of a find of skeletons, animal bones and flints in a littoral cave at Duntroon.

Of the other relics and museum objects described, the most important is the Trinity College altar-piece, to which D Laing now (p 310) devotes a second paper.<sup>1</sup> There are three papers on coins, in two of which (pp 34, 225) R W Cochran-Patrick discusses Scottish mints and the values of Scottish currency. J Stuart has a paper on Communion plate from Forgue (p 91), but devotes most of it to historical notes on the donor. Notes on two Bronze Age relics are chiefly remarkable for the fact that one of them turned up, unexplained until the servants were questioned, on the floor of somebody’s drawing-room.

Early monuments not involved with excavations are described or discussed in eight papers. R A Smith (p 70) adds to his list of sites near Loch Etive; though suspicious of ‘Beregonium’, he finds room for extensive quotations from Boece on associated legends. R B Brash attempts unsuccessfully (p 134) to translate the ogams on the Newton stone. The rest (pp 56, 61, 141, 215, 240, 308) are of minor interest, being little more than a record of the sites of monumental stones, standing or sculptured, and of one broch, Dun Voradel. The only important paper on a medieval monument is an architectural analysis, with plans and measured drawings, of St Blane’s Chapel, Bute, by W Galloway (*Arch Scot*, v, 317). R Anderson gives an interesting illustrated note (p 63) on original working-drawings scratched on the internal-masonry of Roslin Chapel.

Historical and biographical papers referring to Scotland number no fewer than seven. Two are by W F Skene, on a Fordoun MS (p 27) and Iona (p 202) respectively. J Macpherson discusses Clan Chattan names at some length (p 112), and E Peacock the Orkney insurrection of 1614 (p 218). Two biographical papers relate respectively to William Davidson, by J Small (p 265), and to John Ramsay, by A de Méana (p 294); the fact that the latter is in French, with *pièces justificatives* in Latin, the whole unaccompanied by any translation, seems to argue a warm faith in the Fellows’ educational standards. A paper by D Laing on ‘public ceremonials’ was held over for publication in *Arch Scot*, v, but never actually appeared. Papers on non-Scottish subjects deal with certain antiquities in Nassau, by F W L Thomas (p 48); ruins in Iceland, by R A Smith (p 151); feudalism in Japan, by J G S Coghill (p 51); the cremation of bodies in the same country, by J A Smith (p 246); and medieval ‘triumphs and processions’ by J Drummond (p 177). On his choice of this last subject the author writes ‘It is generally admitted that more variety in the nature of the papers read and discussed at our meetings would be a decided advantage’; and this sentiment, combined with the continuing popularity of papers on historical subjects, suggests that the scope of the Society’s interests, though reduced from its early amplitude, was still wider than would seem appropriate today. His allusion to the ‘discussion’ of papers is interesting too, as it seems to imply that ordinary Fellows felt capable of playing their part at the monthly meetings, and were not completely dominated by their more expert colleagues.

Outside the sample Session, the first paper to be noted is Worsaae’s review (xiv, 348) of the Danish measures for protecting antiquities in general. This paper covers the history of the legal developments from early ‘treasure-trove’ rules to a fresh and comprehensive law passed in 1873, which had as its main provisions the reorganisation of the Museum of Northern Antiquities and the antiquarian archives, the securing of relics for the Museum, a systematic and professional survey of monuments on the ground, the inspection and restoration of ancient buildings, and the creation of a popular sentiment favourable to conservation. Worsaae gives as his reason for

<sup>1</sup> For the first, see p 254 above.

compiling this report the fact that Denmark's advice was frequently asked by other countries which were planning the protection of their monuments; and the reader of the paper mentions that an Ancient Monuments Bill was before our own Parliament at the time (1880).

Among excavation reports several deserve to be noticed. In the most important, J Anderson describes (*Arch Scot*, v, 131) his work at three brochs in Caithness, with plans and notes on the relics, discussing also the general problem of the brochs' age and origin, and appending a list of all known or reputed sites, with a distribution map. W Traill likewise describes (*ibid*, 341) his excavation of the broch of Burrian; this resulted in a great haul of relics (*supra*) including Pictish symbols, a 'Celtic' bell and an ogam-inscribed cross-slab. These reports show a continuing improvement in technique; Anderson was evidently careful about stratification, and identified secondary structures both inside and outside the towers, while Traill distinguishes 'at least two occupation levels 'with apparently a long interval of time between them'. Traill's plan, by Sir H Dryden, was evidently based on a proper survey, as triangulations are indicated and Traill alludes to Dryden's 'measurements and bearings, which he carefully took with instruments'. The Rev J M Joass (*ibid*, 95) also describes in detail the brochs of Kintradwell, Carn Liath and Craig Carril, giving measured plans, sections and lists of finds, and identifying secondary structures. Two other papers on brochs, though not excavation reports, may be mentioned here in the interests of continuity. The first is by Sir H Dryden (*ibid*, 199), on Clickhimin, where he recognised two periods, and on Mousa and other Shetland examples; it is illustrated with measured plans and sections, with which again may be compared another plan of Clickhimin by the same author which appears along with some sketch-plans and drawings of other northern defensive structures in A Mitchell's paper on the fort on the Loch of Huxter (xv, 303). The other is by J Anderson, who reviews (xii, 314) the known facts of broch construction and disposes of the idea that brochs were of Norse origin. All in all, it would seem that a good deal had come to light about brochs by the end of the Seventies decade.

A new and significant figure now appears, as R Munro makes his first contribution to the *Proceedings*. This is a report on the excavation of Lochlee crannog (xiii, 175), and it is notable for systematic stratigraphy, informative plans and sections, and many careful drawings of objects. J Anderson describes work on a cairn at Collessie (xii, 439), noting the identification of the original ground-surface, with signs of burning, and the finding of pottery and relics at various levels below. Stratified digging was attempted, with greater or less success, by the Rev J G Michie in an earthhouse at Kinnord (ix, 455), by J A Smith on kitchen-middens in Iona (xii, 103), and by W B Clarke in the Borness cave (xii, 669); in the last case the excavator based his methods on those employed at Kent's Cavern, presumably in the Sixties. R A Smith explored the Achnacree cairn (ix, 409) and produced a surveyed plan. Cruder digging went on in a 'bone-cave' in Colonsay (xiv, 318), under S Grieve; at Dun Macuisneachan (xii, 13), again under R A Smith; and in the chambered cairns at Skelpick (x, 519), as reported by a local correspondent. A creditable plan and drawings accompany D Milne Home's account of Harefaulds, now noted for the first time (ix, 465).

The most important museum objects discussed in the papers of the Seventies seem to have been the following. Silver chains, described by J A Smith (x, 321) and J G Clark (xiv, 222), in the latter case along with a gold lunette; Viking relics, by J Anderson (x, 536; xiv, 51); stone balls, by J A Smith (xi, 29); 'Celtic' bells, by J Anderson (xiv, 102); the Monymusk reliquary, again by Anderson (xiv, 431); armlets, by J A Smith (xv, 316). The papers on St Fillan's crozier, by D Wilson and J Stuart (xii, 122 ff) are mainly historical, but good illustrations appear in *Arch Scot*, v, pls LXIII and LXV. Failing the employment of photography, the engraving of a jet necklace from Lunanhead (xii, opp p 296) seems quite a creditable substitute.

Another subject which evidently attracted attention was that of inscribed and sculptured stones.<sup>1</sup> Papers on one aspect or another of the subject were read by the Rev W Duke, on St Vigeans (ix, 481); by A Mitchell, on Kirkmadrine (ix, 568); by Miss Maclagan, on the Fife coastal caves (xi, 107); by J Anderson, on symbolic figures (xi, 363); by G Goudie, on runes in Shetland (xiii, 136); and by W Galloway, on Meikle (xii, 425).

Four papers deal with large areas, as opposed to individual monuments. In one, T P White covers the whole district of Knapdale (x, 383), no doubt as a preliminary to his later book on the region;<sup>2</sup> and in the others R A Smith surveys the neighbourhood of Loch Etive (ix, 396; xi, 297, 472), devoting much space to the relative Fingalian legends.

Architectural papers make only a small showing, but three call for notice. One (*Arch Scot*, v, 225), by F W L Thomas and T S Muir, describes, with plans and some drawings, five medieval chapels in the Outer Hebrides; the other two, both by A Kerr, deal with Roslin Chapel and Castle respectively (xii, 218, 412), the former being accompanied by plans and drawings. All these papers are in part historical. Purely historical papers have decreased somewhat in numbers, perhaps as a result of the deaths of J Stuart in 1877 and of D Laing in 1878. Extremely little is forthcoming about Roman antiquities. The deaths of Stuart and Laing seem to have left, as the leading figures in the Society, J Anderson, A Mitchell, W F Skene, J A Smith, F W L Thomas and T P White.

The Seventies thus seem to have witnessed an increase of interest in archaeological questions of real significance, and a steady accumulation of facts. However, an impressive object-lesson in the difference between mid-Victorian and modern standards emerges from a comparison of two papers on the Ptolemaic geography of Scotland, one by F W L Thomas (xi, 198) and the other by the late Sir Ian Richmond (lvi, 288). Thomas is seen as an educated and sensible amateur, lacking in specialised knowledge, and Richmond as a precise and disciplined scholar, who further commanded the results of an additional half-century of research.

#### FROM 1881 TO 1890

The sample Session for the Eighties is that of 1882–3,<sup>3</sup> the hundred and third of the series. The papers number thirty-seven, but they are not particularly impressive as many of them are short and slight, and would probably have been treated as ‘notes’ by the editor of a modern periodical. The most important of the major papers are those which perpetuate the interest in carved and inscribed stones, Christian and other, that was noted as existing in the Seventies, and chiefly deserving mention is the one by J Romilly Allen (p 211). This is titled as referring to a sculptured stone at St Madoes, but the author attaches to an opening section on this stone a scheme for the analysis of interlaced ornament in general, as later developed in his *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903). This paper may be read with three others which deal with medieval carving – by C N Johnston on crosses in a cave at Glasserton (p 317), by Sir M Nepean on representations of St George on church tympana (p 332), and by Professor Duns on carved grave-slabs in Mull (p 337). Of those which deal with earlier inscriptions and carvings the most significant is Lord Southesk’s account of the Newton stone (p 21). This is of interest as recording the little that is known about the stone’s history, and as marking a serious attempt to read the inscriptions; but the author’s speculations are heavily coloured by ideas on religious mysteries. Another ogam inscription is described by G Goudie (p 306), and some runes in a cave on Holy Island, with historical speculation, by D Wilson (p 45). Two papers on cup-marks, by D Haggart (p 144)

<sup>1</sup> J. Stuart’s *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* was published in 1856, and a second edition appeared in 1867.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Sketches in Scotland*, i.

<sup>3</sup> *PSAS*, xvii.

and the Rev J Menzies (p 423), may perhaps, in despite of chronology, have appealed to similar tastes, as may also, for that matter, a discursive essay on Roman legionary symbolism by J M Macnab (p 400).

Excavation makes a poor showing, with only a single paper. In this S Grieve describes (p 351) work in a littoral cave, described as a 'bone-cave', in Colonsay, but the results are of little interest as they refer almost exclusively to animal remains. The author supplies measured plans and sections, but on very small scales; and although he clearly took account of different levels in the floor deposits his account of the stratification is less than lucid. In addition, short notes are given on the chance discovery of some cinerary urns (p 272), and of a long cist (p 324).

Prehistoric subjects are thus represented only by papers on relics, of which there are six – J Anderson on a bronze spear-head (p 93), with a discussion of comparative material; the same author (p 446) on 'instances in which articles of use or ornament have been found associated with sepulchral deposits'; R Munro on a find of bronze axes (p 433); J A Smith on a bronze armlet (p 90) and on stone implements and other stone objects from Shetland (p 291), both prehistoric and later. Medieval relics form the subjects of two papers, J M Dick Peddie discussing (p 147) a bronze crucifix, for which he suggests a twelfth-century German origin, and the Rev J Gammack (p 371) a sepulchral chalice and paten, perhaps of the sixteenth century. Professor Duns gives a note on a silver brooch from Mull (p 76), and the Rev J Tulloch (p 141) on two silver chalices and a silver salt-cellar, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. C E Dalrymple describes (p 290) a portrait panel, originally from Stirling Castle and probably of the sixteenth century; and J R Allen discusses wooden tumbler locks (p 439).

Monuments found in given areas are dealt with in two papers. In one (p 79) Professor Duns surveys the stone circles, standing stones and forts of northern Mull, with dimensions and descriptive notes but no illustrations. In the other (p 414) A J Beaton describes some defensive remains, including at least one motte, in the Black Isle, with small-scale plans and sections. Both these papers are useful as placing the sites on record, and as widening the scope of field-work.

The architectural papers, of which there are again two, show a rising standard of competence. D Christison, who now makes his first appearance in the *Proceedings*, discusses (p 98) iron yetts at length, with accurate diagrams and plans and informative drawings. It is interesting to notice that, although photographic illustrations are not yet used in the *Proceedings*, the tower depicted on p 103 shows the kind of distortion typically produced by canting a camera upwards, which suggests that the picture has been copied or traced from a photograph. J R Walker's paper on holy wells (p 152) is a professional architect's work, with plans, measured drawings and a useful annotated list; in the style of the times it also includes historical and legendary matter. A small architectural point is raised by A Hutcheson (p 426), in a note on pottery vessels built into walls.

In comparison with some of the work done by historians in earlier decades, the historical content of this volume appears slight. J Bain contributes a paper (p 312) on a fifteenth-century tack, and A H Millar (p 57) an eyewitness' account of the battle of Glenshiel with a lucid military sketch; but the Rev W Lockhart's notes (p 364) on the history of Colinton do not read like the work of a regular historian, and R A Smith's essay on the Celts (p 385) has been entirely overtaken by modern scholarship. None the less, in the then state of knowledge it may well have been received with a good deal of interest. Another paper which should probably be classed as historical, by R R L Guthrie (p 286), deals with the tombs of the regicides at Vevey.

At the tail of the column come a note by J A Smith (p 325) on remains of the elk in Scotland, and two non-Scottish papers by J H Rivett-Carnac (pp 322, 444) on Indian beads and stone implements.

The Eighties, taken as a whole, are more significant than their sample Session suggests. In one respect, certainly, the sample was valid enough, in respect of the continuing interest that was shown in cup-marks, ogams and Early Christian sculpture. Examples may be seen in papers by J R Allen on Early Christian ornament (xix, 253) and on the symbolism associated with it (xviii, 380), and in one on early medieval sculpture (xx, 222) by D Wilson. The earl of Southesk likewise produces two elaborate papers on ogams (xviii, 180; xx, 14). A single Roman inscription, from Jedburgh Abbey, is reported by J Collingwood Bruce (xix, 321), and serves to point up the neglect of Roman antiquities already noted in the Seventies. Cup-markings are discussed at great length by J R Allen (xvi, 79), with lists of British and Continental examples; and this paper is reinforced by a massive review (xvi, 300), by W Jolly, of northern Scottish and Hebridean cup-marks. Two shorter but well-illustrated papers, by D A Boyd and J Smith (xxi, 143) and G Hamilton (xxi, 151) respectively, deal with cup-marks in south-western Scotland. The wide scope of some of these papers, and the care devoted to details, seem to indicate an increasing concern for comprehensive views and really accurate data.

A contrast, however, with the sample Session is presented by a fairly long list of excavations. Here the most important paper is R S Clouston's report (xix, 341) on his work at the Knowe of Unstan; this was still an exercise in the traditional 'clearing out', but Clouston produces a plan of the cairn and its chamber, and drawn illustrations of the pottery of the type now designated 'Unstan'. Other excavations which probably deserve mention are those of C E Dalrymple (xviii, 319) at the henge site at Broomend of Crichtie, not then, of course, recognised for what it is; of W G T Watt (xvi, 442) in a broch at Yescanaby, of which no plan is given though original and secondary structures are distinguished; and of W Traill (xix, 14) at two early domestic sites in North Ronaldsay, both of which were planned and which produced quantities of relics, including bone combs. With these old-fashioned papers it is interesting to compare a passage in one by D Christison (xxi, 81), which calls for 'judicious excavation' in hill-forts, and mentions, a year before the publication of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, 'the careful method of General Pitt-Rivers' as used in Epping Forest by a committee of the British Association. Some work was also done by Sir H Maxwell (xix, 82; xxi, 137) in St Ninian's Cave; he gives plans and drawings and notes strata in the floor-deposits as marked by falls of rock. Another excavator to publish a stratified section was A Hutcheson (xx, 166), in describing a find of flints near Broughty Ferry.

From these rather unimpressive records it is pleasant to turn to H W Young's clear and workmanlike account of the *murus gallicus* ramparts at Burghead (xxv, 435), with its sectional drawings and notes on Continental parallels; and to his description (xxiv, 147), with scale drawings, of the well at the same place. A Macnaughton's paper (xxv, 476) on his excavations on Luing describes main structural features in the usual fashion of the time, but it is noteworthy for being illustrated with two half-tone blocks, the first to appear in the whole run of the *Proceedings*.<sup>1</sup>

Another context in which the Eighties as a whole outrun the sample Session is that of surveys of monuments by areas or classes. These papers are systematic inventories, and are quite different from the desultory 'notes' on things seen in areas with which the authors happen to be familiar. Their introduction is probably due to the initiative of D Christison, who himself conducted wide-ranging campaigns of field-work, the results of which appear in five substantial papers on hill-forts, earthworks, mottes and so on in Peeblesshire (xxi, 13; xxii, 192), Lorne and

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to show whether or not a lantern was used at the reading of this paper, but Mr R B K Stevenson informs me that the earliest slides in the Society's collection are of rather later date.

Lochaber (xxiii, 368), Lanarkshire (xxiv, 281) and Dumfriesshire (xxv, 198). He accompanies his descriptions of the remains with many sketch-plans, sections and drawings, together with discussion and some lists, and he seems to have been the first Scottish observer to pay much attention to mottes. Surveys of much the same kind were also carried out in the Beaulieu region by T Wallace (xx, 340), and in Kirkcudbright by F R Coles (xxv, 352). In another paper of this class J Fraser describes (xviii, 328) stone circles in the neighbourhood of Inverness, with plans and sections of eighteen examples and a table of dimensions and particulars; while another class-survey, of the early Scottish iron industry by W I Macadam (xxi, 89), may rank as a pioneer essay in industrial archaeology. Again to this period most probably belongs F W L Thomas' posthumous and undated survey of the duns of the Outer Hebrides (*Arch Scot*, v, 365); it is accompanied by good sketch-plans and drawings, and is a valuable store of facts.

Architectural subjects are treated much as before, and four papers in particular should be noted. G W Browne presents a well-illustrated general description of Newark Castle (xvi, 494), but J R Walker is concerned only with fonts (xxi, 346), T Ross with sundials (xxiv, 161), and A Macpherson with Scottish sacrament-houses (xxv, 89). D Christison likewise follows up (xxii, 286) an earlier paper on yetts, again with adequate illustrations. It is perhaps worth while to point out that, as was noted in connection with similar work in the Sixties, these papers – e.g. E Reid's on some carved panels (xvi, 61) – tend to deal with smallish, superficial features, comparatively easy of access and so lending themselves readily to study, while major medieval monuments are not being given the kind of comprehensive treatment accorded, for example, to brochs and chambered cairns. The vogue of sculptured and cup-marked stones may owe something to this same tendency. G Goudie's study of the horizontal water-mills of Shetland (xx, 257) should, however, perhaps be excepted from this criticism.

Allied to the purely architectural papers are some with a larger or smaller historical content, for example two by P Miller, respectively on the Old Tolbooth (xx, 360) and the Mercat Cross (xx, 377) of Edinburgh, and one by D Wilson on Holy Trinity Church (xviii, 128). The last contains some sketches of architectural details. Further interest in an Edinburgh subject appears in the controversy about John Knox's place of residence, the authenticity of the so-called 'John Knox's House' being impugned by P Miller (xxv, 138) and upheld by D Wilson and J Guthrie (xxv, 154, 333). An undated paper of this class, possibly delivered about 1887, is N Macpherson's on King's College, Aberdeen (*Arch Scot*, v, 416). A historical paper which recalls the Society's early interest in agriculture is one by the Rev C Rodgers (xvi, 231), on a farming society in Angus.

Many papers are devoted to longer or shorter descriptions of individual objects. Detailed classification of these is not called for, but it may be said that the scope of papers of this kind seems to be widening. Two, both on the Honours of Scotland, deserve particular mention; one, by J J Reid (xxiv, 18), is purely historical, while the other, by A J S Brook (xxiv, 49), is a jeweller's technical description.

Intimately connected with the subject of archaeological relics is that of museums, and this is now ventilated thoroughly by J Anderson. He had previously discussed the functions of a national museum in his Rhind Lectures of 1879,<sup>1</sup> and he now produces two reports (xviii, 36; xxiv, 478) on visits to Continental museums and a third (xxii, 331) on the local museums of Scotland. He concludes the report on his first European tour with the following paragraph:

'And finally, while I have nowhere seen a collection more completely illustrative of the whole consecutive history of culture . . . within the area from which it is derived, than

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, I, 13 ff.



that which is now stored, but which cannot be said to be exhibited, in our Scottish National Museum, I have nowhere seen a collection of such interest and importance, provided with equipment and accommodation so obviously disproportionate to its intrinsic merits’.

Of the local museums he says that their archaeological collections are poor and fragmentary, that they are insufficiently local in character, and that they have not been formed systematically; but he believes that many of them could be ‘extended and completed to make the institution an effective instrument of education in several branches of science. But for these purposes they all want the energetic co-operation of a local Society’. Anderson’s foreign reports are matched by two papers by R Munro, one on megalithic monuments in Holland and Scandinavia (xviii, 19) and the other on Danish kitchen-middens (xviii, 216), with notes on the lessons to be learned from Danish methods and experience. Of slight importance, but probably received with interest, is a long paper by H F M Simpson (xxv, 256) on an eighteenth-century Swedish calendar-stave.

The most significant work going on in the Eighties thus seems to have been the assembling of basic facts, as for example in the surveys of monuments by areas. Lord Southesk’s records of ogams fall into this class, and some of their results appear in the next decade in J Rhys’ paper on the language of the northern Picts. The general scope of archaeological enquiry was widening, though Roman antiquities suffered extraordinary neglect; but less attention was being paid to purely historical subjects. The leading antiquaries of the time were J R Allen, J Anderson, D Christison, R Munro, Lord Southesk and D Wilson, with J Bain, G Goudie, P Miller and W Traill occupying a second rank.

#### FROM 1891 TO 1900

In the sample Session of the Nineties,<sup>1</sup> excavation reports take an important place. The first of them, by E W Bell (p 14), relates to the vitrified fort of Castle Law, Forgandenny, and provides a general description of the superficial remains, with a small-scale plan and section of the whole site. In the excavated parts vitrification and charcoal are noted, along with post-holes and cavities for timbers in the masonry, though the true significance of these features was not, of course, realised. Traces of secondary occupation are observed, but the author makes a point of refraining from ill-based speculations. Further work at Burghead is reported by H W Young (p 86), of the same competence as was shown in his previous paper (xxv, 435); he confirms that the supposed ‘bath’ is a well. A Macnaughton reports (p 375) on a second year’s work on the fort on Luing (cf p 263), describing the main structural features but not providing a plan. R Munro includes, in a paper on crannogs in Argyll (p 205), an account of the excavation of one on Lochan Dughail; he describes the method of construction, notes the foundations of a wooden house, and discusses the relics recovered. His conclusion that the inhabitants ‘belonged to a peaceful community, and lived in a state of comparative refinement and comfort’ usefully counters the nineteenth-century tendency to explain all early structures in terms of warfare and defence. With Munro’s methods those of Lord Ailsa stand in the starkest contrast; the latter having driven three vertical shafts into a mound (p 413), apparently with the sole object of securing relics. In a final modest but valuable piece of digging, which corroborated his earlier conclusions drawn from surface observations, J Macdonald was able to explode (p 417) a bogus Roman road, probably originating with the antiquary Joseph Train, who was also responsible for the myth of the Deil’s Dyke.<sup>2</sup> It is unfortunate that crusading zeal should have led Macdonald astray in the matter of Loudon Hill, the remains on which are now known to be those of a Roman fort.

<sup>1</sup> *PSAS*, xxvii, of 1892–3.

<sup>2</sup> On which see *PSAS*, lxxxiii, 174.

In the second place come some descriptions of monuments as seen without excavation. Thus F R Coles has a third paper (p 92) on forts, mottes, etc, in Kirkcudbright, a ninety-page area-survey with sketch-plans and sections; and this is matched by two similar surveys, of Bute by the Rev J K Hewison (p 281), who duly notes the vitrification at Dunagoil, and of Ayrshire by D Christison (p 381). J Anderson describes a single monument only, Dun Sron Duin (p 341), with a discussion of some comparable sites. Ogamms are mentioned in a note by J Rhys (p 411), but this was merely an addendum to his main paper in vol XXVI. The art of the Loch Crew cairns is described by W Fraser (p 294); he gives dimensions, some plans, and lists, with a large number of half-tone illustrations taken from water-colour sketches.

Six papers are devoted to relics. The most important is probably G F Black's descriptive catalogue (p 347) of objects of Scottish origin in the British Museum, other London museums, and the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art. In a paper of ninety-four pages the same author discusses (p 433) Scottish and other amulets and charms, quoting legends and folklore as well as describing the objects. The others run largely to type, with J Anderson on a pair of Highland targes (p 34) and a bronze sword (p 38); Professor Duns on certain stone implements (p 50), mostly foreign but providing some comparisons with Scottish material; and J O Clazey (p 66) on an urn found accidentally in a cist.

The only architectural paper is by W F Lyon (p 79), on the structural remains of Pittenweem Priory. This gives a clear and workmanlike account of the buildings and the littoral caves, with good plans and elevations, the latter on a rather small scale; the author maintains the professional architect's approach, avoiding historical details as far as possible, and alludes with enthusiasm to the work of MacGibbon and Ross, whose five volumes on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* had been appearing between 1887 and 1892. P Miller has a further paper (p 406) on 'John Knox's House', but the points that he makes are historical rather than architectural.

The strictly historical papers deal with matters of specialist rather than of general interest. The Rev J C Carrick writes (p 23) on Archbishop Leighton and his connection with Newbattle; Professor R H Story (p 73) on Principal Carstares, and the thumbscrews with which he was tortured; Æ J G Mackay (p 186) on a portrait of Margaret Tudor, included in a group; T W L Spence (p 222) on charges made against a Shetlander called Ninian Neven in the early seventeenth century; G Goudie (p 235) on a Shetland deed of pawn written in Norse; and Bishop Dowden (p 247) on the date of St Regulus' festival.

The two remaining papers deal with place-names. One, by P Miller (p 57) on 'Falkirk', was clearly not a success, two Fellows having had their disagreement recorded in the *Proceedings*. In the other D Christison attempts to survey the distribution of certain place-name elements (p 255), but is naturally handicapped through lacking the necessary background of languages, records and technique.

Just as in the sample Session, excavation bulks large in the Nineties decade as a whole; and it now takes on a new complexion as the Society begins to undertake such work itself on a large scale.<sup>1</sup> It tackled no fewer than six sites in the course of the decade, and the fact that all of them were Roman marks a change from its earlier apparent lack of interest in Roman matters. The sites in question were Birrens (xxx, 81), Ardoch (xxxii, 399), Burnswark (xxxiii, 198), Lyne (xxxv, 154), Camelon (xxxv, 329), and the road and adjoining works on the Gask ridge (xxxv, 15). The initiative in this great campaign most probably came from D Christison, then

<sup>1</sup> The extent of its commitment in A Macnaughton's excavation on Luing (*supra*) is not clear, though it appears (xxvii, 375) that he was 'requested by the Council to superintend the work'.

the Secretary, who described these undertakings (xxxiv, 7) as ‘part of a general scheme, adopted by the Council, for investigating the Roman remains in Scotland. . . . It is contemplated to deal first with the strongly fortified “Stations”, where it is to be presumed that the occupation of the Romans was of greater duration than in the “Camps” with a comparatively weak fortification’. The plans were drawn by T Ross, J H Cunningham, J Barbour and M Buchanan; the Birrens inscriptions were described by J Macdonald and the other relics by J Anderson. Day-to-day direction does not seem to have been regularly carried on by the principals, though at Birrens ‘general superintendence’ was undertaken by Macdonald, Cunningham, Barbour (the surveyor) or Christison, but was entrusted to a Clerk of the Works, T Ely at Birrens and Ardoch and A Mackie elsewhere, ‘on whom devolved the laying down of the mass of minor details by Plan and Section as the work progressed’. This system plainly had its faults,<sup>1</sup> the Ancient Monuments Commissioners remarking, for example, in 1963 that at Camelon the excavators ‘kept no record of the exact find-spots of many relics’, and that the plan of the South Camp was admitted not to be reliable;<sup>2</sup> but it at least produced plans in the general style of contemporary German work,<sup>3</sup> with which Christison, at any rate, was evidently familiar, and at both Camelon and Ardoch disclosed timber construction. It was at Ardoch, in fact, that for the first time at any military site in northern Britain a substantial part of the plan of timber buildings was identified within a fort; while in view of the fact that two overlapping sets of timber buildings seem to have been involved the achievement was described by the late Sir Ian Richmond as ‘unrivalled in its day’.<sup>4</sup> The credit for this rests with Mr Ely, the Clerk of the Works. At other sites there were recorded the typical post-holes of signal-station towers, and arrangements of boulders in the drainage channels of ditches.<sup>5</sup>

Other signs of increasing interest in Roman questions can be seen in three papers by J Macdonald (xxviii, 20, 298; xxix, 317). He deals harshly with current beliefs about Roman roads and Roman Scotland in general, and in fact overlooks some perfectly valid evidence, e.g. on Dere Street, through unfamiliarity with the actual remains in the field. The late Sir George Macdonald recognised the sceptical character of his father’s approach, but held that it was useful in correcting the kind of credulity that was evidently common at the time. Another Roman paper (xxvi, 68) is notable as being the first work by James Curle to appear in the *Proceedings*; in it he discusses the relics from the brochs of Bow and Torwoodlee, pointing unerringly to Newstead as the source of the Roman material in the latter. Two other figures, also to be famous later, similarly make their first contributions in the Nineties – the Hon J Abercromby, with a paper on a bronze dagger (xxviii, 219) and A O Curle, with a legal essay on fosterage (xxx, 10).

To return to excavation, mention must first be made of Castle Law, Abernethy, where D Christison and J Anderson (xxxiii, 13) followed up some clearance by local diggers, obtained a grant from the Society, and had the remains planned by T Ross. They duly noted the traces of *murus gallicus* construction. From Sir F T Barry’s clearance of certain Caithness brochs, carried out over the preceding ten years, Anderson was able (xxxv, 112) to salvage some positive conclusions, establishing their period of origin as the Early Iron Age. The accounts of two other brochs, Ousdale (J Mackay; xxvi, 351) and Caisteal Grugaig (T Wallace; xxxi, 86), show no advance in technique, and in fact at the latter Wallace missed several features of general interest for broch construction in general. The dun on Dunbuie (A Millar; xxx, 291) and a pile-built

<sup>1</sup> For much information on the Society’s Roman excavations I am indebted to Dr K A Steer and Dr J K St Joseph.

<sup>2</sup> RCAM, *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, 110 f.

<sup>3</sup> For comparison, see von Hohenhausen, A, *Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland*, then recently published (1884).

<sup>4</sup> Crawford, O G S, *Roman Scotland*, 34, quoting *Arch J*, xciii, 314.

<sup>5</sup> General references; xxxii, 440, 443 ff; xxxv, 25 ff.

structure at Dumbuck (J Bruce; xxxiv, 437) gained some notoriety from finds of faked implements. To a different category belong the discovery and exploration of raised-beach deposits at Campbeltown (A Gray; xxviii, 263) and in the Oban caves and the Oronsay shell-mounds (J Anderson; xxix, 211; xxxii, 298). These mesolithic sites now appear in the *Proceedings* for the first time.

Area surveys continue, and on a considerable scale. It is interesting to glance, at this point, at a passage on 'inventorisation' by G Baldwin Brown,<sup>1</sup> alluding to the very meagre measures taken officially in Great Britain to prepare the lists of ancient monuments that are necessary to schemes of preservation. He points to the work done by private agencies, opines that the most satisfactory collection of material has been made in Scotland, and mentions in particular the then recent work of J R Allen and of MacGibbon and Ross, together with the Society's reports on local museums. The surveys made in the Nineties cover forts, by D Christison (xxix, 108; xxxiv, 43); further forts and mottes (xxvi, 117), stone circles (xxxiv, 139; xxxv, 187) and cup-markings (xxix, 67), all by F R Coles; sculptured and symbol stones north of the Dee (xxvi, 251) by J R Allen; and all kinds of antiquities in the Glenluce region (xxxiii, 170) by the Rev G Wilson. With these may be classed a survey of the Catrail by F Lynn (xxxii, 62), a painstaking essay vitiated by the author's inability to distinguish in the field between linear earthworks, hollow roadways and old field-dykes. Likewise running largely to type are some papers on sculptured stones – e.g. by Bishop Dowden (xxxii, 247) on the Kirkmadrine inscriptions; by J Anderson (xxxiv, 307) on the remains of St Blane's church; and by J R Allen (xxxv, 79) on the Iona monuments and the problem of their preservation. In another paper on sculptured stones (xxviii, 157) Allen 'would urge on the Society the desirability of forming a complete collection of photographs of Scottish antiquities'.

Notable historical papers are a record of the Masters of Work to the Crown of Scotland, by R S Mylne (xxx, 49), and an annotated list by Sir A Mitchell,<sup>2</sup> running to two hundred and seven pages, of accounts of tours in Scotland (xxxv, 431). In protohistory there are two important papers by J Rhys (xxvi, 263; xxxii, 324) on the Pictish language, in which he argues for the existence of non-Aryan elements; and another, by W A Craigie (xxxI, 247) on the Gaels in Iceland.

In architectural studies some influence by MacGibbon and Ross<sup>3</sup> might well have been looked for, and in fact a quite competent paper by F R Coles on St Anthony's Chapel (xxx, 225) may perhaps owe something to their example; but the only attempt at a comprehensive account of a major castle – Dunvegan, by L Bogle (xxix, 255) – is not a work of professional standard. Otherwise the papers in this class tend, as in the past, to deal with subsidiary features rather than with buildings as wholes; R Brydall, for example, writes on Scottish effigies (xxix, 329), T Ross on sculpture in Paisley Abbey (xxxv, 44) and on a set of painted panels from Wester Livilands (xxxiii, 387), and W R Macdonald on the heraldry of the Elgin region (xxxiv, 344).

The Museum itself is accorded a good deal of space, with Miss A Murray's catalogue of the Egyptian collection (xxxiii, 465) running to sixty-five pages and Sir A Mitchell discussing the neo-archaic objects (xxxii, 181). Other papers on 'various' subjects include three by A J S Brook, respectively on University maces (xxvi, 440), the baldrick of the Sword of State (xxviii, 279), and archery medals (xxviii, 343), all with technical descriptions and historical notes. In a rather similar vein is Bishop Dowden's inventory (xxxiii, 280) of the fifteenth-century treasures of Glasgow Cathedral.

<sup>1</sup> *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, (1905), 60 f.

<sup>2</sup> Knighted in 1887.

<sup>3</sup> Their *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* was published in 1896, following the volumes on castellated and domestic building mentioned above.

In a general review of the Nineties, D Christison and J Anderson stand out as the Society's principal figures, with J R Allen, Sir A Mitchell, R Munro and T Ross also in leading positions. F R Coles, too, was evidently most active in conducting area surveys; while in the Roman excavations J H Cunningham and J Barbour established themselves as archaeological surveyors along with T Ross himself. A body of knowledge was gradually being built up, and much more effort was going into the collection of facts than into the fabrication of theories; but it is clear that the chief obstacles to advance were still lack of information and of practical experience. For example, the anomalous relics from Dumbuck and Dunbuie, though thoroughly suspect, could not be rejected off-hand as obvious fakes; J Macdonald, on Dere Street, and F Lynn, on the Catrail, were misled by faulty observation; while T Wallace, at Caisteal Grugaig, perfectly demonstrated the truth of the late Professor Collingwood's rule, that an observer can only see what he has been trained to look for.

#### FROM 1901 TO 1910

In the first sample volume of the twentieth century,<sup>1</sup> attention is chief-drawn to certain field-work projects – the excavation of chambered cairns and of a Roman fort, and area surveys made under the Gunning Fellowship – while the range of the remaining subjects is fairly familiar and their treatment calls for little comment.

To begin with the chambered cairns, the paper by T H Bryce (p 36) on a series in Arran is a sequel to one which had appeared in vol xxxvi. The author describes his results as 'relatively poor . . . as far as relics are concerned, and in the matter of human remains, the recovery of which was my primary motive, they are a complete blank; but the increase of knowledge of structural detail . . . is of much importance'. This summary seems fair enough, as dimensions are noted and major features planned, the Clyde type of segmented cairn being thus put on record for the first time. But it was evidently still supposed that relics discovered at random, even by so crude a method as riddling dug-out material, could place a whole monument securely in a chronological niche, the possibility of its having had a long and complicated history not having yet been recognised.

Sir W Turner's paper on Taversoe Tuick (p 73), accidentally opened and partially cleared out by General Traill Burroughs, gives the first notice of a two-storeyed chambered cairn; Turner produces a plan of the lower storey, but his account of the upper one is vague, and he was also evidently confused by a group of intrusive cists. Two papers on cists and urns accidentally discovered (pp 32, 233) are of no particular importance; but two others (pp 180, 366) possess some interest, as they cannot be other than early notices of cairnfields, evidently not then recognised as a distinct type of monument even by the Hon J Abercromby, who excavated a series described on p 180.

The Roman site excavated in 1902 was the fort at Castlecary, and the results are presented (p 271) in the same manner as those of the previous decade. D Christison, as before, wrote the introductory narrative, T Ross and J H Cunningham exercised general direction, M Buchanan made the survey and described the plates, and J Anderson dealt with the relics, pottery and inscriptions. The main features of the site, including the Wall and an annexe adjoining the fort itself, were planned, but part of the interior was left unexamined and the Ancient Monuments Commissioners were moved to say, in 1961,<sup>2</sup> that nothing was learned about the number or construction of the barracks, and that 'scarcely anything was done in the way of distinguishing the work of different periods of occupation'. This criticism points to weakness in the system of

<sup>1</sup> *PSAS*, xxxvii, of 1902–3.

<sup>2</sup> *RCAM, Inventory of Stirlingshire*, p 103.

control, and that this should have existed need cause no surprise seeing that Christison, Cunningham and Ross all lived in Edinburgh, and are therefore unlikely to have done more than pay periodical visits, with the result that too much would have depended on the resident Clerk of Works. There is thus some irony in a passage of the President's address to the Anniversary Meeting (p 7), in which he says, of Inchtuthil, the scene of Richmond's great discoveries of recent years, which was excavated under the same system in 1901, that this site 'had probably been made to yield most of its important secrets'.

The large-scale surveys were both made by F R Coles, and covered respectively stone circles in the north-east (p 82) and a miscellany of monuments (p 193), largely stone circles and standing and cup-marked stones, in various parts of the country.

Of the less important papers, several deal with minor pieces of fieldwork. In a prehistoric context, J Fleming gives (p 360) a superficial account, with photographs, of three stone forts in Kintyre; and L McL Mann describes (p 370) at considerable length, but not lucidly, the excavation of what seems to have been a pile-built structure. Of the 'burnt mound' at Brockan excavated by M M Charlson (p 352) the Ancient Monuments Commissioners said in 1946<sup>1</sup> that 'the nature and purpose of the building cannot be definitely ascertained from the published description', but the record at least includes a plan and measurements. Several papers are concerned with medieval monuments, but in all of them the historical interest outweighs the architectural, and they shade off into the purely historical in Sir J D Marwick's essay (p 145) on forestalling and regrating. Those which have some architectural content are by A W Johnston on the Earl's Bu at Orphir (p 16), by W W Ireland on Eileach an Naoimh (p 182), by Bishop Dowden on a funerary monument (p 245), and by J Sinclair on Mary of Gueldres' tomb (p 252). With these may also be classed the Rev J C Carrick's paper (p 258), illustrated with photographs and drawings, on the tombstones in Newbattle graveyard.

The remaining three papers in this volume deal with museum objects, the one by G Macdonald (p 367) on Roman coins from Glasgow showing the expert's hand. A H Millar discusses (p 160) the burghal seals of Crail and Coupar Angus, and J G Callander contributes his first paper to the *Proceedings* (p 166), describing a group of 'perforated objects' from Aberdeenshire. In his report to the Anniversary Meeting, D Christison, as Secretary, has a good deal to say (p 8) on the financing of excavation projects, and the maintenance of an excavation fund.

So much for the sample Session, but before going on to consider the rest of the decade it will be well to look at a review by Sir Arthur Mitchell of the Society's achievements in prehistory since 1851, presented to the Anniversary Meeting of 1901. This paper (xxxvi, 11) was prepared at the Council's invitation, and throws much light on the climate of opinion that prevailed at the turn of the centuries.

Mitchell begins by listing certain classes of objects and monuments which are known only in Scotland, and which owe their recognition to examples preserved in the Museum or to the published work of Fellows; this leads to the conclusion that Scotland possesses a distinctive prehistory of its own, and that the Society's task has always been 'to discover as much as possible about the prehistory of the Scottish area'. Then, in a not very lucidly argued section, he distinguishes archaeology from antiquarianism, and both from history, on the grounds that history is concerned with records and dates, that in antiquarian studies 'we may get an approach to dates' but that 'archaeology proper gives no periods that can be expressed in chronological terms'. Just what he means by antiquarianism is rather obscure, but he may have had in mind the collection of curios – pretty, queer or interesting – which he says later 'shed no glory on our studies'. He adds that much of the Society's output of before 1851 referred to non-Scottish

<sup>1</sup> RCAM, *Inventory of Orkney*, p 326, no. 929.

matters, and that still more of it was ‘more suitable for a Scottish Historical Society than for a Scottish Society of Antiquaries’ – both points which have in fact been noted above in discussions of the earlier periods. After pointing out the great value of the Society’s Museum and Library, he goes on to discuss intellectual discipline in archaeological research, and some of the logical processes that may be involved; and from this part of the paper some passages deserve to be quoted. For example, the Society has tried to ‘introduce those methods into its enquiries and researches which are required in other branches of scientific work . . . in Archaeological studies the temptations to sensationalism, baseless assumptions, credulity, thin and superficial speculations and half-done work are so strong and so numerous’. He considers that ‘in no field of research should the habit of doubting more prevail’, particular caution being necessary in cases of negative evidence or when a choice comes into question between actual contemporaneity and mere association. He further draws attention to the danger of treating conclusions as facts, and speculates on the function of the human creative faculty in its relationship to evolution in the sphere of material culture. Returning later to the subject of intellectual discipline, he alludes to archaeology’s ‘bad reputation for frivolity and dilettantism, for being loose in its methods, and for being a study in which men amuse themselves’; and urges that ‘unceasing efforts should be made to put it on the same platform as the most dignified of the other sciences’.

Taken as a whole, Mitchell’s review points, justly enough, to an impressive body of facts accumulated since 1851, and it is clear that advanced opinion, at any rate, recognised the need for high technical standards. Some doubt remains, however, regarding further objectives, even as entertained by the same advanced opinion; an impression is gained that a full description of a set of external features was held to provide full knowledge of a given object or structure, and that the questions of ‘Why’, ‘By whom’, and ‘When’ were not being urgently pressed. It is true that Anderson was stated to have ‘left nothing more to be said about Horned Cairns, *until there are fresh explorations*’, and that ‘he has made us understand Broch *Structures* in a way that is final’, but in spite of the qualifications indicated by the present author’s italics, the suspicion remains of an approach of this limited kind. Mitchell may not have been ready to recognise prehistoric archaeology as a phase of history in general, but Sir Herbert Maxwell, as President five years later (xli, 6), maintained that all historical and archaeological studies were parts of a single endeavour.

The papers of the rest of this decade cover much the same subjects as did those of the sample Session. To begin with field-work, two further papers on the chambered cairns of Arran (xxxvi, 74; xliii, 337) combine with the one already mentioned (xxxvii, 36) and one in Bute (xxxviii, 17) to complete T H Bryce’s campaign in the region of the lower Clyde. His method is still ominously described as ‘systematic digging out’, but these papers are of great importance for their identification and description of the Clyde type of cairn. The cairn on Kewing Hill, described by M M Charlson (xxxvi, 733), is an interesting member of the Orkney series.

Roman excavation was likewise carried on with vigour. James Curle’s work at Newstead<sup>1</sup> began in 1905 and was partly supported by the Society, which had projects under its own direction at Inchtuthil (xxxvi, 182) and Rough Castle (xxxix, 442). The latter operation was controlled from a certain distance, as at Castle Cary, the supervisors being D Christison, M Buchanan and T Ross, with A Mackie on the spot as Clerk of Works. The paper includes plans of the defence and internal buildings, and a discussion by J Anderson of the relics; alterations were observed in some of the stone structures, and some details additional to simple ditch-profiles are shown on

<sup>1</sup> Published by him in book form, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911), and not reported in detail in *PSAS*.

the published sections, but no references seem to have been drawn about periods of occupation. The potentialities of stratigraphical recording for the reconstruction of history had apparently not yet been generally realised, although Pitt-Rivers' volumes of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase* had begun to appear in 1887, with plates exhibiting results by plan and section.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, G Macdonald excavated Bar Hill for the proprietor (XL, 403), disclosing an Agricolaean and an Antonine occupation, recognising the drainage channels in the ditches, and securing a large quantity of relics, particularly of the Antonine period. A O Curle also reported on a Roman structure on Rubers Law, with relics (XXXIX, 219). The work at Inchtuthil may now look meagre, in the light of the late Sir Ian Richmond's discoveries there, but it was of considerable value in its day and included the first recognition of timber buildings in a legionary fortress in Britain. With J Curle's work at Newstead and Macdonald's at Bar Hill the approach to Roman archaeology becomes fully authoritative; advantage is seen to be taken of foreign experience and results, and digging is more strictly watched. At Newstead, in particular, Curle was able to pay 'frequent and often daily visits' to the site, where he also had the help of the experienced foreman A Mackie. His work set new standards both in the interpretation of the data and in the publication of the results; and it may truly be said that Curle and Macdonald jointly put a new complexion on Roman archaeology in Scotland.

Any account of the excavations made at this time necessarily brings up the name of the Hon J Abercromby. The Annual Report of November 1904 (XXXIX, 7) states that 'the fund instituted by Mr Abercromby for British excavations'<sup>2</sup> had covered T H Bryce's work in Bute (*supra*), some work directed by Abercromby himself, and by F R Coles, in Perthshire and Aberdeenshire, and also a project of the Society's own in Argyll. The Report's rather imprecise language suggests, as is probable, that Abercromby supplied the bulk of this fund himself. His own work is properly recorded (XXXVIII, 82; XXXIX, 171) – at Meiklour, for example, he marks his trenches on the plan, and notes both the position and the depth of the objects recovered – and this salutary lead seems to have been followed by Coles (XXXIX, 190, 411) and by J S Richardson (XLI, 393) who show finds in both plan and section. J E Cree, too, illustrates a site of two periods similarly (XLII, 253). Coles alludes to the use of a trowel. But the history of the duns and forts that were tackled in Argyll (XXXIX, 259) is less happy. Here, although one of the sites was the supremely important Dunadd, the Society persisted in its practice of remote control, and this understandably broke down in such a distant region. Notwithstanding Christison's claim that he could give the Clerk of Works the necessary directions, and that the latter's weekly reports 'gave all the information that was required as to the progress of the excavations', it is clear from the rest of this passage that the visits paid to the site by higher supervisors numbered only five in all – one by A B M'Hardy, who happened to be a vice-President; three by T Ross, presumably to plan the remains; and one by Abercromby 'when the work was completed' and the harm irrevocably done. Some further information comes from the late Dr A O Curle, who was serving on the Council at the time (1904), and who once told the present writer that nothing of the forts' histories could be reconstructed from the Clerk's weekly reports; and it is plain that the buildings were simply cleared out, relics and all pell-mell, with the result that Anderson must have had to deal with the relics as if from a robbed site. Abercromby's reaction to the fiasco was evidently sharp; by Dr Curle's further account he was so disgusted, especially by the case of Dunadd, that he revoked a will under which the Society had been named to receive an important legacy.

Other excavations of this decade which call for notice are those of Jarlshof broch and Castle Haven dun. The former was cleared out by the proprietor, J Bruce (XLI, 11), who produced a

<sup>1</sup> For information on this subject I am indebted to Mr A Maclaren.

<sup>2</sup> On which see also XXXVIII, 8.



good plan and a description which does justice to the secondary buildings, though Bruce himself regarded these and the broch as parts of a unitary complex. At Castle Haven a similar clearance was made, and a careful description of the remains was prepared by J Barbour (XLI, 68). The proprietor here saw fit to heighten the ruined walls, but in the published photographic illustration the top of the original masonry is indicated by a white line. Two papers were also read whose interest was mainly anatomical (xxxix, 418; XL, 328).

Area surveys continue as in the sample Session, F R Coles producing no fewer than nine papers on standing stones and stone circles (xxxvi, 488; xxxviii, 256; XL, 164, 291; XLI, 130; XLII, 95; XLIII, 93; XLIV, 117; XLV, 46) and one on artificial caves (XLV, 265); and D Christison one on standing stones (xxxviii, 123) and another on forts (xxxviii, 205). Such surveys give proof of the prevailing general interest in 'inventorisation', which issued, in 1908, in the inauguration of the three Royal Commissions on Ancient and Historical Monuments; and something of the same interest may be seen in the numerous notices of graveyard monuments, mostly post-Reformation, that appeared in the course of the decade – for example, two long and valuable papers by D Christison (xxxvi, 280; xxxix, 55) and seven in a less scholarly style by A Reid (xxxviii, 305; XLI, 81; XLII, 18; XLIII, 206; XLIV, 33; XLV, 117, 488).

Notices of minor field-observations are numerous, such as those of 'archaic structures' in the Hebrides by W M Mackenzie (xxxviii, 173); of beehive houses in Shetland by R Munro and J Abercromby (xxxviii, 548); of artificial islands by the Rev O Blundell (XLIII, 159; XLIV, 12) and of the Glenluce and Culbin Sands by J G Callander (XLV, 158). Blundell was remarkably far in advance of his time in the use of diving equipment for underwater exploration. At this point, too, mention may be made of A B M'Hardy's experiment in producing vitrification (XL, 136); it is interesting to know that he understood the need for restricting the supply of air, though he inferred simply that heat had to be conserved, and did not realise that charcoal had to be produced to obtain higher temperatures.

Pictish and other early sculptured stones were not mentioned in the sample Session, but they attracted considerable attention in the rest of the decade. The Newton and Lunnasting inscriptions, for example, were discussed by W Bannerman (XLII, 56, 342); the St Vigean's epitaph by the Rev D Macrae (XLIII, 330); and Latin and ogam inscriptions in the Isle of Man by P M C Kermodé (XLV, 437). A paper by D H Fleming (XLIII, 385) deals with stones in St Andrews Cathedral; one by F C Eeles (XLIV, 354) with some early crosses and medieval sculptures; and two by J Ritchie (XLIV, 203; XLV, 333) report Pictish and other early stones in Aberdeenshire. The influence of J R Allen's *Early Christian Monuments*, published in 1903, is seen in a paper by W Laidlaw (xxxix, 21) on material from Jedburgh and its neighbourhood.

Papers on medieval and later subjects, which are plentiful, follow the pattern shown by the sample Session, in that their archaeological or architectural interest tends in many cases to be overshadowed by the historical. As a result, the list of papers in this category includes a number of purely historical essays, with next to no antiquarian content. An example of such historical work is D Crichton's discussion (XLIII, 296) of the death of the Admirable Crichton; and among papers with a larger or smaller admixture of historical matter are J A Balfour's on Holy Island (XLIII, 147), the Rev J Stirton's on Glamis Church (XLV, 186), F T Macleod's on Chapel Yard (XLV, 198), and T Wallace's on military roads, etc, in the Highlands (XLV, 318). Architectural papers in the full sense are J S Fleming's comparison of Scottish and Irish castles (XLIII, 43), F C Eeles' report on the excavation of Southdean church (XLV, 551), and two notices of tempera painting by A W Lyons (xxxviii, 151; XLV, 237).

Museum objects, finally, bulk much larger than they did in the sample Session. This is mainly because, in 1904, 1905 and 1907 respectively, the Hon J Abercromby read three highly

significant papers, on Beakers (xxxviii, 323; xxxix, 326) and on Cinerary Urns (xli, 185), which can be seen as stages in the development of his general scheme for the classification of Bronze Age pottery.<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned further that, apart from the importance of these papers' subject-matter, the third of them, in particular, is outstanding in the number and high quality of its half-tone illustrations. The unhappy results of the Society's excavations in western Argyll (*supra*) are described in a joint paper (xxxix, 259) by D Christison and J Anderson, the latter doing full justice to the evidence forthcoming from the relics. Anderson likewise deals at length (xxxix, 232) with pottery from the Poltalloch chambered cairns. Other notable papers of this class are again by Anderson, on shrines and reliquaries (xliv, 259) and by A J S Brook on Communion tokens (xli, 453). The scale and style of the last is strongly reminiscent of an inventory, as was suggested above in the case of the graveyard monuments. R C Clephan's long paper on terracotta lamps (xli, 34) recalls those on non-Scottish subjects that were commoner in the Society's early years than of late. The main activities of the decade were excavation, particularly of Roman sites, and the extended listing of monuments; and here it may be noted that D Christison, in his report to the Anniversary Meeting of 1903 (xxxviii, 9) took occasion to record a warning of the monuments' progressive destruction. The volume of information, on a wide variety of subjects, that was contributed incidentally by ordinary Fellows continued its regular growth; and Christison, in another passage in the report just mentioned, called for a volunteer with leisure to classify and analyse the varied prehistoric material stored in the Museum, with due regard to Continental parallels. He stated squarely that archaeology was international.

To the leading antiquarian figures of the Eighties and Nineties, such as Anderson, Christison, Mitchell, Munro and Ross, there must be added for the present decade Abercromby, Bryce, James Curle and George Macdonald. Childe's summing-up of the prehistorians' achievements deserves to be recalled in full, it being understood, of course, that his assessment was based on the whole extent of their work, and not simply on the papers that they published in the Society's *Proceedings*. 'Scottish prehistory', he writes,<sup>2</sup> has found exponents who, approaching the subject with an international outlook, played a leading part in the development of the science in Europe; the works of Geikie, Munro, Abercromby and Bryce have exercised a guiding influence all over the world. Moreover, by 1886 Dr Joseph Anderson had sketched the essential outlines of Scottish prehistory in a comprehensive and scientific survey such as then existed in no other country'.

#### FROM 1911 TO 1920

The sample volume for the second decade of this century<sup>3</sup> contains a heterogeneous collection of papers, few of which can claim particular value. The most important are J Curle's description (p 384) of discoveries made at Newstead too late for inclusion in *A Roman Frontier Post*, and F C Eeles' full and careful account of the church bells of West Lothian (p 61). Other papers dealing with ecclesiastical antiquities are a second one by Eeles (p 470), on fonts, a bell, and carved and inscribed stones at Cruden and St Fergus; reports by J A Morris (p 174) and D H Fleming (p 463) on sculptured material respectively from Girvan and St Andrews; a note by J D Cairns (p 418) on a cross-carved stone on Isle Martin; and a discussion, partly historical, by the Rev J K Hewison (p 348) of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. With these may also be classed A Reid's descriptions of graveyard monuments in Peeblesshire (p 130).

On observations in the field there are two quite interesting papers. In the first W J Watson describes (p 30) a series of 'forts' in northern Perthshire, in which he recognised peculiar features

<sup>1</sup> *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (1912).

<sup>2</sup> *The Prehistory of Scotland*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> *PSAS*, xlvii, for 1912-13.

and which have recently been thought to be duns introduced by immigrants from the west.<sup>1</sup> In the second the Rev O Blundell continues his earlier work on artificial islands, with a long descriptive catalogue (p 257). Of less interest is a paper by C G Cash (p 360) on a miscellany of antiquities in Yarrow, including a note on attempted readings of the Yarrow stone inscription. The contemporary influence of the idea of inventory-making can readily be seen in the three last-mentioned papers.

Architectural papers are only two in number, R R Anderson exhibiting (p 17) a series of plans and drawings of Edinburgh Castle, going back to Slezer, and F C Mears describing (p 343) a medieval house at Inverkeithing. The latter is a good example of the kind of professionally competent work that has been rather rare in the past. In a short paper (p 426) A Thoms discusses, on petrological evidence, the source of the stone of St Regulus' tower, St Andrews.

As in earlier years, several papers are on the borderland of archaeology and history. Thus T Reid deals (p 209) with bridges, fords and ferries on the Clyde near Lanark, and F T Macleod (p 99) with relics at Dunvegan and the Macleod heraldry. Purely historical are a paper by the Rev J H Bernard (p 408) on a Papal charter to Kinloss Abbey, and speculations by E Stair-Kerr (p 423) on Randolph's capture of Edinburgh Castle in 1312.

The remaining seven papers (pp 12, 172, 420, 436, 444, 450, 468) all deal with museum objects and amount to little more than notes. The most considerable are the first and the last two, respectively by Sir H Maxwell and J G Callander on miscellaneous relics and by G Macdonald on a hoard of coins.

Finally a word must be said about the eulogy of Joseph Anderson (p 334), delivered by Lord Guthrie in March 1913 to mark the former's resignation from the Keepership of the Museum. Anderson had held that post with the greatest distinction since 1869, as well as serving the Society as its Assistant-Secretary and as the editor of its *Proceedings*. Childe's assessment of his international standing has already been quoted, and his withdrawal from the scene of active archaeological work must have meant a painful break in established Scottish tradition. Antiquaries, now fairly pitchforked into the twentieth century, looked back with regret and faithfully quoted his rulings.<sup>2</sup>

The pattern of the sample Session is not typical of the decade as a whole, apart, perhaps, from the heterogeneity of the subjects. The most numerous as well as the most important of the papers read during the rest of the period are reports on the excavation of prehistoric and Roman sites, together with descriptions, largely on inventory lines, of unexcavated field-monuments.

With the prehistoric excavations the name of A O Curle is inseparably connected, as ten of the sixteen operations recorded here were directed either by himself alone or in association with J E Cree. The best known of his sites is of course Traprain Law (XLIX, 139; L, 64; LIV, 54; LV, 153), where he found the great silver treasure;<sup>3</sup> but notwithstanding the *éclat* that attached to this spectacular find, the final results of the whole campaign on the Law<sup>4</sup> can only be regarded as disappointing. The digging seems to have been directed primarily to the recovery of relics from selected parts of the interior, for assessment in the time-honoured manner – Curle being, of course, himself a leading expert in such matters and now Anderson's successor as Keeper of the Museum. Details of hut-foundations, etc., uncovered in the excavated areas, were duly planned and described, and it was inferred from a study of the relics, which were discussed at great length, that the site had been occupied by one community or another for something like a

<sup>1</sup> RCAM, *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, p 29.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the maxim 'There are no dates in prehistory, only periods' was used to deflate the present writer as recently as the middle Thirties.

<sup>3</sup> Curle, A O, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923).

<sup>4</sup> Work was continued in the next decade, by Cree alone (LVII, 180; LVIII, 241) or by Curle and Cree jointly (LVI, 180).

thousand years, but the site was not tackled as a whole, and the reports give little idea of its general history.

Though still necessarily dependent to a great extent on relics, as was also A S Graeme in his work at the broch of Ayre (XLVIII, 31), in other of his papers of this time Curle supplies fuller details of structure. Thus of the wag of Langwill (XLVI, 77), Teroy broch (XLVI, 183), and the vitrified fort on the Mote of Mark (XLVIII, 125), he gives plans and sections and, in the last case, discusses the vitrified remains; while his accounts of Dun Telve (L, 241) and Dun Troddan (LV, 83), which are illustrated with a professional architect's plans and some useful photographs, provide a fresh forward step in the study of broch construction. At Dun Troddan, in particular, he noted and planned traces of an internal post-built structure. Comparable with these papers are one by F T Macleod on Dun Iardhard (XLIX, 57), cleared out by the Countess Baillet de Latour, and another by J G Callander on Dun Beag (LV, 110), both of which contain good plans and photographs and add significantly to knowledge of this class of structure. Another excavation of this time was that at Broomend of Crichtie (LIV, 154) by J Ritchie; while another, on a less ambitious scale, was that of Dun Breac (XLIX, 50) by the present writer. Signs of improving technique appear in A H Bisop's paper on an Oransay shell-mound (XLVIII, 52), with its plans and sections by M Buchanan as well as reports on animal and other remains, and J E Cree's on a cairn at Inverlael (XLVIII, 112); the latter shows familiarity with Pitt-Rivers' *Cranborne Chase*. Proper plans and sections are also supplied by G P H Watson, on a simpler subject at Kidsneuk (LII, 60).

The field observations noted in the sample Session are matched by a number of papers on unexcavated monuments. Inventory surveys of areas, for example, refer to Iona (R A S Macalister; XLVIII, 421) and to part of Skipness parish (A Graham; LIII, 76; LIV, 194), the latter undertaken in response to a general request for local information made to County Councils by the Ordnance Survey. Surveys by types include three papers by J Ritchie, one on cup-marks (LII, 86) and two on stone circles (LI, 30; LIII, 64); one by J H Craw on forts in Berwickshire (LV, 231); and one by W J Watson on forts in Perthshire (XLIX, 17). Miscellaneous items in this class are J Sharp's report on flints at Overhowden (XLVI, 370), a site which attracted some notice in recent years; and H R G Inglis' study of roads leading to Edinburgh (L, 18), with its reproductions of old maps and some data on turnpikes. A description of the Doune of Invernochty, accompanied by historical notes on the medieval earldom of Mar (LIII, 34), is the first of a series of papers of a similar type by the late Dr W D Simpson.

Roman studies did not figure in the sample Session, but some important papers appeared in the course of the decade. In the first place comes one by G Macdonald (XLIX, 93) on fresh discoveries on the line of the Antonine Wall, in which he describes observations above and below ground directed at doubtful points in his recently published book.<sup>1</sup> The Wall is also the subject of a paper by F Haverfield (LII, 174), in which he considers whether certain of the forts had been built on Agricolan sites, and points to the failure of past excavators to note evidence associating remains with periods. A useful excavation by G H Stevenson and S N Miller (XLVI, 446) in the fortlet of Cappuck, already opened up in 1886, disclosed the lay-out of the defences and some of the internal buildings. Apart from excavation, Macdonald describes and discusses (L, 317) the camps of Raedykes and Glenmailen (Ythan Wells), with particular reference to the Mons Graupius controversy; and J G Callander likewise deals with those of Grassy Walls and Bertha (LIII, 137), supplying notes on topography and a *résumé* of earlier reports. J Curle contributes an admirably illustrated study (LI, 130) of *terra sigillata* bowls, while Macdonald finds a further subject in a Roman carving at Colinton (LII, 38). In two coastal caves in Fife, A J B

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911).

Wace and Professor Jehu identified, in a well-executed excavation (XLIX, 233), native occupation in the Roman and Early Christian periods.

Among medieval excavations, A O Curle (LXVIII, 18) obtained a date for the motte at Hawick on the strength of twelfth-century pottery and a coin of Henry II, and included in his paper diagrammatic sections of the mound. On Loch Kinellan, H A Fraser examined an artificial island (LI, 48) and produced an able paper, well illustrated with plans, sections and photographs. At Kildrummy Castle, W D Simpson, with the help of some excavation, disclosed the gatehouse and some of the internal buildings; he also contributes much relevant historical matter. Purely historical papers are fewer than usual.

Of the architectural papers the most interesting are probably two by W T Oldrieve, respectively on David's Tower in Edinburgh Castle (XLVIII, 230) and the roof of Glasgow Cathedral (L, 155). Both these exhibit the technical expertise that seemed lacking in the sample Session. D H Fleming contributes an account of recent discoveries at St Andrews (XLIX, 209), and F C Eeles an informed discussion of the orientation of churches (XLVIII, 169) and a note on stained glass from Holyrood (XLIX, 81). W Meyer-Griffith's account of Ruthven barracks (XLVIII, 25), though short, is illustrated with a useful plan and sketches. Two papers on bridges, by H R C Inglis (XLVI, 151; XLIX, 256), are soundly based on facts. The abiding attraction of funerary antiquities is proved by a pair of papers by J Ritchie on watch-houses, vaults, etc (XLVI, 285 LV, 221). Ecclesiastical remains, such as bulked comparatively large in the sample Session, are mentioned from time to time, the most important papers probably being two by P C Kermodé (XLVI, 53; LV, 256) on cross-slabs in the Isle of Man.

There are several papers on purely historical subjects, but they hardly call for notice.

Museum objects, as has been said, are very fully dealt with in the excavation reports. Special mention should be made of a paper by J G Callander (L, 201) on jet necklaces and pre-historic jet ornaments in general; and of three by G Macdonald (LII, 203; LIV, 20; LV, 278) on Roman and other coins. That remarkable curiosity the Aberdeen kayak is again taken up by D Macritchie (LXVI, 213). A protest by one of the Fellows against the opening of the Museum on Sundays was recorded in 1913 (XLVIII, 431).

The retirement of J Anderson in 1913, and the deaths of D Christison in 1912 and of R Munro in 1920, left J and A O Curle, G Macdonald and J G Callander as the leading figures in Scottish archaeology. Sir H Maxwell was likewise replaced as President in 1913 by the Hon J Abercromby, after having occupied the position since 1900. It is possible to detect, in the work of the decade as a whole, an increased maturity of approach and a fresh concern with precision.

## FROM 1921 TO 1930

The sample Session for the Twenties is that of 1922-3.<sup>1</sup> Its largest group of papers is concerned with prehistoric, and mainly Bronze Age, subjects, the chief contribution being that of J G Callander (p 123) on Scottish Bronze Age hoards. This is a useful and well-illustrated paper, embodying a scheme of classification based on periods. Callander appears again with papers on Bronze Age burials, at Camelon (p 243) in association with M Buchanan and at Dunfermline (p 299) with T H Bryce; while L M Mann discusses a cist and certain Bronze Age relics in two papers (pp 98, 314). A J H Edwards describes, with good plans, the excavation of three sites near Minnigaff, respectively a long cairn with segmented chambers (p 55), a round cairn (p 65) and a hut-circle (p 70), the last apparently of Bronze Age date and associated with a cairnfield. The preceding season's excavations on Traprain Law are reported in the usual manner (p 180), with

<sup>1</sup> *PSAS*, LVII.

plans of foundations and relic find-spots at each of four-levels, and a slight account of a gateway with a small-scale plan. J Ritchie gives a surface description (p 20), with photographs and small-scale plans, of the stone circles at Raedykes; and R R Boog-Watson an insignificant essay, under the Chalmers-Jervise bequest, on a hill-fort near Deuchny (p 303).

The second place is occupied by three architectural papers, respectively on Caerlaverock Castle (p 29) by G P H Watson, on Kindrochit Castle (p 75) by W D Simpson, and on Skipness Castle (p 266) by A Graham and R G Collingwood. These papers are all of a type noted in earlier years, combining an architectural description of the surviving structures with a more or less extensive review of their history. Watson supports his analysis of the Caerlaverock remains with excellent plans and illustrations; Simpson discusses the historical and strategic aspects of Kindrochit Castle at considerable length; Graham and Collingwood make a material advance on the article by McGibbon and Ross,<sup>1</sup> but their conclusions have now been largely overtaken by the Ancient Monuments Commission's definitive study.<sup>2</sup>

Attention is next attracted to four authors for their choice of unusual subjects. Of these, Principal Laurie discusses (p 41) the pigments used in the illumination of two thirteenth-century manuscripts; J L Anderson (p 167) the chapmen's traditional yard; H Marwick (p 251) Celtic place-names and J S Clouston (p 307) Norse heraldry, both in Orkney. The remaining contributors, however, hardly depart from precedents already familiar; the Rev R S G Anderson, for example, writes (p 17) on two Celtic cross-slabs from Wigtownshire, G S Graham-Smith (p 48) on 'otter' or 'beaver' traps, T Reid (p 112) on a medieval coin-amulet known as the Lee Penny, G Macdonald (p 120) on a thirteenth-century hoard of coins and (p 173) on a Roman inscription and carvings at Jedburgh, A Sharp (p 226) on Stewart jewellery and F T Maclead (p 288) on the Duirinish Communion cups and associated heraldic matters. Macdonald's papers are naturally of expert quality, and Sharp's has good illustrations; the rest are not of any particular moment.

The vogue of prehistoric, and particularly of Bronze Age, subjects that was noted in the sample Session persists in the rest of the decade, the emphasis being less on new discoveries than on the discussion of whole groups of material. Papers of this latter kind are exemplified by those of the Abbé Breuil on the pre-Neolithic industries of Scotland (LVI, 261); of J G Callander on two series of Tardenoisian implements (LXI, 318; LXII, 166) and on Scottish Neolithic pottery (LXIII, 29); of J M Corrie on bronze rapiers (LXII, 138); of J H Craw on lunulae (LXIII, 154); and of A D Lacaille (LXIV, 34) on microliths from Ayrshire. Among new Bronze Age discoveries first place must go to two reports by V G Childe (LXIII, 225; LXIV, 158) on the Ministry of Works' operations at Skara Brae. These papers, Childe's first contributions to the *Proceedings*,<sup>3</sup> are significant not only for the wide range of new facts that they began to open up, but also as marking the first acceptance by the Ministry, in Scotland at any rate, of expert outside advice in a project of conservation. In this connection it is interesting to notice the limitations imposed on the archaeologist's functions; Childe defines his commitment significantly, at the opening of his second paper, as being merely that of 'observing and recording archaeological remains that might incidentally come to light'. On the excavation of Bronze Age burials three reports by A J H Edwards may be mentioned (LX, 160; LXI, 196; LXIII, 138), and a companion anatomical paper, on the human remains, by T H Bryce (LXI, 301).

On later prehistoric subjects there are two reports on further excavations on Traprain Law (LVI, 189; LVIII, 241), by A O Curle and J E Cree, much in the same style as those noted in the previous decade and based on much the same methods, and one by J W Paterson on the broch of Mousa (LVI, 172); the last, with its professionally executed drawings, must have helped

<sup>1</sup> *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, III, 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Inventory of Kintyre*, p 165.

<sup>3</sup> He was elected a Fellow in 1927.

materially to illustrate the typical features of broch-construction. An acid comment on the Society's excavation of Dunadd (*supra*) is supplied by J H Crow (LXIV, 111), together with a full and well-illustrated list of the relics now recovered by re-excavation. Other prehistoric reports, on cairns, cists, megalithic monuments, etc, follow the established patterns.

Architectural papers, as in the sample Session, bulk unusually large, combining, as before, descriptions of structure with substantial essays in history. Their numbers are principally due to the work of a single author, W D Simpson, who contributed two papers on ecclesiastical buildings, Dornoch Cathedral (LVIII, 227), and Monymusk Church (LIX, 34); seven on castles, Huntly (LVI, 134), Coull (LVIII, 45), Bothwell (LIX, 165), Balvenie (LX, 132), Corgarff (LXI, 48), Kildrummy (LXII, 36) and Craig (LXIV, 48); and two others (LXIII, 102; LXIV, 201) which, though lacking architectural content, discuss the strategical functions of certain castles in a manner which serves to class them with those just listed. Other architectural papers deserving notice are J W Paterson's thoroughly professional description of Inchcolm Abbey (LX, 227) and J F Wyness' account of the House of Schivas (LXIII, 384).

Roman studies produced some important papers. One on Ptolemaic Scotland (LVI, 288), which explained the distortion of the northern part of the country, represents the late Sir Ian Richmond's first appearance in the *Proceedings*; this he followed up (LVIII, 309) with an essay on the historical implications of the Newstead discoveries. Sir George Macdonald<sup>1</sup> contributed a comprehensive paper (LIX, 270), with maps, photographs and some detailed plans, on discoveries made on the Antonine Wall since his previous account (XLIX, 93, and *supra*); and another (LXIII, 396) containing a full report on the excavation of the fort at Mumrills, to which a short preliminary had appeared a few years before (LIX, 194). J H Crow also reported on some excavations and other observations at Channelkirk (LXIV, 321); and Macdonald returned to the subject of Roman coins (LVIII, 325), following up an earlier paper (LII, 203).

Reports on such matters as the opening of cairns and cists, the discovery of megaliths, carved and cup-marked stones, and stray objects in general are, as usual, numerous, but few call for special notice. Among those that do are three papers of 'inventory' type – J G Callander's on cairns in Perthshire (LIX, 21), J Matheson's on St Kilda (LXII, 123) and D Colville's on standing stones in Kintyre (LXIV, 301). Two others are noteworthy as marking an advance in the standard of outdoor observation; they are respectively by H R G Inglis (LVIII, 203), describing certain roads in the Borders, and by J H Crow (LVIII, 40), pointing to past misconceptions and absurd statements about the Catrail. Unfamiliar subjects are treated in at least three further papers; J Cruikshank associating a roadside cross with existing remains of old tracks (LX, 269), R Eckford discussing cultivation terraces and upholding their artificial origin (LXII, 107), and J G Callander putting forward some ideas on land-movements (LXIII, 314). Other papers which fall into no particular category but which call for mention are two on the Monypenny Breviary, respectively by A van de Put (LVI, 72) and F C Eeles (LVI, 111); one by A O Curle, on brass candlesticks dating between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century (LX, 183); one by F C Eeles, discussing in detail the Guthrie Bell and its shrine (LX, 409); and three by J S Richardson, notable for their drawn illustrations, on carvings in wood (LX, 384), late medieval retables (LXII, 197), and a tile-kiln and ornamented floor-tiles (LXIII, 281).

Among historical papers four may be mentioned – by M C Andrews on indications of the boundary between Scotland and England on Portolan charts (LX, 36); by W Douglas on Culross charters (LX, 67); by D H Fleming on three ecclesiastical petitions (LX, 314); and by J Smith on the Friary of St Anthony in Leith (LXIV, 275). Finally we have the Council's obituary notice of Lord Abercromby<sup>2</sup> (LIX, 4), who died in 1924 while holding office as President. Besides assessing

<sup>1</sup> Previously G Macdonald; knighthood 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Previously the Hon J Abercromby; title 1917.

his work in general, the notice contains a passage of some significance in view of his reaction to the Dunadd fiasco of 1904 (*supra*); it reads 'He realised how necessary it was that all excavations should be conducted on scientific principles, and early in the day pressed strongly for the use of the riddle and for the accurate location of finds'.

This decade may properly be thought of as the last of a definite phase in archaeological history. In Scotland, Abercromby's death had removed the last of the great Victorian figures, while the Epigoni – such men as James and Alexander Curle, Macdonald, Bryce and Callander – had by now done most of the work for which they would later be remembered. At the same time, the characteristics of the succeeding phase had hardly begun to take shape; Childe, for example, only recently installed in Edinburgh and not everywhere welcomed as a colleague for political reasons, had not yet established his influence, while Richmond did not open his campaign in Roman Scotland until 1938. In the wider sphere, again, the uses of air-photography had begun to be recognised,<sup>1</sup> and Wheeler's excavations were setting new standards for everyone. In addition, the second World War and the reconstruction that followed were to introduce a set of completely new conditions. For all these reasons, therefore, the hundred-and-fiftieth Session seems to mark a suitable point at which to bring this review to an end.

### NUMERICAL ANALYSIS

Some of the conclusions and suggestions contained in the foregoing parts of this paper can be further illustrated by figures, and to this end a count has been made of all the subjects discussed in papers published since 1851. It is important to understand that the count has been one of subjects as found in the texts of the papers, and not simply as implied by the titles, a distinction which may sometimes be needed when discursive authors wander from one point to another. Thus a single paper may be found to deal with, say, three disparate monuments and a piece of folklore, and this will score 'four' in the count, while one which deals with four homogeneous monuments, for example four brochs or crannogs, will only score 'one'. On the other hand, regular inventories of stated areas, systematically conducted to cover all types of monument, are classed as 'Various' and score 'one' each as such. The results of the count are set out in Table V below, which shows (col 2) the basis of classification and the percentage (cols 3-10) of the total count for each decade represented by a given class. It is impossible, of course, in a scheme of this scope to avoid some degree of inconsistency, and warnings should perhaps be given on the following points. (1) It has sometimes been difficult to distinguish a 'paper' in the proper sense of the word from mere remarks accompanying the exhibition of an object to a meeting. (2) Architectural papers regularly contain a larger or smaller historical element, and consequently the line between those which fall, in col 1, into classes K and N on the one hand and into class O on the other, is indistinct. (3) To class mottes with prehistoric forts and duns (F) is of course anomalous, but this seems to accord with the notions of at least the earlier authors, writing before mottes had been recognised as medieval in date.

Some of the tendencies observable in Table V appear more clearly when the relative figures are shown in graphical form. This has been done, for certain selected subjects, in Table VI (fig 1), the system being simplified by some amalgamation of the classes as listed in Table V.

From these two tables the following conclusions may be drawn.

1. In every decade except that of 1911-20, which contains the years of the First World War and must therefore rank as abnormal, two types of subject share a leading place, respectively

<sup>1</sup> O G S Crawford's *Wessex from the Air* was published in 1928.



TABLE V

## PERCENTAGE CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS DISCUSSED: 1851-1930

Ref. let- ters	Subjects	Decades								
		1851 -60	1861 -70	1871 -80	1881 -90	1891 -1900	1901 -10	1911 -20	1921 -30	
A	Flint industries, finds of flint and stone implements	-	2.1	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.1	1.2	4.0	
B	Cairns and mounds, incl. major chambered cairns	3.3	10.2	3.6	4.2	2.9	7.5	4.0	5.0	
C	Cists, 'urns', hoards, casual finds, etc., mainly Bronze Age	8.3	13.9	13.7	12.5	11.1	16.1	8.6	19.0	
D	Megaliths; cup-markings	2.8	2.1	3.0	7.9	6.7	6.4	5.7	6.0	
E	Brochs	2.8	3.6	2.1	.8	1.3	.7	2.8	.5	
F	Forts, duns, mottes	1.5	1.2	3.0	5.0	6.4	5.7	5.7	3.0	
G	Unclassified domestic sites, incl. earth-houses, huts and crannogs	3.6	11.1	6.0	2.9	3.8	6.4	4.5	10.0	
H	Roman, incl. coins	3.5	2.7	1.5	.6	3.1	4.3	5.2	5.0	
I	Early Christian, incl. symbols, ogams, round towers, various pre-medieval	7.0	3.0	7.3	6.1	4.4	4.7	6.1	4.5	
J	Viking, incl. runes and burials	.4	1.8	1.8	1.3	.6	1.4	2.4	1.0	
K	Ecclesiastical architecture, incl. bells and historical notes	2.8	6.0	4.2	3.4	2.9	3.2	5.3	2.0	
L	Medieval and later sculpture; finds	7.0	2.4	4.2	5.3	4.5	6.4	4.9	6.0	
M	Post-Reformation graveyards	-	-	-	.5	.3	5.7	5.3	-	
N	Secular architecture; hist. notes	.4	2.1	1.8	2.4	1.3	4.7	6.9	7.0	
O	History, records, languages, names	27.2	10.2	13.8	14.4	15.2	10.7	6.4	9.5	
P	Heraldry	-	1.2	.3	1.0	1.9	1.8	2.4	1.0	
Q	Silverware, jewellery, etc	2.0	2.7	1.8	5.0	3.5	.7	2.0	3.0	
R	Post-Roman coins	1.6	3.0	3.3	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.8	2.0	
S	Roads	-	-	-	-	2.2	.4	1.2	.5	
T	Human and animal remains	-	3.9	5.1	.5	1.5	1.4	.4	4.5	
U	Not Scottish, but sometimes giving relevant comparisons; espec. I.O.M.	10.4	8.1	7.5	9.0	7.3	2.1	3.2	1.0	
V	Folk-lore, traditions, racial theories	2.0	.9	3.0	2.4	4.1	1.1	.8	-	
W	Conservation of antiquities	2.4	-	.3	.8	.3	-	-	-	
X	Various, incl. obscurities and archaeological theory	11.0	7.8	9.4	9.5	10.2	4.7	12.2	5.5	

those in the earlier prehistoric classes (A-D) and those which are purely historical (O). Aggregate percentage totals of these range from 37.4 in 1871-80 to 41.9 in 1881-90, with an average of 39.6. Probable reasons for this are easy to guess - megalithic monuments, for example, are obvious to the passer-by, cist-burials are ploughed up very commonly, and such things as these, together with Bronze Age pottery, hoards and casual finds on the surface, lend themselves readily to description in an amateur manner; while the tendency to historical disquisition needs no explanation as it was, of course, deeply rooted in the Society's past (cf Tables III and IV). All these things go to suggest that, whatever might be thought or done by the Andersons, Munros and Abercrombys, a sizeable body of ordinary Fellows was content to be led along easy and familiar paths.

2. The figures for A-D and O make an interesting mutual contrast. In 1851-60, O led A-D by 27.2 to 14.4, but in subsequent decades this relationship was reversed, A-D leading O successively by 28.3 to 10.2, 23.6 to 13.8, 27.5 to 14.4, 23.6 to 15.2, 32.1 to 10.7, 19.5 to 6.4 and 34.0 to 9.5. These figures agree with the increasing importance attributed to field activities, as opposed to indoor research, to which attention has been directed in earlier parts of this paper.

3. Again, within the class A-D, class C tends to score much more heavily than either A, B or D, in some cases exceeding their aggregates - e.g. 13.7 to 9.9 in 1871-80, 16.1 to 16.0 in 1901-10 and 19.0 to 15.0 in 1921-30. These figures, and particularly the comparative poverty

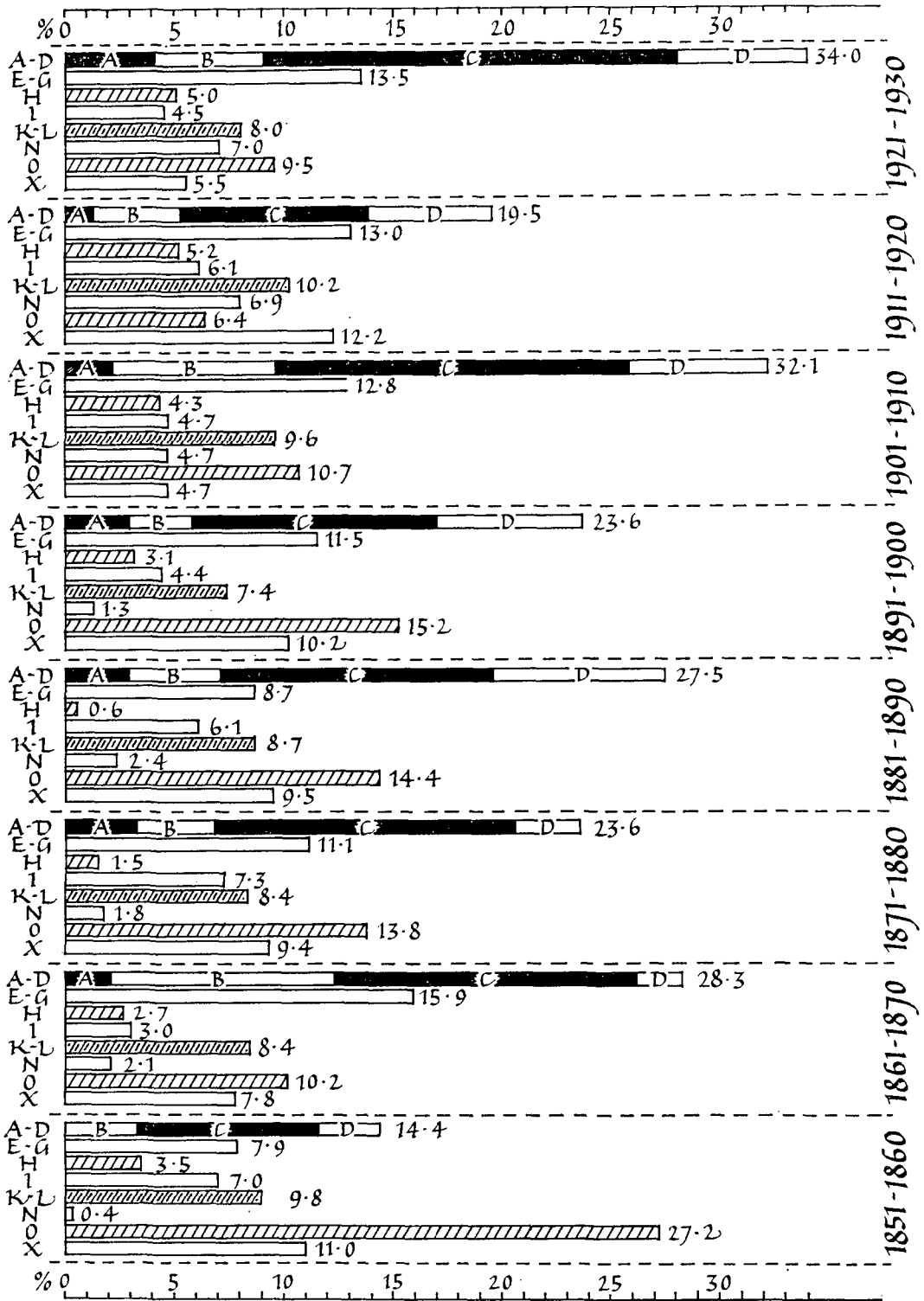


Fig 1 (Table VI) Comparative percentage figures for certain selected subjects

of class B, which covers reports on some important excavations, serve to reinforce what was said above about the trend towards easy options.

4. In the amalgamated classes E, F and G, the lowest figure (7.9) is that for the decade 1851-60, though only slightly lower than that for 1881-90 (8.7). The factors just suggested in the case of A, B and D may perhaps have had some effect on the figure for 1851-60, but neither the low figure for 1881-90 nor the exceptionally high one for 1861-70 seems likely to be other than accidental.

5. It was noted in an earlier section that Roman studies did not come in for much interest until late in the nineteenth century; and this point is brought out by Table V, particularly as the figures for class H, including the 3.5 of 1851-60, are padded to a certain extent by notices of Roman coins. It is strange that, at a time when every educated man learned Latin as a matter of course, so few should have been drawn to carry on the work of the eighteenth-century Romanists, and not least that of General Roy.<sup>1</sup> Again one is tempted to suspect a lack of enthusiasm for practical work out of doors.

6. The subjects of church architecture and medieval carving (K, L), especially crosses and grave-slabs, if thrown together, maintain a general level throughout the period, varying between 7.4 and 10.2. They thus show no particular response to the work of McGibbon and Ross, and in that respect differ from the corresponding figures for secular architecture (N), which rise, from an earlier average of 1.6, to 4.7, 6.9 and 7.0 respectively in the final three decades. Their minimum was 0.4, in 1851-60. It is tempting to attribute this rise to the example of McGibbon and Ross, before the appearance of whose books work of this kind would have lacked any recognised niche in the archaeological edifice.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr I G Scott, who devised and executed fig 1, and Mrs J Mackenzie, who helped me to check the references.

## APPENDIX

There follows a list of Fellows who contributed noteworthy papers from time to time, with the dates of their election and of the deaths of those who deceased before 1930.

1780	Earl of Buchan 1790 (resigned)	1855	J Farrer 1879
1780	W Smellie 1795	1865	Sir H Dryden 1899
1821	S Hibbert 1849	1866	Rev J M Joass 1914
1824	D Laing 1878	1867	Sir A Mitchell 1909
1833	W F Skene 1882	1869	G Goudie 1918
1844	R Chambers 1871	1869	T P White 1900
1846	Sir D Wilson 1892	1870	F W L Thomas 1882
1847	J A Smith 1899	1874	J Macdonald 1900
1848	J Drummond 1877	1874	R A Smith 1899
1848	G Petrie 1875	1879	Lord Abercromby 1924
1849	Sir J Y Simpson 1870	1879	R Munro 1920
1853	C Innes 1874	1882	D Christison 1912
1853	H Rhind 1863	1882	Earl of Southesk 1905
1853	J Stuart 1877	1884	Sir H Maxwell

<sup>1</sup> Besides eighteenth-century editions of Tacitus' works as a whole, one of the *Agricola* (Sibbald) had been available since 1711 and a translation (Aikin) since 1774. Editions of the *Agricola* and *Germania* combined appeared in 1788 (Brotier) and 1822 (Relhan). I am indebted for this note to Dr T J Cadoux.

1885	D H Fleming	1902	T H Bryce
1889	J Curle	1904	F C Eeles
1889	H W Young 1910	1904	W T Oldrieve 1922
1891	J H Cunningham 1923	1905	J E Cree 1929
1891	T Ross	1912	J S Richardson
1893	A O Curle	1913	<sup>1</sup> J Anderson 1916
1896	J Barbour 1912	1915	J W Paterson
1897	Sir F T Barry 1907	1919	W D Simpson
1897	Sir J Rhys 1916	1921	A J H Edwards
1898	J G Callander	1922	J H Craw
1900	J R Allen 1907	1927	V G Childe
1900	Sir G Macdonald		

<sup>1</sup> On retirement from salaried post as Assistant-Secretary.