

# Further records and opinions

the late Angus Graham

## I INTRODUCTION

In a former paper in these *Proceedings* (1970), this author reviewed some of the Society's earlier publications – its *Transactions* and *Archaeologia Scotica* passim, with the first 64 volumes of the *Proceedings* – in an attempt to trace, from the character of the material selected for record and from the trends of the opinions expressed, the development of archaeological thought in Scotland during the first century-and-a-half of the Society's existence. The year 1930 suggested itself as a suitable date to end an enquiry of this kind as, from the fourth decade of the 20th century onwards, the archaeological scene seemed to have undergone such changes as would call for a different approach in any similar survey of the later periods. It is the object of the present paper to extend the earlier review through these later years on suitably modified lines, the volumes of the *Proceedings* now covered being 65 (1930–1) to 103 (1970–1); but it must be recognised that, during this period, an increasing amount of Scottish archaeological work has been published elsewhere than in the *Proceedings*, and that consequently the present paper is more strictly a review of the papers as they stand, and less a general indicator of archaeological opinions, than was its predecessor of 1970.

In the former paper a method of sampling was employed, but this seemed unsuitable for the present study which has been based instead on reviews of significant papers classified according to their subjects. When a paper touches on more than a single subject, as occasionally happens, the points in question are mentioned severally under their appropriate headings. Communications listed as 'Shorter Notes' in vols 74 and later have been left out of account, as have also, for consistency's sake, certain shorter papers in the preceding volumes which corresponded in calibre with the 'Notes'. In view of the character of the subject-matter, a strict application of the normal system of references would have tended to swamp the text with bibliographical details; and the very large number of text-references to the Society's *Proceedings* have accordingly been given the form of a simple date in brackets. These dates apply to the annual Sessions during which the papers were presented; and for convenience Sessions are dated, in these references, by the second of the consecutive years into which they regularly fall. A paper printed in vol 100 is thus referred to the Session of 1968.<sup>1</sup>

## II CLASSIFIED REVIEW OF THE PAPERS

### *Mesolithic deposits*

Mesolithic deposits and casual finds of microliths may be mentioned first in virtue of their high antiquity, but interest in the subject seems to have been rather limited. Of 16 papers, no less than eight were by one and the same author, A D Lacaille (1933, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1940, 1942,

1944, 1945),<sup>2</sup> who was named, moreover, as co-author of a further three, with H M L Paterson (1936), W J McCallien (1941); and J M Davidson (1949). Mesolithic matters thus appearing almost as his personal speciality throughout these years. In the main his papers recorded finds of flint or quartz implements, with discussion of their background and affinities, but one (1942) is a general disquisition on Scottish micro-burins. His concern with raised-beach sites was limited to one at Ballantrae (1945), and to the Campbeltown site on which he worked with McCallien. Other contributors have been Professor J G D Clark, who discussed (1956) the origin and relationships of the Obanian culture; and J Mercer, who has recently produced three papers on Jura – a raised-beach site at Lealt (1968), the tidal zone in Lussa Bay (1970) and a stone-workers' camp of the Regression period on the Lussa River (1971). A rather different note is struck by R B K Stevenson, in describing (1946) the excavation of a midden-heap of oyster-shells on an old shore-line at Polmonthill, Stirlingshire.

### *Chambered cairns*

In point both of numbers and of interest, chambered cairns bulk large in the present study. Two early papers about them are by Professor Childe, one on an excavated site at Kindrochat, Perthshire (1931) and the other on superficial traces observed near Kilfinan, Argyll (1932). This latter paper drew attention to the kind of locality likely to have been favoured by builders of Clyde-type cairns, and foreshadowed later discoveries in the Loch Fyne region. The former has to be read in conjunction with an earlier paper (1930), which described a previous season's work on the site; and together they indicated a long cairn of modified Clyde type containing three cists – one placed at the E end and the others transversely near the centre. A good deal of information on the process of construction was secured by dint of well-planned excavation. Notes on some further field-work of Childe's, with discussion and photographs, were contained in an account of a war-time survey (1943) carried out on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Commission; this covered, amongst other material, five chambered cairns, in Ayrshire and Argyll. The megalithic cist at Ardmarnock showed a feature unique in Scotland, a 'port-hole' contrived in the top of its septal slab; while a ringed cup appeared on either face of the slab, the two cups being set in accurately corresponding positions. These notes Childe followed up (1944) with a discussion of some further results of the survey, which proved the existence, between the Dornoch and Beaully Firths, of a group of cairns which threw light on the relationship between the Pentland and Clava series. The paper included a descriptive inventory of the monuments in question, illustrated with some plans and photographs. Next comes an excavation report of major proportions, describing the re-examination by the Ministry of Works<sup>3</sup> of the cairn of Quoyness, Orkney (1952), which Childe regarded as the finest chambered cairn, after Maes Howe, of all in the Ministry's guardianship. He discussed the structure in great detail, with a clear if rather small-scale plan and sections; and after an assessment of the relics and comparative evidence he assigned the monument tentatively to the 'Rinyo complex'. Finally we have a paper describing the Ministry's operations at Maes Howe itself (1954-6), which established that the mound was built on an artificially levelled area, and that within it the chamber was enclosed in a casing of stepped masonry described by Childe as 'a sort of stepped tower'. The language of the report is not particularly lucid, and the drawn sections, though carefully worked out, suffer from over-reduction. A botanical report was appended, based largely on pollen-analysis.

Other papers appearing in the earlier years of the period dealt with excavations in Rousay, and are either by J G Callander or by W G Grant, the proprietor of the island, who was his close associate. The work, actually carried out by the Office of Works, revealed an astonishing group of

chambered monuments. Midhowe cairn (1934) proved to contain a burial-chamber 32·54 m long, divided by upright slabs into 12 pairs of opposed stalls with some remains of skeletons still resting on their seats. The Knowe of Ramsay (1936) was shorter, but held 14 pairs of stalls; Blackhammer (1937) contained seven pairs, its entrance-passage opening into one of the central ones and not into the end of the chamber; and the Knowe of Yarso (1935) had three pairs. A change from the long, stalled plan was seen at Taiverso Tuick (1939), this cairn being approximately round and having a two-storeyed chamber; while the Knowe of Lairò (1943) showed traces of the classical horned plan, and also possessed a domed chamber, tripartite and exceptionally high. The reports went into much detail about structure and relics, the Unstan pottery pointing to Neolithic dates of origin; they were accompanied by plans, sections and photographs which did justice to the distinctive oblique masonry in the wall-faces at Midhowe, Yarso and Blackhammer, as well as to a characteristic method of construction which sometimes appeared, when an inner wall was enclosed within an outer casing. But the drawings, by a departmental surveyor, are of an architectural character, show no stratified deposits, and consequently fail to elucidate some points of archaeological interest, such as the collapse of the roofs, the insertion of secondary construction, and the intrusion of later burials with Beaker and Food Vessel sherds. These deficiencies, taken with the warmth of the acknowledgments made to the local foreman, suggest that day-to-day work may have lacked expert supervision, and that finer points of evidence contained in the deposits, such as would have been brought out by better technique, are likely to have gone unnoticed.

Another Orkney cairn, on the Calf of Eday, was excavated at about this time by C S T Calder, one of the officers of the Ancient Monuments Commission, and his results demanded fuller treatment than they could have been given in the Commission's Inventory volume. In his first paper (1937) he described a structure of three periods, comprising firstly a chamber of two compartments, secondly, and impinging on the first, a stalled chamber of four compartments, and thirdly a long cairn large enough to envelope both. Calder regarded the stalled chamber as being the older of the first two, but this opinion seems hardly tenable in view of more recent comparative evidence. He later investigated (1938) another cairn on the same island, in which a passage led to a chamber with four recesses, and also (*ibid*) two on the larger island of Eday. Of these latter the one at Huntersquoy contained two chambers, one above the other, the upper stalled, with three compartments, and the lower having cells and recesses; both, however, belonged to the same period. Calder subsequently produced (1963) a valuable descriptive list of chambered cairns in Shetland, on which he had done much official work, anonymously, for the Ancient Monuments Commission. Many of these Shetland cairns were of the heel-shaped variety, first identified by another of the Commission's officers, J M Corrie; their typical features – rounded back, flat or slightly concave front, and passage leading to a small recessed chamber or to one or more cists – were recorded in the *Proceedings* (1940) by Professor T H Bryce.

Next for consideration comes a group of papers by Sir W Lindsay Scott, covering his excavation of three cairns of Hebridean type, respectively at Rudh' an Dunain, Skye (1932, 1934), and at Clettraval (1935) and Unival (1948), both in North Uist, together with that of a 2nd-millennium potter's workshop and kilns on Eilean an Tighe, North Uist (1951). He also discussed at length the Clettraval and Eilean an Tighe pottery. The excavation was carefully done, the stratification of the finds was duly observed, and the discussion showed thorough familiarity with comparative foreign material. Much was made of the pottery, which was excellently drawn, but the plans and sections of the slab-built chambers, though clear, do not suggest the hand of the trained draughtsman. By an odd arrangement, the general plan of the Rudh' an Dunain cairn only appears in the second of the two relative papers.

Following on Scott's papers is an excavation report by Professor Piggott (1949), on three chambered tombs in Galloway – the Clyde-type gallery-graves of Cairnholy I and II, and a passage-grave, the White Cairn, at Bargrennan. The main features of Cairnholy I were a crescentic forecourt faced with eight tall uprights, between the central pair of which opened the entrance of an antechamber leading to the burial-chamber beyond. Burial was by cremation, the attendant rites calling for fires and offerings in the forecourt; afterwards the entrance to the chambers was ritually blocked. Early in the Bronze Age the antechamber was used for cremation; and later still the inner chamber was re-used for a burial, beside which was placed a cup-and-ring-marked stone. Cairnholy II had a shallow V-shaped forecourt, with a pair of portal-stones flanking the entrance; there was an outer and an inner chamber, and a mass of blocking material, as at Cairnholy I, but no evidence of forecourt ritual. At a later time users of B Beaker pottery had used the place for burial. The White Cairn proved to be a member of the passage-grave group isolated in SW Scotland, differing from the Clyde cairns of the region both in its structural and ceremonial traditions and also in pottery distinct from that found at Cairnholy. It contained a megalithic passage and chamber, with two massive capstones still in place; funerary ritual had entailed the digging of a pit for cremation close to the entrance. In the *Proceedings*' record of work on chambered cairns, this paper turns over a fresh leaf, in respect notably of scholarship and practical expertise. The excavations were planned to fill a gap in current knowledge of what were then called the 'Clyde-Carlingford' tombs, and were carried out with consummate technical skill; the drawings are executed to a generously large scale, and the discussion of structures and finds deals broadly with the whole subject of the cairns of this type.

Later work by Piggott, again investigating types of chambered cairns in areas for which evidence was lacking, dealt with excavation in the Clava group of passage-graves and ring-cairns of the NE. At Corrimony, where the cairn was surrounded by a ring of free-standing stones, he determined (1954-6) the structure's outline, with its kerb and grounders, and explored the passage and the ruins of the corbelled vault. No relics were recovered, but the floor of the chamber was stained with the silhouette of a crouched human form lying on its side, evidently the trace of an inhumation burial. In the course of the same project, supplementary excavations, equally barren of dateable finds, were made of several neighbouring chambered and ring cairns, while the first proper plans were made of certain others. The paper ended with a discussion of the wider significance of this whole group of monuments. Clava cairns in general were again discussed by I C Walker (1963).

Piggott having thus established proper standards in the excavation of these cairns and the presentation of results, a shorter notice will suffice of some further steps by which facts were gradually assembled and a body of knowledge built up. To return to the Clyde group, we have two major excavation-reports by J G Scott, on Brackley, Kintyre (1956) and Craerae, Loch Fyne (1961), and one by E W MacKie on Monamore, Arran (1964), together with a descriptive inventory by M E C Stewart (1959) of sites in Strathhtay. Examples of the Orkney-Caithness group were reported and discussed by A A Woodham at Kilcoy, Rosshire (1957) and Tomfat, Strathnairn (1964), and by A S Henshall at Embo (1963). The partial excavation of what seems to have been a long stalled cairn, at Isbister, Orkney, was described by P R Ritchie (1959); and later there appeared a long and important paper by J X W P Corcoran (1965-6) on three cairns on Loch Calder, Caithness, standing in close juxtaposition but differing widely in character. Thus Tulach an t-Sionnaich is a complex elongated structure incorporating a passage-grave set in the kind of heel-shaped cairn previously regarded as belonging solely to Shetland; Tulach of Assery A is a short-horned Camster cairn, peculiar in the possession of two burial-chambers; and Tulach of Assery B is round on plan and contains a passage and a sub-rectangular chamber divided into

three compartments. Corcoran entered very fully into details of construction and finds, and added specialist appendices on the human and faunal remains.

Finally we have an account (1970) by J N G Ritchie of his excavation, on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Commission, of a cairn at Achnacreebeag, Argyll, which contained two separate chambers. The operation, which took three seasons, disclosed two periods of construction; the original cairn having contained a closed chamber in its centre while in the second phase it was enlarged in one part of its circumference to accommodate a small passage-grave. Sherds of Neolithic pottery were found in the closed chamber, and Beaker fragments, jet beads, and cremated bone in the passage-grave. The paper embodied a far-reaching discussion, to which contributions were made by A S Henshall and I J McInnes; the drawings are of outstanding quality, and four half-tone plates are provided.

A chambered tomb of a totally different character is the Dwarfie Stane, in Hoy – a massive block of sandstone in which have been cut two burial-chambers, while a great stone plug, shaped to block the entrance, lies alongside. It was described and illustrated by C S T Calder (1936); and in a note appended to the paper Sir George Macdonald elucidated, by textual criticism, an obscure account of the monument which appeared to date from the early 16th century.

#### *Other early burials*

Sepulchral monuments of one sort or another, particularly cairns and mounds containing cists, or cists merely sunk in the earth, are the subjects of a great many papers; but the group formed by these remains is less clear cut than that of the chambered cairns, and their place in the *Proceedings* is consequently harder to assess. The papers may, however, be classed somewhat as follows.

In the first place come the notices of cists or urn-burials, frequently ploughed up or unearthed in casual digging, and of mounds or settings of stones which may or may not show traces of associated interments. Such remains vary in interest, but even at the lowest rating their cumulative effect must have helped materially to build up the general body of knowledge. Then there are longer reports, perhaps by local antiquaries, on cairns and mounds opened up or cemeteries otherwise explored. In this class may be set, for example, J H Craw's report on cairns at Poltalloch (1931), in one of which a cist was found marked with cups and axe-heads, while another, described by Craw as a 'bell-cairn', is now recognised as a henge. A paper on a set of six burials (1944), in Fife and elsewhere, was in Childe's opinion 'an important contribution to the knowledge of Beaker culture in Scotland'. A burial complex containing cists and pits, and producing both Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery, was excavated (1963) by F W Cormack at Kirkburn, near Lockerbie. A cist-slab from Badden, Argyll, which was grooved and rebated for fitting and showed carved decoration, was described by M Campbell (1961). At Lundin, Perthshire, M E C Stewart excavated (1965–6) a complicated cremation-site with four standing stones, and to her paper Professor Piggott added an annotated list of pairs of standing stones occurring in the county. Another site on which a standing stone was present was that at Kintraw, Argyll; here D D A Simpson disclosed (1967) two kerbed cairns with cists, the upright being placed between them. In Fife A S Henshall described two sites – a cist and associated relics from Masterton (1963) and again cists, with a dagger, pottery and bones, from Ashgrove (1964). In Peeblesshire A MacLaren excavated an enclosed cremation-cemetery at Wierd Law, and a ditched barrow with a cremation at Broughton Knowe (1967). Passing notices of Bronze Age burials were also included in the inventory-type papers of M Campbell, on Mid Argyll (1962), and I C Walker, on Moray and Banff (1965–6).

Investigations of Bronze Age burials on a larger scale were described by Professor Childe (1933) and H E Kilbride-Jones (1934) at Old Keig, Aberdeenshire, and again by the latter at Loanhead of Daviot (1935, 1936) and Cullerlie (1935). It appears from the Old Keig papers that Recumbent stone circles were only now firmly identified as funerary monuments, in the light of the cremation trench and human bone-fragments discovered. Childe's paper explained in detail the emplacement of the upright stones. Loanhead of Daviot exhibited as succession of cultures – early Bronze Age ring-cairns, a late Bronze Age urn-cemetery, together with Iron Age pottery, of which an analysis was given. Small ring-cairns and a cremation-pit were likewise found at Cullerlie. Recently a fresh look has been taken at Recumbent circles by H A W Burl (1970). His paper dealt with the subject at considerable length and under a variety of aspects, for example the relationship of the circles to Clava cairns, their geographical distribution, diagnostic features, relics, dating and functions, as well as astronomical points. Appendices contained useful lists of the circles, and of relevant publications, and three photographs were given of typical Recumbent assemblages.

However, the complexities of Recumbent circle excavation were far outstripped by those which confronted Professor Piggott on Cairnpapple Hill, West Lothian. His operations here were described in an exhaustive paper (1948), illustrated with plans and sections of memorable quality; and the five periods that he identified were distinguished in a résumé as follows:

I A stone setting and cremation-cemetery of Late Neolithic date, c 2000 BC. II A henge monument, consisting of a "circle" of standing stones with ceremonial burials in association, and an encircling ditch with external bank, having two opposed entrances. Of Beaker date, probably c 1700 BC. III The primary cairn, containing two cist-burials, one an inhumation with a Food-vessel and the other a cremation. Of Middle Bronze Age date, probably about 1500 BC. IV A secondary cairn enlargement, with two cremated burials in inverted cinerary urns. Of final Middle Bronze Age or native Late Bronze Age date, probably c 1000 BC. V Four graves for extended inhumations, grouped together within the Henge area to the east. Undated, but possibly Early Iron Age within the first couple of centuries AD.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of four new henges was recorded by R J C Atkinson (1950), at Overhowden, Balfarg, Broadlee and Coupland, the last being in Northumberland; only Overhowden was tested by the spade, the others having been identified on air-photographs. Four others, in Easter Ross, were planned and described by A A Woodham (1953). The example at Ballymeanoch, Argyll, was mentioned above.

Along with papers on the better-known types of burials, records sometimes appear of long cists – slab-built structures of a size to hold an extended body. A discussion (1952) by R B K Stevenson of their origin and distribution indicated wide fields of uncertainty; but the one excavated by I H Longworth (1965-6) at Lochend, near Dunbar, could be placed squarely in the early Iron Age, while more of them seemed to belong in a Dark Age or Early Christian context, as noted by D B Taylor at Longforgan (1960) and at some sites in Argyll by M Campbell (1962). A Dark Age date was firmly established in the case of the organised cemetery of oriented cists near Lasswade excavated by A S Henshall (1956), and the anatomy of the skeletal remains was later discussed by Professor L H Wells (1957).

#### *Prehistoric and post-Roman miscellany*

Tomb-exploration as described in the foregoing sections naturally yielded a large body of grave-goods and pottery, which invited expert study. Such material was increased by the hoards

and stray objects that turned up from time to time, and all this, in conjunction with existing museum collections, opened doors to fresh advances in archaeological theory. As a result, the *Proceedings* contain many papers which discuss both the new material and also the older as illuminated by increasing knowledge, besides providing some authoritative disquisitions on larger questions. For practical purposes, it is necessary to include here some papers whose subjects date later than the end of the prehistoric period, strictly defined.

The following papers may be quoted as examples of the studies in question, and firstly of those which are, or were held in their time to be, of principal importance. Notes on the Bronze Age pottery of Orkney and Shetland, and an inventory of relics from Stevenston Sands, Ayrshire, by J G Callander (both 1933). An analysis (1934) by M E Crichton Mitchell of Bronze Age pottery types, developing Abercromby's scheme in terms of up-to-date evidence. An examination (1938) by W Henderson of late Bronze Age swords and axes, with a catalogue and list of references. A discussion (1953) by Professor Piggott of the late Bronze Age hoard from Horsehope, Peeblesshire. An important paper by A Ross (1958) on the human head in insular Celtic religion, which described all the British and Irish material and reinforced the iconographical evidence with points from Irish and Welsh vernacular tradition. A discussion (1959) by J M Coles of swan-necked sunflower pins, followed by an essay (1963) on a hoard from Peelhill, Lanarkshire, and by three exhaustive papers on Bronze Age metalwork – late (1960), middle (1964), early (1969) – each one accompanied by a catalogue and a list of references. An essay (1960) by B A V Trump on middle Bronze Age rapiers and daggers. A discussion (1961) by J V S Megaw and D D A Simpson of the prehistory of the Outer Islands. An analysis (1964), with drawings and a catalogue, by I J McInnes of Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery from Luce Sands, Wigtownshire, an area from which flint implements, pottery and other remains had previously been inventoried by J M Davidson (1952). A survey by I C Walker (1965–6) of the counties of Nairn, Moray and Banff in the 2nd millennium BC, with a descriptive and partly illustrated catalogue of the ceramic and other associated material. A report by J M Coles and J J Taylor (1970) on a midden in the Culbin Sands, which yielded material dating from between 1400 and 1100 BC, together with much detailed information on the food-habits of the people concerned.

Less important papers may be listed as follows. Three by J H Kilbride-Jones – a study of Scottish zoomorphic penannular brooches (1936), a suggested chronology for Scottish hanging-bowls (1937), and a descriptive inventory of Scottish glass armlets (1938). An interesting note by the Rev R S G Anderson (1938) on a clepsydra from Galloway. A description of a keg of what was called 'bog-butter', from Skye, by Professor J Ritchie (1941), in which the author concluded, on the strength of chemical tests, that the contents were probably some kind of somatic fat rather than butter. Though not published until 1941, this paper had in fact been written in 1932, and it is interesting to find that it mentions pollen-analysis at that comparatively early date. An account of the Gaulcross hoard, tentatively regarded as Pictish, by R B K Stevenson and J Emery (1964), with an ingenious reconstruction of the silversmith's technique illustrated by diagrams. A description and discussion (1971) by S M Pearce of a late Bronze Age hoard from Glentanar, Aberdeenshire, which produced socketed axes, penannular armlets, rings and a pair of cups, all well illustrated with photographs.

#### *Cup-markings and rock-sculpture*

Papers on these subjects are few, but some are of considerable interest. To take rock-sculpture first, A J H Edwards photographed and recorded (1933) an engraving in a littoral cave, now filled up, at Wemyss, Fife, of a bull elk with palmated antler and 'bell' clearly defined. This

was accompanied by a design which could not be interpreted, and by a cup-mark. The same author further described (1935), with photographs and drawings, a rock-face on Traprain Law bearing groups of engraved lines in grid-like, comb-like and ladder-like patterns, combined with ringed cups and what might be a human figure. A medieval Calvary cross had been imposed on one of the groups, presumably to 'sain' a spot associated with surviving pagan practices. From Duncroisk, in Glen Lochay, an unusual carving was reported by E A Cormack (1950), consisting of rings with crosses inside them; but in one case one limb of the cross extended at either end outside the ring, one of the extensions finishing in an arrow-head and the other in a crosslet. Another peculiar design was noted by Professor Childe (1943) at Barns of Airlie, Perthshire, where a lintel-slab in an earthhouse, evidently in re-use from some older structure, was decorated with a row of snakes in pocked technique, their heads being formed by cups. The re-use of a stone marked with cups and rings, in a secondary burial at Cairnholy I, was mentioned above.

Ordinary cup-and-ring markings were reported from Luss by A D Lacaille (1935), and from Craig Ruenshin, near Dunkeld, by A Young (1938), the latter author adding some discussion of comparative material. She again, jointly with M E Crichton Mitchell, noted shortly (1939) the occurrence of cups and rings on two stones of a funerary circle excavated by them at Monzie, Perthshire. The ringed cups in the megalithic cist at Ardmarnock were mentioned above. Much the most striking of these papers, however, is the one in which R W B Morris recorded (1971) the great assemblage of cup-and-ring markings at Achnabreck, Argyll. In addition to description, discussion and an ample list of references, this paper embodied six half-tone plates and eleven large-scale drawings, taken from photographs of tracings made on cellophane, which covered all the carvings that were clear of turf at the time.

Besides papers dealing with individual groups, there were several area-surveys. One of these, by J D Lyford-Pyke (1941), was a descriptive inventory, with discussion, of the cup-and-ring monuments of North Uist and Benbecula; while M Campbell (1962) included the Mid Argyll examples in her comprehensive survey of that district. On a larger scale were a paper by R W B Morris and D C Bailey (1965-6) on south-western Scotland, and another, by Morris alone (1968), on much of the remainder of the southern parts of the country; these embodied exhaustive catalogues of the known sites in these regions, with references to original sources.

### *Brochs, forts and duns*

Brochs account, in whole or in part, for eight papers, at least half of which reflect the direct or indirect influence of the Ancient Monuments Commission. The first, by J G Callander and W G Grant (1934), dealt with the partial excavation of the site at Midhowe, in Rousay, and was probably inspired by the Commission's Inventory survey of Orkney as work on both seems to have been begun at about the same time. The paper consists of a meticulous account of the structural features of the broch, including information which could easily have been shown on plans, accompanied by a very full description of the finds made in the process of what was frankly called 'clearing out' - this entailed the removal of some fifteen hundred to two thousand tons of fallen stones and debris, under the direction of a local foreman. It is true that the authors, besides commenting on the dating-evidence of the relics, devoted a short section to discussing 'periods of occupation'; and of these they deduced three from reconstructions in the tower, though of the secondary buildings they seemed able to make very little. Their main interest, in fact, seems to have been in the structural characteristics of the broch stereotype as established by the older antiquaries. A certain naivety about larger historical issues is suggested by their statement (p 485)



that the finds were 'typical of what might be expected in a broch'. Thus for all its length and detail, this paper hardly carries the study of brochs very far beyond the point at which Anderson left it.

Notices of two brochs in Mull, previously undiscovered, were noted in Professor Childe's war-time survey (1943), with short descriptions of their main structural features. Similar but more detailed notes on two further brochs, known but insufficiently recorded, were included in a miscellany (1949) by the present author. Other papers mainly concerned to record points of construction were two by C S T Calder, respectively on a rescue excavation at Skitten, Caithness (1948) and on the identification as a ruined broch of a mound at Sae Breck, Shetland (1952). The work at Skitten produced a good deal of information about radially-planned compartments, hearths, etc, inside the broch tower. A joint paper by the same author and K A Steer on Dun Lagaidh, Wester Ross (1949), had the limited objective of proving the existence of a broch inside a vitrified fort, to test a notion then current that the distributions of these structures never overlapped. Still principally concerned with structural features, but now working mainly from records rather than in the field, were the present writer (1947) and Mrs A Young (1962). The former attempted to consolidate what was then known about broch construction, for the purpose of bringing such knowledge up to date and of scotching a number of inaccurate generalisations which were sometimes heard; and he drew, in particular, on the experience gained by the architects of the Ancient Monuments Commission in their Inventory surveys of the Outer Islands, Orkney and Shetland, where they had had opportunities for observing brochs which still showed features as buildings. This paper had little concern with wider theoretical questions. Mrs Young, however, theorised on the relationship between brochs and galleried duns, a matter about which facts were at the time relatively scanty; it was still possible, for example, to question whether galleried duns were prototypes of the broch or degenerate derivatives from the more sophisticated broch form. She thus had a wide field for argument, but her suggestions have now been overtaken by the results of later excavation (Hamilton 1968, *passim*).

In a final paper on this subject, Professor S Piggott described (1951) his excavation at Torwoodlee, carried out in the interest of the Ancient Monuments Commission's Inventory of Selkirkshire. At this site a broch stood inside a hill-fort, and it was necessary to discover the relative ages of the two; while an interesting side-issue was raised by the Roman glass of which a quantity had been found when the broch was cleared out in 1891. The priority of the fort to the broch was neatly established, and also the fact that the broch had been deliberately demolished after a very short life – presumably by the Romans on their northward re-advance in the 2nd century. The glass, on this showing, would have been looted from their 1st-century fort at Newstead, when this was abandoned. The sophisticated technique of the excavation, and the style of the plans and sections, stand in the sharpest contrast with the standards ruling at Midhowe.

Forts, or points arising out of work on forts, figure in at least 16 significant papers. Those which first call for notice cover excavations by Professor Childe, the most important being those on two vitrified structures – the fort of Finavon, Angus and the dun of Rahoy, Morvern. After earlier work at Earns Heugh (1932) and Castlelaw (1933), he tackled the defences of Finavon (1935, 1936); this fort had long been known to contain vitrified matter, and in view of the traces of *murus gallicus* construction he concluded, as suggested by earlier investigators,<sup>4</sup> that the vitrification had been caused by the burning of a timber-laced wall. This belief he reinforced with evidence obtained at Rahoy (1938), and he confirmed it by means of the well-known experiment, made in conjunction with W Thorneycroft, in the same year. Other results of these excavations helped to put the vitrified forts into their proper place in the series. Castlelaw fort provided traces of timber revetment in the ramparts, some useful dating-evidence, and, as a kind of bonus, a post-

Roman earthhouse built in a rock-cut ditch. In a rescue-operation at Kaimes Hill (1941) he identified two periods of fortification, with huts built on the ruins of the earlier works representing a final occupation.

Again of outstanding importance was Mrs C M Piggott's excavation of Hownam Rings fort, Roxburghshire (1948), on account of the light that it threw on the history of the early Iron Age in the Border region. The earliest remains were found to belong to two successive palisaded settlements; these were superseded by a fort consisting of a single stone wall, and this in turn was enclosed within a system of rubble-built ramparts, in a manner suggesting that need had arisen for defence against some new and comparatively long-range weapon, possibly the sling. In a final phase, the huts of an undefended settlement spread over the ruins of the ramparts, indicating a period of peace, perhaps Roman. Mrs Piggott's second excavation, on Bonchester Hill (1950), proved to be less informative; but dating-evidence was forthcoming at both sites, and the excellence of the published plans and sections marked a new standard in *Proceedings* papers on forts. The same lesson, of the virtue of large-scale and easily-read drawings, was enforced by Professor Piggott's reports on Braidwood fort and Craig's Quarry (both 1958); the latter also discussed the find of an important La Tène II brooch.

Another paper of permanent historical value was one by R B K Stevenson (1949) on the fort on Dalmahoy Hill, Midlothian. He identified it as belonging to the class for which he devised the appellation 'nuclear', and dated the whole type-series to the Dark Age. Some progress was also made at the notoriously unfortunate site on Traprain Law, where S H Cruden, in a rescue-excavation on a threatened portion of the ramparts, discovered (1940) the core of the work to be made of turves laid in courses, in the manner often seen in Roman construction. He also obtained useful dating-material. A picture of the whole system of fortification on Traprain Law was secured on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Commission by R W Feachem (1956), by means of a complete plane-table survey accompanied by a short descriptive account. Finally E Burley discussed, in a monumental paper (1956), all the metal-work reported as coming from the Law, consolidating previous notices and attempting to build up a coherent account of the successive occupations and a general history of the site. Short notes on a number of forts, including vitrified examples, were included in Professor Childe's war-time survey (1943), mentioned above.

The word 'dun', as recently defined by the Ancient Monuments Commission (RCAM 1963, 27) 'is now commonly used to describe a type of stone structure distinguished by comparatively small size and a disproportionately thick wall. It is smaller than most hill-forts, but seems to be built for defence in a way that the conventional farmstead or homestead is not'. On this showing, duns, galleried or other, form the subjects of 12 papers, though one of them, at Rahoy, has been treated above with the forts on account of its vitrified state. Rahoy apart, six papers cover excavations or finds, five record field-observations, and one is devoted to theory.

To begin with field-observations, Professor Childe presented a descriptive list (1935) of duns visited in Islay, among which were also included a broch and a vitrified fort. In all cases the notes were short, and referred mainly to topography and to such structural features as appeared on cursory inspection. A rather similar inventory of small defensive works in Colonsay and Islay was prepared by Professor and Mrs Piggott (1946); while Childe, in his war-time survey (1943), and the present writer in two miscellaneous papers (1948, 1949), likewise touched on duns, some of them galleried. Of the excavations, the first was that of the large and important dun at Kildonan Bay, Kintyre, by H Fairhurst (1939). This building seems to have originated in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD, and it possessed such typical features as a length of mural gallery, a cell, and a branching stair to the wall-head. Its occupation was intermittent, but the relics gave evidence of a phase in the Dark Age, and of another between the late 12th and early 14th centuries. Likewise

explored by Fairhurst (1954–6) was Ugadale dun, a sub-rectangular structure built on top of a stack not far from the Kildonan site. Stratification was hard to make out on account of soil conditions, but the few finds suggested an early origin, as at Kildonan, continued intermittently down to the Middle Ages, or possibly later. Fairhurst's work at Kildonan was matched by A Young's excavation of Dun Cuier, Barra (1956), which she showed to be a galleried structure consisting of a double outer wall with a slighter internal one encircling most of the interior. Her report, which was illustrated with clear, large-scale drawings, contained a very full account of the pottery and relics; these seemed to suggest a date before the 7th century, but she was cautious about precise dating. She added some historical notes relevant to a Dark Age background. The most recent report of dating evidence is contained in an exhaustive inventory and assessment, by J N G Ritchie (1971), of the relics from Dùn an Fheurain, Argyll. He placed them in two main groups, the earlier dateable to the first two centuries AD and the later to periods later than about AD 500.

The existence outside the W Highlands of small stone forts had been recognised at least since 1912, when W J Watson reported on a series in N Perthshire; and more detailed evidence on this eastward spread of duns became available with R W Feachem's account (1957) of his excavation, on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Commission, of an example in Castlehill Wood, near Stirling. Typical dun-features appeared in his drawings with admirable clarity, and the finds again suggested a date in the late first or early 2nd century AD. Similar conclusions emerged from A MacLaren's report (1960) on a smaller-scale excavation, again made for the Commission, at Stanhope in the upper Tweed valley.

#### *The earliest houses*

The first, and most important, paper on this subject is Professor Childe's final report on Skara Brae (1931).<sup>5</sup> He was concerned first to describe the parts of the site not excavated in previous seasons, and then to discuss the conformation of the village at various periods. Then followed an account of the pottery, relics and human and animal remains. A Neolithic date was suggested, and it seems strange today to find that J G Callander could have argued at considerable length (1931) that the Skara Brae culture was closely allied to that of 'the brochs and earth-houses'. The plans and sections, by Office of Works surveyors, are informative up to a point, but are drawn to a small scale and hardly suggest archaeological draughtsmanship. Along with this paper may be read a report, by the same author (1947), on the site at Rinyo, Rousay; it described no more than an initial season's work, which Childe was never able to resume. He regarded the settlement as of Neolithic date, with the proviso that 'this term must not be taken as implying anything about the relation, chronological or otherwise, of Rinyo and Skara Brae to the chambered cairns'. In style of presentation this paper resembles the one on Skara Brae.

Since Childe's day there has come to light another Stone Age culture in the far north, represented typically by the remains at Staneydale and Gruting, in Shetland. The first notice of this came in a paper by C S T Calder (1950), in which he described the excavation of the so-called 'temple' at Staneydale – a building whose plan could not then be matched in Britain but whose concave front, rounded back, and internal arrangement of recesses recalled the recently-identified heel-shaped cairns. The author could also point to some apparent analogies with certain buildings and tombs in the Mediterranean area. This paper he followed up (1956) with an account of the excavation of some similar but smaller buildings in the same neighbourhood, which he regarded as ordinary houses, appending a list of the known unexcavated house-sites. A further list, with descriptive notes, formed part of his paper of 1963, mentioned above, as dealing with the heel-

shaped cairns. A third section of the same paper listed and discussed the large number of burnt mounds that had come to light since the publication of the RCAM *Inventory of Shetland*. A distribution map of the Shetland examples was included.

The other domestic site that can safely be given a very early origin, irrespective, that is, of certain indeterminate remains such as those at Balevullin, Tiree, described by E W MacKie (1963), is the Bronze Age settlement at Jarlshof, excavated for H M Office of works by A O Curle. He described, in four papers (1932-5), the exploration of five houses, with an earthhouse entered from one of them, and adjacent middens, deducing a long and complicated history of construction, alterations, and invasions of blown sand. The styles of the pottery recovered varied markedly, and Curle's summary conclusion reads '... a series of distinct occupations of a small area, ranging from a time considerably before the coming of bronze to Shetland, to a period when iron had been completely established as the metal for weapons and implements, and not long before the date of the construction of the adjacent broch'. The plans are on a small scale, as was usual in Office of Works practice, but the character of the walling and other structural details are well illustrated by photographs. The finds were very fully discussed; they included bivalve and *cire-perdue* moulds for the smelting of bronze objects.

The transition to an iron-using culture, as mentioned by Curle at Jarlshof, was exemplified at the neighbouring site at Wiltrow, where he excavated (1936) a house built to the older Jarlshof plan which was, however, associated with a workshop for the smelting of iron and contained typical Iron Age pottery and relics.

#### *Other early houses*

The material reviewed in this section is widely scattered in provenance and varies widely in date, and in consequence overgreat nicety in classification might not help to clarify the facts. A certain degree of imprecision being thus accepted, a first word may be said about the post-broch buildings in the Outer Islands and the N. A good deal of attention has been paid at one time and another to the 'round-house' sites in the Hebrides, but this subject has not, in fact, been dealt with at all fully in the *Proceedings*. The earliest paper is one by C S T Calder (1939), who excavated some buildings on the Calf of Eday of which one, originally a dwelling, had been adapted as a workshop for a potter. It showed traces of the radial plan found in the post-broch wheelhouse at Jarlshof, while the pottery suggested a date at the beginning of the early Iron Age. This was followed by a paper (1953) in which A Young set out the results of Sir Lindsay Scott's excavation, interrupted by his premature death and completed by herself, of an aisled farmhouse at Allasdale, Barra. She stated, in a summary of conclusions, that the house and its steading bore witness to a pastoral community, and that the evidence for iron-working, supplied by clay moulds and slag, suggested that this community was self-supporting. The pottery indicated a long spell of occupation, probably beginning in the 1st century AD. The plan, which was Scott's own, showed the circular farmhouse at a large scale, with its aisled lay-out, a souterrain which was entered from it, an annexed corn-drying kiln, and a detached barn and byre. Mrs Young returned to this field, with K M Richardson, in a rescue-excavation carried out for the Ministry of Works at À Cheardach Mhor, South Uist (1960). The building proved to be a radially-planned wheelhouse with hearths and a forecourt; the pottery and finds, which were fully described and illustrated, indicated five phases of occupation, the earliest of which was comparable with post-broch Jarlshof, and the latest probably as late as the time of the Vikings. The plans are excellent, and mark a total change from the earlier style of H M Office of Works.

The record of the Hebridean homesteads has been somewhat confused as a result of work

done by Erskine Beveridge in North Uist between 1911 and 1919. Beveridge used the word 'earthhouse' to describe certain structures which he excavated, and J G Callander followed his example in publishing (1931, 1932) his notes after his death; but it seems clear today, in the light of more recent discoveries, eg by Sir Lindsay Scott and Mrs Young, that Beveridge's sites were not earthhouses in the ordinary sense of that term but simply homesteads of aisled or radial plan. The Foshigarry settlement was no doubt an aberrant example, as the main buildings lacked fronts towards the sea and thus had arc-like rather than circular plans; but piers for roof-support were present, and a normal linear earthhouse existed alongside as a separate unit. Callander was evidently aware of the possibility of confusion, as in at least one passage he alluded to 'wheel-shaped earthhouses'. The pottery and relics from these sites were carefully described, but the only plans are half-tone reproductions of Beveridge's own sketches.

In contrast to the Hebridean types, one may cite a form of homestead which seems peculiar to Caithness. An example at Forse was excavated by A O Curle, and described by him in three papers (1941, 1947, 1948). The chief building was a circular house with wall-head defence at the entrance, but this was neither the earliest nor the latest element in a highly confused assemblage, as it both impinged on what the plan shows as a pair of earlier huts and was also overlain by a long, narrow building. This in turn was flanked by another of similar proportions, which contained uprights suggestive of an aisled plan, and was further associated with a complex of chambers and passages. The site seems to have been explored bit by bit, and not systematically as a whole; and in consequence, though Curle was able to suggest that the long buildings were byres, no convincing general picture of the place has emerged.

In the next series of papers, the study of early houses is removed to the south of Scotland. Scooped, stone-walled settlements, some of them with associated fields, were planned and excavated by R B K Stevenson (1941) in the Manor valley, Peeblesshire, and on a neighbouring site in Glenrath Hope; and the same author discussed some similar remains, as well as a group of huts, in the King's Park, Edinburgh (1947). The dating-evidence obtained from the excavations was scanty, and the Peeblesshire sites seem now to be regarded as comparable with the series in the Roxburghshire Cheviots. In this latter area K A Steer excavated (1947) two homestead sites at Crock Cleuch. The western member of the pair consisted of a boulder-faced rubble wall enclosing an oval area, with an excavated forecourt inside the entrance and, in the rear portion, a terrace on which stood a large circular hut. The hut-wall was built with small facing-stones and a rubble core; the interior was paved and contained a kerbed hearth and a central post-hole for a roof-support. The other homestead showed generally similar features – a walled enclosure, an excavated forecourt, and a large round hut on a terrace. Plans and sections were drawn to an ample scale, making all the details clear. Adjoining the homestead was a contemporary field-system of 'Celtic' type. The pottery resembled material associated with Votadinian sites, but a bronze brooch suggested that the place might still have been occupied in post-Roman or early Anglian times. A settlement of a different character, at Hayhope Knowe, a few miles distant from the last, was excavated by C M Piggott (1949). The original enclosure here was formed by a double palisade of upright posts, but this had been partially surrounded by an outer bank, itself palisaded internally; and as the western arc of this bank was missing for a considerable length the bank must have been an addition, never completed. Within the enclosure were 12 roundish huts, defined by concentric trenches; the outer trench appeared to have held the upright posts of the wall and the inner one supports for the roof. The evidence pointed to a single short occupation, probably in the 1st century BC. The paper is admirably illustrated with plans and photographs, embodies an essay on the interpretation of the remains, and is followed by a note, by K A Steer, on the surface identification of palisaded homesteads.

Further information on the construction of early houses was provided by G Bersu's excavation (1948) of the sites at Scotstarvit and Green Craig, both in Fife. At Scotstarvit he found, inside an earthen bank, a round wooden house showing three phases of occupation; each phase was represented by three concentric rings of post-holes with an open space in the middle, the positions of the newer rings approximating closely to those of the older. Bersu concluded that the total period of occupation might have lasted for about a century, having begun perhaps about AD 100. His drawings are extremely detailed, and include an analytical plan of the whole site clarified by separate diagrams of the post-hole rings of the first and second phases. At Green Craig a short trial-excavation exposed a round wooden house inside a rectangular enclosure. The house-wall was of rubble faced with blocks, and had apparently been very low, with posts set in it to provide the necessary clearance for the roof; support for the roof was given by an inner ring of posts. No dating-material was recovered, but Bersu suggested a Dark Age origin later than the abandonment of the neighbouring hill-fort. Highly informative discussions were attached to both the papers, and if the author's meticulous concern with detail sometimes makes his descriptions difficult to follow, readers undeterred by the style of the presentation will not fail to arrive at the facts.

Another important site, at West Plean, Stirlingshire, was excavated by K A Steer (1956). The remains consisted of a ditch-and-bank enclosure containing a round timber-framed house of two constructional periods, along with a sunken cobbled yard and a building which might have been a byre. The earlier house was defined by a ring of post-holes, and had a single post in the centre to support a conical roof; the later house was larger, with an inner ring of posts for roof-support set in a foundation trench, and had an open space in the centre. It thus exemplified a familiar Iron Age plan while the older one, with its central post, belonged to a different class, of late Bronze Age complexion. Other evidence helped to suggest a total period of occupation running from about 100 BC to AD 80. The identification of the two successive periods resulted from a notable piece of archaeological detection, inspired by the discovery that two of the post-holes had held duplicate posts, one later than the other; the argument was made clear by means of comparative plans, and reconstruction drawings were added. The partial excavation of another homestead site, at Gargunnoch, Stirlingshire, was reported by A MacLaren (1958). This site was generally comparable with West Plean, from which it was not far distant; but it yielded some fragments of Roman pottery and glass and was accordingly dated rather later – to the end of the first or the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

The next paper to be noted is one by R W Feachem (1959), which dealt with a small palisaded homestead on Glenachan Rig, Peeblesshire. Its enclosure had been formed by a palisade sunk in a continuous trench, and inside there were two ring-ditch, timber-framed houses, each with an inner ring of post-holes and a single post-hole in the centre. In the absence of any useful finds, Feachem suggested that the plans of the houses might be thought to reflect a late Bronze Age tradition, even if the homestead did not actually date from that time. The plans are clear and effective, and a conjectural reconstruction-drawing is given.

In the following year (1960), Feachem produced another paper, on remains at Harehope, Peeblesshire, which proved to be those of palisaded settlements. They consisted of a pair of enclosures, one inside the other, the inner one being the older; each was formed of a double palisade, the mounds that held the palisading being separated by a shallow ditch. Near the centre there were traces of houses belonging to three periods, but finds were scanty and evidence was also lacking by which the houses could have been correlated with the outer works. The first house was defined by six post-holes, the second, which was not concentric with it, by intermittent lengths of ring-ditch, and the third, which was larger than the others and concentric with the

earliest, by a ring-ditch which held a screen of contiguous flat timbers, not posts and wattling. This house also showed an inner ring of six post-holes. After a far-reaching discussion of comparative evidence, Feachem summed up by suggesting that the first occupation might have been after the middle of the 1st millennium BC, in the transitional period between the late Bronze and early Iron Ages; that the earlier palisade, with the second house, followed towards the end of the 1st millennium; and that the last occupation, with the inner palisade and the third of the houses, came immediately afterwards, or perhaps even as late as the beginning of the Christian era. The paper is illustrated with admirable plans and drawings, including a reconstruction-view of the entrance to the inner enclosure, with its mounded palisade and the small wooden towers that flanked it.

Again in Peeblesshire, Feachem explored an unenclosed platform settlement at Green Knowe (1961). The platforms, which provided level stances for the huts, were cut back into the hillside and generally made up in front with the dugout material. The walls appeared to have had boulder foundations, and above these an inner and outer skin, probably of wattle and daub, with a rubble core between them. Inside there was a ring of post-holes, evidently for supports for the roof. The pottery was tentatively assigned to the first period of the N British Iron Age, but the difference between this and late Bronze Age material was held to be slight. One plan showed the excavation at a large scale, and another the lay-out of the platforms on the sloping hillside.

#### *Huts and miscellaneous houses*

Buildings described as huts have figured in all the papers on early houses discussed in the previous section; but other papers are concerned with huts which do not form part of a larger complex, and, although a house standing by itself need not necessarily differ, merely on that account, from one enclosed in a farmyard, these papers will best be considered as a separate group.

The first of them is by W Thorneycroft (1933), and it embodies his notes on 61 examples lying between the Ardlie and Isla rivers on the borders of Perthshire and Angus. The 'circles', to which condition the buildings were reduced, he distinguished as single rings (74%), double concentric rings (18%), and double tangential rings (8%); the rings were all of earth with projecting stones, and the entrances faced SE. Few were found below the 1000-ft contour, and many were associated with clearance cairns (*infra*). Some small-scale plans were included, but the single hut that was excavated was planned to a large scale and described in detail. Pottery sections were illustrated, and much space was devoted to the chemical constitution of the clays as determined by laboratory tests. In a second paper (1946) he described briefly the excavation of another hut in this area, but little emerged beyond evidence of some wattle-and-daub construction. Three further huts, excavated in the same neighbourhood by M E C Stewart (1962), yielded pottery described as belonging to 'an east-central Scottish group which partakes of both Late Bronze and Iron Age traditions'.

With Thorneycroft's survey may be compared a paper by F Newall (1962), which covered enclosed and unenclosed huts and houses in Renfrewshire; it included some small-scale plans and a discussion of comparative material. Similar, too, was a study by R W K Reid, G David and A Aitken (1967), of prehistoric settlement in the Durness region of Sutherland, which included mention of 'hut-circles'; the authors stated that the remains were found mainly on limestone soils, avoiding the sands, and that the hut-walls consisted of a double ring of boulders filled in with rubble. No dating-material was recovered.

The most recent addition to knowledge of huts in the north has been made in a paper by H Fairhurst and D B Taylor (1971), on a settlement at Kilphedir, Sutherland. The authors' original purpose had been to investigate a group of five circular huts and a small adjoining area of formerly cultivated land, but this project they expanded into a discussion of the whole subject of local prehistoric occupation, with many wider implications. The huts were excavated and the results described in detail, with large-scale plans, sections, photographs and notes on the scanty finds of stone, pottery and bones. In general the walls were found to have boulder foundations and an upper structure of slabs with an earthen core; within were rings of post-holes and central hearths. Pollen analysis and carbon-14 observations gave a date in the 5th century BC for the first occupation of the site, but one hut, which diverged somewhat from the general pattern, might have been built some three hundred years later. The cultivated plots and clearance cairns were also planned and discussed.

In the S of Scotland, an unenclosed settlement at Drumcarrow Craig, Fife, was the subject of a paper by G S Maxwell (1968). It comprised at least three round houses, the one that was excavated proving to have had a very thick wall formed of massive block facings with a rubble core between them. The hearth was sufficiently near the centre to rule out a central roof-support, but the rocky nature of the ground would have precluded the setting-up of posts in holes, with the result that the character of the roof remained uncertain. Finds were few, but on structural grounds, as set out in an interesting discussion, Maxwell showed reason for associating this site with the Roman or sub-Roman S rather than with the Bronze Age or early Iron Age N.

The specialised type of house that is built on an artificial island, namely the crannog, forms the subject of two papers. In one of them J Ritchie (1942) dealt with a site in the shallows at the discharge of Loch Treig, Inverness-shire. The structure found here differed from the typical crannog in that the 'island's' foundations consisted not of a raft of logs but of layers of timbering interspaced with stones and brushwood and strengthened with vertical piles; and on top of this was laid a mass of stones and earth which actually carried the house. Few traces of the house were found, apart from three superimposed hearths; the relics indicated no date earlier than the 16th century AD, but Ritchie suggested that an earlier origin was possible if the massive superstructure had been added from time to time to make up for periodic subsidence. The photographs are good and the drawings convey their message, though their style suggests the hand of an engineering draughtsman. In the other crannog paper, C M Piggott described (1953) an excavation at Milton Loch, Kirkcudbright, where she recovered the fairly complete plan of a house securely dateable to the 2nd century AD. It was built in a raft of timbers which rested on the mud of the loch-bottom and was surrounded by a ring of piles; these had presumably supported a platform, and access to the shore was obtained by a pile-built causeway. Remains of a hearth were found, and traces of lightly-built internal sub-divisions; the stilt and head of a wooden plough were recovered underneath the foundations, pretty certainly deposited as an offering to secure abundant harvests. Descriptions and discussion are models of brevity and clearness, and a reconstruction-drawing of the house suggests that it closely resembled the normal farmhouse of the period.

Earthhouses may be mentioned in this section, without prejudice to the question of what purpose any given earthhouse may have been intended to serve. The papers and notices that deal with them do not advance the general subject very much. The earliest earthhouse discussed seems to be the one that was entered from Curle's house no iii at Jarlshof (*supra*), with which A Small (1966) equated in date the strongly curvilinear example at Underhoull, Shetland; while the mid-dens associated with the one at Gress Lodge, Stornoway, were dated by E W MacKie (1966) as late as the 4th or 5th century AD. The Gress earthhouse seems to have consisted of a lintelled chamber approached by a passage, as was also the one at Midhouse, Orkney, reported by J H



Craw (1931); in this latter instance the roof-supports were formed of single blocks, but in a similar structure at Swanbister, Orkney, reported by H Marwick (1946), they were built up. Earthhouses of linear type were noted at Portnacon by H J Buxton (1935), at Gripps by W G Grant (1939) and at Rosal by J X W P Corcoran (1968).

Caves, all coastal, were dealt with in four papers. In her excavation at Covesea, Moray (1931), S Benton found two occupations, respectively of the Bronze Age and of the Roman period. Relics, pottery and human bones were recovered in substantial numbers, including Roman coins and small bronzes of the 4th century. The bronzes were difficult to account for, as was also the fact that several of the human vertebrae showed signs of decapitation. The plans and sections do not tell their tale at first sight, but the coins and relics are well illustrated by photographs. At Rudh' an Dunain, Skye (1934), Sir W Lindsay Scott found evidence of Bronze Age, Iron Age and relatively recent occupation, the most interesting feature being an iron-smelting furnace of the early Iron Age. The finds were carefully described and their implications discussed. The cave at Torrs, Kirkcudbright, excavated by S V Morris (1937), possessed a peculiar feature in a block of dry-stone masonry in its mouth, which incorporated a flight of steps and seemed to be defensive. The earliest occupation had a Roman Iron Age complexion; this was followed by one which Morris held to be not earlier than about 1400, while the last probably belonged to the 18th century. The remains were difficult to illustrate, but the plan, drawing and photographs combined to give a fairly satisfactory result. Between 1933 and 1935 J Harrison Maxwell made excavations in the Big Cave at Keil Point, Kintyre, but his results were not reported in readily accessible organs and J N G Ritchie accordingly redescribed and re-assessed them in a short paper (1967). The relics, which were markedly unlike those found at other sites in SW Scotland, suggested that the cave's occupation might have begun in the 3rd or 4th century AD, and have continued, perhaps intermittently, for several centuries. Some of the bone pins would not have been out of place as late as the 10th century, a possibility thought to be borne out by comparative material from Antrim. A detailed catalogue of the finds was given in an appendix.

### *Roman antiquities*

What the late Dr Callander used to call the 'miserable episode' of the Roman occupation has naturally provided much material for the *Proceedings*. The Roman papers seem to fall into three distinguishable groups, and can best be considered accordingly.

The first group is concerned with the Antonine Wall, and is heavily weighted by Sir George Macdonald's reports on the excavations of forts. His principal papers dealt with Croy Hill (1932), Rough Castle and Westerwood (1933), and again Croy Hill (1937), all taking the form of additions to, or extensive comments on, certain of his earlier publications; and to discuss in detail the individual points raised would far outrun the scope of the present review, the more so as some of them, affecting the whole history of the Wall, are still subject to argument by Romanists. A similar consideration applies to K A Steer's paper (1961) on Mumrills, which he re-excavated for the purpose of checking certain of Macdonald's points. It is proper, however, to note that all these papers of Macdonald's are highly characteristic of his style and methods. The facility of his narrative, and his perfect mastery of English, though they stand as cogent examples to every writer, yet confer on his work an appearance of authority and clarity which may not always be borne out in the statement of his actual conclusions. Again, the evident fact that he depended mainly on the written word, with plans in a second place – in which matter he was, of course, in line with the practice of his period – tends to discourage readers accustomed to the modern approach. Again, the extent to which expert supervision was maintained at some of these sites

cannot but be questioned in view of his warm commendation of a certain subordinate foreman for 'toiling for several months on end at Croy Hill and Old Kilpatrick, for the most part single-handed'.

The puzzle presented by the apparently open state of the Wall's defences at its W end was satisfactorily resolved when K A Steer discovered, on an air photograph, the fort at Whitemoss, near Bishopton, on the left bank of the Clyde. Moreover, in the paper (1949) in which he recorded this discovery, he remarked that the Whitemoss position gave poor observation westwards, and assumed in consequence that communication with the lowermost parts of the estuary must have been maintained by watch-towers. This assumption was duly confirmed in 1952, when R W Feachem discovered, again on an air photograph, the signal station on Lurg Moor, near Greenock (1964). Two further air photographs revealed additional new facts about the Wall, when Professor St Joseph identified the fort at Carriden (1949), and later six temporary camps in the Wall's immediate neighbourhood. Discussing these camps (1956), Feachem recorded St Joseph's opinion that the four that lay S of the Wall might have been connected in some way with the work of construction. Again at Carriden, an inscribed altar was ploughed up on which Sir Ian Richmond and K A Steer supplied a joint report (1957); it was notable as providing the first epigraphic evidence for the ancient name (*Velunia*) of one of the forts on the Wall, and likewise proved both that the Ravenna Cosmography's plan should be read from E to W and also that a civil settlement existed at this unexpectedly early date. Two further papers by Steer close the subject of the Wall. The first described (1957) his excavation of one of the 'expansions' of the Wall, at Bonny-side East, and concluded that, in view of their lack of mutual visibility, these structures, already known to have been stances for beacons, were not designed for local use but to receive and transmit messages over long distances and under exceptional circumstances. The second paper (1969), of joint authorship with E A Cormack, discussed a distance-slab recently ploughed up at Cled-dans, between the forts of Duntocher and Castlehill, together with some points affecting the general subject of these slabs. The inscription recorded the building of 3000 feet of the Wall by a detachment of the 20th Legion, *Valeria Victrix*, and the unweathered state of the carving suggested that the slab had been purposely buried, for protection, at some time when the Wall was evacuated - perhaps in the emergency caused by the Brigantian rising of 155-8.

The next group of Roman papers reflects Sir Ian Richmond's interest in the military penetration of Scotland, which he pursued with all the greater vigour as the Ancient Monuments Commission, of which he was a member, was engaged in the Forties and Fifties on Inventory surveys in the Borders. His *Proceedings* papers, however, are only the tip of the iceberg in relation to his total achievement - reconnaissance of every corner of Roman Scotland, massive anonymous contributions to the Commission's Inventories and, above all, twelve seasons' excavation in the legionary fortress of Inchtuthil, the results of which labour he did not live to publish. The earliest of his papers that fall to be considered here were two dealing with the fort at Fendoch, Perthshire. The first (1936) reported the rediscovery of the site, lost since the 18th century, and the results of some trial trenching; the second (1939) its full excavation. In this latter Richmond described topography, defences, internal buildings, pottery and finds, and discussed the circumstances of Agricola's advance into the Highlands. The provision of plans is lavish, as they cover the site as a whole, the N and S gates, the headquarters building, the commandant's house, the granary and the hospital, with reconstruction-drawings of the N gate and the headquarters building. The photographs include some scenes from Trajan's Column which illustrate forts of this character.

Richmond's next paper (1940) reported on the excavation of two Roman structures, the Black Hill and the Cleaven Dyke, both near Meiklour, Perthshire. The Dyke, an earthwork over 2000 yards long and not designed for defence, he identified as a frontier work, analogous with the

Vallum behind Hadrian's Wall, here serving to mark the limit of a military zone associated with the fortress of Inchtuthil. The Black Hill proved to be a signal-station, so sited as to overlook two openings in the Dyke, and also to give observation of movement on two tracks leading in from the barbarian country. A sectional drawing of the Dyke showed a central mound flanked on either side by a berm fifty feet wide and a shallow ditch; there was evidence that the turf had been stripped from the berms and piled on top of the ditch-upcast which formed the core of the mound. This paper was followed (1941) by one on Lyne fort, Peeblesshire, in which Richmond re-interpreted, as part of a water-supply system, certain channels and tanks unearthed inside the fort by the excavators of 1901.

By the middle of the 1940s he was deeply involved in the Commission's work in Roxburghshire, and this commitment resulted in three papers on Roman roads, one of which was nominally attributed to the present writer, though the content was of Richmond's inspiration, while the authorship of another was shared, the paper being in fact produced on the Commission's behalf. The first dealt (1946) with a road, not previously identified, running from the fort of Raeburnfoot, in upper Eskdale, NE over Craik Muir to the head of the Borthwick Water; its length was more than six miles, and it was evidently directed to *Trimontium* (Newstead). It illustrated Roman technique in a striking manner, showing, for example, in one stretch a cambered gravel road-mound 20 ft wide, some of it very boldly embanked; and, most remarkable of all, stretches of cutting, one of them 400 yds long, where deep peat with a layer of brash below it had made it necessary to lower the carriageway to the surface of the underlying shale, omitting any metalling or mound. This arrangement, with drainage ditches beside the carriageway, was shown in a large-scale sectional drawing; maps were included covering the whole length of the road, and marking the various sections of cutting, terracing and embankment. Richmond laid stress on the road-builders' skill and ingenuity, comparing the cutting and embankment with modern railway-construction, and ended with some general discussion of the issues involved. Some further facts about this route were given by the present writer in the second of this set of papers (1948), which described its continuation SW from Raeburnfoot, presumably heading for Nithsdale. Deep cuttings were again encountered. The paper of shared authorship (1953) assembled some facts which had recently emerged about a road in the Tweed valley, presumably intended to link Dere Street, at Newstead, with the Nithsdale-Clydesdale route. Topographical difficulties were serious, but actual remains or quarry-pits were identified from place to place, for example near Thornylee, Edstone and Lyne.<sup>6</sup>

The most considerable, however, of Richmond's *Proceedings* papers was the report on his excavations in the great fortress of Newstead (1950). This work was required to correlate in stratigraphical terms all the phases identified by J Curle in different parts of the site in the course of his campaign of 1905-10; it had been planned with him before the second World War, as part of the Ancient Monuments Commission's Inventory survey of Roxburghshire, but he did not live to see it carried out. The points discussed in the paper are too numerous for summary treatment, and it must suffice to say that two Flavian and two Antonine periods were finally identified, with a longish break between the late Domitianic and the first Antonine phase. The excavations were illustrated with plans and sections in Richmond's inimitable style; specialist appendices were added, on the samian ware by Professor E B Birley and on the coarse pottery by J P Gillam, the latter with an annotated list.

Another of Richmond's papers (1951) dealt with his excavation of the fortlet at Cappuck, Roxburghshire, where Dere Street crossed the Oxnam Water and protection was needed for a bridge. This site had already been excavated twice, but still further investigation was seen to be required when some ditches not accounted for by the previous excavators were observed on air

photographs. By means of some trial trenching Richmond was able to explain the whole complex as representing two Flavian and two Antonine phases, analogous with those at Newstead, the unexplained ditches resulting from periodic alterations of plan.

As Richmond did so much in guiding the Commission's programme of Roman research, it will be suitable to mention next reports on three excavations, conducted by its officers, in which he was naturally involved. They relate to sites at Oakwood, Selkirkshire (1952) and at Lyne, Peeblesshire (1962), both by K A Steer and R W Feachem jointly, and at Easter Happrew, Peeblesshire (1957) by Steer alone. The purpose of the Oakwood operation was to discover the extent and occupational history of a fort and camp which had appeared on an air photograph in the lower Ettrick valley, in no obvious association with the rest of the known Roman network. The camp, of 31 acres, might well have held the labour that built the fort; and the fort itself gave evidence of at least two structural phases, both of them Flavian and one of them dated by a coin of Agricola's time, but none of Antonine occupation. In the second phase the defences were reconditioned and the entrances narrowed, and at the final abandonment everything was destroyed by burning. Interesting plans were included, particularly of the E and W gates, with a reconstruction-drawing of the latter and a conjectural view of the derrick used in the erection of its uprights. The pottery, relics and remains of timbers were discussed in appendices. It was thought that the fort had been linked with the main base at Newstead, and that its function had been to control the hostile Selgovae, who occupied the country to the west and whose later subjugation would have made its abandonment logical.

The fort at Easter Happrew was also discovered from the air, and its existence only half a mile from the well-known fort at Lyne was naturally hard to explain. A small-scale excavation was accordingly mounted, which recovered the plan and established that both the defences and the internal buildings belonged to a single first-century period. As between an Agricolan and a late Domitianic date no direct evidence emerged, but it was thought that, while the Happrew site would have proved suitable enough for a commander invading fresh country, it would have become inconvenient after the route from Newstead to the Clyde valley had been carried up the Lyne Water on its opposite bank; and consequently that Lyne, with its suggestive sherd of first-century pottery, probably replaced Happrew when the northern frontier was reorganised in late Domitianic times. This tentative conclusion pointed to the need for further investigations at Lyne fort itself, excavated in 1901, and the paper by Steer and Feachem reported the combined results of a number of small-scale operations. These failed to reveal any remains of a late Domitianic fort, but for various reasons this negative evidence was not considered conclusive. The fort appeared to belong to a single Antonine period, the pottery suggesting a late date of origin, perhaps about 158; and although the N annexe showed evidence of two structural phases, this was attributed to enlargement and not to a break in occupation. A fresh plan of fort and annexes was published, with sections of the eastern defences. Notes were added on a fortlet, too badly wasted for excavation, which lay to the N of the fort, and on a temporary camp detected from the air three-quarters of a mile north-eastwards.

The remaining group of Roman papers consists of reports and notes contributed by the Fellowship at large in the ordinary course. The first paper (1931) was by Sir George Macdonald, and contained a list of samian potters whose names had come to light in Scotland, together with historical discussion based thereon. Though interesting as an early exercise in this kind of enquiry, the paper has now been entirely overtaken by more recent work. The next volume (1932) contains the famous paper by J Curle entitled 'An Inventory of Objects of Roman or Provincial Roman Origin found on Sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman Constructions'. This amounts to a great deal more than its title implies, as the inventory, a descriptive catalogue

running to forty-seven pages, was preceded by some seventy pages of discussion, the total result, and more particularly the inventory, being one of the most valuable communications ever made to the Society.

The papers of the next few years were enlivened by learned controversy. Thus Professor Birley suggested (1936) that the centurion *Cocceius Firmus*, who consecrated the four altars dug up near Auchendavie on the Antonine Wall, was the man of that name whose slave was mentioned in Justinian's Digest as having been condemned to hard labour in a salt-works, and that the works in question were evaporating pans somewhere on the coast of Fife. Against this suggestion Macdonald reacted vigorously, not simply to straighten out the facts of the case but because the idea of a Romanised Fife was one of his *bêtes noires*.<sup>7</sup> Birley then gave fresh offence as a result of his re-excavation of the fort at Birrens, Dumfriesshire (1938), putting forward a chronology which extended the occupation until the middle of the 4th century. This drew from Macdonald a long and bitter reply, which contained at least one sentiment of permanent value whatever may have been the rights and wrongs of the case – 'When people dig up Roman or other remains in order to prove points rather than to ascertain facts, experience shows that archaeology is seldom the gainer'.

As a vehicle for these last communications Macdonald made use of a series of disconnected notes, which he launched in the *Proceedings* in 1937, under the title of *Miscellanea Romano-Caledonica*. In addition to his replies to Birley, he contributed, to the first set, a discussion of Roman remains in Aberdeenshire, the full text of a previously unpublished paper of 1768 by Colonel Shand, and a report on some structural remains at Cramond and Bridgeness; and to the second (1939) a supplement to his earlier list of Roman coins found in Scotland, a notice of an altar recently discovered at Mumrills, and remarks on some papers by General Melville and some 18th-century documents relating to Raedykes and Dalginross. The *Miscellanea* have lately been revived by A S Robertson, with notes (1964) on some sites on the Antonine Wall, some small projects of excavation, and pottery.

A paper by Professor St Joseph has been mentioned above in connection with the Antonine Wall, but part of it dealt with an altogether different subject – the signal-station on Brownhart Law, Roxburghshire, close to the point where Dere Street crosses the Border. Considerations of visibility suggested that its function was to maintain long-range communication with Rubers Law, which in turn could observe movement in the Teviot valley and was also in touch with the North Eildon station, overlooking the fortress of Newstead.

Returning to the subject of inventories, we now have an important paper (1950) by A S Robertson – a list of the Roman coins discovered in Scotland since the publication (1939) of the last of Macdonald's lists. Her list, which is fully descriptive and is supported by tables, is broken down into finds made on Roman and on native sites, finds with no reported association, and hoards. The same author has since produced two further inventories of the same character (1961, 1971).

The probable site of Mons Graupius is a notoriously elusive problem, and this was tackled afresh by A R Burn (1953). He reconsidered Tacitus' account of the battle, adding the evidence of newly-discovered camps and his own views on the topography. As a result he suggested a site NE of Keith, Banffshire, between Knock Hill and the Pass of Grange. A less obscure subject was treated by R Birley, in his report (1963) on excavations at Carpow, Perthshire. After an interesting *aperçu* of earlier notices of the site, he went on to identify the remains as those of a fortress of legionary size, with a fine headquarters building and a legate's house; the buildings had been purposely demolished when the place was abandoned. No barrack-blocks were excavated. Small-scale plans were given, and sections of the ramparts of the main fort and of an annexe. The coins,

finds and pottery, discussed in appendices by specialists, indicated a Severan date. Carpow subsequently yielded a fragment of an inscribed slab, the remains of the inscription being interpreted by R P Wright (1964) as a dedication to the Emperor Caracalla, and dated by him provisionally to about 212.

In the last major paper of this group, D J Breeze and B Dobson discussed (1970) the structural history of the Walls on the northern frontier, comparing the features exhibited by the two constructions, describing the modifications made from time to time, and showing how arrangements adopted on the Antonine Wall could have resulted from experience gained on the earlier work as well as from changes in local military requirements. Again in 1970, the first author described, in a short paper, his excavations at Ardoch, Perthshire, with interesting details of the Roman road's construction. His sectional drawing of this, with its foundation-trench, cobbles and mounded carriageway, corroborates remarkably the Rev W Nimmo's account (1777, 24) of the same road as he saw it in Stirlingshire. The conflicting evidence as to the date of the 120-acre camp was clearly stated.

### *Viking antiquities*

In comparison with their actual importance in Scottish protohistory, the Vikings' showing in the *Proceedings* papers of this period is not particularly impressive. Among major contributions there are reports on the excavation of three settlements, at Jarlshof and Underhoull, Shetland, and at Freswick, Caithness, and a discussion of the dragonesque figure associated with the runic inscriptions inside Maes Howe. The work at Jarlshof was done, on behalf of the Office of Works, by A O Curle, as a corollary to his excavation of the adjoining Bronze Age houses (*supra*), and issued in two papers (1935, 1936).<sup>8</sup> The earlier one disclosed some typical features of the Norse long-house, apparently reconstructed more than once and having had rounded corners in one of its phases; but the remains described in the later one were so badly wasted that no clear picture emerged. It is likewise difficult to correlate text and plans, partly on account of inconsistencies in orientation. Points of correspondence were identified with other known houses of the time, with a useful account of their arrangements as established in Iceland and elsewhere. Great numbers of relics were recovered, including fragments of slate bearing graffiti; one of these showed a ship with high prow and stern, steering-oar, and rigging, and the crew lined up along the gunwale. After his work at Jarlshof, Curle undertook the exploration of a site on Freswick Bay, where wind-erosion was exposing Viking remains. He reported (1939) on a complex of buildings of long-house type, representing several phases of construction and including a smithy and a bath-house. Individual points can be readily followed on the plans, drawn by C S T Calder and greatly superior to the Office of Works plans which accompanied Jarlshof papers. During the war a rescue-operation was mounted on this site by the Ministry of Works; it was conducted by Professor Childe, who reported (1943) on structures generally similar to those previously found. He again recovered large quantities of pottery and relics. The settlement at Underhoull was reported on by A Small (1966). The main unit here was a long-house whose partially rounded ends suggested a date in the first half of the 9th century; the western portion was separated off as a byre, and the outer faces of the walls showed alternate courses of stone and turf. The outbuildings were thought to be later than the main unit. Relics were noted and discussed.

The Maes Howe dragon was described by W M Mackenzie (1937), and was dated by him to 1150-1151, on the strength of the inscriptions' reference to 'Iorsalafarar', ie 'travellers to Jerusalem', Earl Rognvald's expedition to the Holy Land having passed that winter in Orkney. He cited comparative material from Scandinavia and England, with excellent illustrations; and described

the dragon as 'no capricious figure of a stray artist, but a significant example of northern decoration before it was supplanted by the Romanesque art of the south'.

*Pictish and Early Christian carving*

The subject of the Pictish symbol-stones had not figured at all largely in the *Proceedings* since the days of Romilly Allen, but in the present series three authors have touched on their origin and date. Thus C L Curle produced (1940) a long and very fully illustrated paper on the whole body of Scottish Early Christian monuments, with a section on the symbol-stones forming part of her edifice. She marshalled a great deal of evidence from a variety of sources; approved a 7th-century date for the bulk of the carvings, with some as late as the 8th; and ended with a tabular statement which set forth clearly the influences that she saw at work – late Roman, Irish, Northumbrian and oriental, as well, of course, as Pictish. Her photographs provide a collection of Early Christian material which is most convenient for reference.

In the next considerable paper, I B Henderson discussed (1958) the symbol-stones' probable area of origin and centre of distribution, developing the argument devised for the crescent symbol by R B K Stevenson (Wainwright 1955, 104ff) and applying it to the elephant, the V-shaped rod and the notched rectangle. She concluded 'that on the counts of statistical distribution, geographical distribution, quality of representation and perhaps historical circumstances, much can be said for the shores of the Moray and Dornoch Firths as the origin centre of the Pictish symbol-stones'.

A third important contribution was made by R B K Stevenson, in a paper (1959) which dealt primarily with the Inchyra stone. He described and discussed the remarkable sequence of three successive sets of symbols, and the accompanying ogam inscriptions, likewise successive; and he added notes on five other stones, two of them new discoveries, and, in the case of the Cadboll stone, drew attention to the bearded face of a man, not previously identified, just visible behind the head of the lady riding the horse. He ended with a table which showed the different systems of Early Christian chronology favoured respectively by J Anderson, C L Curle, K H Jackson and himself.

Mrs Curle, in her paper of 1940, had expressed the opinion that the symbols were 'as a rule cut in the stone with a neat triangular incision', but this was questioned by C A Gordon (1954–56) on the strength of tests of the Pictish sculptors' technique which he had made in the course of some work on the Newton inscription. Having seen such V-shaped grooving only on the Inchyra stone,<sup>9</sup> he stated that the grooves' normal profile was a shallow curve, and that this resulted from the pocking of the line with a punch and the subsequent trimming-up of irregularities, perhaps largely by friction. This observation exemplifies the kind of advantage that archaeology can gain by recourse to ancillary disciplines – in this case geology, petrology and practical stone-cutting.

A different aspect of the symbol-stones, namely the ideas behind them, was discussed by the same author (1966). Rejecting theories of totemic, Christian or heraldic iconography, as well as romantic Victorian notions of the ravaging wolf and the heroic wild boar, he pointed out that most of the animals depicted on the stones were either at home in the farmyard or, like the deer or the salmon, were commonly hunted or trapped. Showing grounds for believing, for example, that the 'wolf' was simply a dog and the 'boar' a domestic pig, he suggested that the art of the animal portraits was tuned to the everyday work of a farming and hunting society.

In addition to these major contributions, five shorter papers or passing notices were presented respectively by J M Davidson (1943), on a stone from Golspie with crescent, elephant, mirror and comb; by R B K Stevenson (1952), on one from Gairloch with salmon and eagle; by I B Henderson (1962), on the horseshoe and elephant symbols; by A Small (1962), on a

newly-reported stone from Collace, Perthshire; and by J N G Ritchie (1969), on two fresh discoveries from Orkney, respectively from Gurness broch and Evie. Symbol carvings were likewise mentioned from time to time in papers mainly concerned with stones of Class II in Anderson's and Allen's system.

The remaining papers of this group represented reports on individual monuments, some of them new discoveries, accompanied by a greater or smaller amount of discussion. Three dealt with the sub-Roman Christianity of Tweeddale and the SW. The Liddesdale and Manor Water stones were described by Sir George Macdonald (1945), with discussion of comparative material in Wales and SW England and photographs and drawings of the inscriptions. His tentative reconstruction as MARTIRIE of the defective word in the Manor Water inscription is not now accepted, Professor Jackson suggesting instead a proper name ERTIRIE. Both stones are now regarded by experts as dating from the 6th century. A stone at Peebles, of the same general character but probably rather later in date, was described by K A Steer (1969) in a paper which also mentioned an early stone in Iona, probably of the 7th century and belonging in an Irish context. Drawings of the inscriptions on both stones were given. The Yarrow, Whithorn and Kirkmadrine stones were all discussed (1936), with illustrations, by Professor Macalister, but his reading of the Yarrow inscription is not now accepted. His conclusions regarding Kirkmadrine and Whithorn marked one stage in a controversy, but a recent authoritative statement by C A R Radford and G Donaldson (*M of Works*, 1957, 8ff), while agreeing with his 5th- and 7th-century dates for the Latinus and Petrus stones respectively, rejects the theories that the former commemorated martyrdom and the latter the 'entry of Whithorn into the Roman obedience' as a result of the Synod of Whitby.

A number of slighter papers likewise point to a fairly general interest in Early Christian remains. For example, P C Kermodé produced a note (1931) on some stones in the Faeroe Islands; A D Lacaille wrote (1932) on St Blane's Chapel, Rannoch, the site of which was marked by a burial-enclosure and a cross-slab of Anglian type; J J Waddell described (1932) a cross-slab from Fowlis Wester, Perthshire, and a block bearing interlaced ornament from Millport, Cumbrae; the Rev R S G Anderson noted a number of cross-slabs and fragments, Anglian in appearance, at Old Luce, Wigtownshire (1936) and in the Rhinns of Galloway (1937); C S T Calder noted some Anglian fragments at Abercorn, which are interesting for their possible connection with the abortive see of Abercorn, of 681-5; from Raasay J J Galbraith reported (1933) on Chi-Rho crosses, with photographs of plaster casts; and P Moar and J Stewart described and discussed (1944) a cross-slab with processional figures, and a fragment of another with interlaced ornament, both from Papil, Shetland. In a class by itself stands the strange figure of a horseman drinking from a huge horn, from Invergowrie, Perthshire, which R B K Stevenson discussed in his paper mentioned above (1959); this communication covered, besides Pictish matter, a miscellany of previously unpublished Early Christian material.

#### *Churches and other ecclesiastical subjects*<sup>10</sup>

Before embarking on any review of papers on ecclesiastical subjects, the fact may be noted that the 'inventory' type of treatment does not seem to have been applied to churches and chapels until the end of the 1960s, although it had been commonly used in other contexts for a matter of some eighty years. Apart from a descriptive list and distribution map of ecclesiastical sites of all types occurring in the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond, by A D Lacaille (1934), which included a discussion of the cult of St Kessog (*infra*), inventory surveys of ancient ecclesiastical sites have appeared only in 1968 and 1970, in two joint papers – actually successive parts of the same



project – by A D S Macdonald and L R Laing, setting forth the results of a programme of scheduling Early Christian sites undertaken by the Ministry of Works. The entries, which were arranged by counties, consisted of longer or shorter notes on the visible remains, historical and cartographical points, and neighbouring ancient monuments. The authors were careful to remark that, as the field-work had consisted only of hasty visits to remains which were often very badly preserved, not all the sites could be confidently classed as ‘early’, in the sense of being pre-medieval, or indeed in some cases as being ecclesiastical at all. The papers, however, should form a useful basis for more intensive work in the future.

In discussing elsewhere (1970, 258, 264) *Proceedings* papers which appeared in the 19th century, the present writer remarked on the preference shown by authors of architectural papers for matters of detail, as opposed to full-scale studies of entire buildings; and the same tendency now appears in papers on ecclesiastical remains in the years after 1931, as in fact only three of the 21 papers in this group gave full accounts of the architecture and history of their subjects. The first of these, by C A R Radford and G Donaldson (1951), dealt with the post-Reformation church at Whithorn, showing how the structure developed out of the derelict priory-church and analysing the alterations made in the 17th century and the reconstruction that followed the re-organisation of the parish early in the 18th. This account was illustrated by a plan and photographs. The latter part of the paper was devoted to an interesting essay on liturgical and other developments, and their effect on church design. The second paper, by S Cruden (1956), gave an account of Seton Collegiate Church, East Lothian, in the light of investigations recently made by the Ministry of Works. It comprised an architectural description, with plan and sections, a history of the building and of the vicissitudes through which it passed, and notes on masons’ marks, important internal features, and comparative material from elsewhere. The same author had previously given a shorter paper on some features of Arbroath Abbey – west doorway, wall-arcading and triforium – which called for fuller treatment than was possible in the Official Guide Book. The photographs, which include some of comparative material, are very well chosen. In the third considerable paper (1963), I MacIvor examined the hexagonal 15th-century building that adjoins the restored medieval church of Restalrig, now engulfed in the northern outskirts of Edinburgh. He proposed that the hexagon, which had come to be named ‘St Triduana’s Well-house’ on account of the water that was found standing in it at its restoration in 1906, was in fact not a well-house but a two-storeyed chapel erected by James III, probably in the 1470s; and he supported his argument with an architectural description, a historical account of the structure with period plans, and a discussion of well-houses in general and of possible analogies for a two-storeyed chapel. He also outlined the legend of St Triduana, and glanced at a potentially misleading side-issue introduced by St Margaret’s Well, the superstructure of which has stood, since 1859, in the Queen’s Park after removal, for preservation, from a site near Restalrig church.

A note on the Cross Kirk of Peebles, by J S Richardson (1946), is concerned mainly with a supposed grave-site (*infra*). Its architectural content is subsidiary. The purpose of the paper on Torphichen Preceptory, by P H R Mackay (1967) is simply to bring to notice certain documents of the later 18th century, which include plans of the old and new churches.

Of a different character from the foregoing is an interesting paper by I C Hannah (1936), on screens and lofts in Scottish churches. After a preliminary section explaining the origin and functions of pulpitum and rood-screen, the author discussed a number of surviving examples of screen structure, quoting comparative material from England and the Continent. The paper is illustrated with plans of the arrangements found at some of the most important sites, and also with photographs and sketches. The facts that emerge throw a good deal of light on a subject which may well be unfamiliar to other than specialists.

On the fittings and furniture of churches, as distinct from their structural features, a useful paper was presented by G Hay (1954-56). Limiting his study to the post-Reformation period, the author began by pointing out not only that reformed theology made irrelevant certain items of the older church-furniture, but also that the reformed Kirk was no longer rich enough to go in for sumptuous fittings and decorations – and this quite irrespective of any changes of attitude towards religious art. He discussed, with examples, Communion tables, substitutes for the liturgical altar; pulpits and readers' desks; lofts and galleries; seating arrangements and some lesser matters such as the stool of repentance. The text is admirably supported by five plates of photographs. In rather the same vein, items of decorative woodwork, mainly of the pre-Reformation era not treated in Hay's paper, were described by W Kelly and J Geddie (both 1934). The former discussed an oak canopy, cresting and inscribed band, all of the early 16th century, from St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen; and the latter an elaborately carved and inscribed pew-back, dated 1634, from Dippie Church, Moray. Paintings inside two Angus churches were dealt with by M R Apted and W N Robertson in a study (1962) of the Guthrie family aisle at Guthrie, and of the rood-screen at Fowlis Easter Church. The work at Guthrie depicted the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment, and was dated to the years 1472-90; at Fowlis Easter there were fragments which included a Crucifixion, a group of sacred figures, a Resurrection and a Trinity. The paper was very fully illustrated, the photographs bringing out a strong similarity of style between the two sets of paintings. A carved font and sacrament house were also figured. The present writer's account (1943) of the ceiling at Grandtully Church, Perthshire, was prepared in haste as an emergency record when the paintings were suffering damage through the entry of rainwater; but it is now out of date as the roof has been repaired and the paintings expertly restored by the Ministry of Works.

Bells, both church bells and others, form the subject of six papers of inventory type. They concern the counties of Renfrew and Dumbarton (1948), Stirling and Kinross (1950), Aberdeen (1957, 1958, 1961), and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (1967). The first two are by R W M Clouston alone, and in the others he appears as co-author with F C Eeles, the material being in fact his recension of notes left unpublished at Eeles' death. All are essentially descriptive lists, the last being shorter than the rest; but the first also contains preliminary discussion of the construction, mounting and ringing of bells, the Continental system, largely followed in Scotland, in which the bells hang stationary and are struck with hammers, being distinguished from change-ringing as practised in England. The papers constitute a mine of specialised information on the bells, their founders and their history; details of inscriptions are shown, where necessary, in line drawings, and many bells of particular interest are illustrated with photographs – not least some Dutch examples from the 17th century.

Two papers dealt with fragments of liturgical books. The subject of the first of these, by F C Eeles (1932), was the so-called Perth Psalter, now in the National Library of Scotland. This small book contains a calendar, the psalms, the canticles, and part of a litany of the saints, its connection with Perth being based on a calendar entry '*dedicacio ecclesie de perth*'. The author considered that it might have been written about 1475, but the hand showed conflicting evidence of possible influence from the Low Countries, France and England which left him in doubt as to its place of origin. In general the calendar corresponds with that of Sarum, though with many Scottish saints added; some of the Scottish names are in the original hand of the manuscript, but the majority are in a cursive hand, probably of the 16th century, and may be due to influence by the Aberdeen Breviary. It was the presence of these Scottish names that gave the work its chief interest, and they were discussed at considerable length. Flyleaf entries suggested that the psalter had been taken to the Continent at or after the Reformation, and had returned to a private collection in Scotland at some time in the 18th century. The calendar is printed in full, and seven

half-tone plates, between them, show the September page of the calendar, four pages of the psalter, and two of the litany, all slightly enlarged.

In the second of these papers F Wormald discussed (1935) two leaves from a calendar, once apparently part of a late 13th-century psalter or missal. The fragment showed strong Augustinian influence, and internal evidence pointed to Holyrood Abbey as the book's original home; but later alterations indicated that the calendar passed from Holyrood to Augustinian hands, left Scotland, and was adapted to a more southern use. The text is printed in full, and the months of July and October are illustrated by photographs at about half scale.

Two papers in this group remain to be considered. In 1934 the Monymusk Reliquary, a magnificent work of Early Christian art, came to the National Museum; it had been described in the *Proceedings* many years earlier by J Anderson (1910), but F C Eeles now felt that the time was ripe for a restatement of its history and character, and accordingly presented a short paper (1934) resuming Anderson's points. In particular he confirmed the identification of the reliquary with what had long been known as the Brecbennoch<sup>11</sup> of St Columba, the history of which can be stated briefly as follows. William the Lion, at some date before 1211, granted certain lands to the monks of Arbroath for which they were bound to do military service with the Brecbennoch, for example by carrying it round the king's army before a battle. In 1314 the lands in question passed to the laird of Monymusk, and with them the duties associated with the Brecbennoch; and although the lands were disposed of in later times the reliquary seems to have remained at Monymusk until it was bought for the Nation. The paper is accompanied by a coloured lithograph illustration, which shows the Brecbennoch in two aspects at approximately its natural size.

In 1958 a hoard of objects was found on St Ninian's Isle, Shetland, and this Mgr D McRoberts tentatively represented (1961) as having been church property, datable to about 800 and buried for preservation, perhaps from Viking raids. He based his theory of the ecclesiastical character of the objects on suggestions about liturgical uses which one or other of them might have served; but the most recent work on the subject (Small *et al* 1973) regards them as secular and not all of the same date, possibly the collection of a family made over three or four generations and buried in a churchyard as being a place of sanctuary.

In conclusion, it is hard to avoid a critical note on A Fairbairn's description (1937) of a supposedly ecclesiastical site on an island in Loch Doon, Ayrshire. The excavators' methods were evidently crude, and no positive conclusions emerged.

### *Sepulchral monuments*

If papers of the inventory type are considered first, pride of place must go to the work of Sir George Macdonald. In the 1930s, when the Ancient Monuments Commission, of which he was Chairman, was engaged on the survey of Shetland, he decided that certain stones in the islands' graveyards deserved fuller treatment than a general inventory, of all types of monuments, could properly give them, and accordingly undertook their study himself. In the upshot he wrote two papers, the first (1933) on a group of three stones at Quendale, and the second (1935) on five others, divided between Lundawick, Culbinsburgh (Cullingsburgh) and Raefirth. At Quendale he was concerned to correct erroneous readings of the epitaphs which had got into print in the past – and this perhaps not unnaturally, in a case such as that of Malcolm Sinclair of Quendale (1618), whose epitaph had been cut upside down and reading from right to left. The arms and their flanking initials were likewise reversed, as if the mason had worked from a drawing laid on the stone face downwards. Corrections were explained at length and the proper readings set out. In the second paper the chief interest attached to two slabs at Lundawick, in Unst. These were

inscribed in Low German, and commemorated two burgesses of Bremen who traded in Shetland, and died there in 1573 and 1585 respectively. The epitaphs were clearly illustrated, and a longish account followed of Hanse trading in Shetland. The stone at Culbinsburgh carried an epitaph in Dutch, recording the death of the captain of a Dutch East Indiaman who died in 1636, while his ship was in Bressay Sound on her way home from the East. The last two stones, at Raefirth in Yell, elicited lengthy discussion of epigraphic and historical points.

From Shetland Macdonald moved to a fresh field in St Andrews, producing (1936) an inventory of the post-Reformation tombstones, earlier than 1707, in the Cathedral Museum and graveyard and on the walls of the Abbey and of St Rule's church. This work he again undertook on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Commission, to amplify the account of these stones given in its *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*. The paper stands as a classical example of its kind. The background of the subject was sketched in an introductory section, and this was followed by an inventory of over eighty subjects, with very full details of dimensions, style and ornament. Inscriptions were reproduced in full, with translations of Latin epitaphs and occasional comments on their latinity; cursive and uncial lettering were distinguished by different founts, the heavy black fount used for the latter having been specially made; and notes were supplied on heraldry, on craft and other emblems, and on some of the persons commemorated. Some useful illustrations were included.

Copied from this masterpiece was the present writer's survey (1961) of the graveyard monuments of East Lothian. The object of this was to apply modern standards to material rather summarily dealt with in the Commission's *Inventory* of that county, much of the field-work for which had been done as long ago as 1913. An introductory section discussed the types of monument and their principal features – epitaphs, names, heraldry, and local fashions in design. Descriptions of the stones followed, arranged by parishes; and at the end a tabular appendix on trade insignia, and six plates of photographs. Two further graveyard inventories were produced by J di Folco, dealing respectively with the *Laich of Moray* (1967) and parts of *Fife* (1970). The same method of presentation was used in both cases, with introductory discussion and a descriptive list of the stones, covering epitaphs, decoration, heraldry, emblems and so on. The author noted that the Moray stones showed 'nothing of the quaint but vigorous attempts at figure portrayal' seen further south; and that the post-Reformation carvers, while drawing inspiration from their immediate predecessors, showed a significant transition from religious to secular symbolism. The line-drawings are clear and attractive.

Among sepulchral monuments in general, effigies have naturally attracted a good deal of attention, and the first paper to touch on them was one by A D Lacaille (1934). It was rather confusingly arranged, but its main subject was an effigy, now preserved in Luss Church, Dunbartonshire, which was found in the 18th century buried, as if for concealment, in a cairn at Bandry, near Luss. The figure wears the robes and mitre of a bishop, appropriate in style to the early 14th century; the author suggested that it was a conventionalised representation of St Kessog, traditionally martyred at Bandry, and added a short review of the saint's legend. Buried in the cairn with the effigy were two fonts and a holy-water stoup.

An important assemblage of effigies, in Falkirk Church and its graveyard, was discussed by R L Hunter (1936). One of the two pairs of effigies, knights and ladies, in the church porch, though badly wasted, showed features which gave them a date in the third quarter of the 15th century; and it therefore seemed reasonable to connect them with the powerful Livingstone family. The author suggested that, on this assumption, the male figure was likely to be that of Sir Alexander Livingstone (ob 1451) or of his son, Lord Livingstone of Callendar (ob 1467). The other pair seemed about a century later in date, and the male figure, if again a Livingstone, was probably

William, the 6th Lord (ob 1502). Two further effigies, in the Murehead family monument in the graveyard, presented a puzzling problem, as their style was significantly Gothic although the monument itself was dated 1723. Hunter also mentioned briefly the reputed tomb of Sir John Graham of Dundaff, killed at the battle of Falkirk in 1298; but this monument has been much interfered with by successive reconstructions and his account has been partly overtaken by later investigations (RCAM, 1963, 152).

Another useful paper deals with the effigy of Alexander Stewart, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, who died about 1405. This monument is in Dunkeld Cathedral, and had already been described in the *Proceedings* in 1905, but A V Norman considered it ripe for reassessment in the light of subsequent advances in knowledge; and he accordingly produced (1959) a fresh account, meticulously detailed and supported by comparative evidence. Its value is greatly enhanced by diagrammatic drawings of the armour, some details of which were further illustrated by photographs. As a result of his study, the author dated the effigy to between 1410 and 1430.

In a greatly reduced condition was the effigy described by W N Robertson (1969), as it had been cut down to make a window-lintel in a house in St Andrews. Notwithstanding this damage, enough of the detail survived to show that the figure had been that of a prelate of the early 15th century, and his identification with Bishop Henry Wardlaw, appointed to St Andrews in 1403, was made almost certain by the survival, as part of the decoration, of a shield charged with a fess. Wardlaw's arms were quoted as 'Azure, on a fess between three mascles Or, as many cross-crosslets fitchee Gules', and it was assumed that the full emblazonment would have been completed in paint. Notes were also given about some fragments of carved stonework, found elsewhere in St Andrews which were thought to have been associated with his tomb as it stood in the cathedral.

The last effigy was that of Bishop Gavin Dunbar, which was glanced at briefly by W D Simpson (1946) in a paper primarily concerned with another tomb-monument which itself contained no effigy. This was the monument of William Forbes of Tolquhon, dated 1489, in the Tolquhon Aisle at Tarves Church, Aberdeenshire, the relevance of which to Bishop Dunbar's tomb lay in their mutual stylistic resemblance, which the author held to indicate common workmanship. He laid stress on the fact that while the Tolquhon monument remained Gothic in its main conception, it displayed much Renaissance influence in points of detail, and alluded to 'the new quasi-Classical idiom which, during the reign of James VI, was beginning to make itself felt'. He described the decoration and heraldry, and showed reason for suggesting that the master-mason was a certain Thomas Leper.

Another set of pre-Reformation memorials was discussed by F A Greenhill, in three papers (1944, 1946, 1948) on Scottish incised slabs. Introducing the first of these, he observed that incised slabs formed the largest body of medieval tomb-monuments in Scotland, and that, while the W Highland group had received considerable notice, what he called the Lowland slabs, which followed the contemporary styles of western Europe, had attracted much less attention; and accordingly his purpose was to describe some members of both groups which had not previously been mentioned in the *Proceedings*. The resulting papers are sufficiently alike in character to permit of their being considered as a single series.

Five of the slabs were considered in particularly full detail – in 1944, Abbot John Schanwel of Coupar Angus (ob 1506) and Canon Alexander Douglas of Dunkeld (ob 1548); in 1946; Gilbert Grenlau of Kinkell (ob 1411) and John Forbes of Ardmurdo (ob 1592); and in 1948 Sir William Olifaunt of Aberdalgie (ob 1330), the last at considerable length. The remaining accounts were shorter, but most of them, like all the five just mentioned, were well illustrated by line-blocks drawn from the author's rubbings. The series as a whole is thus a mine of information about

armour and clerical vestments. The two carvings at Kinkell (Grenlau and Forbes) throw light on what seems to have been a rather discreditable performance – they appear respectively on the front and back faces of the same slab, the inference being that Grenlau's stone was appropriated by the Forbes family, 181 years after its proper owner's death, and was then recut on the back to serve for the laird of Ardmurdo. Another strange story was associated with a bishop's slab, fragments of which were found in the Cross Kirk at Peebles; the author, now associated with J S Richardson, showing reason for believing that bones from a Bronze Age cist had come to be accepted as relics of an otherwise unidentified St Nicholas. A plan was included of the excavated ruins of the church, which indicated a feretory and a grave-cavity below it.

Among minor subjects, W J Watson discussed (1932) the epitaph, in Latin and Gaelic, on a cross from Kilchoman, Islay, and the identity of the person named. R L Hunter, in the same paper in which he described the effigies at Falkirk (*supra*), added notes on some further carved stones in the parish church. One of these, a damaged cross-head, had been dated to about 1200; the others, both heraldic slabs, were attributed respectively to Alexander, 5th Lord Livingstone, with his two wives, and, tentatively, to an unidentified member of the Innes family. Four other inscribed slabs, of late 16th- and early 17th-century dates, all in Tarves graveyard, were noted by W D Simpson in his paper mentioned above.

So far this section has been concerned with records rather than with opinions, but opinions are expressed in the last paper to be mentioned. In this the present writer noted (1958) the comparatively late emergence of the headstone, which he dated to the 1620s, and attempted to place it in its proper historical setting. After discussing other common methods of marking graves, he suggested reasons for deriving the headstone from the central inscribed panel of a Renaissance mural monument, a process perhaps assisted by the contemporary publishers' practice of laying out title-pages as monumental designs.

#### *Castles and later houses*

Medieval castles and towers, and later houses not primarily designed for defence, bulk large in the present review, and this is due mainly to the devotion of a single Fellow, W Douglas Simpson. Simpson's first paper, on the Doune of Invernochty, Aberdeenshire, appeared as long ago as 1919, and was the first of a series which stretched over forty years and stands as one of the most significant pieces of research in the whole of the *Proceedings* record. In the years after 1931 he produced no fewer than 20 papers, some of them covering more than a single subject. Such a wealth of material can naturally not be reviewed in individual detail, but the papers conform sufficiently to a common type for the series to be considered as a whole.

With only four exceptions, the subjects lie in the NE counties of Scotland, from Angus to Moray, with the great majority in Aberdeenshire. In addition to more or less exhaustive architectural descriptions, with notes on comparable matter, they tended to discuss topography, local strategy, and relevant points of general and family history. They were illustrated with plans and sections, photographs and sometimes old sketches. Some of the papers brought out points of particular interest, and these deserve special mention. Edzell Castle, for example, or the original motte on its site, was noted (1931) as being well placed to control a natural route across the Mounth; full justice was also done to the castle's Pleasance, with its allegorical sculptures of planetary deities, liberal arts and cardinal virtues. The account of Huntly Castle (1933) amplified and corrected some points in a former paper, describing the palace, tower-house, gate and subsidiary buildings, all with plans and illustrations. At the Doune of Invernochty, to which a return was made in 1936, attention was drawn to the exceptional size of the motte, which was presumably

of natural origin and was comparable only with the Mote of Urr and Duffus Castle mound; the stone building on its summit was also an unusual feature. Rait Castle figured in two papers (1937, 1959), the second accepting a date early rather than late in the 14th century for the emergence of the hall-house plan. Doune Castle Simpson noted (1938) as a building designed to segregate the lord, for security reasons, from the garrison, no longer, in the late 14th century, his trusty retainers but potentially mutinous mercenaries. Fyvie Castle he classed (1939) with Castle Fraser, Craigievar, Crathes and Midmar as an outstanding example of its type; and Drochil he cited (1952) as the only example in Scotland of the French plan *tout une masse*, which was coming into fashion at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Other castles and sites with which he dealt at greater or lesser length were Lesmoir (1932), Invermark (1934), Rothiemay, Dunnideer and Wardhouse (all 1935), Tolquhon (1938), Red Castle (1941), Terpersie and Towie (1942), Esselmont (1944), Hatton House (1945), Cairnbulg (1949), Pitsligo (1954-6), Finavon (1956), Duffus and Morton (1959).

Of other papers on defensive buildings only five are based on architectural analysis. The first is a short account, with plans and photographs, of Clounie Crichton Castle, Aberdeenshire, by J Fenton Wyness (1939). In the next, M R Apted discussed (1954-6) the history and architecture of Claypotts Castle, Dundee, with plans, photographs and reproductions of old drawings. He stressed its interest as a particularly fine example of 16th-century work. In 1963 the same author reported on the survey and excavations carried out by the Ministry of Works at Kildrummy Castle, Aberdeenshire, between 1952 and 1962, reviewing structures and history in the light of the most recent information. Reconstruction and excavation further provided an opening for an architectural and historical account, by H G Slade (1967), of the origin and development of the tower and palace at Druminnor, Aberdeenshire; this included the reproduction of a large number of masons' marks. The most considerable paper of this group, however, by D J Turner and J G Dunbar (1970), dealt with the castle of Breachacha, Coll. This was the fruit of a survey of the buildings by the Ancient Monuments Commission and of four seasons' excavation, and embodied a highly detailed architectural description supported by plans and sections, discussion of comparative material and relevant local history, and specialist appendices on pottery, animal bones, building-stone, etc. An interesting paper by A M T Maxwell-Irving (1971), on the influence of firearms on architecture in the Borders, will be noted below.

Mention of specialist appendices on Breachacha Castle calls to mind the large volume of expert comment on pottery and other finds that occurs in this group of papers. An example is provided by a paper (1958) by G C Dunning, E W M Hodges and E M Jope on pottery and iron-work excavated in 1911-12 on the site of Kirkcudbright Castle. Particularly important is a series of three papers (1952, 1953, 1956) by S H Cruden on medieval pottery from Borthwick Castle, Melrose, Jedburgh, Inchcolm and several other Abbeys, and St Andrews Cathedral, which the author hoped might contribute to the formation of a comprehensive corpus. Each of these papers consisted of a descriptive catalogue, with discussion, drawn illustrations and half-tone plates; in all they dealt with 180 items. Cruden's lead was followed by L R Laing, with two papers (1967, 1969) on the results of excavation at Linlithgow and the contents of the Palace Museum; other types of material were included, but the main interest lay in the pottery and a series of tobacco-pipes. The same author, jointly with W N Robertson, later produced (1970) an illustrated note, with a distribution map, on Scarborough ware and face-mask jugs; and again (1971) a descriptive catalogue of 61 pieces of pottery in Dundee Museum. This last paper was accompanied by a useful list of references.

To return, after this digression, to the castles and towers themselves, one may mention the tower-house, now reduced to its foundations, at Lour, Peeblesshire, excavated by J G Dunbar and

G D Hay (1961). The traces visible on the surface, of rectangular buildings associated with earthworks of a prehistoric complexion, had long made this site a puzzle; but the excavators established that, while the earthworks were characteristic of the local early Iron Age, the rectangular foundations were those of a small tower, probably dating from the later 16th century, and of the buildings of a small associated township. The excavated sample of these buildings seemed to have been in use from the mid-17th until the late 18th century. Other excavations were reported but provided little of interest. On the site of Skirling Castle, Peeblesshire, J G Dunbar found (1963) only the ditch-and-bank defences, traces of an enclosing wall, and relics which dated the vanished building to the 16th and 17th centuries. At Black Jack Castle, Angus, J and E M Wilson (1966) obtained no positive evidence that a castle had ever existed.

A poor relation of the castle and tower is the pele-house found on both sides of the Border, and a paper by the present author (1946) discussed some examples of this type of structure in Northumberland. The enquiry was touched off by the fact that four peles had recently come to light in Roxburghshire, in the course of the Ancient Monuments Commission's Inventory survey of that county: and it seemed advisable to consider comparative material from Northumberland, where examples were considerably commoner. The paper gave notes on a number of these distinctive buildings – barn-like, with stabling below and habitable quarters above, and intended for passive defence – which could serve a farmer as a tower-house served the laird; the need for such defence was shown by a photograph of one of the doorways, heavily marked by the fire with which the raiders had burned out the occupants. A word was said about the verbal confusion attaching to the word 'pele', meaning by derivation a palisade, but commonly applied to the tower or house that the timber structure enclosed.

Some image of a vanished building can often be recaptured from old architectural drawings, and this method was adopted in two papers of the present group. In one of these, H F Kerr reviewed (1933) the architectural history of the Nether Bow Port, the fortified gateway of Edinburgh, reproducing 18th-century drawings of the east and west façades with his own reconstruction of the plan, and discussing the alterations and additions suggested by the rather scanty records. In the other, W M Mackenzie (1948) discussed the vanished castle of Cromarty, and its relationship with the ancient ferry across the Cromarty Firth, illustrating his paper with an interesting set of plans and elevations of the building as it stood in 1746.

In contrast to the foregoing papers, which were all concerned chiefly to record facts, Mackenzie produced (1934) a theoretical essay which attracted some comment at the time. Basing himself on a saga reference to Norseman hewing at the wall of a *borg* with axes, because the stone was soft, he built up a case for castle-construction in clay, as representing a phase transitional between timber palisading and stone-and-lime masonry. The theory does not now carry conviction, but H Fairhurst and J G Scott, the excavators of an earthwork at Camphill, Glasgow (1951), dated by pottery to 'not later than the 14th century', tentatively referred it, in the absence either of a motte or of a timber pele, to Mackenzie's hypothetical category.

While the bulk of the papers in this group referred to castles and towers, interesting accounts were given of some domestic buildings as well, notably of two fine houses in Aberdeen by E Meldrum. Of Provost Skene's house he traced the development (1959) from its origin in the middle of the 16th century through various phases of addition and alteration to its final restoration in the 1950s, illustrating its architectural history with plans, sections and elevations, and photographs of internal features. The descriptions and representations of the paintings in the Lumsden wing being particularly notable. His other subject (1962), Wallace's or Benholm's Tower, though sited only just outside the Netherkirkgate Port<sup>12</sup> and serving as a town 'ludging', was built to the Z plan, in the manner of defensive tower-house, no doubt a wise precaution in the early 17th



century. These two papers are substantially similar in composition and illustration. The domestic architecture of Kincardine-on-Forth was tackled by A I R Drummond (1966), in a descriptive inventory of material earlier than 1810. This paper noted points of interest street by street, was illustrated by photographs most of which were supplied by the National Monuments Record, and forms a useful guide to what may be seen in the town.

An important advance in the study of vernacular architecture was marked by a paper on cruck-framed buildings in Perthshire (1957) by J G Dunbar. Recognition of the fact that crucks were fairly common in this region led to their discovery over wide areas elsewhere.

Paintings were mentioned above as occurring in Provost Skene's house, and three further papers were concerned with painted walls and ceilings. The first of these, by J S Richardson (1941), described the 16th- and 17th-century decorations in Kinneil House, West Lothian. A tragedy was narrowly averted here, as the house was under demolition and some of the paintings had already been destroyed when Richardson was able to intervene and save the remainder, which form the subject of this paper. Six of the surviving paintings depicted episodes from the parable of the Good Samaritan, and others a variety of religious subjects including St Jerome in the wilderness, Samson and Delilah, and the sacrifice of Isaac. All these were dated to between 1553 and 1565, but in the 1620s this scheme was partially superseded and overpainted; the work of both periods is, however, represented in the restoration effected by the Ministry of Works. Richardson described the paintings in great detail, and with full appreciation of the technical points involved; they are illustrated by thirteen full-page plates. A rather similar subject, probably of much the same date, was dealt with in a short paper (1942) by G P H Watson and the present writer. This was mural decoration at Traquair House, Peeblesshire, which comprised an assemblage of vines containing an eagle and three other birds, a collared hound, a squirrel and a Bactrian camel, all bordered with texts from the Geneva version of the Bible. Comparative matter was discussed and two photographs were shown, but these latter have now been overtaken by the Ancient Monuments Commission's recent illustrations (RCAM 1967, Pls 102-4), which include partial restoration of damaged portions of the work. The last of these papers, by M R Apted (1958), referred to the painted ceilings found in the restoration of Mary Somerville's house at Burntisland, Fife. These were dated to the first thirty years of the 17th century. When the surviving boards were taken down and assembled for study, it was seen that the ceilings had belonged to two rooms, originally separated by a partition; one of the ceilings depicted an astral scene, with signs of the zodiac, planetary deities, and *amorini* encircling the sun, while the other was painted to imitate wooden coffering, and exhibited a geometrical pattern of crosses, octagons and hexagons, with Christian subjects, portraits of sybils, and texts. The distribution of the subjects was shown on plans of the ceilings, and a number were reproduced in large-scale drawings; photographs were also given of the boards and of the house itself. The author pointed out that this discovery, in a merchant's house, proved that the taste for decorated ceilings was not, at that time, confined to aristocratic circles.

### *History*

The appearance of historical papers in this Society's *Proceedings* may seem, on the face of it, anomalous, but it is a fact that the first of the Society's Laws, though defining our 'purpose' as the promotion of archaeology, yet accords a special status to the history as well as to the antiquities of Scotland. Historical writing is thus rooted in the Society's traditions, and it is also to be remembered that, in early days, specialist historical journals had not yet come into existence, and our volumes were consequently an obvious vehicle for historians. Our earlier publications, in fact,

contain substantial pieces of historical work by such men as S Hibbert and D Laing. Nor is it impossible that in quite recent times occasional historical lectures should have been introduced into our programmes to suit the taste of a certain section of the Fellowship. Historical papers at any rate exist in considerable numbers, and have to be considered.

These papers fall into two main classes, those which are anchored to some archaeological subject and those which deal with pure history or records. Examples of the former are one by J M Bullough (1931) on the reconstruction in 1746 of the castles of Braemar and Corgarff, or A D McKerral's chronological inventory (1952) of references to Saddell castle and abbey dating between 1160 and 1600. H G Slade's description (1971) of the house of Fetternear likewise leaned heavily on records, though it touched on the structure as well and included a plan. Of more limited interest is C B Boog Watson's discussion (1940) of the Black Turnpike, in Edinburgh, as the author was only concerned to determine which of two houses so named was used for the detention of Mary, Queen of Scots, after the battle of Carberry. Another paper of rather similar character was H F Kerr's interpretation (1932) of the well-known drawing of Kirk of Field, which purports to illustrate Darnley's murder; its historical significance seems slight, as it made no real contribution to an explanation of the crime.

Unlike the foregoing papers, each of which possessed some connection with an individual building, one by A M T Maxwell-Irving (1971) found its material in the general field of castles and houses in the Borders, discussing the influence of firearms on military and domestic architecture. The author began by describing the use and development of the weapons against which defence was required, and then proceeded with a carefully detailed account of the consequent architectural provisions, illustrating his points with plans, good photographs and a set of diagrams of shot-holes.<sup>13</sup> The present writer likewise undertook (1951) a similarly wide-ranging review, in this case covering a series of surviving Dark Age monuments. It comprised a discussion of passages in the Dark Age texts which seemed to have escaped alteration by later medieval editors, and attempted to identify structural and other details which would serve to illustrate known remains of the period. The monuments chiefly concerned were forts, duns, towers and fortified places in general, however described, together with houses, churches, monasteries, towns, villages and farms.

Two further papers should probably be placed in this group, though their association was with battles rather than with structural monuments. In discussing the battle of Bannockburn (1957), General Sir Philip Christison showed reason for placing the English bivouac and the scene of the final *débâcle* in the fork formed by the junction of the Bannock and the Pelstream Burns, supporting his argument with a useful series of plans which illustrated seven successive phases of the battle. Another military record of outstanding interest is the Petworth plan illustrating the siege of Leith in 1560. F W Steer reproduced the plan (1962) at about one-fifth scale, together with a transparent key, and in a short paper described the character of the work and listed the features shown. Quite apart from its military interest, the plan throws valuable light on the port, town and environs as they then existed.

Purely historical papers, unconnected with an archaeological subject, lack any common theme and may be considered in order of date. The first is a readable narrative, by the Rev J Beveridge (1944), of a disastrous attempt, made in 1612 by a force of Scottish mercenaries, to make their way across Norway from a convenient North Sea port to take service with the King of Sweden. The author, besides describing the course of events, was able to add folk-memories of the affair which he had found surviving in the district.

A more strictly professional approach was shown by Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, in an essay (1945) on the order of baronage in Scotland, which he represented as a form of feudalism

developed within the family from a tribal organisation of society. He based his case on a wealth of legal and constitutional detail, building up his general view, which appeared very strongly in a subsequent paper (*infra*), of the fundamental importance of the family in Scotland. He then went on to discuss the ceremonial robes appropriate to the various ranks of society. This paper was followed by one by Professor M D Legge (1946) on the inauguration of Alexander III, in which notice of discrepancy in the accounts of the ceremony, and of the oath administered to the king, as given by Fordoun and Bower, led on to a more general discussion of coronation oaths and knighthood. Another medieval paper, by Professor G W S Barrow (1953), on the 12th-century Earls of Fife, raised questions regarding the introduction into Scotland of Anglo-Norman institutions. The author reproduced and discussed three documents – grants to the Earls of Fife dateable respectively to 1160–2, 1194–8 and 1204–7 – which he believed to supply evidence, the discussion including an assessment of the documents' authenticity. The next paper likewise dealt with the early Middle Ages, Professor G Donaldson discussing (1953) the Scottish bishops' sees as they existed before the reign of David I. As against the theory that a large number of sees were instituted by David I, he produced detailed argument for the existence of a much earlier system, and suggested that this, though no doubt decayed and dislocated by political contingencies, might still have exerted an influence on the king's restorative measures.

A relatively unfamiliar subject was opened up by Professor R S Loomis in his paper (1956) on the Arthurian legend in Scotland. He examined the probability of Arthur's having been active in northern Britain, citing a body of detailed evidence which cannot well be summarised. He laid stress on the part played by the professional singers and reciters of the 12th century in spreading the Arthurian legend all over Europe, and also drew attention to the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*. Among the welter of uncertainties, however, he expressed conviction that the legendary Tristan, romance apart, had been a real historical personage – Drostan, King of the Picts.

A paper which must have corrected many misconceptions was one by Professor D Hay (1956), on the use of the term 'Great Britain'. Notwithstanding the common belief that the expression was bred of the Union of 1707, he showed not only that James VI and I included it in the style that he assumed by proclamation in 1604, but that the king's claim of high antiquity for it was in fact substantially correct. After pointing out that the names Greater and Smaller Britain were used to distinguish insular Britain and Brittany as early, perhaps, as the 10th or 11th century, he went on to quote a large body of medieval evidence which supported the king's opinion. He ended by laying importance, for subsequent history, firstly of the adoption by the Romans of a single name, Britannia, for the whole island, and secondly of King James' attempt, by his proclamation of 1604, to impose a corresponding unity on his double inheritance.

Two further papers appeared, in the volume for 1957, the first being the work of Professor A A M Duncan and the second a joint undertaking by himself and A L Brown. The former, entitled 'Documents relating to the Priory of the Isle of May: 1140–1313', assembled from a variety of sources to complement Stuart's *Records of the Priory of the Isle of May* (1868) and to serve as an introduction to the collection contained in that volume. The latter reviewed the narrative sources, Latin and Icelandic, for the history of the western Scottish seaboard in the earlier Middle Ages, together with documentary evidence; the discussion took as its theme the lordship exercised by Somerled and his descendants, illustrated by genealogical details and a family tree. The authors assembled a great store of facts, which are, however, of their nature unsuitable for summary assessment. Early Norse contacts had likewise been the subject of a paper, by A B Taylor (1937), on a certain Karl Hundason, mentioned in the *Orkneyinga Saga* as a King of Scots. Examination of the saga evidence for Karl's career led the author to

suggest that he might have been a mormaer of Ross or Sutherland, who annexed Argyll in 1029 and later set up a puppet Earl of Caithness – the whole episode emphasising the strength of local potentates in the north and the severity of the contemporary struggle between Norseman and Gael.

The last two papers of this group were concerned not with historical facts but with the writing of history itself. In one of them W D Simpson celebrated (1963) the centenary of Sir Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*,<sup>14</sup> which he described as 'the first great scientific study of the whole field of Scottish archaeology, from the earliest traces of human occupation in our land down to the close of the Middle Ages'. The paper included an account of Wilson's life, with notes of his achievements and writings. In the other paper the present writer attempted (1970) to review the whole body of the Society's publications, from its foundation in 1780 until 1930, and to examine what light these records threw on the development of antiquarian thought in Scotland. While many of the earlier papers are known only from lists of titles, with the result that their contents and tenor could only be guessed, the fact that the *Proceedings* have run without interruption since 1851 made it possible to analyse the ensuing eighty years' work in detail, decade by decade. The paper was long, and such conclusions as were reached do not lend themselves to recapitulation.

### *Heraldry*

An authority on medieval history once opined to the present writer that heraldry was already bogus before it had become a system, but however this may be, their technical aspects justify the separation of armorial papers from those dealing with general historical subjects. A leading contributor has been Sir Thomas Innes of Learney and Kinnairdy,<sup>15</sup> whose earliest paper (1931) dealt with the heraldic carving on the tombstone, in Elgin Cathedral, of the parents of Robert Innes of that Ilk (1613). This was followed (1935) by one on heraldic decoration in stonework of the 16th and early 17th centuries at Huntly and Balvenie castles. In both he discussed the heraldic features with genealogical detail, and for Huntly provided some photographs of rather poor quality. He pointed out how, as at Balvenie, heraldic decoration could preserve the history of a structure, and identify successive builders of its several parts.

In his next contribution (1943), a much more considerable work, he described and discussed a processional roll of the early 17th century. This roll had been attributed to the funeral of the first Marquess of Huntly, but Innes pointed out that the armorial details shown were deliberately indefinite, and argued, after comparison with another similar roll in the National Museum of Antiquities, that while the former might well have been used in marshalling the first Marquess' obsequies, the latter was probably made for reference, and correction where necessary, on other similar occasions. He then went into the heraldic and genealogical aspects of the rolls, laying stress on the evidence that they bore to 'a ceremony embodying the ritual of a great reunion of "the Family"', in the sense of a continuing social incorporation' at the time of the transfer of its representation from the dead man to his successor. The illustrations are plentiful and of good quality.

In his final paper (1947) Innes dealt with a birthbrief granted in 1669 by the city of Aberdeen to one Walter Innes, who was in the service of the Queen Dowager, Henrietta Maria, supplying technical comment complementary to a general description and translation of the document already in print. He further indicated differences between municipal birthbriefs and those obtained from the Lord Lyon, and itemised the blazons of the eight families with which the

recipient was connected. A photograph shows the general lay-out of the document, and the arrangement of the eight family coats.

Another contributor of a valuable armorial paper was J S Clouston, who wrote (1938) on the Scottish section of the *Arms de Berry*. He pointed out that Scotland was poor in armorial records of earlier date than the 1540s, and that the most important foreign source of early Scottish data was the *Arms de Berry*, prepared about 1445. This work he described and discussed at considerable length, with detailed historical comment, appending coloured facsimiles of 116 Scottish coats, with explanatory guides to the plates. A paper by the Rev T D S Bayley and F W Steer (1954–6) on the Carre heraldic panel evidently formed a stage in a learned controversy regarding the character, funerary or other, of the panel in question; this is described in its own inscription as ‘the achievement of John Carre of Cavers & his lady Margaret Wauchop’,<sup>16</sup> and carries the date 1709. The 16 shields appearing in the margin were blazoned individually, and discussion followed of the Carre and Wauchop pedigrees, the authors remaining confirmed in their original opinion that the panel was funerary. Innes, before his appointment as Lord Lyon, had taken a different view, but the authors quoted him as having classed the panel as ‘of exceptional historic and artistic as well as of technical heraldic interest’, and as having said that it formed ‘a link between Scottish heraldic execution and that so widely practised on the Continent’. The face and back of the panel are shown in a small-scale plate.

The paper by C Carter on the *Arma Christi* (1957) dealt with matters of religion rather than of heraldry, as the charges on the shields were taken from a repertory which included the Five Wounds and the traditional Emblems of the Passion. The author explained the nature of the cult as practised in the Middle Ages, and gave a descriptive inventory of the examples of the *Arma Christi* in Scotland. He concluded that three quarters of them dated from the first half of the 16th century and half from its second quarter, while a very few post-dated the Reformation. Influence from the Netherlands and N Germany, where the cult was popular, was suggested by the fact that the majority occurred on or near the E coast. The paper is illustrated with nineteen excellent photographs.

The remaining paper (1962) dealt with two 17th-century hangings embroidered with the Royal Arms, one derived from the family of Hay of Hayhope and the other from Edinburgh Town Council. The authors, A S Henshall and S Maxwell, while describing the hangings and discussing their probable history, were mainly concerned with the needlework, to which they devoted great care. Excellent photographs were supplied, both general and detailed.

It will be worthwhile to mention here that the paper on the Bannatyne mazer that is discussed below contains a very significant armorial component.

### *Coins and tokens*

The first paper concerned with post-Roman coins, by C H Dakers (1936), dealt with interchanges of dies between Scottish mints. The author noted and discussed a number of such interchanges which had occurred between the reigns of Alexander III and James IV, claiming to have brought the available evidence together rather than to have contributed any fresh material. This is a specialised paper intended for experts, and the same is true of some descriptions of coins which followed – by H J Dakers (1937) and again by C H Dakers (1938) – while two others, of equally specialist character, by C H Dakers and E R Paton (both 1937), were merely short notes of the kind that is not being covered by the present review. R Kerr’s report (1939) on two hoards, respectively from sites near Bridge of Don and Dunblane, while still technically precise provided some glimpse of an archaeological background; and the fact that three of the coins from Dunblane were

forgeries – two English and one Irish, of the period of the first two Edwards – lent them some general interest.

For the next ten years no papers on coins appeared, but instead an important series on Communion tokens, the work of R Kerr either alone or in conjunction with J R Lockie or the Rev J A Lamb. The theme of the series was set at the beginning of the first paper – to bring up to date the standard work on the subject published over thirty years earlier. Six papers were ultimately produced, incorporating descriptive lists of nearly three thousand tokens, with varying amounts of comment and admirably drawn illustrations. They referred respectively to ‘Unpublished tokens of the Church of Scotland’ (1941); ‘Communion tokens of the Church of Scotland: 19th and 20th centuries’ (1943); ‘Communion tokens of the Free Church of Scotland’ (1945); ‘Scottish Episcopal Communion tokens’ (1947); ‘Unpublished Communion tokens of various Scottish churches’ (1950); ‘Further unpublished Scottish Communion tokens’ (1953). Along with these papers may be mentioned another, again by Kerr and Lockie (1962), on Scottish beggars’ badges; this subject they treated in much the same way as the tokens, with discussion and an alphabetical list. They noted that in some parishes, probably poor ones, Communion tokens seemed to have been used as badges, perforated for attachment to the beggars’ clothing.

Coins and hoards reappear with a discussion by R B K Stevenson (1950) of the copper pennies and farthings found in 1919 in a drain at Crossraguel Abbey. Sir George Macdonald had ascribed them at the time to a mint working in the abbey; but Stevenson was able, on heraldic evidence, to associate the pennies with St Salvator’s College, St Andrews, and to deduce that they came from a mint operated there by the Founder, Bishop Kennedy. For the origin of the farthings no evidence could be obtained. The next paper in this group, by Kerr and Stevenson (1956), dealt with four hoards which had lately come to light. At Balligmore, Ayrshire, a ‘pirlie pig’ (pottery bank) was ploughed up which contained 578 placks and pennies of James III, IV and V, the special value of the hoard lying in the material that it provided for the study of the pennies of James IV. At Braeside, Greenock, about 60 Scottish coins were dug up in a cow’s horn; most of them had been struck between 1543 and 1559, and details were given in a table. Near Ardmaddy, Argyll, 46 coins were found in a rock crevice; the English ones had been struck under Elizabeth I and James I, the Irish under James I, the Scottish under James VI, and the Spanish under Ferdinand and Isabella. At Pow, near Stromness, a hoard of small copper pieces was found inside the chimney of an old house; it consisted largely of turners (2d Scots) of Charles I, and a detailed description and discussion of turners was given.

A longish paper on what may seem a smallish point was presented by R H M Dolley (1962), with the object of correcting the entry in the *Inventory of British Coin-hoards* that related to the hoard of several hundred coins found, in 1822, near Strathdon, Aberdeenshire. The author found fault with the entry’s terms, stating his reasons at length, and suggested a fresh version of it agreeable to his reading of the evidence. This was followed by a paper on ceremonial coins (1966) by I H Stewart, who pointed out that, before the appearance in the 16th century of medals, very few Scottish coins were struck for other than monetary purposes, and his present purpose was to discuss four coins which fell into the ceremonial class. The pieces in question were the Amiens medallion of James III, the Maundy groat of 1512, the *piedfort* angel of (?) 1513, and a touch-piece of 1633; and the discussion of these raised a number of subsidiary issues. The paper was illustrated with an excellent half-tone plate.

The final paper to be mentioned dealt not with coins but with seals, J D Gilruth reporting (1938) on two brass seal-matrices from Arbroath Abbey. After carefully reviewing a body of record evidence, he concluded that both seals were of the early 13th century, were probably made by the

same person, and were probably used respectively by a prior of the name of de Lambeley and by another prior whose own initial was W and whose father's name was Matheus.

*Mazers, silverware, etc*

The papers of this group are comparatively few in number but some are of outstanding interest. In the first, for example, J H Stevenson, with expert associates, dealt (1931) with the so-called Bannatyne Mazer, discussing in detail every feature of this remarkable object – the maple-wood bowl itself, the inscribed silver band encircling its edge, the foot and the external straps connecting the foot with the band, the ornamental boss or print that forms the bottom of the bowl, and an elaborately decorated cover cut from a sperm whale's jaw. Very full consideration was also given to the six shields that appear, enamelled in their tinctures, round about a lion couchant set at the centre of the boss; and lengthy argument, based on armorial points, was directed to dating the mazer to the early 14th century. The inscription on the band, however, had been added in the 1520s. The photographic illustrations are ample and clear, and two coloured plates show respectively the boss, at full size, and the individual shields – Fitzgilbert, John Fitzgilbert, Crawford, Douglas, the High Steward and Menteith.

The next paper was again concerned with mazers, G E P How reviewing (1934) five Scottish examples of the so-called standing mazer, with a high foot – the St Mary's Mazer (c 1560), the Fergusson Mazer (1576), the Tulloch Mazer (c 1569), the Craigievar Mazer (1591), and the Galloway Mazer (1569). A sixth example, the St Leonards Mazer, for which a date of 1544 had once been suggested, was also considered, but the author regarded it not as a mazer at all but as a 17th-century communion cup. The descriptions covered the owners' families, the decoration and heraldry on the mazers, and notes on contemporary craftsmen. In a second paper (1935) the same author discussed a special type of spoon which he considered to be peculiar to Scotland. Somewhat similar spoons were known to have been made on the Continent, but no contemporary English spoons resembled them; and that this fact seemed to have been generally overlooked he attributed to a scarcity of early Scottish material. The paper took the form of a descriptive catalogue of various types of spoon, each adequately illustrated; besides the purely Scottish types, which seemed to range between about 1591 and the 1680s, there were included some spoons made in Scotland to non-Scottish patterns, the earliest examples being two from the late 13th or early 14th century.

Another paper, short but of considerable interest, concerned the golden ampulla used in the anointing of Charles I at his Scottish coronation. In this, R B K Stevenson related (1948) how the ampulla had been preserved for generations in the family of the Sutties of Balgone, and how its purchase for the National Museum had been made possible; continuing with a description of the vessel itself and a discussion of some peculiar points in its construction. It bore no maker's mark, but he attributed it to an Edinburgh or a Canongate goldsmith. Further communications calling for mention were one by A J H Edwards (1940) on a gold pendant, of 16th-century French workmanship, which was probably made for Mary, Queen of Scots; one by R B K Stevenson (1946) on a series of Jacobite finger-rings; and a short note by V F Denaro (1970) designed to clear up confusion between Maltese and Canongate silver-marks.

With the foregoing papers may be associated one by J S Bisset (1938) on what are called the Edinburgh Touchplates, presented to the Society in 1870 in an iron-bound chest. They consist of two plates of pewter, stamped with the touches of the Edinburgh pewterers and perhaps dating from as early as 1588. The author considered that they had served not only as an official record.

of the craftsmen's marks but also as samples of the standard of fineness that had to be maintained in the metal.

### *Textiles and clothing*

The papers on textiles and clothing were all based on material in the National Museum of Antiquities. In the first, G M Crowfoot described (1948) diamond twill cloth found in or before 1861 at Balmaclellan, Kirkcudbrightshire, in association with a hoard of bronze objects, and also herring-bone twill tartan cloth associated with a coin-hoard found near Falkirk in 1933. The former find could be dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, if not earlier, and the latter to about 240 or 250, this dating making it the earliest herring-bone recorded in Scotland as well as the earliest tartan. In both cases details were given of material, thread and weave, with technical diagrams and half-tone illustrations. In a second paper (1949) the same authoress gave similar treatment to fragments found in 1875 at Kildonan, Eigg, in a Viking grave dateable to the second half of the 9th century. The fragments included two in wool, one of them a twill and the other a textile with pile, both in fair condition, and also some smaller pieces, heavily rusted, some of which might have been wool and others linen. The dead man thus appeared to have been robed for burial in at least two garments, a cloak with a shaggy pile and a tunic of woollen twill, together probably with an undergarment of fine linen.

The next two papers may likewise be considered together, as they jointly form a review of the early textiles found in Scotland. Their authoress was A S Henshall, either alone (1952) or with G M Crowfoot and J Beckwith (1954-6). The earlier paper began with a discussion of yarns and vegetable fibres, of non-textile processes such as sprang and knitting, and of weaving, the last including tablet-weaving; and this introduction was followed by a descriptive catalogue of the items in the National Museum of Antiquities - prehistoric, Viking, medieval, post-medieval, and undated. The descriptions were precisely detailed, and good illustrations were supplied. The later paper dealt with non-Scottish medieval material, obtained from the tombs of Robert I (ob 1329) at Dunfermline, of a bishop buried at Fortrose in the early or mid-16th century, and of Bishop Gavin Dunbar (ob 1547) in Glasgow. These formed a group distinct from the homespuns described in the preceding paper, in that they were 'imports into Scotland, fine textiles of silk and gold, the cloths from the highly specialised workshops of southern Europe which had mastered the drawloom, the braids hardly less skilful but possibly of convent origin and uncertain provenance'. Technical descriptions followed, the section on the embroidery from Bishop Dunbar's tomb being contributed by Mrs Crowfoot. The whole was illustrated with diagrams and half-tone plates.

The two remaining papers again form a pair, as both concern clothing recovered from graves - at Gunnister, Shetland (1952) and at Huntsgarth, Orkney (1969) - and both are by A S Henshall, associated in the case of Gunnister with S Maxwell. At Gunnister the body, of which hardly any traces were left, had been buried in a shallow grave at some time, as indicated by coins, in the later 17th century; the clothing, which was all woollen, was well preserved, and consisted of a coat, a shirt, breeches, a woven band, a pair of gloves, two caps and knitted stockings. Other textile articles were a woollen purse, a piece of knitting, and a length of silk ribbon; a leather belt, which had a brass buckle, had partially perished. The garments were described in detail, with diagrams to show the construction of the left coat-cuff, and the main items were illustrated with three half-tone plates. The Huntsgarth clothing, found in 1968, seemed to have been a dress contrived from three disparate pieces of cloth for the burial of a small child. The pieces were a wool-check, a wool single-colour, and a wool-and-linen mixture; they were described in full



technical detail, and the cutting of the cloths and the construction of the dress were explained in a series of diagrams. A date in the 18th century was suggested by a man's knitted bonnet, which had also been placed in the grave. The find was well illustrated with half-tone plates.

### *Music*

The first of the papers on musical subjects is by H G Farmer (1931), who dealt with James Gillespie's collection, published in 1768, of 'the best and most favourite tunes for the violin', which also included 'an introduction and directions for playing the violin'. Farmer explained that the violin had attained considerable popularity in Scotland in the later 17th century, and that a good deal of music for the instrument was produced between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries. He cited Gillespie as giving twelve tunes for the beginner to treat as exercises, and these were followed by the main collection of 256 items, distinguished as airs and marches, Scots tunes, minuets, and hornpipes, jigs and reels. Some of the titles, such as 'Flowers of the Forest', the 'Reel of Tulloch' and 'Jennie dang the Weaver', are still familiar today. The directions for playing were based on the work of one Peter Prelleur, *The Art of playing the Violin*, which appeared in more than one edition between 1731 and about 1765; it was probably the last of these that Gillespie used. The paper ended with discussion of methods of fingering and tuning, with five examples of notation.

Two papers dealt with instruments preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, two bassoons and a bass recorder by L G Langwill (1933) and two sets of miniature bagpipes by G Askew (1937); the description in each case is largely technical. One of the bassoons was dated tentatively to about 1740, the other to the second half of the 18th century, and the recorder to about 1700. One of the sets of bagpipes was blown by bellows, and was made by John Naughtan of Aberdeen, who worked between 1824 and 1842. The chanter is not original. The mouth-blown set exemplifies a very rare type, one specimen of which the author quoted as dating from 1757. He suggested that miniature pipes failed to become popular because their reeds, being small, would have been quickly spoiled by moisture collecting in the bag. Both papers are illustrated with photographs.

Of greater general interest is the Rev J Beveridge's paper (1939) on two Scottish songs dating from the 13th century, which came to light in Norway in 1938. One was an epithalamium, sung at the marriage of Princess Margaret of Scotland to King Eric of Norway in 1281, and the other a hymn to St Magnus; both were in Latin, with their melodies recorded in the ancient notation. Beveridge considered that the music of the epithalamium resembled old French folk-songs, but he quoted the discoverer as stating that the melody did not appear in folk-tunes – presumably, in this context, Norwegian ones – or in any sequences which followed the gradual of the Roman mass. He gave reasons, partly based on internal evidence, for believing that the Magnus hymn was composed in a Minorite convent in Orkney in the 1270s; its music was of interest for the fact that it departed from the strict rules of part-singing that obtained at that time, as if it anticipated some later forms of harmonisation. Photographs of both documents were given, and also versions of the music in modern notation.

The final paper, by L G Langwill (1950), discussed what was called the stock-and-horn, a kind of pastoral pipe allied to the hornpipe or the Welsh *pibgorn*. It consisted of a tube of wood or bone, eg a deer's tibia, pierced with finger-holes on top and a thumb-hole below and fitted with a bell-shaped end; the reed might be contained in a mouthpiece, in the manner of the practice chanter, or held inside the player's mouth. An example in the National Museum of Antiquities the author described as possessing a double tube with paired holes, both covered by the same

finger, the object of which arrangement appeared to be the production of a beating tone from mistuned consonances. The instrument's vogue in Scotland seems to have been modest, confined to the S, and not outlasting the 18th century. The paper included a number of literary references, and was illustrated by a plate depicting museum specimens.

*The use and delineation of land*

The papers of this group were all concerned with the land in one aspect or another, but otherwise can make little claim to homogeneity. It will be convenient to consider them in an order corresponding with the approximate chronology of their subjects.

Agriculture in what was no doubt an early phase, lacking as this is in much positive evidence of date, was dealt with by the present writer (1957) in a study of the well-known assemblages of small cairns and mounds that occur in many upland regions. Posing the question of whether these 'cairnfields' were cemeteries or collections of stone-heaps formed in the clearance of land for cultivation, he described the remains to be seen at twelve selected sites, noting at nine of them features clearly suggestive of agricultural settlement, for example hut-circles, small plots marked out with stones, plots relatively clear of stones, and piles of stones on outcrops where cultivation was anyhow impossible. While these features supported the theory of land-clearance, others pointed to the use of some of the cairns for burial, and the probability remained that land-clearance and the disposal of corpses need not have been mutually exclusive. Evidence of agricultural clearance was also plain at Glenrath Hope, Peeblesshire, where R B K Stevenson (1941) found typical stone-heaps in small fields associated with an early settlement. Early cultivation was also glanced at briefly in a paper mentioned above on the Durness region of Sutherland, by R W K Reid, G David and A Aitken (1967), attention being drawn to the importance of certain areas of limestone soil.

Next come three papers on the relatively familiar subject of cultivation terraces, first brought to antiquarian notice by Alexander Gordon in 1726 and ventilated in the *Proceedings* as long ago as 1857. The group at Romanno, Peeblesshire, formed the theme of a prize essay by W W T Hannah (1931), in which he described their appearance and reviewed literary references; these had been concerned with such questions as how the terraces had been formed, the probability of their having been used in agriculture, and comparisons with similar remains elsewhere. He concluded that they were 'constructed in prehistoric times by the natives for the purposes of cultivation'. The enquiry was carried further by the present writer in a paper (1939) on the terraces then known to him in SE Scotland as a whole, amounting to 136 groups, with descriptions and discussion of physical characteristics and notes on distribution and on association with other remains. His principal conclusions were that, while some terraces had come into being as lynchets, others had been constructed purposely; that their region of origin appeared to be Northumbria; and that they might be dateable to the late Middle Ages or later but were probably out of use by the middle of the 17th century. Some particularly notable groups were illustrated with photographs. Finally, in an intensive examination of remains in the King's Park, Edinburgh, R B K Stevenson discussed (1947) the mutual relationships of terraces, rig-cultivations, huts, houses and enclosures; his observations were detailed, and raised a variety of points calling for individual study.

A notable body of information on bygone agricultural communities was contributed by H Fairhurst in a pair of long and detailed papers, which dealt with deserted settlements respectively at Rosal, in Strath Naver, Sutherland (1968) and at Lix, West Perthshire (1969). Rosal came to an end between 1814 and 1818, in the course of the Clearances, and it remained untouched

thereafter until the time of Fairhurst's study. The settlement had been enclosed by a ring-dyke, within which appeared quite clearly the outlines of over a dozen long dwelling-houses, with byres, outhouses, yards, corn-drying kilns, clearance cairns and rigs. The main constituents of one complex, as shown on a plan, were a combined house and byre about 85 ft long by 11 ft wide, with a room partitioned off at one end but otherwise no division between men and animals; a barn and an outhouse, both with rounded ends; and a stackyard of irregular shape. Structural remains and excavated finds were described, and good illustrations provided; some evidence was cited for the settlement's continuity from a date perhaps as early as the 13th century, while hut-circles, an earthhouse, and a cairn larger than ordinary clearance-heaps suggested the possibility of prehistoric occupation. Lix, unlike Rosal, did not meet a violent end, but became deserted by the middle of the 19th century through the ordinary processes of Highland depopulation. The author traced the history of the estate, with appropriate period-plans; described the structural remains, cluster by cluster, with their cottages, outbuildings, kilns, field-boundaries and shielings; and passed on to the results of excavation. A representative byre-dwelling, as planned, was about 50 ft long by 15 ft wide, the byre being at the upper end, draining into a central sump, and separated from the living-room only by a low clay mound. The author commented on the difficulty of tracing any settlement-plan older than the 18th century, notwithstanding the fact that the site was known to have been occupied since the Middle Ages.

Questions of another sort, but again connected with the former use of land, were opened up by five papers on linear earthworks. The first, a note on the Catrail by H E Kilbride-Jones (1937), has been overtaken by the Ancient Monuments Commission's accounts of that work (RCAM 1956, 479-83) and of the Picts Work Ditch (RCAM 1957, 126 f.); and the Commission's influence was also responsible for the succeeding three communications. That is to say, the Commissioners, having stated their views on the Catrail, felt that a parallel study was required of the so-called Deil's Dyke in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, to which their predecessors in office had done less than justice in their Inventories of the counties concerned. Fresh surveys were accordingly made, and disclosed the surprising result that the supposed country-wide earthwork did not exist at all. This discovery was held to be important enough to deserve immediate publication, so in default of other outlets it was arranged that the Commission's officers concerned, the present writer and R W Feachem, should present their results in two papers in the *Proceedings* (1949, 1954/56). The Deil's Dyke myth thus emerged as an object-lesson in neglect of observation in the field, in failure of the critical faculty, and in the vicious effects of a romantic approach to antiquity.

The Commission's account of the Catrail, which explained its lengths of ditch-and-bank earthwork and interconnecting burns as a boundary-mark for lands at the head of the Teviot valley, had a further effect in suggesting to the present writer that a similar theory might apply to Heriot's Dyke in Berwickshire; and he was able to show (1962) that the main portion of the Dyke did in fact span a space between two burns in the same way as did the several lengths of the Catrail - and this, moreover, in a way which would have given control of a desirable block of land to anyone occupying the adjoining part of the valley of the Blackadder Water.

A dyke of a different character and apparently defensive, was recorded by R B K Stevenson (1947) on Arthur's Seat. It was drawn across open ground between two points at which the lie of the ground made approach awkward or impossible.

The foregoing papers were concerned with physical features attesting to uses of the land, but the two that remain for mention lie wholly in the realm of specialist scholarship. Both were by A McKerral, one dealing (1944) with the ancient denominations of agricultural land and the other (1951) land and administrative divisions known in Celtic Scotland. In the first, taking as his starting-point the difficulties presented by such an expression as 'pennyland', he discussed at

length Celtic, Saxon and Norse land-denominations, Celtic names for the ploughgate and its subdivisions, and the merkland and variations in its value. In the second he studied, more briefly, the nature and origins of the Scottish land-units, notably the township or *baile*, the devach and the ounceland, drawing comparisons with Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man and Orkney.

### *Industry and communications*

This is not the place to explore the semantic question of what should or should not be called 'industry' in an archaeological context, and it may even be proper to pass over such a matter as the prehistoric smeltery at Wiltrow (*supra*) as the mere back-yard activity of a self-supporting barbarian. Bloomeries, however, seem to tread on the heels of regularly organised industry, and may therefore be taken as a starting-point for the present section. In fact only one paper was devoted to bloomeries, and in this W G Aitkin described (1970), with plans and sections, excavations at numerous sites, mainly on the Moor of Rannoch but also on Lochs Fyne, Lomond and Katrine. He indicated the arrangement of the hearths, touched on various points in the smelting process, and showed reason for dating the Rannoch sites to the late 15th century, though the one at Ardmarnock, on Loch Fyne, might have gone back to the beginning of the century before. He included a topographical list of sites visited, and added a note on the chemistry of the slags and ores.

The first truly industrial paper was one by K W White (1941), on some old coal-workings near Ormiston. These seem to have been put out of use by flooding, perhaps in the 1730s, but again became accessible when the water seeped away as a result of natural drainage. They thus revealed some interesting facts relating to the old lay-out and methods of extraction, as well as an example of a contemporary wooden shovel. Next, in a paper on windmills, T McLaren described (1945) an example at Dunbarney, Perthshire, with drawings to illustrate architectural and mechanical points, and adding notes on some other mills, with photographs. This paper was followed up, and its scope extended, by J L Donnachie and N K Stewart in a study (1966) of the whole subject of Scottish windmills; this paper discussed the types of the mills, their lay-out and machinery, their uses and their distribution, and ended with a descriptive catalogue of sites. Diagrams were supplied as necessary, and three half-tone plates. A humbler relative of the windmill was the small horizontal watermill, the last working example of which, at Dounby, Orkney, S H Cruden described (1947) with plan, sections and photographs. He pointed out its evolutionary connection with the ancient hand-operated quern.

A rather similar case of the sophistication of an ancient device is perhaps to be seen in the development of the so-called 'yair', the traditional fish-trap, for the use of the local communities. T D Bathgate recorded (1949) information about weir-type traps in the W of Scotland, in the Kyle of Sutherland, the Dornoch and Beaully Firths, and in lagoons formed by storm-beaches in Orkney and Shetland. He included a plan showing herring-traps in Loch Broom.

Hardly to be divorced from the subject of industry is that of communications, and a paper by R F Smith (1949) is relevant to both. In this he discussed an old route which appears to have led to Balmerino Abbey, Fife, from a quarry near Strathkinness, a distance of about eight miles, and suggested that it could have served not only for the transport of building-stone to the Abbey but also for ordinary access thence to St Andrews before the Eden was bridged – as it was at Guard Bridge in 1419 and at Dairsie between 1522 and 1539. He based his argument partly on record evidence and partly on visible traces, described in detail and illustrated.

With a single exception the remaining papers in this group were all by the present writer, whose work on Inventory surveys for the Ancient Monuments Commission had shown him that

roads might possess an archaeological interest; while harbours, connected as they were with sea-communications and such coastal industries as fishing, coal-mining and salt-making, were within the scope of industrial archaeology, then a fairly new discipline. The first paper on roads (1949) drew attention to a route which crossed the Lammermuir Hills from Long Yester, E Lothian, to Wiselaw Mill in Lauderdale, attempting to ventilate the subject of moorland roads by discussing an example which was at once easy of access and exhibited a number of features common to the class as a whole. This paper was followed (1960) by one on a network of six main routes which criss-crossed part of the Lammermuirs, some running from Haddington to Duns and the Whiteadder valley and others from Dunbar to Lauderdale. Besides describing the physical remains of the tracks, it noted some historical matters, and not least the records of an inland trade in fish which formerly used these routes. Three sketch-plans were included, and a plate of half-tone illustrations. This work in East Lothian and Berwickshire later led on to a study (1963) of the earlier antecedents of Highway A1 between Berwick-on-Tweed and Edinburgh, which reviewed records and old maps, described visible traces, and noted the influence of topography, especially in difficult places such as Coldingham Moor and the unbridged crossings of the Pease and Dunglass Burns. A descriptive catalogue was appended of all but the most recent bridges, and the text was illustrated with a set of small-scale sketch-maps and five half-tone plates.

A subject of a different character (1964) was the section of Highway A93 that represents the military road, built in 1748 and 1749, from the Spital of Glenshee to Braemar. The point of chief interest here lay in the approach to the Cairnwell Pass from the S, where a series of make-shifts, of 'Devil's Elbow' type, compared badly with what might have been achieved by a Roman army. Next came a paper (1968) on a pair of canals – the Aberdeenshire Navigation, which functioned for some forty years between Port Elphinstone, by Inverurie, and Aberdeen harbour but is now occupied for most of its length by the Aberdeen-Elgin railway, and an abortive project undertaken by an 18th-century laird in the valley of the River Ugie, near Peterhead. Sketch-maps and photographs were supplied, including some of milestones on the Aberdeenshire Navigation. Mention of these last leads on to that of a paper by W M Stephen (also 1968) on milestones in Fife, and what he called 'wayside markers' – cast-iron indicators set, in the St Andrews district, at the junctions of side-roads with turnpikes. He distinguished eight types of the former and four of the latter, illustrating his work with a map and three half-tone plates.

Sea-borne communications and some related industrial matters were dealt with in four papers, all having harbours as their subjects. The first (1962) was hardly more than an obituary notice of Morison's, or Acheson's, Haven, formerly an outlet for the coal-mines in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans but now swallowed up in the reclamation of the foreshore. A more important record was that of Cove Harbour, Berwickshire (1964), where striking remains survived of the work of improving lairds. In the middle of the 18th century Sir John Hall of Dunglass attempted to enclose a harbour with a long breakwater, which was ruined by a storm before completion but left impressive tusking in the face of a cliff; he also drove a tunnel through a bluff to give easy access to the site, and cut a gallery, with cells, deep into the rock for some purpose which remained obscure. Much light was thrown on these works by the Dunglass estate papers. Another attempt to build a harbour was made in the early years of the 19th century, with similar lack of success, but traces of the work remained in further tusking in the cliff. A natural sea-cave likewise showed signs of improvement for use by boats. The paper was illustrated with plans and five half-tone plates.

On the same stretch of coast as Cove lies the port of Dunbar, and this provided material for a further paper (1967). From record evidence it emerged that Dunbar, at one time or another, had made use of three different harbours – in the Middle Ages of a sandy inlet at Belhaven, in

the 16th and 17th centuries of an improved anchorage protected by Lamer Island, and in and after the early 18th century of the existing Old Harbour. The paper was largely concerned with the structural features of the latter, together with the records that threw light on their origin and dates; attention was given to the styles of masonry employed, arrangements for manoeuvring ships in a confined space, the lay-out of the entrance with its booms, a quayside granary, the Battery on Lamer Island, and the demolished Custom-house, of which a plan was reconstructed. The illustrations included a plan of the Old Harbour and 15 photographs.

In the last paper of this group (1969) a similar method was applied, though necessarily on a less intensive scale, to the series of harbours and landing-places on the whole of the coast between the Border and Dundee. An introductory section considered some general points such as sites, origins and dating, and discussed common features such as breakwaters, piers, quays, timber and masonry construction, booms, fittings and machinery. Descriptive notes followed on the individual sites, 125 in number, the more important examples being illustrated with small-scale sketch-maps and 18 half-tone pictures. The origin of many of the harbours was no doubt to be attributed to fishing, but the records of the coastal burghs showed them as busied, in later times, with the export of such local products as coal, lime and salt, with small-scale coastwise transport made necessary by the badness of the roads, and with a carrying-trade conducted by the local seafaring community which ranged at least as far as the Baltic and the Bay of Biscay.

### III REMARKS

On the foregoing review of the papers some general considerations suggest themselves.

To obtain an idea of the range of antiquarian interests, it would be natural to look to a numerical analysis of the subjects in the several classes, but in fact the figures, which are given below in an appendix, must be read with considerable caution. No programme of research was ever launched by the Society itself – an attempt to do so was made soon after the end of the war, but it failed largely as a result of the competing claims of ‘rescue’ excavations for the available trained workers. The initiative behind any paper has thus normally rested with its author, who has naturally worked in accordance with some scheme of study of his own, and consequently the figures in the table cannot be taken as a guide, or not as a direct guide, to the contemporary state of opinion in the Fellowship at large. An example of the preponderating influence of a single author was noted above in the case of mesolithic remains (class A in the appendix), where imbalance also showed itself, for the same reason, between cols (d) and (e); and a more striking one is provided by the castles and later houses (P), on which twenty out of forty-nine papers were presented by Dr W D Simpson. Again, the eighty-one papers that jointly cover the prehistoric classes B, C and D were largely the work of a succession of specialist investigators – so much so, in fact, that murmurs of dissatisfaction were sometimes heard from Fellows with other interests. The falling-off, as between cols (d) and (e), in the numbers of papers on the earliest houses (G), and the corresponding increase in those on other early houses (H), may be explained in a similar way, as the interest of the most active field-workers shifted, after the war, from Shetland, with its Neolithic and Bronze Age problems, to the Hebrides, Caithness and central and southern Scotland, where sites of an Iron Age and post-Roman complexion were beginning to call for study. Classes R, S, U, W and X were likewise considerably weighted by the work of a few individuals; but the increase, from 1.2% to 5.8% in the papers on industry and communications (X) truly reflects a new interest in a fresh subject, that of industrial archaeology.

Another influence that affected the figures in the table came from the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments. This influence was sometimes direct, as when, for example, the

Commissioners produced work which called for early publication but for which, for one reason or another, their own programme provided no immediate outlet, and recourse was accordingly had to the Society's *Proceedings*. Indirect influence, again, was no doubt exerted by the example of the Commission's county inventories, which encouraged the compilation of papers of 'inventory' type – a practice begun spontaneously in the later 19th century (Graham 1970). But whatever the influences at work, the few main points that seem to arise from col (c) may be stated as follows. Castles and post-medieval houses (P) top the list with a figure of 49 out of a total of 432. Roman antiquities (K) come second with 38, and a combination of prehistoric and Dark Age subjects (B, C, D) reach as much as 81. Other classes numerically important are brochs, forts and duns (F), early houses and huts (G, H, J), Pictish and Early Christian carving (M) and churches and other ecclesiastical monuments (N).

At this point a word may be said about comparative figures for the period preceding that of the present review. Direct numerical comparisons cannot be made, as the classes used here and in the paper relating to the years before 1931 (Graham 1970) are not precisely the same. One may note, however, that megalithic monuments, cairns, mounds, cists, cup-markings and Bronze Age remains of various kinds jointly accounted in the earlier study for 30% of the papers; and in so far as a combination of classes B, C, D and E in the present review correspond with B, C and D or before 1931, the earlier figure would appear to have come down to 20.9% – a reduction considerable enough to be regarded as real notwithstanding differences in the methods of classification. On the other hand, classes F, G, H and J in the present list, with an aggregate figure of 18.1%, entirely outstrip E, F and G in the earlier one, with 13.5%, the difference evidently being due to an increase in interest in early types of house. Roman papers, too, rose from 5.5% to 8.8%, while historical ones fell from 9.5% to 4.6%. Folk-lore, traditions and semi-learned speculation, already fading out in the Twenties, find no place in the present review; while new subjects appear in textiles and clothing (U), music (V), the use and delineation of land (W) and industry and communications (X). A few papers on some of these last-named subjects may previously have been classed as 'various'.

Simple numerical data being thus disposed of, something may be said about the character and quality of the work.

A first point which suggests itself here is an opening of windows more widely than in the past on the world outside Scotland. An example of this process may be seen in the case of the chambered cairns. Five papers appeared in the Thirties on the chambered cairns in Rousay, representing substantially the work of J G Callander even when the proprietor, W G Grant, was named as co-author; and these, though full and accurate, and supported by a wealth of information, carry some inevitable reminders of an earlier school of antiquaries. This is natural enough, as Callander was a dedicated pupil of Joseph Anderson, and was also led to favour traditional methods by his streak of Scottish particularism. With the appearance, however, from Australia, of Professor Childe the atmosphere was profoundly altered. Childe's method was to look for answers to positive questions conceived on a rational basis, and not simply to record facts which happened to emerge in the process of clearing a site. His questions, moreover, would arise from concern with the larger problems of prehistory, and a desire to place the Scottish evidence in its proper European setting. An enlightening comment on his attitude to the study of chambered cairns is contained in a letter to the present writer from one of his former students, the passage reading as follows:

'I think that his interest stemmed from the fact that chambered tombs were not an insular problem. They were a European problem, and he was himself essentially a European.

He was a man singularly devoid of national characteristics, and a subject which leapt across national frontiers appealed to him. I have always regarded "The Dawn" as his best book, and it seems to me the epitome of his internationalism.

Up until his coming to Edinburgh Scottish archaeology had been bogged down in provincialism, and this was in fact the core of his quarrel with the Establishment. They couldn't or wouldn't see Scotland as part of prehistoric Europe.'

A further advance may be credited to Sir W Lindsay Scott, whose work in the Hebrides did full justice to external comparisons; and a final stage was reached after the war, with the entry into this field of Professor Piggott and a generation of trained professionals.

Scottish archaeology not only widened its outlook in the course of these years, but also assumed an increasingly scholarly complexion and technically competent approach. Tied in with these developments was a cult of precision, which was now coming to replace an easier-going attitude, common in the 19th century and not extinct today in non-academic circles, which finds strict exactitude tiresome. The professional approach showed itself most clearly in excavation technique, in the style of drawn illustrations, in economical language, and in increasing readiness to collaborate with other disciplines. The great chambered cairns of Rousay, already mentioned, provide an example in point. Their excavation, or clearance, was effected by the Office of Works very much in the time-honoured manner, and archaeological interests were presumably felt to have been served by Grant's or Callander's presence. The door, however, was closed on 19th-century methods by Professor Piggott's work (1949) on the chambered cairns at Cairnholy, which proceeded, not wholesale, but by the rational pursuit of a specific range of facts, and attempted to reconstruct the whole history of the site. And it is interesting to note, in this context, how A O Curle appears to have modified his own methods between the Twenties and the later Thirties. In the Twenties, on Traprain Law, his main concern was to recover dateable objects, with structural remains taking a subordinate place; but when he was in charge of the Office of Works' operations at the Jarlshof site in Shetland, he was at pains to discover and analyse the structural details of the settlement and to form an idea of its history.

As regards the presentation of papers, yet another reference to the example of the Rousay excavations shows that the drawn illustrations, though informative as far as they went, were prepared as a separate exercise by an outside draughtsman, and were clearly regarded as subordinate to the written word.<sup>17</sup> A forward step was made in the later Thirties by C S T Calder, with the illustrations of his work on cairns on the Calf of Eday, and later on Eday itself. Calder possessed a flair for combining the skills of practical excavator and draughtsman, in virtue of which his prehistoric plans and sections convey their meaning in a particularly convincing way; Professor Childe, in fact, once said to the present writer that Calder was the best archaeological draughtsman then at work in Britain. His style, however, was superseded by the one that derived from Pitt-Rivers and Sir Mortimer Wheeler; the first example of this appeared in the *Proceedings* with Mrs C M Piggott's report on the fort of Hownam Rings (1948), and Sir Ian Richmond exerted a parallel influence in the presentation of Roman material. The quality of photographic illustration likewise improved vastly in the course of the period.

Another sign of the times can be seen in a tendency to record plain facts, apart from their analysis and discussion. Papers of inventory type have been mentioned above, and catalogues, more or less descriptive, were often embodied in papers whose main purpose may have been discussion. For that matter, James Curle's great paper on Roman and provincial objects found in Scotland was described by him as an inventory. Factual inventories appear not only in area surveys, of which Miss M Campbell's work in Mid Argyll (1962) was the chief example, but also as applied



to a wide variety of subjects such as cup-and-ring markings, prehistoric pottery and bronzes, tombstones, coins and tokens.

Much has now been said about the new developments of the period, but it is also necessary to remember that many subjects provided little opening for change in their methods of treatment, and that papers concerning them were consequently much in line with later 19th-century work – apart, that is to say, from the kind of improvement in standards that followed automatically from general advances in knowledge. The series of papers on castles and later houses produced by W D Simpson may be quoted as an example here, as these perpetuated the author's original method of approach, itself greatly influenced by MacGibbon and Ross (1887–1902, *passim*), while gaining weight as his knowledge and experience grew. Many papers, indeed, contained nothing that could not have been written at any time during the preceding fifty years, as, for example, the present author's descriptive catalogue (1970) of harbours in south-eastern Scotland. What had changed was the climate of archaeological opinion, which now recognises such subjects as being proper for study.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank Dr M E C Stewart, Miss J Gordon and Mr A MacLaren for their help in the preparation of the paper.

### APPENDIX: Numerical summary

The following table gives a list of the classes of subject (col b) in the order in which they were dealt with above in Part II, with the letters used in references (col a); the numbers of subjects

TABLE

(a) Reference letter	(b) Class	Number and percentage of subjects		
		(c) 1931–71	(d) 1931–45	(e) 1946–71
A	Mesolithic deposits	16 3.7	10 5.7	6 2.3
B	Chambered cairns	33 7.6	15 8.5	18 7.0
C	Other early burials	24 5.5	7 4.0	17 6.6
D	Prehistoric and post-Roman miscellany	24 5.5	9 5.1	15 5.8
E	Cup-markings and rock-sculpture	10 2.3	6 3.4	4 1.6
F	Brochs, forts and duns	30 6.9	11 6.2	19 7.4
G	The earliest houses	12 2.8	8 4.5	4 1.6
H	Other early houses	18 4.2	5 2.8	13 5.1
J	Huts and miscellaneous houses	18 4.2	8 4.5	10 3.9
K	Roman antiquities	38 8.8	13 7.4	25 9.8
L	Viking antiquities	6 1.4	5 2.8	1 0.4
M	Pictish and Early Christian carving	21 4.9	11 6.2	10 3.9
N	Churches and other ecclesiastical subjects	24 5.5	8 4.5	16 6.2
O	Sepulchral monuments	16 3.7	7 4.0	9 3.5
P	Castles and later houses	49 11.4	19 10.9	30 11.7
Q	History	20 4.6	6 3.4	14 5.5
R	Heraldry	8 1.9	4 2.4	4 1.6
S	Coins and tokens	16 3.7	8 4.5	8 3.2
T	Mazers, silverware, etc	8 1.9	5 2.8	3 1.2
U	Textiles and clothing	6 1.4	—	6 2.3
V	Music	5 1.2	4 2.4	1 0.4
W	Use and delineation of land	13 3.0	5 2.8	8 3.2
X	Industry and communications	17 3.9	2 1.2	15 5.8
		432	176	256
		100.0	100.0	100.0

in each class mentioned in Part II, with corresponding percentage figures, for the whole of the 40-year period (col c); and the same figures broken down as between the periods before and after the end of the second World War (cols d, e).

## NOTES

- 1 Volume numbers and dates of Sessions are correlated below.

Vol	Session	Vol	Session	Vol	Session
65	1931	78	1944	91	1958
66	1932	79	1945	92	1959
67	1933	80	1946	93	1960
68	1934	81	1947	94	1961
69	1935	82	1948	95	1962
70	1936	83	1949	96	1963
71	1937	84	1950	97	1964
72	1938	85	1951	98	1965-6
73	1939	86	1952	99	1967
74	1940	87	1953	100	1968
75	1941	88	1954-6	101	1969
76	1942	89	1956	102	1970
77	1943	90	1957	103	1971

- 2 A bracketed date refers to the volume in which the paper was printed, not to the year in which the recorded work was done.
- 3 From 1852 to 1940, Ancient Monuments were administered by the Commissioners of HM Works and Buildings, known unofficially as the Office of Works; from 1940 to 1962 by the Ministry of Works; from 1962 to 1970 by the Ministry of Public Building and Works; and since 1970 by the Department of the Environment.
- 4 For the Continental evidence see Déchelette (1914), 985 ff.
- 5 His earlier reports appeared in the two preceding volumes, which are outside the scope of this review.
- 6 Some errors for which the present writer was solely responsible were corrected in RCAM (1967), 344.
- 7 The present writer recalls a painful episode at one of the Society's meetings, when someone suggested that a Roman presence in Fife should be looked for by excavation. Macdonald angrily quoted the reply given by an 18th-century geologist to a laird who hoped to find coal on his land if he dug a deep enough pit - 'Ye may howk till ye hear the Deil hoastin', but ye'll no find it for it isna there'.
- 8 This work has now been overtaken by Hamilton (1968).
- 9 R B K Stevenson identified a few more examples in his paper of 1959.
- 10 Sepulchral monuments in churches are treated later, along with those in graveyards.
- 11 Watson (1926), 201, writes: 'Its name is a compound of *breac*, variegated, and *beannach*, peaked; *lit* "the variegated peaked one" with reference to its ornament and its sharply sloping top'.
- 12 Taken down and re-erected in 1964 in Tillydrone Road, Old Aberdeen, at the instance of the late Dr W Douglas Simpson.
- 13 This term was applied throughout the paper to gunloops, and not to ventilation openings which could be shut with wooden plugs, the distinction between 'shot' and 'shut' being disregarded.
- 14 An earlier version had appeared in 1851, under the title *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.
- 15 Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1945; KCVO 1946.
- 16 The spelling has been modernised.
- 17 The view that verbal descriptions dominated drawings and plans was held by so eminent a scholar as Sir George Macdonald, who once told the present writer that it ought to be possible to make a plan from the facts given in the text.

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