

# The Morton Manuscript: ‘ancient inscriptions on stones found in Scotland’

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## ABSTRACT

*An eight-page manuscript, presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1827 and, until recently, considered lost, lists nine Roman and four medieval inscriptions, of which four are otherwise unknown. This paper discusses the sources used in the compilation of the manuscript, which is traditionally ascribed to James Douglas, 14th earl of Morton (1702–68). The conclusion reached here is that much of the information which it contains was assembled in the mid-17th century and collated into its present form much later, perhaps in the early 18th century.*

Preserved in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, is an eight-page manuscript in an 18th-century hand, with the title ‘Ancient Inscriptions on Stones found in Scotland’, which lists both Roman and medieval epigraphic texts.<sup>1</sup> It was presented to the Society on 13 October 1827. The writer has been identified as James Douglas, 14th earl of Morton (below p 341), who died in 1768. The ‘Morton Manuscript’ was known to Sir Daniel Wilson, who cited two Roman inscriptions from it in his *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.<sup>2</sup> It was also used by Emil Hübner, the editor of the seventh volume of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* (1873), which dealt with the Roman epigraphic material from Britain. Hübner was in Edinburgh in 1866,<sup>3</sup> but seems not to have become aware of the manuscript before he returned home to Berlin. Subsequently he wrote to Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland from 1869, in search of details.<sup>4</sup> Anderson sent him verbatim transcriptions from which Hübner quoted extensively. In 1896, the antiquary Dr James Macdonald cited the manuscript in relation to one stone (no 12 below).<sup>5</sup> However, in 1953, R P Wright, one of the editors of the first volume of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, sought it out in vain,<sup>6</sup> and it has since been considered

lost. The present writer relocated it a few years ago.

The Morton Manuscript is bound up in one of the Society’s *Communications* volumes only a few folios after a letter in the hand of Susannah, Dowager Countess of Morton, which lists artefacts presented by her on 20 September 1827 to the Society, soon after the death of her husband, the 16th earl.<sup>7</sup> The indorsement (on fol 333 verso), in the hand of Edward Drummond Hay, Secretary of the Society from 1827, reads as follows:

Ancient Inscriptions on Stones found in Scotland.

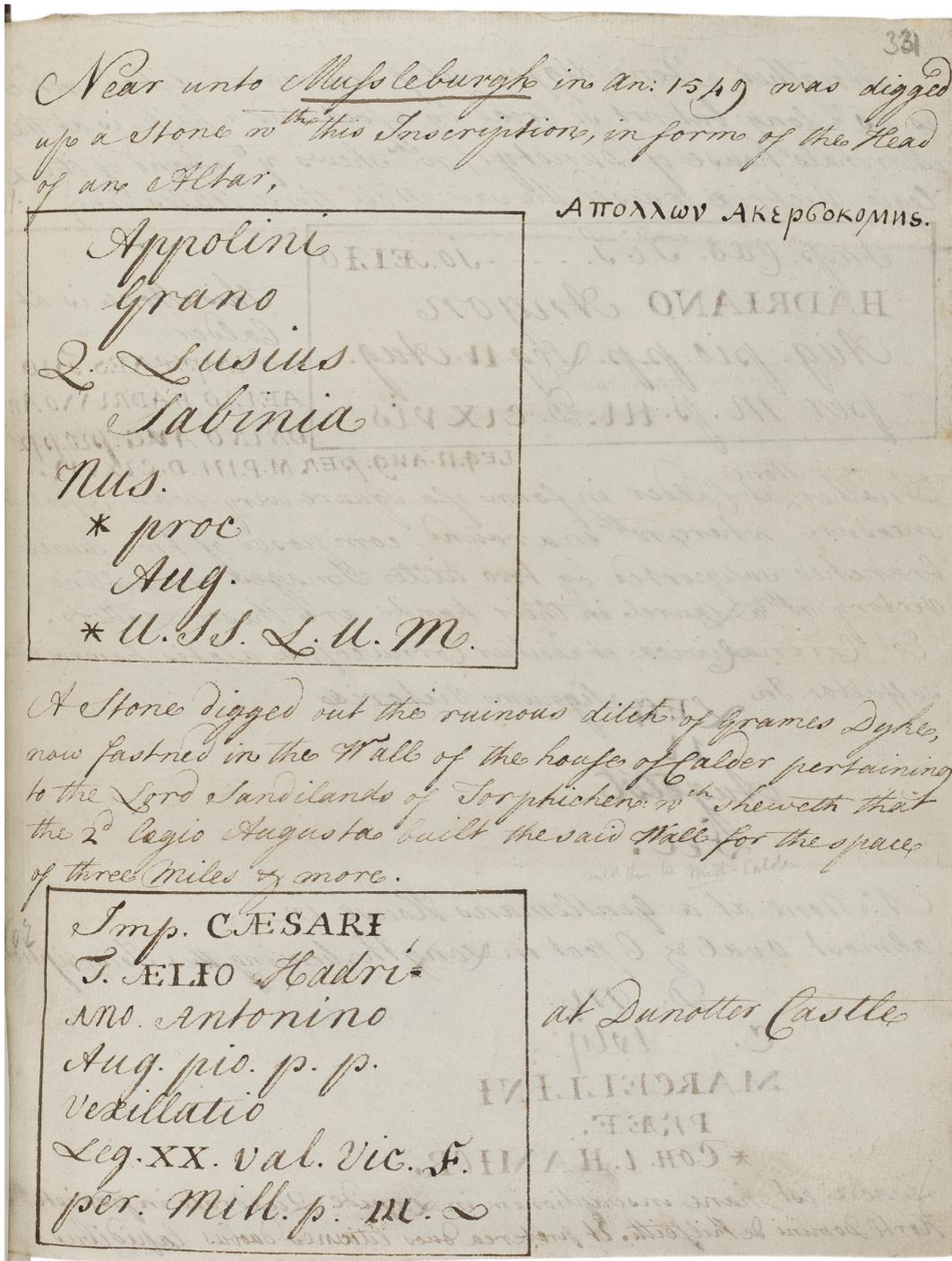
Query – Were not these memoranda made by E[arl] of Morton who was born in 1702, was Pres[ident] of the Roy[a]l Soc[iety] & died 1760 [sic].

Or may they have been written by Robert Riddle who was a distinguished Antiquary & died 1730 [sic].

Presented to the Society of Scottish [sic] Antiquaries by Susan Countess Dowager of Morton 13th Oct. 1827.

A total of 13 inscriptions are listed, all in Latin. They are transcribed and discussed below in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. The texts accompanying them are chiefly in English, with some sentences in Latin. Pencil annotations on the manuscript are in the hand

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ILLUS 1 *Communications to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume 4 (1823-7), fol 331 recto (nos 1-3).  
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of Joseph Anderson, who numbered the Roman inscriptions in our manuscript in a sequence followed by Emil Hübner in 1873. No 2 (below) is described by Anderson as 'Now in Hunterian Museum, Glasgow'. Nos 5, 9 and 10 are marked 'New to me'.

Several of the Roman inscriptions and the accompanying commentaries derive from the 1607 edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, through the English translation by Philemon Holland, published in 1610 and again in 1637. To judge from various minor typographical indicators, our author was consulting the latter.<sup>8</sup> We could well have looked to find some use made of Sir James Dalrymple's edition of the *Scotland* chapter of Camden's *Britannia* published in 1695; but none is evident. Editions of the *Britannia* by Edmund Gibson (1695 and 1722) and by Richard Gough (1789 and 1806) were not used.

1. *Fol. 331 recto* (illus 1–2)

Near unto Mussleburgh in An[no]: 1549 was digged up a stone w[i]th this Inscription, in form of the Head of an Altar,

<i>Appolini</i>	<i>Ἀπολλῶν Ἀκερσοκομης</i>
<i>Grano</i>	
<i>Q. Lusius</i>	
<i>Sabinia</i>	
<i>Nus.</i>	
<i>*proc</i>	
<i>Aug.</i>	
<i>*U. SS. L. U. M.</i>	

*Appolini / Grano / Q(uintus) Lusius / Sabinia / nus / proc(urator) / Aug(usti) / v(otum) s(usceptum) s(olvit) lu(bens) m(erito)*. 'To Apollo Grannus, Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, imperial procurator, willingly and deservedly fulfilled the vow he had undertaken.' In Greek: 'Apollo unshorn.'

This is a Roman altar from Inveresk, near Musselburgh, Midlothian.<sup>9</sup> It was the earliest Roman inscribed stone to be reported from Scotland. Camden's account is confusing on the findspot;<sup>10</sup> however, John Napier of Merchiston (the inventor of logarithms) gives it clearly as Musselburgh.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps our author underlined the placename in his text to emphasise the correctness

of this attribution. The Roman fort at Inveresk, close to the mouth of the River Esk, is now overlain by the cemetery attached to St Michael's Kirk.<sup>12</sup> The altar was erected by Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, an imperial procurator,<sup>13</sup> to Apollo Grannus, a healing god, one of whose cult centres was at *Aquae Granni*, now Aachen, Germany. More recently, Sabinianus' names and title have been read on a second altar from Inveresk.<sup>14</sup>

In April 1565, when word of the altar's discovery reached the Court in Edinburgh, Queen Mary acted swiftly to ensure its survival, contacting the 'baillies of Mussilburgh'.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Randolph, Ambassador of Queen Elizabeth I at the Scottish Court, wrote to the earl of Bedford about the find, citing as his authority 'Alexander Clerke whoe was ther to see it'.<sup>16</sup> Soon afterwards, Randolph wrote also to Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, describing it as 'a stone that was found, w[i]th these words greven upon hym'.<sup>17</sup>

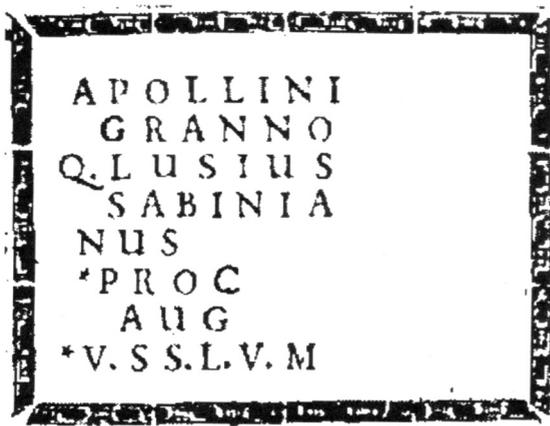
The Scottish poet and itinerant scholar Thomas Seget,<sup>18</sup> whose home was at Seton, East Lothian, a few kilometres from Inveresk, passed drawings of the altar to the classical scholar Marc Welsler (Velserius) at Augsburg and to the cartographer Abraham Ortelus (Ortelius) at Amsterdam, both of whom he met in 1597.<sup>19</sup> These are our only visual records of it.<sup>20</sup> People who 'saw the stone when newly dug out' supposed that there could be some letters in a further line below, possibly to be read as MAX.<sup>21</sup>

John Napier of Merchiston refers to this altar in his *Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John*, as 'a foundation of a *Romane* monument lately found ... bearing this inscription dedicatorie'; however, it was 'now utterlie demolished'.<sup>22</sup> William Camden included the inscription in the 1600 edition of his *Britannia*, arranging Napier's text in three lines.<sup>23</sup> By 1607, Camden had a fuller text to hand, communicated to him by Sir Peter Young, 'teacher and trainer of King James the sixth in his youth',<sup>24</sup> who 'hath in this wise more truely copied [it] forth', including a final line which Young read as V.SS.L.V.M. Camden expanded these letters to *votum susceptum solvit lubens merito*, 'He fulfilled the vow he had undertaken

willingly and deservedly'.<sup>25</sup> Later commentators amended the line to the more normal V.S.L.M., *votum solvit libens merito*, 'He fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly'.<sup>26</sup> Though John Napier appears to report the altar as destroyed by 1593 (see above), it was seen in the churchyard at Inveresk by Sir Robert Sibbald in the opening years of the 18th century. However, by that time 'almost all the inscription had been lost, except a few letters'.<sup>27</sup> The marginal reference to Apollo as *Απερσεκομης*, 'of unshorn hair' (more correctly, *Απερσεκομης*), derives from Camden, through the medium of Holland's edition.<sup>28</sup> The epithet 'unshorn' signified Apollo's eternal youthfulness.

This is the only Roman stone for which a date of discovery is specified in our manuscript. However, our author's designation of the year 1549 results from a casual reading of the previous paragraph of Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia*. The reference was to the Battle of Pinkie, fought near Inveresk in 1547 (not 1549), a date applied in error to the inscribed stone.<sup>29</sup>

The arrangement of the words here follows Philemon Holland. However, the Latin has been inaccurately transcribed, *Appolini* appearing for *Apollini* and *Grano* for *Granno*. The asterisks at the beginning of lines 6 and 8 were not present on the stone; they had been inserted by Philemon Holland (illus 2), in order to direct his readers



ILLUS 2 No 1: Altar to Apollo Grannus, Inveresk, Midlothian, as published in Philemon Holland's edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, 1637

to marginal notes (cf no 5 below); they were mistakenly copied out by our author as part of the inscription.

2. *Fols 331 recto, 331 verso* (illus 1, 3, 4)

A Stone digged out the ruinous ditch of Grames Dyke, now fast[e]ned in the Wall of the house of Calder pertaining to the Lord Sandilands of Torphichen w[hi]ch sheweth that the 2<sup>nd</sup> legio Augusta built the said Wall for the space of three Miles & more.

*Imp. Caes. Tit . . . . jo. AELIO*  
*HADRIANO* Angon This stone  
*Aug. pio. p.p. Leg. ii. Aug.* is at Calder  
*per m. p. iii.D. cixvis*

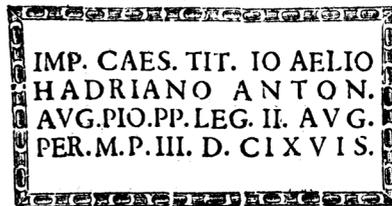
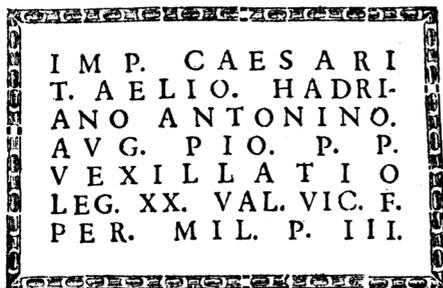
*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Tito Aelio / Hadriano*  
*Anton(ino) / Aug(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) leg(io)*  
*II Aug(usta) / per m(ilia) p(assuum) IIDCLXVI.*  
 'For the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, the Second Augustan Legion built (this) over a distance of 3,666½ paces.'

This is a distance slab from the Antonine Wall, recording completion of 3,666½ paces by the Second Augustan Legion.<sup>30</sup> The slab was first reported at Cawder Castle, north-east of Glasgow, by German travellers to Scotland c 1600, who passed details to Janus Gruter at Heidelberg,<sup>31</sup> to Joseph Justus Scaliger at Leiden – who published it in 1606<sup>32</sup> – and to William Camden who included it in the 1607 edition of his *Britannia* (illus 3).<sup>33</sup>

In 1624, the slab was transferred to Cawder House, the replacement dwelling on the same site as the Castle. Presented to the University of Glasgow in 1735, it is preserved at the Hunterian Museum.<sup>34</sup> 'Cawder' was long the normal spelling of the place now called Cadder, where there was an as yet unrecognised fort on the line of the Antonine Wall. The spelling 'Calder' was also used. Lord Sandilands of Torphichen is named here as the landowner; however the estate of the Sandilands family was at Calder, West Lothian, not at Calder (Cawder) on the line of the Antonine Wall, which lay on the lands of the Stirlings of Keir and Cawder. The home of the Lords

iterum trans **BODOTRIAM** alio vt **habet Capitolinus cespicio muro**, scilicet ab illo **Hadriani**, submouit. **Quem hoc in loco de quo agimus ductum fuisse** (& non a **Seuero** vt vulgò creditum) non alios aduocabo testes quam duas antiquas **Inscriptiones** hïc effo-  
 fas, quarum altera ad **Cadir** parieti domus infixæ docet **Legionem Secundam Augustam** per tria mill. pass. & amplius, altera iam in ædibus **Comitis Mareſcalli ad Dunotyr**, quæ innuit vexillationem **Legionis vicesimæ Viætricis** per **III. mill. pass.** murum duxisse. Sed habe ipſas vt **Seruatius Rihelius nobilis Sileſius** qui has regiones curiosè obſeruauit, mihi descripsit :

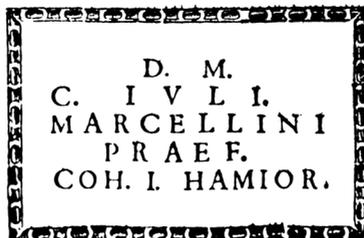
Murus Anto-  
 nini Dij.



Ad **Cadir**, vbi hæc posterior extat, etiam alter ostenditur lapis in quo intra coronam lauream duabus victoriolis sustentata legitur :



Et in pago (*Miniabruch* dicta) ex domo **Ministri** translata est hæc inscriptio in **Nobili domum**, quæ ibidem exædificatur :



Cohors Pri-  
 ma Hamio-  
 rum.

Torphichen was close to the ancestral lands of the Morton family. Sir James Dalrymple, in his 1695 edition of Camden, says correctly that the stone was ‘fastned in the Wall of an House at Calder, belonging to the Laird of Keir’.<sup>35</sup> This stone and, similarly, no 3 below are said by our author to have been ‘digged out of the ruinous ditch of Grames Dyke’. This could, if taken literally, form a guide to the findspot; more probably, the phrase just means that the stone had come from the line of the Antonine Wall.

The introductory paragraph is placed between the drawings of nos 1 and 3 on fol 331 recto, but belongs with no 2 on fol 331 verso. Our author was confused by the sequence in Camden and his translator, where no 3 is mentioned ahead of no 2, but illustrated after it.<sup>36</sup> The Latin wording is taken from Philemon Holland’s edition,<sup>37</sup> except that in line 2 ANGON appears for ANTON, the result presumably of careless copying. Camden’s version of the text shows a short break in the first line, which was made longer in Holland’s edition. A better transcription is squeezed into the right-hand margin of the page, apparently in the same hand; the line divisions here are incorrect, unsurprisingly given the constraints of space.

### 3. Fol 331 recto, 331 verso (illus 1, 3, 4)

Another Stone digged out of the same ditch, which is as long [as no 2] but not so broad by a foot and a half, is at the E[ar]l Marshals house of Dunotyr, which shews t[ha]t a band of the 20 legio Victrix raised the said wall three Miles long.

*Imp. CAESARI*  
*T. AELIO Hadri-*  
*ano Antonino*  
*Aug. pio. p. p.* at Dunotter [sic] Castle  
*Vexillatio*  
*Leg. XX. Val. Vic. f.*  
*Per. Mill. p. III. ∞*

*Imp(eratori) Caesari / T(ito) Aelio Hadri / ano Antonino / Aug(usto) Pio p(atr) p(atriciae) / vexillatio / leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vic(tricis) f(ecit) / per mill(ia) p(assuum) III.* ‘For the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, a detachment of the Twentieth Valiant and Victorious Legion built (this) over a distance of 3,000 paces.’

This is a distance slab recording completion of 3,000 paces of the Antonine Wall by the Twentieth Legion.<sup>38</sup> It was reported to William Camden by a German traveller to Scotland, in the early years of the 17th century, as on view at Dunnottar Castle, Kincardineshire, the home of the Earls Marischal.<sup>39</sup> Our manuscript is the only antiquarian source to specify that this stone came from the line of the Antonine Wall. The circumstances of its transfer northwards to Kincardineshire elude us. In the early 18th century, probably in 1723, the slab was deposited by the 10th Earl Marischal in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and subsequently presented to the University of Glasgow in 1761, where it is preserved at the Hunterian Museum.<sup>40</sup>

The introductory text here is based ultimately on Camden (illus 3), through the medium of Philemon Holland’s edition.<sup>41</sup> The ‘∞’ symbol at the end of line 7 of the inscription is normally employed in Latin literature and inscriptions to mean ‘one thousand’; here it must allude to the distance (3,000 paces) reported. As the symbol is not inscribed on the stone itself, it must have been added by our author.

### 4. Fol. 331 verso (illus 3, 4)

Another Stone at Calder in form of a square every way 3 foot in measure, wherew[i]th in a round, composed of two laurel branches supported by two little Images resembling Victory w[i]th a Laurel in their hands are these Letters. *Est Corona Civica et additur Cornucopia alatis hominibus suffulta. In Signum Victoriae* (‘There is a civic crown and a cornucopia is depicted too, which is supported by winged human figures, as a symbol of Victory’).

*LEG*  
*ii*  
*August*  
*fec.*

*Leg(io) II August(a) / fec(it).* ‘The Second Augustan Legion built (this).’

This is a rectangular panel recording building work by the Second Augustan Legion.<sup>42</sup> Its actual measurements are 32 inches (0.81m) × 24 inches (0.61m). The thickness is unknown. The last three words of the Latin commentary look to have been added after the inscription had been written out on the page of our manuscript.

Another Stone dugged out of the same ditch, which is as long but not so broad by a foot and a half, is at the Marshals house of Dunotyr, w<sup>ch</sup> shews y<sup>t</sup> a band of the 20<sup>th</sup> Legio Victrix raised the said Wall three Miles long.

Imp. Cas. T. S. . . . . IO. AELIO  
 HADRIANO ANTON  
 Aug. pio. p. p. Leg. II. Aug.  
 per M. p. III. D. CIX VII

This Stone is at Calder  
 vel IMP. CAES TITO  
 AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AUG. P. P. P.  
 LEG. II. AUG. PER M. P. III. D. CIX VII.

Another <sup>Stone</sup> at Calder in form of a square, every way 3 foot in measure, where <sup>is</sup> in a round, composed of two laurel branches supported by two little Images resembling Victory w<sup>th</sup> a laurel in their hands are these Letters.  
 Est Coronadivica et additur Cornucopia alatis hominibus suffulta. In **LEG** Signum Victoriae

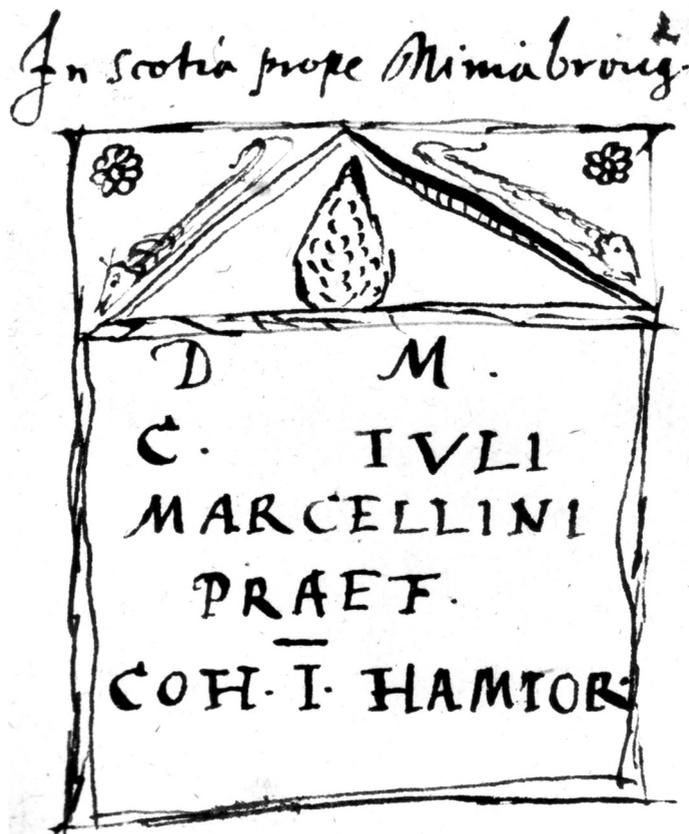
II  
 August  
 Sec.

A Stone at a Gentlemans House in almost oval of 6 foot in length, bearing this Inscription

D. M.  
 C. Iulij  
 MARCELLINI  
 PRAEF.  
 \* COH. I. HAMIOR.

Legens est hanc inscriptionem in Lapide Quadrato in pariete Horti Domini de Hilfeith. Et praeterea duos titulos duobus lapidibus.

ILLUS 4 Communications to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Volume 4 (1823-7), fol 331 verso (nos 2-5). © National Museums Scotland



ILLUS 5 Tombstone of C Julius Marcellinus, as sketched by a German traveller 'in Scotland near Miniabrough' [Kilsyth, North Lanarkshire], c 1600 (© British Library Board MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 323)

The inscription is set within a laurel wreath supported by winged Cupids. In the opening years of the 17th century a German traveller in Scotland sent word of it to Janus Gruter at Heidelberg,<sup>43</sup> and to Joseph Justus Scaliger at Leiden, who published it in 1606,<sup>44</sup> followed soon after by Camden in his 1607 edition (see *illus* 3).<sup>45</sup> Camden's hand-written notes record that it was a gift by John Napier of Merchiston (above p 325) to his then in-laws, the Stirlings of Keir at Cawder Castle, an event which should belong sometime between 1572 and 1588.<sup>46</sup> Presumably deriving from a fort on the Antonine Wall, the stone was transferred, along with no 2, to the newly built Cawder House in 1624, now a golf clubhouse, where it remains. The wording

used here is again based ultimately on Camden's *Britannia*.<sup>47</sup> The introductory statement is accompanied by a brief sentence in Latin (cf nos 5 and 9 below). The third line on the stone reads *Aug(usta)*, rather than the fuller form *August(a)* reported here.

5. *Fol 331 verso* (*illus* 3–5)

A Stone at a Gentlemans House in [*vacat*] almost oval and 6 foot in length, bearing this Inscription.

*D. m.*  
*C. ivlij*  
 MARCELLINI  
 PRAEF.  
 \*COH. i. HAMIOR.

332

These words are writ on the Tomb of *Barnus Gordon* a famous Physician & a great scholar, who lies buried in Kelmeid in Anno 1305.

† AEST TŪCUBA F  
 MACCVEN EEP T SIGNV  
 CYGAONIS x EXTVS AT

J. N. O. O. This Stone is flat on the side of a Wall w<sup>th</sup> three or four antick Images above and below the Inscription.

A Tomb in the Church of *Monymusk* in Angus, hath on it Anno D<sup>ni</sup> M. DCXXVII

Hic Situs. Sepulchrum hoc sibi Conjugi posterisq;  
 suis extruendum curavit. V \* C \* *Jacobus D<sup>ns</sup> de  
 Pittearrow* &c. \* Cujus majores eadem hoc  
 nomen & arma gerentes hactenus in parochia *Sancti  
 Roberti* *Scotorum Regis primi* tertio pie posuerunt.

A Stone in the Pavement of y<sup>e</sup> Church of *Haliburton* toward the East end, hath this Description.

Hic iacet *Robertus Chapman* prior  
 huius Monasterii. cuius *Monachia* Regnie sit  
 in pace amen.

*D(is) M(anibus) C(ai) Iulii / Marcellini / prae(ecti) / coh(ortis) I Hamior(um)*. ‘To the spirits of the departed Gaius Julius Marcellinus, prefect of the First Cohort of Hamians’.

*Legere est hanc inscriptionem in Lapide Quadrato in pariete Horti Domini de Kilseith. Et praeterea duos liticines duobus lapidibus* (‘This inscription is to be read on a squared stone in the wall of the Lord of Kilsyth’s garden. And besides, two trumpeters on two stones.’).

This is the tombstone of a prefect (commander) of the First Cohort of Hamians, a regiment of Syrian archers known to have been in garrison at Bar Hill fort on the Antonine Wall in the mid-2nd century AD.<sup>48</sup> It was among the inscriptions which a German traveller in the opening years of the 17th century communicated to Gruter and Scaliger,<sup>49</sup> and was included by Camden in the 1607 edition of his *Britannia* (illus 3).<sup>50</sup> The precise arrangement of the words matches Holland’s edition. The Latin sentences here, squeezed into a narrow space at the bottom of the page, provide additional information that the stone was ‘in the wall of the Lord of Kilsyth’s garden’, a description more appropriate to no 9 below. The ‘Lord of Kilsyth’ is a reference to the Livingstons, Viscounts Kilsyth from 1661.<sup>51</sup> The location may easily be supposed to be Kilsyth Castle, north-east of the town. As the stone was not seen by any commentator after Camden’s time, it is usually supposed lost when the castle was blown up by Oliver Cromwell’s troops in October 1650.<sup>52</sup> The family then moved to the town itself.

The accompanying English description is based on Holland’s translation of Camden.<sup>53</sup> The asterisk at the beginning of line 5 was not, so far as we know, present on the stone itself; rather it alerted readers to an accompanying marginal note (as in no 1 above) in Holland’s edition.

A gap was left in our manuscript for the current whereabouts of the stone, but it was not subsequently inserted. Camden, followed by his translator, reports that the stone was ‘in a village called Miniabruch’, the old name for Kilsyth. This placename was doubtless unfamiliar to our author so he omitted it. The additional Latin text names Kilsyth as the location of the stone.

The description of the stone as ‘almost oval and 6 foot in length’ totally conflicts with a drawing of it preserved among Camden’s papers (illus 5),<sup>54</sup> which shows an upright gravestone whose pediment contains a pine-cone, with rosettes in the upper corner-angles. Camden published the inscription without the decorative details, set within a conventional square frame (illus 3). The ‘two trumpeters on two stones’ are otherwise unreported, and could be medieval or later.<sup>55</sup> In line 2, Camden and his translators print *Juli*; the fuller form *Iulii* occurs only in our manuscript.

#### 6. *Fol 332 recto* (illus 6)

These words are written on the Tomb of Banus Gordon, a famous Physician & a great Scholar, who lies buried in helmed [*sic*] in Anno 1305.

*h aest tumba L  
maccven eept signu  
wigaonis x exivs aθ  
g. N θθ*

This Stone is fix[e]d on the side of a Wall w[i]th three or four antick Images above and below the Inscription.

*H(aec) est tumba L(...) / Maccven ...* ‘This is the tomb of L(...) Maccven ...’

The surname is presumably Macewen. Words that have been abbreviated are marked with a horizontal superscript bar. The L is likely to represent a Christian name, most probably Ludovick or Lucas (Luke) or Lachlan. The second half of the text defies translation. We might expect the inscription to end ‘he died aged ...’ or ‘he died in the year ...’. It was doubtless wrongly transcribed. The word *signu*, presumably abbreviated from *signum*, could be a ‘seal’ or ‘standard’, perhaps that of the town of Wigton in south-west Scotland or the earl of Wigton (for whom see below p 340); *exivs* could conceal the word *exiit* (‘died’) and *aθ* the word *aetate* (‘aged’).

I have found no Banus Gordon. The reference must surely be to the physician Bernardus de Gordon (or de Gordonio), author of the much admired *Lilium Medicinae*, a medieval textbook for medical students.<sup>56</sup> The treatise is known in manuscript and was first printed at Naples in

1480.<sup>57</sup> Bernardus de Gordon was a professor at the University of Montpellier in southern France in the late 13th century. Though it has been asserted that he was Scottish, it is more likely that he was French.<sup>58</sup> Gordon is said here to have been buried 'in helmed' – in a helmet perhaps, but this could be a placename wrongly transcribed.<sup>59</sup> The date of his death is usually placed *c* 1320. Gordon was among the physicians familiar to the 'Doctour of Phisyk', one of the pilgrims in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>60</sup>

The Latin inscription does not mention Bernardus de Gordon, and indeed the accompanying English text says only that it was written on his tomb. All we can perhaps say is that the inscription itself postdates 1305. It seems to commemorate a Macewen, presumably Scottish and perhaps another reason for the compiler's interest. There could be some suspicion that the Latin epitaph, and the sentence which follows it, belonged to a quite different memorial and have

no link to 'Banus Gordon'. Where and when the inscription was recorded remains unknown. The 'three or four antick Images' testify to sculptural ornamentation, but no details are offered.

7. *Fol 332 recto* (illus 6–7)

A Tomb in the Church of Monyfeith in Angus, hath on it

*Anno Dni MDCXXVII.*

*Hic Situs. Sepulchrum hoc sibi coniugi posterisque / suis extruendum curavit. V \* C \* Jacobus Durha / me de Pittcarrow & c \* Cujus majores eadem / hoc / nomen & arma gerentes hac in parochia / Anno / Roberti Scotorum Regis primi tertio pie / posuerunt.*

'In the year of the Lord 1627. He lies here. The distinguished gentleman James Durham of Pittcarrow saw to the erection of this tomb for himself, his wife and his descendents, etc. His ancestors, bearing the same name and arms, piously put (it?) up in this parish in the third year of Robert the First, King of Scots'.



ILLUS 7 Commemorative slab erected at Monifieth, Angus, by James Durham of Pitkerro, 1627, now built in to a wall of St Rule's Church. © Margaret J Robb. Courtesy of the Revd Dorothy Anderson

The original slab, which is *c* 1.6m long, formerly adorned a burial aisle (family vault) attached to St Rule's Church, Monifieth near Dundee.<sup>61</sup> When the church was rebuilt in 1813 and the burial aisle dismantled, the slab was placed high up on the external east wall of the replacement church, where it can be seen along with other sculptured panels, including a coat of arms inscribed 'James Durham' (illus 7). We are thus fortunate in being able to compare the version in our manuscript with the original. The inscription on the wall of the church is finely cut in embossed lettering, with simple raised interpuncts and occasional ligatures. The Latin is of a good standard and shows familiarity with Roman epigraphic phraseology. The full text was recorded by the antiquary Andrew Jervise in the mid-19th century, with minor errors.<sup>62</sup> The surface of the stone has since flaked away in places through exposure to the elements, especially in the middle section;<sup>63</sup> nevertheless, outlines of several lost letters can be discerned.

There are some mistakes made by the stonecutter in the carving of the lettering, and many differences in wording between the original slab on the wall of the church and the version in our manuscript. The original slab lacks the date 1627. Perhaps it was recorded on a different stone, lost when the burial aisle was dismantled. The regnal year of King Robert I (ruled 1306–29) is not given. The final phrases have been condensed in our version to the detriment of their meaning, since the last line alludes not to the erection of a church or monument, but to the Durham family's long association with Monifieth from the time of King Robert. James Durham's post in the royal service is omitted here. On the original inscription he is designated *argentarius quondam R. Iac. VI sempiternae memoriae* ('one-time cashier of King James VI of immortal memory'). The title *argentarius*, in the form *argentar* or *argenter*, recurs in contemporary documents.<sup>64</sup>

Several members of the Durham family held Royal appointments in the later 16th and early 17th centuries.<sup>65</sup> James Durham of Pitkerro was Director of the Rolls of the Exchequer for both King James VI and King Charles I in Scotland and died in 1635. Pitkerro, the commonest form of the placename, lies on the north side of the Firth

of Tay, between Dundee and Broughty Ferry. James Durham's will, now held by National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, was registered at Brechin Commissary Court in 1637.<sup>66</sup> The year 1627, reported in our manuscript, was that of the construction of the burial aisle, which followed a gift by Durham to the poor of the parish in 1626.<sup>67</sup> The laudatory phraseology suggests that the text was devised, perhaps by Durham himself, soon after King James' death in 1625.

#### 8. Fol 332 recto (illus 6)

A Stone in the Pavement of the Church of Holyroodhouse toward the East end, hath this I[n]scription.

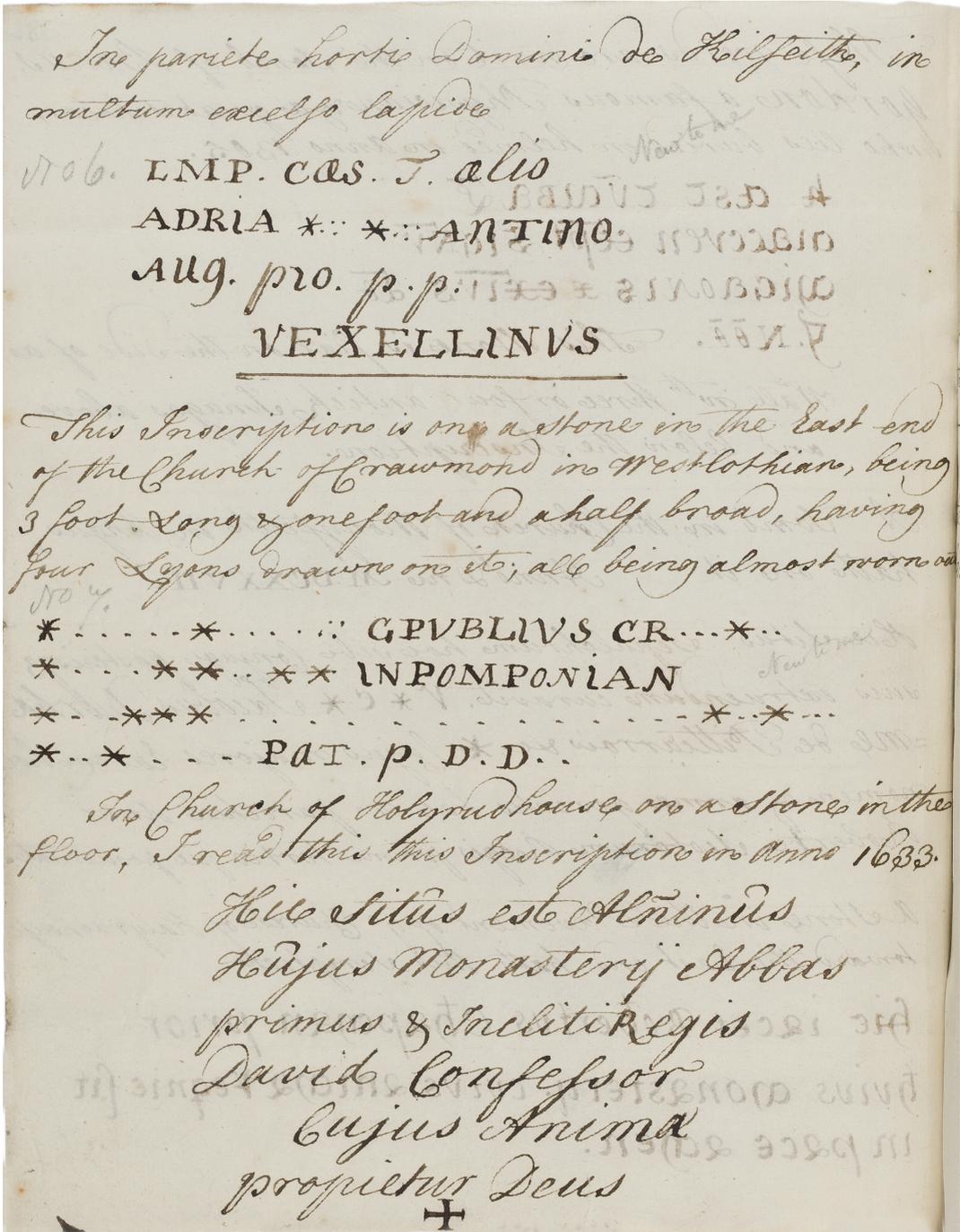
*hic iacet Robertus Chapman prior  
huius monasterij. cuius anima Requiesit  
in pace amen.*

'Here lies Robert Chapman, Prior of this monastery, whose soul rests in peace. Amen'.

The Abbey of Holyrood, Edinburgh, was founded in 1128 by King David I of Scotland. There were many graveslabs set into its floor (see also no 11 below), the inscriptions on which, over the centuries, became increasingly faint.<sup>68</sup> Many were destroyed when the nave collapsed in 1768. In a monastery, the prior had everyday charge of the running of the establishment, under the Abbot. Robertus Chapman is otherwise unattested in this post, so no date can be offered for his tenure of it. However, Robertus Cheyne is attested on a surviving slab as 12th Prior of Holyrood; he died in 1455.<sup>69</sup> In 1567 a Robert Chapman was appointed 'reader' to the parish of Balmaghie in Kirkcudbrightshire.<sup>70</sup> A reader was a lower-paid substitute for an ordained minister. Robert Chapman, who was in post at Balmaghie between 1567 and 1586, was paid out of the revenues of Holyrood Abbey, to which the parish had also been linked before the recent Reformation.<sup>71</sup> His career after 1586 is unknown.

#### 9. Fol. 332 verso (illus 8–9)

*In pariete horti Domini de Kilseith, in multum  
excelso lapide* ('In the wall of the Lord of Kilsyth's garden, on a very tall stone').



ILLUS 8 Communications to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Volume 4 (1823–7), fol 332 verso (nos 9–11). © National Museums Scotland

IMP. CAES. T. ælio  
 ADRIA \* :: \*:: ANTINO  
 Aug. pio. p. p.  
 VEXELLINVS

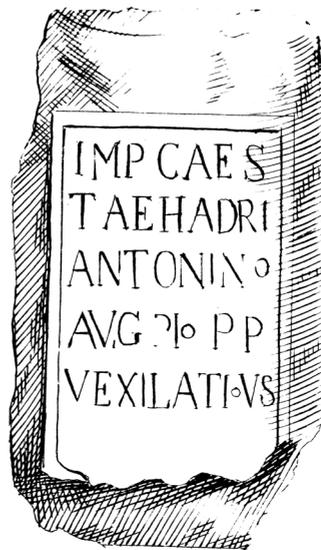
*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito) Aelio / Hadria(no) Ant(on)ino / Aug(usto) pio p(atri) p(atriciae) / vexellinus* 'For the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, detachments.'

This is a cylindrical pillar that the antiquary Alexander Gordon reports was found at the fort of Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall, 2km south-west of Kilsyth.<sup>72</sup> The stone is currently interpreted as an inscribed column shaft from the headquarters building there.<sup>73</sup>

The earliest record of the stone otherwise belongs in 1721, when it was seen in the 'Garden House' at Kilsyth by the Somerset antiquary John Strachey, while on a visit to Scotland.<sup>74</sup> Strachey subsequently sent a drawing to his friend William Stukeley, who transcribed it into his own copy of his *Account of a Roman Temple*.<sup>75</sup> The location of the stone at this time is confirmed by a note in the antiquary Sir John Clerk's hand.<sup>76</sup> Alexander Gordon saw it in 1723 and published a drawing (illus 9) in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.<sup>77</sup> An agent acting for Sir John Clerk had to ply the gardener with drink to obtain this stone, for onward transmission to Penicuik,<sup>78</sup> where it was seen by the Revd John Horsley.<sup>79</sup> It is now lost.

The 'Lord of Kilsyth' is again a reference to the Livingstons (cf above, p 332). The family forfeited the estate in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715; a subsequent survey of their possessions described their erstwhile home in the town as 'a pretty good little house called the House of Killisyth [*sic*], with Gardins and several very large Parks or Inclosures and a Dove house'.<sup>80</sup> The house and its grounds are depicted on William Roy's map of Scotland compiled in 1747–55. That the stone was set into the garden wall at Kilsyth is reported only in our manuscript. The description of its location matches no 5, but the garden is not the same.

As this stone is not recorded by William Camden in his *Britannia*, and hence absent from Philemon Holland's translation, our author



ILLUS 9 Dedication to the emperor Antoninus Pius, Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire, as published by Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726

was not able to carry forward any of its wording. The Latin description was evidently the only one available.<sup>81</sup> There are a number of discrepancies between the version in our manuscript and the other records of its text: the arrangement in four lines rather than five, the ligatured AE in first line, the gap in the second line and the erroneous transcription ANTINO for ANTONINO.

In our manuscript the final line reads VEXELLINVS. The meaning is not in doubt: the noun *vexillatio* (singular) or *vexillationes* (plural) means 'military detachment(s)'. The form *vexellinus*, though sounding authentic, is not found. John Strachey read VEXILATIONIS and Alexander Gordon VEXILATIOVS, which he expanded as *vexillatio v(otum) s(olvit)*, 'the detachment fulfilled its vow'.<sup>82</sup> However, it can hardly be doubted that the plural noun *vexillationes* was inscribed on the pillar. We should expect a further line identifying the legion or legions to which these detachments belonged. The horizontal line below the word *vexellinus* served, in my view, merely to separate nos 9 and 10, as it did between nos 12 and 13 (below).

## 10. Fol 332 verso (illus 8)

This Inscription is on a Stone in the East end of the Church of Cramond in Westlothian, being 3 foot Long & one foot and a half broad, having four Lyons drawn on it, all being almost worn out.

\* . . . . \* . . . . : GPVBLIVS CR . . . . \*  
 \* . . . \* . . . INPOMPONIAN  
 \* . . . . \* . . . . \* . . . . \* . . . .  
 \* . . . . PaT. p. D. D . .

[...JG Publius Cr[... / ... ] in(...) Pomponian[ ... / ... / ... ] pat(er) p(osuit) d(edit) d(edicavit). '(...)  
 G Publius Cr( ... ) / ... in(...) Pomponian( ... ) / ...  
 father (?), put up, gave and dedicated (this).'

This inscription is known only from our manuscript.<sup>83</sup> Cramond was the site of a Roman fort on the south side of the Firth of Forth, at the mouth of the River Almond; the fort was occupied in the Antonine and Severan periods of Roman occupation of Scotland, in the mid-2nd and early 3rd centuries AD.<sup>84</sup> Cramond lay not in West Lothian as stated here, but in Midlothian, the River Almond forming the demarcation line between the two counties.<sup>85</sup> When recorded by our author, the stone was built into the east wall of the parish church, which overlay the Roman fort's headquarters building. The medieval Cramond church has been rebuilt several times over the centuries.<sup>86</sup> Roman building stones can be seen in the lower courses of its 15th-century tower.<sup>87</sup>

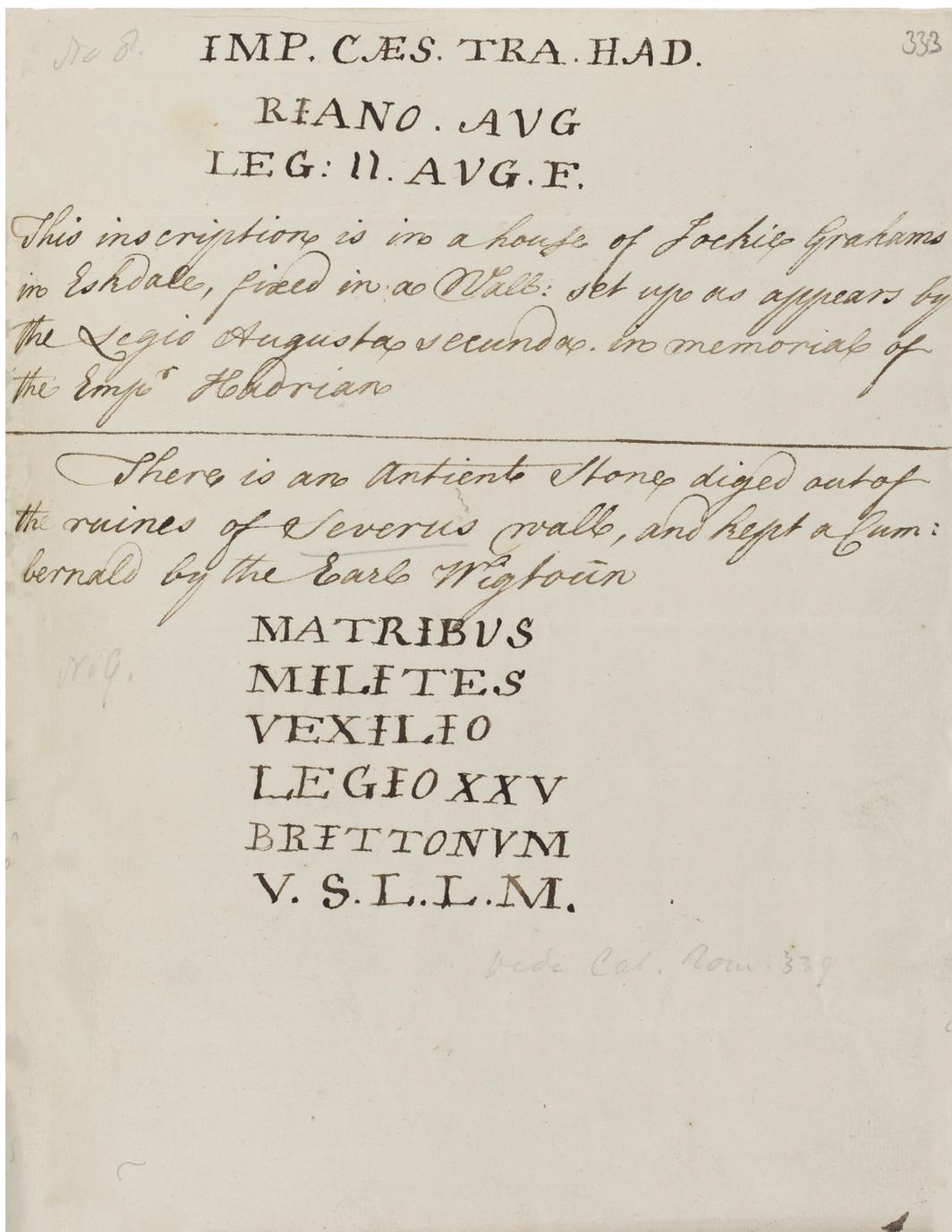
An unknown amount of text is lost at the beginning of what is presumed to have been the first line of the inscription, and each of the surviving lines had been worn away at the left. The inscription records a man whose several names apparently included the forename (*praenomen*) Publius and perhaps the surname (*cognomen*) Pomponianus, possibly separated by the family name (*nomen*) Crescentius. The editors of *RIB I* restored the first surviving letter (*G*) as an abbreviation for Gaius, another forename, but it could be the final letter of the previous word.<sup>88</sup> In line 5 *pat* could be abbreviated from *pater*, or *patri* ('father'), less convincingly from *patronus* or *patrono* ('patron').<sup>89</sup> The profusion of asterisks may reflect the extent of indecipherable lettering on the stone.

There are too many uncertainties to be sure whether this was a funerary or religious text or a building record. Two individuals, perhaps a father and a son, may be recorded. A senator named Publius Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, attested at his home town of Tingad, Algeria,<sup>90</sup> was Quaestor of Sicily, Legate of Aquitania and Proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in the Severan period; he is not known to have had any connection with Britain.<sup>91</sup> The formula *p(osuit) d(edit) d(edicavit)*, with which the text as we have it concludes, is appropriate to a religious dedication, not a funerary text. No rank or post is mentioned in the surviving wording; perhaps it was accommodated in the third line. The 'four Lyons drawn on it' were presumably carved in relief, above or below, or to either side. Lions are found as symbols of death and rebirth on funerary sculpture and sarcophagi.<sup>92</sup> There seems little room for them here unless they were additional to the inscribed panel. The 'four Lyons' call to mind the 'Cramond lioness' sculpture, believed to have surmounted a tomb beside the River Almond.<sup>93</sup>

There is no mention of this stone in any of the editions of Camden's *Britannia* or in the various treatises of Sir Robert Sibbald who takes note of several inscriptions from Cramond.<sup>94</sup> Nor does it feature in the extensive early 18th-century correspondence of the antiquary Sir John Clerk, 2nd baronet of Penicuik, Midlothian (cf above p 336), whose wife's family owned the Cramond estate.<sup>95</sup> In 1710 Clerk became an elder at Cramond church.<sup>96</sup> He thus knew Cramond well, and was able to acquire a 'centurial' stone, an inscribed bronze die-stamp and many Roman coins from the fort-site.<sup>97</sup> The stone also goes unmentioned in Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726) and the Revd John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732). It is absent too from John Wood's *The antient and modern State of the Parish of Cramond* (1794). We must assume that it was lost to view at an earlier date.

## 11. Fol. 332 verso (illus 8)

In Church of Holyroodhouse on a Stone in the floor.  
 I read this this [*sic*] Inscription in Anno 1633.



ILLUS 10 *Communications to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume 4 (1823–7), fol 333 recto (nos 12–13).  
© National Museums Scotland

*Hic situs est Alwinus  
Hujus Monasterij Abbas  
primus & Incliti Regis  
David Confessor  
Cuius Anima(e)  
proprietur Deus*

✠

'Here lies Alwin, first abbot of this monastery and confessor of the renowned King, David, to whose soul may God draw near.'

Alwin (or Aelfwin) is a known historical figure, abbot of Holyrood between 1128 and 1151,<sup>98</sup> who had been confessor to David before the latter's accession as King of Scotland in 1124. The inscription is otherwise unknown. Like no 8 (above), it was set into the floor of the Abbey. The spelling *Alwinus* could be a misreading of *Alwinus* on the graveslab. The concluding Latin phrase is a standard formula, in which the verb *proprietur* is sometimes found. However, *cuius animae proprietur* (often *propicietur*) *deus* is more normal ('May God look favourably on his soul').

## 12. Fol 333 recto (illus 10)

This inscription is in a house of Jockie Grahams in Eskdale, fixed in a Wall: set up as appears by the Legio Augusta secunda. In memorial of the Emp(ero)r Hadrian.

*IMP. CAES. TRA. HAD.  
RIANO. AVG  
LEG: II. AVG. F.*

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Tra(iano) Had / riano  
Aug(usto) / leg(io) II Aug(usta) f(ecit).* 'For the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, the Second Augustan Legion built (this)'.

This stone records building work by the Second Augustan Legion under the emperor Hadrian, who reigned from AD 117 to 138.<sup>99</sup> It was built into Netherby House, Cumbria, on the River Esk, north-east of Longtown, and so a few kilometres outwith Scotland. Netherby, the home of a family of Grahams,<sup>100</sup> was the site of a Roman fort occupied from the Hadrianic period onwards.<sup>101</sup>

The inscription was known to William Camden when he was preparing the 1600 edition

of his *Britannia*, but his repeated attempts to secure its text had been in vain.<sup>102</sup> In 1601, the schoolmaster Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, Cumbria, saw it 'at Walter Grames house in a fare square stone set in the wall of his howse' and transcribed it.<sup>103</sup> By 1607 Camden had the text.<sup>104</sup> However, Alexander Gordon failed to find it in the 1720s and it is now lost.<sup>105</sup>

Our author has taken some of the explanatory wording from Philemon Holland's edition of Camden.<sup>106</sup> However, that it was in 'a house of Jockie Graham's in Eskdale' was contributed by our author, perhaps from personal knowledge. It may have been the ultimate Scottishness of the Graham family that prompted the inclusion of this stone in our manuscript. All the early sources report the text in four lines rather than the three given here. I can find no reference to any head of the family being called Jockie; they were named either Walter or Richard. In reporting this inscription, Sir Daniel Wilson has 'Jockie Graham', presumably from viewing our manuscript,<sup>107</sup> while Emil Hübner has 'Lockie Graham', a likely misreading of Joseph Anderson's handwriting.<sup>108</sup> Jockie could simply be a nickname.

## 13. Fol 333 recto (illus 10)

There is an Antient Stone diged out of the ruines of Severus wall, and kept a [*sic*] Cumbernald by the Earl Wigtoun

*MATRIBUS  
MILITES  
VEXILIO  
LEGIO XXV  
BRITTONVM  
V. S. L. L. M.*

*Matribus / milites / vexil(lat)io(nis) / legio(nis) XXV  
/ Brittonum / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibentes)  
m(erito).* 'To the Mothers, soldiers of a detachment of the Twenty-fifth Legion of Britons gladly, willingly and deservedly fulfilled their vow'.

This is an altar dedicated to the Mother Goddesses (*Matres*) by soldiers of a military detachment, here identified as legion XXV and seemingly consisting of Britons.<sup>109</sup> The Mother Goddesses, popular with Roman soldiers, had

been introduced to Britain from the Rhineland. As there was no legion XXV in the Roman imperial army, later commentators divined a dedication by legion XX, or by legions XX and II combined; the role of the Britons is unclear. The Antonine Wall was long believed to have been built under the Roman emperor Septimius Severus who reigned AD 193–211. Cumbernauld Castle, 2km south of the Wall, was the residence of the earls of Wigton.

The altar was first reported in the 1680s by Sir Robert Sibbald and by Dr Christopher Irvine, Historiographer Royal for Scotland under King Charles II. Sibbald reports the provenance as ‘near’ Castlecary fort. In the 1720s, Alexander Gordon saw only its upper half.<sup>110</sup> The Revd John Horsley was able to locate the whole altar, but by then it was broken in two; Horsley considered that the two parts belonged to separate altars.<sup>111</sup> No later antiquary or traveller reports it. The compiler of our manuscript drew for his wording on Christopher Irvine’s *Historiae Scoticae nomenclatura latino-vernacula*, published in 1682.<sup>112</sup> There is no indication that he had seen the stone himself.

## DISCUSSION

The manuscript contains a mixture of Roman and medieval inscriptions. Though the indorsement describes the contents as ‘Ancient Inscriptions on Stones found in Scotland’, one in fact was from Cumbria (no 12) and another was, possibly, recorded at Montpellier in southern France (no 6).

William Camden’s *Britannia* was the ultimate source for several of the Roman inscriptions (nos 1–5, 12), as Sir Daniel Wilson observed.<sup>113</sup> The order of the first five listed here follows Camden’s sequence. Nos 1–3 are enclosed within plain frames, in a manner familiar from Camden and his translators. One inscription (no 13) derives from Dr Christopher Irvine’s *Historiae Scoticae nomenclatura* (1682); placed at the end of the manuscript, it could be an addendum to it.

Most of the nine Roman inscriptions in our manuscript were known to scholars before the end of the 17th century. One stone (no 9) was

first recorded in 1721, a *terminus ante quem* for the date of its discovery. No 10, from Cramond, is reported only here. Six came from the line of the Antonine Wall (nos 2–5, 9, 13), one each from the forts at Cramond in Midlothian, Inveresk in Midlothian and Netherby in Cumbria (nos 1, 10, 12). The initial recording of nos 3 and 9 predates 1723, and that of no 2 belongs before 1735, after which their locations changed. Inscriptions first reported by Sir Robert Sibbald in the closing years of the 17th and early years of the 18th century or by the antiquaries Alexander Gordon and the Revd John Horsley in the 1720s are absent. Our author provides some details not elsewhere attested and is interested in the dimensions of the stones; his measurements of no 4 are the only ones known in the antiquarian record. No measurements are offered for the medieval inscriptions.

In three cases, the texts of the Roman inscriptions are accompanied by sentences in Latin (nos 4–5, 9). In two cases, the latter provides additional details (nos 4, 5); in one case (no 9), it is the only explanatory text offered. Some unknown source may be indicated,<sup>114</sup> presumably dating to before the close of the 17th century. The Latin words *suffulta* (used in no 4) and *liticines* (used in no 5) are relatively rare, though attested both in classical and medieval sources. The phrase *alatis hominibus suffulta in signum Victoriae* (no 4) paraphrases Camden’s *duabus victoriolis sustentata*,<sup>115</sup> suggesting an author familiar with the Latin text of the *Britannia* rather than merely an English translation of it. One possible source of the Latin could be the philologist Edward Lhwyd, who wrote in Latin and was a contributor to Edmund Gibson’s edition of Camden’s *Britannia*, published in 1695. Lhwyd traversed the Antonine Wall in 1699 and made drawings of stones he saw, including our no 4.<sup>116</sup> He spent a night at Cawder House and another at Castle Cary.<sup>117</sup> However, there is no indication that he visited Kilsyth.

While the Roman inscriptions have been closely studied by scholars over many years, the medieval texts pose more of a problem, only one (no 7) being otherwise attested. No use seems to have been made of them in the 19th century or later, resulting in a modern misapprehension

that our manuscript contained only Roman inscriptions. The epitaphs of Alwin and of Robertus Chapman (nos 8 and 11) were recorded at Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh. The details offered indicate personal inspection. However, it is hard to suppose that the epitaph of Alwin is of 12th-century date; perhaps it was recut or replaced very much later. The slab recording James Durham at Monifieth seems an odd choice (but see below), as does that of 'Banus Gordon'.

A number of the texts in our manuscript incorporate asterisks, some of which were carried forward into their Roman corpora by Emil Hübner (1873) and by R G Collingwood and R P Wright, the editors of *RIB* I (1965). Wright suggested, when discussing the stone from Inveresk (no 1), that they 'presumably indicate elaborate leaf-stops'.<sup>118</sup> This cannot be right, as the asterisks in nos 1 and 5 were copied from Holland's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, where they alerted the reader to marginal notes and were not present on the stones. In other cases, the asterisks seem to be used to suggest indistinct lettering, which our author was unable to decipher (nos 9, 10), and in another they may serve to indicate that the original text had been abbreviated (no 7). Sometimes our author has used medieval letter-forms when transcribing the Roman inscriptions (nos 3, 4, 5 and 13).

The manuscript was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Susannah, Dowager Countess of Morton (above p 323), widow of the 16th earl. The indorsement on it (above p 323) offers a choice of authorship, either James Douglas, 14th earl of Morton, or Robert Riddle. Morton is considered the author, without discussion, by Sir Daniel Wilson, by Emil Hübner, and by the editors of *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*.<sup>119</sup> Riddle goes unmentioned.

James Douglas, the 14th earl, was born in Edinburgh in 1702 and graduated from King's College, Cambridge, in 1722.<sup>120</sup> Later he undertook a Grand Tour to Italy.<sup>121</sup> Morton was an Enlightenment man of science, interested in natural philosophy, astronomy, agriculture and medicine, who, in 1748, presented an Egyptian mummy to the Faculty of Advocates

in Edinburgh.<sup>122</sup> His interest in medicine might have prompted inclusion of no 6. In 1763 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and was an early Trustee of the British Museum. In 1764, he was elected President of the Royal Society in London, and died in 1768.

The alternate author is named as Robert Riddle, 'a distinguished Antiquary & died 1730' (above p 323). Presumably, despite the major discrepancy in dates, this is Captain Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, Dumfriesshire, the friend of Robert Burns, who died in 1794, and who has left a wide range of papers related to his antiquarian pursuits;<sup>123</sup> several bound volumes are held by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh. I have found no evidence to link him to the manuscript; this is not his handwriting.

However, at least some of the information in our manuscript was gathered at a much earlier date, around the middle of the 17th century. Attention could be directed at William Douglas, 7th earl of Morton (1582–1648), a prominent supporter of King Charles I whom he served in Scotland as Lord High Treasurer from 1630 to 1636.<sup>124</sup> As such, he would have known James Durham of Pitkerro, the King's 'cashier' (above p 333). In 1633, the 7th earl was present at Holyrood on the occasion of the Scottish coronation of King Charles I,<sup>125</sup> which could have been the occasion of the recording of no 11 in that year, and perhaps also of no 8.<sup>126</sup> A dating in the reign of Charles I would accord too with the apparent use of Philemon Holland's 1637 edition of Camden's *Britannia*.

Some additions were clearly made later, towards the end of the 17th century or in the early 18th century. Perhaps the various notes were collated into their present form at that time. The handwriting in our manuscript is not that of the 14th earl of Morton, generally supposed to be its author. It is however similar to that used in some letters the 14th earl addressed in 1739–47 to his friend Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, which it is tempting to ascribe to a clerk.<sup>127</sup> Perhaps such a clerk was tasked to collate earlier notes, or undertook the work on his own initiative. The intervention of someone not overly conversant with the material could account for the erroneous

copying out of the asterisks (nos 1, 5), the error over Lord Sandilands of Torphichen (no 2), wrong line divisions (nos 9, 12) and the complete misreading of the final line of no 7. Variant readings could represent his own thoughts on how the abbreviated word-forms should be expanded. The combination of capitals and lower case lettering (nos 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9) might have arisen from him having recognised certain Latin words but not others. The document itself remained in possession of the Morton family, until its donation to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1827.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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### ENDNOTES

- 1 *Communications to the Society of Antiquaries*, vol 4, 1823–7: fols 331–3; cf *Archaeologia Scotica* 3, 1831: app II, p 118.
- 2 Wilson 1851: 391, 396.
- 3 Hübner 1867: 795.
- 4 Hübner 1873: 186.
- 5 Macdonald 1896: 149. His son Sir George Macdonald alluded to No 2 in his *Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911: 294; idem 1934: 370).
- 6 Collingwood & Wright 1965: p xxiii; and see their comment on *RIB* 2312.
- 7 *Communications to the Society of Antiquaries*, vol 4, 1823–7: fols 322–3; cf *Archaeologia Scotica* 3, 1831: app II, p 118, where our document is described as a ‘manuscript letter’.
- 8 The 1637 edition is therefore cited in the endnotes below.
- 9 *CIL* VII 1082; *ILS* 4646; *RIB* 2132.
- 10 Camden 1607: 688; whence Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 13.
- 11 Napier 1593: 210.
- 12 Bishop 2002.
- 13 Birley 2005: 310.
- 14 Maxwell 1983: 388; *RIB* III, 3499.
- 15 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1831: 294.
- 16 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1822a: 287.
- 17 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1822b: 288.
- 18 Rosen 1949; Odlozilic 1966; Cameron 1996: 125.
- 19 Odlozilic 1966: 5; McNally 2012: 91.
- 20 Deman 1967.
- 21 Reinesius 1660: 135, *epistola* xxix.
- 22 Napier 1593: 210.
- 23 Camden 1600: 738.
- 24 Camden 1607: 688.
- 25 Camden 1607: 689.
- 26 Hübner 1873 on *CIL* VII 1082; Collingwood & Wright 1965 on *RIB* 2132.
- 27 Translated from Sibbald 1711: 77.
- 28 Camden 1607: 689; Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 13.
- 29 Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 13.
- 30 *CIL* VII 1126; *RIB* 2186.
- 31 Leiden University MS Papebroekianus 6, fol 110.
- 32 Scaliger 1606, *Animadversiones*: 175.
- 33 Camden 1607: 699.
- 34 Macdonald 1934: 369 no 5; Keppie 1998: 76 no 4.
- 35 Dalrymple 1695: 98.

- 36 Camden 1607: 699; hence Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 27.
- 37 Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 27.
- 38 *CIL* VII 1143; *RIB* 2173.
- 39 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 295; Camden 1607: 699.
- 40 Keppie 1998: 72 no 1.
- 41 Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 27.
- 42 *CIL* VII 1127; *RIB* 2209; *CSIR* 128.
- 43 Leiden University MS Papenbroekianus 6, fol 110.
- 44 Scaliger 1606, *Animadversiones*: 175.
- 45 Camden 1607: 699.
- 46 Camden, in BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 295. See Macdonald 1934: 371, 404 no 26.
- 47 Camden 1607: 699; Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 27.
- 48 *CIL* VII 1110; *RIB* 2172; *CSIR* 101; Robertson, Scott & Keppie 1975: 34 no 7.
- 49 Leiden University MS Papenbroekianus 6, fol 110; Scaliger 1606: *Animadversiones*, 175.
- 50 Camden 1607: 699.
- 51 Livingston 1920: 230; RCAHMS 1963: 12.
- 52 Keppie 1978.
- 53 Holland 1637: *Scotland*, 28.
- 54 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 323.
- 55 See Willsher & Hunter 1978: 21.
- 56 I am grateful for this identification to Carol Parry (Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow).
- 57 Sarton 1948.
- 58 Wickersheimer 1936: 75; Tétry 1985. See also O'Neill 1965; Demaitre 1980.
- 59 Helmsdale in Sutherland comes to mind.
- 60 *Prologue*, line 434; Andrew 1993: 384.
- 61 Miller 1845: 546.
- 62 Jervise 1875: 109. His version of the text reads: *Hic situs. Sepulchrum hoc sibi posterisque suis extruendum curavit vir clarus pius ac probus Durhame de Pitcarr(o) argentarius quondam R(egis) Jac(obi) VI sempiternae memoriae cuius maiores eadem haec nomen et arma gerentes hac in parochia Regno Ro(berti) R(egis) Imi [primi] sese dein posuerunt ubi exinde huc usque claruerunt.*
- 63 As observed by local historian John Malcolm (1910: 149).
- 64 Information from Dr Julian Goodare.
- 65 Warden 1885: 157, 397; Malcolm 1910: 342.
- 66 NRS CC3/3/5. Morag Cross located the will and helpfully transcribed it for me.
- 67 Malcolm 1910: 343 cites the Kirk Session Records of St Rule's Church.
- 68 Seton 1857; RCAHMS 1951: 136; Gifford, McWilliam & Walker 1984: 125.
- 69 Rogers 1871, 1, 99; RCAHMS 1951, 141 no 2. The inscription reads *Hic jacet dns. Robertus Cheyne XII. prior huiusce monasterij qui obiit xvii. die Sept. An. Dni. MCCCCLV* ('Here lies the lord Robert Cheyne, 12th prior of this monastery, who died on the 17th day of September A.D. 1455'). Though there could be some suspicion that this was in fact our no 8, the phraseology appears sufficiently different.
- 70 Reid 1896: 46.
- 71 Scott 1917: 391; Cowan 1967: 13.
- 72 *CIL* VII 1109, 1110a; *RIB* 2312; Gordon 1726: 55, pl 9.4; cf Horsley 1732: 200, pl (*Scotland*) xvi.
- 73 *RIB* I *Addenda* (1995): p 799 on *RIB* 2312.
- 74 Somerset Heritage Centre DD/SH/5/382, p 41.
- 75 Stukeley 1720: opposite p 10 in the copy held at the Sackler Library, Oxford.
- 76 NRS GD 18/5068/5. See Keppie 2014: 21 no 11.
- 77 Gordon 1726: 55 pl 9.4.
- 78 Keppie 2014 has the details.
- 79 Horsley 1732: 200 pl (*Scotland*) xvi.
- 80 NRS E640/1/3; Dennison et al 2006: 24.
- 81 Our compiler had no awareness of its publication in the monographs of Gordon and Horsley (1726: 55; 1732: 200).
- 82 Gordon 1726: 55.
- 83 *CIL* VII 1087; *RIB* 2136.
- 84 Holmes 2003: 145; Burnham et al 2004: 269 with fig 7.
- 85 Dalmeny, West Lothian, which lay west of the River Almond, fell for a time within the parish of Cramond.
- 86 Wood 1794: 73; RCAHMS 1929: 27; Fraser 1976: 7.
- 87 Information from Valerie Dean who shared with me her photographic record of it.
- 88 Collingwood & Wright 1965, 656 on *RIB* 2136. Dr R S O Tomlin suggests (pers comm) a dedication to *Victoriae Aug* or *Augg* (ie *Augusti* or *Augustorum*), 'imperial victory'.
- 89 Sir Ian Richmond's suggestion of P[R]A[E]F in the final line can be discounted (*RIB* 2136 ad loc, whence Devijver 1976–7: 683, no P 113).
- 90 *ILS* 8981; cf *ILS* 2937.

- 91 *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 346. See Birley 2005: 292 fn 62; photograph in Cooley 2012: 149 fig 2.9.
- 92 Toynbee 1973: 67. Griffins, with a lion's body and an eagle's wings and head, are commonly found in such contexts.
- 93 Hunter & Collard 1997.
- 94 Sibbald 1707: 33, 47, 48.
- 95 Wood 1794: 65.
- 96 Hanham 2005: 134. In 1722 he succeeded to the baronetcy and moved to Penicuik House.
- 97 *RIB* 2137, *RIB* II, 2409.35; Gordon 1726: 116.
- 98 Innes 1840: p xviii; Anderson 1922: 211, 230; Barrow 1953: 90 = Barrow 2003: 161; Watt & Shead 2001: 92.
- 99 *CIL* VII 961; *RIB* 974.
- 100 Hutchinson 1794: 531; Hudleston & Boumphey 1978: 135; Hyde & Pevsner 2010: 548–50.
- 101 Birley 1953; Daniels 1978: 311; Breeze 2006: 99.
- 102 Camden 1600: 706.
- 103 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 319. See Haverfield 1911: 353.
- 104 Camden 1607: 643.
- 105 Gordon 1726: 98; cf Horsley 1732: 271; Wilson 1851: 396; Macdonald 1896: 149.
- 106 Holland 1637: 781.
- 107 Wilson 1851: 396.
- 108 Hübner 1873: 167.
- 109 *CIL* VII 1094.
- 110 Gordon 1726: 57.
- 111 Horsley 1732: 201; *RIB* 2147 & 2152. See now Keppie 2012b.
- 112 Irvine 1682: 122. In line 5 Irvine prints BRITTONVM. Other antiquaries have BRITTONVM, the form used in our manuscript.
- 113 Wilson 1851: 392.
- 114 See Hübner 1873: 186.
- 115 Camden 1607: 699.
- 116 Keppie 1998: 11; idem 2012a: 55.
- 117 Sharp 1937: no xix; cf Stukeley 1720: 11.
- 118 See *RIB* 2132.
- 119 Wilson 1851: 392; Hübner 1873: 186; Collingwood & Wright 1965: p xxiii.
- 120 Paul 1909: 337; Guerrini 2004.
- 121 Ingamells 1997: 308, 1021.
- 122 Brown 2002.
- 123 Thornton 1953; Mackay 2004.
- 124 Lee 1985: 119; Sizer 2004.
- 125 Young 2005: 102.
- 126 Dennis Gallagher alerted me to the significance of this date.
- 127 Eg NRS GD18/4172, 5107, 5444.

## DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

*Abbreviations*

- BL British Library, London
- NRS National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
- RCAHMS Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

## BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

- MS Cotton Julius F.VI  
Papers of William Camden, c 1600.

## LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

- MS Papenbroekianus 6  
Communications sent to Janus Gruter, c 1600.

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND,  
EDINBURGH*Commissariat Record of Brechin*

- CC 3/3/5 Register of Testaments, 1630–42.

*Forfeited Estates papers, 1715*

- E640/1/3 Report on the real estate of the Viscount of Kilsyth.

*Clerk of Penicuik Muniments*

- GD 18/5068 Wallet containing drawings of Roman stones
- GD 18/4172, 5107, 5444 Letters from James Douglas, 14th earl of Morton, to Sir John Clerk, 1739–47.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,  
EDINBURGH

- Communications to the Society of Antiquaries*, vol 4, 1823–7.

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