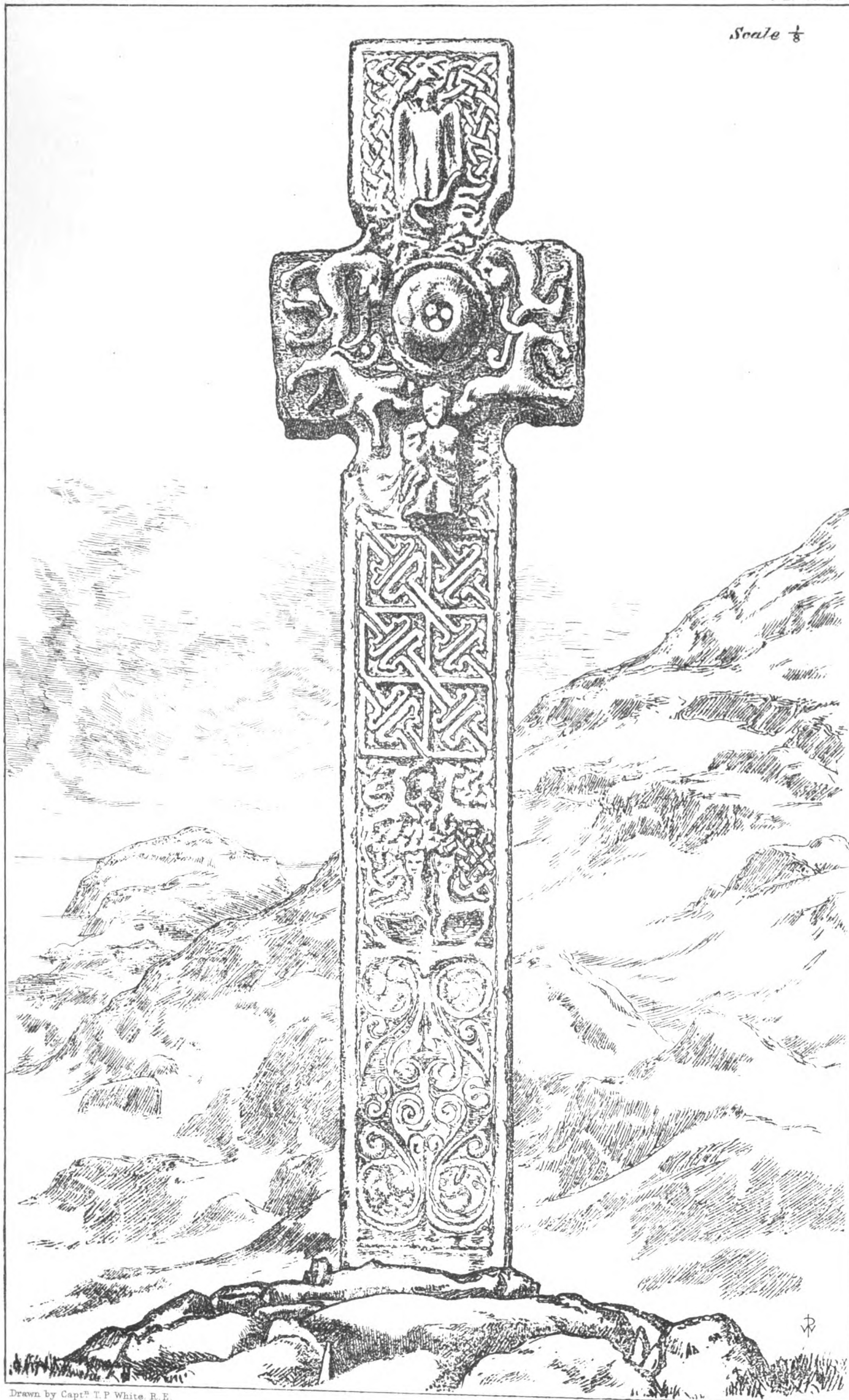


CROSS AT KEILLS KNAPDALE-ARGYLLSHIRE

FRONTISPIECE

PL. XXXV

Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$



Drawn by Capt. T. P. White R.E.

Photo-lithographed & printed by W & A K. Johnston

# ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCHES

IN

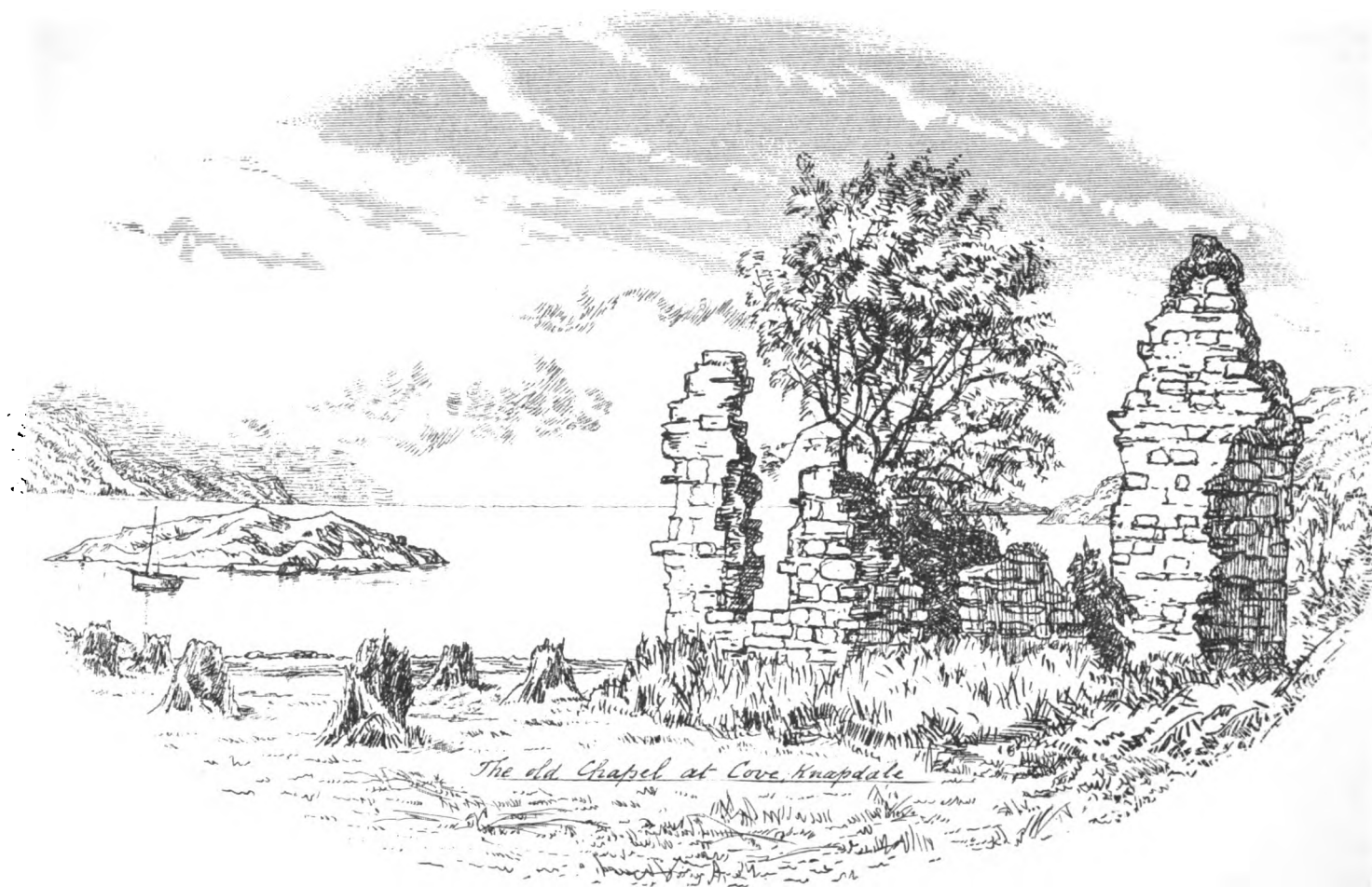
## SCOTLAND

### *KNAPDALE AND GIGHA*

BY

CAPTAIN T. P. WHITE

R.E., F.S.A. Scot.



WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS  
EDINBURGH AND LONDON  
MDCCCLXXV

To

**Major-General Sir Henry James**

R.E. F.R.S. etc. etc.

Director-General of the Ordnance Survey

Whose Zeal in the cause of Archaeology

Has so Materially Contributed to the Publication of these Pages

**This Volume is Inscribed**

With the

Author's Grateful Acknowledgments

## P R E F A C E.

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It is unnecessary for me to say many words by way of preface to this volume. I assume that most of those who read it will have seen, or be able to see, its predecessor. In the matter of the plates the same procedure as before has been adopted,—the term *drawn* being affixed in the left-hand corner of the plate in each instance where the subjects have been based upon paper tracings or rubbings and outlined to scale; the term *sketched* representing work done entirely freehand without such assistance from rubbings.

Some of the illustrations have been executed in pen and ink; others in pencil for after-tinting. This is not a mere arbitrary distinction, but has been determined partly by the exigencies of time and weather, seeing that both have to be considered where pen-and-ink sketching is done out of doors, and partly by what seemed the suitability of the subject for rendering in one or other of the two mediums. In the representations of the slabs, I have endeavoured faithfully to reproduce the worn and faded appearance of the stone, wherever, as in too many cases, portions of the sculptures were found to be obliterated. Nor is there one among the set of drawings which does not represent outdoor work; and I have been at no small pains to place the whole as far as possible above criticism in respect of *accuracy*. Not that it is possible to produce work of this kind wholly without faults; nevertheless, what I have just said I think it necessary to say emphatically. A reviewer in a Scottish journal of standing and extensive circulation was pleased to charge me with two inaccuracies of detail in the plates of the last volume of these Sketches. The charge was totally unfounded; the explicit answer to it, and to some strictures upon other portions of the book, will be found in the opening chapter of the present volume.

For the rest, I think I have expressed elsewhere in these pages my hearty thanks to the representatives of the Press in those quarters where my work in Kintyre has met with such encouraging commendation. And I trust that the present part of the same work will not be found less worthy of notice, though it has been prepared under greater disadvantages. These islands, where, in the turn of a soldier's fortune, I find myself at present serving, whatever their other charms, can scarcely be called a congenial field for literary pursuits in the direction either of history or archæology. The splendid libraries of Edin-



burgh, and the invaluable repository of national archives in that city, are not here to refer to, nor anything like them ; and thus, with respect to the letterpress of this volume, I have had to fall back entirely upon what materials it was in my power to gather up at home and bring out here.

That these pages, therefore, may exhibit many little inaccuracies, is exceedingly probable. For such, should they occur, I must make apology, and ask the reader to judge them with lenity. Some allowance must also be made for defects, artistically speaking, incidental to the process of copying original drawings, especially pencilled ones, by photo-lithography.

T. P. W.

BERMUDA, *September* 1874.

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# ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCHES

IN

## SCOTLAND.

---

### KNAPDALE AND GIGHA.

#### CHAPTER I.

AT the commencement of the preceding volume of these Sketches I explained the general Introductory. plan upon which it was my intention to proceed in dealing with the subject-matter on hand. What was then said, however, I wrote without expectation that the call of military service was so soon to remove me from the sphere of the special duties of the Ordnance Survey. To say that leaving so admirable a national work as the Survey of Great Britain and Ireland was a source of very great regret to me, may seem almost superfluous. *Ca va sans dire.* It is more to my present purpose to have pointed out certain difficulties which have ensued consequent on this removal in the preparation of the present volume. The collection of drawings was fortunately completed before I received my orders to go on foreign service. But to utilise the resources of the admirable libraries in Edinburgh to which I had free access, was a task that could only be very partially carried out in the interval that remained before embarkation. At the same time, it was also so far fortunate that the summary of history, and the remarks I ventured to offer on early monumental art in the case of the district of Kintyre, applied equally to Knapdale and Gigha.

It has been said<sup>1</sup> that an English county can hardly be considered to have a history of Synopsis of contents. its own, for that if such were attempted to be written, it would constitute a history of England. It might with at least equal truth be alleged that the history of Kintyre is the history of Knapdale, and that both are the history of the West Highlands. But here the parallel ceases; for these remote and geographically secluded districts could not be History of the localities. expected to contribute as much to the sum of events recorded in the chronicles of Scotland as would an English county to the annals of its parent kingdom. The series of events I

<sup>1</sup> By a writer in the 'Saturday Review' not long ago, but in what number of that periodical I do not remember.

sketched out as supplying the leading incidents in the history of Kintyre, would have for their theatre a wider range than the area of that district. It would be possible, perhaps, by going into family MSS., and such documents as, let us say, may be stored up in the charter-room at Inverary Castle, to obtain many items of local history affording a clue to some of the monuments and early remains I am about to discuss. And there may doubtless be many other similar sources of information locked up, as I have elsewhere remarked, in private collections—accounts by seannachies, genealogies of Highland families, and so on—which might lead to the same result. But time and opportunity are needed fully to consult such materials, and compare them with the topographical nomenclature, traditions, and archæological remains to be found on the ground. What I have been able to do in this way for Kintyre I have done; but I cannot pretend that as much was accomplished as I could have wished. As regards the district of Knapdale, I have had to content myself with references to very few published works. In compensation for the deficiencies in this direction, I have endeavoured in the present volume to put the reader more *en rapport* with the scenery of the localities to be described, which was a point very sparingly entered upon in the previous volume. With respect to prehistoric and castled remains, I have adhered to the original plan of reserving them, unless, from proximity or relation in some special way to the ecclesiastical antiquities, they seemed to call for a passing observation.

Other materials.

The plates.

In the matter of the illustrations, I trust I have made them as exhaustively complete and accurate as possible. In one quarter, but in one quarter only, those given in the volume on Kintyre have been called in question, both as to their artistic merits and their accuracy of detail—with what truth, as regards the latter part of the allegation, we shall presently see. Of the drawings I have to offer in the present series, all I can say is this,—the reader must judge of their pictorial qualities for himself; for their substantial correctness, I venture to challenge comparison with any other set of illustrations that may be produced. The main portion of them will be found to consist, as before, of the sculptured crosses and ornamental tombstones in the localities described, with sketches of the old church architecture. And it may be added that the district of Knapdale, with its outlying islands, presents features of interest in these respects peculiar to itself. Some of the monuments, for example, are of singularly antique type; many others, viewed simply as sculptures, exhibit a character of great refinement and delicacy. Knapdale, in short, is probably less known than Kintyre and other neighbouring localities; yet, on the whole—and the author can speak from an extensive personal knowledge—it is perhaps the richest of all the mainland districts of Scotland to the ecclesiologist, as regards antique monumental art.

Reply to a critique on the last volume.

I may now be permitted to reply to a criticism upon the first volume of these Archæological Sketches which appeared in a Scotch newspaper.<sup>1</sup> I ought, in some sort, to apologise for what the reader might be inclined to consider as unnecessarily dragging into a book of this kind comments of the public press in which he can hardly be expected to take interest, and which might seem to be rather of personal importance to the author. It is, however, to be

<sup>1</sup> 'Scotsman' of 9th April 1873.

borne in mind that the journal in question is one conducted with well-known talent and having a wide circulation. I therefore assume that many of my readers would see the criticism; and I think it is only fair to them and to myself that charges of inaccuracy, made with such publicity, should not be allowed to pass unanswered. I am bound to add, notwithstanding, that the review was written in a racy and slashing manner, with a certain pungent but piquant flavour not unfrequent in that journal's literary notices; and although the general purport of the critique was decidedly adverse to the work under review, I was myself unable to resist its readableness. I remember an old saying of our schoolboy days, that the next best thing to giving another fellow a licking was to be able to take one, especially if it was administered in a tolerably capable manner. On the same principle, I am not to be considered as finding fault with the tone or observations of the review as far as they are just. I desire merely to rebut certain misstatements of fact and palpable exaggerations.

The reviewer devotes his attack to the three branches into which he divides my work—its history, its archæology, and its illustrations. As the last branch deals with representations of actual objects, I shall begin with what is said on that subject.

“Captain White,” we are informed, “evidently relies on his rubbings<sup>1</sup> as the sheet-anchor of all artistic fidelity and excellence. . . . That there is even greater danger of misinterpreting the rubbings than of misinterpreting the stones themselves, is abundantly obvious from the examples before us. Take the case of the beautiful slab at Killean, one of the finest in the volume. Captain White has converted the large-eared animal figure crouching on the one side of the stone into a grotesque caricature, by giving it a human head, with a fool's cap surmounting the boldly outlined, but feebly featured face, and putting a dog's collar round its neck. Yet, to an eye accustomed to the spirit of these old sculptures, the head is plainly that of an animal, and its graceful outlines may even be made out on the drawing in spite of the caricaturing touches. Had Captain White been sufficiently saturated with the art of the stones, he might have paused to ‘rub’ his own forehead reflectively when he saw the fool's cap come out in the rubbing of the stone.”

This is the first charge. The slab referred to is one at Killean, in Kintyre (Pl. XXVII., vol. i.), which I have described thus: “A grotesque creature, with a body like an ape's, a dragon's claw, and the face of a man, the lips rather protruded, and on his head what, I think, most resembles the peaked cap worn by fools or jesters in mediæval times.”<sup>2</sup>

Now, to begin with, my description of a conical-shaped head-dress—“most resembling the peaked cap worn by fools or jesters”—did not warrant the assertion that I had given the creature “a fool's cap.” Such want of exactness in a writer claiming to criticise inexactness is a little suggestive of the familiar saying as to glass-houses and stones. But let that pass. The question is, Who is right in the matter of the detail, the reviewer or I? When I read his positive assertion, “the head is plainly that of an animal,” I wondered if he had ever

<sup>1</sup> I have stated the reasons for and extent of my reliance on monumental rubbings in a paper read to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, on 9th January 1871.—Proceedings of Soc., vol. ix., p. 60-68.

<sup>2</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 132.



Testimony of  
the plaster  
cast.

been to Kintyre and actually seen the slab ; because if he had not, it occurred to me that I, who *had* seen and carefully studied this detail for the purpose of drawing it, might of the two be supposed to have a better chance of being right. What was to be done ? It was impossible to bring the tombstone itself to Edinburgh, but it was possible to take a plaster cast from it, which I did ; and fortunately it turned out sufficiently well for my purpose. At the next meeting of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, when I read a brief digest of the contents of these pages, this cast was exhibited and presented to the Society. In the Edinburgh Archæological Museum that cast now is, open to public inspection ; and if anybody can see other than a human face in it, his eyes must be different from mine, and I think I am justified in saying, different from the eyes of the majority of the Fellows of the Society who saw the cast on that occasion. Probably the reviewer would allow that the cast is a witness "sufficiently saturated with the art" of the stone it came from. There is no doubt in my mind that the face of the creature represented is human, and otherwise as I have described it ; nor do I think that any one, after examining the actual stone, could entertain the slightest doubt on the point. If justice is done to the cast, and it is put in a proper light, it will speak for itself ; but we must bear in mind that it does not come at first hand from the stone, but from a matrix taken off the stone. To this circumstance alone do I attribute what difference of opinion was expressed at the Society's meeting as to the humanity of the face. On the tombstone itself the point is indubitable. To make sure, before I saw how the cast would turn out from the matrix, as the latter was my first attempt at modelling, I wrote to the proprietor of Largie Castle, whose estate borders on the old churchyard of Killean, and whose ancestors repose there, and this is his reply : " I have carefully looked at the stone in Killean churchyard, and am quite satisfied about " the face being human, and not an animal's. I also took two or three others to see it, who " are of the same opinion, having no doubt on the subject." Such testimony from those who have seen the slab itself may probably be thought a safer guide to the fact than conjectures from those who merely saw the cast, or than the assertion of a critic who, in all probability, when he wrote it, had seen nothing but the print from my drawing.

Testimony of  
local witnesses  
against the  
reviewer.

I have only one other remark to make while on the subject of the Killean monument. I frankly admit that the print does not quite do justice to the countenance of the creature in this curious and unique piece of sculpture, nor have I brought out as I should like to have done the lines about the collar.<sup>1</sup>

Slab with  
sculpture of a  
mermaid.

The next error of drawing charged against me is as follows : " In one case he has " converted an otter seizing a salmon (not an uncommon representation on these stones) " into a funny-looking mermaid—funny-looking she *must* be, since the otter's haunches are

<sup>1</sup> Some ingenious person, signing himself " F.S.A.," wrote, after the Society's meeting, to the ' Scotsman' to say he had discovered in the cast a chain attached to the collar ; and he blamed me for not showing it in the drawing. If the chain is there, there would seem to be a good case for the " dog's collar," which the reviewer objected to. But I, in my turn, object to have dogs' collars or anything else fathered on me for which I am not responsible. No doubt, in copying the stone, I have drawn what is apparently a collar attached to the nondescript creature's neck ; but " putting a dog's collar " round it was none of my doing, and the reviewer and " F.S.A." may settle that between them.

“converted into what has to be supposed to mean a human female face.” The charge would have been less vague if the reviewer had stated in which of the plates this “one case” occurred. As it was, I had to search out all the mermaids there were on the Kintyre sculptures, which turned out to be four in number. The slabs where they appear are given in Plates XI., XX., XXIV., and XLII. of vol. i. One is the Campbelton Cross (Pl. XI.), of which there is a model in the Edinburgh Museum; of the other three I exhibited rubbings at the Antiquarian Society’s meeting, along with the cast from the Killan stone. Two of these—namely, the rubbings of the slabs in Pls. XXIV. 2 and XLII. 3—showed indisputable mermaids. The “one case,” therefore, narrowed itself to the slab given in Pl. XX. 3, the rubbing of which was considerably faded,<sup>1</sup> but still sufficiently legible to show the outlines of the mermaid’s figure. I find I have thus described it (p. 127, vol. i.): “Another fragment, which has part of a sword remaining, and foliage to the left of it, represents on the right an animal, and a mermaid with fins and tail very well defined.” But further, there is a particular conventional mode of representing the woman’s hair in these western carvings of mermaids which is unmistakably recognisable in all four cases. If any of my readers should be in Edinburgh at any time, and can muster up sufficient interest in this controversy, he may verify what I have said by calling at the Ordnance Survey Office, where the three rubbings are deposited, and at the Antiquarian Museum, where the fine model of the Campbelton cross can be inspected. I should add, that in each case I took care to satisfy myself, by an after-scrutiny of the stone itself, that the mermaid of the rubbing was a correct transcript from it. I cannot, therefore, account for such a patent misstatement as this of the reviewer’s in the matter of the mermaid. Whether it was that he got hold of some defective drawing of one of these slabs, or evolved the fish and otter in lieu of the sea-nymph out of some mysterious inner consciousness, or how it was, he may be supposed to know best himself, but it is beyond me to conjecture.

These, then, are the two *quasi* errors of detail the reviewer has succeeded in picking out of the 138 drawings contained in the volume. I really do not know that I could have wished for a better vindication of the general accuracy of the collection than is supplied by the above criticisms.<sup>2</sup>

After what has been said, I shall leave it an open question how far, to put it in the reviewer’s own words, we can “feel comfortably convinced of the trustworthiness of the rest” of his objections. The reviewer’s  
“trustworthiness.”

It was, I confess, somewhat of a surprise to me to learn that my book of sketches “aims at giving a complete and exhaustive review of the early history of Kintyre, the history of its ecclesiastical foundations, the architecture of its ecclesiastical buildings, and the art of its sculptured monuments.” It seems doubtful if the reviewer could have read through the Introductory Chapter, or he would have seen that, as to the His general  
remarks.

<sup>1</sup> I paid a visit to Kilkenzie at the time of taking the cast, in the hope of being able to make a fresh rubbing, but unfortunately the slab was gone.

<sup>2</sup> His remark on the stone at Kilcalmonell points rather to a defect in the photo-lithographic process, which intensifies blackness and harshness of outline, than to my drawing. There is no error of detail charged here.

architecture of the buildings, my endeavours did *not* extend to “undertaking anything like detailed architectural drawings, which the limited time at my disposal rendered “out of the question.”<sup>1</sup> He might also have a difficulty in establishing that “a brief sketch of the history of Kintyre,” with a supplement tracing “very briefly the more purely ecclesiastical part of the peninsula’s history,”<sup>2</sup> was to be understood as aiming at a complete and exhaustive review. At the same time, I suppose I must feel complimented that my labours in this direction should be credited with a scope so comprehensive. The illustrations of the monuments, however, *were* intended to be complete and exhaustive; and I think they may fairly be called so. Those in the present volume are intended to be equally so.

His criticisms  
on the history  
of Kintyre.

Want of an  
index.

Quotation of  
authorities.

And now for the historical part of my work. (1.) The want of an index to the book is, first of all, incidentally referred to; but this is a matter rather for the publishers to deal with than for the author. No doubt an index would be useful. Possibly (2.) I am occasionally a defaulter in the matter of citing authorities in my footnotes; for I see I have in a few instances omitted to give the page, and perhaps not always made it quite clear if the documents quoted had been consulted at first or at second hand. But I think it very questionable if any of my readers were “befooled” into supposing I had been to Copenhagen to translate from the Icelandic the MSS. of the *Flateyjar bók*. Indeed, it might have been assumed by the reader that it was utterly impracticable for one in my position to consult all quoted authorities at first-hand. My object was simply to collate such information as lay within reach, subject to the time and opportunities afforded by my duties.

Mistake in a  
date.

(3.) I am next credited with having dated the *Flatey* MSS. at A.D. 1229. Had the reviewer carefully read the sentence to which this date is noted, he would have seen that the statement related to the *Hacon Saga*, which is one of those MSS. Moreover, the fact that such date was assigned to a MS. recording an event which took place in the year 1263, might have satisfied any one that the figures were a clerical error. They should have been stated as circa A.D. 1284 (according to Mr Hjaltalin), and not 1229.

Snorro Stur-  
lason.

‘De Situ  
Britanniæ.’

The so-called guilelessness (4.) of miswriting “Snorro” for “Johnstone” (at p. 22) need scarcely have been termed “unexampled,” nor have evoked the bit of facetiousness which followed; but I quite forgive the critic this latter for the really smart way in which he has put it. (5.) The reference to the name *Promontorium Ebudum* (p. 5) as occurring in the work ‘*De Situ Britanniae*’ was hardly a very weighty sin—for, just as a thief may sometimes be honest, in this particular name *Bertram* was perfectly correct; and, if sin it was, I was sinning under the very respectable ægis of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in its latest edition—a work compiled by most able hands—which, in noticing *Richard of Cirencester*, says not a word as to *Bertram’s* forgery.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archæol. Sketches*, i. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The summing-up of the latest literary lights upon the question of *Bertram’s* imposture will be found at p. 61, vol. i. (second edition) of *Burton’s ‘History of Scotland.’* Mr *Burton* confesses he himself at one time believed in the genuineness of the ‘*De Situ.*’

(6.) Of the fairness of the next criticism the reader shall judge for himself. <sup>Misspelling of a name.</sup> "Another instance," we are informed, "of a curious blunder, fortified by a reference to the MS. of the Flatey book, occurs in the account of the attack by the Norsemen on a castle in Bute. Captain White calls the commander of the castle, who held it for the King of Scots, by the Norse name of Siward, apparently on the authority of the MS. But the word is really 'Stiuard'—*Scotticè*, Stuart." Perfectly true—I did spell the name of the Scots commander "Siward;" but then to that name I appended in a footnote the following remark, which the reviewer omits to mention: "The royal family of Stewards were, as we have seen, long before this in possession of the island, and it was most probably one of them who commanded."<sup>1</sup> (7.) Similarly, when speaking of the battle of Clontarf, it is true that I have written "the chronicle is silent <sup>Battle of Clontarf.</sup> as to the result of the battle." But what chronicle was I talking of? Of the Innisfallen Annals. No doubt it was a slip of the pen to write what I did, which should have been worded thus: "One version of the chronicle is silent as to the battle." The fact is, there are two versions of the 'Annales Inisfalenses,'—one of which, the Codex Dubliniensis, gives a full account of the battle; while the other, the Codex Bodleianus, omits mention of it altogether.<sup>2</sup>

(8.) Again, I ought no doubt to have written for "scalds," at p. 15, "scalds and <sup>The Norse scalds and sagas.</sup> sagamen;" but this omission hardly necessitated the assumption of any "extraordinary confusion" in my mind "as to what the Icelandic sagas really are." Most people who know anything about this ancient lore are aware that the Norse sagas were mixed productions, such as I described them to be, in part made up of an historical prose narrative supplied by the sagaman (story-teller), and in part of interpolated songs or poems, the work of the scald (bard).<sup>3</sup> (9.) Proceeding with his strictures, our reviewer adds of me—"and (he) speaks so frequently of the poems of Snorro that one would hardly think <sup>The poems of Snorro.</sup> that Snorro was known at all to the literary world by anything but his poetry." Yet at p. 18 I allude to Snorro as the author of the 'Heimskringla,' a work chief among Norse histories; and again, at p. 87, had the reviewer condescended to turn over the pages so far, he would have found me specifically referring to "*the historian Snorro.*"

(10.) "The events of the three expeditions of King Magnus Barefoot" I am <sup>Magnus Berfœtt's expeditions.</sup> charged with having "hopelessly intermingled." Here, by overshooting the mark, the critic spoils his case. If he had said that I had omitted mention of one of the expeditions, he would have been right. The third expedition to Ireland, in 1103, during which the king's death took place, the reader will find (p. 21) is in no way mixed up with the events previously narrated. But it is quite true that I had overlooked the first expedi-

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 86.

<sup>2</sup> See tom. ii. of 'Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,' where both are given.

<sup>3</sup> Take, for example, in the saga of King Olaf Tryggvison, the prose narrative of the battle between Earl Einar and Prince Halfdan, where several snatches of song by the victorious earl are introduced. These songs doubtless represent oral and traditional poetry, borrowed compositions of scalds incorporated into the sagaman's soberer story. Hence it is perfectly correct to speak of the sagas as the joint production of both scalds and sagamen. Occasionally, as in the case of Snorro Sturlason, saga-writer and scald were one and the same individual.

tion in 1093-94. If the reader will turn to p. 18-20, he will see that all the events there related in sequence belong to the expedition of the date placed against them in the margin—namely, A.D. 1098. Of the first expedition in 1093-94, little, I believe, is known. We have a statement by Fordun, that after Malcolm's death in 1093, and during the contentions of the three rival competitors for the throne of Scotland, King Magnus was plundering along the western Scottish coasts; and the Magnus Saga further tells us that he operated with an Irish chieftain named Muirceartach, in a successful assault on Dublin, the date of which appears to have been 1094. As Mr Anderson has observed, the Orkneying Saga "speaks as if there had been only one expedition by King Magnus "to Scotland."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the 'Heimskringla' to all appearance distinctly associates Malcolm—who, we have seen, died in 1093—with the galley incident at Tarbert in Kintyre,<sup>2</sup> which, from other data, historians place at A.D. 1098. Thus it was that I was misled as to dates, and so referred to two expeditions only, instead of three.

King Hacon  
V. (Hacon-  
son).

(11.) In the same breath with this last *acte d'accusation*, our reviewer puts forward another, the two together being his final thrust at my history: "King Hakon Hakonson "is confounded with his grandson Hakon Magnusson." I have searched the pages of my book in vain for any pretext for such a statement as this. I find, certainly, at p. 16, note 1, a misprint of *IV.* for *V.* in the first line; but were that to be taken as any proof of confusion between two kings, it would be as between Hakon Hakonson and his predecessor, Hakon Sverrison, not between the individuals named by the reviewer. The confusion, if the reviewer will pardon my saying so, appears to be in his own mind, and with respect to the numerical order of the Norwegian sovereigns. If he will consult a very safe Norse authority on the subject, the 'Formanna Sögur,'<sup>3</sup> he will there find a *stemma* of the *kings* of Norway placed in the following order: 1st, Hakon Athelsteinsfostri; 2d, Hakon Jarl Sigurdharson; 3d, Hakon Herdhabreidr; 4th, Hakon Sverrison; 5th, *Hakon Gamli Hakonarson*; 6th, Hakon Magnusson. The fifth in this *stemma* is he of whom alone I had to treat in my narrative of the early history of Kintyre. Nowhere do I so much as mention or refer in any way to the sixth Hakon (Magnusson), or name a single circumstance which could be construed to relate to him. How, then, I can be said to have confounded his grandfather with him, passes my comprehension. I am aware that some have been inclined to exclude Hakon II. (Jarl Sigurdharson) from the royal line of Norway; but there seems to be little doubt that that ruler held sovereign power, and bore the kingly dignity; and his inclusion in the tabular list of kings in the above-mentioned treatise seems to settle the point. Hakon Hakonson "the Aged," therefore, the invader of Scot-

<sup>1</sup> Orkneying Saga (edited by J. Anderson), Introd., p. xxxiii. Edinburgh, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> I can make nothing else out of it. The passage in its Latin rendering is as follows: "Post hoc "prœlium (of Anglesey) Magnus Rex cum copiis reversus Scotiam primo petebat. Tum vero illum inter "Melkolfum (Milcolumbum f. Malcolmum) Scotiæ Regem internære legati cœperunt, inque eas pacis con- "ditiones utrinque consensum, ut Regi Norvegiæ cederent omnes Scotiæ ab occasu adjacentes insulæ, quas inter "continentem navi gubernaculo instructa transire liceret."—Heimskringla (Latin-Icelandic text in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh); the page I am unable to give.

<sup>3</sup> I am borne out in this by Mr Hjaltalin. That gentleman considers the 'Formanna Sögur' a thoroughly trustworthy authority.

land, I have properly called the fifth, and not the fourth Norwegian king of his name ; and our reviewer would have done better to leave him and his grandson out of the indictment.

Having now referred *seriatim* to the reflections passed upon my history and illustrations, it only remains to deal with the mistakes charged against my archæology. These are two in number. The reviewer on the author's archæology.

The first is with respect to the occurrence of Runes on certain of the sculptured stones of Britain. Now this is just one of those cases where an author, by the omission from his text of perhaps one word, it may be two or three, which should have been supplied, lays himself open to assault from an adverse critic, who *may* misunderstand him if he so pleases. In discussing the early monumental art of the West Highlands, I had occasion to remark as follows : “ It has, I am aware, been advanced that the introduction of the “ knot and plait work of the later sculptured stones, both of eastern and western Scotland, “ may have been due to the Norsemen who began to desolate this country about that “ epoch ” (eighth and ninth centuries) ; “ and the fact of there being so many of the eastern “ monuments undeniably Runic in their inscriptions, as well as the great abundance of a “ class of stone and trinket carving somewhat similar to the Scandinavian, have given “ colour to the supposition. But it seems more probable that the interlaced and symmet- “ rical style of ornament which has reached every part of the British Isles, arrived not by “ one, but by many routes ; and that the mediæval Church only adopted and manipulated “ into her own novel and beautiful combinations, patterns of things as ancient as the “ human race. Runes on monuments.

“ With these remarks, we are brought to the period of the Celtic or Runic crosses— “ call them which you will—of the type familiar to those who have visited the old ecclesi- “ astical sites in Ireland, Iona, the Isle of Man, and elsewhere. They have their varieties “ and sub-varieties, and range in date probably, according to the lesser or greater elabora- “ tion of their details, over many centuries, till they totally disappear in Scotland about the “ period of the Reformation. The crosses of eastern Scotland are commonly supposed to “ be earlier than the western group, because upon many of the former are to be found the “ undecipherable symbols of a prehistoric era, associated with Christian devices. Whereas, “ if I except the shears, these earlier symbols are altogether missing in the western crosses. “ Yet I confess this determination of comparative date has always appeared to me a “ question involved in obscurity. We are treading on more solid ground when an “ inscription in Runes can be deciphered, as not unfrequently happens, bearing the name “ of some chieftain or jarl, who, it tells us, set up the cross, and whom a search in the “ sagas, or other early chronicles, enables us to identify.”<sup>1</sup> Upon this the ‘ Scotsman ’ The reviewer's comments. reviewer makes the following comment : “ It is positively astounding to find a writer on “ such well-known monuments as the sculptured slabs and crosses of eastern Scotland, “ gravely setting down as ‘ facts ’ a series of assertions which have not the shadow of a “ foundation in fact. Neither in the monuments themselves, nor in anything that has ever

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 60.



“ been written of them, can we find any explanation of how Captain White could have  
 “ been misled to such an inconceivable extent. All the early inscribed monuments of  
 “ eastern Scotland can be counted on the fingers of one hand ; and so far from ‘ many of  
 “ ‘ them being undeniably Runic in their inscriptions,’ ‘ bearing the name of the jarl who set  
 “ ‘ up the cross,’ and ‘ whom a search in the sagas enables us to identify’—if he had stated  
 “ that they were usually inscribed in cuneiform characters, and bore the names of Chaldee  
 “ sages, he would have been quite as near the truth. We cannot account for the statement  
 “ at all, unless by supposing that Captain White was thinking of Oghams, though writing of  
 “ Runes, and not at the moment realising the difference. Still, we must confess that ‘ the  
 “ ‘ search in the sagas ’ after the jarls who set up the crosses rather militates against this  
 “ theory ; and the whole thing is so like what sometimes occurs in dreams, that it seems  
 “ almost as if it must be ascribed to a simple hallucination.”

Now, in the way in which he has put it, the reviewer makes, no doubt, what might  
 seem at a superficial glance a good point. Had I meant to refer only to the monuments  
 of eastern *Scotland*, it would have been incorrect to say that *many* of them bore Runic  
 inscriptions. Yet, from the manner in which the reviewer scouts the notion of there being  
 Rune-inscribed monuments in Scotland, one might suppose they were absolutely unknown  
 there ; for we are told he was driven to infer that I was thinking of “ Oghams ” when  
 writing of Runes. Not one word does he say of the splendid cross at Ruthwell, in Dum-  
 friesshire, which has a poem and the name of “ Cædmon ” carved in Runes upon it ;<sup>1</sup> nor of  
 the Rune-inscribed slab at Knockando, in Morayshire ; nor of the Rune-inscribed monument  
 at Crosskirk, in Shetland, bidding us pray for the soul of some one whose name is illegible ;  
 nor of the slab at Aithsvoe, also in Shetland, with a Runic inscription telling us who  
 carved the stone. Nor yet are we told of the number of slabs found in the tumulus at  
 Maeshowe, in Orkney, inscribed in Runes, which, almost to adopt my actual words, “ can  
 “ be deciphered ” (as not unfrequently happens), “ bearing the name of some chieftain or  
 “ jarl,” who, they tell us, carved the inscription, or was commemorated by it, “ and whom a  
 “ search in the sagas ” *does* enable us to identify.<sup>2</sup> Even limiting my observations to Scot-  
 land, is it, after all, so very much beyond the mark to characterise “ many of the eastern  
 “ monuments ” as “ undeniably Runic in their inscriptions ” ? But had my censor read on a  
 few pages, bearing in mind the point to which my comments on Scandinavian monumental  
 art were directed, it would not have been necessary to go off to Oghams to understand my

The number  
 of Rune-in-  
 scribed monu-  
 ments in Scot-  
 land.

Some en-  
 graved with  
 names of indi-  
 viduals.

<sup>1</sup> This beautiful and unique composition, graven in stone—I would I could say ineffaceably—is a sort of  
 epic on the Crucifixion. It has been identified with parts of a poem known as the ‘ Dream of the Holy Rood,’  
 the authorship of which had been attributed to the renowned Saxon bard Cædmon, even before Professor  
 Stephens deciphered the Runes of the Ruthwell cross, and found words which he reads as “ Cædmon made me.”  
 It may perhaps be objected that Dumfriesshire is not in the east of Scotland ; nevertheless, the Ruthwell pillar  
 is of the type of the eastern Scottish Christian monuments.

<sup>2</sup> “ Among the names,” says the editor of the ‘ Orkneying Saga,’ “ thus carved on the stones of Maeshowe,  
 “ are those of Ingibjorg, Ingigerd, Thorer, Helgi, Ingi, and Arnfinn. All these are names of persons who are  
 “ mentioned in the Saga as living in Earl Rögnvald’s time, and several of whom were closely connected with  
 “ him. . . . One of the longer inscriptions supplies the important information that the ‘ Jorsala-farers  
 “ ‘ broke open the Orkahaug in the lifetime of the blessed earl.’ . . . On one of the buttresses is carved  
 “ a cross, and on another a dragon.”—Orkneying Saga (Anderson), Introd., p. ciii-cv.

reference to Runes. At p. 73-74, I remark as follows: "Among the Runic crosses in this country, some of the very earliest examples exhibit decorative designs identical with the western Scottish. The one at Collingham, in Yorkshire, which has an inscription in Runes to 'Onswini the king,' and whose date is laid by Stephens about A.D. 651, has along its edge, and in other parts of the stone, patterns familiar to those acquainted with the old tombstones of the West Highland cemeteries. The square pillar, again, at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, assigned to A.D. 670, has the well-known type of knot-work so frequent in the illustrations to the present volume." Here we have the key to what was in my mind throughout the chapter on monumental art, with reference to the relationship between the Celtic sculptures of the west and the Runic sculptures of what I may call the non-Celtic districts of Britain.

Starting from Shetland in the far north, and ranging through the Lowland Scottish counties into England; then through the northern and midland English counties, and southward as far as Kent,—we shall find a class of Rune-bearing monuments<sup>1</sup> having certain features in common, and resembling in some respects, while forming a distinct group from, the sculptures of the western Highlands and those of Ireland. The cross, for example, at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, which I had spoken of as bearing a strong family likeness to some of the Argyllshire crosses, has at the same time Runes cut on it which tell us that "this spiring sign-pillar was set up by Hwætred," &c.<sup>2</sup> At Irton there is a cross with Runes inviting us to "pray for" the soul of some unknown, whose name is undecipherable; and at Bridekirk we have a beautiful Rune-sculptured font,—both in the same county, Cumberland, not far away from the Scottish Border. Another Rune-carved font of the tenth century was found at Bingley, in Yorkshire; and at Leeds a Runic monument of the same date turned up, bearing the name of "King Onlaf." King Onswini's Rune-engraved memorial in Yorkshire we have noted. Hackness, in the same county, has produced a fragment imprinted with the name of "Emund" in old-northern Runes. The Runic cross at Falstone, in Northumberland, memorialises some one by name "Eomær;" and an ornamental Rune-carved slab at Monkwearmouth, in Durham, is in memory of a certain "Tidfirth." At Lancaster, a Runic cross, with beautiful interlaced work on it, such as we find in Argyllshire, referred by Stephens to the seventh century, is carved over with Rune letters, of which "pray for Cynibalth" has been deciphered. A sculptured fragment found at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, has superscribed on it Runes of the old-northern or Scandinavian class. And so on, to say nothing of the Runic rings, caskets, &c., found both in England and Scotland, which are relics cognate in style to the stone sculptures. It was to this group of Rune-inscribed monuments as a whole, and not merely to those of eastern Scotland, that I was alluding in the passages which fell under the censure of our reviewer.

Group of  
Rune-slabs ex-  
tending from  
Shetland to  
Kent.

<sup>1</sup> The Runes, it is true, vary in character, some being classified by Stephens as Anglo-Saxon, and some as Scandinavian or old-northern.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Maughan reads these Runes thus: "Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alfwold set up this slender pillar," &c. &c., in memory of King Alcfrid, whose death is placed at about A.D. 664.

Chaldee sages  
and hallucina-  
tions.

What, then, becomes of the critic's talk about Chaldee sages, dreams, and hallucinations? Such banter might, to be sure, make pleasant reading for the columns of the 'Scotsman' newspaper; but I do not think it is likely to impose on any one who will carefully read both what I have said and what the reviewer has said. The fact is, there was no real occasion to misunderstand me—unless, indeed, the reviewer was ignorant or oblivious of the existence of the large group of Runic monuments in Great Britain.

And now, not to overtax the reader's patience further, let me pass to the second item criticised.

The Celtic  
spiral,

and the Manks  
three-legs.

In discussing certain fundamental forms of ornamental design found in the Celtic carvings, I had occasion to write as follows: "One form of circle-ornament I must not omit, as it is a well-known one in the western mediæval style, introduced into windows and panelling. It is a circle with three spherical stems radiating from the centre, the concavities always following each other, and it has been named the divergent spiral. "The Manx three-legs is obviously merely another expression of the same thing, the spokes or radiations here being angular instead of rounded, notwithstanding the popular explanation that this ancient device meant that a leg pointed to each of the three kingdoms, or the other versions resulting from ignorant guess-work. I was much struck with the similarity of the Manx symbol to the Gothic outline on noticing one day, in passing Linlithgow by rail, the circular window of its church-tower, which is divided into three lights by a mullion arrangement of this kind. It is just the Manx three-legs with little or no difference. So in a window at S. Mary the Virgin's Church at Dundee, and elsewhere. Three of the Clonmacnois slab-drawings already published have this device, one of them being the tombstone of a famed ecclesiastic of that monastery, Suibne Mac Maelhumai, who lived in the ninth century. Now this design is frequently carved on the Argyllshire tombstones in the grouping of foliage, and is without doubt, I think, a very ancient emblem of the Trinity. Other varieties of the same Christian symbol are the trefoil, the triquetra-plait, triangle, &c."<sup>1</sup> In this instance the reviewer is perfectly correct in pointing out an omission. I had overlooked that the Manx device of the three legs is found on ancient coins of the Panormite Sicilians.<sup>2</sup> How this device primarily originated—how also it came to be transplanted from the Mediterranean to the Isle of Man, and at what date,—are points I have not as yet succeeded in sifting.<sup>3</sup> I find, however, I am not alone in tracing a relationship between the Manx emblem and the Celto-Gothic tripartite spiral. Speaking of this last, Mr Campbell (Islay) thus writes: "It may be described as three spiral lines starting from a common centre and comprised within a circle, and these spiral lines are characteristic of Celtic art, according to Owen Jones. . . . The Manks penny bears a device which

Mr Campbell  
(Islay) on their  
identity.

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> In an engraving I have obtained of a Sicilian coin of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, the sign of Capricorn appears surmounting the three legs.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Smith, noticing ancient Sicily in his learned work on 'Classical Antiquities,' does not refer to this point. In my present quarters I cannot get access to any authorities throwing light on the subject.

“ is the same in principle as the three spiral lines, though these have grown into three “ armed legs.” <sup>1</sup>

The question, then, arises, If the Trinacrian cognisance came into the Isle of Man during mediæval times, may not its adoption there have been partially determined by its admirable fitness to form a Trinitarian symbol? The mediæval ecclesiastics were just the people to seize upon any ready-made instrument, whether it were of Christian or pre-Christian origin, for the furtherance of their teaching; just as they utilised on occasions the heathen wells, and built on the sites of heathen temples. Nay, more, the highest symbol of all, the Cross, is now thought to have had its mystic use long ere the era of Christianity; so that this emblem in its old pagan significance would, if met with, be ready to the hands of the early missionaries to consecrate and adopt into their newer rite. I am still of opinion that the three-limbed spiral pattern of mediæval sculptured art, in common with the trefoil and certain other triple devices, is what I have called it—a very ancient emblem of the Trinity; and similarly, it may be that in the after-use of the Manx device its very apt form for expressing the same religious idea was not left out of view.

Both probably an adopted emblem of the Trinity.

I have now dealt one by one with every alleged inaccuracy of detail of which the ‘ Scotsman ’ reviewer has endeavoured to convict me. The framing of some of my sentences forms the concluding count of the indictment. But the critic who objects to the expression, “ the end of this long-headed and bold-hearted king took place in Ireland, where he and his “ army *were gone*,” would, I suppose, equally condemn it as bad English to say that “ Jacob “ *was* yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father.” <sup>2</sup> And the same critic, who *shows up* such a slip of the pen (or misprint, I cannot say which) as that in the sentence, “ Ireland had *their* great apostle Patrick,” might, had he glanced at the errata-list of the book, have seen the slip corrected. But fault-finding, as our reviewer remarks, “ is “ unpleasant work; ” and such uncongenial work I have certainly no desire to undertake at his expense. So far as his criticisms were fair and accurate, I can have no cause to be dissatisfied. The best of our performances in any direction are but faulty, nor are even veteran historians at all times exempt from the perpetration of the most palpable blunders. I was too well aware, and I said so in my preface to the volume under criticism, how many mistakes and blemishes were sure to creep into a work of the kind I had undertaken, however careful I might be in my endeavours to avoid them. It is quite possible there may be many other faults and solecisms of expression in my work, apart from any our reviewer has attempted to saddle upon me; and I doubt not that a respectable crop of such weeds may reward the efforts of a diligent searcher in the present volume. My time for many years past has been fully occupied with professional employment; and the subject of inquiry into which I found myself thrown in the course of my duties on the Ordnance Survey, is unquestionably a very large one. That the endeavour to grasp such a subject as a whole, rather than in some one minute part, should lay my work open to the charge of being pretentious, I cannot see. Neither can I see any special reason for calling it ambitious; though, for the matter of ambition, being a soldier, I might remind my critic

Further exceptions taken by the reviewer

to the author's phraseology,

and to his ambition.

<sup>1</sup> Tales of the West Highlands, iv. 385, 386.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, xxvii. 30.

of Bacon's aphorism (applicable, I suppose, to literature or anything else no less than to war), that a soldier without ambition is a soldier despoiled of his spurs—in other words, no soldier at all.

The critic's  
salve to the  
author.

On the principle, however, of being thankful for small mercies, I must not omit, in closing this chapter of explanations, to express my obligations to the reviewer for the crumb of comfort vouchsafed to me at the conclusion of his notice. "We are bound also to say," it appears, "that, in spite of its defects, Captain White's work bears indications of considerable ability, both literary and artistic, which we hope may yet be turned to good account." Let us hope I may have profited by the advice, and have earned, in this second instalment of Sketches in the West Highlands of Scotland, comment, if comment at all from the same journal, a trifle more satisfactory than the last.

Other  
opinions of  
the press.

For the opinions of the press in other quarters, I owe, as I have said, my cordial acknowledgments. I was probably as little prepared for so much commendatory notice on the one side as for the aspersions dealt out on the other; and I may perhaps be inclined to think that the former, as well as the latter, exceeded my deserts. If my future critics will be content to exercise a just, not to say a benevolent neutrality, I shall have no right to complain.

## CHAPTER II.

IN my survey of the ecclesiastical remains of the district of Kintyre, I devoted a chapter to the discussion of its early monumental art. I did so with the view of bringing before the reader a summarised sketch of the origin and development of that art, and also of making him acquainted with the details and leading characteristics of the crosses and tomb-carvings of the western Scottish Highlands. I had to contrast the paltriness of the modern school of monumental sculpture with the dignity of the mediæval school. I had to notice the rude unsculptured monoliths of an archaic era, to pass from them to the symbol-marked pillars of eastern Scotland, and from these again to the more specifically Christian monuments of Irish type grouped along the western seaboard. I had to refer to the progressive development of decorative art in sepulchral sculpture, and how it drew its inspiration from various sources far and near. I pointed out how closely the area covered by the ornate memorial crosses and slabs of the west corresponds with the extent of the county of Argyll. I compared them with cognate specimens in England and elsewhere, and showed how far their designs correspond with the class of design found in early illuminated MSS. In describing the general details of the Argyllshire tomb-sculptures, I endeavoured to keep in mind the working out of similar details in other localities, and to see if we could deduce therefrom any clue to their date or origin. And lastly, I directed some observations to the authorship, execution, and import of this beautiful art, and the possibility of its revival in these days to replace the deformities of our modern churchyards.

Synopsis of  
the author's  
remarks on the  
monumental  
art of Kintyre.

These remarks were, of course, just as applicable to the localities which are to form the subject-matter of the present volume. If, in the course of our investigation of the lost art of the mediæval sculptors, one thing more than another was apparent, it must have been what I may call the œcumenicism of the art. Whether it be tombs, crosses, memorial brasses, incised headstones, church bells, church architecture, missals, ecclesiastical manuscripts, signet-rings, trinkets of various kinds; whether these be sought in England, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man—in Saxon, Celtic, or Scandinavian quarters,—each and all of such objects carry on their faces one great family likeness, unmistakable amid many divergences of detail. Doubtless the comparison might be stretched still further, and be made to embrace nearly every habitable part of the globe; but for our present purpose it is sufficient to keep within the well-defined limits of the school of design born, nurtured, and expanded to immense proportions within the mediæval Christian Church. It was impossible but that the school should live and thrive, and

Application of  
those remarks  
to Knapdale.



exercise a prodigious influence upon the art of the world, for this reason—that while it conformed to an underlying uniformity which held it together, its elasticity was such that its varieties of expression were inexhaustible, and adapted themselves pliantly to the particular *genius loci* wherever the school was planted.

Now, nowhere could we seek a better exemplification of this than in the district of Knapdale, and the adjoining isles of Gigha, &c. If we expected to find in those places nothing but a repetition of the style and patterns of the ancient sculptures found in the neighbouring peninsula, we should find ourselves very much mistaken. Something quite different from this is the case, as the reader may verify for himself by simply turning over these pages with their illustrations, and comparing the latter with the illustrations of the previous volume. It will, I think, at once be seen what a wealth of inventive designing power and manipulative skill lay with the architects of the Knapdale tomb-carvings. But more than this will be seen. It will be made clear that in all probability the destroyers of ecclesiastical relics have been less busy in Knapdale than elsewhere, either from the greater seclusion of the localities, or from the operation of other causes. Thus it is, perhaps, that we have here an even richer variety of material, and memorials of yet more ancient days, than in many other directions—along with the unchangeable glories of landscape, which add such a charm to the researches of the wanderer in these solitudes. It is as though we had fallen upon a cellar of rare old wine, long forgotten and unprized, but mellow under the dust and accumulated rubbish of ages.

Characteristics peculiar to the mediæval sculptures of Knapdale.

I shall now, by way of supplement to what has gone before, briefly refer to such characteristics or details in the sculptures of Knapdale as are not found in those of Kintyre. And in doing so, it may be useful to note, as we did before, the meeting-points of such details with corresponding ones exhibited on the early monuments in other parts of the United Kingdom. Since the last volume was published, I have had an opportunity of studying the beautifully-illustrated work of Mr H. O'Neill on the sculptured crosses of Ireland, and also an excellent manual of the English sepulchral slabs by the Rev. E. L. Cutts—this latter a most useful addendum to the valuable treatises by Meyrick, Boutell, and others.

Their affinity to the style of the Irish crosses.

The affinities of style traceable in the Knapdale tomb-carvings to similar monuments in Ireland are both numerous and well marked. First of all, I may advert to the introduction of bosses. In Kintyre these were conspicuously absent; in fact, I cannot recollect a single example of one there. In Ireland, on the other hand, they abound; and from across the Irish sea this sculptural feature has doubtless found its way into Knapdale. But why thither, and not also into the ancient burial-places of a contiguous district, is a question not easily to be answered. The central boss on the thoroughly Irish-looking old cross at Keills (frontispiece) very closely resembles one occupying a similar position in the wheel of the north cross at Kilklispeen, in Ireland. The zigzag fretwork, again, at Keills and on one of the Eilean Mor monuments (Pl. XXIX.), is almost identical in character with what is seen at the base of the fine cross at Killamery, near Kilkenny, and at Kilklispeen. Indeed, both the crosses at this last place reveal

Bosses.

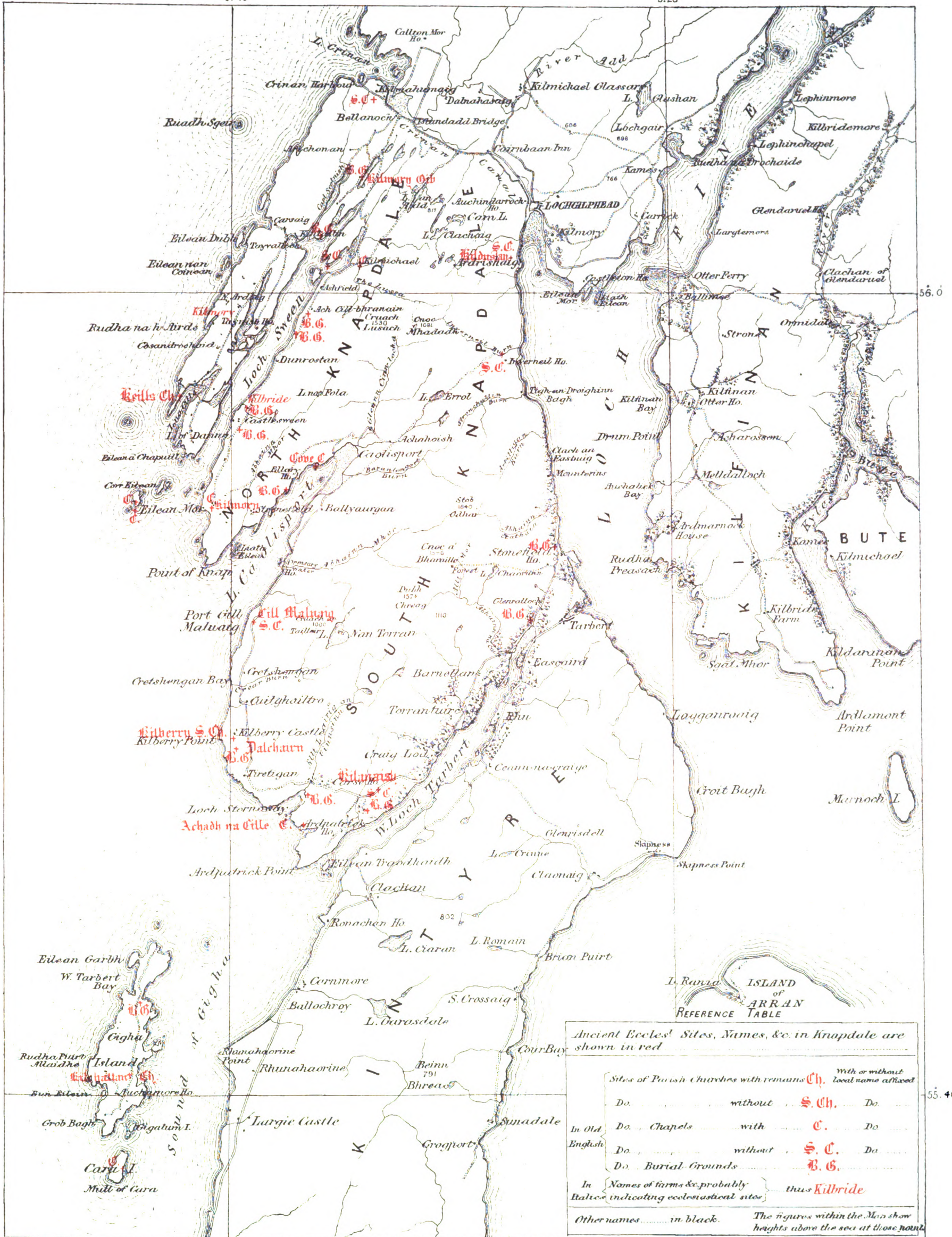
Zigzags.



# OUTLINE MAP OF KNAPDALE, GIGHA, &C., IN ARGYLLSHIRE.

5.40

5.20



Ancient Eccles. Sites, Names, &c. in Knapdale are shown in red

Sites of Parish Churches with remains	Ch.	With or without local name affixed
Do. without	S. Ch.	Do.
In Old English Do. Chapels with	C.	Do.
Do. without	S. C.	Do.
Do. Burial Grounds	B. G.	
In Gaelic Names of farms &c. probably indicating ecclesiastical sites	thus Kilbride	
Other names	in black.	The figures within the Map show heights above the sea at those points



striking resemblances to the Keills monument. At Clonmacnois and Kells, in Ireland, these same zigzags appear, of identical pattern with what we see at Keills. Here, too, the identity of name strikes us, and we are tempted to ask ourselves, Could the artist of the Irish Kells have gone over to Knapdale, or a copy of his work have got transplanted there?

At Kilkispeen, again, we have an arrangement of five contiguous circles, calling to mind a very similar pattern on the Keills monument. As for the spirals at the two places, <sup>Spirals.</sup> they are all but identical; and the mode of chiselling the plaits with a groove along the middle is another characteristic common to both. Again, the double spirals on the south-east cross at Monasterboice are precisely similar to some on a slab at Cladh Bhile (Pl. XIV.), which are, I think, to be found nowhere else in this part of Argyllshire, except among the rock-engravings at Crinan. Mr Westwood, remarking on the extraordinary delicacy, precision, and minuteness of detail of the patterns embellishing early Irish MSS.—in some of which, when examined with a magnifying glass, not a false line or irregular interlacement can be detected—points out the great prevalence of spirals in their ornamentation, and says it is matter of wonder with what instruments these spiral lines could have been executed.

At Monasterboice, we have a cat-faced animal which comes remarkably near the creature we shall more than once find in Knapdale—so much so, as almost to suggest one designer. In one pair of the Irish examples of this animal, its feline nature is indicated by its being represented clawing at a bird which it is devouring. This is worth noting, as it affords a probable clue to the artist's intention in its Scottish congener. On the west cross at the same place are seen two winged beasts, one with a bird's beak. These, and a specimen of the same creature on a slab at Sligo Abbey,<sup>1</sup> closely approach the pterodactyl seen at Keills and Kilmory, in Knapdale, only that the former are without that pendulous foliage which is such a marked feature in the work of the Scottish sculptor. It is also noteworthy that on a sculptured fragment lately unearthed at St Vigean's, Forfarshire—which, there seems little doubt, is of very ancient date—a similar bird-faced animal, but without wings, turns up.<sup>2</sup> The fact is, we never can have done with the continual crossing and recrossing of the tracks of ancient ornamental art.

The class of serpentine interlocked creatures, with legs inextricably intermingled—such as we see at Nigg and other places in eastern Scotland, and in Ireland on the crosses of Tuam, Termonfechin, and Monasterboice—has its representative, though in a simpler form, on the "Elephant" cross at Eilean Mor (Pl. XXIX.) A pair of intertwined human figures on one of the Kells crosses is perhaps most like what appears here. At Moone Abbey, in the county of Kildare, there is a cross carved with precisely the elephantine creature of the same Eilean Mor slab, accompanied by the dogs and stags so familiar to the student of the West Highland sculptures. Similarly, one of the Kells crosses presents what Mr O'Neill has termed "an epitome of rural sports—namely, the sportsman, hound,

<sup>1</sup> The slab, according to Mr Cutts, bears the date 1566. This shows how late in Ireland the ancient mediæval representations were copied.

<sup>2</sup> Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. ix., Pls. XXXIII. and XXXIV.

“hare, bird, fox (or wolf), boar, and stag.”<sup>1</sup> Exclude the boar, and we have precisely the animals of the Knapdale tombstones.

These, then, are some of the points in which the ancient sculptures of western Scotland touch those of Ireland. If there is not the likeness of twin-sisters between the two styles, there is at all events a suggestion of near relationship. The following remark, by the author of the work just alluded to, with reference to one of those beautiful crosses at Kells, which recall so many features of the Knapdale carvings, affords another item for comparison. In

Mr O'Neill on unfinished Irish sculptures.

its ornament, he says, we have “evidence of the progressive execution of those noble Irish monuments, the sculptured crosses. In previous accounts of the crosses, I have had occasion to mention that parts appeared unfinished, or more, that small portions had never been carved, which they should have been to complete the work; but in the fragments now represented we have work *arrested in its execution*, and showing every step, from the rough blocking-out of the masses to the delicate completion of the carvings—thus furnishing ample proof that the Irish crosses were executed in Ireland,—as we cannot suppose, with Chambers, that unfinished works were brought from Italy, or any other distant country.”<sup>2</sup> I have in the previous volume noticed precisely the same thing in Kintyre. It is observable in Knapdale; and Mr O'Neill's argument as to the improbability of foreign authorship, if it be worth anything, is equally applicable to the Scottish side

The sculptor's treatment of details.

of the water. So with another peculiarity—the comparative rudeness and *un*-finish of the sculpturing of the human figure, where it is introduced, contrasting with the exceeding grace and unerring accuracy of the symmetrical tracery, such as plait and scroll work, foliage, &c. Sometimes, for example, the figure of the Saviour is out of drawing, and the smaller effigies of saints or attendant apostles are frequently rendered with exaggerated heads and dwarfed bodies, with little observance of the rules of proportion. It would almost seem as if the artist were dealing with his figure-subjects rather as component parts of one piece of symmetrical and luxuriant ornamentation than as separate studies<sup>3</sup>—somewhat as a painter, full of the general effect of a landscape scene, might throw into his foreground a few touches of bright colour to represent flowers, without going minutely into the exact outlines of their petals and stamina.

Divergences in Knapdale from the Irish style.

But having commented upon the coincidences, I must not altogether pass over certain striking divergences in the monumental works of the two countries. Thus, the conical or pyramidal weather-cope seen on so many of the Irish crosses is conspicuously absent in the Scottish examples. The representations of serpents, if serpents they be, so prevalent in the one set of sculptures, are almost unknown to the other, though on the eastern

<sup>1</sup> Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland, p. 10 and Pl. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Since the above was written, I have come across an opinion to the same effect, borrowed by Mr Burton from the German critic, Dr Keller. Treating of the St Gall MSS., “he notices,” says the historian of Scotland, “the great preponderance of technical geometric decoration over high art, and especially observes that the human figure is brought in less to represent life than to fit into and complete a symmetrical design.”—Burton's Hist. of Scot., 2d edit., i. 161. And we have Mr J. O. Westwood's authority that “the artists who executed the MSS. were also the originators of the stone crosses. . . . The style of ornament in both classes of monuments is essentially the same.”

pillar-slabs of Scotland they so frequently appear. I cannot recall a single instance of a serpent delineated on a West Highland ecclesiastical carving in the mainland districts I have traversed: he appears, however, on a cross in Islay, and on one in Iona. Neither do I remember ever seeing a specimen of those interesting ancient inscriptions, lettered in what has been called the Byzantine character, which are seldom or never absent from one large class of the Irish monuments, bidding pray for the soul of the departed. It is remarkable, also, that the open wheel, so prevalent in Ireland, occurs twice only in Scotland, and, as it happens, in the very two specimens just spoken of as having the serpent depicted on them.

Mr O'Neill takes some pains to disprove the contention that the Irish crosses were not executed by Irish artists. I do not think, however, that any reader who shall have accompanied me over the ground traversed in these volumes, can entertain any doubt as to the indigenous character of the West Highland ecclesiastical monuments. Their style, as Dr Stuart has remarked, is peculiar and national; and the more we examine them, the more clearly stands out the fact that the art has undergone much local variation, the result of local originality.

Mr O'Neill further discusses the probabilities of there having originally been colour introduced upon the Irish crosses. He tells us that the use of colour in sculpture was almost universal prior to the sixteenth century, and we are reminded that no people have shown a more delicate and profound knowledge of its capabilities than have the Irish in their illuminated MSS. and metal-work. The low relief of many of the carvings, the intricacy and position of the patterns, and a certain symmetrical arrangement of the bands in the plait-work, are further qualities leading him to infer that the addition of harmonising colours was intended. The difficulty that no remnant whatever of such colour is to be found on these monuments is met by supposing that weather influences, such as the damp of the Irish climate, might have caused it to disappear. But I am altogether unable to go with the writer when he asserts this class of stone sculpture, "so full of ornament," to be "all but senseless without the life which colour imparts."<sup>1</sup> Nor can I say that his specimen print, giving a number of designs arranged and coloured according to the writer's fancy and to his ideas of harmoniously-grouped colouring, satisfactorily impresses me. The effect might answer in a MS. where the separately-coloured spaces are on a very minute scale, yet be very unsuitable for a piece of stonework the size of an ordinary standard-cross. It seems questionable if the exquisite tracery of these crosses would gain either in beauty or dignity by the introduction of colour. We saw some years ago, in a great international display of works of art, what the effect of tinting marble statuary was. And if the experiment was generally decried as a mistake in such subjects as the ancient classical deities, it may be doubted if the element of colour would elevate, and not rather debase, the correct and congruous purity of the untinted—may I say the *untainted*?—stone cross. There is, at all events, not a

Mr O'Neill upon coloured ornaments in the crosses of Ireland.

No trace of colours in western Scottish monuments.

<sup>1</sup> Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland, Preface, p. iii.

western Scotland were ever coloured. And to those of us conversant with their chaste beauty, due solely to form and chiaroscuro, I question if the spectacle of a tall pillar-slab or recumbent tombstone, gaudy with the manifold hues of the prism, however dexterously arranged, would be deemed satisfactory.

I shall now add a word as to the similitudes of the Knapdale monuments with those of England. In the last volume, I dealt with this relation more particularly as it showed itself in the sepulchral brasses. The English stone monuments are, however, no less prolific of the affinities we are looking for.

Comparison  
of Knapdale  
slabs with  
those in Eng-  
land.

In examining illustrations of English mediæval slabs and crosses, one who is accustomed to the Scoto-Irish type of the same class of memorials is at once struck with certain broad distinctions in the two styles. There is, first of all, a general absence in the one case of that knot-work and symmetrically-arranged foliage which are all-prevalent in the other. The greater abundance of inscriptions is another noteworthy feature south of the Tweed, where they are to be traced on examples as early as the thirteenth century. As in Ireland, where a certain uniform wording of epitaph obtained—*e.g.*, “Oroit do Dulcen” (a prayer for Dulcen)—so it is in other localities. In England, the earlier inscriptions are almost invariably couched in old Norman-French, and in one style, thus :—

Inscriptions.

“ Elienore de Clive gist ici  
Deu de sa alme git merci  
Amen par charite.”<sup>1</sup>

We have nothing of this kind on the West Highland slabs; on these it is very rare indeed to get anything beyond the “Hic jacet,” and the name of the individual. In the south, too, this same Latin form obtains, but generally with an addition, as in the following fourteenth-century slab: “Hic jacet Robertus de Highmor; cujus anime propicietur Deus.” I can remember no instance in Argyllshire (unless it be in Iona) where we meet with this adjunct—“to whose soul may God be gracious.”

Incised cross-  
flores on  
tombstones.

The frequency with which a particular form of incised cross, long-shafted, pedestalled, and floriated, appears in England upon tombstones, is another distinguishing characteristic. Such a cross does occasionally occur in the West Highlands, as at Kilmory-Knap (Pl. XLIII. 3); but rarely so. In the Lowland districts of Scotland, however, it is common enough. The type of all these incised crosses strikes one as stiffer, and at the same time less powerful, than the rich, strongly-relieved work of the Celtic school. Their forms are by no means wanting in grace and simple dignity, but they somewhat lack breadth and vigour; and their effect is a little impoverished by the

<sup>1</sup> Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, Cutts, p. 72. Or take the expressive words on a slab at Chichester Cathedral: “Ici gist le cover Maud de C.” (here lies the heart of Maud de C.), p. 71. Or yet this other rhyming inscription at Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire (*ibid.*, p. 66):—

“ Vous ki passez par ici,  
Priez pur l'alme Johan fis—  
Alain ki gist ici;  
Deu de sa alme eit merci.  
Amen.”



large blank spaces usually left on the stone. An exception to this is a slab at the Abbey Church, Hexham, where the shaft or stem of the cross branches out with more than ordinary freedom and exuberance into a very artistic combination of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes. Representations of swords, most usually accompanying the incised cruciform pattern and placed on one side of it, are not unfrequent. The shears also The shears. become a common object on the English tombstones, shaped much as they are in Scotland, but with this addition, which I have never seen there, a key; and I ought to add, that Mr Cutts is of opinion the shears and key so commonly associated indicate the commemoration of a female. On a slab at St Mary's, Gateshead, we have a delineation of a fish along with the key, the usual floriated cross separating them.

Another notable coincidence is in the shape of the chalice, which, unlike what we Shapes of chalices. found in the case of the English brasses, shows on some of the earlier stone slabs a close identity with the West Highland chalice. This is seen at Newcastle, Bakewell in Derbyshire, Papplewick, and elsewhere. At Dewsbury, Yorkshire, we have a pair of birds introduced alongside the shaft of the central cross, their beaks pointing into it, somewhat after the fashion of the birds on the cross at Kilmory Oib, in Knapdale (Pl. XLVI.)

At Coningsborough, in Yorkshire, there are sculptures on a stone coffin, referred by Mr Cutts to the beginning of the twelfth century, which call to mind the fertility of the Celtic and Runic styles—birds, beasts, and human figures forming a sort of running The Celtic and Runic styles. pattern, some of them almost counterparts of similar figures one sees on the Celtic cross or recumbent tombstone. Among those approaching most nearly to Scoto-Irish workmanship, may be mentioned some slabs dug up several years ago in clearing the foundations of Cambridge castle. Dean Howson noticed this similarity when making his West Highland tour. He assigns the date of the Cambridge slabs to the eleventh century, and adduces them as pointing rather to Scandinavian than Celtic influence.<sup>1</sup> In Durham and Yorkshire are one or two specimens, in looking at which the student of the Argyllshire monuments feels himself thoroughly at home.<sup>2</sup> This is pre-eminently the case with the beautiful Rune-inscribed relic at Lancaster, already spoken of. Cover the Runes, and we might imagine ourselves looking at a twin-sister of the Kilmory-Knap cross. But the English standard-crosses, it is true, are markedly richer and nearer the Celtic type of ornamentation than their companions the recumbent tombstones. The fine though much-worn ancient cross in St Peter's churchyard at Wolverhampton, which I have more than once had an opportunity of studying, exhibits sculptures of animals and other tracery arranged in panels,

<sup>1</sup> The Dean leaned a good deal to the theory of a strong Norse element in the mediæval monuments of Argyllshire. No doubt he had in his mind the cognate character of the Runic carvings throughout England, as I had when I brought down upon myself the wrath of the 'Scotsman' reviewer. Such a relic as the Lancaster cross is in itself an epitome of the argument connecting *Runic* monuments with Irish art.

<sup>2</sup> In alluding to the cross at Aycliffe, in Durham, Mr Cutts very properly reminds us that "the Irish missionaries brought their national style of art from Iona to Lindisfarne in the seventh century, and it was afterwards adopted by their Anglo-Saxon converts."—*Sepulch. Slabs*, p. 91. We might therefore naturally look for resemblances to the Celtic style in the slabs of northern England.

just such as we might find in Kintyre or Knapdale—though the flat cope or finial on its summit is quite different from anything in these latter localities.

The paten and wafer.

Another detail seen on the Knapdale slabs seems to have light thrown on it from English examples. This is the small circular object found on tombstones both at Kilmory-Knap and Keills. Judging from the corresponding details in England, it appears probable that this object may have been intended to indicate the paten or consecrated wafer.

Welsh examples of tomb-carving.

In Wales, as we might expect, the monumental tracery becomes still more conspicuously one with the types of other Celtic localities. The primitive kind of four-holed cross met with in Knapdale is common to Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and other western districts, though not confined to these; and, returning to the more elaborate standard crosses, the style of the Welsh examples approximates in the closest manner to the Scotch-Irish. Take, for instance, the two richly ornamented specimens at Carew, Pembrokeshire, and at Nevern, both of which, to judge from Mr Cutts's illustrations, are inscribed with characters resembling the large letters seen on the Newton stone in Aberdeenshire, and in Gaelic inscriptions at Iona. The whole of the beautiful carving on these stones is thoroughly Celtic, Irish,—western-Scottish, if you will; for have we it not prominently in Knapdale, Iona, and other parts of the Scots Highlands? Of the same character is the elaborate cross at Whitford, in Flintshire, which I came across in my journeyings through that county. In the triple beading round the border of its wheel, its spiral and interlaced circles, and the multiplicity of its plait-work patterns, we trace the close family likeness.

The Celtic sculptor's indifference to regularity.

In my observations upon the monumental art of Kintyre, I referred to a certain inequality in the sculptor's attention to details. Similarly, I pointed out defects of drawing occasionally to be seen in the Argyllshire tomb-carvings—atoned for, however, more or less by the lavishness and vigour of the general ornamental effect of these sculptures.<sup>1</sup> One particular in which indifference to regularity is frequently seen, both in Kintyre and Knapdale, is the shape of the beadings, single or double, which form borders to nearly all the slabs. Sometimes, in place of running straight from corner to corner, the border is crooked, one end is not parallel to the other, or the two sides do not converge equally. Now it cannot be denied that, strictly, this is a defect: a modern drawing-master would soundly rate a pupil who should so err from conventional rules of drawing. Yet somehow the eye is made to feel that these departures from regularity are unimportant, because the sculpture, as a whole, is sure to be artistically balanced. It is as if the sculptor had disdained to trace out his lines with rule and square, relying upon the richness and symmetry of his ornamental designs to carry off any impression of minor faultiness in outlining. The value of a paper-rubbing from one of these slabs to form the basis of a drawing is, that the draughtsman is perforce debarred from correcting (as he might do almost unconsciously) the original. The reader, therefore, may be satisfied that where defects of this kind appear in any of the illustrations in this or the preceding volume, such defects are faithful reproductions. Another peculiarity I do not think I have previously alluded to often appears in the Argyllshire slabs. The sculptor has sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 69, 73.

omitted to block out a pattern clear of the border, or he has let it run into an adjoining member of the sculpture. An example of what I mean is seen at Kilmory-Knap (Pl. XVIII. 2), where the ivy-leaves are so treated: plait-work and the bands of ornamental circles are often similarly rendered. One reason for this may have been to avoid the technical difficulty in stone-carving of this kind, that patterns wholly cut through and thus detached from the general surface of the slab would be more likely to get broken off.

Before closing these few supplementary remarks upon monumental art, I may refer to a curious and interesting group of tomb-sculptures which lately, through the energy of the Marquis of Bute, saw the light. They are in the burial-ground of the ancient church of St Blane's, in the island of Bute—a numerous collection, forming, in the characteristics of their style, a sort of intermediate step between the Lowland or English and the Celtic schools of monumental ornamentation. At one moment we are reminded of the ecclesiastical relics of eastern Scotland; at another we seem to be standing in a "*Reilig*" or clan burial-place, such as we meet with in Iona. Slabs with swords; slabs with cross-flories, but otherwise plain, as in England; slabs with knot-work, as in Argyllshire,—are here to be seen. But, side by side with the shears and other familiar devices, there are types of ornamental patterns foreign to anything I have yet met with elsewhere—another testimony to the originality of the ecclesiastical genius of the middle ages. The four-holed cross, already referred to, seems to have been a favourite form at St Blane's; for on headstones there it is constantly repeated with slight differences. Altogether, I can recommend a visit to this interesting ancient site—charmingly situated, too, for natural beauty—as affording an opportunity for studying a peculiar variety of national sculptured art, and also for contrasting the change which a little zeal, energy, and thought have wrought in the state of its churchyard, with the aspect of the sepulchral wildernesses elsewhere.

Ancient ecclesiastical monuments in Bute.

Respecting the architectural characteristics of the old chapels in Gigha and Knapdale, there is little or nothing to be added to what has already been said in the volume on Kintyre. The same secluded situations, the same ragged and ruinous walls, the same quality of rubble-work, dimensions, and general features, confront us in both districts. But the area in which this type of structure is found extends far beyond these localities. Referring to the old churches spread along the shores not only of Scotland, but of Ireland, Wales, and as far south as Cornwall, a writer in the '*Athenæum*' remarks that, generally speaking, such coast chapels "have a strong resemblance to that" (Kilcolmkill) "on the southern extremity of Kintyre. . . . The truth is, that these characteristics are not peculiar to Argyllshire, still less are they so to the peninsula of Kintyre. The paucity of chancel arrangements indicates, we can hardly doubt, the fact that these remains, of not earlier date than the thirteenth century, are really built on the plans, if not, as is most likely, on the foundations of structures of much older dates. . . . The width of the buildings was, of course, limited by the opportunities for roofing them; and where, as generally on the coast, no long timbers were obtainable, the constructors had to be satisfied with narrow structures. Small deeply-splayed lights, generally without

The old chapels of Knapdale and the West Highlands.

The '*Athenæum*' on their architectural features.

“ mullions, were owing to narrow edifices and exposed situations. Plainness, absence of ornamentation, and a graceful severity, were appropriate not less to the sites than to the time and the object the buildings were intended to serve. The length of the respective churches or chapels may be taken to indicate the numbers of the congregations for which they were constructed in Argyllshire, as in Cornwall, Ireland, and Wales.”<sup>1</sup>

Similar features in Orkney and Shetland.

The application of these remarks is even wider than the writer may have supposed. The Orkney and Shetland Isles, no less than the Hebrides, attest in their primitive ecclesiastical remains the necessities and modest ambition of the early church-builders—the same builders who have left to us vestiges of their settlements on the coasts of Kintyre and Knapdale. But we can trace them further than this. From a Norse source, the Landnamabók, we learn that “before Iceland was colonised from Norway, men were living there whom the Northmen called Papas. They were Christians, and it is thought they came over the sea from the West; for after them were found Irish books, and bells, and crosiers, and other things, so that one could see that they were Westmen.”<sup>2</sup> The Islendingabók, another Norse authority, supplies similar testimony.<sup>3</sup>

The Scoto-Irish in Iceland,

and possibly in Greenland.

It may even be that the limits of the influence of the primitive Scoto-Irish fathers are not reached in Iceland. In a work of singular interest lately published, describing a trip to the fiords of Greenland,<sup>4</sup> a description of the ruins of some ancient churches found there at once arrested my attention. After premising that the territory of Greenland was first colonised by the Norsemen towards the close of the tenth century, the writer tells us that Christianity was introduced by one Lief Ericson, a convert of the then reigning Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvison. Early in the eleventh century, we are further informed, Lief built a church, and a see was founded, the cathedral seat being established at Gardar, one of the colonial settlements, A.D. 1126. Several monasteries and churches were afterwards erected, and the narrative proceeds with the history of the Norse settlers till their final and tragic extirpation by the Esquimaux in the middle of the fourteenth century. The story of this isolated community of white men, planted among the ice-bound gulfs, and under the chill shadow of the great glaciers of so remote a land at so remote a period, possesses features of remarkable interest; but it is only with certain aspects of the old ruined chapels that we are at present concerned. The description of one of these will suffice for my purpose. It is situated amid the ruins of an ancient town, and is one of a series of structural remains left by the ancient Northmen at Ericsfiord. “The church (of Krakortok),” says Dr Hayes, “interested me most. Its walls are still (1869) quite perfect to from ten to eighteen feet altitude, and even the form of gable is still preserved. The doorways, three in number, are not in the least disturbed by time; the windows are mostly entire, except on the north side, and the arched window in the eastern end is nearly perfect. . . . The church was constructed with singular exactness as to

Ruins of ancient churches in Greenland.

<sup>1</sup> Critique on Archæol. Sketches in Scotland, vol. i. (Athenæum of 2d August 1873).

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's edition of Orkneyinga Saga, *Introd.*, p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Land of Desolation—Dr Hayes: 1871.

“ orientation. This could scarcely be by accident, for the same accuracy is to be observed “ in all the other sacred buildings that have been discovered in the neighbourhood, the “ walls standing within less than one degree of the meridian, and even this may have been “ an error of my instrument.” The walls were four and a half feet in thickness. The stones were flat, and no cement had been used other than blue clay. The circular single window he describes as in the east gable ; and the western doorway, square-headed, with a long lintel and small window over it, are, to judge from the illustrations, the counterpart of what we might find along the shores of Argyllshire. The dimensions of the building are not stated ; but, from the plan given, it is evident it was of the same long narrow type we are familiar with in the ruined chapels of our own western coasts. In addition to the church, Dr Hayes made out in its immediate vicinity five more buildings : a round tower 48 feet diameter, with one doorway in it ; an aumbry ; and a solitary tombstone with the following Runic inscription : “ Vigdis, daughter of M... rests here. May God rejoice her soul.”<sup>1</sup>

The impression left on my mind by the drawings and descriptions supplied of these old Norse ruins was, that either some of the primitive missionary voyagers from Ireland or the Scottish Isles must have found their way to Greenland, or else that we had here evidence of a very striking if unintentional identity in the structural styles emanating from two distinct local centres of early ecclesiastical architecture. Which of these two surmises is correct, I must leave it for others to settle. We have it on good authority that “ the first “ Norwegian settlement was made in Iceland in 875, by Leif and Ingulf, who carried with “ them a number of Irish captives.”<sup>2</sup> This Leif, it would appear, is not to be confused with the Lief Ericson of a century later ; but then the question suggests itself, Could any of the earlier Irish ecclesiastics have penetrated to the shores of Greenland, and have left traces of their presence in the shape, say, of wattled structures, which the Northmen may have found and copied, perhaps building on their sites ?<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it may be that those conditions pointed out by the ‘ Athenæum ’ reviewer as likely to guide the church-architect in remote localities, operating here from totally independent sources, have produced a result so strikingly similar to what is exhibited far elsewhere. The latter may probably seem the more natural explanation ; nevertheless, the singularity of the coincidence remains.

Their close  
resemblance  
to similar  
remains in  
Argyllshire.

I trust the reader will acquit me of having taken him too far afield in making the above observations. It has been truly said that we cannot afford to dispense with the side-lights which archæology throws upon history. Neither would it be wise within the province of archæology itself to neglect such elucidation as a comparison of analogies in the several sub-departments of that study is capable of affording. What has now been said may serve, perhaps, to supply a few additional suggestions respecting the place filled in ecclesiology by the structural remains and beautiful group of tomb-sculptures I am about to describe in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Land of Desolation, p. 47-50.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's Orkneyinga Saga, Introd., p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> I may here recall to the reader's mind the tradition of S. Cormac's having been driven by a succession of southerly winds to the icy waters of the far North.

## CHAPTER III.

Islands of  
Gigha and  
Cara.

No one at all acquainted with the sea-girt region known as the peninsula of Kintyre, can have failed to notice two long, low-lying islands abreast of its west coast. These islands are named Gigha and Cara (Pl. I. 2), and form one united parish. By the traveller between Tarbert and Campbelton they are seen in very different topographical aspects. Cara, the lesser of the two, presents a bold cliffy front to the southward, washed unceasingly by the long swell of the Atlantic; but, on the whole, the impression one derives viewing them from a distance is as of a land which has had a struggle with the sea, and barely succeeded in getting its head above water. Nevertheless, this low lengthy outline, with its sprinkling of white farmhouses, can hardly be called tame, inasmuch as it will change its form and colour a hundred times on a summer's day; and at evening, when the sun

Their external  
aspect.

draws down to the western horizon, these isles will look, as I have often seen them, wondrously beautiful, all sense of monotony vanishing in the gold and purple tints of their lights and shadows. Nor is it possible to divest one's self, even before one has set foot in them, of a certain shadowy attraction which seems to appertain to all these western islands, and begets a desire to search them out for the hid treasures they almost invariably contain; for with archæology, at least in western Scotland, it is as with so many other pursuits—the prizes are not to be won without an effort; and maidenlike, the fascinating handmaid of history is often most worth winning where most inaccessible. Many a time, before actually visiting them, had I watched these isles, Gigha and Cara, from the mainland, with an interest intensified by the uncertainty as to what they might contain,—what records of bygone times, hitherto all but unknown, one might not find in them; pages of history hitherto thought blank, or which, if superscribed, few people would take the trouble to study. If the reader will come with me to a little village in Kintyre called Tayinloan, boat over the three miles of sea intervening, and land in one of the many pretty creeks which form a series of natural harbours along the Gigha shores, I will try to sketch for him such relics of ancient days as the indifference of the islanders or the absence of tourists, or both, have left unmolested.

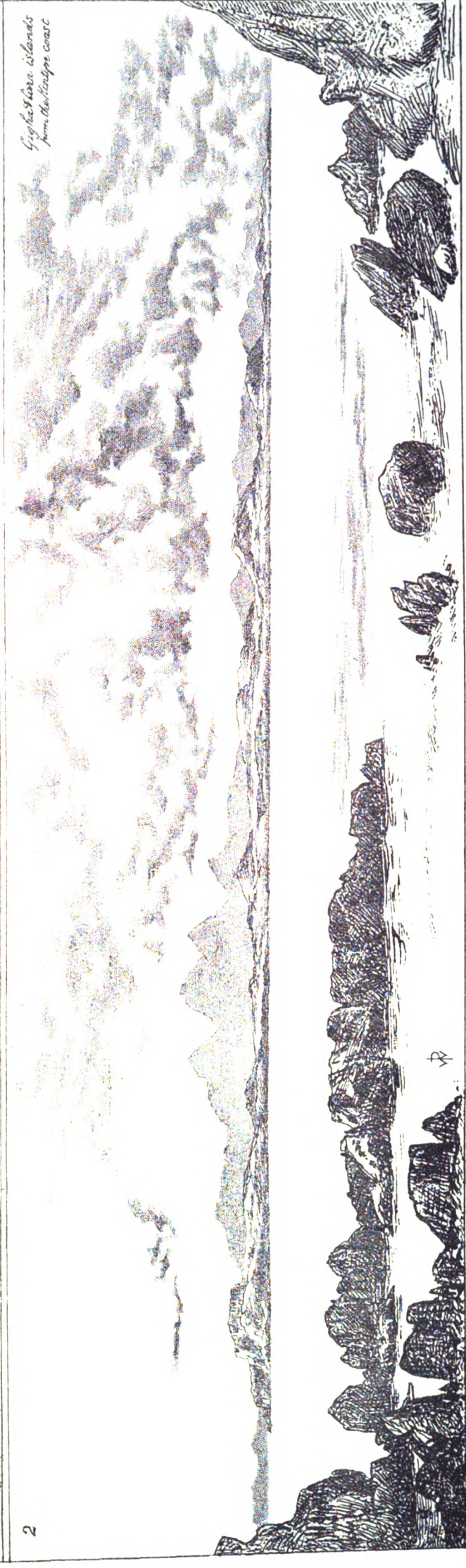
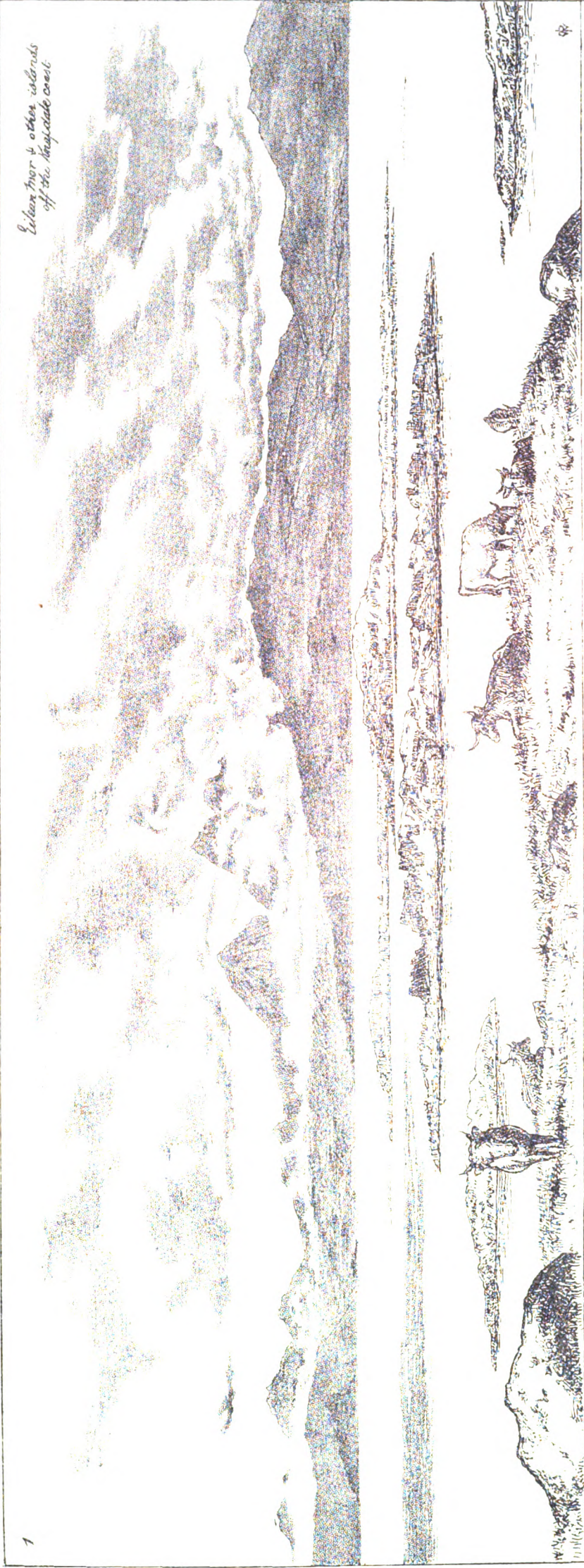
Their topo-  
graphy.

First of all, for the topography of the islands. Like the neighbouring mainland, we shall find them all ups and downs; no high hills, but a continual recurrence of rocky ridges and hollows, clothed with the greenest of sward: here a patch of verdure, there a corn-field, then a stretch of brown moorland, or a bit of sedgy marsh harbouring a snipe or wild-duck. Yonder a scarred hillside, of no great height and no great bulk, protrudes itself, surmounted by the time-worn wall and foss of some fortified stronghold, erected by a



SKETCHES ILLUSTRATING GICHA, CARA, & ISLANDS OFF THE COAST OF KNAPDALE - ARGYLLSHIRE

PL. I



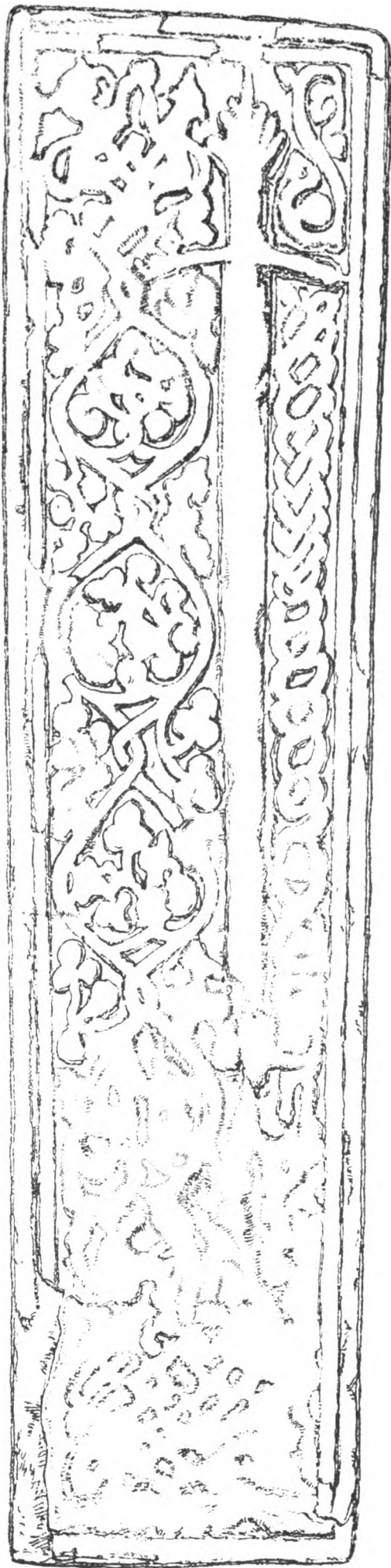
Sketched by Capt. I. P. White. R. E. Photo-lithographed & Printed by W & A. K. Johnston.



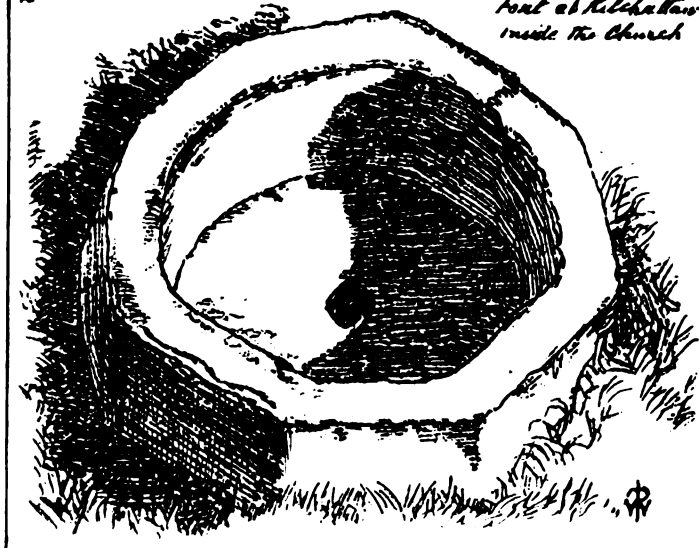
SLAB & FONT AT KILCHATTAN - ISLAND OF GICHA - ARCYLLSHIRE

PL. II.

1

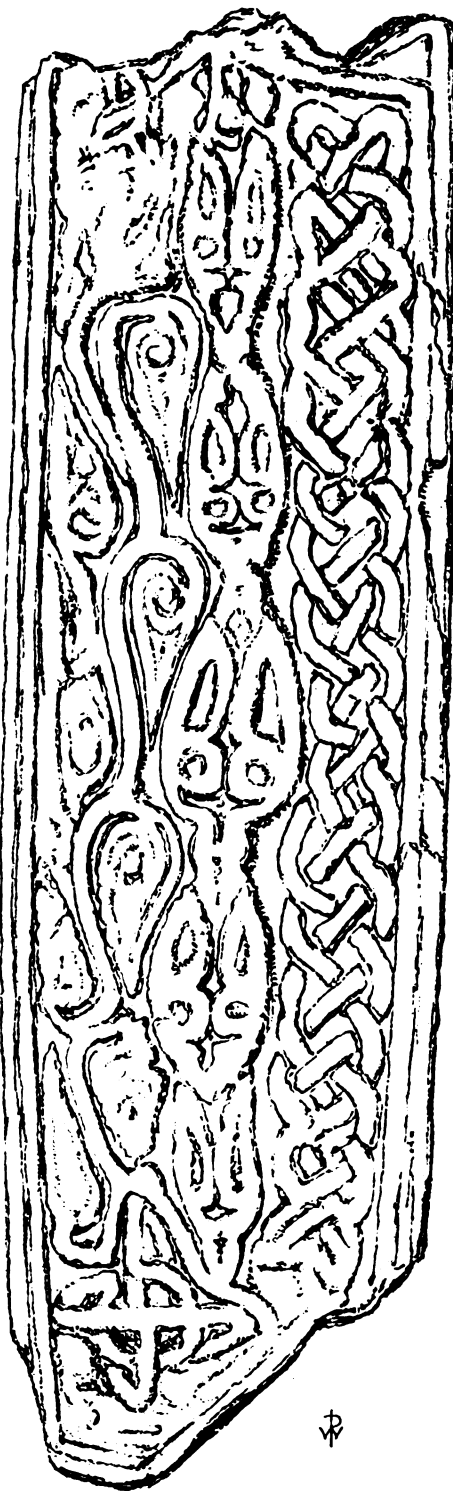


2



Sketch of  
Font at Kilchattan -  
inside the church

3



Scale  $\frac{1}{20}$





⚡

Scale  $\frac{1}{29}$



people the memory of whose name is extinct. Or again, turn round anywhere, and you will see dark bluffs of rock stretching out into the sea—the “rudha” of the Highlands—their feet whitened by the ocean spray; and with these rocky promontories are interspersed pretty sheltered bays and islets, heron-haunted, as all such spots in the west are. Here and there the sea nearly cuts through the island from shore to shore, so that your road winds along a narrow isthmus, with a cottage or two on it, whose inmates must have a wild time of it on winter nights. Of trees, you will see few or none, for all growth of wood is mercilessly stunted by the Atlantic blasts, which scour the islands unchecked. Such, in a very few words, is the landscape aspect of Gigha. And now let us explore the little ruined building, which is the principal ecclesiastical site in these islands.

Like so many of the religious centres we have met with in Kintyre, Kilchattan has little Kilchattan. to show in the architectural features of its old church (Pl. V.) but what is of a very simple and unpretending kind. The building stands near the eastern shores, and towards the The chapel. southern end of the island, near the proprietor's residence. It will perhaps have been noted, by ecclesiologists interested in the Scottish Highlands, how frequently we come upon dimensions in the old chapels bearing the proportion, or very nearly so, of a length equal to twice the width. And this is so here, Kilchattan Church being internally 32' 9" long, by an average breadth of 15 feet—the east and west walls differing to the extent of the former being 14' 9", and the latter 15' 3". The walls are in tolerable preservation. The east window, which is arched over with thin rubbleflakes set edgewise, and another, are entire. These windows are lancets of the usual deeply-splayed type. The doorway was in the usual place, in the south side, near the western angle.

In fig. 2, Pl. II., I have sketched the ancient font described by Martin, and of which The font. the present Dean of Chester, writing some thirty-five years ago, remarks, that “it is probably the only font still remaining in the county of Argyll.” It certainly is the only unmistakable entire font that I remember to have seen in this part of the country. It is about 2 feet in diameter, and octagonal—a shape very generally adapted for ancient fonts in the northern counties of Scotland. Mr Muir, I think, is not quite correct in calling the Gigha font “a rather small specimen,”<sup>1</sup> as its depth is considerable, forming a basin of good-sized cubical content. Martin, writing in 1716, remarks of Kilchattan Church that “it has an altar in the east end, and upon it a font of stone, which is very large, and hath a small hole in the middle, which goes quite through it.”<sup>2</sup> The altar is no longer to be seen.

Kilchattan possesses several fine slabs. Pl. II. 1, is of the ordinary type, a good The slabs. specimen, but much worn at the lower end. The slab in fig 3, Pl. II., is peculiar in the style of its foliage and the ornamental plait at the bottom. In Pl. III. we have a pair of elegant tombstones. Fig. 1 has a mermaid or merman, it is not quite clear which, though I think the sex is intended to be female, from the substantial head of hair indicated in the usual manner. Here, also, is our old friend the otter, grabbing at a fish. Fig. 2, although sadly dilapidated about the sword-handle, is a beautiful piece of sculpture; and a peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Old Church Architecture of Scotland, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Description of Western Islands of Scotland, by M. Martin, gent., p. 228-231. London, 1716.

kind of griffinish animal, common in Knapdale, but in this case headless, here makes its appearance.

Crosses.

Pillar-stone,  
apparently  
Ogham-  
marked.

But, if I am not mistaken, perhaps the greatest interest, from an antiquarian point of view, to be attached to anything in the west country, will be excited by one of the slabs figured in Pl. IV. Figs. 1 and 2 are the two sides of a pillar-cross in an old burial-ground at Tarbert, in the north end of Gigha. The place is named, in Sinclair's account of the parish, "Righ Chaibeal," translated "the king's burial-place;"<sup>1</sup> but "Ridh a' Chaibeil" is probably the correct form of the name ("field of the chapel," or of the burial-ground). Doubtless there was a chapel here. The cross stands 6 feet high, and is of curious though simple type. Fig. 3 is another fragment of a cross. It is, however, to fig. 4 that I wish to call particular attention. I sketched it after a very careful examination, just as it stands in the drawing, without a single after-touch. Without giving a decided opinion, my impression was, and is, that the curious notches cut along the edge are decidedly artificial, and they appear most to resemble what are called "Ogham" characters, seen occasionally upon monoliths in the east of Scotland and in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> This pillar-stone is four-sided, and about 6 feet in height by 10 inches in width; it stands upon a green knoll close by the old chapel. With the exception of a slab found in a cist near Kilmartin, which has been thought to be possibly Ogham-marked, I am not aware of any other stone similarly engraved having come to light in Argyllshire.

Other tomb-  
sculptures.

In Pls. VI. and VII. 1, are represented three more slabs and a fragment. Fig. 2 of Pl. VII. is a tombstone of remarkable type, exhibiting a rude but quaint attempt at ornamentation of a class not met with in the peninsula of Kintyre, though we shall have something akin to it presently. Here we seem to have the rudimentary loop, before the sculptor's advance to foliage.

None of the Gigha sculptures, except the *quasi* Ogham one, bear any trace of inscriptions.

Missing relics.

Accounts by  
Pennant and  
Martin.

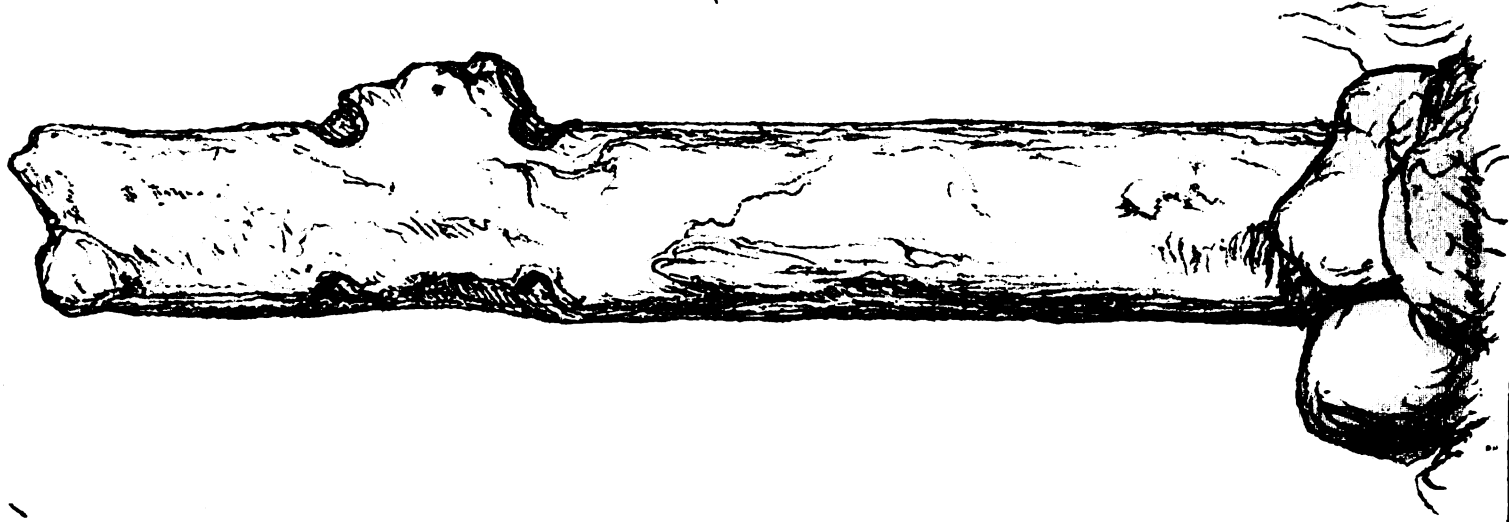
If Martin's observations are accurate, then have we certainly lost in Gigha what may have been some interesting relics. "Near the west side the church" (Kilchattan), he says, "there is a stone of about 16 foot high and 4 broad, erected upon the eminence." Pennant, writing in 1772, is obviously referring to the same relic, where he speaks of a "great rude column at Kilchattan 16 feet high." This pillar must have been a conspicuous object, but it is clearly not the one we have just been considering, which is the only standing stone now remaining there. "About 60 yards distance from the chappell," continues Martin, "there is a square stone erected, about 10 foot high; at this the ancient inhabitants bowed, because it was there where they had the first view of the church." In all probability, this that he alludes to is the apparently

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Mr M'Bride, of North Bute, in a letter to me, discredits this rendering of the name, and suggests "cemetery of the plain or field." As he remarks, with Iona so near, it is improbable that a royal personage should have been buried here during Christian times.

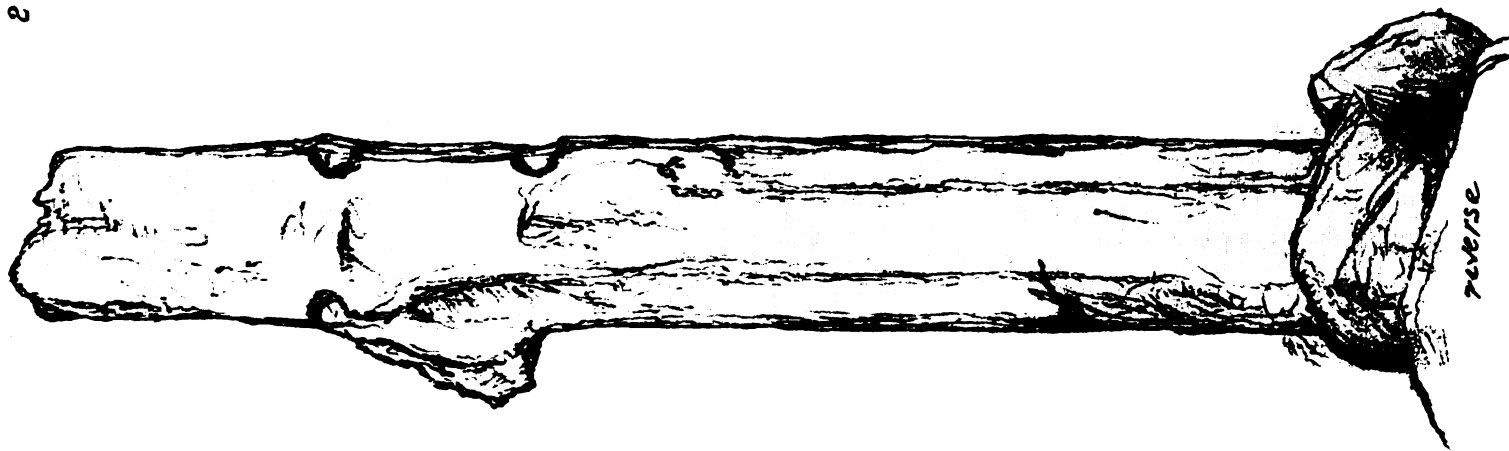
<sup>2</sup> Mr Burton, with the characteristic caution he so constantly displays in his admirable History, does not yet accept the so-called Ogham "scratchings" in the light of a recognised ancient form of writing.—See his remarks at p. 148, 149, vol. i., 2d edit., Hist. of Scot. Yet without connecting them with the Druids, it may be safe to say that certain groupings of engraved lines are found along the edges of pillar-stones in Scotland and Ireland; and till a better name is got for them, it may be convenient to continue calling them Ogham characters.

CROSSES & C IN THE ISLAND OF CICHHA - ARGYLLSHIRE

PL. IV



2



5



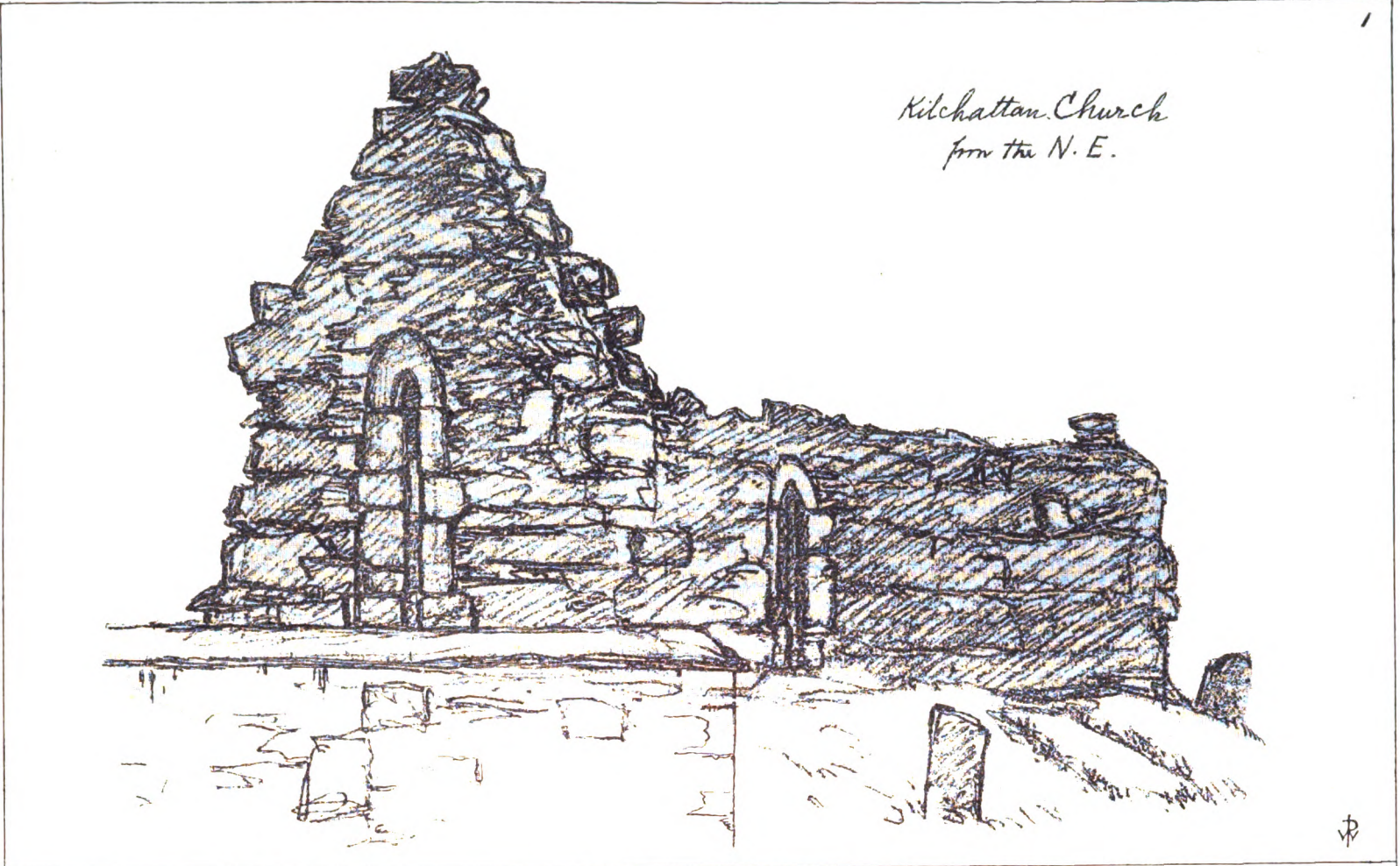
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Sketched by Capt. J. P. White. R. I.

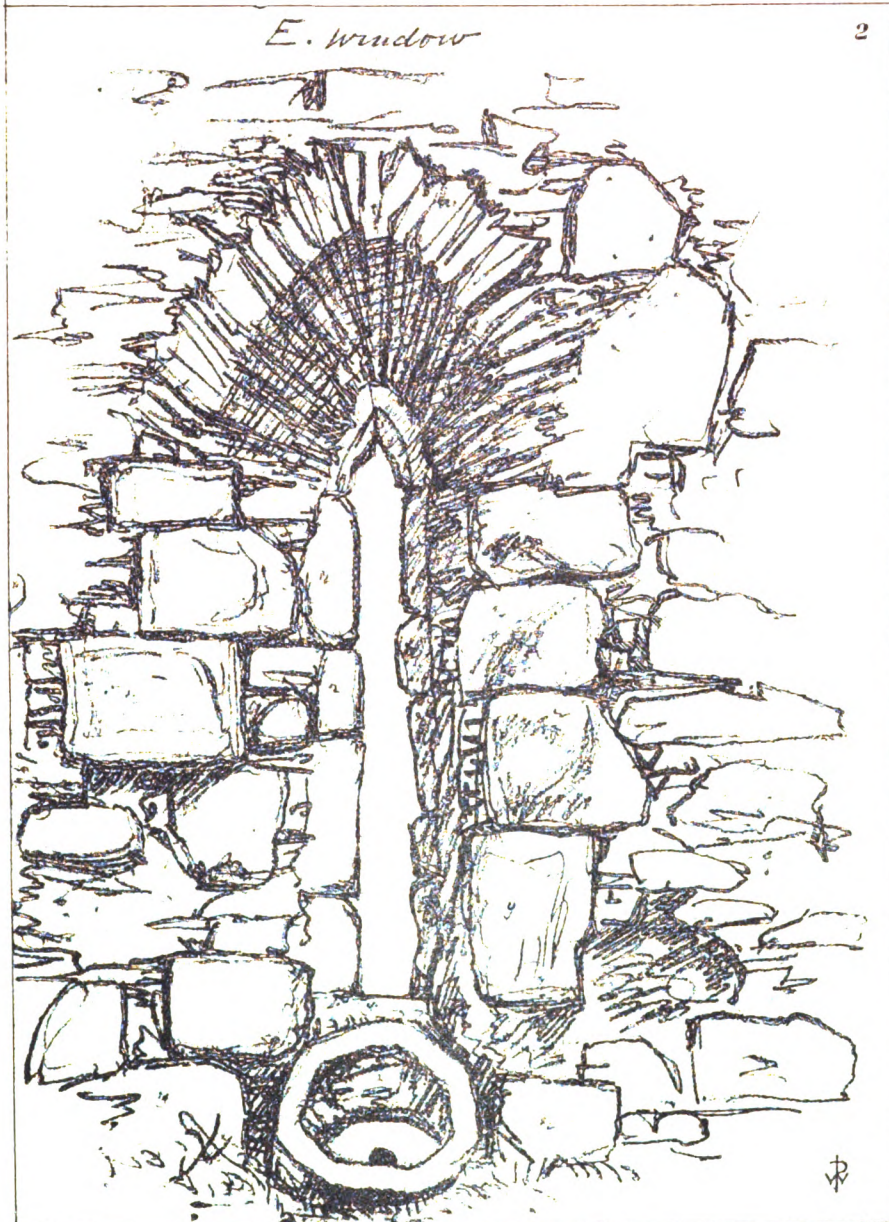
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*Kilchattan Church  
from the N. E.*

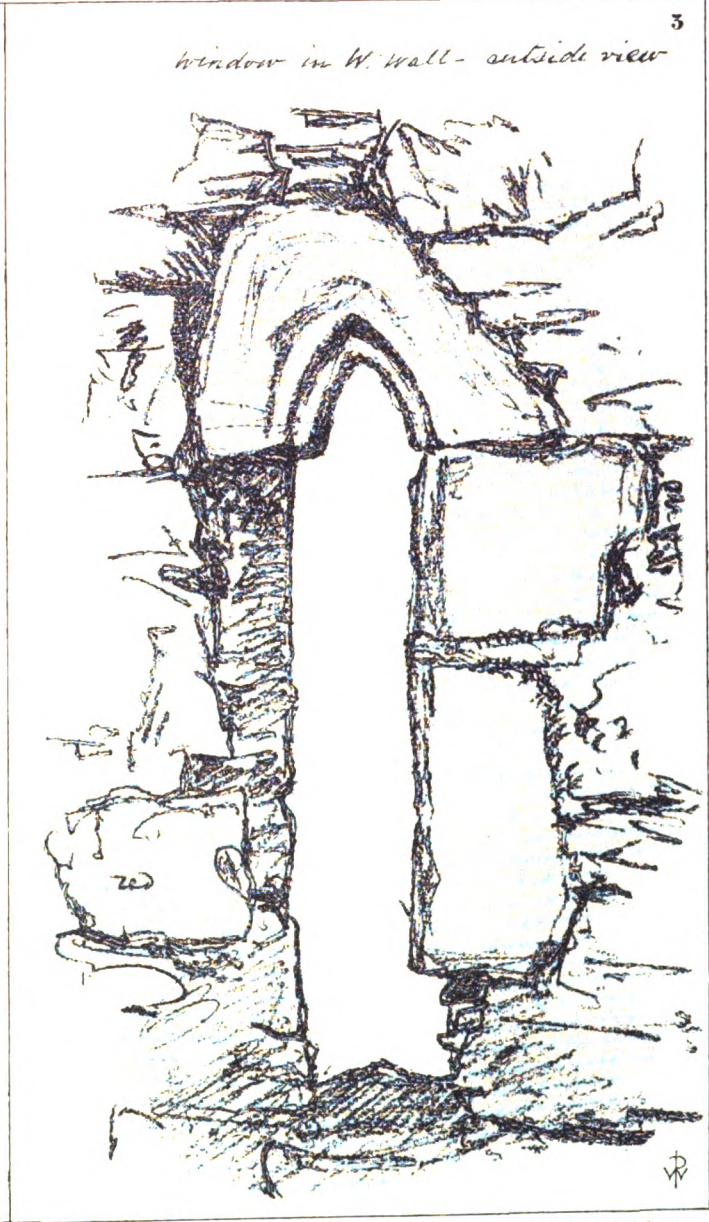
Ⓟ



*E. window*

2

Ⓟ

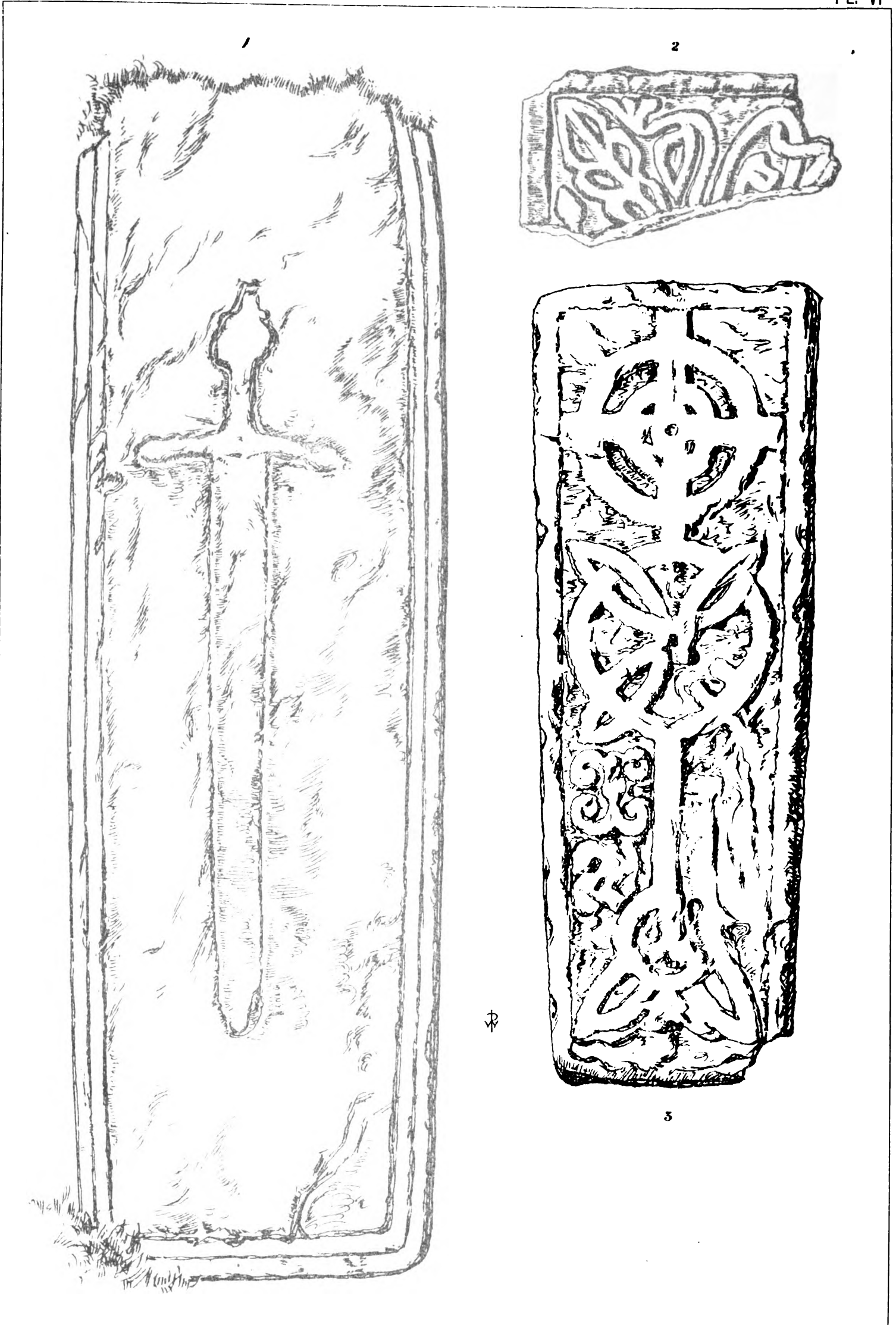


*window in W. wall - outside view*

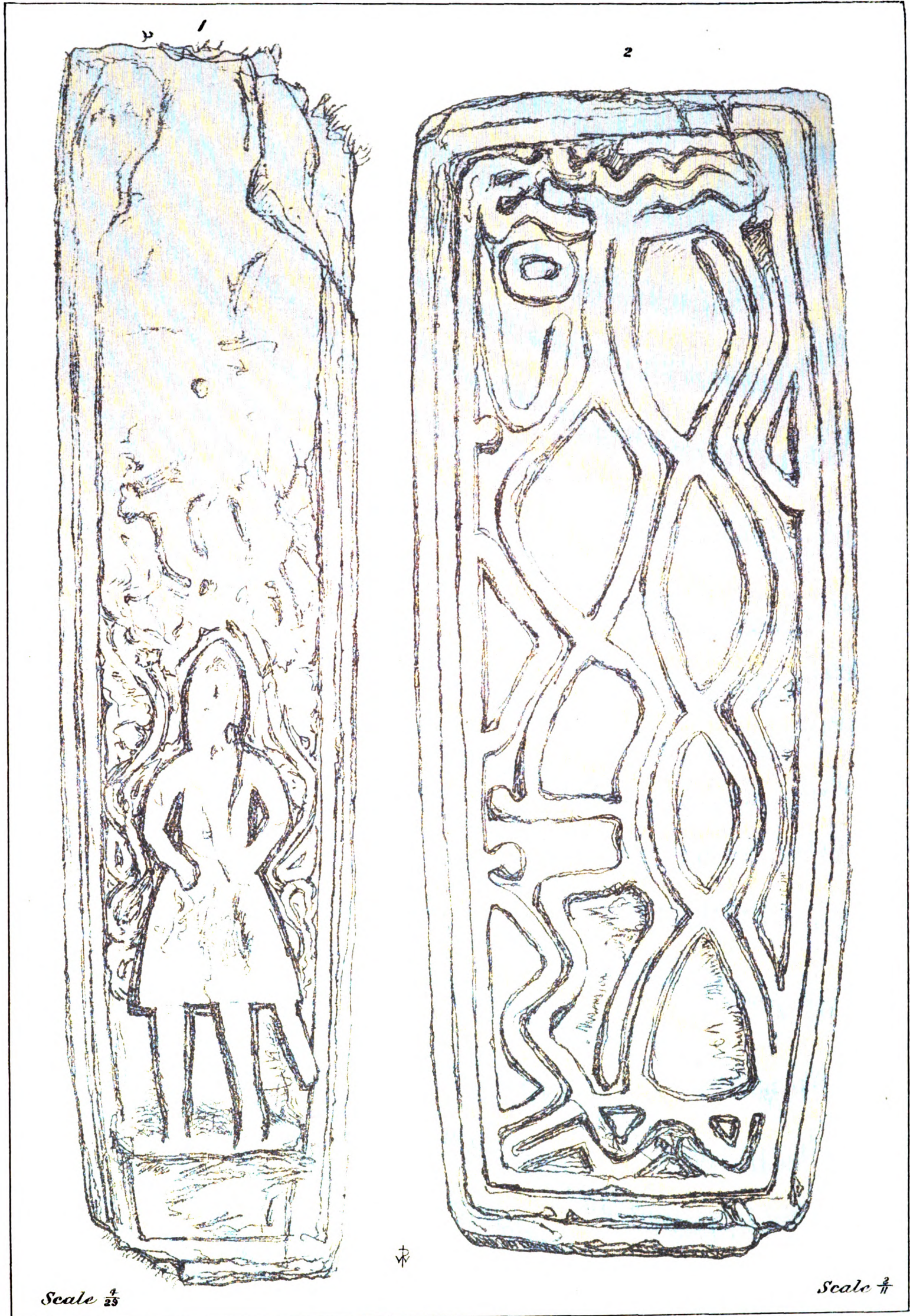
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Ogham-marked pillar at present standing, and it is interesting to hear something as to one of the traditional uses the stone was put to so early as the beginning of last century. Let us hear him further. "There is a cross 4 foot high at a little distance, and a cairn " of stone on each side of it." This may refer to one of the slabs in the burial-ground. " There are several tombstones in and about this church ; the family of the Mack-Neils, " the principal possessors of this isle, are buried under the tombstones on the east side " the church, where there is a plot of ground set apart for them. Most of all the tombs " have a two-handed sword engraved on them, and there is one that has the representa- " tion of a man upon it."<sup>1</sup> Useful as the above notes are, the information is too slight to enable us to judge how far the tomb-sculptures have diminished in numbers since Martin's day. Elsewhere, the ravages of time have in this respect too often been enormous, but the sequestered situation of Gigha would be the best protection for its architectural remains.

Near the chapel is a well, roughly built in and giving excellent water. Whether or not this spring at one time did duty for the church, perhaps having determined the selection of its site, and entitled to be ranked among the holy wells, I was unable to learn. If it were so, it seems to have lost its distinguishing name. Well near the chapel.

Concerning the dedication of Kilchattan Church, I need only refer the reader to Kintyre and other places where S. Catan's memory is still retained.<sup>2</sup> The identification of the name with the site is sufficiently established by Blaeu and other MS. maps of date about 1600, as well as by an entry in the Register of the Privy Seal (A.D. 1510), where the church is designated "Ecclesia Sancti Catani in Giga."<sup>3</sup> Dedication of Kilchattan.

To pass to other parts of the island. It is clear, from the notices of Pennant, Martin, and Sinclair, that the island of Gigha must have contained stone crosses and other memorial stones not now to be found. The "16 foot" pillar near Kilchattan, I have said, is gone; and whether it commemorated a Christian or a Pagan notable, it is hard to say. All we could do on our map was to mark its supposed site. It seems to have stood at a spot named "Achadh a charra" (field or site of the pillar),<sup>4</sup> "so " called," says the Old Statistical Account of the parish, "from a beautiful plain stone " which stands in the field within 140 yards of the chapel. It inclines to the south-west, " is 14½ feet high, 3 feet broad, and 8 inches thick at the edges, and must be at least " 3 feet under ground."<sup>5</sup> Another of our losses is evidenced by the name "Cnoc na " Croise" (hill of the cross), given to a prominent eminence about a quarter of a mile west of Ardmish, where it is said that a cross formerly stood.<sup>6</sup> And again, we have probably a similar loss revealed in the name of a small rocky islet near the east shore of Gigha, "Eilean na Croise" (island of the cross). So that it would seem as though Gigha had at one time been rich in such remains. "Field of the pillar." Other names.

<sup>1</sup> Martin's Western Islands, p. 228-231.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. Archæol. Sketches in Scot., p. 90, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Origines Parochiales, ii. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently also alluded to in the same account as "Cnoc a charra."

<sup>5</sup> I am unable to quote the volume or page.

<sup>6</sup> Evidently the relic described in Sir J. Sinclair's work as "a cross which fell some years since and was "broken." This would be some time before the close of the last century.



But we have not yet done with crosses. A relic, the existence of which I was unfortunately not aware of when a visitor to these islands, is thus described in our Ordnance Survey MSS.: "A small triangular-shaped stone, about 2 feet in length, standing on its sharpest point, between two smaller ones, and having on its top the figure of a sword cut out, and something like a date or initials, but quite illegible. It was sunk in the ground level with the surface, until a few years ago, when the tenant of Ardacha dug it up. Tradition says it was put there as being the centre between the north and south points of the island." This stone bears the name of "Crois na Lìce Leithe," than which nothing could be more descriptive—the cross of the grey tombstone. But such names, it must be confessed, are tantalising, for they tell us nothing about who erected the stones, nor when, nor whom they were set up to cover. Another site of presumable antiquity is a piece of ground shaped like a grave, and enclosed by a bank, traditionally pointed out as the tomb of a warrior of yore, and a mistress he had torn from the arms of one mighty among the Feinne. No doubt the men of Fingal come in as a convenient stop-gap in such cases, where the local people have got dissatisfied with knowing nothing whatever about a grave, or a cairn, or a monolith. The Lothario here was a certain "Chibhich," or Keefie; and, besides the grave, there is a hill-fort to his memory, Dun Chibhich, a conspicuous eminence near the centre of the island. About the "dún" there is no doubt, but the reader may please himself as to accepting the above legend and its sequel. Keefie, son of the King of Lochlin, shut himself up in this rude fortress with the woman he had abducted, and here he was slain by the injured husband, who was no other than the great Diarmid of Celtic lore.

"Cross of the grey tombstone."

Dun Chibhich.

Site of an ancient burying-ground.

Interesting topographical names.

"Cladh druim na h-airde" (cemetery of the ridgy height) is another little knoll, the supposed site of a burying-ground, from there being traces of some small upright stones on its summit; but that is all the local knowledge about it.

Among the topographical names met with in Gigha, I may mention "Dunan an t' Seasgain" (the moorland keep), applied to another hill-fort, and "Carragh an Tarbert," an unhewn monolith near the farmhouse of Tarbert, said to mark the tomb of a hero slain in fight. "The hilt of a sword," say our MS. field-notes, "and silver scales, were found on the beach near this stone." To the believers in that white-robed priesthood which has been the subject of so much varied criticism, the name of "Cachlaidh nan Draoigh" (the Druid's gate) will probably come with a refreshing sound. The spot so named is near the stone just alluded to, and applies to two curious hollowed mounds locally termed Druid or hut circles—one of them large, the other with a small upright stone at its entrance. It is impossible to say for what purpose these mounds were erected. The pit or hollow space inside the larger tumulus is but 6 feet in diameter; and whether it represents the wall of an early Christian oratory,<sup>1</sup> a pre-Christian structure, or something different from either, there is really not a particle of external evidence to show.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reader will meet further on with similar structures, in the account of the island of Eilean Mor, which have been thought to represent primitive Christian cells or oratories.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Burton allows the Druids small standing-ground in Scotland; and he would doubtless appraise such topographical names as the above for what they are worth, as the expression of popular beliefs on the subject of Druidism.—See his *Hist. of Scot.*, 2d ed., chaps. iv. and v.

“Tobar Bhearg” is a spot of less doubtful association. Like other wishing-wells, it <sup>“Tobar Bhearg.”</sup> is a mine of traditionally-ascribed virtues. Martin, in describing it under the name of Toubir-more,<sup>1</sup> gives this quaint account of it: “There is a well in the north end of this isle called Toubir-more—*i. e.*, a great well, because of its effects, for which it is famous among the islanders, who, together with the inhabitants, use it as a *catholicon* for diseases. It’s covered with stone and clay, because the natives fancy that the stream that flows from it might overflow the isle; and it is always opened by a *diroch*—*i. e.*, an inmate—else they think it would not exert its virtues. They ascribe one very extraordinary effect to it, and ’tis this: That when any foreign boats are wind-bound here (which often happens), the master of the boat ordinarily gives the native that lets the water run a piece of money; and they say that immediately afterwards the wind changes in favour of those that are thus detained by contrary winds. Every stranger that goes to drink of the water of this well is accustomed to leave on its stone-cover a piece of money, a needle, a pin, or one of the prettiest variegated stones they can find.”<sup>2</sup> A shepherd in the island gave me a different story. “They were saying,” was his way of putting it, “that if a stone was taken out of the well, a storm would arise, and prevent any person crossing over; nor would it abate till the stone was taken back to the well.” In Pennant’s hands the legend, chameleon-like, assumes a colouring differing from both the above. “A little well,” he writes (in 1772), “of a most miraculous quality; for in old times, if ever the chieftain lay here wind-bound, he had nothing more to do than cause the well to be cleared, and instantly a favourable gale arose. But miracles are now ceased.”<sup>3</sup> The story, like the well, might be none the worse for a little clearing; but otherwise, it is less discrepant in its triple aspect than many of such stories are. The pins and needles Martin speaks of, and nails, may be seen to this day in an island on Loch Maree, in Ross-shire, stuck into a tree over a holy well of the same kind; and upon them the people’s offerings to the propitiatory genius of the spot are hung up. It is so in many other wells in Great Britain reputed sacred.<sup>4</sup>

Other descriptive names in Gigha are “Port bàn nam Marbh” (white harbour of the dead), “Camas nan Bùthe” (bay of the tents), and “Slochd nan Gair-Sgeir,” which may <sup>Other suggestive place-names.</sup> be translated “pool of the murmur of rocks.” This last designation is not less accurately descriptive than poetic, inasmuch as it applies to a narrow creek or basin on the sea-shore, where the waves, in surging over the rocks during westerly gales, sing a peculiar song—not just that which all seaside farers know so well, but a sound distinguishing this particular spot from others. But such is only one among innumerable examples of the scene-painting power of Celtic topographical nomenclature, the same in Scotland as in Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

For the name of the island itself, two derivations have been suggested. Eilean Dhia <sup>Derivation of “Gigha.”</sup> (God’s Island), a Celtic rendering, would appear to accord with its Norse appellation,

<sup>1</sup> Tobermory in Mull is the same name. It is simply “big well.”

<sup>2</sup> Martin’s Western Islands, p. 229-231.

<sup>3</sup> Tour in Scotland, Part I., 2d edit., p. 224-228.

<sup>4</sup> See my remarks on these wells at p. 80, vol. i. Archæol. Sketches.

<sup>5</sup> As regards Ireland, refer to Mr Joyce’s interesting work on ‘The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places.’

Gudey. Another view would derive the word from "Geodha" (*Gaelice*, a creek), which, considering the features of the place, would be a sufficiently appropriate denomination.<sup>1</sup>

Hacon V.'s  
visit to the  
island.

But associations more interesting than anything connected with its mere philological aspects are awakened by the name of Gudey. It is the briefest of pages, yet one not without import in Scottish history, that records the visit of a king, hoary with age, come from across the northern sea to lay hand, for the last time, upon the island territories, which were slipping away inevitably from his grasp. Of King Hacon, fifth of his name in the roll of Norwegian sovereigns; of his anchoring at Gigha; of his goodly fleet; of his disasters; of his death and burial,—something has been said on a former occasion.<sup>2</sup> To have seen a hundred or more galleys in the thirteenth century, swinging to their hawsers, along the picturesque shores of this little island, must have been a sight to be remembered. What struck me as being a most strange circumstance in connection with this visit of a royal fleet to Gigha was, that no tradition or reminiscence of the event is preserved in any name we could get at. Let an old woman die out-of-doors, in some out-of-the-way corner of the Highlands; a shipwrecked seaman's corpse be washed up by the tide on a Highland shore; a shepherd tumble over a cliff,—the chances are, any such event will be found duly chronicled for remote posterity in a new name given to this creek, or that cairn, or yonder "corrie." But that, of a warlike and renowned monarch, from over the far seas, bringing with him a stately following of ships and men, such as in all ages the Celt has loved to see; a king, sovereign lord over all the Isles of Scotland, to whom the great chiefs, feudal kings of Kintyre themselves, and powerful in their own districts, came to do homage,—that of him not a record should have survived in the shape of a local name about these islands, where his ships must for days have ridden at anchor, and their crews have trafficked with the Scots for food and supplies, does seem a circumstance not easily explicable. We can almost be certain where the fleet lay. There is but one good roadstead, and that is in the harbour of Gighalum, a little island between Gigha and Cara, where there is water for the largest ships, and shelter to seaward by a barrier of low-lying rocks. Yet, though confronted with traditions from afar of Fingalians and fairies, Druids and primitive saints, the memory of Hacon and his hundred galleys is as if sunk under the sea. Many a time have I watched these islands from the opposite shore, and striven to fill up a little this traditionary blank. The ships with their armed crews, and strange shape, rig, and gear; the Scots watching them in consternation, and wondering if a change of masters was coming; the Norse king's reception of the Highland lords, John of Lorne, Angus, and Margad; his interview with the superior of the Saddell grey-friars; the funeral procession, when the monks bore away with them the saintly Symon's body; the ships weighing anchor and standing away to the southward to fight it out with the Scottish king. Then the return. The tempest in the Clyde; the battle by the sea-shore; and the aged king hurrying back round the "surf-tormented" Moile, buffeted and baffled, to the old anchorage, before pushing on homeward to the haven his eyes should never more see!

<sup>1</sup> The 'New Statistical Account' of the parish gives both the above.

<sup>2</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 28-31 and 153-155.

## CHAPTER IV.

LET us now suppose ourselves boating across the waters of Gigalum harbour, and exchange <sup>Island of</sup> for the spectral forms of thirteenth-century history a number of black rocky islets, just <sup>Cara.</sup> showing above tide, streaked over with dripping sea-weed, and a solitary cormorant or two perched on the top of them. Pass alongside these, and, after a sniff and a sight of the open Atlantic, run the boat into the prettiest of little shingly creeks, and you are in the island of Cara. There is not much of the island, but what there is repays one for visiting it, apart from things antiquarian. The grass is of that exquisite soft green seen along all these western shores; and on all sides of you there is an inexhaustible variety of landscape forms, not high-pitched, perhaps, as landscape goes, but fresh and piquant, as this kind of scenery invariably is. The south-west or seaward edge of the island is a storm-beaten, many-fissured cliff, gull-haunted, and broken into a chaos of great boulders. The island forms one sheep-farm, and besides the sheep, it is tenanted by a remnant of half-wild goats and fallow deer. Walking up from the landing-place I have described, one comes upon the solitary dwelling-house of the island, and close beside it an old ruined chapel. (Pl. VIII. 1, 2.)

The internal dimensions of this chapel are 24 feet 2 inches by 13 feet 7 inches. <sup>Its chapel.</sup> A square-headed lancet-window is to be seen in each side-wall near the eastern end, and a third similar one in the west gable, its sill 9 feet or thereabouts above ground. The doorway, now 5 feet wide, was in the north wall, one-third or so of the distance from its western extremity. The east gable is entire, and its masonry apparently untouched, no sign remaining of there ever having been an east window. The masonry is of the usual character, consisting of large blocks of stone filled in with small rubble. The windows are splayed at the sides, but neither at the top nor bottom. There is a tradition of a priest who is said to have done duty in the chapel and been buried in the north-east angle. In this angle I observed a thin slab 6 feet above ground let into the wall, which, the farmer told me, projected at one time from it so as to form a sort of canopied niche. This may have served as a primitive pulpit—pulpits being generally placed north-easternwise in churches. The slab is now broken off flush with the wall. The factor of the Largie estate, to which the island belongs, told the Ordnance Surveyors that a stone font, similar in character to the one in Gigha, used to lie in a corner of the chapel. Unfortunately it has disappeared. There are no slab-sculptures in Cara, <sup>No slab-carvings in Cara.</sup> nor is there any burial-ground or enclosure round the old chapel.

Writing about a century ago, Pennant, the traveller, remarks of Cara, that it was then inhabited by one family. He mentions the chapel, but overshoots the mark considerably in stating its length to be 36 feet. Martin tells us that in his time the island abounded with "coney," and was then the property of "MackAlester of Lergy, a family of the Mackdonalds." It belongs to the estate of Largie now, and the "laird" is a descendant on the maternal side of an ancient branch of the Clandonald.

Derivation of the name.

I do not know on what authority it has been stated that the name "Cara" is supposed to signify a monastery.<sup>1</sup> I should imagine the word to be more likely a derivative from "Carraig" (a cliff), having regard to the very marked character of precipitousness which distinguishes this island from its neighbour.

In the above account of Gigha and Cara, I have but alluded *en passant* to prehistoric antiquities; and this merely with reference to their place in the topographical nomenclature of these islands. Following the plan adopted in my review of the peninsula of Kintyre, I shall now devote a few words to such meagre written records as we possess for establishing who were the former lords or occupants of this insular territory, and who were associated with its ecclesiastical incumbencies.

Documentary references to Gigha and Cara.

The earliest documentary mention of Gigha appears to be in the saga of King Hacon's expedition, taking us back, we must remember, to A.D. 1263. In 1266, the cession of the Western Isles to Scotland would of course include the two islands under discussion; and in that year, therefore, we may consider them as formally cut adrift from Norwegian rule. In 1309, we learn that Gigha was made over by King Robert Bruce to a chieftain of the house of the Isles, one of the Ruari branch of that house, named Roderic (or Ruari) Alanson. The record lands us in a stormy time for Scotland. It was but two years past since the fierce old monarch, who had come north with his armed hosts foresworn once and for all to trample in the dust a still rebellious kingdom, had passed away on its very threshold. Nevertheless, the Bruce party were now well in the ascendant; and King Robert, having weathered the climax of his perils and now worn the crown some three years, was beginning to establish himself in the country as its recognised sovereign. Several years elapse before the next item of parochial information turns up. Now (A.D. 1335) it is Edward Balliol who reigns as Scotland's titular sovereign, under the wing of another English Edward; but the iron of Halidon Hill is lifting from the hearts of the Scottish people, and Balliol's authority has no solid foundation. Yet he so far exercises his sovereignty as to grant in heritage to John of Isla, afterwards Lord of the Isles, the island of Gigha, along with other lands. This gift would no doubt be in part guerdon for the allegiance John of the Isles had given to Balliol. In the following year, King Edward III. confirms the grant; but such a title-deed, could it be produced at this day, would probably meet with scant recognition from Scottish jurists. We know what happened soon after to John of the Isles. He was stripped of the possessions he had acquired under English auspices, but reinstated in them by King David II., who was doubtless actuated by mixed motives. Gigha formed part

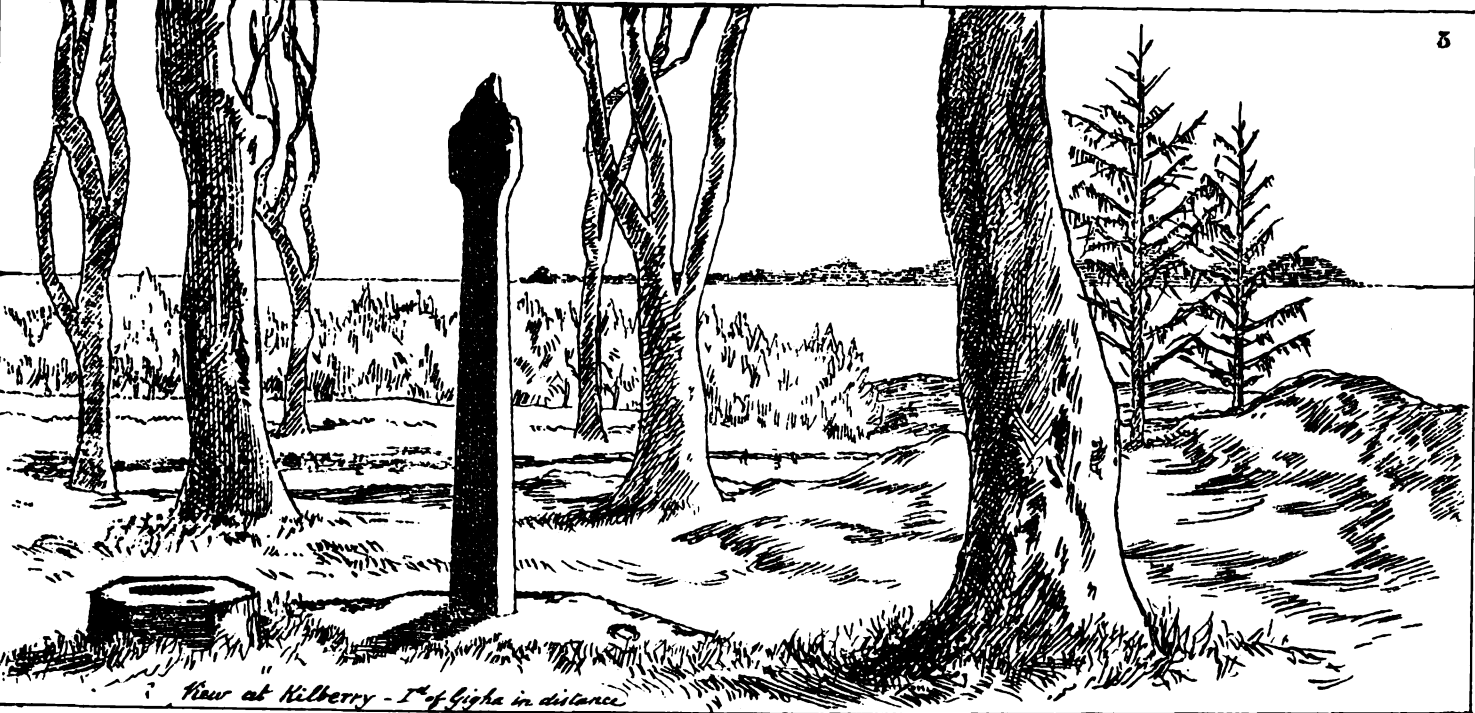
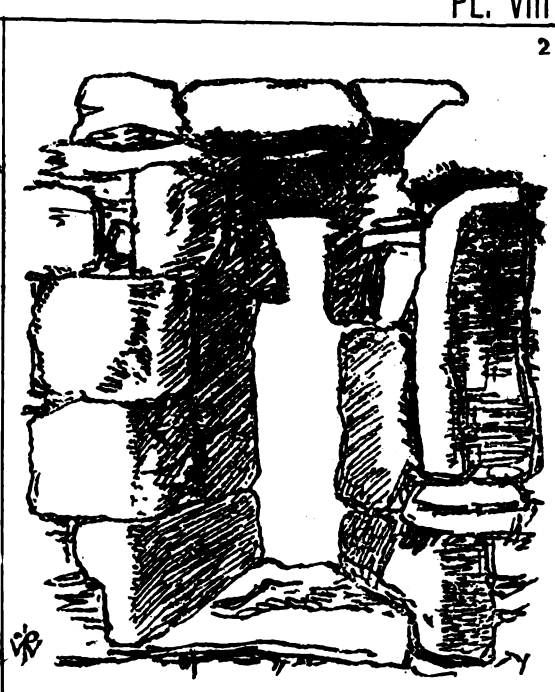
Edward Balliol gives Gigha to the Lord of the Isles.

<sup>1</sup> The statement is in the New Statistical Account of the parish.

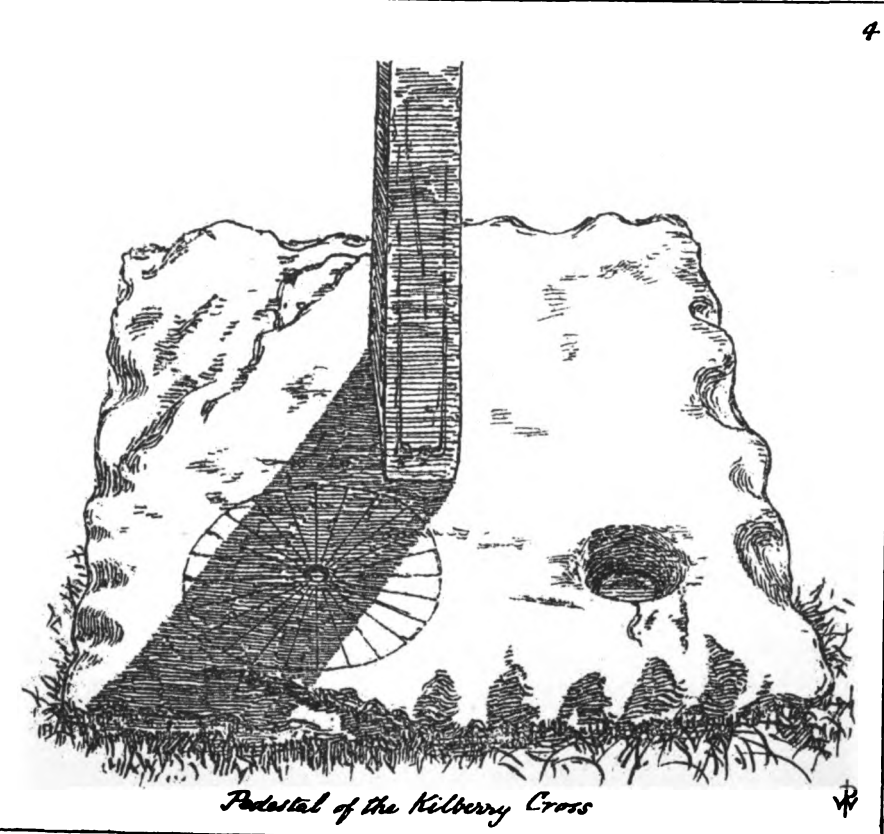
SKETCHES AT CARA ISLAND & KILBERRY - ARGYLLSHIRE



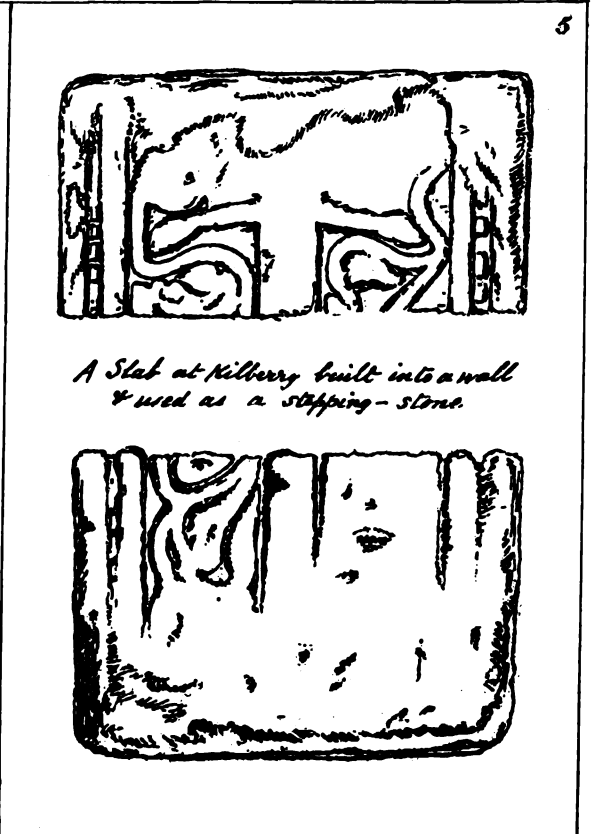
The old Chapel on Cara Island - from N.W.



View at Kilberry - I of figure in distance



Pedestal of the Kilberry Cross



A Slab at Kilberry built into a wall & used as a stepping-stone.

of this restored property; for in 1343, the king gives back the island to John, and very shortly afterwards to his son, under the usual terms of liege-service.

The next entry introduces us to an honourable family, which till quite recently has <sup>The Mac-</sup> been seated in Gigha with little or no displacement for a period of more than four <sup>neills.</sup> centuries. In 1455, John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, confirms to Neill M'Torquell M'Neill, his constable of Castle Sween, certain lands in Gigha which had been granted to Neill's father, Torquell Macneill, by Alexander, John's father. Now, Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, died in 1449, so that Macneill of Gigha was in possession of the island at or before that date. After this, the Macneills, designated either as lairds of Tainish or Gigha, keep their place steadily in the records of the island. In 1516, the name of an Earl of Argyle crops out in connection with the laird of Gigha, who takes his place among other families under the banner or muster of the earl. The year 1542 tells a tale well known in the Highlands. Neill MacNeill and the majority of his clan were slain by certain hostile Islemen who were in armed rebellion against the Crown. In this affair the Macneills lost their title-deeds to Gigha and other lands; and when this was represented to the king with the assurance that the clan had been loyal, he granted them fresh writs. About 1549, we have a quaint note of deprecation from Archdeacon Monro, who grumbles out that "the auld thane <sup>Thanedom of</sup> " of Gigay should be laird of the same, callit M'Neill of Gigay, and now it is pos- <sup>Gigha.</sup> " sessit by the Clandonald." This comment may serve to remind the reader that a clan's individual proprietary rights in the Highlands were subject on occasions to unjust usurpation by near neighbours who should have been friends. It also informs us of a quaint old-world title borne by the chief of Gigha, which would have seemed more familiar in a Saxon or Danish locality. Of the two degrees of this dignity, I believe those who were styled "king's thanes" held their lands directly from the Crown, with some function of court attendance attached to the tenure; while a thane of the second degree was a lord of the manor, and had a defined jurisdiction, answering perhaps to that of the Scottish "lesser baron." We can imagine a very patriarchal form of rule to have been vested in an insular chief such as "the thane of Gigha" towards the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1552-53, when the laird of Gigha appears to have been in disgrace and an absentee from his patrimony, a member of the warlike house of Duart comes in temporarily for certain dues and profits arising from the lands of Gigha. Two years later, the head of the clan Neill is pardoned by the Queen of Scots for his share in the struggle which culminated when "Ancrum Moor ran red with gore." And the result of this reinstatement appears in his selling his island possessions to MacConnell (or Macdonald) of Isla, who enters into possession of them in 1557.

The year 1567 brings us again into good company in this little island's concerns. The queen commissions Argyle to proceed against the Macleans of Coll, and others, "for burning the houses, barns, and cattle of the poor inhabitants of Gega, and killing some and imprisoning others." It has been thought by an eminent authority<sup>1</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 207 (*apud* Orig. Paroch.)

Hector Maclean of Duart, and his clan, were at the bottom of these ravages. And, considering what we have noted with reference to Gigha during 1552-53, the conjecture is very likely to be correct; for the horse that has once tasted the sweets of a new pasture has little difficulty in finding his way back to it. The next item of parochial history brings forward a surname never long absent from the records of the Highlands. Sometime between 1557 and 1590, John Campbell of Calder must have come into possession of the island; for in the latter year the transaction is noted that Neill Makneill of Taynish (Thynis) purchases from him the lands of Gigha at the price of three thousand marks—a sum just double what Neill Makneill of Gigha got for them in 1554. After this purchase, the old family seems to have remained in the island undisturbed till 1619, when there reappears temporarily, as heritor of the island barony, the name of a M'Connell of Isla.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, I believe, and till quite lately, the old stock of the clan Neill kept its footing in its insular domain. But the tale of so many Highland families, whose lineage stretches far back into the mists of tradition, has to be told here; and in the inevitable turn of the wheel, the island has now passed into other hands.

Campbell of  
Calder.

Ecclesiastical  
items  
recorded.

Upon the ecclesiastical state of the parish of Gigha and Cara prior to the sixteenth century, there appear to be no documents whatever to throw any light, if I except one small item of information. This is contained in the Register of the Great Seal, and its purport is, that sometime prior to 1449, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, made over to the monks of Saddell, in Kintyre, two marklands named Cragvan in the island of Gigha, the grant being confirmed to them in the following century by James IV. In 1510, the Register of the Privy Seal authenticates that in that year the same king presented one Angus Makkane to the rectory of the church of S. Catan in Giga, vacant by the death of Sir John Judge. Probably at this time the administration of the diocese was in abeyance; for the presentation, Mr Innes notes, is directed in the document to the bishop postulate of the Isles, or any other having power of collation.<sup>2</sup> With this solitary entry we have to be satisfied, so far as the pre-Reformation era is concerned. In 1613, Hector M'Neill was served heir to his father, Neill M'Neill of Thaynis, in the tithes of the lands of Gyghey. The present parish church, some little distance from Kilchattan, is not older than 1780.<sup>3</sup>

Antiquity of  
the chapel in  
Cara.

The chapel of Cara was in existence at least as early as 1549, for Dean Monro refers to it; and he adds that the island was "good for white fishes, abundance of "cunnings (rabbits), inhabited and manured." But either the island must have fallen off in its produce, or the clerical eye for landed property have become less easy to satisfy in the next century; for in 1626, Bishop Knox of the Isles appraises Cara as "ane small island of no worthe."<sup>4</sup> According to Father Hay, there was a cell of

Cell of the  
"Most Holy  
Trinity."

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for the substance of the above parochial details to *Orig. Paroch.*, ii. 257-260.

<sup>2</sup> *Orig. Paroch.*, ii. 257-258.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, p. 123.



the “Most Holy Trinity” in Cara; but it is uncertain, he seems to say, who was its founder.<sup>1</sup>

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to close this account of Gigha and Cara with the following observations, made at the beginning of the last century by a casual visitor to these islands: “The isle (Gigha) is for the most part arable, but rocky in other parts: the mold is brown and clayey, inclining to red; it is good for pasturage and cultivation. The corn growing here is oats and barley. The cattle bred here are cows, horses, and sheep. . . . This isle affords no wood of any kind, but a few bushes of juniper on the little hills. The stones, upon which the scurf corkir grows—which dyes a crimson colour—are found here; as also those that produce the crottil, which dyes a philamot colour. Some of the natives told me that they us’d to chew nettles, and hold them to their nostrils to stanch bleeding at the nose; and that nettles being apply’d to the place, would also stop bleeding at a vein, or otherwise. . . . The inhabitants are all Protestants, and speak the Irish tongue generally, there being but few that speak English; they are grave and reserved in their conversation; they are accustomed not to bury on Friday; they are fair or brown in complexion, and use the same habit, diet, &c., that is made use of in the adjacent continent and isles. There is only one inn in this isle.”<sup>2</sup> A good deal of this description would apply equally well at the present day. In the matter of the inn, I imagine the island has made but little advance; for the solitary establishment answering to that designation is small, and not much in the way of accommodating tourists. Yet, as the traveller well knows, it is not the size of the house that makes the comfortable hostelry; and often in the remote outposts of the Highlands, one is as much impressed with the consideration and kindness shown by mine host to his guests, as on the other hand by the indifference, incivility, and extortion to be met with in so many of the larger hotels. The inn in Gigha I had no occasion to try; but I may just add, that if the visitor is dissatisfied with it, he will find fair quarters on the opposite shore at Tayinloan.

<sup>1</sup> P. 458 of ‘Scotia Sacra,’ by Mr Richard Augustine Hay, Canon-Regular of St Genovers in Paris, Prior of St Pierremont, &c. (1700).—The MS. volume (in the Edinburgh Advocates’ Library) which goes by the above title gives an account of the various ancient monasteries in Scotland. It is written in a beautiful clerkly hand in French, Latin, and English, indiscriminately intermingled. The passage relating to Cara is headed “Insula Carray,” and then proceeds,—“Ubi Cella Sanctissimæ Trinitatis. Quis fundaverit primam indubis est.” The wording is not of the clearest, probably due to some mistake in transcription.

<sup>2</sup> Martin’s Western Islands, p. 228-231.

## CHAPTER V.

Sub-parish of  
Kilberry.

FROM the outlying group of islands described in the last chapter, I must now conduct the reader to the mainland. In the first volume of these Sketches, my account of the peninsula of Kintyre closed with the southern subdivision, Kilcalmonell, of a very large united parish, separated into two by a natural geographical boundary, the estuary of West Loch Tarbert. No one, as I formerly remarked, can see on the map the position of the two members of this scattered parish without wondering how it was they ever came to be united. At present, our concern is with Kilberry, the northern portion of this duplex parish.

District of  
Knapdale.

Without troubling ourselves as to the exact limits of the ancient territory known as "Knapdail," it will be sufficient to take the district so named in its modern acceptation, as including (apart from its subjacent islands) a region bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth, or northern side, partly by the river Add, and partly by the Crinan Canal. This boundary may be regarded throughout as a natural geographical one, for this reason, that where the waters of the ocean cease to form the precincts of the district, nature continues to define them by a strongly-marked configuration of the ground. Thus, to the southward, the two indentations or sea-lochs, East and West Loch Tarbert, all but touch at their inner extremities; and the narrow intervening neck of land, whence their peculiar name has been derived, is scooped out into a hollow, such as but a slight rise of the sea-level would suffice to cover. Again, at the northern limit of Knapdale, the knobby, broken country, which is made up of firths and wooded ridges—all preserving a general parallelism and trending north-eastward—drops abruptly into the alluvial plain traversed by the river Add and skirted by the Crinan Canal. Indeed, no surveyor's line could have much more accurately marked out the transition from the craggy uplands to the dead level of the peat-moss than this canal. It is but yesterday, geologically speaking, that this extensive moss was rescued from the tidal overflow; and it is only within the last few years that the energy of the proprietor has converted an unproductive bog, sacred to snipe and sea-fowl, into valuable farm-lands, which form one of the most highly cultivated and beautiful vales in the west country. The locality is well known to tourists, for large batches of them are conveyed daily along the canal in the summer season. It is well known to the historian as having long been a battle-field between contending tribes—notably the site of a conflict where an authentic Pictish king fell heavily on the Scottish Dalriads. And it ought to be well known, and a place of unusual interest to archæologists, as a great pre-historic cemetery, where the burnt and unburnt bones of a people or peoples extinct—

along with strange writing graven on the rocks around, to which no man has yet found a satisfactory key—lie more thickly strewn than perhaps elsewhere in the known world.

I shall assume, then, the Crinan Canal as pretty nearly representing the northern boundary of the district, which embraces within its area the two parishes of North and South Knapdale, and the parochial subdivision of Kilberry. And I may remark that Professor C. Innes's map gives to the deanery of Kintyre about the same northern limit I have assigned to Knapdale—both districts, I should explain, being included in the deanery.

The ancient parish of Kilberry appears to have comprised a district of country formerly known as "Killislate," the northern border of which crossed overland from the head of Loch Caolisport to Inverneil.<sup>1</sup> Thus the parish in its former extent comprehended the greater part of modern South Knapdale, the limits of which I shall have to refer to further on. The principal ecclesiastical site within the present bounds of Kilberry parish is found close by the site of the old manorial castle or messuage-house. The former has generally been regarded as that of the original parochial church; the latter is occupied by the residence of the proprietor of the Kilberry estate.

The dedication of the church of Kilberry<sup>2</sup> was in all probability, as the Dean of Chester thought, either to S. Berach, abbot of Cluain-Cairpthe, in Roscommon, or to one of the saints named Barr, the principal of whom we met with at Davar Island, in Kintyre.<sup>3</sup> The conjecture that the parish name is "Cill a Mhairi"—as if embodying a reference to the Virgin Mary—is probably incorrect.<sup>4</sup> The Virgin was not a favourite tutelary in western Scotland, as I have pointed out; but, from a confusion of names, she is frequently credited with the devotion paid to other saints. The statement that there was an ancient ecclesiastical bell called S. Barry's bell, and engraved with the saint's name, has had some circulation.<sup>5</sup> It was also alleged that this relic had been used at the end of the last century as the dinner-bell at Kilberry Castle. From the evidence I collected on the spot, I believe the first item to be a myth. A certain church-bell, however, did for a time do duty in the less sacred character of summoning the laird's family to meals; and this bell, so far as I could ascertain, is the one I found on my last visit to the place hanging in a tree by the mansion-house. It was popularly supposed to be ancient; but, in reality, neither its shape nor appearance entitle us to credit it with any antiquity. As for the saint's name, I could trace no inscription whatever on the bell; but, inasmuch as it hung high up in the tree, and we had no ladder, I was unable to verify this point. If the story had hung upon as

<sup>1</sup> New and Old Statist. Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> The different spellings of the parish name in old documents do not assist us much in sifting the dedication. They are, as given in the Orig. Paroch., Kilberrie, Kilbary, Kilbarren, Kilberheth.

<sup>3</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 111, where some account of him will be found. One is somewhat amused at the conclusion come to by an eighteenth-century writer respecting this dedication. "Kilberry," he tells us, "means the burying-place of St Berry, of whom no history is on record; but it would appear that the principal heritor of that parish is descended from the saint, as" (mark the reasoning) "he is in possession of his name, his place of residence, and his revenues."—Old Stat. Acct., x. 55. Perhaps the laird's name at this time was Barry (?)

<sup>4</sup> A local rendering taken down in our Survey MSS.

<sup>5</sup> See Howson's paper in Trans. Cantab. Cam. Soc. He says he followed the New Stat. Account.

solid a support as the bell, the latter would have been a more interesting relic, and I should doubtless in that case have had something more satisfactory to say about it.

Ecclesiastical  
sculptures at  
Kilberry.

But if the so-called bell of S. Barry is a disappointment to the relic-hunter, the tomb-sculptures here are very far from being so. These consist of a cross, two alto-relievos of knights, and six other slabs. We will take them in the order of the plates.

Pl. VIII. 3, gives a general view of the place. It appears from local tradition, which is deep-rooted, that there was an ancient monastery at Kilberry. This I have not had an opportunity of verifying from written documents, and the 'Origines' is silent on the point. The site of the monasterial church is locally well established,<sup>1</sup> and the mound or track of four walls, forming nearly a square, is plain enough.<sup>2</sup> These walls were perhaps those of the churchyard enclosure, as an old resident told me it was believed the ruins of the actual monastery building were buried below ground, but that they stood inside the mounds which one can now trace. In the lifetime of the late proprietor, a great quantity of bones and skulls were dug up here. The site is only a few yards from the mansion-house; and, as at Saddell and elsewhere, there are too many proofs that the old fabric must have contributed largely to supply materials for the residence of the lairds of Kilberry. Similarly, there are floating rumours of not a few lintels or sills of cottage doors and windows in the neighbourhood which could tell their tale of abstraction from the old monastery at some former period. Nor need we go beyond Pl. VIII. 5, where I have sketched the two ends of a fine slab built through a wall to serve the purpose of a stepping-stone. The present proprietor, however, must be acquitted of blame in the matter. Indeed I may add that he seems determined to take every care of the relics, and the stepping-stone he promised to have removed to its proper place. But it is difficult to infuse the same zeal into a Highland cottier when it involves pulling down part of his dwelling-house; and thus several sculptured slabs, believed to be shut up in modern walls and buildings through the estate, are not easily discoverable. It is just the old story over again of Saddell and a hundred other places.

Abstraction of  
stones from  
the old  
church.

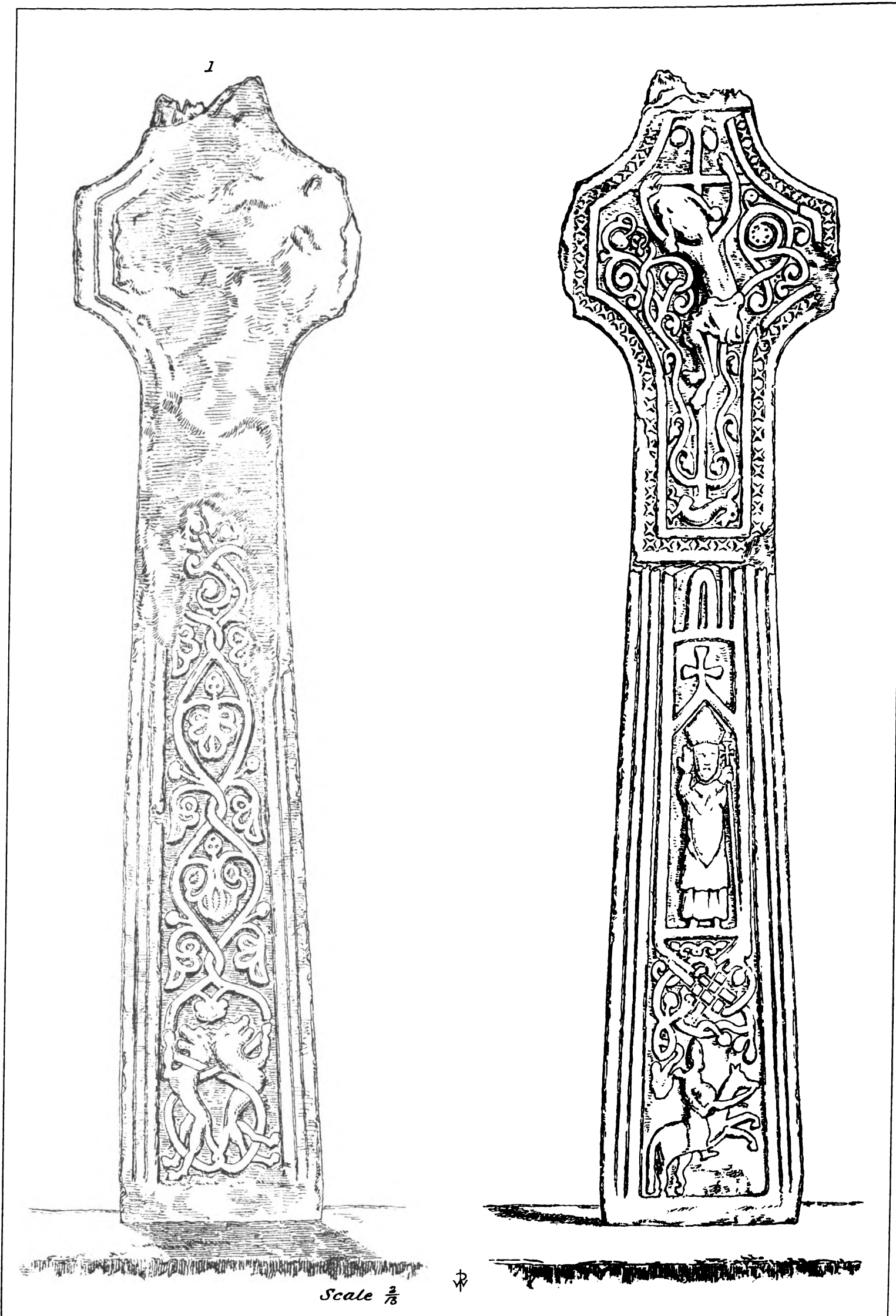
Antique cross.

The cross at Kilberry (Pl. IX.) is a quaint and somewhat unique piece of sculpture. It is carved on both sides; and the face, which is richest in its ornamentation, I read as follows: In the centre a mitred abbot or bishop, his left hand grasping a crosier,<sup>3</sup> his right upraised to give the benediction. At the bottom, riding a horse or mule—I think the latter—is seen the figure of a man unarmed, with a pointed head-dress of some kind. I therefore judge this figure also to indicate an ecclesiastic. In the above two subjects, we seem to have some slight confirmation of the traditionary belief that Kilberry possessed a

<sup>1</sup> The only difficulty is, that this is just the spot where Blaeu places the site of the old parish church. Blaeu, certainly, may have been in error, for there are other religious sites not far off—one, indeed, close by.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Muir is therefore not quite exact in saying that no vestige of the church, "or even its surrounding burying-ground, now remains."—*Old Church Archit.* p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> The shape of this crosier or cross-pattée is identical with what is thus described in a very excellent and exhaustive work on Christian emblems, &c.: "A small long cross, which is seen in early works in the hand of our Lord, as second person of the Trinity, and which is also borne by Him as a kind of sceptre when engaged in the creation of the world. This is also frequent in the fore-foot of the Agnus Dei."—*Mrs Jameson's History of our Lord* (1864), p. 323.



monastery. At the head of the slab is a tableau of the Crucifixion, the crucifix-shaft represented transfixing a dragon; and it is the posture of the figure here twisted as in agony which has been considered so unique in the West Highlands.<sup>1</sup> The graceful dog-tooth ornament encircling the crucifix panel gives an enriched effect to this curious piece of sculpture, which well exhibits the peculiarities of the Scoto-Celtic school of art. The somewhat anomalous inequality of artistic skill displayed in the work of the early sculptors, which is one of those peculiarities, I have already referred to. Here it is manifest. The figure of the Saviour is rude, almost ungainly in its proportions; but its defective drawing is compensated by the power of expression conveyed in the attitude, the refinement of the subordinate ornamentation, and the general sense of *force*—to use an artist's term—which we never fail to receive from these western tomb-carvings. The reverse side of the cross has a pair of capitably-drawn animals, and the usual graceful foliage. It is a great pity this side is so imperfect. The cross is in two pieces, riveted together, and the riveting is unavoidably a disfigurement. The top piece was only found the other day by trenching, buried deep in the ground.

The plinth or pedestal of the cross (Pl. VIII. 4) is another curiosity in its way. It Its pedestal. has a dial or radiated circle cut in one corner, a large circular hole in another, and all along the edge a series of well-rounded indentations, believed to be the marks worn by the knees of successive generations of penitents. The explanation given me of the large round hole was, that one of the prescribed acts of penance in connection with many of the ancient Irish crosses required the individual under discipline, while kneeling before the cross, to scoop out a cavity in the pedestal, pestle-and-mortar fashion; and that such cavities, where now Penitential marks upon it. to be seen, show in this way varying stages of the process. After I had left the place, I was told the beginning of another such hollow could be traced in the south-east angle of the Kilberry pedestal, but I did not notice this myself. One thing, however, which is so far corroborative of the view advanced, I did observe—that the two most strongly-marked indentations along the edge occur facing the front of the cross where the penitent would be looking eastward, and where his knees would naturally come; and the large cup-like hollow is placed where any one so kneeling could conveniently work his pestle.<sup>2</sup> I understand there is a cross in Isla with a pedestal having three such holes, and there may be others elsewhere for aught I know to the contrary. This is, however, the first example of the kind I have met with.

But, if I have read it aright, I consider the slab given in Pl. X. 1 to be, next to the Rude slab with unique devices. Ogham pillar in Gigha, the most archæologically interesting relic in this part of the country.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Muir's remarks on this point in 'Old Church Archit. Scot.,' p. 101. Another experienced explorer in this field, the Rev. Mr Mackenzie of Oransay, was much struck with the peculiarity of this cross, and considered the attitude of the Saviour's figure indicative of a particular era of mediæval art. Mrs Jameson (History of our Lord) alludes to the period when the distorted posture in representations of the Crucifixion first came into vogue in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Muir's reference to this pedestal is as follows: "In a corner of the plinth on which the pillar is raised is preserved the now tenantless basin of the prophetic *clach-a-brath*, and close by it an irradiated circle resembling the card of a mariner's compass, which is probably an interpolation."—Old Church Archit. Scot., p. 101, 102. "Clach-brath" signifies "stone of judgment."

Incised figure suggesting the "crescent and sceptre" of eastern Scotland.

The oval and spiral figures are very curious ; so also is the ornament at the top : but it is the rude approximation to the crescent and sceptre of the eastern pillar-stones which is the real object of interest in this stone. There are two segmental spaces not far removed from the crescent shape, the under one being in a lower plane than the general raised surface of the slab. One of these segments has a sceptre-like line traversing it, at once suggesting to the mind the so-called crescent and sceptre device. The relieved object at the foot of the slab is to me quite unintelligible. I sketched this stone most carefully, to bring out so remarkable a sculpture as accurately as possible ; and my kind friend, the proprietor of Kilberry, whose hospitality I enjoyed here for some days, gave me the credit of having made a very correct copy. The slab is of about the size of the general run of mediæval tombstones, but ruder in shape. I believe it will be a discovery to archæologists if it shall be accepted as probable that this Kilberry stone—undoubtedly an ecclesiastical sculpture, for it was unearthed within the precincts of the old church—represents one of those carved picture-writings, commonly termed *symbols*, which have so puzzled the student of ancient monumental art in eastern Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Another antique slab with bosses.

Fig. 2 of the same Plate is another curious slab of antique type. Bosses on such stones are of course well known ; but their arrangement in this instance, and the rows of small holes, are peculiar. So far as Kintyre and Knapdale are concerned, this slab is unique in character.

S. Peter's Cock.

S. Peter's Cock, as the panel-sculpture in fig. 3, is traditionally named in the neighbourhood, is another quaint relic. It is somewhat above 2 feet in length, and is built into the same wall with, and just above, the stepping-stone slab I have described. The carving of the cock is very spiritedly executed, but for some reason the comb which we should expect to see on the top of the bird's head has been omitted by the sculptor. The slab was taken many years ago, with other materials, from the site of the old church or monastery, to which it is believed to have belonged. Nothing else is known about it.

Knightly effigies.

(Pl. XI.)—Two fine full-length alto-relievos of knights, similar in character to what are found in neighbouring localities. No. 1 is in the better preservation of the two. The ankles are strapped for spurs, and there are the usual armour details, with an ornament at the sides of the figure. Both slabs bear inscriptions, that in fig. 1 being partly legible, but only sufficiently so to enable us to get at three words of it—

"HIC JACET JULIUS"

the "T" and "S" having to be guessed. In fig. 2, we have on the right side of the warrior's head an attendant angel grasping a spear—which recalls one of the Saddell effigies—and in the left an inscription quite illegible. The peaked basinet, mailed gorget, and a peculiar disposition of the sword-belt, are to be seen in both effigies. These slabs are built upright into the wall of a modern family mausoleum at Kilberry.

Two fine slabs.

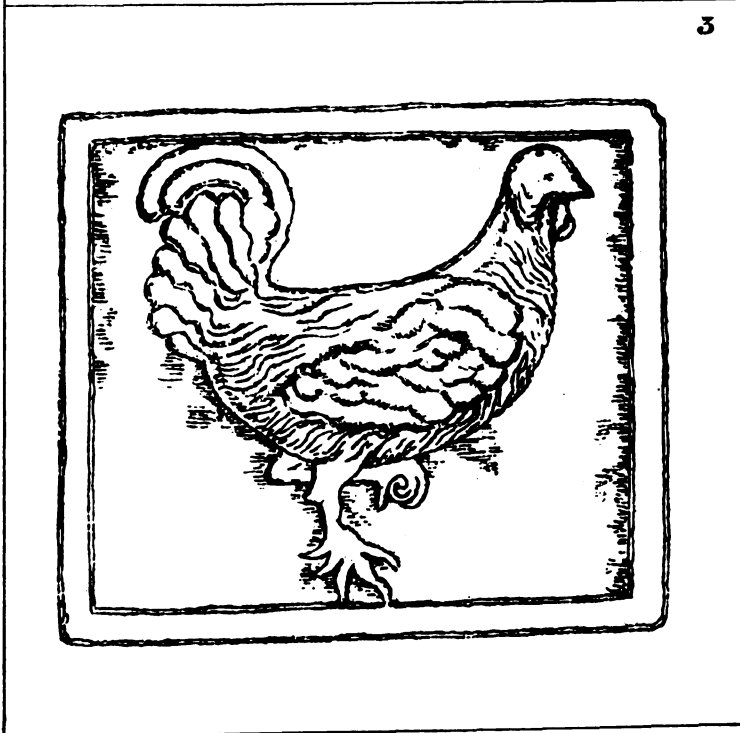
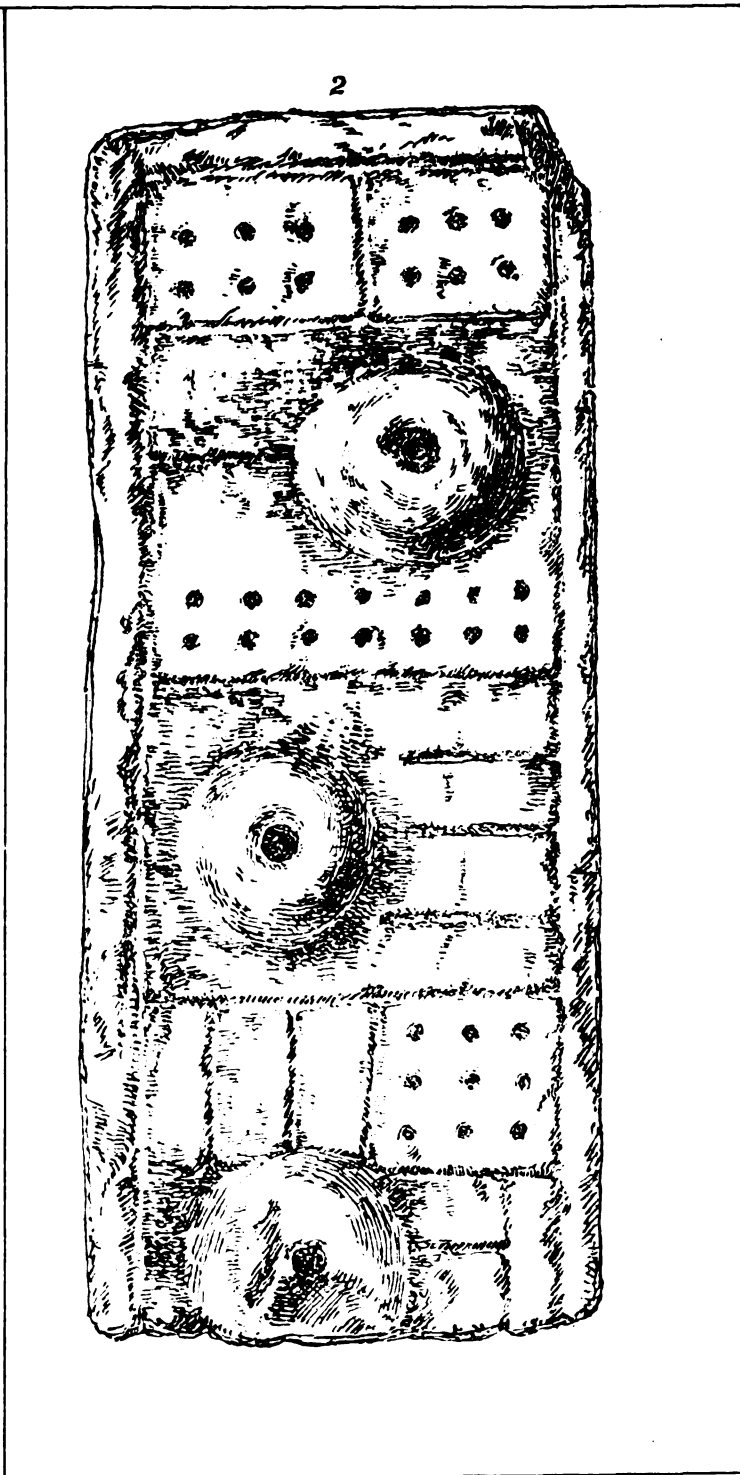
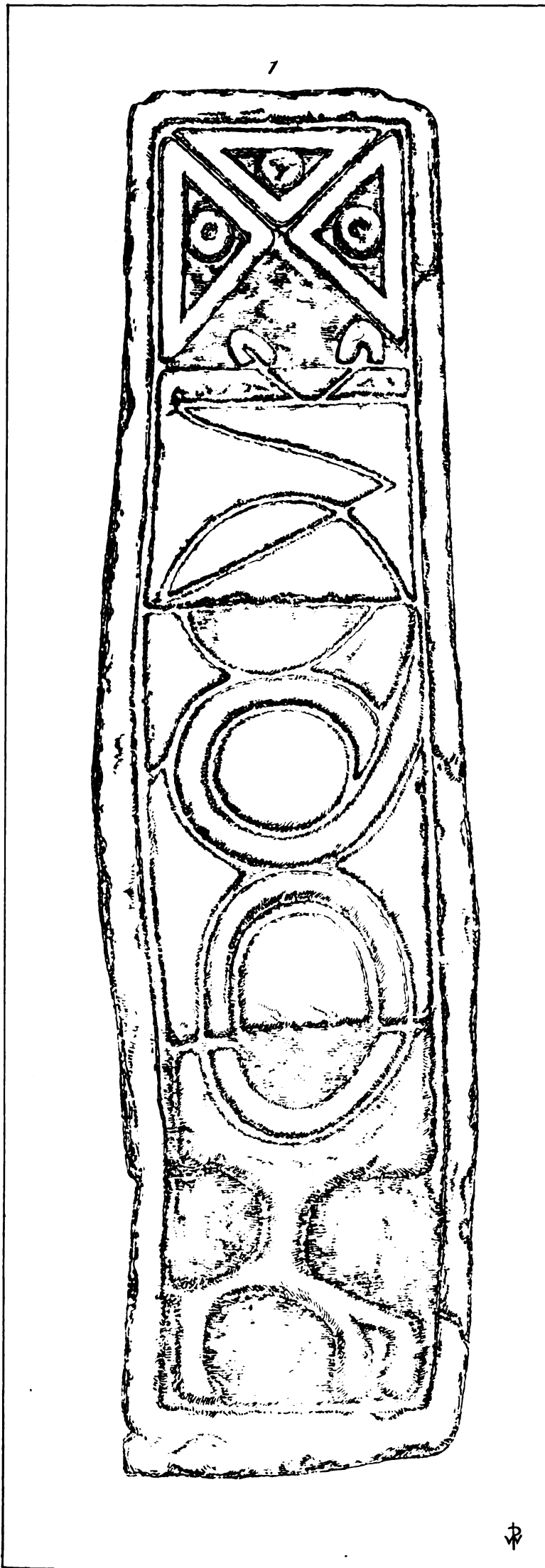
Pl. XII. shows a fine pair of tombstones. The deer-hound and stag in fig. 1 are well chiselled ; and the running pattern above, springing from an animal's tail, is a new variety of foliated ornament, which we shall meet with again in the district. This slab is greatly worn down. Fig. 2 is an exquisite specimen of loop and stem foliage, of an intricacy

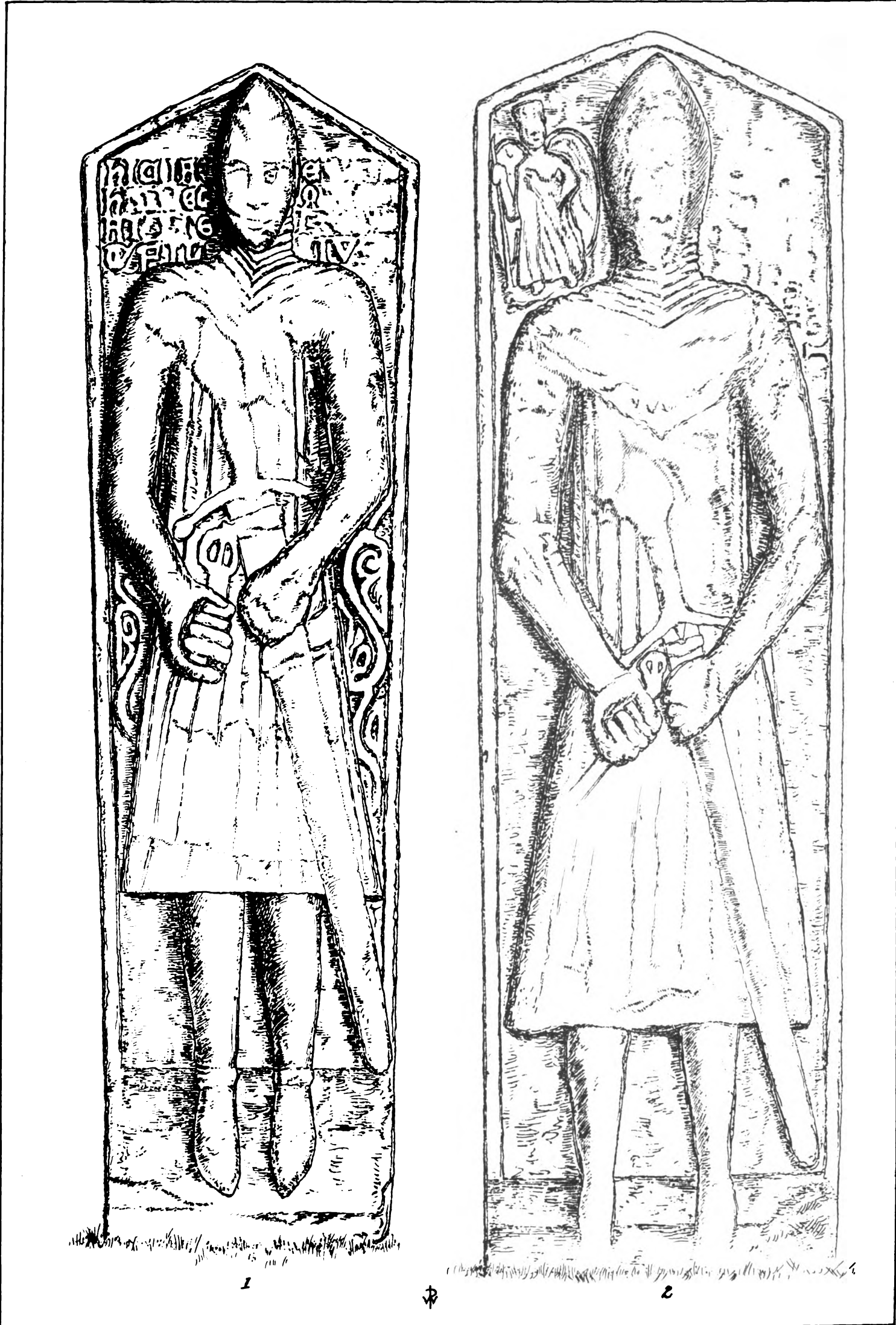
<sup>1</sup> I have no wish to press this view beyond what the resemblance may seem to warrant.



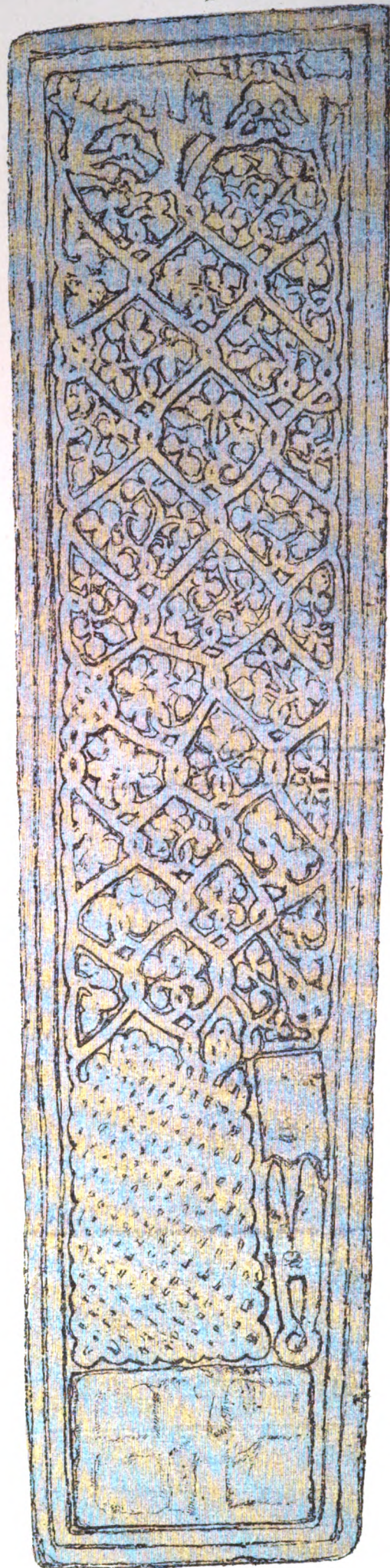
SLABS AT KILBERRY-KNAPDALE-ARGYLLSHIRE

PL. X.









✠

Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



and richness rare even in the west. The oblong knot into which it passes is, on the other hand, almost rude in the simplicity of its execution. The missal or office-book at the foot of the slab is a frequent object in the Knapdale monuments. This interesting tombstone is 6 feet 3 inches long, and of great weight. It was fished out lately from an artificial pond in the shrubbery of Kilberry House, which adjoins the site of the old church.

On the whole, the collection of ancient sculptured memorials here—of which, I believe, the illustrations now given are the first that have appeared—is of remarkable interest; and it would be well worth while to trench further through the area of the burial-ground in search of fresh discoveries.

As regards any trace of the ancient monastical buildings, nothing remains beyond a grass-grown track, and an irregularity of the ground surface, under which quantities of skulls and human bones have been at different times dug up. I have said that the present mansion-house of Kilberry occupies the site of the old castle. Over the front doorway of the former is a triangular stone label, bearing the initials A.C. and H. M<sup>c</sup>D., with the date 1497. Under this is another stone, with the following superscription having reference to the castle: "Plundered and burned by Cp<sup>t</sup>. Proby, an English pirate, 1513. "Rebuilt by F. C., 1844." The first initials appear to refer to an intermarriage of a M'Donald with one of the Campbells of Kilberry. The triangular stone with the date 1497 in modern characters was in the old house which was pulled down in 1844, and it may have been a renewal of an older stone of the same kind. A buccaneer, named Captain Proby, is said to have landed at Kilberry early in the sixteenth century, and to have committed depredations in and about the castle.

The old font of Kilberry Church is believed to be in existence, but hidden away somewhere in Kilberry House. The relic I have sketched lying beside the pedestal of the cross (Pl. VIII. 3) was perhaps the stoup.

This ancient ecclesiastical site appears to have formerly been the chief cemetery of the parish. But a certain Lord B——, a former proprietor of Kilberry, ordered a number of the bodies buried here to be exhumed, and transplanted with their coffins and grave-stones to an adjoining place of sepulture, which, it would seem, had anciently been used as such, and continued to be so used till within a generation past. Of this site I must now say a few words, as it is in all probability one which has a special connection with the early history of the west.

"Cladh Dhail a' Chairn" (cemetery of the field of the cairn) is the name by which the burial-place just spoken of is known in the neighbourhood. The spot is quite unenclosed, in the middle of a field, with only one or two raised tombstones of modern type remaining to mark its character. In referring to the early history of Kintyre, I alluded to a battle noted by the Irish chroniclers as having been fought in the year 574, at a place called "Telochu or Delgon, in Cindtire," where Duncan, a relative of King Aidan, was slain with a large following of Scottish Dalriads.<sup>1</sup> Those who have paid any attention to the meagre details we possess of so remote a period of Scottish history, may be interested to learn, from one of the highest authorities on the subject, that this Delgon of the annalist, a name

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 8, 9.

The "Delgon" of the Irish annalists. Local remains near Dalchairn.

I was unable to trace in Kintyre, is doubtless no other than Dalchairn, in the parish of Kilberry.<sup>1</sup> And to piece in with Mr Skene's conclusion, the topography of the locality furnishes us with the following vestiges. A little to the west of Dalchairn burying-ground is the site of an ancient cairn, which is probably the source of the local name. Here some stone cists were found, and it can be no very venturesome surmise to conjecture that these cists may have contained the bones of some of the men who fell in the battle. Again, a little further to the south, apart from the others, is another solitary cist, which contained a cinerary urn. It is possible to think that this tomb may represent the last resting-place of a chief, it may even be of Duncan himself. In an adjacent field we have a hill-fort, "Dun na h' Earb" (fortress of the roe). The local name, "Dail a' chairn," is preserved both in a stream which flows past the cairn and in a small bay on the sea-shore. It is really refreshing, after the tantalising darkness which enshrouds so many of the topographical references of the ancient annalists, to light upon a named spot which we can identify, and to which we can attach whatever pictures the mind is able to form for itself out of such a primitive battle-scene as we may suppose to have been exhibited here just thirteen centuries past.

Coast scenery of Kilberry.

From Dalchairn, I must ask the reader to accompany me round the southern shore of the parish, where the only other vestiges of early ecclesiastical settlements are to be met with. And in our shoreward walk along the highway, it may be allowable to attempt a rapid sketch of the salient features of the landscape—a landscape not easily to be forgotten by those who have had the privilege of seeing it. Inland, it is almost needless to say, there is little for the eye to dwell upon, beyond those ordinary stretches of hilly moorland which, in the absence of any great heights or striking forms, depend for what attractiveness they possess mainly upon the season of the year when the tints of the heather are at their best. Colour is the life of most Highland landscapes, especially so in those interior wastes of broken rock and black bog which form the higher slopes and watersheds of districts like this. But it is along the shores, luxuriant with birch and alder wood, where the road descends into this or that glen, follows the sweep of some shingly little bay, or disappears round the corner of yonder out-jutting point, that the traveller must look for what is sure

<sup>1</sup> Mr W. F. Skene, to whom I am much indebted for two obliging letters on the subject. His observations, which I have his permission to quote, will, I am sure, be thought worthy of a place here. "My reason," he writes, "for thinking Delgon was in Knapdale, is this: The name appears in two forms in the annals, Delgon at 574, Cindelgthen at 621, and, from the latter mention, appears to have been on the sea-shore. Now, in 1455, John de Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, dates a charter to the monks of Paisley at 'Cleandaghallagan, in Knapadal.' Cleandaghallagan, or rather Ceandaghallagan, is, I have no doubt, the same place as Cindelgthen. The Lord of the Isles possessed at the time the south half of Knapdale, represented by the parishes of Kilberry and Kilcalmonell; for the lordship of Kintyre only extended to the burn of Altasynnoch, which divides Kilcalmonell from Killean, and from thence to the river Add was the lordship of Knapdale. I have no doubt that the Cindtire of the Irish annals was a much larger district, and extended over both. If Ceandaghallagan was the messuage of the south half of Knapdale, it is a mere conjecture that Kilberry Castle may be the place meant." And again: "Delgon is, I suppose, the same word as Dealgan in Dundevalgan, now Dundalk. Cill Deilge in Ireland has become Cill Dalkey, so that Dalk seems the corruption of it. Cindelgthen, or correctly Ceann Dealgan, seems to imply the head of a loch. Telocho should probably be written Telochō—that is, Telochon—and is merely a corruption of Delgen, which would be pronounced Delagan. Can it be the old name of Loch Caolisport? The place at the head is called Cinlochcaolisport."

most to impress him. It is there, also, that he will find garnered up the produce of the ecclesiastical art of a bygone age—for the old monks and clerics were wise enough in their generation to know a good thing when they got it; and let us search the ground over for the most fertile of meadow-lands, the best sheltered of vales, the bay with the securest harbourage, the site of fairest prospects,—there, or not far off, we may count upon finding the modest treasures of the early Church—not gold or silver, to be sure, but stones precious, stamped with the history, the art, the refinement, the industry, the piety, of an otherwise ruthless and uncivilised era.<sup>1</sup>

The first part of the road, after leaving Kilberry and Dalchairn, is nothing noteworthy till the Free Church is passed. It is up and down the steepest of hills, and there is no wood; nevertheless, the eye is never tired of resting on the sea, which can be seen breaking on the schist boulders below. But the moment you reach the top of the hill, where the Carss woods come in sight, a splendid panorama opens. Here the road takes a most formidably sharp curve and descent, a place one would rather walk down than drive. Over and beyond a first range of low moorland knolls, the eye catches sight of a picturesque bay running up to the very edge of the woods. This inlet is Loch Stornoway. At its head the water, bright blue on a day of sunshine, merges into a green plat,<sup>2</sup> spotted over with browsing sheep or cattle, and interspersed with blue or silvery threads, where the water has worn for itself winding channels to the sea. Beyond the bay a long promontory of dark-coloured, rock-studded moorland; next to this, the valley formed by West Loch Tarbert; past that, again, the humpy peninsula of Kintyre, stretching far away to southward; and towering above all, high in the clouds, the peaks and gullies of Arran, which, the day I remember the scene, were white with the first snow of the coming winter. To the south-west, isolated in the sea, Gigha and Cara; and far to westward, flecked with slow-moving purple shadows, the extended hilly line of Isla and Jura, both islands from this point of view run into one.

At the head of Loch Stornoway, on the left bank of the little river Larnahinch,<sup>3</sup> to Larnahinch. give it its corrupted name, is an old burying-place. It is now enclosed with a wall, and is full of gravestones, but has nothing to reward the searcher for ancient sculptured relics. It bears, however, a distinctive name, which furnishes in itself record of a feud and conflict, the latter being what I suppose the Irish would term a faction-fight between two rival clans. But there is a perplexing element in this name and the tradition attached to it which it is necessary to refer to. Near the burial-ground are to be seen—and very conspicuous objects they are—three of those rude unhewn monoliths marked on the Ordnance maps “Standing-stones.” Seeing these, the archæologist, reasoning from his analogies,

<sup>1</sup> When I had the pleasure of reading a brief abstract of the present volume's contents to the Scottish Antiquarian Society, reference was made by Dr Stuart to the peculiarity and profuseness of the art of the sculptured stones of the West Highlands and Islands, as exhibited at a time when the annals of those localities were full of deeds of rapine, and suggested a condition of barbarism.

<sup>2</sup> Or a “carse” land so-called, whence the adjoining property has doubtless taken its name.

<sup>3</sup> “Allt Lairig an Uinnsinn” is the Gaelic form of the name of the stream (sig. rivulet of the ash-wooded hillside).

would never think of associating them with the modern-looking graveyard hard by. But the legend hanging to the spot does so, and does so in a most explicit manner. Let it speak for itself. It chanced upon a time that a band of the Clan Ivar came down into these parts on the good old wonted errand of the Highlander, to steal, or in more euphemistic phrase, to "lift," a neighbour's cattle, the neighbour being on this occasion the redoubted Clan Campbell. The M'Ivars being come to Carss, encamped for the night on the spot where the great stones now stand. But the Campbells were on the alert; they had been forewarned of the coming of the raiders, and had ambushed themselves behind the hill now planted with wood, which bears the appropriate name of "Sron a' Mhionnain" (knoll of the curse or imprecation). Then the chief of the Campbells put on the habit of a mendicant minstrel, and passed down into the hostile camp to spy out what was doing, what the foe's strength was, and how he was posted. The minstrel sang songs, and recited his ballads, and none knew him for the man he was. So they let him depart, and he got back safe to his own people. When the night was come, and sleep had fallen on the strangers' camp, the men from behind the hill crept down and fell upon the slumberers, and none awakened from that sleep save two, who fled away towards Tarbert. Withal these two the avengers followed after, and one of them they overtook some three miles' distance from the Carse, and him they slew likewise. The other escaped, but fell into a stream not far from Tarbert, and was killed there. Afterwards, they set up the great stones to mark the spots where the chiefs of the Clan Ivar were slain. And some of the men's corpses were buried within the graveyard, and so it got the name it bears of "Earrann Chlann Imheir" (the portion of the Clan Ivar.)

Legend of the  
clans Camp-  
bell and Ivar.

The clan Ivar's  
burial-place.

Its supposed  
connection  
with adjacent  
"standing-  
stones."

Such is the substance of the legend, sufficiently circumstantial to make us believe in it as a whole. It should be added, that about forty years ago, when the then proprietor of Carss was draining the ground, the workmen came upon a helmet curiously inlaid with gold, and also several ornamented sword-hilts.<sup>1</sup> But what about the stones? They are apparently of the so-called "Druidical" type—monuments, to all outward seeming, of the unrecorded ages. What, then, are we to believe? Were the stones erected long before such distinguishing surnames as Campbell or M'Ivar came into existence, and afterwards utilised as a convenient peg upon which to hang the story? Or is it that the external appearance in this case of the stones themselves is to be deemed deceptive, and may we not refer them to no very ancient date? This is an instance which seems to open up possibilities, the contemplation of which may be distasteful to antiquarians of a certain school; for the same dubiety as to date cannot but arise in the case of many other examples of this class of monument, where, as here, there is an entire absence of written records to throw any light upon them. There seems no *a priori* reason why the Highlander, during the last few centuries, should not have perpetuated a custom bequeathed to him by remote ancestors, and have set up unhewn monoliths over his dead, as we suppose the ancient Picts, Scots, and Danes to have done. We have, indeed, a parallelism to this in the matter

<sup>1</sup> Ord. Survey MSS. The recorder adds that all these relics were sent to the Antiquarian Society in Edinburgh, but I cannot find a note of them in the latest official catalogue of the Museum there.



of the stone cairns, which are raised in memory of the departed to this day throughout the Highlands. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that, during later Christian times, burial of the dead would generally take place in consecrated ground, and memorial stones of Christian type almost certainly be used. We may, perhaps, to some extent, fairly reason by analogy from the externals of such stone monuments as are known from historical evidence to be of at least respectable antiquity,<sup>1</sup> to others of like character spread over the country of which we have no such historical evidence; that is to say, if in the size, shape, ponderousness, and weathering of certain artificial stones found in one locality—in their position, and in the nature of the remains almost invariably found lying under or near them—we should see very marked resemblances to certain other artificial stones, it might be difficult, in the absence of rebutting information, to resist the conjecture that the two sets of objects bore some near relation to each other in respect of date. At the same time, we cannot be too wary against pushing such a conjecture—I will not call it conclusion—too far; for nothing is so likely to lead one astray, in estimating the antiquity of such relics, as a too great reliance on external appearances. And, as I have said, the oldest typical forms may be copied, and thus have been perpetuated from the earliest to the most recent times.

On the whole, then, we must judge each group of such memorials by itself, and with strict reference to what evidence respecting it is forthcoming. In the case of these standing-stones at Carss, we have seen that the legend brings them down to a date at least as recent as that of the adjoining Christian burial-ground. For my own part, I am strongly inclined to doubt that part of the story, and to adopt the view that these great rude columns have no sort of connection with the graveyard, but that, being where they are, it gave dignity to the legend to assign them to the slain chiefs. Probably these chiefs and some of their clansmen were given decent Christian burial within the graveyard, if it then existed, while others may have been laid somewhere near the site of the standing-stones. In any case, the distinguishing name attached to the little cemetery undoubtedly seems to connect it with the story of the battle.

It would appear that the people from Kilberry have resorted a good deal to this burial-ground ever since Lord B—— prohibited interments in the one at Kilberry. There is no record of its having been a place of sepulture prior to the alleged encounter between the clans. Some years ago, when the river was in high flood, a portion of the soil at the north-east end of the enclosure was washed away, when a great number of skulls and bones were exposed.

In a hollow on the craggy hillside of Ardminish, and about a mile walk from Larnahinch, is the site of an ancient chapel and burying-ground bearing the name "Achadh na Cille (field of the cell). The foundations of the chapel are still visible, but, like the track of the surrounding graveyard, nearly level with the ground. All tradition respecting the spot has perished, save that it was formerly in use for interment

<sup>1</sup> Such are the standing-stones at Rayne in Aberdeenshire, and another group at Rait in Inverness-shire, both referred to in documents of the fourteenth century as existing landmarks.

of their dead by the people of Isla and Gigha. That these islanders should have come such a distance to celebrate their funeral rites is probably one of the best testimonies we could have to the antiquity of the place; for it is remarkable how tenacious of life is the sentiment of traditional veneration for things or places invested with religious sanctity. Yet, in this instance, there is but one small cairn left to mark the number of those whose mortal elements have, doubtless for many generations, been here laid to rest. Of the dedication of this chapel not a glimmer is afforded by adjoining local names, or otherwise, that I am aware of.

Ardpatrick. From hence, skirting Ardpatrick, with its picturesque woods overrun with rabbits, and hiding many a pheasant, and in winter many a woodcock—Ardpatrick, whose old-fashioned mansion-house recalls to the writer's mind some of his earliest and pleasantest memories of Highland hospitality—let us walk on a mile or so, and then turn off the highway towards the sea-shore. Here, at or near a place marked with a cross on the Ordnance map, but unfortunately with no such distinguishing mark on the ground, our surveyors succeeded in establishing the site of an ancient "kil." In the course of procuring gravel for repairs to the road, a great many bones were turned up here; though, as a place of sepulture, the spot has long been disused. One of the authorities for the above information, a resident upwards of seventy years of age, had only heard of one burial having taken place here, and that was before his time. Singularly enough, this solitary interment was that of the body of a natural child.

Kilanaish. A short distance further on towards Tarbert, in a coppice close alongside the road, is another religious site of ancient days, which has long done duty as a last resting-place for the departed. I could find here no slabs or remains, excepting a headstone with a small incised cross on it. "Cille an Aonghais," or Kilanaish, is the name by which the place is designated, the latter form being found attached to the neighbouring farm. Near the burial-ground is its holy well, where it is proper to wish the usual three wishes, which, on my last visit to the place, our party, including one lady, devoutly did.

Its patron saint.  
S. Ængus. In sifting the dedication of the above site, we may pretty safely look for its patron saint to one or other of the early ecclesiastics—I am aware of but two—named, in the Irish Calendars, Ængus or Angus. Of these two, the better known to the hagiologies is he who received the surname of "Ceile De," or the Culdee,<sup>1</sup> signifying "servant of God,"—an appellation bestowed upon him, it is said, by the monks of Tallaght, in consequence of his extraordinary virtue. S. Ængus was born about the middle of the eighth century, and came of the old princely stock of Dalaradia in Ulster. He entered the monastery of Clonenagh, gaining there a high reputation for sanctity and erudition—in such wise that a spot in the neighbourhood where he used to retire for devotional purposes took the appellation of "Disert Ænguis." Afterward, under a feigned name, he served seven years as a lay brother in the establishment at Tallaght, then presided over by Abbot Moelruan; and during this time took upon himself the humblest duties

<sup>1</sup> The name of a religious sect which in an after-age made a great noise in the mediæval Church of Scotland, and in still later times became a nucleus of polemical strife in the hands of Protestant controversialists.

of the monastery. Here, in conjunction with Moelruan, S. Ængus compiled the work which was destined to take a high rank in early ecclesiastical literature under the title of the 'Martyrology of Tallaght.' After S. Moelruan's death in 788, Ængus seems to have returned to Clonenagh, where he became abbot and bishop, and remained till his decease, the day of which is entered in the Kalendars as March the 11th, though the year (819-830) is uncertain. His acts were written in old Irish verses, probably by a namesake and contemporary, the Abbot of Clonfert Molua, A.D. 859, who styles him "the sun of western Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding onwards along the beautiful shores of West Loch Tarbert, we pass many a curious old fastness of the unrecorded ages, scarped and rudely ramparted, amongst which the great "Dùn of the Black Dog" stands pre-eminent. But these are not our concern at present. Of ecclesiastical vestiges, nothing more is to be met with till we are near the head of the loch, and in another parish, which will come to be described further on. Neither, to the north of Kilberry House, is there anything, nor in the hilly background of the parish; so that in things ecclesiastical our parochial record is now exhausted. But the mention of Loch Tarbert tempts me to linger a moment near its luxuriant woods and sheltered waters, and tell the reader what their beauties are in the words of a most observant and accomplished *littérateur*, yet one by no means too addicted to paint Highland scenery in rose-colour. "I know not," he exclaims, "what Loch Tarbert may be at other times; but when I made its circuit, it was with sunrise, on one of the loveliest mornings of June. The water was like a mirror, and as the sun reached the dewy birch-woods, the air was perfumed by their fragrance; while the warbling of ten thousand thrushes on all sides, with the tinkling sound of the little waves that curled on the shore, and the gentle whispering of the morning air among the trees, rendered it a perfect scene of enchantment."<sup>2</sup> Yet this was penned when he had but just finished telling one whose fame was made by, and who made the fame of, Scottish scenery, that "from the very point of Cantyre, through Knapdale and Lorn, and as far as Loch Etive, the interior country is, with scarcely an exception, a rude mountain land, without beauty or interest." And the same writer could also assure his correspondent that there was nothing in the way of scenery to the north of Inverness, or westward to the coast, worth the trouble of looking for.

Glancing at the topographical nomenclature on the map of Kilberry parish, one notices the superabundance of personal proper names attached to the hills and other features in the vicinity of Ardpatrick. Thus we have the "hillock of MacTavish's gillie," MacCormac's knoll, M'Hardy's eminence (if I may so Anglicise "Cnoc a' Mhic Chruadalaich"), Campbell's rock, Port MacDuncan, and so on. The public executioner appears to have found his occupation in the parish, for we have two

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars respecting S. Ængus I have derived from the 'Calendar of Irish Saints,' by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth College.

<sup>2</sup> Macculloch's letters to Sir Walter Scott, entitled 'Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland' (1824), ii. 86.

hangman's mounts (Cnoc a' Chrochadaire). Behind Carss House is a "Cnoc a' Chleirich," the clerk's height. Some of the larger lochs up in the hills have names; so also in great variety have the diverse hill features themselves,—all such designations, although in the present instance not calling for special notice, showing, nevertheless, how much at home, how exuberant, the Celt is in his landscape vocabulary.

Parochial  
civil history.

The following items may be noted of the parochial history of Kilberry before we pass to the next parish. I have already quoted from Mr Skene a reference to what is probably the most interesting of them. It is, that John of Isla, last Lord of the Isles, gave in 1455 the rectories of two churches in the neighbouring peninsula to the monks of Paisley. This bit of information is obtained from the Abbey Register. It is of interest as showing that Kilberry was probably an occasional residence of this Lord of the Isles (for he dates his charter from Ceandaghallagan, *i.e.*, Dalchairn at Kilberry<sup>1</sup>), and that in the fifteenth century the castle, messuage, or baronial seat of his portion of Knapdale, still bore an ancient local name which we can trace in the writings of early Irish ecclesiastics. In the year 1481, the name of the same Lord of the Isles appears in record as grantee of certain lands in the parish, which, we are further told, were claimed by two persons named Makelane and Maknele. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was with Knapdale as with Kintyre; the Earls of Argyll are found by that time entering into possession of the baronial lands, jurisdiction, and hereditary privileges formerly enjoyed by the family of the Isles. The old district of Knapdale, as we have seen, bounded to the north by the river Add in the Crinan flat, extended a considerable distance south of Loch Tarbert into the peninsula of Kintyre, and was therefore a very large territory. In 1515, it is noted in the Register of the Privy Seal that Colin, Earl of Argyll, Archibald Campbell of Skipness, and their friends inhabiting Knapdale and other parts, had a remission from the king (James V.) for all their crimes save and except treason. This is a suggestive entry.

Parochial  
church history.

Of the church of Kilberry we also learn something, though as usual in rather meagre a shape. In 1492, one Flemyng was rector; and with his consent the Lord of the Isles, who was patron of the benefice, presents his right of patronage to Robert, Bishop of Argyll, and his successors, unreservedly. The reasons prompting this deed of gift are declared to be that, inasmuch as the church of Lismore (the episcopal seat of the diocese) was of slender revenue, its prelates therefore required substantial assistance; and further, that the Lord of the Isles and his successors were unqualified for the selection of fit persons to present to the living, for which reason they sought to be relieved of the obligation to exercise such patronage. It would have been well had lay patrons of benefices in after-times copied the excellent spirit conveyed in this last frank admission. The gift was made over just in time—for in the following year the donor was hurled from his high

<sup>1</sup> Mr Skene, though identifying the "Ceandaghallagan" of the charter with Tighernac's "Cinndelgthin" or "Delgon," seems to have been unaware of the existence of the local name Dalchairn. This name, therefore, serves as an interesting corroboration of his sagacious conjecture that Kilberry Castle was the place whence the charter emanated.

estate ; and one of the greatest chiefdoms, the nearest perhaps to sovereign dignity in the Scottish realm, became a thing of the past. In 1505, the already illustrious house, which had mounted to a yet higher elevation over the ruins of its prostrate rival, is found in possession of the advowson rights of the parish in the person of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, who holds them as part of the barony of Tarbert. But the church was not to be deprived of what she had acquired ; and in 1507 the king thinks fit to confirm to the Bishop of Argyll the gift of John of the Isles, on the pious and judicious plea of his (the king's) singular devotion towards S. Moloc, the patron of the cathedral church of Lismore. It would evidently have been difficult to avoid confirming the gift, as Kilberry church had by this time been made a prebend of the cathedral, and the bishop could hardly have been expected to surrender it with a good grace. By 1531 we get at the persons of the prebendaries, for the Privy Seal records that in that year the stall became vacant by the death of Sir Cornelius Man, and King James V. accordingly appointed Master Duncan Man to the benefice. In 1541 the living of Kilberry was included in the barony of Lochow, and made over to the Earl of Argyll. In the year 1629, as we learn from an entry in the Argyll charters, one M. Darroch was parson of Kilberry. This is evidently the individual introduced to the reader as the subject of a somewhat oddly-expressed epitaph in Clachan churchyard, Kintyre.<sup>1</sup> Putting the two records together, it is clear either that at about this time Kilcalmonell and Kilberry formed one united parish, as now, or else that Master Darroch had no scruples as to holding pluralities. In 1667 there is record of a charter granted by King Charles II. conveying the earldom of Argyll to its then representative, in which the advowson rights of Kilberry are included ; and in 1695 the same family still retained them. The present parish church is not older than 1821.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Achæol. Sketches in Scot.*, i. 137.

<sup>2</sup> The above charter details are extracted from *Orig. Paroch.*, ii. 36-38.

## CHAPTER VI.

Parish of  
South Knap-  
dale.

THE modern parish of South Knapdale has a large area. Its southern boundary is not an easy one to describe, as it crooks and zigzags across country in a very erratic way, from the shore of West Loch Tarbert, nearly opposite Rhu in Kintyre, till it drops down again upon the sea, a little below the mouth of Loch Caolisport, at Stotfield Bay. Its northernmost point is inland, where a little stream joins another and forms a sharp angle, at a spot marked by one or two ruined shealings, bearing the name of "Airidh na Béiste" (the beast's hilly pasture). To the east and west the parish bounds are the sea: on the one side, the waters of Loch Fyne from Tarbert to the Crinan Canal; on the other, Loch Caolisport and the Sound of Jura. Its northern boundary, leaving the canal at the Burn of Dunardry, takes to the hills, and skirting the rugged slopes of Cruach Lusach, hugs the watershed of this wild, craggy, moorland region; thence it descends to the charming wooded shores of Loch Sween, at a point a little to the south of where the picturesque old castle of Sifyn or Sueno rears conspicuously its ivy-clad head. The parish thus includes one of the most interesting religious sites, and one among the richest for sculptured memorials, to be met with in the West Highlands—Kilmory of Knap. It also includes Cove, a spot of singularly salient ecclesiastical association, as we shall presently see; and some interesting tomb-carvings near Ellary, the existence of which, very few persons even in the neighbourhood are aware of. But most notable, perhaps, of all, is the group of small islands comprised within its area, of which Eilean Mor or Carmac's Isle forms one.

I shall not detain the reader just now with any remarks on the varied scenery of this parish—there will be a better opportunity for doing this as we go along—but proceed at once to the antiquities.

Cill Maluaig.

Starting, then, from Stotfield Bay at the Kilberry boundary, and shaping our course northward along the coast, the first site met with is at a point where the road descends a steep hill to the sea-shore, a short distance before reaching Drumdrishaig. Unfortunately, this is another example of the unscrupulous plundering of sacred buildings so common in the Highlands, for not so much as a stone now remains to mark the ancient site of Cill Maluaig. Yet in the last century there were to be seen both a chapel and its burial-ground, the latter a very large one full of tombstones. Dugald W——, an old man upwards of eighty years of age, told our surveyors he remembered hearing in his young days old people talk of a time when they used to mount their horses from the walls of the old chapel; and he himself could testify to having seen the tombstones taken away to be put down in the neighbouring cottages as hearth-stones. This is an exact repetition of the



story of Kilberry, and a host of other places. That Cill Maluaig was an ancient site, we have ample proof; for lands under that name are mentioned in ancient parochial charters of the fifteenth century. Blaeu's old map has it marked down as Kilmolowaig; and on the ground the name appears three times—*i. e.*, applied to the actual site of the chapel, and to a point and bay on the shore near as Rudha Cill Maluaig and Port Cill Maluaig.

The saint with whose memory this religious site is associated is one who has left his mark far and wide in Scottish topography. We found traces of him once, if not twice, in Kintyre.<sup>1</sup> As I have not given it before, the following account of his life, founded upon data supplied by the Bishop of Brechin's 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,'<sup>2</sup> may come in here not inopportunately.

It seems to be an almost invariable rule—and it is an intelligible one—that the more illustrious and untainted a saint's reputation, so much the more corrupted shall we find his name to be. S. Moloc is no exception to this rule. From Moloch, name of ill savour, he becomes Molua, Maluag, Malachi, Mulloy, and so on till we almost lose sight of him in such forms as Luoc, Lugaidh, Luanus, and Emagola. He is not to be confounded with the Irish Molua or Lugidus of Clonfert. The Scottish saint is he who was the venerated patron and presiding genius of the cathedral church of Lismore—the long, low island opposite Oban, that every tourist sailing thence to the north must have noticed. And, as we noted in the last chapter, it was due to a Scottish king's veneration for S. Moloc that the bishops of this diocese got their incomes supplemented from the parish of Kilberry. S. Moloc's reputation must without doubt have stood high with the biographers of the saints in the twelfth century, an era when monasticism received such an impetus; for one of the chief of mediæval preachers and teachers—one whose discourses will remain to all time patterns of what good discourses ought to be—who was himself a model of rigorous asceticism and illustrious piety—thus panegyrises the saintly Molocus. "Verily," writes the famous Abbot of Clairvaux,<sup>3</sup> referring to the great monastery of Bangor in Ireland, "the place was holy and fruitful in saints, plentifully rendering a harvest to God, so that one of the sons of that sacred congregation, Luanus by name, is said himself alone to have been the founder of one hundred monasteries. And this I would state, that from this example the reader may conjecture how great was the multitude of the rest. Finally, their shoots so filled both Ireland and Scotland, that these verses of David seem to have predicted those very times: 'Visitasti terram et inebriasti eam . . .'" (quoting three verses from a Psalm).<sup>4</sup> But we have other evidence than that of the devout S. Bernard to the virtues of the apostle of Lismore. In the Martyrology of Ængus he is rapturously eulogised as "my Luoc the pure and brilliant, the sun of Lissmor of Alba." Another admirer describes him as "Moluoc the hospitable and decorous," and a third as one "full of the spirit of prophecy." The venerable

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 121, 129, 130.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 409-411 of that work.

<sup>3</sup> S. Bernard, reformer of the Cistercians, alluded to in vol. i. (Kintyre) Archæol. Sketches, p. 152, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm lxxv. 9-11.

historian Boece, condescends to notice him as "the holy man and bischop, Sanct Melok, " an gret precheur, and was buryit with Sanct Boniface."<sup>1</sup>

His biography  
in the Breviary  
of Aberdeen.

The following sketch of S. Moloc's life and doings is from the Breviary of Aberdeen, a record which must of course be accepted *cum grano*: "S. Molocus, a Scot, was brought " up by S. Brandan,<sup>2</sup> whose doctrine he learnt, and whose ways he followed; for, while " his fellow-disciples built houses for profane uses, he erected churches and altars. One " day, requiring a square iron bell, he asked a neighbouring artificer to make it, who " excused himself for want of coals; whereupon S. Moloc went out and collected a bundle " of rushes or reeds, which miraculously supplied their place; and the bell thereby fabri- " cated is still held in great honour in the church of Lismore. He betook himself to the " northern parts of Ybernia, through many straits, where, abiding for a time, he found men " of a like mind with himself in a little ship, from whom he sought aid to sail to more " desert places. When they refused, dreading the effect of S. Molocus' miracles on the men " across the sea, and left him there, the stone on which he stood floated to Lismore before " them. He tried to convert the Lismoreans, but found them indisposed to listen, where- " upon he went to the abbey of Melros with some others, where he took the vows. The " abbot sent him back to Lismore, where he laboured successfully, and began to found " monasteries and other pious places. Then he went and taught in the island of Tyle. " The king gave the island of Lismore to the Church, whereon the saint betook himself to " Ross. There he preached and built many churches in honour of God and His mother " Mary. At length he died on the 7th of the Kalends of July, and was buried in the " church of S. Boniface in Rosmarky."<sup>3</sup> The year of his death is given by the Bishop of Brechin as A.D. 592, and this would tally well enough with the statement that he was the pupil of S. Brandon. S. Moloc appears to have held the dignities, such as they were in his time, of bishop and confessor.

His death.

Veneration of  
S. Moloc in  
Scotland.

In the interesting island of Lismore, which I had hoped to explore, there are, I believe, some ecclesiastical relics; and there, if anywhere, we might expect to pick up any floating legends or traditional memories of the saint. Martin, in his Hebridean wanderings, came across a church in the island dedicated to S. Muluay (evidently the same with the old cathedral church which is named Kilmuluag), and was told by a resident that in his boyhood going to this church he remembered seeing the natives kneel and say a paternoster at four miles' distance from it. This piece of Romish idolatry must have been in practice, therefore, as late as the middle of the seventeenth century—a time when people in Edinburgh and Glasgow were being driven to kirk of a Sunday morning *nolens volens*, at summons of the parish beadle or town-crier (I forget which), to listen to the direst fulminations against Popery. Another antique relic of superstition, associated with the saint's memory, and doubtless a legacy from very remote times, is noted as a local custom by a thoroughly competent observer (within the last few years)—an observer whose wide

<sup>1</sup> Bellenden's Boece, ii. 101—*apud* Forbes.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this saint, see vol. i. Archæol. Sketches, p. 183, 185.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes's Scot. Kalend., p. 409, 410.

experience in such phenomena is only equalled by the acumen and exactness with which his observations upon any subject he takes up are invariably characterised.<sup>1</sup> In a most interesting article on Highland superstitions, contributed to the 'Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries,' he tells us of a chapel dedicated to S. Moloc at Teampull Mor, in the Isle of Lewis, where lunatics are brought to be cured. The patient walks seven times round the chapel, is sprinkled with water from St Ronan's Well in the immediate vicinity, and then is bound and deposited for the night on the site of the altar.<sup>2</sup>

To return to Knapdale. After leaving Cill Maluaig, the highroad keeps close along shore; and here the eye is almost sure to notice some large boulders, rendered conspicuous, as they are, upon a flat beach almost entirely composed of shingle. Question an old inhabitant of the district concerning these boulders, and see if you can get him to tell you what "they were saying" about them. Ask another, and he may tell you something different; and the chances are, a third account will differ a little from both the others. The resultant of what was communicated to me in this way may be stated as something about a certain giant, or giants, who, in some bygone Fingalian times, had hurled these stones across the loch. Were such stories rarer, they might be more interesting; but really Scotland seems to have abounded in stone-throwing giants, and in travelling much about the country one gets at last rather tired of them. One of these boulders is called Clach a' Bhuic (or Buic), a name which seems rather to be connected with some memory of roebucks than anything else. Two places near a cottage and a crag are named after goats. The next site I have to mention is a burial-enclosure planted with trees, in the grounds of Ormsary House, bearing the local name of Miadan Bheag (little meadow). There are no names in its vicinity to indicate a patron saint, or to give evidence of antiquity; but the place is still used for interments by the people of the district. Many of the graves are overgrown with nettles and rushes. At one end is the private vault of the Campbells of Ormsary. Such a charming site as this on the banks of the Ormsary water would have been just the one for the churchmen of old to select for a chapel or votive oratory. Traces of a little "dùn" still survive in another coppice close by. An old man, born and bred in this part of the country, told me of an ancient cemetery by the sea-shore, somewhere in this very neighbourhood, the spot where it stood being, he said, known as "Sgeir an Fiodha" (rock of the wood). It is not, however, marked on the Ordnance maps; and I have some doubts that he may have been referring to the burial-ground just alluded to, on the shore below which are some rocks named Sgeir Dubh.

From Ormsary, the walk along the wooded shores of Loch Caolisport is one continuous revelation of landscape beauty. Passing the modern parish church and manse at Achahoish (Pl. XIII. 1), the road shortly after conducts you to a small walled-in burial-ground, generally known as Lochhead, which is best identified on the ground by a tall unsculptured pillar of the standing-stone type, to be seen close by. The adjoining farm bears the

<sup>1</sup> Dr Arthur Mitchell, Vice-president of the Scot. Antiq. Society, and one of H.M.'s Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. He enjoys the enviable distinction of having set foot in every parish in Scotland—and more, of having made a thoroughly good use of such exceptional opportunities.

<sup>2</sup> Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., iv. 251.

Scenery of  
Loch Caolis-  
port.

same name. This, I believe, is the graveyard appropriated to the parish church, and it is still in use. I found nothing of antiquity in it. Here we must take leave of the carriage-highway, and get along the north shore of the loch by a very indifferent cart-road. But if the road is indifferent, one feels indifferent to the quality of the road so long as it descends into pretty watered dells, or brushes you with overhanging foliage of alder, hazel, and birch, distributed in the most delicious confusion—so long as ferns and heath are about your knees, and the beautiful reposeful outlines of the estuary far below you fill your eyes,—Ormsary and the shores we have just passed along all fringed with green, and the hills of South Knapdale rising up behind, and trending away till they meet the sea, and diminish, point after point, into the far distance. The scene is in a measure old, the reader may say; yet it is ever new, and never to be tired of. Such a walk will at length bring you to some open green plots, a cottage, and a sheepfold, forming a shealing called Cove, at the head of a little wooded glen. From here you descend at once, by one of the vilest footpaths it was ever my ill-fortune to tread,<sup>1</sup> upon a lovely little bay, with an island in the middle of it, where the chapel and caves I am about to describe are to be found.

Cove.

Cove-chapel.

(Pl. XIII. 2.)—The position of the chapel is only about 40 yards distant from the sea-beach. The dimensions of its walls average 41 by 22½ feet outside, 36 by 17½ inside.<sup>2</sup> The building contains an east window, and a window in each of the side walls, near the eastern end. The west gable is nearly entire, though the rest of the masonry is in a ragged and ruinous state. The chapel is dedicated to S. Columba, and the group of caves hollowed out of the schistose rock, and almost overhanging the little building (Pl. XV. 1), are connected with traditional accounts of his personal presence here in a very striking degree. It is said that, on the memorable voyage of the great missionary, when heart-sore he turned his face northward away from the beloved land of his birth, the wind bore him into this pretty cove of Loch Caolisport, and that here he landed, and for a time ministered to the Knapdale folk inhabiting the larger of the two caves. But it fell out on a certain day, that for the first time he chanced to climb the hill which rises steeply above the chapel, and gazing out to sea from a particular point, saw in the magnificent panorama which opened out before him the dim outlines of the Irish coast. Hastily descending, he collected his followers and departed, to seek for his home a still more distant spot out of sight of the land which could arouse such painful recollections. This is the substance of the legend, which is found clinging closely to the site at Cove. It is a legend encountered in other localities; but here there are material relics in one of the caves which give somewhat greater coherence to the traditional story. And now, bearing this story in mind, let us enter the cave.

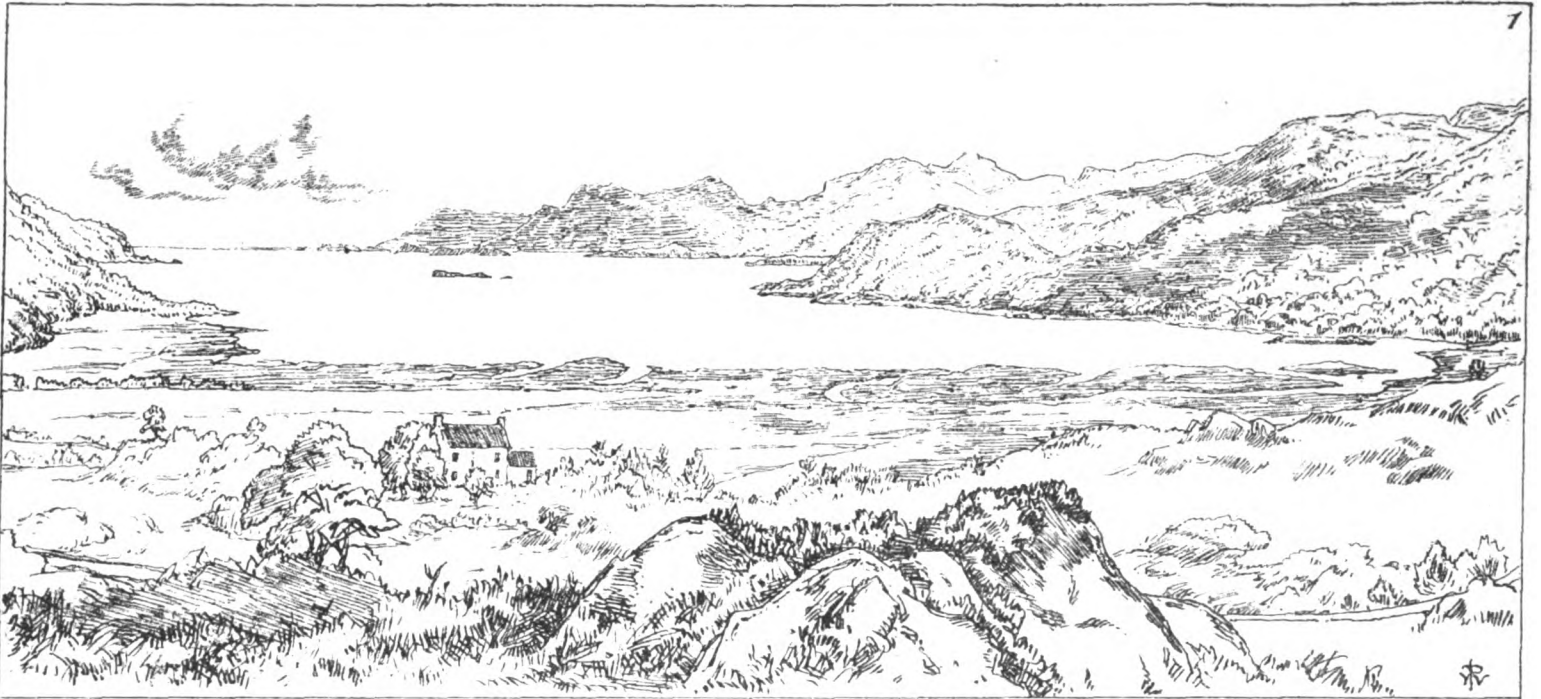
Dedicated to  
S. Columba.

Legend of the  
saint.

<sup>1</sup> It is only fair to the proprietor of Ellary House that I should mention the excellent new road he has just constructed, which passes by the old chapel of Cove. The only pity is, that this road stops at his residence, and does not connect with Kilmory-Knap and Loch Sween.

<sup>2</sup> A discrepancy, similar to what has elsewhere been remarked upon, occurs in the width of the building taken at the gable-ends. Thus the east and west walls measure externally 22 and 23 feet respectively, giving a whole foot of difference; internally they differ by 5 inches. On the other hand, the lengths of the side walls show no variation whatever.

SKETCHES AT COVE, &c., - KNAPDALE - ARCYLLSHIRE

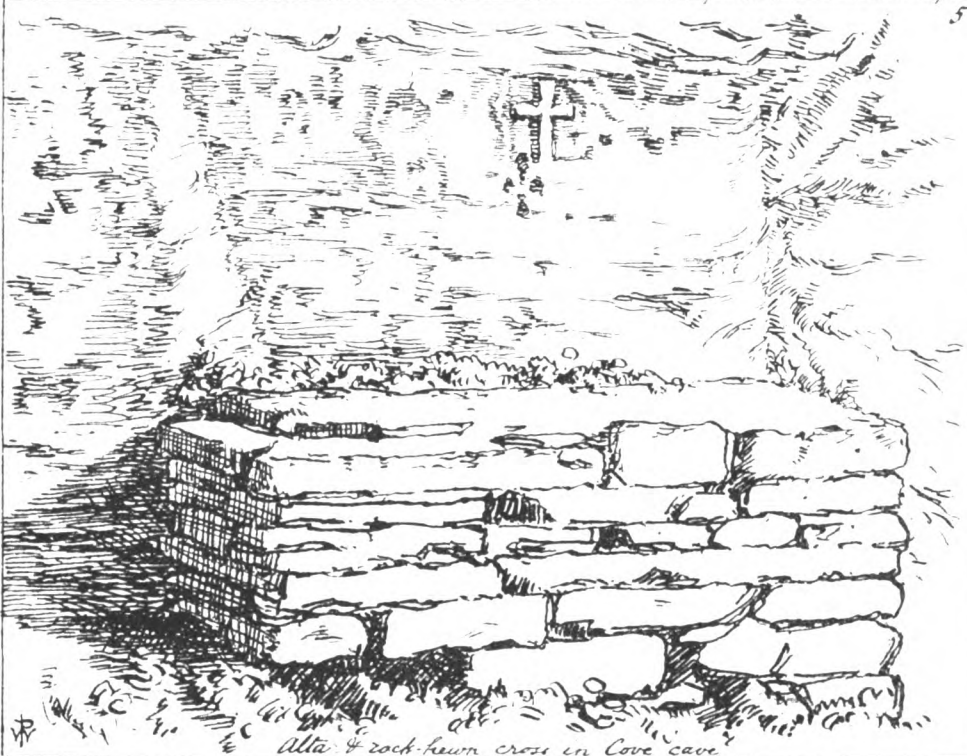


*Loch Caolisport - from Achahaisk*

2



*The old Chapel at Cove, Knapdale*



*Well & rock-hewn cross in Cove cave*



*Cross enlarged*



*Rock-fort in cave*

(Pl. XIII.)—A wall, 2 or 3 feet high, with a doorway as at S. Ciaran's Cave in Kintyre, bars the entrance. Inside the cave, on the right, is a platform of rock, raised about 2 feet, which apparently has been roughly squared and levelled. Upon this stands a rude, primitive-looking stone altar about 4 feet high, built up solid against the rock which forms the east side of the cave. Over this, again (figs. 3, 5), cut in the face of the rock, is a small relieved cross some  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length; and underneath it, as if intended for another cruciform figure, four holes set crosswise. On the rocky shelf near the doorway, is scooped a deep circular basin (fig. 4), which goes by the name of the "Holy Well," and is supposed to have been the font in use by the saint. This cave impressed me as a place of singular interest, enhanced by the great beauty of the landscape view outside. The impression, on the other hand, derived from viewing the state of the cave's interior, was anything but satisfactory. The place was choked up with fishermen's nets and gear, part of the altar heaped up with them, and the font filled with refuse. Already the altar has lost some of its stones, and unless the cave be kept from indiscriminate use, it is likely to lose more. Near the chapel at Cove, on a rocky knoll, is its ancient burial-ground; but one or two moss-grown tombstones, barely discernible, are all that remain of it. There is a third cave and a fine spring close by. The veneration with which these traditionary vestiges of S. Columba's presence are viewed, has stamped the name of the cave (*Scottice*, "cove") upon the farm and the immediate locality of the relics, and is seen in the designation of the pretty little island "Eilean na h-Uamhaidh" (island of the cave).

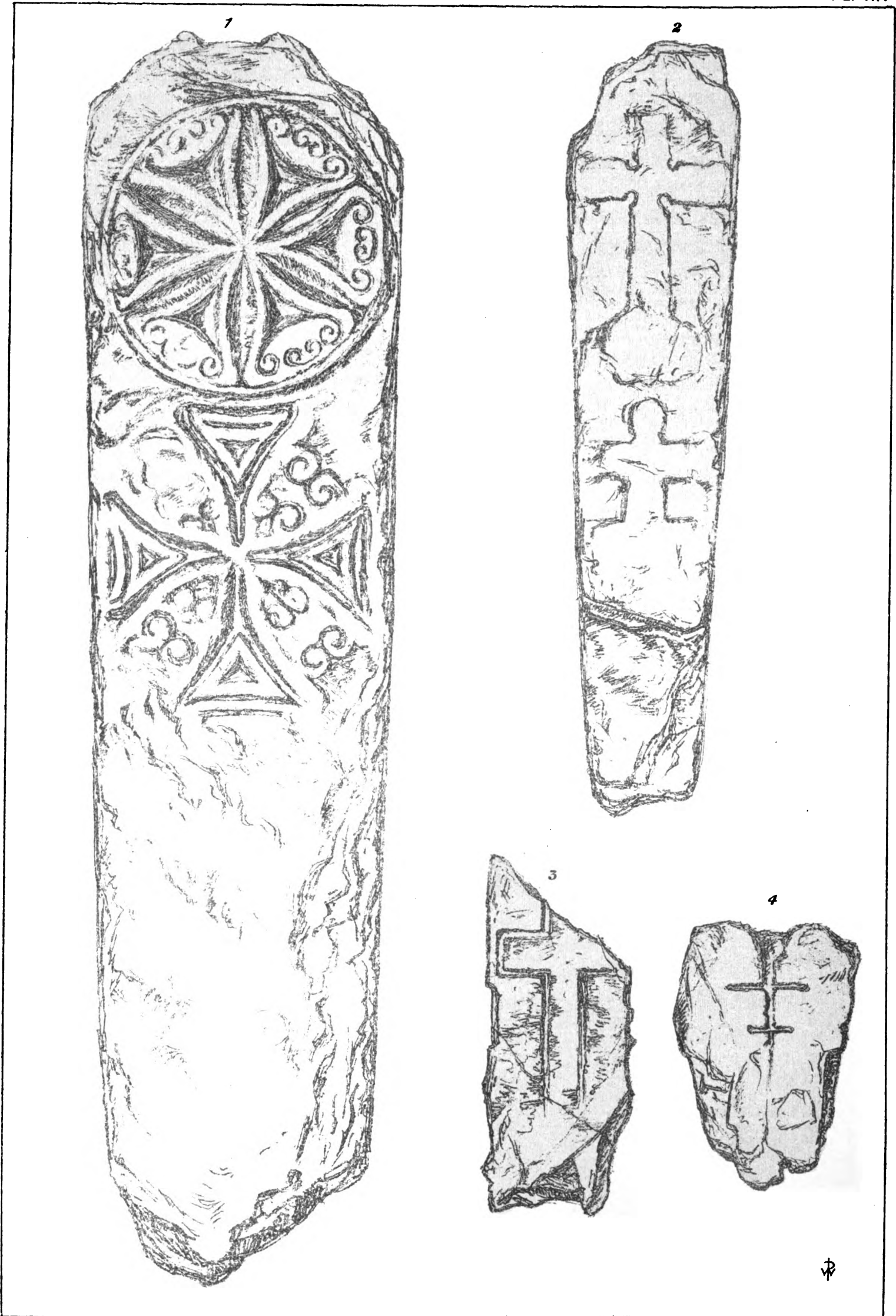
It is almost needless to add that the popular notion assigning the erection of the chapel to S. Columba is quite apocryphal. He is generally credited in this district with having built a number of churches, some say seven, along these western shores, and Cove Chapel is cited as one of them! As to the hermitage in the cave, it would be no wonder that any saint cruising about these waters in search of a habitat should have been attracted to Cove, so striking is its situation for natural beauty. Enchanting panoramas down the loch, wooded hillsides, rocky islands, sheltered creeks and bays, shady grottoes formed by the upturned schist, patches of brightest green pasturage, many a tree, and many a flower—these must have been sights presented to the saint's eye any day he betook himself half a mile outside his cave. And, albeit anchorites, the old monks never were insensible to influences such as these.

Further west, beyond Ellary House, is another remnant of a place of sepulture which, I have said, is known to few. It is reached—at least my guide and I reached it—through an almost inaccessible bog, and is situated in the covert of a thick birch-wood on a hillside, without enclosure of any kind. The name of the place is Cladh Bhile, the latter half of which name I was unable to get any clue to. After scrambling, almost crawling, through thick bushes, and plunging into a series of quagmires, suddenly, in the recesses of a thicket, we came upon a few broken stones, hardly recognisable as tombstones. It had seemed a wild-goose chase looking for relics in such a mere phantom of a graveyard as this had been represented to be; so that it was both a surprise and a reward for one's toil to light upon the sculptured remnants given in Pl. XIV. One of these is a full-sized tombstone above



6 feet long, unbroken, and enchased with an antique and rare design. I say rare, for the single and double elliptical spirals on it partake of the character of the early Irish style, and, excepting in the Keills cross, hereafter to be described, are not, I think, met with elsewhere in Knapdale nor in Kintyre. These spirals also call to mind some of the figurings on the rocks by the Crinan Canal. In my remarks on the monumental art of Knapdale, it will be remembered I referred to this. The hexagon with circle is found at S. Ciaran's Cave in Kintyre, and a counterpart of it may be seen on a Romano-British slab in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities. The three other slabs here are in a fragmentary state. From the character of the crosses carved on them, I should judge them also to be of early date. It poured heavy showers intermittently the day I visited Cladh Bhile, and the sketches had to be made under difficulties, and under an umbrella. It will be a most unfortunate thing if what is left of antique monumental art at this ancient site be allowed to perish from neglect, or disappear out of all sight and mind in the overgrowth that must inevitably go on increasing apace in such a swampy thicket as this, if nothing is done to it. It would be a small matter to clear the wood round the spot, drain, enclose, and lead a proper footpath to it, and rescue the slabs from further dilapidation by placing them level side by side in some sort of order. If to this were added a little experimental trenching, I have little doubt that other carved stones might be brought to light. Let me commend these suggestions to the proprietor for his consideration, in the interests of archæology. He interposed, I was told, in behalf of the old chapel at Cove, which the workmen at his new road were most anxious to pull down bodily, and utilise for paving purposes. In his predecessor's time, to his great disgust, the window-linings of the chapel, being freestone, were ruthlessly torn away and carried off. And such will be the ultimate fate of all these old ruins if they are left to the tender mercies of those who neither know nor care anything about them.

No burials, I was informed, have taken place at Cladh Bhile within the memory of any one living; but the tenant of Knap farm, an old man, remembered his father telling of a Gigha man who was drowned in Loch Caolisport, and brought here for interment.



## CHAPTER VII.

AFTER climbing the hill above Ellary House, we strike the rough cart-road again, which winds through a narrow gorge, and pass three solitary lakelets, buried in sedges and water-lilies. From here you have to descend into the long valley of Abhainn Mor (big stream), cross the water-course, ascend the next hill, and then follow a rough foot-track across the moor, which in course of time brings you suddenly almost on the top of a little cluster of houses, and a ruined church in among them, a little way from the sea-shore. This is Kilmory of Knap; and but for the glorious prospect across the ocean to the noble outlines of Jura, I cannot say my first impressions of Kilmory would have been very favourable. It is necessary, by the way, to name this Kilmory as I have done above, to distinguish it from another ecclesiastical site in the district, Kilmory of Oib.

Of the fabric of the church, there is not much to be said. It has the grey, weather-beaten aspect of all such tenements erected by the sea-coast, and suggests to us many a Sunday and holy day in bygone times, when the peals of its little bell must have been all but extinguished in the din of the winter storm. Its situation (Pl. XV.) with respect to the cottages and outhouses of the "clachan" is not calculated to add to its appearance, for these are rather ugly accessories, and so closely huddled are they round the church, that it is impossible to get any view of it clear of them. The walls are built of the usual rubble-stone, quarried from the schist rock of the neighbourhood, and present the usual unsightly gaps where the stones have become loosened and have fallen away. The windows are faced with a whitish freestone. There are only three altogether, a couplet in the east wall (Pl. XVII. 5), and a lancet near that end of the building in each of the side walls. They are all circular headed, and in this respect have something of that Romanesque character alluded to by Mr Muir. On the other hand, their deep splay is a characteristic of a type of church architecture common, it would seem, to the whole western seaboard of the United Kingdom, wherever the Celt has been located—from Scotland to Wales, and from Wales to the Land's End in Cornwall.<sup>1</sup> At Killean, in Kintyre, we had a round-headed couplet in the same position as this at Kilmory, only that there the openings were of greater proportionate length. The absence of any windows except towards the east end of the church is a curious feature, but by no means uncommon. One would imagine that, when the building was in use, the lighting must have been very indifferent. At the same time, it is in accord with the symbolism and the significance of Eucharistic rites

<sup>1</sup> See remarks in 'Athenæum' of 2d August 1873 (critique on vol. i. Archæol. Sketches).

in the worship of the mediæval Church, that the lighting of the material fabric should be concentrated upon that portion of it to which the eye and heart of the worshippers would naturally be directed. As a consequence, we never in these old churches find these conditions reversed—that is to say, the east end left dark and the west illuminated. The dimensions of the chapel at Kilmory-Knap are 38 by 17 feet internally, and externally 44 by 22½, which gives a width of wall varying from 2¾ to 3 feet. The solitary doorway is in its most usual place, near the west angle in the south wall. A small fragment, apparently of a very hard and heavy limestone, scooped out into a basin perforated through the bottom, was the only detached moulded stone I could find amongst the ruins. It may have been a piscina.

Ancient  
monuments.

I now pass to the crosses and tomb-carvings lying within the precincts of the churchyard, a singularly rich and numerous collection. And the reader will not fail to recognise throughout the superabundance of sculptured work at Kilmory, which the Plates will introduce to his notice, certain strongly-marked local peculiarities, and, as also at a site hereafter to be described, a greater delicacy and finish than are to be found for the most part elsewhere.

Macmillan's  
Cross.

Of the standard monuments, Macmillan's Cross (Pl. XVI.), a noble relic happily unutilated, claims our first attention. Upon one face is represented the crucifix, on either side of which stands an attendant figure, each with a nimbus round the head, scroll-work, an animal, and a sword having a peculiar mark or emblem I am not familiar with embossed on its point. The Saviour's figure is in some respects rude, as at Kilberry, and it is only partially draped; yet there is a certain telling expression and rugged power in the carving, as there is in most of these Celtic modellings. But it is from the grace and harmonious grouping of the different members of the sculpture, and their general effect as a piece of ornamental design, that our feelings of admiration in contemplating this cross are mainly derived. On the reverse face we have more scroll and plait work, a beast in the centre of the wheel, a stag-hunt, the animals in which are very spiritedly drawn, a warrior, and an inscription. The attire of the warrior is noteworthy. He brandishes a battle-axe; and the helm, which seems to have a sort of fringed vizor in front, is attached to something at the waist shaped like an old drinking-horn. If it be meant for a powder-horn, then the date of the monument is brought within a clearly assignable limit of antiquity. The method of securing the headpiece to the waist is seen on a slab at Saddell in Kintyre. The inscription, prefaced by the small Jerusalem cross which commonly accompanies these laconic records, runs as follows:—

Its inscription.

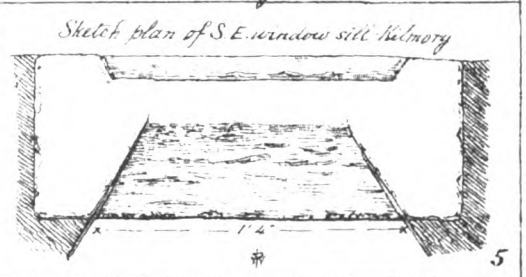
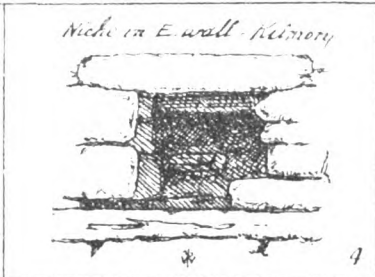
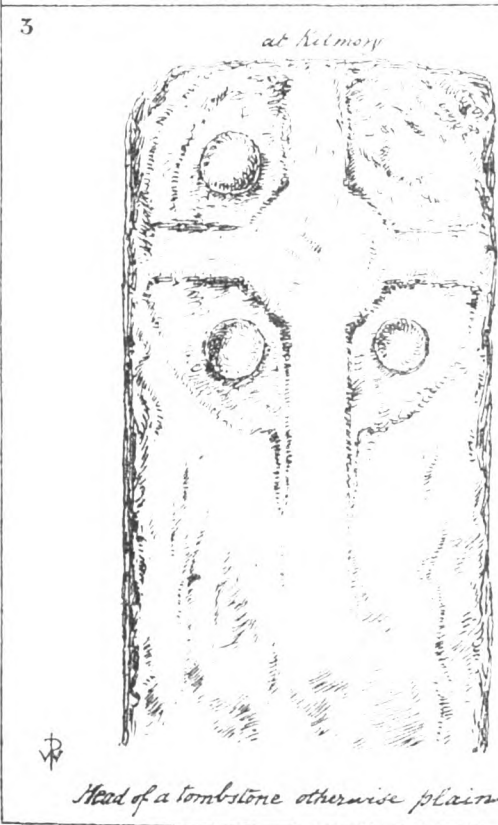
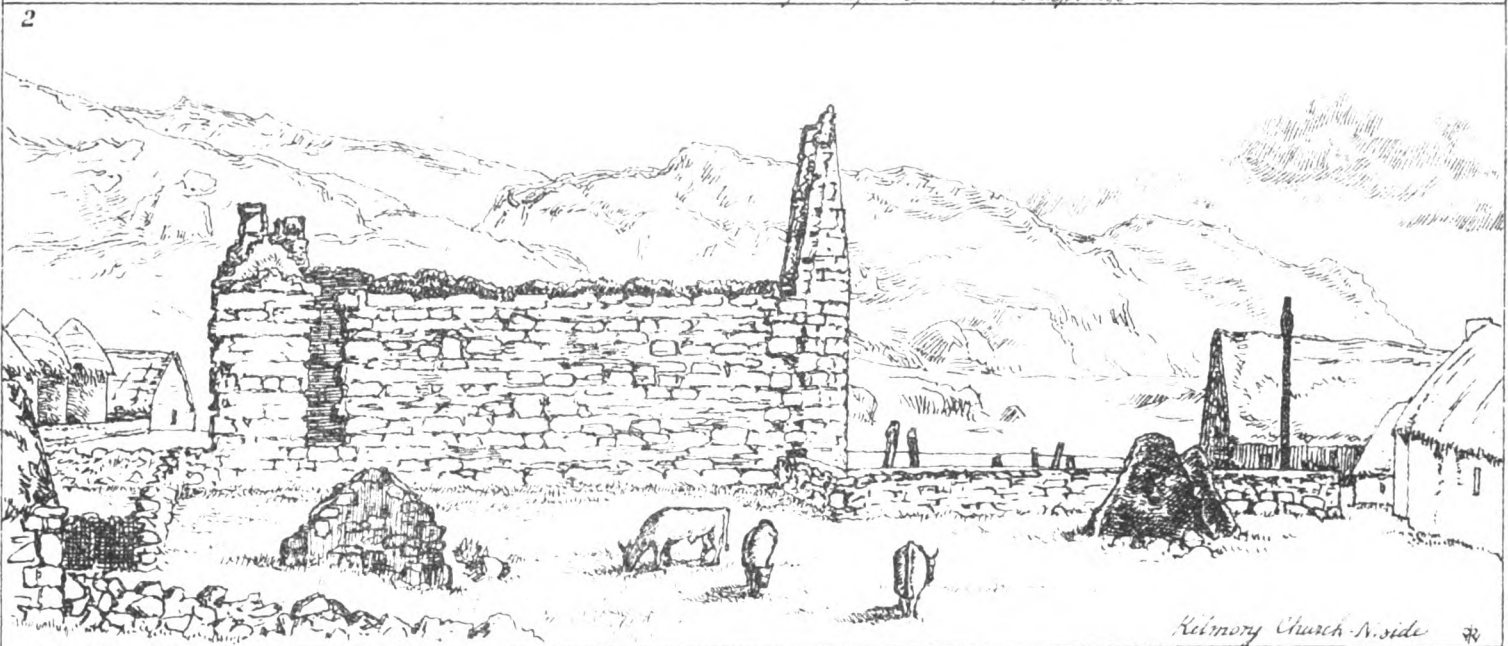
✠ HEC EST CRUX ALEXANDRI MACMILLAN

the "N" being of a peculiar form new to me. Every letter is perfectly legible.<sup>1</sup> This beautiful monument stands about 9 feet high above the pedestal.

Date and  
history of this  
cross.

Excepting for such evidence as may lie on the face of the stone itself, all seems utterly dark as to the precise date and history of this cross. I am not aware that it

<sup>1</sup> Mr Muir calls it "a nearly effaced inscription." This is a mistake.





CROSS AT KILMORY OF KNAP - KNAPDALE - ARGYLLSHIRE



is referred to in any early document, either as a landmark or otherwise. Local traditional notions are, as we know, often misleading. Yet that the individual commemorated here was some distinguished chief of the sept or family of Macmillan resident in the district seems highly probable, looking to the inscription and the dignity of the monument. The country people talk of him as the Great Macmillan of Knap, and give him the character of a sort of feudal baron or patriarch. I tried the ground several times for legends or coherent traditions of him, but there was little forthcoming. At length there seemed a promise of something better. Mr M'A——, an old schoolmaster, who had been forty years resident here, and was an excellent native Gaelic scholar, put into more tangible shape the tradition as he had had it from old people long since departed. Graven on a rock at the point of Knap, there were to be seen, within two or three generations past, some mystic characters in the Gaelic tongue setting forth "Coir mhic Mhaoilain " air a Chnap" (Macmillan's right to Knap). I should here explain that a certain area of country around Kilmory is locally known as "the Knap." But, alas! the writing had long been expunged by the action of the sea and weathering, or the encroaching tide had covered it over—at all events, it was no longer to be seen; so I was spared a journey to this interesting spot. Howbeit, there was no doubt this writing concerned the particular Macmillan whose name is carved on the cross. The next thing I heard about these rock-imprints was from another resident in the neighbourhood. The tradition, as he had heard it, was more detailed. It bore that when Campbell of Calder, son of an Earl of Argyle, came into possession of the island of Isla, the clan Campbell coveted the Macmillan's inheritance of Knap, or at all events his hereditary rights of lordship over it. At this time the writing was visible on the rock, and no man disputed Macmillan's title. But it fell on a day that some Campbells landed at Knap Point, bringing with them chisels, and they hewed away at the talismanic letters till all were defaced; forasmuch as it was held that so long as the writing remained, so long would the Macmillans rule the land, and the people regard no other ruler. But, alas! again, my informant knew the rock well, and had visited the spot when a boy thirty or forty years ago, and since that time. Yet, where the ancient writing was said to have been—and there was no doubt as to the alleged spot—never had he been able, with careful examination, to find the slightest trace of writing, defaced or not defaced. On the other hand, to do the story justice, it should be stated that in course of time the Campbells did make their way into the Knap and adjacent territory; in fact, as we have already seen, they were in the neighbourhood by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

To the lover of these old legends, it may seem an invidious task being continually called upon to run them to earth. It is hard to be for ever discovering the rottenness of props which have for many a generation supported a fair and picturesque superstructure; or, beneath a many-coloured crust of bright mosses, tangled green leaves, and garish flowers, to find in place of firm standing-ground nothing but a bottomless morass. But this is what the honest explorer in the field of these floating traditions has

at all times to be prepared for. From such uncertain wanderings it is refreshing to be recalled to the tangible products of genuine—would that we could say imperishable—art and labour.<sup>1</sup>

Curious perforated stone.

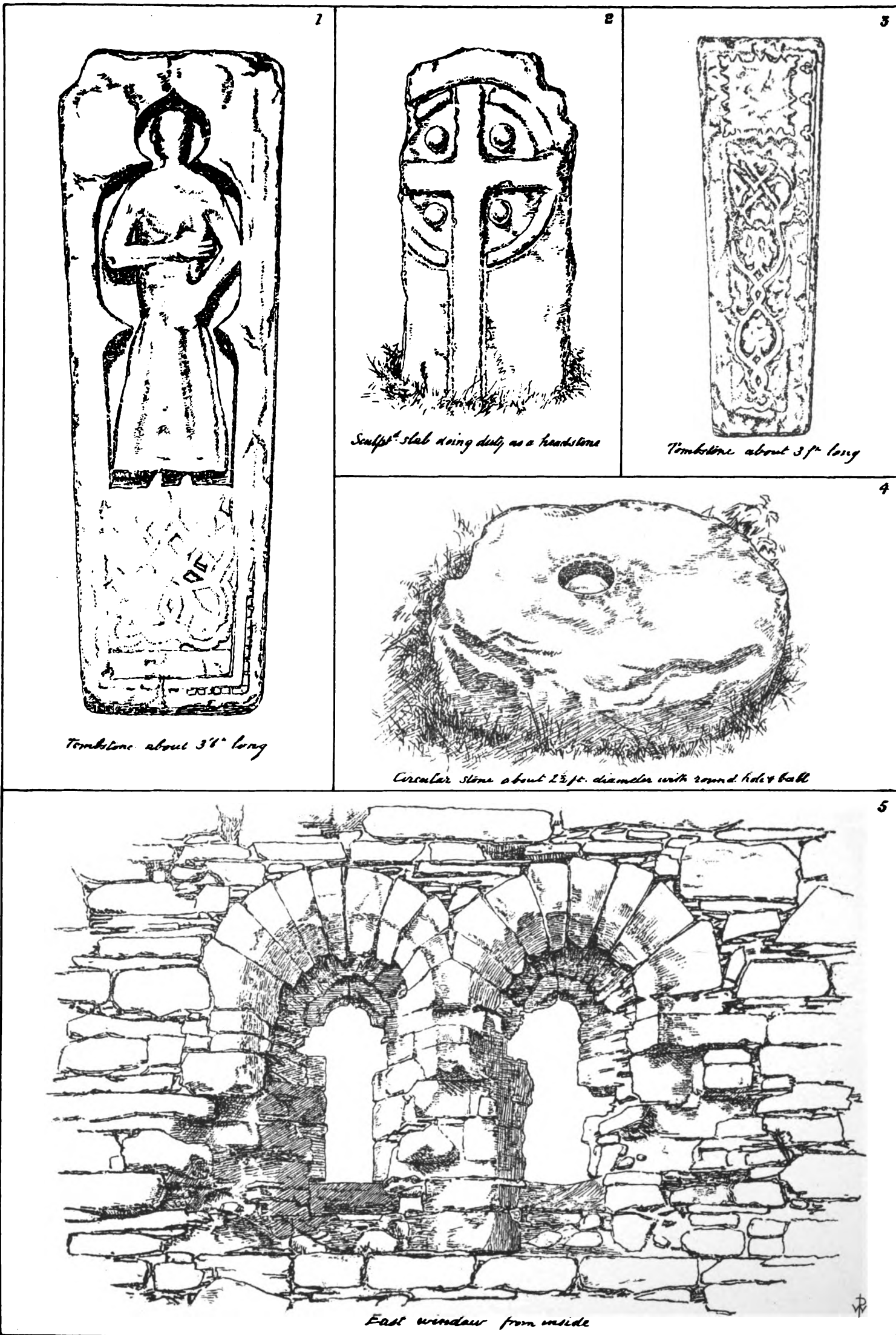
The large circular slab (Pl. XVII. 4), with a round stone ball fitting tightly into an orifice perforated through its centre, is a singular object. It was unearthed a short time ago in the burial-ground, and is broken on one side. The stone is about 2½ feet in diameter, and nearly a foot deep. The perforation goes clean through, and when the stone ball is taken out, will admit one's arm. It was but quite recently that some one turning over the stone, discovered the ball wedged into the under side of the hole. Nothing whatever is known of this relic. It is possible to think it may have had some connection with a class of superstitious rites, common enough in Scotland as elsewhere, a remnant of practices come down from very remote times and places—practices to this day full-blown in India and all over the world. Perforated standing-stones are considered talismanic in many localities; we had an instance of this in Kintyre.<sup>2</sup> It is curious how persistently, though in an altered and innocent garb, the nature-worship of heathen nations, by whichever of its multiform titles we choose to designate it, has lingered in civilised lands, and,—despite of Christianity, nay, intermingled with it—despite of progress, the railway, and the school board,—remains to this day in the guise of Baal-fires, charmed circles, healing wells, and the like.

Recumbent slabs.

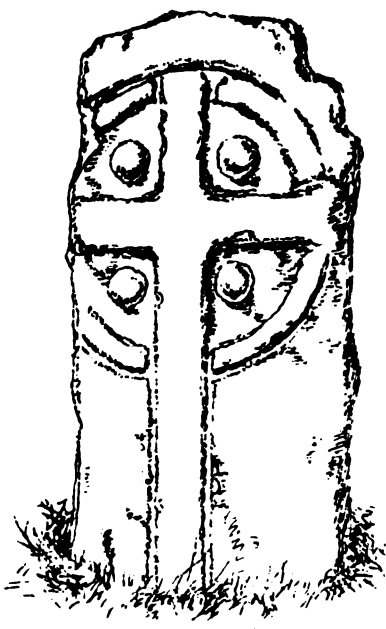
In Pl. XVIII. we have (fig. 2) a remarkably fine specimen of the full-length, highly-ornamented tombstone. Its subjects are a comb, with a bird perched on it; a dog with a round object fastened under his neck; the shears; a beautiful square device of plait-work and open leaves; and the lower half of the stone is occupied with an exquisitely graceful combination of animals and foliage, the latter consisting partly of ivy and partly of fern. An inscription, now illegible, runs along the inner border of the slab. The oblong object above the comb is one frequently appearing in Knapdale, and is, I take it, either intended for a clasp-bound missal, or the lid of a chest with stanchions. The outer border of this beautiful slab is enriched by being wrought to a hollow, and filled in with an open row of the tooth ornament, after the manner of early English mouldings. This effective enrichment is frequently introduced into the more ornate of the West Highland tomb-sculptures, and is one of many points in which the architectural styles of the two countries are found closely, if not absolutely, to coincide. The coincidence in this detail is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as it is a form of ornament markedly characteristic of both styles. Fig. 1 is a much-worn tombstone. It is a pretty pattern of slab, though of more ordinary type, and less finished than the last.

<sup>1</sup> The writer of a somewhat "Dryasdust" book, referring apparently to a family MS. of the Macmillans, says it asserts that Buchanan, the historian, was of the same stock, and that some ancestor of the house "caused build a very pretty chapel in Kilmorie-Knap for devotion and burying-place, in which there is a fine cross with divers other figures neatly cut in stone, and a great many characters engraven thereon scarcely legible, which intimate the founder's name to be Æneas Macmillan, who, or some of his ancestors, built a large tower in addition to Castle Sween."—Enquiry into Ancient Scottish Surnames, p. 278, 279. Edin. 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 112, 113.



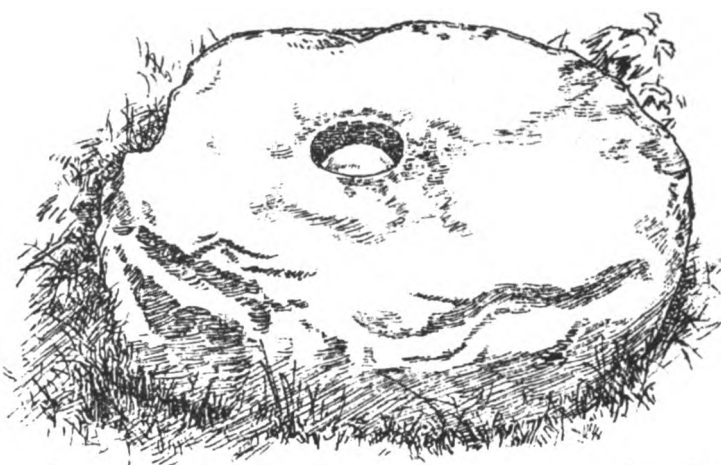
*Tombstone about 3' long*



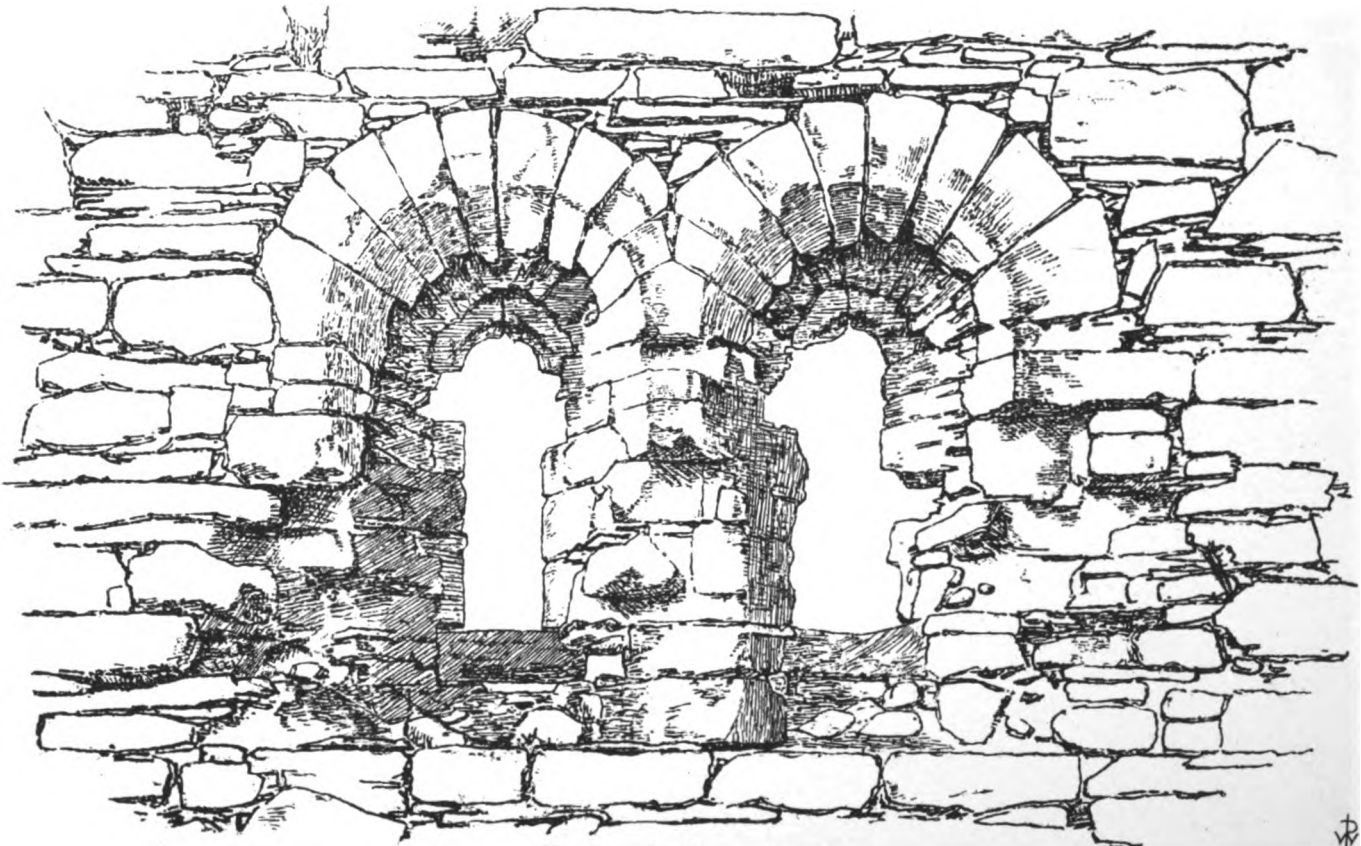
*Sculpt. slab doing duty as a headstone*



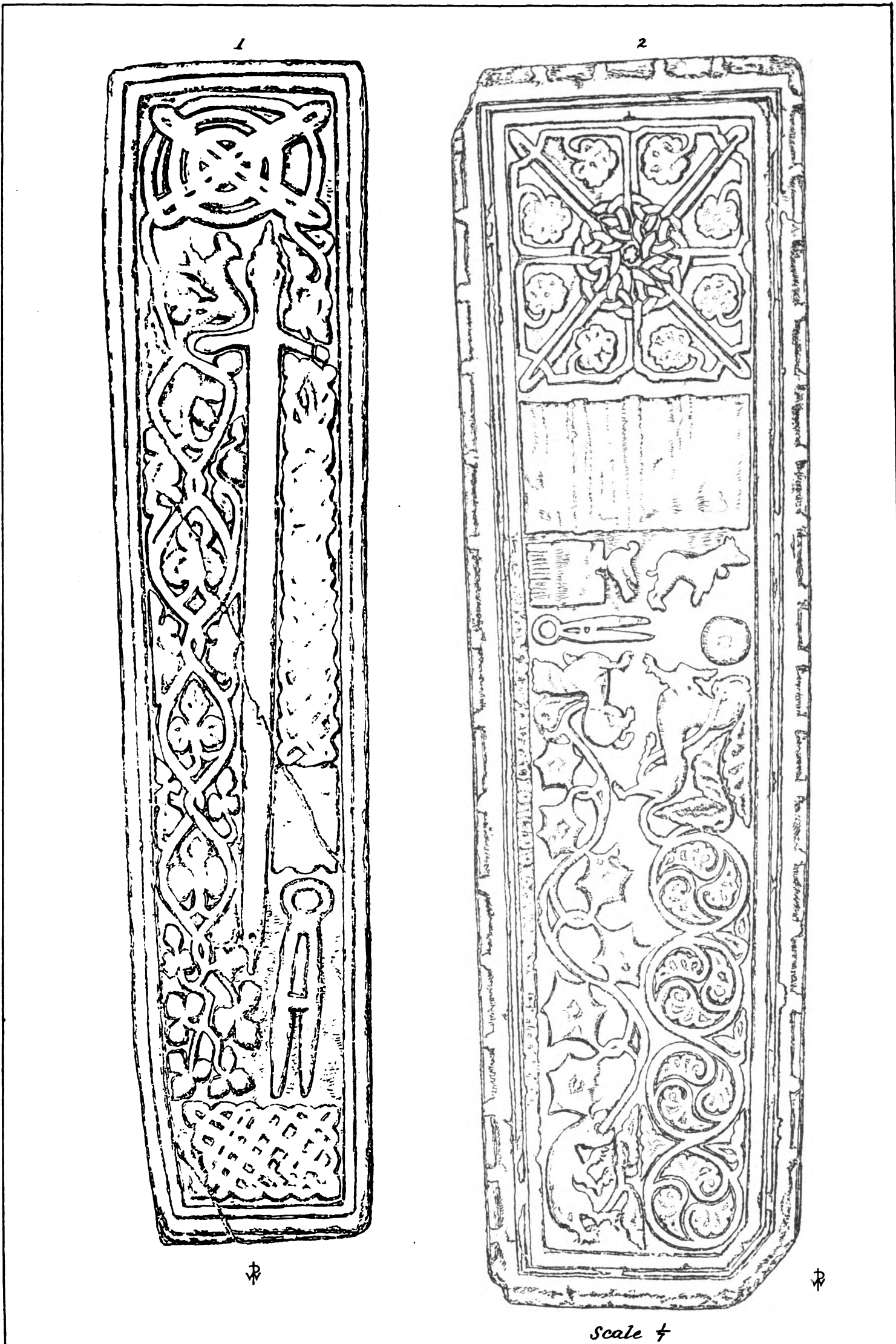
*Tombstone about 3' long*



*Circular stone about 2 1/2 ft. diameter with round hole & ball*



*East window from inside*





(Pl. XIX. 1.)—Another beautifully-finished specimen. The galley here, with its nine ports, appears intended to represent a vessel seated for eighteen rowers. The pair of animals from whose tails twists away such a mass of elaborate foliage, have some resemblance to wolves, which we know were common in the Highland forests during mediæval times, and till much later. The winged beast with hooked beak, the otter and the imperfectly-developed bird fighting for the fish, are all three curious studies. Fig. 2 represents a fantastic kind of horned creature, which appears once again in this burial-ground, and nowhere else that I have seen. Its countenance comes near the human, and supplies another illustration of the way in which the mediæval sculptor gave play to the element of the grotesque. The long staff-like object next the sword I do not quite understand.

(Pl. XX.)—A beautiful though greatly worn example of the richly-vested ecclesiastic, such as we see in many places elsewhere. Bas-relief of an ecclesiastic.

(Pl. XXI.)—Fig. 1 is a prettily-ornamented specimen. The object by the shears and service-book was a complete puzzle to me, though I inspected it from every possible point of view. I took pains to draw it carefully, and perhaps some of my archæological readers may be able to suggest an explanation. In fig. 2, the human expression of the horned creature's face is more apparent than in the slab at Pl. XIX.; but we can trace the same artist's hand in both, as also in XXI. 1: and the serpentine scroll-work appended to this creature's tail is almost certainly the work of the same designer, if not from the same chisel, responsible for the slab at Kilberry (XII. 1). Recumbent slab.

(Pl. XXII.)—Here we have (fig. 1) a fine though much-worn example of tomb-sculpture, and (fig. 2) a most delicately-finished one, devoted to pure ornament. Unfortunately the latter is cracked through at the top, but otherwise it is in very perfect condition. There is a tombstone of the same class at Clachan in Kintyre. The double cable-pattern moulding round the border is a great enrichment.

Pl. XXIII. contains three quaint specimens of ornamental crosses, and a slab with the effigy of a tonsured ecclesiastic, apparently holding in his right hand the end of a belt. He is robed in a simple garment not reaching beyond the knee, and at the head of the slab is an inscription with a letter or two decipherable.

(Pl. XXIV.)—A portion of a sculptured cross with rich scroll-work, and a pair of animals on one side; on the other, more scroll-work, and an armed horseman with a long sword or spear across his body, and some kind of helmet on his head. I am quite at a loss to explain the curious bowl-shaped cavity breaking through the pattern in fig. 1, otherwise than by supposing it to have been an after-adaptation of the slab to serve the purposes of a holy-water stoup. Portion of a sculptured cross.

(Pl. XXV.)—Two very rich carvings. The large loop mouldings at top and bottom of fig. 1 are characteristic of a particular style of slab, where the leading member of the sculpture consists of a small-sized effigy of a warrior within a niche. Two of this class are met with in Kintyre—one at Saddell, another at Skipness; and by comparing them with the present example, the identity of type and treatment of details will be at once apparent. Recumbent slabs (continued).

The two griffin heads, bristling with formidable teeth, near the top of this slab, and the distinctive character of the two deer-hounds chasing the stag, are noteworthy. Fig. 2 is a very close counterpart of XIX. 1, both in style and execution. We again have the galley with its nine row-ports, the wolf-like beasts, the winged and beaked quadruped, and other resemblances of detail, yet nowhere is there any absolute sameness in the two examples. The artist knew his work too well for that, unlike the modern tomb-cutter, who will turn out half a hundred obelisks as like as peas one to another. One of the dogs seen at the point of the sword here has very much the cut of a blood-hound. The larger one has the regular set of tail a sportsman loves to see; but this unfortunate dog has been shorn in two by an unsightly gap at one corner of the stone. The ornamental five-circle knot is almost identical with what we see on a slab at Saddell.

(Pl. XXVI.)—A most elaborate and beautiful sculpture, one of the richest in the district. It very closely resembles in design the finely-embossed slab at Killean in Kintyre, which came under discussion in the first chapter of this volume. The two axes figured by the sword-handle are new in my experience. Of the writing which covers a space near them, and is continued along the sword-blade, I can make out nothing beyond an isolated letter here and there. This constant illegibility of the inscriptions in these monuments is very disappointing.

Knightly effigies.

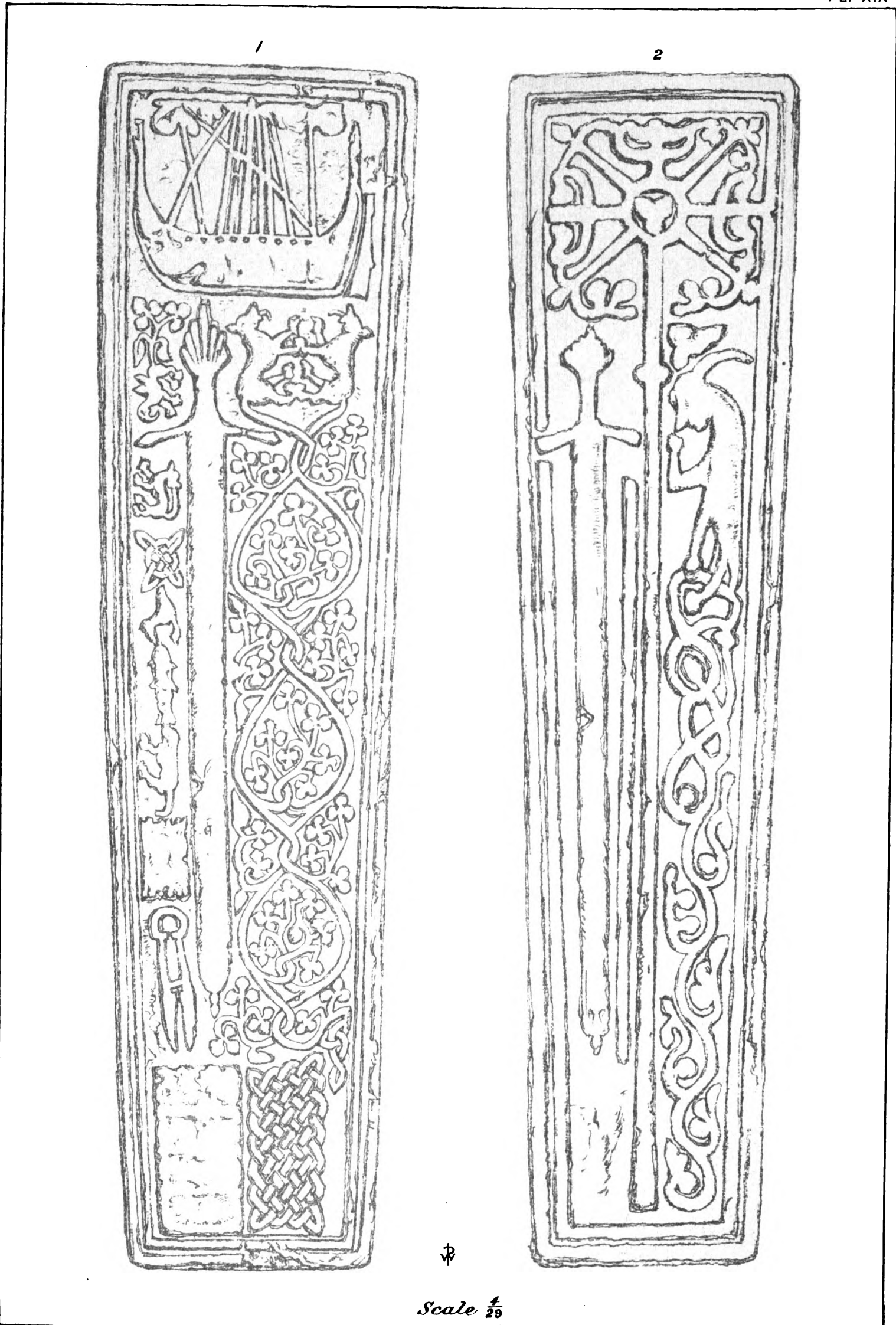
(Pl. XXVII.)—A fine pair of knightly effigies, similar to others throughout the West Highlands. In fig. 5, we have an otter and a fish, two ornamental plaits, and an inscription, introduced in the blank spaces round the figure. The chain camail, elbow-straps, and pointed sollerets, are familiar details in this class of sculpture.

The state of the monuments at Kilmory-Knap, so far as any orderly preservation of them goes, is very unsatisfactory. The walls are fast tumbling in; and, as we have seen, many of the sculptures are more or less damaged. The tombstones are lying about higgledy-piggledy, slanting all ways. One of the knightly effigies just alluded to has its right foot mutilated, and the other one a great slice detached at the toe, which I had to put in its place before making my sketch. It is in this way that we lose so much of what is distinctive and of historical import in these interesting old relics.

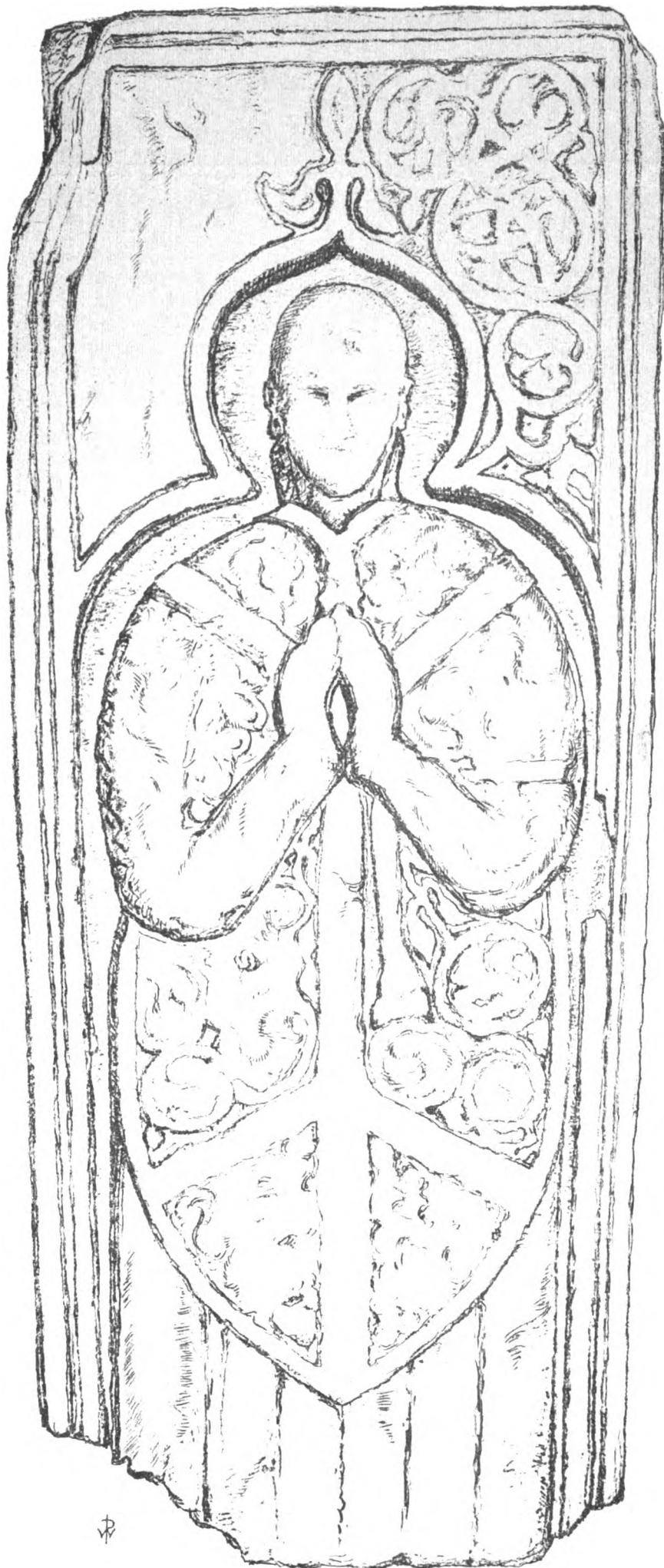
The question, Whom do these slabs commemorate?

After reviewing the above sculptures, a very natural question arises, Is nothing known, traditionally or otherwise, respecting the individuals they were designed to commemorate? It is a question constantly arising, and as constantly baffling and perplexing us for an answer. In England, ranging back to the thirteenth century, in such a churchyard as this—that is, one of the same relative importance in any particular district—a large proportion of the ancient tombstones would probably occupy each its separate niche in the county history, by reason of such external evidence as a name, or, towards the close of the fourteenth century, often a name with the date added. In the West Highlands, on the other hand, it is rare indeed to get a date anterior to the end of the fifteenth century—rare, we may say, to get a name or date at all—but superlatively rare to get an inscription in such a state of legibility that we can decipher either the one or the other. Nor, as to traditions concerning the stones, do we fare any better. Such traditions are

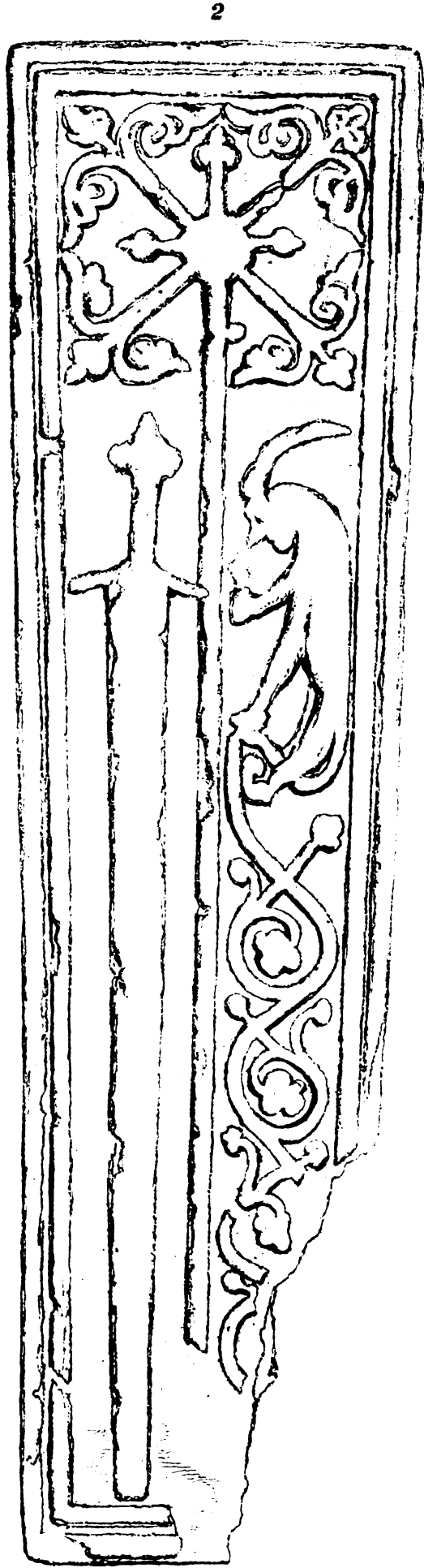
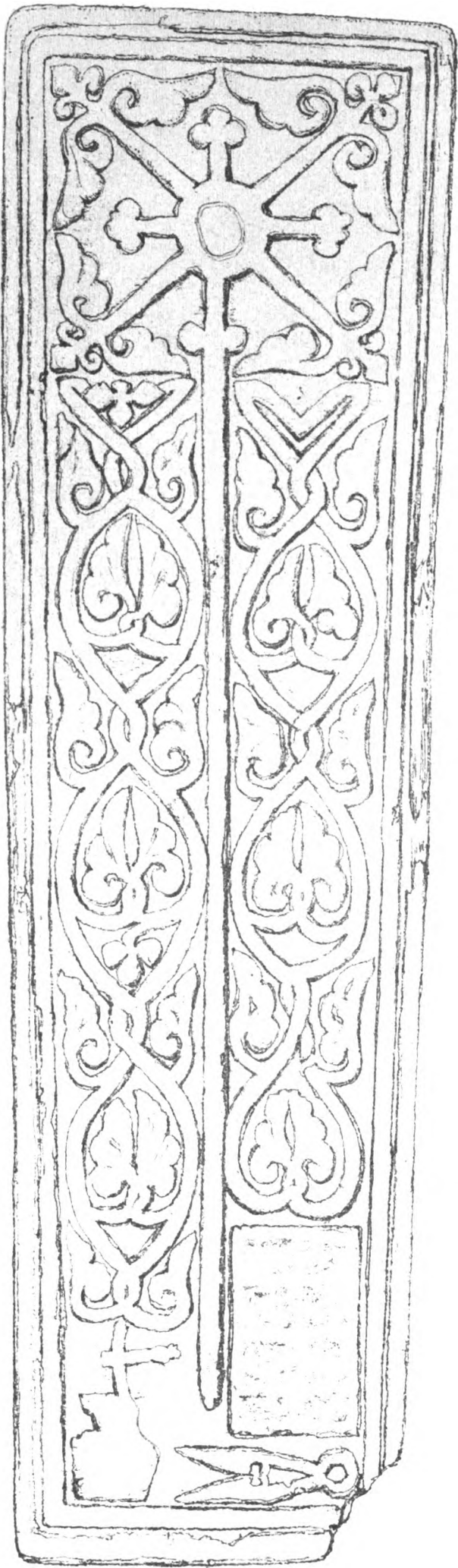
Paucity of information, local or otherwise.



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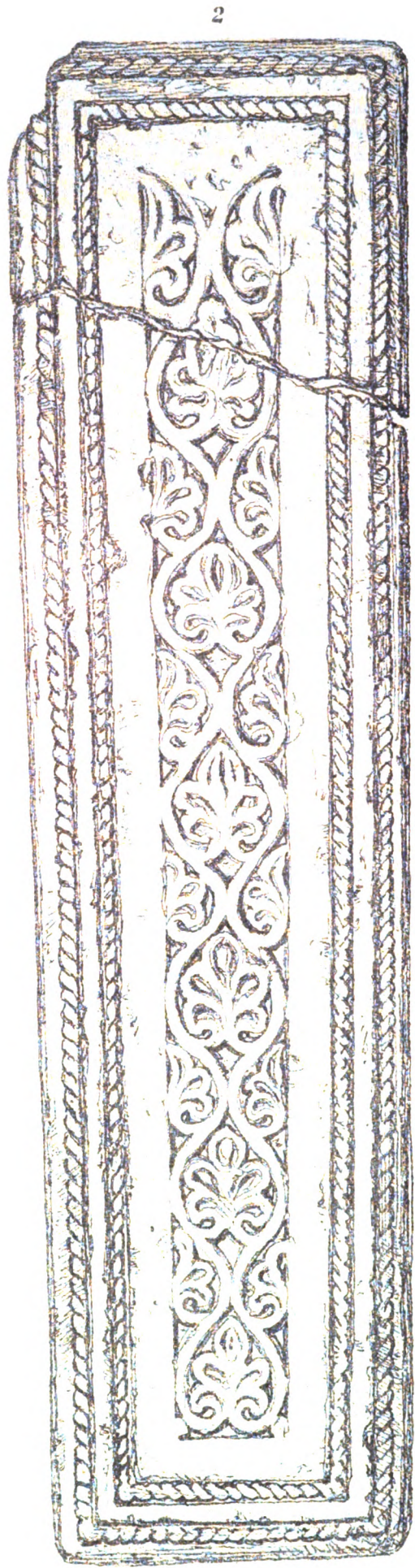
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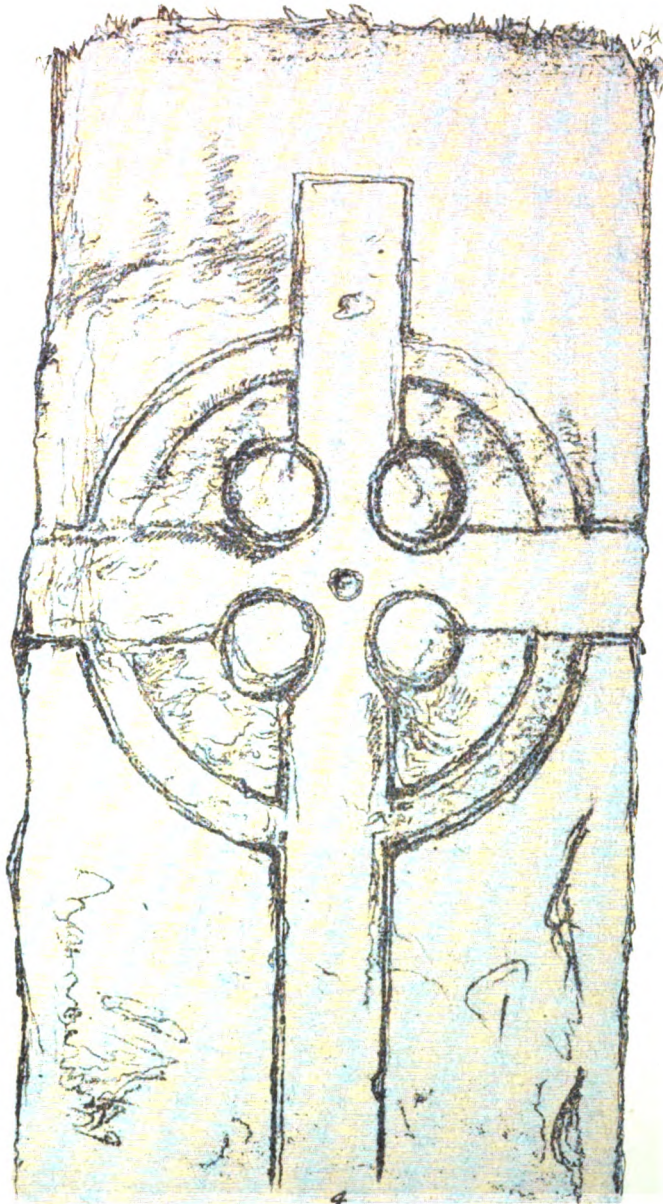
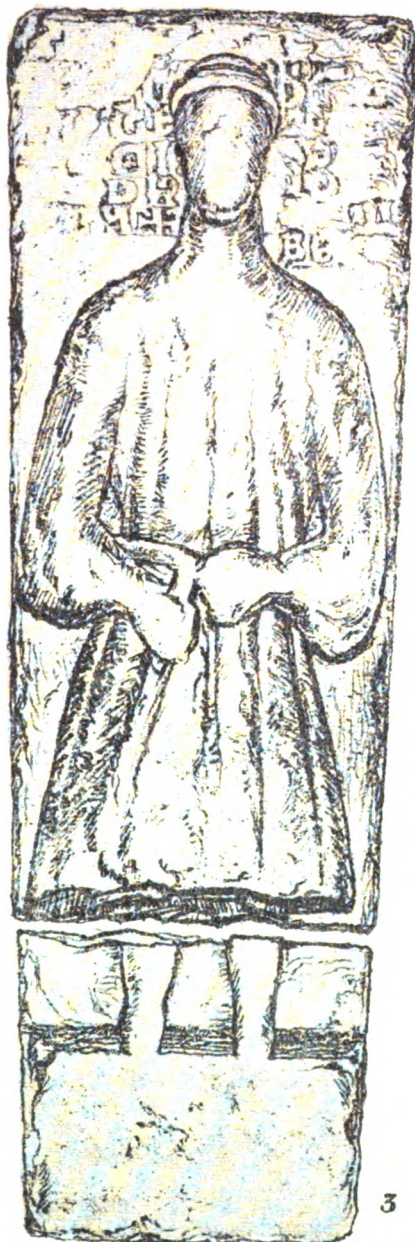
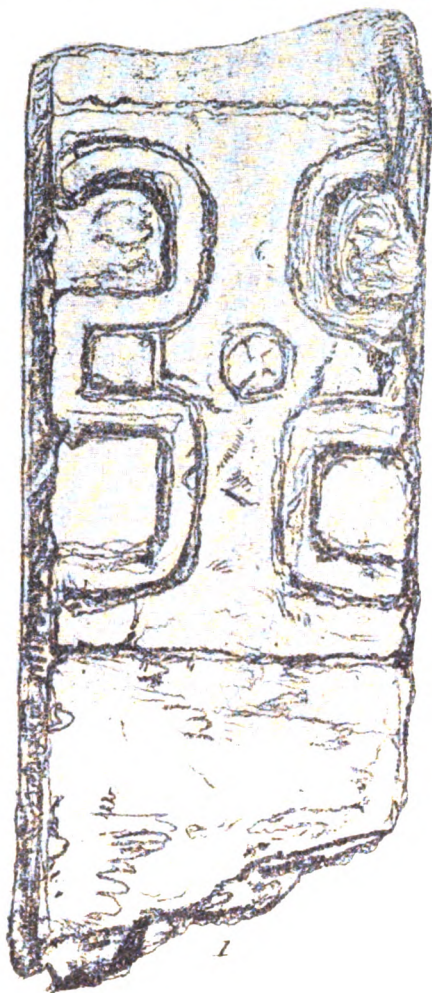
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SLABS AT KILMORY OF KNAP - KNAPDALE - ARGYLLSHIRE

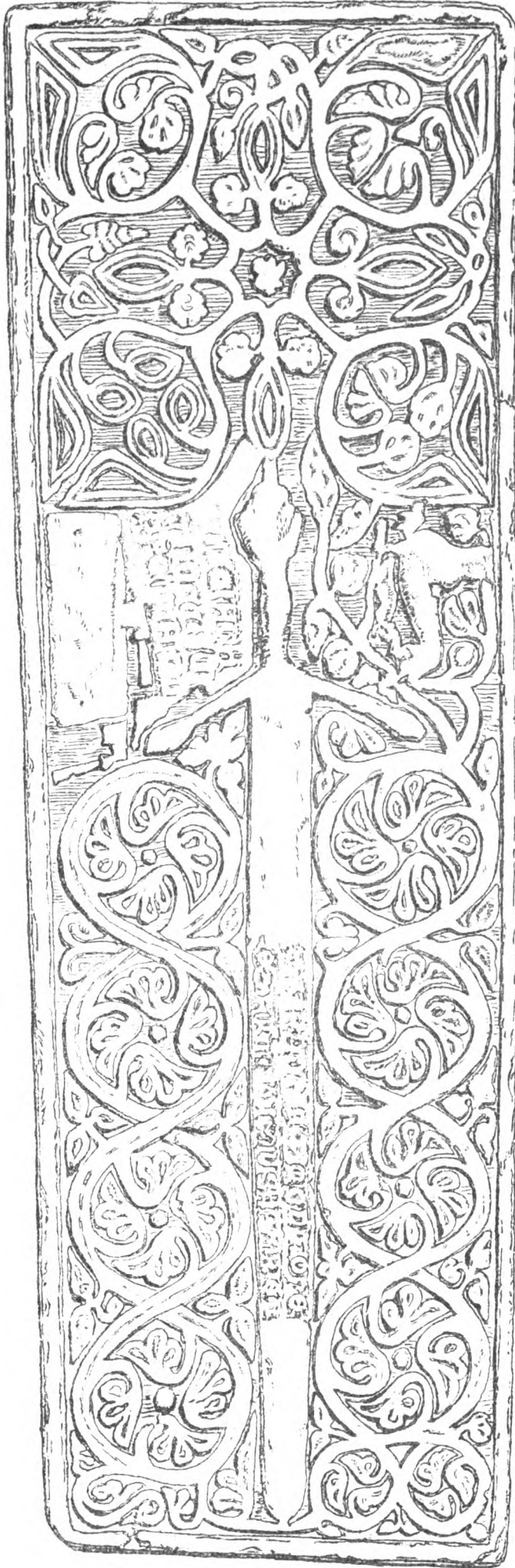
PL. XXV.



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✠



ALTO-RELIEVOS, &C. AT KILMORY OF KNAP - KNAPDALE - ARCYLLSHIRE

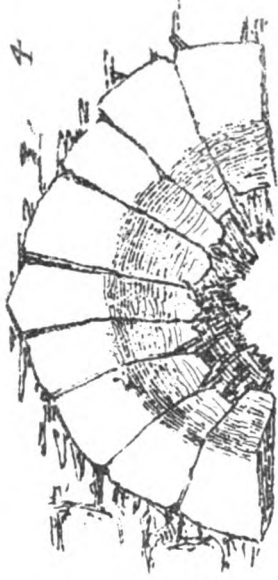
PL. XXVII



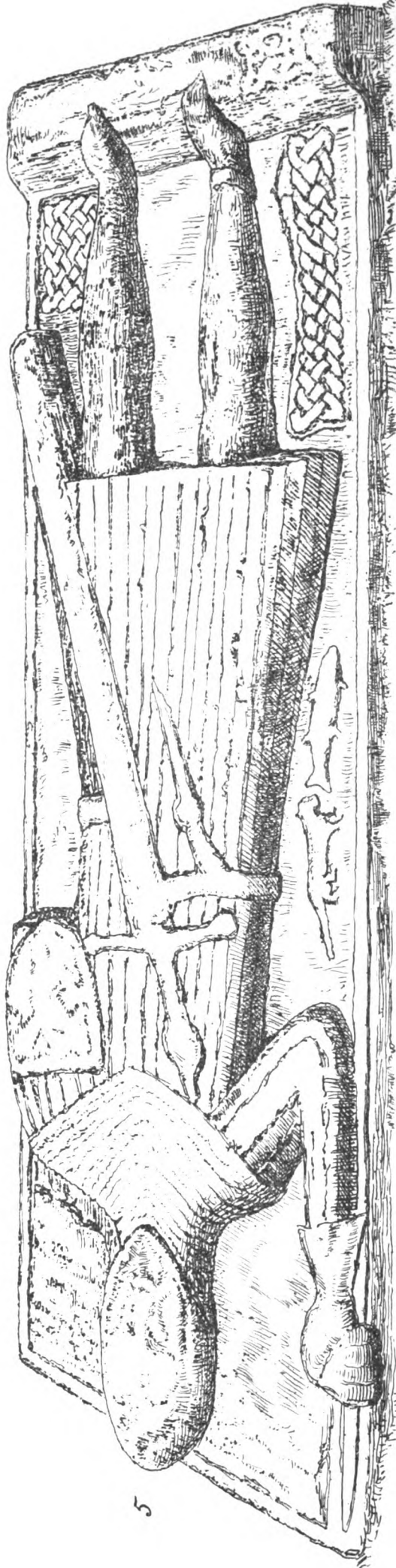
Pedestal of Fig. 5



Chair seat gongel in Fig. 1



Window head in S. wall - Kilmory Ch.



Sketched by Capt. I. F. White. R. E.

Photo. lithographed & printed by W. & A. K. Johnston.

much the same as other commodities of like kind, of the worth of which the reader has probably by this time formed his own opinion. In general, they are simply trials of one's patience. The sum and substance of what tradition asserts in the case of Kilmory-Knap appears to amount to this, that the effigies represent members of the clan Campbell, and the slabs with the galley enched on them Macalisters. This was the outcome of my inquiries when I first visited the place, vouched by an old weaver who was supposed to know more about the graves than any other man living. On my return to Kilmory two years after, the old man was numbered with the forgotten inmates of the churchyard. But another, long resident in the locality, took up his parable, and *he* averred the galley-slabs to have been from time immemorial regarded as appertaining to the sept of Macmillans. My belief is, that the old weaver's statement had no surer foundation than that certain tombstones lay in certain areas of the burial-ground appropriated to particular families. But who is to say whether the stones occupy their original position? The very tradition of these monuments having been stolen or transported from Iona is fatal to the notion of their stability. And though undoubtedly some of them may still be *in situ*, in most cases it is impossible to tell if this be so or not. Thus, at Kilmory-Knap, our information dwindles down to this: that the wonted place of burial for the Campbells was on the north side, where the warriors' effigies now are; and that that for the Macmillans or Macalisters was on the south side, where are the slabs with galleys. This is really all I am in a position to tell the reader of the traditional history of an ecclesiastical site unsurpassed, even in a part of the country where such relics abound, for the affluence and variety of its ancient memorial sculptures.

Nor, when we come to look for the materials of its written history, is the result anywise more satisfactory. Kilmory-Knap appears to have been within the limits of the ancient parish of Kilvicocharmaig or North Knapdale, which extended from Crinan to the north shore of Loch Caolisport; and this is about all we know. It seems strange there should be no mention in early records of what, to judge from local externals, we should take to have been so important a church and place of sepulture for the district as this. But so it is, apparently. Mr Innes's collection of parochial items contains no documentary reference whatever to Kilmory-Knap, while other adjacent religious sites represented on the ground by mere names receive notice. That Kilmory-Knap was not a parish church, also appears certain. From the Ordnance map, to be sure, we are able to extract a crumb of information in the circumstance that the church has stamped its name on the picturesque sandy bay below. And a short distance further along the sea-shore there is Eilean Naomhachd (the consecrated or holy island), a small islet, adjacent to another named Sgeir Mhic Ghughain (M'Gugan's rock). What particular M'Gugan it may have been that still lives in this latter name did not transpire; but this surname, which I do not remember ever having met with elsewhere, is common enough in Knapdale. One of the race I had the satisfaction of seeing shipped off to Jura after her wedding, celebrated Highland fashion, with much gun-firing and pipe-playing.

A well called Tobar na Saighde, situated on the hillside immediately above the

Absence of documentary records respecting Kilmory.

Local names in the neighbourhood.

chapel, was pointed out to me as probably connected with it. The name, however, in its present guise (well of the arrow), is not suggestive of things religious; but it may have become corrupted and transformed from something that once had religious associations.

Dedication of  
Kilmory  
chapel.

S. Maelru-  
bha.

The ascertainment of the tutelary dedication contained in such ecclesiastical names as Kilmory does not seem altogether clear; but I believe it is to be found, not, as the popular idea would have it, in the person of the Virgin Mary, but, according to the best authorities, in that of S. Maelrubha, whose halo of renown radiates from the shore of a little bay in the remote wilds of Ross-shire. This I have alluded to in another place.<sup>1</sup> Maelrubha was an ecclesiastic of the seventh century, and may be classed with the primitive band of missionaries who have made both Scotland and Ireland for ever illustrious in the annals of the Christian Church. Removed some two or three generations from the days when those we may call the "greater lights" of the band mustered in strongest force, S. Maelruve was nevertheless no unworthy wearer of the ubiquitous mantle that had fallen from Columba. Educated in a school which could already boast of having trained for the ministry many a pupil of high rank and saintly reputation, Maelrubha lived to be prior, if not abbot, of the famed Irish monastery at Bangor. Descended from the blood-royal, such as it was, of perhaps the most ancient kingly stock the land of Erin possessed, Maelruve could add to the prestige of his paternal ancestor's name, the great Niall of the Nine Hostages, the distinction of good Dalriadic lineage on his mother's side. It may, therefore, not be altogether accidental that we find his memory so frequently enshrined in the churches and votive chapels which sprang up in Scottish Dalriada during later mediæval times. About A.D. 671, when only twenty-nine years old, the saint started on his wanderings; but it was not till some two years later that he was storm-driven into the picturesque little haven most intimately associated with his name. Here, at Applecross, or Apurcrossan, to give it its older designation, the holy voyager at length settled with a small knot of disciples, and began to preach the Gospel to the people of the north, as the great Columba had done before him. And so, first a church was built—doubtless one of primitive workmanship—constructed of timber from the forest, with wattled walls, and but scantily lighted. Afterward this church became a monastery, ruled on the model of the establishment at Bangor, and for a long time affiliated with it—as it was but natural the saint should turn his eyes back to a spot endeared to him by youthful recollections. At the venerable age of eighty, S. Maelruve died, leaving the care of his church and monastery at Applecross to devolve upon others, and bequeathing to the locality which was the chief seat of his labours a savour of sanctity which survives in legends to this day. In the Breviary of Aberdeen there is a mythical account of how S. Ruffus<sup>2</sup> came by his death. The

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 129.

<sup>2</sup> One of the many corrupted forms of Maelrubha's name. We saw, a little while back, what S. Moloch had come to; but Maelruve's transformations outdo the other's. Molroy, Märy, and Mury are plain sailing. Dropping the initial letter, Arrow, Olrow, and Erew become somewhat perplexing. Still more so, when the prefix falls away and he becomes Rice, Row, and Rufus. But in Summareve and Smarevis we have about as much left of the original saint as a certain artist in a good story had of his picture after giving effect to the additions and subtractions recommended by his various friends.

saint was absent (on a pilgrimage, we are to suppose) over upon the eastern side of the mountains, when a band of Norse rovers, unbaptised heathens, came up the Loch of Ness and found him preaching at Glen Urquhard. Landing here, they slew him, and dragged his body into the forest to be eaten by wild beasts. But the corpse was rescued, and carried back to Applecross. Thereafter, a church was erected on the spot sanctified by the martyrdom of the holy man.<sup>1</sup> And roundabout the monastery church at Apurcrossan for six miles was sanctuary thenceforward. And it befell on a time that more of the same heathen people came up over the land and swept into the little western glen, and respected not the monastery, but plundered it. So it came to pass that these ungodly men were drowned in the sea by divine vengeance.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the somewhat indistinct outline of the biography of a saint who has given his name to Kilmory-Knap, and to many another ancient "kil" in Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> The old church and parish of Glen Urquhart in Inverness-shire are, to the best of my recollection, named Kilmoriche, which would so far tally with the legend.

<sup>2</sup> What the legend narrates of the first party of Norsemen might very well have happened as early as 722, although the irruptions of the vikings did not become general till towards the close of the eighth century. The second of the incursions mentioned might be viewed as one of these latter. We have it, however, on the eminent authority of Dr Reeves, that Maelruve died peaceably at Applecross.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Eilean Mòr. I MUST now conduct the reader to an island insignificant in area, but by no means of insignificant name to the student of western Scottish ecclesiology. I refer to Eilean Mòr Mhic o' Charraig, or Cormac's Island, as it is sometimes called, to save the voluminousness of its Gaelic designation. It lies about two miles due west of Kilmory-Knap, and is the largest of a group of half-a-dozen small islands in the Sound of Jura, comprised within the parish we are considering, though in former times it appears to have belonged parochially to North Knapdale. The size of the island is about one-third of a mile in its extreme length, with barely half that width. It is a place only to be approached in fine weather, for the conflict of tideways between it and the mainland is something that should be seen to be understood; and when the full swing of the ebb pouring out of Loch Sween meets opposing currents and the strength of a south-wester, it is no time to be thinking of island antiquities, or at least of boats to reach them. It was once my good luck to run past these islands in a yacht with just such a wind, only fair for us, into Loch Sween. It was, I recollect, on one of those fickle summer days, so common to the isles of the west, when in the morning, perhaps, all is warmth and sparkle of sunshine, blue water, twitter of birds, gentle flutter of the birch-leaf; but ere the day is half done, driving mist, a rack aloft scudding like a race-horse, bent trees swaying and moaning, sheep and cattle cowering for shelter, and a dark-green opaque sea in the offing bristling with ten thousand white teeth. The wrangle of waters on the day I speak of was marvellous to see, and brought to one's mind old monkish legends of whirlpools such as the dreaded Corryvreckan; and it made one realise in some sort the actual perils of these old-world navigators whose lives were spent in bearing the message of the Cross from one island to another along these storm-beaten shores. One had but to gaze back over thirteen centuries, and, on such a day as this, with the elements at war around one, to reclothe the forgotten dust of the many ruined cells along this coast with flesh and blood, and to reanimate it with zeal and the fire of religious enthusiasm. And thus to recall, and recognise as of literal application to their case as to his, the words of a still more ancient and immeasurably more illustrious seafarer, and imagine these mariner-monks of the west thrice or more times to have suffered shipwreck; many a night and day to have been in the deep; in journeyings often; in perils of waters; in perils of robbers; in perils by their own countrymen; in perils by the heathen; in perils in the wilderness; in perils in the sea; in perils (somewhiles doubtless) among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness; in watchings often; in hunger and thirst;

The circum-  
jacent waters.

Perils of the  
old monks.

in fastings often; in cold and nakedness; besides those things that were without—that which came upon many of them daily—the care of their scattered churches and flocks.

The view of Eilean Mòr and its companion islands (Pl. I. 1), looking down on them from the hills above Kilmory-Knap, is very striking on a clear day. Behind, looms up Jura with cloud-traversed peaks; and the intervening rocky islets stand out of the sea one beyond the other, with an effect as though some Titan had intended to throw a chain of stepping-stones across the Sound, but stopped short ere his task was completed. As we approach by boat the largest of the group, we see its outline to be low, with two slight eminences; and the building between these, which was visible from the mainland, we can make out to be a chapel. In other respects, the island has the usual aspect of such spots—rich green pasture, with a sedgy patch or two in it, and all the rest rock and bracken.

The antiquities of Eilean Mòr have received some notice from other observers, but I believe the present collection of drawings is the first attempt at anything like an exhaustive published set of illustrations of them.<sup>1</sup> I shall begin my account of them by noticing what traces of buildings there are, or *were*, when I made my field-notes.

The first Plate of the series (XXVIII.) supplies sketches of the remarkable old chapel, which is still tolerably entire, part of the roof remaining, and some of the windows quite perfect—this state of preservation probably being due to the remote situation of the island. The external dimensions of the building are  $37\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $20^2-3$  feet, as usual, being the thickness of the walls. In plan and general features, its details differ somewhat from what we ordinarily see in these old churches. The interior area is partitioned off by a cross wall into two nearly equal compartments, answering to chancel and nave. In this wall is a large arched aperture, some 10 feet high by 7 wide, whence the purpose of the former as a mere open partition to screen off the chancel is evident. The archway has since been built up, leaving a smaller rectangular-headed doorway, with a square perforation on either side of it. The chancel is arched over with a cylindrical vault; above the arch comes the roof, which is entire, and seems to have been a slabbed one.<sup>3</sup> The nave, or west portion of the church, has an upper storeyed chamber—the west gable showing two windows, and a modern-looking fireplace with chimney. In its present state this must have been a later importation, perhaps to supply house-room for the officiating priest or minister, if the place was still used for public worship after the Reformation. That there was a reconstruction here is plain; for I observed, on the under side of the lintel of one of the two windows in the west gable, some carved tracery, leaving no doubt in my mind that this was part of the shaft of a sculptured cross. There is also a joist-hole in the portion of masonry which now blocks up an ancient doorway in the north wall. This is further evidence that the upper chamber was a later addition. The roofing of the western half of

<sup>1</sup> Exhaustive only so far as the sculptured monuments are concerned. The sketches of the chapel cannot, of course, lay claim to the completeness of architectural drawings to scale.

<sup>2</sup> I give Mr Muir's figures in preference to my own, as, having no measuring-tape with me on my visit to the island, I could only pace the distances.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Muir says the intervening space between arch and roof formed "a chamber lighted by a square window in the apex of the west gable." My notes do not mention this, but I daresay it is so.

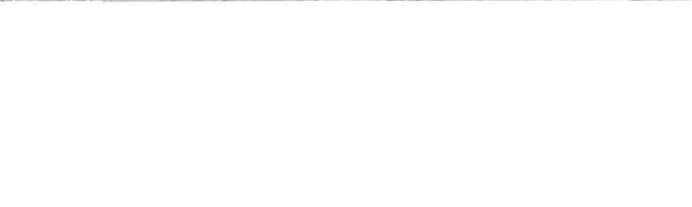
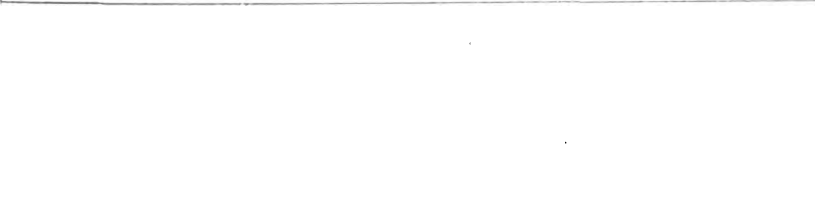
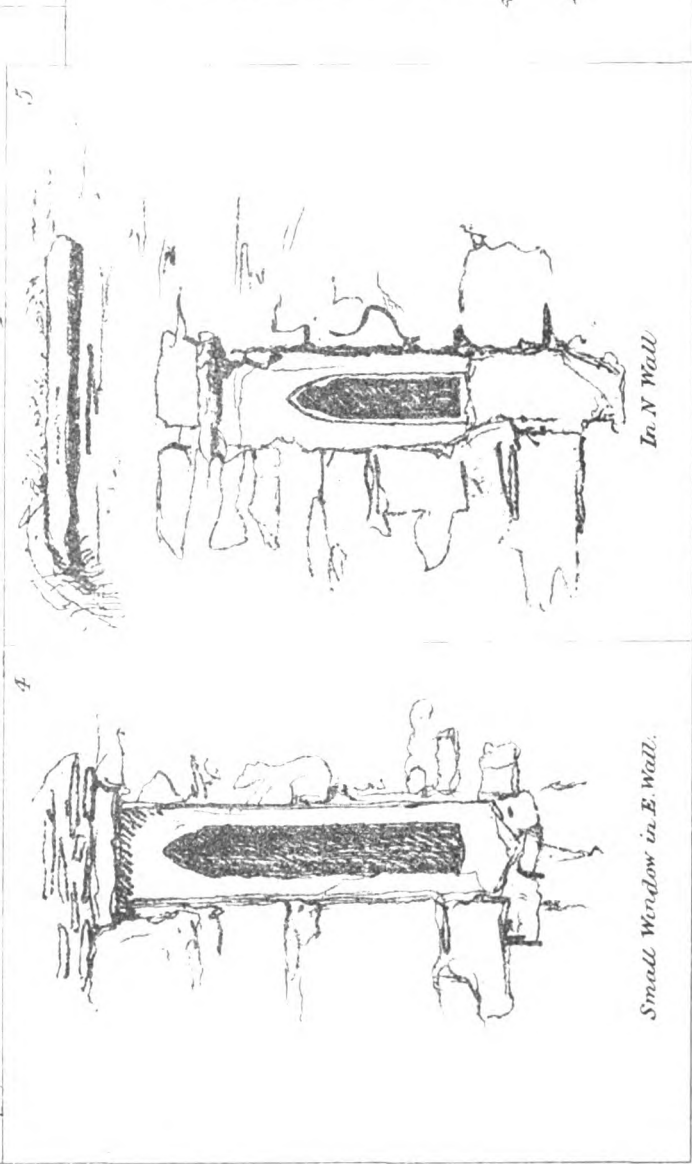
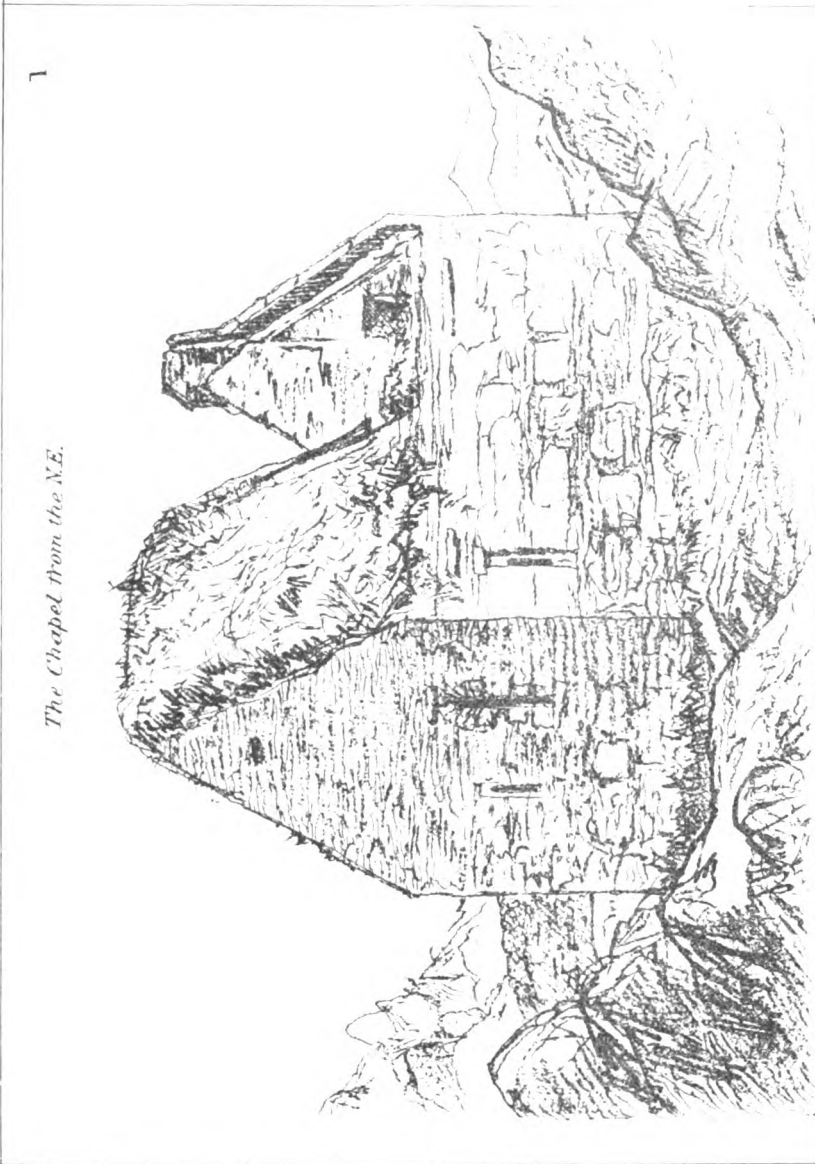
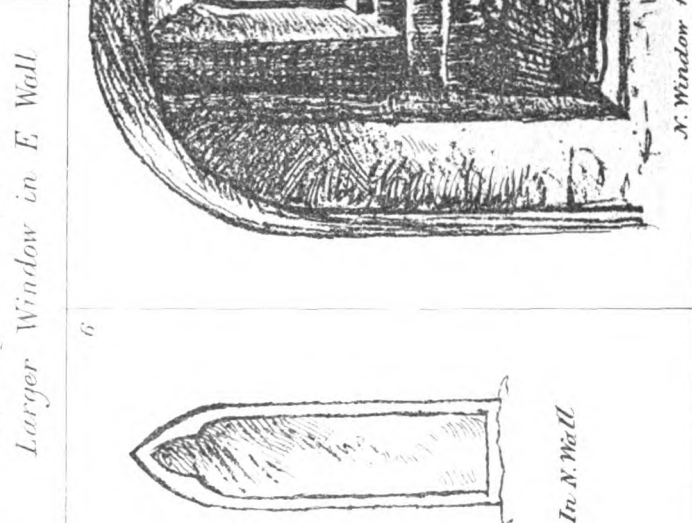
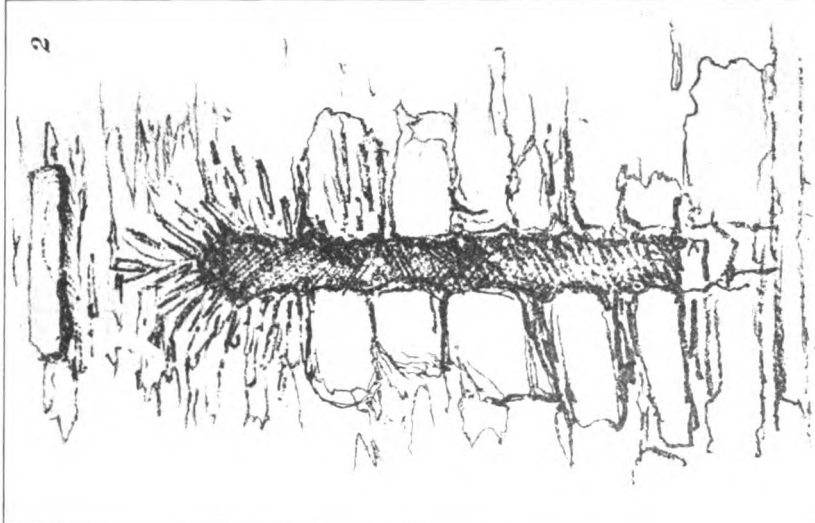
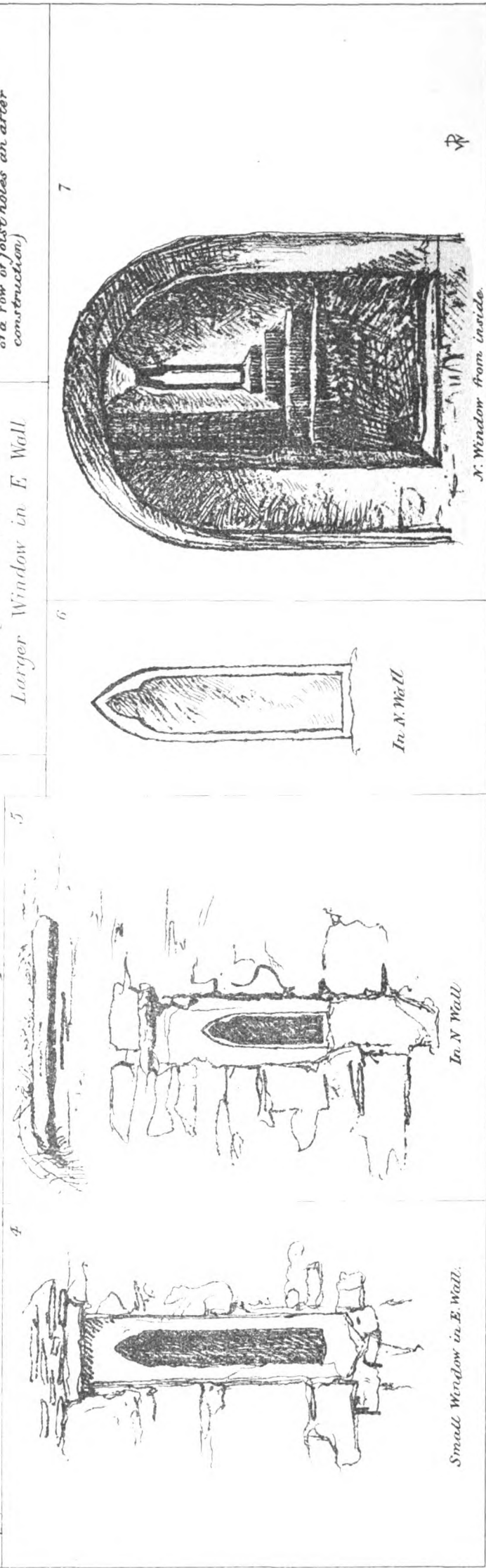
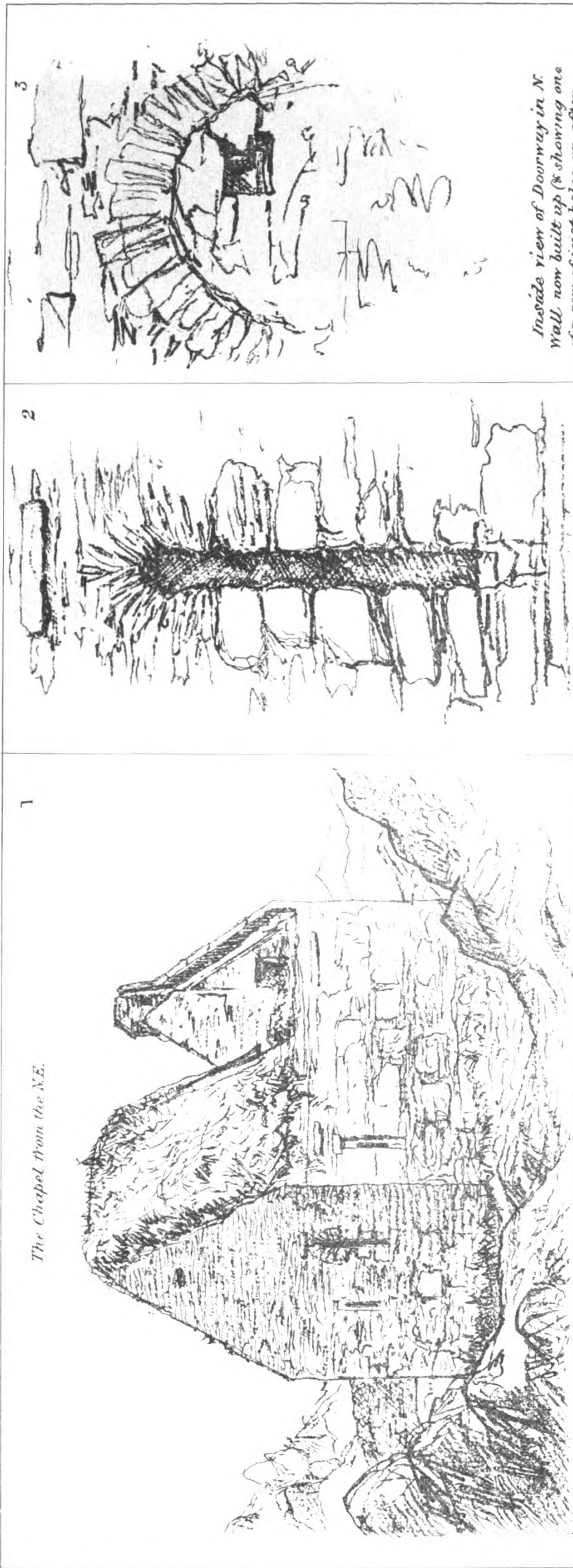
the building is gone. The doorway just spoken of was arched, and of considerable width; its position is near the west angle. The more modern one which has taken its place is opposite to it in the south side. It is rectangular-headed and quite plain. The chancel is lighted by three windows—two of unequal size in the east end, and a small window in the north side close to the eastern angle. The recesses of the two former are deeply splayed, narrowing outside to slender openings, the smaller one not exceeding about 16" in height. One of these recesses is ledged below the sill—Mr Muir thinks, to serve the purposes of an altar. The north window (fig. 7) and adjacent aperture through the wall are curious specimens of primitive architecture, the former in its way quite an antiquarian gem. Two of the window-lights (figs. 4, 5, and 6)—already, one would have supposed, sufficiently small—are still further diminished in size by the insertion of a slate, cut in one case to a plain pointed head, and in the other to a trefoil. This aperture is evidently what MacCulloch refers to as "a considerable cavity wrought within the substance of the wall, and accessible by so narrow an opening, that it has probably been intended for the purpose of concealing the utensils or vestments, rather than as a mere vestiarius—a precaution not unnecessary in the times either of S. Columba or of his successors."<sup>1</sup> In the chancel partition-wall, and by the present doorway, are two square niches, which Mr Muir considers to have been ambries. There are also in the chancel side-walls three arched recesses for tombs, two in the north and one in the south side, this last containing the stone coffin or coffin-lid of an ecclesiastic, which I shall presently describe. The rubble-work towards the base of the chapel-walls was, I noticed, comprised of very large stones. Each chancel-window, by the by, has its dripstone, formed very simply by a slab made to project from the wall.

Its primitive character.

Such are the principal characteristics of a structure which must inevitably interest the archæologist, whether in view of its utterly secluded situation, the primitive details of its architecture, or the luminous haze of floating legend with which it is enveloped. I must confess to having been strongly impressed with the indubitable stamp of antiquity about the place. In the dim, half light which was all that could penetrate into the chancel through the little cramped windows, it might well have passed for some antique oratory of one's dreams, needing only the crucifix on the rude altar-ledge, the little bell, and the consecrated vessels stowed away in some of the dark recesses, to complete the picture. But any such dreams were doomed to summary extinction when the eye fell, as it could not avoid doing, upon the indescribable slough of filth pervading the floor, which should fit the description of an Augean stable rather than of a building consecrated to divine worship, and hallowed by the devotions of so many bygone generations. The cause of this state of things was palpable enough. There was a herd of cattle on the island; there was an enclosure-wall round the chapel, but no gate to it; two doorways in the chapel, but no doors to them; rain and storms there always are without stint in these isles; cattle like shelter, and what followed was a matter of course. Nor, to all appearance, was this the result of an exceptional state of affairs, for the place looked as if it might have been a cow-byre from all time. I am not blaming anybody, and one can hardly blame the cattle. The proprietor of the island, a gentleman of large means, great enterprise, and enlightened taste, would, I

Its internal condition.

<sup>1</sup> Highlands and Western Isles, ii. 90.





feel assured, have put the thing right had he been made aware of the state of matters. I believe he not long ago erected the present enclosure-wall, not, as I understood, so much to mark the old burial-ground of the chapel—for, as far as my recollection serves, all trace of that was gone<sup>1</sup>—but for the express purpose of keeping the cattle out of the building. I only state the circumstances as I found them. How, practically, to secure the better guardianship of such interesting relics as those in this island and elsewhere, is a question upon which I ventured to offer some remarks in the previous volume of this work.<sup>2</sup>

The date of erection of this old chapel can only be approximately guessed at. It had Date of erection. been thought uncertain whether it was not originally the parochial church of North Knapdale, for it bears the same name (Kil Mhic o' Charmaig) as does the church of Keills on the mainland opposite.<sup>3</sup> So far back, at all events, as the thirteenth century, at about the date of Hacon Haconson's expedition to Scotland, one of the witnesses to a charter by Ruari, grandson of the great Sumarlid, was a certain Maurice, parson of a church named "Chill mac da Charmes" in Knapdale. Of this we have written record in the Register of the Great Seal. Now, as to architectural style and details, the island church has somewhat the advantage of its companion on the mainland in respect of presumptive antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Tradition, however, is of no use to us here. It credits S. Charmaig, an ecclesiastic of the seventh century, with the erection of both the Knapdale churches named after him,<sup>5</sup> just as tradition elsewhere credits Columba with having built churches which we are all but positive cannot be older than the twelfth or thirteenth century. If we are to guess the age of this Eilean Mòr chapel—for it is, after all, mere guess-work within certain defined limits—it may, perhaps, not be unsafe to name the twelfth century, a period when Norman work was in vogue, but undergoing transition to the First Pointed Gothic style.<sup>6</sup>

According to Fordun and other old chroniclers, S. Charmaig's island church was The chapel anciently a sanctuary. looked upon as a sanctuary,<sup>7</sup> and we may presume it had its rights as such. I am not in possession of any other documentary item referring explicitly to this church, or to any other of the curious ecclesiastical ruins in the island.

Having dealt with the principal building on Eilean Mòr, it may be the most convenient course for me to take to complete the notice of the more purely structural portion Other structural remains. of the insular remains, before proceeding to the monuments.

Traces are visible of some smaller buildings, which, though yielding little to one's Small circular buildings,

<sup>1</sup> When Mr Muir visited the place, the chapel, he says, was "surrounded by an open and nearly obliterated burying-ground."—Old Church Archit., 132.

<sup>2</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 187-191.

<sup>3</sup> The (parish) church, says Mr Innes, "stood either on the island named Ellanmore, or at Keils on the headland west of Loch Swein, at each of which places there is an ancient church bearing the name of Saint Charmaig (Cormac), by whom both are said to have been originally built."—Orig. Paroch., ii. 39, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to Eilean Mòr chapel, Mr Muir says: "The chancel evidently belongs to an early period, and in style mostly resembles Norman; though some alterations—designed, there can be no doubt, to procure more shelter—have somewhat modified the pristine character of its detail."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Paroch., *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Burton, I find, places the limit of antiquity even earlier. "In the centre of it" (the island), he says, "is an old ecclesiastical building—very old for Scotland." Its date, he adds, can be fixed as "not earlier than the eleventh century."—Hist. of Scot., i. 260, 261.

<sup>7</sup> See authorities quoted in Orig. Paroch., ii. 39, 40, note 1.

scrutiny, are yet not to be overlooked. Of these I particularly noted two, which are of circular shape. One stands on the hill north of the chapel, and presents the appearance of a stony mound. When examined, however, it turns out to be a ring, or hollow trough, the thickness of the ring being represented by a built wall—or, to be more strictly accurate, a revetted parapet—some 5 feet wide, the hollow internal space measuring about the same in diameter. On the east side of the structure is the entrance, perfectly distinguishable. In its immediate neighbourhood are indications of other buildings which may be ancient or may be modern, for there is no means of settling the point. Another of these curious little erections, nearly of a size with the other, may be seen hard by the chapel, to the north-east of it. It has the same raised wall or parapet, stone-lined inside, only in this case the inner face is not quite perpendicular, but slopes outward from the bottom; also, there is no entrance. The dimensions here are: width of wall,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet; depth of interior pit, 4 feet.<sup>1</sup> From such slender remains, it would be rash to venture upon much inference; but there seems some reason to conjecture that these structures may have been cells or oratories of the very primitive kind known as the dome-shaped or “bee-hive” dwelling-places of the early ecclesiastics. Such diminutive and rudely-constructed habitations seem to have been not uncommon among the Western Isles, as something similar has been found in the Garvelloch Islands and the outer Hebrides. The method of construction was to build a circular wall, necessarily of great thickness and small internal capacity. The stones were laid and roughly fitted together, but no cement of any kind was used. After the wall had risen a few feet above ground, the slabs were placed slightly overlapping to the inside, and thence successively converged by this overlap till they nearly met in the centre, the small remaining aperture being easily covered in with a single stone—the whole mass being, of course, properly backed and bonded, to preserve the overlapping slabs from falling in. This will, I think, sufficiently explain to the reader one of the very simplest modes of roofing a building all in stone, without resorting to the principle of the arch. Perhaps a still more primitive expression of the same constructive idea is what we see in the underground chambers and tunnels known as “Picts’ houses,” profusely scattered through the northern Scottish counties, which were generally made narrow enough to roof over with a single stone.<sup>2</sup>

possibly  
dome-shaped  
cells or  
oratories.

<sup>1</sup> My notes mention the trace of another building close to this one, rectangular in shape.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Burton’s remarks on the dome-shaped buildings are well worthy of attention. “There is some evidence,” he tells us, “that ecclesiastical buildings were raised in stone so early as the period of Columba in Ireland; and much interest attaches to their reputed remains, because they exhibit no traces of classic origin, as if they had been raised by worshippers who took neither the internal organisation nor the external symbols of their religion from Rome. Among these early and very simple relics a small dome is of frequent occurrence—a dome so small as to be constructed of large stones without a scaffolding, and therefore practicable to builders whose architectural science had not reached the structure of the arch. They are supposed to have been cells or oratories; their size is insufficient to have enclosed any congregation. Of these quaint bee-hive-shaped edifices, the researches of the Irish antiquaries had discovered traces among the Western Isles. The hint thus given has been followed up, and we know of several such vestiges of primitive Christianity scattered through these remote solitudes—buildings which show ambition and skill, yet leave it evident that those who raised them had not attained the knowledge of the structure of the arch from those who took their ecclesiastical discipline and their architectural skill from Rome. It is noticeable that none of these very early buildings have been found in Iona.”—Hist. of Scot. (2d edit.), i. 248, 249.

Besides the above circular structures, there are the nearly obliterated remains of an oblong tomb, or partly subterranean building, near the chapel, about 9 feet in length, at the western end of which stands a sculptured pillar. Mr Muir says he observed in this building traces of a curved roof in stone, and adds that the erection was regarded by the Kilmory people as the tomb of S. Carmaig. He tells us also that "traces of tombs of this kind are not unfrequently met with in the old burying-places of the western Highlands; and there can be no doubt that the 'three tombes of staine, formit like little chapels,' mentioned by Dean Monro as existing in the Reilig Odhrain, Iona, were precisely similar to the tomb of St Carmaig in Eilean Mòr."<sup>1</sup>

At the south-east end of the island by the shore, a little below the conspicuous cross-shaft on the hill, you come upon a small square building, the walls of which measure internally 11 feet or thereabouts in length, and in thickness between 4 and 5. Its situation is singularly sequestered, suggesting a desire in the mind of the builder to attain a seclusion stricter even than other parts of this retired island could afford. It stands in a rectangular rocky recess, one of those curious natural gullies constantly seen in the upheaved schist formations of the west country, and of which there are many examples in the island. On three sides of the recess rises the natural rock, along the face of which come what remain of the walls of the building. The fourth side is nearest to seaward, and in it is the doorway, some 2 feet wide. The stone-work of these walls has been constructed without cement of any kind. Looking casually at the building, one might very well take it for the remnant of some deserted fisherman's cot, put together, as are many humble dwellings to this day in the remoter islands, in very simple fashion, with such skill and rude materials only as the cottier could command. And this, I confess, was my impression when I came across the place; for the adjoining cave, which would have told its own tale and thrown light on the character of the walled structure, escaped me.<sup>2</sup> From the top of the wall opposite the entrance, "a few steps lead to the mouth of a narrow pit of natural construction, at the bottom of which there is a lateral opening into a dark cavern, called the Priest's Cove. The features of the building, and the peculiarity of its place, indicate considerable age; and there seems every reason for believing that it existed as a religious cell long before the neighbouring Kilvicoharmaig was erected."<sup>3</sup> Mr Burton, referring to these relics (for he has

<sup>1</sup> Old Church Archit., p. 133. MacCulloch formed a different opinion of the age of this tomb. He says: "At a small distance from the chapel, there is an enclosure containing a sarcophagus firmly built of stone and lime, but rude, and without any attempt at ornament or sculpture. From its appearance, it is probably of far later date than the building (chapel); and it appears rather to be the burial-place of some person much more recent than those who belonged to the establishment. At the west end of it there is a sculptured cross in a ruinous state; and although I once imagined that it referred to the sarcophagus, I am now of opinion that the latter is of a much posterior date."—Highlands and Western Isles, 91. The sarcophagus has disappeared, to the best of my recollection.

<sup>2</sup> I was twice on the island, but each time with a yacht's crew who knew nothing about the place; consequently I had to find out everything for myself. It was a great disappointment to me, when I came afterwards to hear of the cave, to find I had missed it, and its most interesting little relic. This last seems to have been unnoticed by Mr Muir, though he refers to the cave.

<sup>3</sup> Old Church Archit. Scot., 133.

Rude cross  
carved on the  
rock inside.

thought them of sufficient importance to claim a place in his 'History of Scotland'), makes the following remark: "At the end of this primitive building is a deep narrow cavern of the kind used by the early anchorites. The whole may be of any antiquity, and it is quite within the bounds of probability that one of Columba's companions dwelt there. As we have already seen, there are some other unarched buildings in the far west which may be of like age, but we have not the same trace of connection between them and any of these early missionaries."<sup>1</sup> But there is more, it would appear, in the cave, than either of the writers from whom I have just quoted brings to our notice. Some time after I had paid my visits to the island, the minister of an adjoining parish told me he had seen in a cave—which, from his description of it, was evidently this one—a cross of rude type cut on the face of the rock, something similar to that I have already described at Cove on Loch Caolisport. My informant very kindly undertook to get me a rubbing of it the next time he went to Eilean Mòr; but, unfortunately, I was then under orders for foreign service, and as winter was approaching, it was too late for me to benefit by his obliging offer. The fact of there being such a memento of Christian art in the cave, taken in connection with all else of archæological value in the island, at once affixes the seal of genuine antiquity to the spot, it would seem, beyond all question. And this simple relic of piety bequeathed to posterity in so remote a nook and so desolate a grotto—in which none but the recluse himself, whom we may suppose to have been the sculptor, was ever likely to set foot—is, perhaps, of all the data in our possession, the most convincing assurance of the venerable character of the associations attaching to Eilean Mòr.

Traditions of  
this hermitage.

The S. Car-  
maig of local  
legend.

Nor are there wanting certain whispers of tradition as to who the first occupant of this primitive hermitage was. Within the precincts of the walls outside the cavern we have the chapel of S. Carmaig, 'made by his own hands,' soon after he came to the place for retirement and devotion."<sup>2</sup> "Carmaig," says a local authority of the last century, "was an ancient proprietor of this island. His whole family consisted of a grand-daughter, who used to amuse herself by angling on the shore, which is surrounded with currents, and frequented to this day by vast crowds of fish. It happened upon an occasion of this kind that a bone, in place of a fish, came out with her line; she unhooked it and threw it back into the sea. Again and again it came out in like manner. Chagrined with disappointment, she carried it home and put it into the fire. The whiteness of its ashes struck her fancy. She endeavoured to preserve them; but burning her finger in the attempt, instinctively clapt it into her mouth. By this means she became pregnant of the saint, whose supernatural gifts were so long to survive himself. He founded Kilvichoharmaig, the mother church of Knapdale; and after a life spent in acts of piety and devotion, was buried in his native island. His tomb, a little oblong building,<sup>3</sup> elevated about 3 feet above the ground, remains unin-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Scot. (2d edit.), i. 261.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr Muir, Old Church Archit. Scot., 133. As he does not give his authority for the statement, I imagine he must have got the tradition on the spot.

<sup>3</sup> Already referred to as being just outside the larger chapel.



“jured by time. The saint is said to resent, with the most summary vengeance, the least indignity offered to this monument. Near his tomb is a small chapel, built by himself.<sup>1</sup> It is arched over and covered with flags. Within, in a recess of the wall, is a stone coffin,” &c.<sup>2</sup> The cave, we are further told, possesses “the wonderful power of causing sterility in every person who dares to enter it.” Have we, by the way, in this last item, a sort of popular testimony to the reputed celibacy of the troglodyte? Till within recent times the cave, it appears, preserved its reputation, and not a soul had ever ventured to test the efficacy of the penalty. But at length the occasion came, the cavern gave admittance to a certain pair of visitants anything but saintly, and the spell was broken for ever thereafter when it was found that human nature was stronger than the saint!<sup>3</sup>

Of Charmaig, or rather O'Charmaig, the hermit, the builder, the patron saint—who, if we are to believe the local tradition, lived and died and was buried within the bounds of this little grassy isle—it is but little that we know from the hagiologies. It had been my first impression that in the name of the island was to be traced a dedication to Cormac, a saint of illustrious fame both in the Scottish and Irish Calendars, second only to that of his intimate friend and contemporary, Columba.<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Brechin, however, in his comprehensive researches, has identified another saint under the title of Abban Mac ua Charmaig,<sup>5</sup> whom he considers to have been the patron of Eilean Mòr and the neighbouring church at Keills on the mainland. S. Angus, he tells us, speaks in his litany of certain ordained clerics, fifty in number, “regulars, each one of the Gael,” who went upon a pilgrimage in company with this Abban. Two other ancient religious sites the bishop thinks he has identified with S. Abban's name—one in Islay, the other in Kirk-Cormaic, in the parish of Kelton, Kirkcudbrightshire. Dr Forbes's view of the dedication, it will be observed, is in harmony with the legend just quoted, inasmuch as the latter points, not to Charmaig himself, but to a descendant of his (a great-grandson) as the presiding *genius loci*. And Mr Skene's weighty testimony confirms this view.

Of one thing we may feel practically certain—that Eilean Mòr contained a chapel and hermitage in the times of the Lords of the Isles; for the record of this, as we shall presently find, is graven on one of the island crosses.<sup>6</sup> Altogether, there is an unusual concurrence of testimony to prove the presence aforetime in the island of a succession

<sup>1</sup> S. Carmaig, therefore, gets the credit of having erected two chapels, not to mention the little circular cells.

<sup>2</sup> Old. Stat. Account, xix. 315-317.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Burton, in his reference to Eilean Mòr, adopts the same view.—See his Hist. of Scot. (2d edit.), i. 260.

<sup>5</sup> See reference to both in Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 141.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Skene, perhaps without being aware of the record on the cross alluded to above, appears to have come to the conclusion that there was a hermitage on the island.—See Bp. Forbes's Scot. Kalend., 299. In a letter to me (1874), Mr Skene makes the following remark: “By the way, the old name of the parish of North Knapdale and of the patron saint is invariably misstated. I went over the whole district more than forty years ago, and was one of the first to examine the remains on Eilean Mor. I took a great deal of pains to get the right form of the name from the old people. The correct form is Mac O'Charmaig. The parish church at Keill was Cill Mhic O'Charmaig. The island was Eilean Mor Mhic O'Charmaig.”

of anchorites—men who, according to their temperaments and bias, may have made themselves more or less useful as ministrants to the fisher-folk and others resorting there, but who, nevertheless, were doubtless professed solitaries, devotees to asceticism and contemplative religion. The cave with its imprinted wall, the little round cells the skeletons of ancient buildings, the tombs and memorial stones, the local traditions,—all point to Eilean Mòr as having been another of those “holy islands,” as we may call them, which lie scattered along our coasts, north, south, east, and west, representing among the very earliest ecclesiastical vestiges this country possesses.

## CHAPTER IX.

It now remains to describe the existing monuments of Eilean Mòr, and to close our survey of the island with one or two further notes respecting it which may be of interest to the reader.

Pl. XXIX. represents the sculptured pillar just outside the chapel at the head of what I have said is locally regarded as the tomb of S. Carraig. It is figured in the Spalding Club's work, but I had not time before leaving England to refer to Dr Stuart's remarks on it. I think, if I remember aright, his drawing does not show quite so much of the bottom of the sculpture as we of the Ordnance Survey succeeded in laying bare. The carving on the eastern face is very quaint, reminding one, as I have remarked, strongly of the style of the old Irish MSS., and approximating to the designs on some of the early Christian monuments of the east of Scotland. The pair of interlocked figures, obviously mythical, are curiously characteristic of the early style. So the ornamental square of fretwork above, which has its congener on the Keills Cross, as we shall see. The horseman, which at first sight strikes one as having no head—the elephantine creature, also mythical—and the interlace of animals above, are all worth study. On the reverse (Pl. XXX.),<sup>1</sup> we have another pair of creatures and plait-work, the upper portion of the sculpture being quite defaced.

Pillar-slab at head of "S. Carraig's tomb."

Pl. XXVI. illustrates the shaft of another cross which I have referred to as situated on the top of the principal eminence in the island near the cave. It stands on a raised stone pedestal about 7 feet square by 3 in height. On one face is a griffinish animal of the more ordinary type; on the other, part of an inscription, most of which, fortunately, is legible. I am not aware that any one has yet given a reading of this interesting record. What I have succeeded in spelling out runs as follows, and is the concluding portion :—

Shaft of cross on the hill.

... ISCLARA : DOMINA : ET  
IOHANNES : PRESBITER : AC :  
HEREMITA : ISTE : ISCLE  
AC : FIERI : FECERAT

Its inscription,

From this, therefore, we learn that a lady of the Isles, in conjunction with one John, priest and hermit of the island, caused carve the cross. Now there is a small fragment, apparently part of a cross, preserved in the Edinburgh Antiquarium Museum,

<sup>1</sup> The drawing in this Plate is not quite on the same scale as Pl. XXIX.

and ticketed as having been brought from Eilean Mòr in 1786. On one side it reads :—

. . . **CONFIRMAVIMUS : IN : HONORE**

and on the other—

. . . **PI : ELIPOSIPAM : OBLIGAMUS**

From the size and the character of the lettering on this fragment, I at first quite thought it must be one of the missing portions of the cross on the hill. But the difference of person in the verbs in the two cases—*e.g.*, “confirmavimus” and “fecerunt”—seems rather to militate against this view. It would be difficult to overrate the value to the archæologist of the above piece of sculpture as an independent and incontrovertible evidence in the history of the island. MSS. are to a certain extent liable to error : their scribes oftentimes may have been in possession of defective information procured at a distance from the localities treated of, or collated from untrustworthy sources ; names may have got tampered with,—and so on. But such a witness in stone as this which crowns the little insular eminence, is indisputably both genuine and authentic ; and it seems to establish the fact that at least one of the island hermits was also an ordained priest, possibly incumbent of the chapel. It is sincerely to be hoped that this interesting relic may not be left to the cattle to knock down and trample on, but that its mutilated remains may be taken care of for the future. I may mention, by the by, that while I was engaged in drawing this cross, a prodigious cloud of winged ants were collected about the spot, and kept circling round and round the cross in a very remarkable manner. It certainly seemed odd they should be attracted to a stone pillar ; and it brought to my mind the old monks, and how they would have been sure to cast about for some supernatural portent in such a circumstance.

valuable as a record.

Fragment of a cross.

In Pl. XXXII. we have the fragment of a very beautiful sculptured cross, which I found inside the chapel. The corona over the Saviour’s figure in the crucifixion tableau is somewhat uncommon. The foliage on the reverse is very graceful. From MacCulloch’s reference to this relic, it is evident that when he visited the island it must have been lying on the top of the hill by the inscribed pillar-shaft just spoken of ; and this would lead us to infer that both fragments belong to one and the same monument. The same writer calls the corona a representation of three fleurs-de-lys, and says that such an ornament “might lead us to suspect that it was the work of monks or sculptors derived from some French monastic establishment. There is, however, another solution of this difficulty, “as the lilies may be emblematical of the Virgin. . . . But what, after all, if this French “‘flower-de-louse’ should only have been a spear-head ?”<sup>1</sup> I shall leave it to the reader to make what he likes out of the object in question from the drawing.

Bas-relief effigy of an ecclesiastic.

(Pl. XXXIII.)—A full-robed ecclesiastic’s effigy, similar to other bas-reliefs of the kind in the West Highlands. We see here the stole, maniple, chasuble, and orphrey-bands in excellent preservation. The space on the right side of the chasuble between the bands is chased with an exquisitely-delicate figuring of circles and quatrefoils, almost as

<sup>1</sup> Highlands and Western Isles, ii. 92.



SLAB AT EILEAN MOR-KNAPDALE-ARCYLLSHIRE.

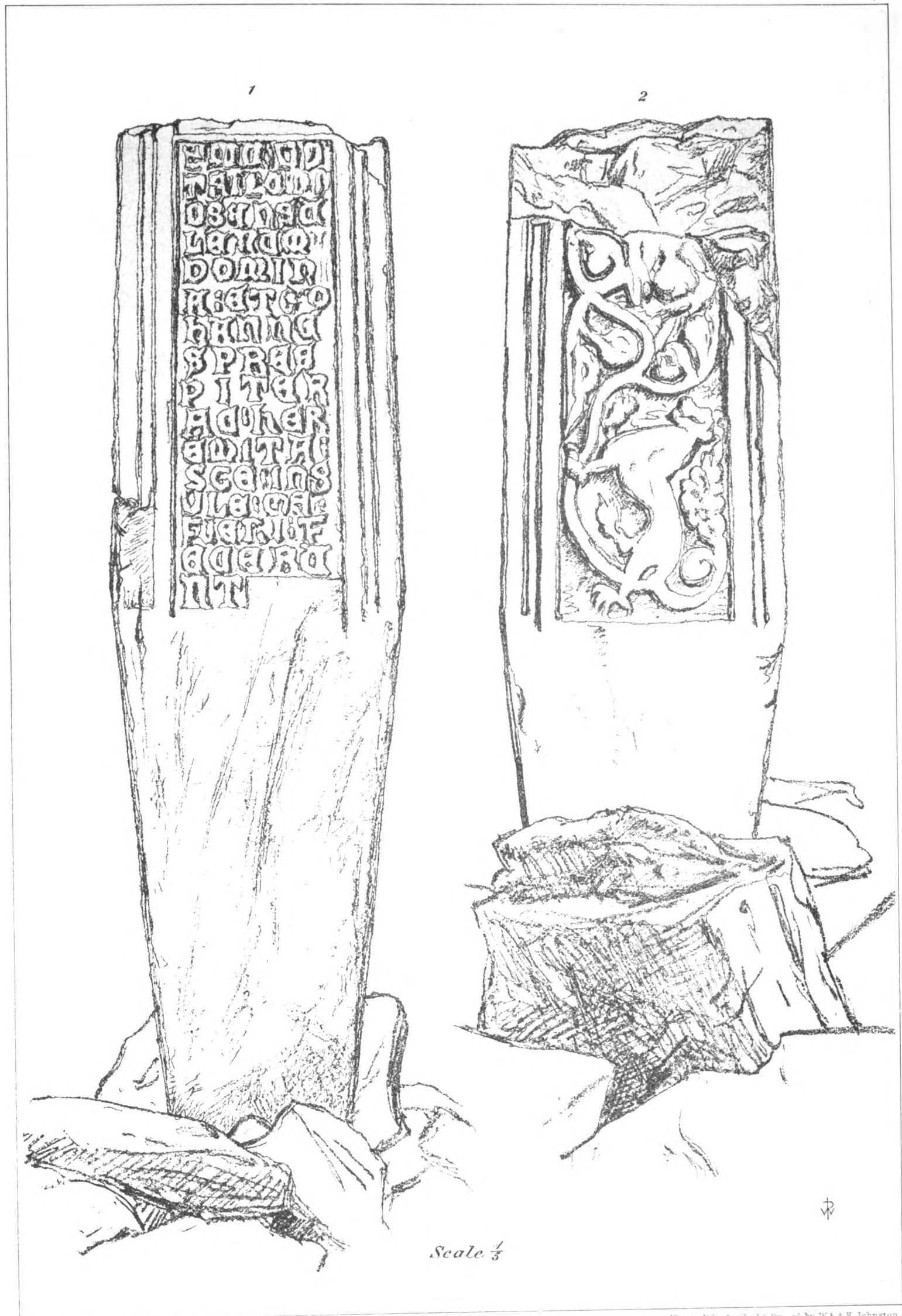
PL. XXIX



Scale  $\frac{2}{15}$

⌘









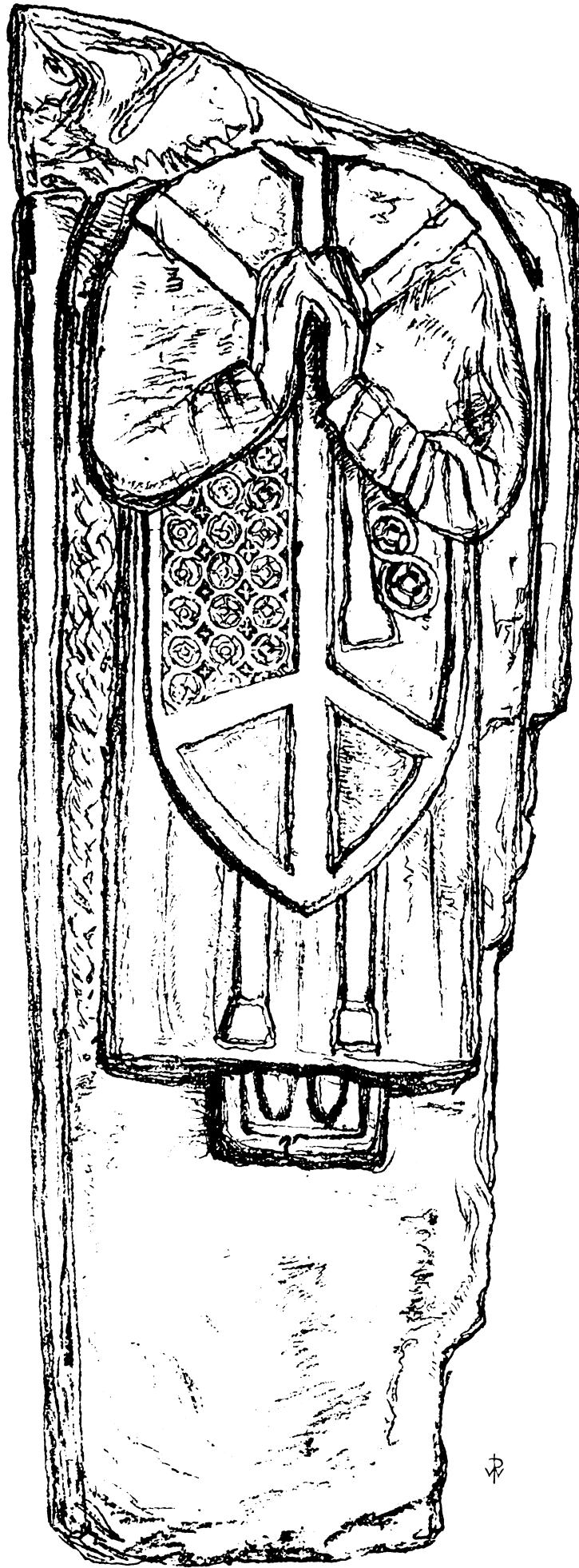
✠

Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

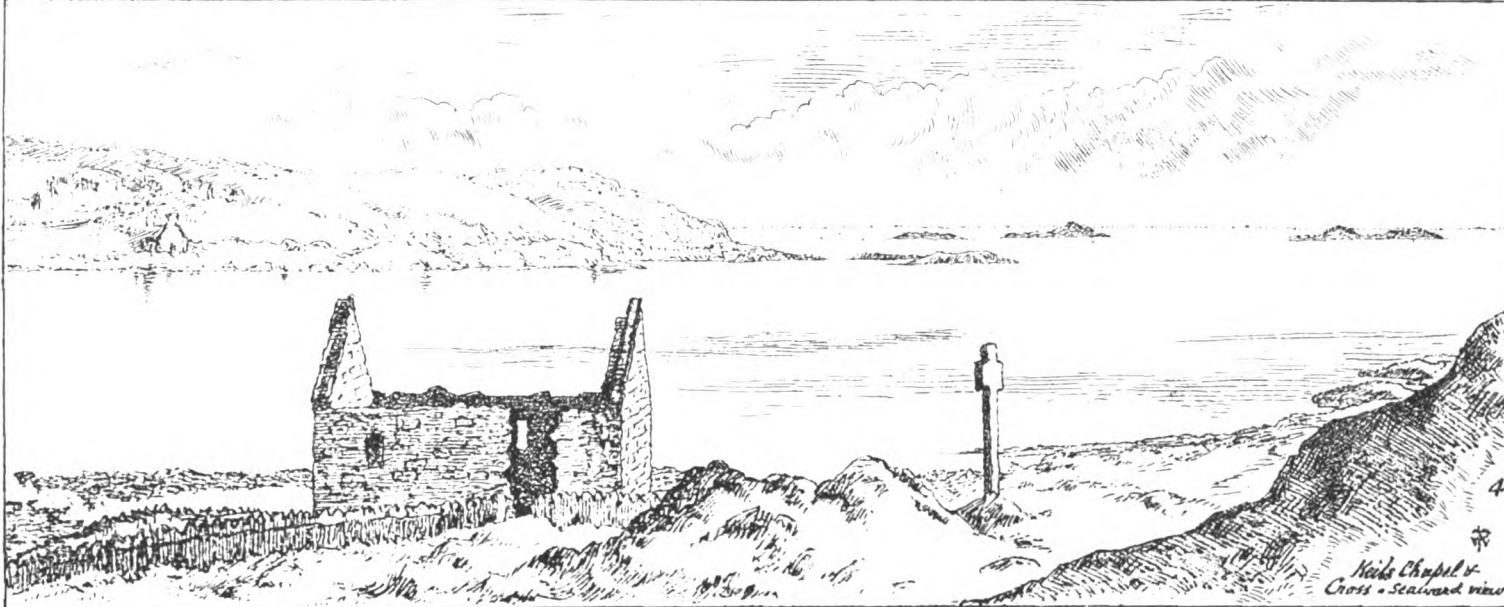
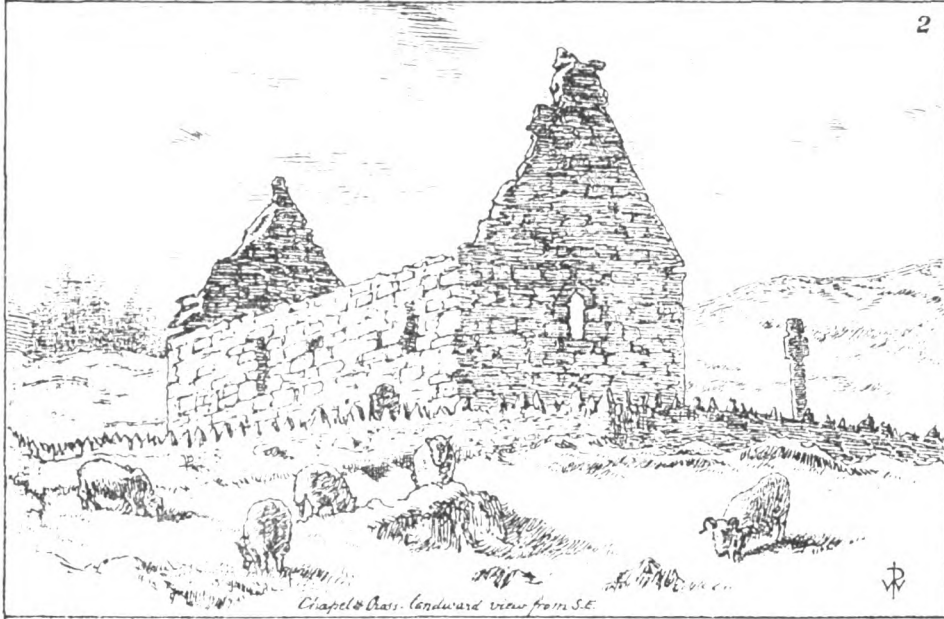
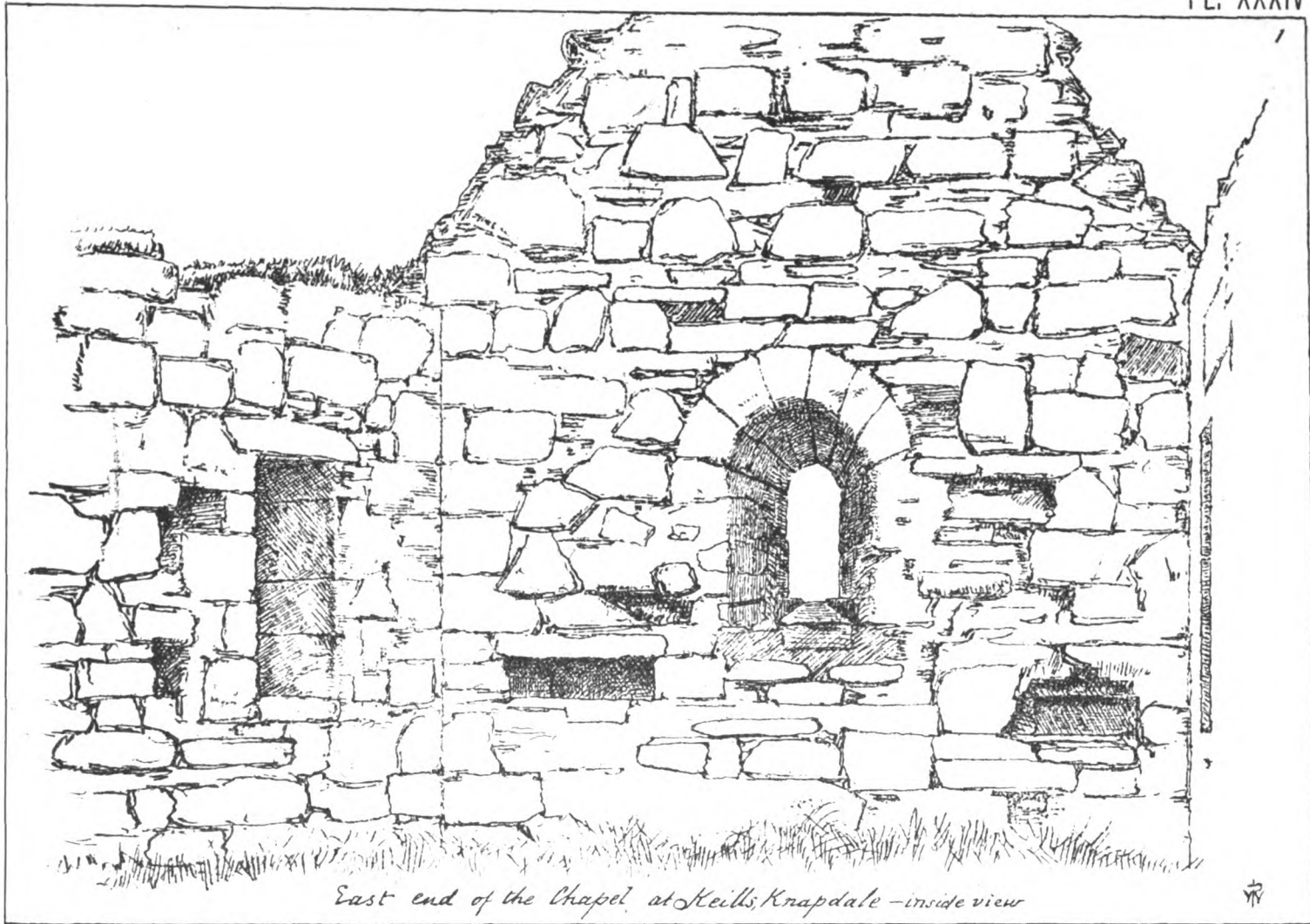
Photo-lithographed & printed by W & A. K. Johnston.

Drawn by Capt. T. F. White, R. E.





Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



sharp in their outlines as when they left the chisel. With the exception of a pair of circles similar to these in the adjoining space, the rest of the garment is left plain, which gives a somewhat unequal effect to it as a composition. This peculiarity of unequal execution is, as I have explained, not uncommonly exhibited in these tomb-sculptures, and may represent unfinished work which the artist had intended but not been able, perhaps not lived, to complete. This fine slab has lost its head and a considerable slice from one side. MacCulloch, remarking upon this disfigurement, takes occasion to satirise the former administrators of the Scottish Kirk, and contrasts their unsparing iconoclasm with the proceedings of the old Vikings. "I think," says he, with a charming touch of raillery, "that we may question—we who set up for antiquaries, at least—whether the Vikings were not the better enemies of the two. They, at least, would have been satisfied with the contents of the vestiarius; they might occasionally, perhaps, cut off the head of an unlucky monk, but they would have left the heads of stone saints on their shoulders, as they would have suffered the crosses and the fonts and the altars to repose in peace."<sup>1</sup>

According to some authorities, this effigy is traditionally believed to be the image of S. Cormac or Carraig.<sup>2</sup> Evidently this slab is the lid of a stone coffin *in situ*, for in 1833 Mr Skene found a skeleton in it, which, however, has since disappeared.<sup>3</sup> The local tradition seems to have been that the priests who served the chapel were laid in this tomb; but there may have been no further foundation for the idea than the existence of the skeleton referred to. The coffin has also "for ages past served the saint as a treasury; and this, perhaps, might be the purpose for which it was originally intended. Till of late, not a stranger set foot on the island who did not conciliate his favour by dropping a small coin into a chink between its cover and side."<sup>4</sup>

In former times Eilean Mòr was probably much resorted to as a fishing-station. An old resident in Knapdale told me that, in his boyhood, great numbers of fishermen used to congregate here from all quarters to ply their craft. In the summer time, parties of them would spend several nights on the island, and make the old chapel their sleeping quarters. Ships also not unfrequently called here to take in ballast, and smugglers found the place a very convenient one for their operations. And, to judge from what I found on my visit, the spot must be a favourite one with the butterfly race, for there were some fine varieties of this pretty insect to be seen on that occasion—one of them a beautiful black and bright scarlet kind. It is very possible S. Carraig and his hermit successors had mainly to rely for subsistence on what fish the waters of the neighbouring Sound could produce. And a study of the animate creatures visiting the island—seals, birds, fish, insects, and the like—could be about the only possible diversion that could fall to the lot of these recluses.

<sup>1</sup> Highlands and Western Isles, ii. 90.

<sup>2</sup> See those quoted in Orig. Paroch., ii. 40.

<sup>3</sup> He tells me that when he visited the island in that year with his father, the late Mr James Skene, "there was in the chapel a tomb with the figure of an ecclesiastic on the covering stone; under it was found the skeleton. When I next heard of it the bones had entirely disappeared, but I see in my father's note he mentions 'the tomb *with bones in it*.'"—Letter from Mr W. F. Skene to the author.

<sup>4</sup> Old Stat. Account, xix. 315, 316.

Local ideas  
as to this  
effigy.

Eilean Mòr  
formerly a  
fishing-sta-  
tion.

Further legends of the island.

“ This magic island,” we are told, “ if we may believe the legendary story of the saint, “ possessed many singular qualities. Nothing could be stolen from it that did not of itself “ return. The master of a vessel, conceiving a liking to the cross, carried it along with “ him ; but being overtaken by a storm at the Mull of Cantire, was obliged to throw it “ overboard : it floated back to a creek of the island, called, from that circumstance, Port- “ nacroish—*i. e.*, the Harbour of the Cross. Miracles were performed by the saint for many “ ages after his death.”<sup>1</sup> At length a woman, labouring under a sickness, invoked him from the opposite shore in a stanza (which is given in its original Gaelic for the information of the reader versed in that tongue). “ It was an unlucky business,” concludes the narrator, in his quaint manner, “ for the invalids of those days. The saint granted her “ request, but was so scandalised by the indelicacy of her language, that he became deaf to “ the prayers of his votaries ever after.”<sup>2</sup> Altogether, what with the behaviour of these same votaries and the ill-treatment of his relics, the saint seems to have sustained much affront in later times.

Curious gully walled over.

In the centre of the island, extending westwards from the chapel, there is a curious deep gully, transverse to the strike of the schist. This is now overgrown with rushes, and has been apparently a marsh, for there are to be seen the remains of a small wall or causeway, 4 feet wide, built across it. Whether or not this is to be classed with other structures of antiquity in the island, I cannot say. In this marsh we should doubtless have to seek for the sources of any fresh-water spring or sacred well, such as was almost invariably the companion of the ancient chapels. In the present instance, we did not succeed in identifying a well on the Ordnance map.

Sanctity of Eilean Mòr.

Such is the account—as detailed a one as I am in a position to give—of the little grass-grown rock, insulated in the western ocean, whose saintly fame has descended to our times in its title of “ the renowned island of the descendant of the race of Cormac.”<sup>3</sup> And I think the reader will have come to the conclusion that the claim of Eilean Mòr to take high rank in the estimation of the ecclesiologist and the lover of mementoes of the past has been substantiated.<sup>4</sup> And now we must return to the mainland ; for I am reminded of the

<sup>1</sup> Old. Stat. Account, xix. 316, 317.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> In its Gaelic form, “ Eilean Mòr Mhic O’Charraig,” the term “ Mòr ” seems to bear its secondary signification of “ illustrious,” “ great in renown,” rather than of material size—the island being conspicuously a small one.

<sup>4</sup> MacCulloch seems to have been much surprised, as every field-archæologist must be, with the ignorance prevailing in Scotland among the country people as to their local antiquities. “ These ruins,” he says, speaking of Eilean Mòr, “ are not mentioned in any book that I have discovered—not even in the Statistical Survey ” (this is incorrect) ; “ nor did the people with whom we had conversed along the shore even hint at their existence.”—Highlands and Isles, ii. 88. Puritanism has probably had a good deal to do with this. Things which had been venerated in one age became objects for contumely in the next. I have myself been amused to find not altogether extinct among the Scottish poorer class a disposition to view the old mediæval relics with coldness, if not suspicion. Nor am I quite sure that this feeling of disfavour towards the graven images in stone does not occasionally extend to the zealous relic-hunter of to-day who makes it his business to illustrate and preserve them.

In alluding to the silence of Martin and Munro respecting the island, MacCulloch concludes it must have escaped their notice ; and he administers a rebuke to the latter, because that, as Dean of the Isles, he should have been better acquainted with the ecclesiology of his diocese.



eloquent words of a writer already quoted—words which may not untruthfully bear a double meaning, and warn us that there is some danger of lingering too long in one place, however interesting or deserving of study it may be. It is in allusion to this very island that he tells us how “the summer days of the Highland seas are, like those of life, brief and rare; and he who trifles too long on the calm margin of the smooth bay, or in the flowery valley, will vainly wish to recall his lost hours when the billows rage around him, and the hills are wrapt in clouds and darkness.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Highlands and Isles, ii. 87.

## CHAPTER X.

South Knapdale (continued).  
Return to mainland.

The priest's knoll.

Glenakill.

Burial-ground near Stonefield House.

THE reader will remember that when, in reviewing the ecclesiastical remains of South Knapdale, we made our digression to Eilean Mòr, we had completed our survey of the western side of the parish. The eastern side, therefore, remains to be dealt with. Proceeding northwards from the Kilberry boundary along the shore of West Loch Tarbert, there is nothing whatever of ecclesiastical savour to note but a suggestive name, "Cnoc an 't-Sagairt," the priest's knoll, a little above Balamenach. This name may possibly have had a connection with a site near the head of the loch which we have identified as that of an ancient burial-ground, though there is nothing to show that it has such connection. The burial-ground in question is near the farm-cottages of Glenakill, and sufficiently accounts for the farm name. Faint traces of an enclosure-wall were visible when I visited the place in 1864. The "kil" is situated in very rocky ground, and neither tombstones nor grave-mounds were to be seen. No burials have taken place in it for a long time; but its original use as a place of interment is well established. We could obtain no local evidence to determine if there was ever a chapel here, but the probabilities are that one did formerly exist. We are now on one of the most beautiful estates in the Highlands, the fine old property of Stonefield, whose mansion-house, charmingly situated in a picturesque and extensive *entourage* of woods overlooking the waters of Loch Fyne, can hardly escape the eye of any one travelling by sea from Glasgow to Oban and the north. In the grounds of Stonefield House I was shown a spot, now covered by a small fir-coppice, which tradition says was anciently an unconsecrated burying-ground for infants or others dying unbaptised. It was to the kindness of the proprietor that I was indebted for this piece of information; and, in alluding to it, I am reminded of how much I am also a debtor for the many pleasant days spent under his roof, and for the kind assistance afforded me in my local researches while conducting the Ordnance Survey in this neighbourhood. The existence of the above burial-place seems to afford a clue to the name of a small bay on the shore below, which is called "Port nam Pàisd," the infant's port.

Beyond Stonefield House there is a delightful walk of some six miles to Inverneil along the highroad, which keeps close to the shore of Loch Fyne the whole way. The valley of the Inverneil Water is one of those prettily-wooded glens which at intervals break across the traveller's path wherever his footsteps may wander in the West Highlands. Its general course forms an easy ascent to the watershed above Loch Caolisport and the westerly wilds of Knapdale. Accordingly, an excellent road diverges from Loch Fyne at this point, and, following along a tributary of the main water, crosses the hill to

Achahoish by way of Loch Errol, thus giving an outlet from those more remote parts of the district to Ardrishaig and the Lowlands.<sup>1</sup> A short distance above Inverneil House, Old chapel site at Inverneil, by the river-side, we have marked on the Ordnance map the site of a former chapel, and existing burial-ground still in use. No trace of the building remains, but within memory of persons living its foundations were visible. In the centre of the burial-ground, at a spot now occupied by a modern grave, is said to have stood the altar-stone of the chapel not more than some two or three generations back, so that the encroachment must have gone on apace. This affords an illustration of the rapid disappearance of so many of these old ruins. It is also stated that during certain repairs to Inverneil farmhouse, two or three large slabs were found in the same spot, and appropriated, according to the custom of other places, as lintels for some adjoining dwelling-house. It further appears that an ancient cross stood here, but this also has perished. The name and tutelary dedication of the chapel are, I fear, also lost to us. My first idea was that this site represented the ancient one of Kilduslan on Lochgilp; but our subsequent identification of the latter elsewhere, obliged me to abandon that opinion.<sup>2</sup>

Near Inverneil House is a spring named Tiobairt Leacan Ite, the first two words of which are evidently "well of the tombstone;" but as the last seems to be the Gaelic noun and adjoining "well of the tombstone." for a quill or feather, we are somewhat puzzled to make out the connection with what precedes it. It is not improbable this well may have been a consecrated adjunct to the chapel; for the term "leac" has not unfrequently the more general sense of a place of tombstones, and we may allow for some corruption in the last part of the name.

Proceeding northward, and still shorewards, we have to pass through the modern watering-place of Ardrishaig before reaching the next ecclesiastical site. This is the Kilduslan or Kilduskland just alluded to. The chapel must have stood somewhere about Kilduslan. the spot where the name has been written on the Ordnance map—that is, a little way up the hillside near the hotel. We were unable to fix the place more exactly. "At Kilduslan, "or Kilduskland, on Loch Gilp," says Mr Innes, "there was a chapel which existed in 1790, "and is said to have been served by the priest who officiated at the chapel of Kilmor " (Kilmorie) on the opposite shore of the loch."<sup>3</sup> This information agrees with local tradition. The old chapel of Kilmorie opposite was near the shore, the distance across the loch is but short, and there could have been no difficulty in a priest giving his ministrations to both places. The private burial-ground by Glengilp Distillery had been supposed by some to mark the ancient churchyard of Kilduslan; but on inquiry, I did not find this view substantiated. It appears to have been the family burial-place of the Campbells of

<sup>1</sup> For the information of any reader who may contemplate a visit to Loch Caolisport and its neighbourhood, I may mention that there is an unassuming but far from uncomfortable little inn at Achahoish, and a rough sort of spring-cart plying daily, which carries the mail and passengers between that village and Ardrishaig. The walk or drive along this road is in itself well worth taking. The distance is about eight miles.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Cosmo Innes mentions, on the authority of the New Stat. Account and Trans. Cantab. Camd. Soc. (Howson), the existence of a burial-ground at a place called Kilmalisaig. I have not consulted these authorities on the point, but it occurs to me that this Kilmalisaig may be the site at Inverneil.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Paroch., ii. 40. This statement is made on the authority of Blaeu and the two Statistical Accounts of Knapdale.

Askomel. The name of the ancient site we may perhaps resolve into Kil da Chusalan, calling to mind the martyr-saint whose memory is perpetuated at Kilchuslan in Kintyre.<sup>1</sup> The prefix "da" or "do" is met with in the more ancient forms of Celtic saints' names;<sup>2</sup> and, if its existence be taken for granted here, we might accept it as some evidence of a higher than ordinary antiquity in this religious site.

Topographi-  
cal names of  
interest in the  
parish.

This completes my notice of the ecclesiology of South Knapdale; but, before quitting the parish, I cannot refrain from bestowing a word or two upon its topographical names. These, as a whole, form an unusually rich and suggestive collection for the study of the philologist, and in one or two instances are by no means foreign to the more immediate subject of our inquiries.

"The bishop's  
stone," &c.  
&c.

Thus, on the sea-shore between Inverneil and Stonefield, is a large boulder to which the appellation of Clach an Easbuig (the bishop's stone) is attached. How the name originated, or who the bishop was, does not transpire. The gallows, as we have seen, is very often found parading itself before us in such names as Cnoc a' Chrochadaire (hangman's hill). We have it again in a small knoll overlooking the fishing-village of Tarbert. But a more historical reminiscence seems to be stored up in the designation of a spot where there is a range of old houses, a little to the west of Tarbert—"Lagloinn," hollow of the launching timber. A better-devised name to perpetuate the history of the place could hardly have been selected, in view of the scene narrated by the Norse chroniclers to have been witnessed here—when King Magnus of old time caused draw his galleys across the isthmus, doubtless on such wooden rollers as are used to this day for launching boats.<sup>3</sup> If this be the real import of the name, then it is not only in itself an antiquarian relic, but it serves also to corroborate the truthfulness of a story which some modern historians have been disposed to regard as apocryphal.

Barcaldine's  
cave.

Another bit of history, dealing with a later period, is contained in the name Uamh Barr Challtuinn (Barcaldine's cavern), which applies to a cave in the Stonefield grounds. The place is a sort of den, like many such in the Highlands, formed by a fissure in some schist rocks by the sea-shore. Inside, it makes a good-sized chamber; but the entrance is a small aperture, which could be easily concealed with a little brushwood or heather. This cave gave shelter for some time to a notorious Jacobite, a kinsman of Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, and therefore a member of one of the principal houses in the county of Argyll. This family was hotly devoted to the Stuart cause, and took a prominent part in the risings on that side. On the other hand, the Campbells of Stonefield were ever as

<sup>1</sup> For an account of him, see Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 113-115.

<sup>2</sup> "The possessive pronouns *mo* and *do*, 'mine' and 'thine,' are frequently prefixed to the names of Irish saints—as Chonna, *Mochonna*, *Dochonna*; Beog, *Mobeog*, *Dabeog*, &c. *Do* was not common except in very "ancient forms."—Dr Kelly's Calendar of Irish Saints, Pref., vi.

Kildalloig, in Kintyre, I have instanced as another example of the use of the prefix *da*, the name being probably Kil-da-Maluaig.

<sup>3</sup> See Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 19, 20. It is true, were the name spelt with the omission of a letter, and it became "Lagloin," it might be translated "hollow of the marsh." But the other is the orthography we obtained, and, remembering the significance of the name Tarbert, we have a strong case for the rendering as above.



conspicuous supporters of the Hanoverian dynasty. But, as at this time it happened that the laird of Stonefield was a connection of the Barcaldines, blood prevailed over Whig principles, and no notice was taken of the refugee in his covert.

Such names as "the ridge of blood" (Druim na Fola) and "the witch's rock" (Roc <sup>"Druim na Fola," &c.</sup> nam Buitseach) could probably unfold each its story, were we able to get at it. Similarly, "Fuar Larach," the cold ruin or battle-field (it may mean either), is a suggestive appellation to find tacked on to a little green knoll. Such a title again, as "Loch an Anam" (lake of the soul), has a poetic sound far from uncommon in the topographical vocabulary of the Scottish Highlands. As for names of places commemorative of provincial zoology—to wit, of dogs bald and tawny, boars, otters, seals, foxes, ravens, and the like—they abound. And we have besides a profusion of illustrations of ancient arboriculture in names bearing upon birch-trees, Scotch firs, alders, mountain-ash, hawthorn, holly-bushes, and so on. But there is no time to enlarge on this theme; we must pass on to the next parish.

## CHAPTER XI.

Parish of  
North Knap-  
dale.

Its peculiar  
geographical  
features.

THE parish of North Knapdale, which has now to be noticed, is, like its southern neighbour, a very interesting one to the lover of primitive antiquities. Its geographical configuration is quite distinctive, as a glance at any map of the district will show—that distinctiveness being the conspicuous straightness and parallelism of the lines which nature has drawn over the country. Always in a direction varying little from north-east may be traced the great features of the landscape, the rocky ridges, the long straight estuaries, the lakes, the islands, the principal valleys, and a considerable proportion of the water-courses. The main exception is in those streams which find their way down the side slopes of the ridges, and whose courses will therefore naturally tend in a direction at right angles to the prevailing one. This marked parallelism and rectilinear conformation the 6-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey illustrate in a very striking manner; indeed, these maps of the district are quite a curious geological study. What may be called the great leading topographic feature of North Knapdale is Loch Sween, which nearly severs the parish into two longitudinal divisions, so near do its head-waters approach to the Crinan flat. And the wonderful picturesqueness of this region is in part due to the land being searched by a number of inlets smaller than, but similar in character to, Loch Sween—now open to the ocean, and now forming some sheltered inland sea or brackish mere, with wooded shores and ferny overshadowing hillsides.

Diversity of  
its landscape.

Of the diversity of the landscape in its minuter features, how can I overstate it—how am I even to do it justice! I have seen many parts of Scotland, but I know not where you are to look for the counterpart of the scenery of North Knapdale. It is not that there is here anything of the grand—of what the guide-books would call “imposing forms.” These are absent. It is by a certain strange, wholly irregular, yet altogether haunting type of landscape feature that our eyes and senses become possessed in travelling through this part of the country. There are certain human faces one sees which come nowise near being faultless, yet nevertheless exert over us an indescribable charm,—it may be from some external grace as of passing sunshine and shadow, some touch of pensive, tender, kindly, truthful, or what not; or it may be from this and something more, an attraction exercised by some underlying association that we only half realise. So here. To the archæologist such an attraction is always present, superadded to the mere artistic pleasure he may feel, in threading the woody recesses, in walking by the still lake-margins, in sighting the deserted grey ruins, of this retired tract of country. And having said so much, I will, before

describing Keills, attempt to sketch for the reader what he may see on the way there, walking or driving from Ardrishaig.

Both my notes and my memory tell me there is nothing in the way of scenery calling for particular remark till after passing Cairnbaan—although, as I have said, the immediate neighbourhood of the Crinan Canal is full of rude stone monuments and archaic rock-sculpturings. From Cairnbaan to Bellanoch, however, one's interest in the surroundings begins to awaken. The highroad skirts the canal, and all along one side of it the eye catches glimpses of green hill, cliff, and wood, with (in their season) masses of may and honeysuckle, primroses and blue-bells, growing in profusion by the roadside. To the northward is the wide open flat of Kilmartin, walled in by two low converging lines of broken bumpy hills, the river Add winding through it. At the village of Bellanoch, a little cluster of white cottages on the margin of a basin or inlet of the canal, the road to Keills and Loch Sween diverges from the canal, and turning south-west, mounts a steepish hill. At the summit of this hill the beauties of the North Knapdale scenery begin to disclose themselves more prominently. The road from here takes the course of one of those characteristic glens or hollows formed by parallel ridges of schist; and the slopes of this glen are very picturesque,—a conglomeration of delicate green birches, oak-scrub, hazel, and ash, with grey crags and detached boulders—a rich intermingling of tints. Soon the pretty little fresh-water lakelet—named, for some reason or other, Lochan na Cailleich (the old wife's loch)—is passed, and the larger water of Loch Coill a' Bharra (the grove-topped lake) is sighted, its clifty banks overgrown with foliage. Such lakes as these are a study for the artist both as to form and colour—reedy, solitary, and still, in sunshiny weather of an intense blue, each overhanging rock and cluster of foliage duplicated in softer pencilling beneath, insomuch that the water-line is barely distinguishable. Following the road, which is smooth as a carriage-drive, we round suddenly off to the westward over a stretch of rocky heath, and then still more sharply twist again to descend into another of the parallel valleys I have described. At the bottom of this valley we strike the head of Caol Scotnish, a branch fiord of Loch Sween, and thence skirt along its western shore. Here, again, is almost perfect stillness—scarce a ripple to stir the sea-weed as the tide slowly rises, nothing living to be seen or heard but a slow-flapping pair of herons cackling out at intervals their hoarse guttural cry. Not a soul had I met along the road since leaving Bellanoch, which added to the sense of solitude. After skirting the loch some two miles, the road again suddenly bends to the right, and an enchanting pose of landscape is revealed. A charming little harbour, almost land-locked; a few thatched cottages along its border; a church; a low hill tinted green, yellow, and purple—and over it the distant blue ranges of Jura. A curious feature here is the line of rocky islets which stretch across the neck of the harbour.

Scenery between Lochgilphead and Tayvallich.

Beyond the village of Tayvallich there remain about six miles to walk or drive before reaching Keills. But instead of continuing to keep by the highroad, let the reader come with me along the private one leading past Taynish House. Here one sees more cliff, wood, sedgy lake, and in the distance the grey eastern hillside of Loch Sween. And

Tayvallich to Taynish.

what a multitude of wild flowers! Roses white and pale red, foxgloves, the great tall golden iris, white and mauve orchises; for different hues of pink—the ragged robin, vetch, and campion; for blues—forget-me-nots, blue-bells, and the modest little bird's-eye; then the wild calceolaria and the small white woodruff, side by side with the familiar dog-daisy, buttercup, and red clover; besides any quantity of the white fluffy plant locally called, I believe, deer-grass. It was all as though one were in the thick of an English lane with its bountiful hedgerows, or in some grassy dell, to see such a wealth of Nature's jewels strewn about as were here. Yonder is Taynish House, an old Highland mansion, nestling among trees for shelter from the fury of the winter blast, which, so my friend the shooting tenant told me, howl with melancholy persistency through them for weeks together, while the sky is one uniform dismal watery grey, and the ground limp and plashy. But such memories only enhance the delights of the nightless summer days in this picturesque land.

Taynish to  
Keills.

From Taynish House you are at the mercy of its occupant for any further progress toward Keills. If you can prevail on his generosity to give you a row or sail in his skiff through "the narrows," and by the Ulva islands down to the south foot of the long inland sea named Linne Mhuirich, you may be congratulated on a piece of good fortune not to be met with every day. Let us suppose that is attained, and we are starting from the little jetty in the strait below the house. Shove off, and now we are running along Taynish Island with very little water even at the highest tide. Next we have to steer for yonder point of rock which stands out to meet a nasty reef from the shore opposite, leaving just shaving-room for a boat to push through; and if you are running on a wind, as I have been several times in these narrows, it is very nice work indeed to escape grazing her keel. Once through, keep to the *dark* water which marks the channel, for at this end of Linne Mhuirich you will be in shallows. Now let some one else steer, so that we can breathe awhile and watch the beautifully-tinted shores of this inland salt lake, or the green hillocks along its shores, besprinkled with many-coloured, rough-coated cattle. Or, look down into the deeps of this pellucid water, where long skeleton tangles of black sea-weed are curling and twining, the haunt of a colony of prawns which supply the neighbourhood with a valuable contribution to the table. Now a momentary shiver is seen on the surface of the water, and just a tiny speck of spray in a dozen places at once; then all is still again. That was a shoal of grey mullet making up the lagoon. Look, again, at this huge flat fellow like a monstrous flounder sidling along see-saw fashion, with now and again the whisk of a fin to be seen above water. He is a skate, sure to turn up when the spear is not in the boat. Spearing skate, I should explain, is one of the diversions in these shallow creeks.

Linne  
Mhuirich.

The water-  
fowls' haunt.

At length we reach a sea-wall or dam, which shuts off the gorge of another shallow inlet, about a mile and a half distant from our destination. Make as little noise as possible, peer over this wall, and look sharp out for what you can see on the other side. A large flat, covered by a pond or lakelet, with a margin of some width; half sand, half mud. The water evidently can be of no depth beyond a few inches, for some birds are standing or wading in it. Here we have lighted upon a colony of water-fowl, and one or two land



ones,—wild duck, mergansers, teal, widgeon, the black and white oyster-catcher, or “seapyot,” as he is locally called (he has his food in plenty close by here), sandpipers, the dotterel whistling his shrill note, a heron or two, sea-swallows, curlew, very likely a stray cormorant, gulls of all sorts and sizes, from the kittiwake to the herring-catcher—and, most beautiful, most conspicuous of all, the splendidly-plumed sheldrake. This last-named bird is nearly as big as a goose, and has a brilliant scarlet bill; over his tufted body are a mixture of orange, black, and white hues, which make his downy coat a prize for a lady's hat in these days. During winter the solan-geese and the wild swan are occasional visitors to the locality. You may not see all these birds together at one time, but they are to be found in the immediate neighbourhood.

Beyond the lagoon we again strike the main road from Ardrishaig to Keills, and very Keills Bay. soon the head of another creek makes its appearance. A few minutes more and the road swerves to the right, opening out to view the whole of Keills Bay (Loch na Cille); and the grey ruin of the old chapel of Kilvicocharmaig is before us, its weather-beaten walls hardly distinguishable from the rocky ledges of the hillside it stands on.

In scenery such as I have been describing, the old churches of Argyllshire were built, and under such inspiration from the external world of nature the mediæval ecclesiastics ministered and wrought out their exquisite fancies in stone. In the seclusion of these men's lives it was impossible but that such scenes must have sunk deep into their minds; and that it did so, and affected the character of their monumental sculptures, some proof will be adduced presently. Therefore it is that I have sought to paint in detail, for the reader who may be unacquainted with this kind of landscape and its adjuncts, what sort of country Knapdale really is.

To return to archæology proper. The general appearance, state of preservation, and architectural details of the ruined chapel at Keills (Pls. XXXIV. and XLIII. 6, 7), are very similar to what is found at Kilmory on the opposite side of Loch Sween, and the dimensions of the two buildings are almost identical. The east wall contains a small circular-headed window, with a splayed recess, its sole forming a flat ledge sunk below the light, which ledge may have been a substitute for an altar. On either side of this window are two long deep niches, doubtless used for sacramental purposes. On both sides of the building there is a window near the east end; and, in the south wall, another situated about midway. These side windows are all square-headed, and only slightly splayed. The doorway is on the south side, near the west gable, which is blank. On the south side I noticed a large stone, with a semicircular orifice taken out of the bottom, built in with the masonry (see sketch); this might pass for the lintel of a round-headed lancet-window. The orifice is about 4 inches in diameter. The walls of the chapel are full of crevices. In one of these, just over the east window, a water-wagtail had built its nest, and while I sketched it amused me with its operations. It kept incessantly flying in and out with food for its young; and when a stranger-bird intruded into the hole to help himself to what had been stored there, the wagtail in her maternal indignation pounced on the interloper and drove him ignominiously out. Another bird had fixed its nest (which had

The old chapel  
at Keills.

five eggs in it) in a tuft of grass under the edge of one of the carved tombstones in the churchyard outside.

The monu-  
ments.  
Ancient cross.

The tomb-carvings at Keills are a remarkably fine collection, rivalling those at Kilmory, and showing specialities entirely their own. The standard-cross, which, for a wonder, remains intact, and is erected a few yards outside the wall of the burial-ground, holds of course the first place for interest. This beautiful and singularly antique-looking piece of monumental sculpture (Pl. XXXV., frontispiece) is a pillar of a peculiar shape not commonly met with in the Scoto-Irish crosses, and stands  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. The carving is confined to the eastern face, the reverse and the edges being left plain, which is somewhat unusual. The group of figures, and central boss at the intersection of the shaft and cross-piece, are raised into much higher relief than the remaining surface, and thus become the leading members of the sculpture. The effect is at once rich and graceful. The boss is flanked on either side by a pair of animals; above the boss is an angel treading down a serpent; below it a figure in prayer. The grouping is thus a crosswise arrangement, and very well balanced it is. The plait-work round the angel's figure, and the rest of the slab's surface, are in uniform relief. The six squares or panels of fretwork, and the curious scrolling of spirals, are thoroughly Irish in character, but rarely seen on the slabs of southern Argyllshire. We have noted, however, a similarity to the type of these spirals at Cladh Bhile in South Knapdale. Two pair of animals, with plait-work much worn down, complete the ornament of the Keills cross. The pedestal is simply a rough pile of stones fitted together. In my drawing I have taken an artist's liberty with the background, and shown it from a point of view as if looking at the cross from the north side.

Its antique  
and rare style.

This fine relic has peculiar claims on our notice, for its style is undoubtedly rare in the west of Scotland, and its antiquity is probably higher than that of the general run of Argyllshire crosses.<sup>1</sup> It is also, as we have seen, rather of Hiberno-Celtic than of the average Scoto-Celtic type—a point we tested by reference to certain crosses at Monasterboice, Clonmacnois, Kells, and other ecclesiastical sites in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> And if we had no other evidence, the close resemblances between details exhibited in some of the monuments here at Keills, and cognate details of similar monuments on the other side of the water, would of themselves denote a kinship between the peoples of the two countries. Nor does this hold good only of Keills, as we shall see; for, ecclesiologically, the whole district of Knapdale might very well pass for a bit of interpolated Irish territory. Probably it is in this respect the most Erse of all the Scottish districts, notwithstanding that the Norsemen have left in its topographical names a tincture of their tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Muir instances this cross among two or three others "as exhibiting a marked difference, both in figure and ornamentation, to the ordinary Argyle pattern. . . . That these are much older than the crosses of the prevailing type, seems certain; though whether so old as those of Norman date in the eastern districts, to which they bear a strong resemblance, is a question not so readily to be determined. If dissimilar in age, the agreement in form is at any rate very close. Thus, for instance, the pillar at Keills, in Knapdale, is, in tone and spirit, so to speak, so like the Camus stone-pillar at Panbride" (in Forfarshire), "that no person who is acquainted with both could see one of them without being instantly reminded of the other."—*Old Church Archit. Scot.*, 106, 107. The fact is, the Irish style of sculptured ornament is equally dominant on many of the eastern Scottish pillar-stones.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to chap. ii. of this volume.





Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

Drawn by Capt. T. P. White, R. E.

Photo-lithographed & Printed by W & A. K. Johnston.







The Keills cross has doubtless had many a narrow escape of being decapitated, broken at the wheel, flayed, or otherwise mutilated, after the manner of others like it elsewhere. I was told by a very old resident in the neighbourhood that he remembered, when a boy, a stranger coming this way to cross over to Jura, and offering the boatmen two pounds to pull down the old cross, as being a Popish relic unfit to cumber the ground. Fortunately neither the hatred of graven images nor the bribe were sufficient to induce the Knapdale men to accomplish the stranger's purpose. After all, it may be taken for granted that there is some veneration left for these old relics, inasmuch as in a district where there is a full share of dogged, defiant Presbyterianism at work, such a symbol of the scarlet woman as this cross has been permitted to remain unmolested.

Existence of  
this fine relic  
at one time in  
jeopardy.

In Pl. XXXVI. 1, we have a unique type of carving, ruder and more ancient-looking than many of the tombstones. The sword-guard is shorter than usual. Here we again have the curious animal, with a single hump or wing—it is not clear which. The square tracery below, and the three large circles filled in each with its concentric lines and cross, are noteworthy. The mode of ornamentation adopted in and about the cross at the bottom of the slab, by means of rows of straight lines set alternately at right angles to one another, is primitive, and calls to mind one of the remarkable stones at Kilberry. But the most suggestive device is the set of four concentric circles, with central cup below the sword-point, which device is again imitated in the large cross. In looking at these, I was at once reminded of the petroglyphs at Crinan. There are two ugly cracks the full length of this slab, which, before long, if not looked to, will send it the way of so many others.

Recumbent  
slabs.

Fig. 2 is a most beautiful and elaborate slab, perhaps the *chef-d'œuvre* of all the recumbent tombstones in the district. The finish of all the members of the sculpture is unusually delicate. Look, for example, at the straps of the sword-scabbard, or at the admirably-detailed harp, every string of which is given, as well as the ornamental pattern introduced on the frame of the instrument. Look, again, at the chiselling of the mythical beast and the variety of foliage pendant from its tail, every leaf charmingly enriched. The other objects are in keeping with the same artistic handling. The griffin we have seen elsewhere, the comb, shears, a handsomely-bound book or casket with a bird like a crow perched on the top of it, two small objects, one of which may be the paten, an object by the sword-hilt like a crosier, and at the head of the stone a beautiful plait. The whole is encircled with a double beading, the inner moulding of which bears a minutely-embossed inscription now nearly defaced. In one part of this inscription I succeeded in making out half-a-dozen letters—

The harp  
tombstone.

Its inscrip-  
tion.

ET D . . . . . EIL

which, as we are in the county anciently possessed by the Macneils, I shall venture to guess may have denoted the name of some member of that house resident in the neighbourhood. In addition, we can read the words—

FECIT AC FIERI

instead of the more usual and more elegant Latin parsing, "me fieri fecit," as generally found. This slab is in the north-east angle of the chapel, doubtless *in situ*, and probably formed the lid of a stone coffin such as the one next to be described.

Another similar sculpture.

Its inscription.

In Pl. XXXVII. we have a slab of similar size, shape, workmanship, and style to the last, situated exactly opposite to it, in the south-east angle. I suspect it was executed by the same hand. It forms the lid of a raised stone coffin, the side slabs of which still remain, though in a broken condition. We have among other objects here a fine stag, his neck in the grip of a pair of hounds; and a curious small creature, which seemed to me to be a rabbit or hare, with a foliated tail, but about which I feel uncertain. We have also a galley with one man steering and another at the prow, the sail being unfurled—the first example of the kind I recollect to have seen. The circular object near the sword-point with four foliated corners, I do not understand. The plaits and other animals are as before. The sword handle and guard are delicately detailed, and of somewhat unusual style. The inscription, although every letter is perfect, is far from easy to interpret. I tried my best, but, failing, put it in the hands of a veteran archæologist and competent Gaelic scholar,<sup>1</sup> whom I have to thank for much courtesy and many hints. His reading of the inscription is as follows:—

DIC FACET TOIRBHELL MACOL-  
-INI IN TELLECT COLMACRAGI

or put into English—

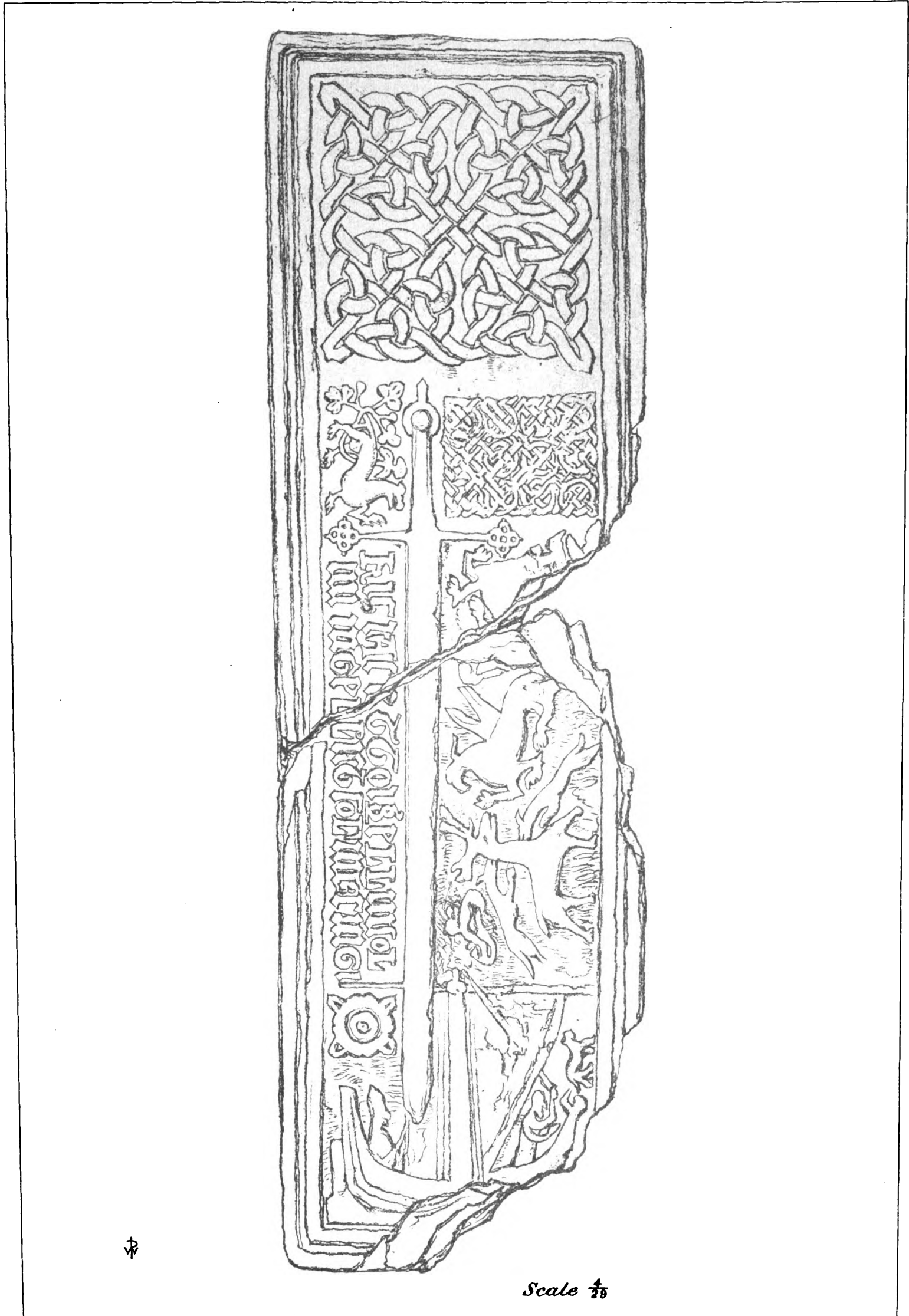
"Here lies Terence<sup>2</sup> M'Lean of the hunt of Kilma-Carmaig." Mr Macbride remarks that, if he has interpreted it aright, it is a Latin translation from Gaelic, and therefore, as he adds, "one needs to know Gaelic to understand it." It was, we know, a common Celtic habit to give chiefs and other individuals a *sobriquet* suggestive of their peculiarities or pursuits. On this supposition, he considers that this man was probably a noted sportsman, and went under the common designation of "Toirbhell "in t'ellect," or, according to the modern spelling, "Toirbhell an t'Shealg" (Norval or Terence of the chase)—with which interpretation the hare and stag-hunt depicted among the sculptures on the stone would very well square.<sup>3</sup>

This is a good illustration of the difficulty of interpreting the old lettering and phraseology of the Scoto-Celtic mediæval monuments, a difficulty greatly augmented by the worn or mutilated condition of so many of them. The running of the letters into one another, especially in the case of such as *C, I, M, N, &c.*, is partly answerable for this. As a specimen of what may be extracted from such inscriptions, even when

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. A. Macbride, F.C. Minister of North Bute. This gentleman was incumbent of the same parish in the Church of Scotland prior to the Disruption. Besides being an eminent geologist, he has a most extensive knowledge of the antiquities of the West Highlands.

<sup>2</sup> I should be inclined myself to read "Norval" for "Terence;" or, putting "Q" for "B," "Torquil"—a common Highland Christian name.

<sup>3</sup> There is a farm in this parish between Keills and Tayvallich named Barr nan Shealg (corrupted into Barnashalig), hill of the hunt. It may not be a very wild conjecture to suppose that this hill may have been the scene of this chief's exploits.



Scale  $\frac{1}{10}$

every letter at first sight seems unmistakably legible, let us hear what a local authority—and an authority not altogether unlearned—can tell us about this one. The slab, he says, “belongs to the Macneils of Taynish, the ancient proprietors of North Knapdale.” An alternate reading of it! That is not unlikely to be true. “The epitaph on the tombstone,” we read on, “is cut in relief, partly in the Celtic language, and partly in Latin, thus: ‘*Ilian mac Thoircle*’ “ ‘*’ic Thormailt ’ic Neil. iri. iri. Fato hic 1099*’—that is, ‘John, the son of Toircle, the “son of Norman, the son of Neil, alas! alas! by fate laid here, 1099.’ Perhaps “this is among the oldest monuments in Scotland.”<sup>1</sup> How, in the name of common eyesight, this observer could have tortured out of the inscription any date at all, to say nothing of 1099, is to me, I must confess, a mystery. Had he been better acquainted with the works of the mediæval tomb-sculptors, even in his own part of the country, he might have been assured that this was not the sort of thing they were likely to write upon a tomb. It was enough for them to record the fact of the death, without indulging in vain and wordy regrets over it. They might bid us pray for the dead man’s soul, and tell us who caused carve the stone memorial of the pious aspiration. But for vapourings as to his virtues, or sentimental lamentations as to that end which soon or late overtakes us all, they would have none of them.

(Pl. XXXVIII.)—A beautiful pair of tombstones with foliage and other customary Recumbent tombstones. objects, the chiselling being executed with great refinement. The animal in fig. 2 is of a type occasionally, as we have noted, met with in Irish crosses, and suggests the wild cat, which was anciently a common animal in the West Highlands, especially in the wilds of Knapdale. Both slabs had an inscription, that in fig. 1 barely recognisable as such, and only a letter or two legible in the case of fig. 2.

(Pl. XXXIX.)—The style of both these slabs, which form a good pair, is bolder and less finished than some others I have been describing. At the top of one (fig. 1) is worked an ornamental label bearing an inscription, the first two lines of which read—

✠ **HIC FACET CORMAC . . . . .**

but the last two defeated me. In this district of country it might seem natural enough to find the name of Cormac one of not infrequent adoption. The arrangement of the foliage on this slab is distinctive. In fig. 2 we see an animal which I am inclined to interpret as a wolf. Both slabs are fractured in the middle, No. 1 having suffered most.

The swords, it will be remarked, in nearly all the examples throughout the present series of drawings, have their pommels sept-foiled.

(Pl. XL.)—Fig. 1 is a richly-chased specimen, and peculiarly interesting from the Slab with twelve animals figured on it. unusual number and distinctive character of the animals figured upon it. Of these there are not less than twelve—the most I remember to have seen on any single tomb-

<sup>1</sup> Currie’s *Antiquities and Scenery of North Knapdale*, p. 13 (Glasgow, 1830). This little book is now out of print. It contains some astounding assertions, but is useful in supplying a record, if not always a very trustworthy one, of local traditions and customs.



The shel-  
drake.

The fox.

Slab with  
buckler.

stone in western Scotland. At the head of the slab, to the right of the shears and sword-handle, we have an ordinary couple of combatant dogs, with tails flowing away into a beautifully-designed arrangement of foliage, more intricate than we commonly see; to the left, a hound pursuing a hare. Immediately below the sword-guard comes a bird, differing in its drawing from anything I have lighted on elsewhere, and which my host at Taynish House, a first-rate sportsman, concurred with me in thinking to represent a sheldrake, or some other of the varieties of water-fowl which, as we have seen, abound in the immediate vicinity of the chapel at Keills. Look sideways at this bird, and you will catch just the attitude of a sheldrake as he may be seen stalking along the solitary shore of some brackish mere searching for his food. Whatever he is, I think we may unquestionably set him down for one of the duck species, from the shape of his bill. Next to this bird comes an otter behind a fish. In the collection of animals at the foot of the slab we observe a mythical-looking winged horse;<sup>1</sup> another strange creature; a pair of wolves, as I read them; and lastly, a beast well known to sportsman—a fox, this being the first time I have ever come across him in these sculptures. The set of his head and tail, and his general cut, seemed to me unmistakable; but I thought it desirable to take the opinion of two gentlemen resident in the neighbourhood, both keen sportsmen. Without reference to one another, each, as I brought him to examine the stone, pronounced without hesitation in favour of Reynard's identity. I may add that foxes are well known, and of evil reputation with the housewives, in this locality. And doubtless, in old times, many a goodly hunt took place for the recreation of the men whose bones lie mouldering beneath these fine tombstones.

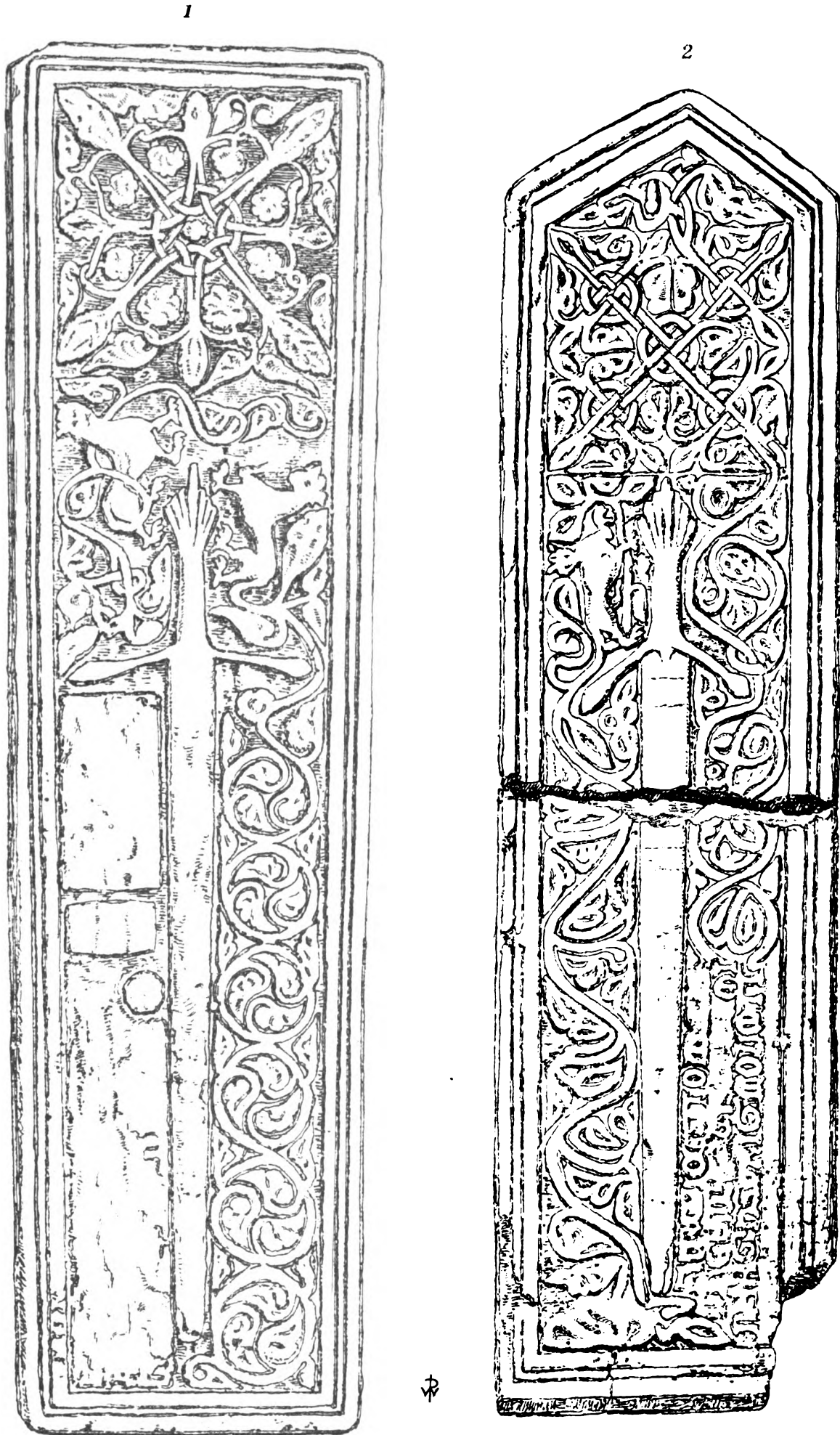
In fig. 2 is another of the curious semi-human figures of which we have two specimens at Kilmory-Knap. Over the sword here is a round targe or shield, with a long strap attached to it, the first example I have come across. The pretty inner border with trefoil mouldings is also an unusual variety of embellishment. The small label at the top is of a kind we have seen once before, and it doubtless had an inscription, the trace of which is now quite gone. Unfortunately, one corner of this stone is cracked off.

(Pl. XLI.)—Fig. 1 is a much-worn specimen of the more ordinary type of sword-sculptures. Fig. 2 is a great beauty, though sadly mutilated. The animal below the graceful circle ornament at the top is curiously worked out. The border moulding of this stone is more elaborate than usual (see the section through A B). A great piece of the stone has been torn away under one side (at B).

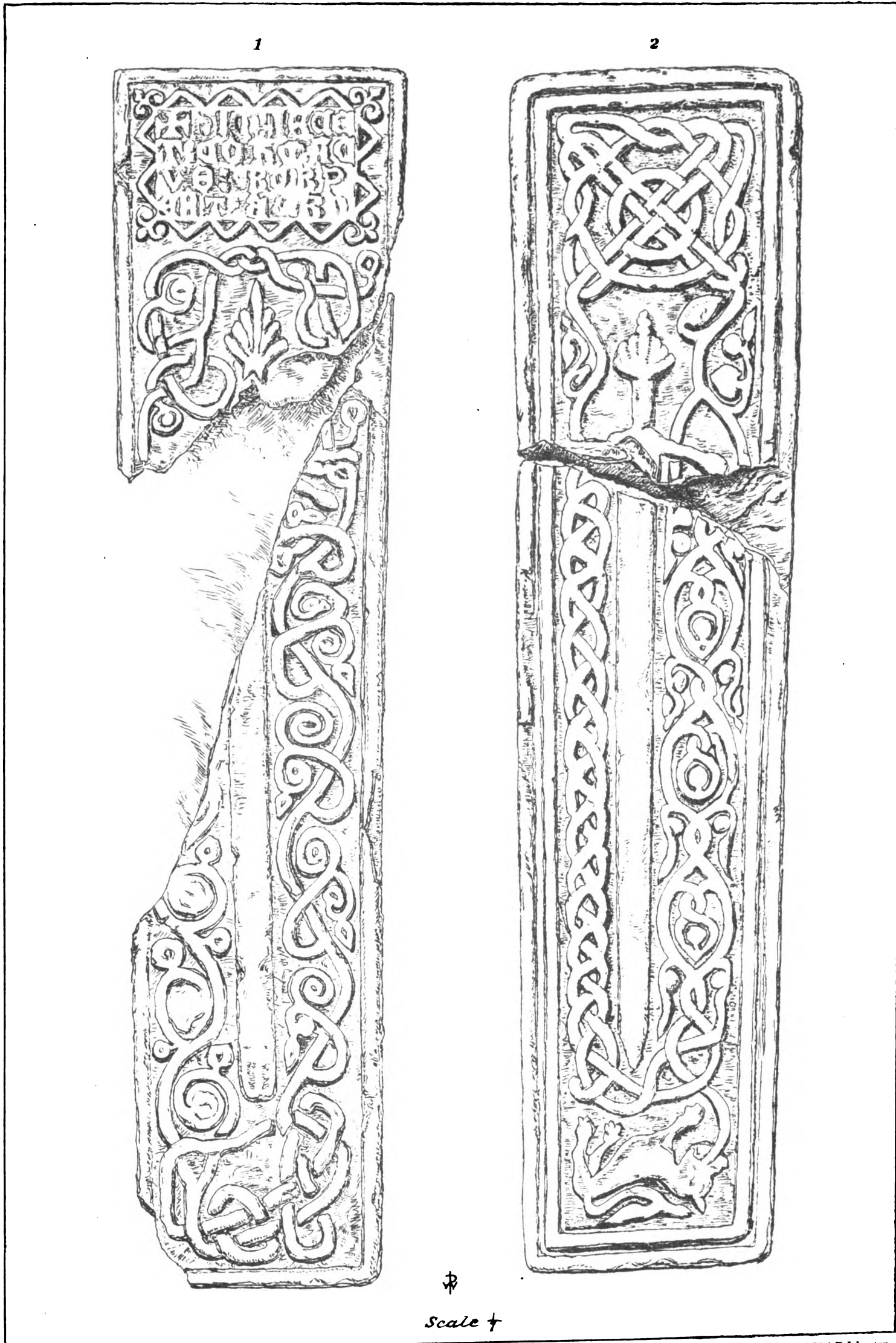
(Pl. XLII.)—Two slabs very much weather-worn and defaced. The leaf-pattern in fig. 2 is of the large yet graceful type sometimes met with.

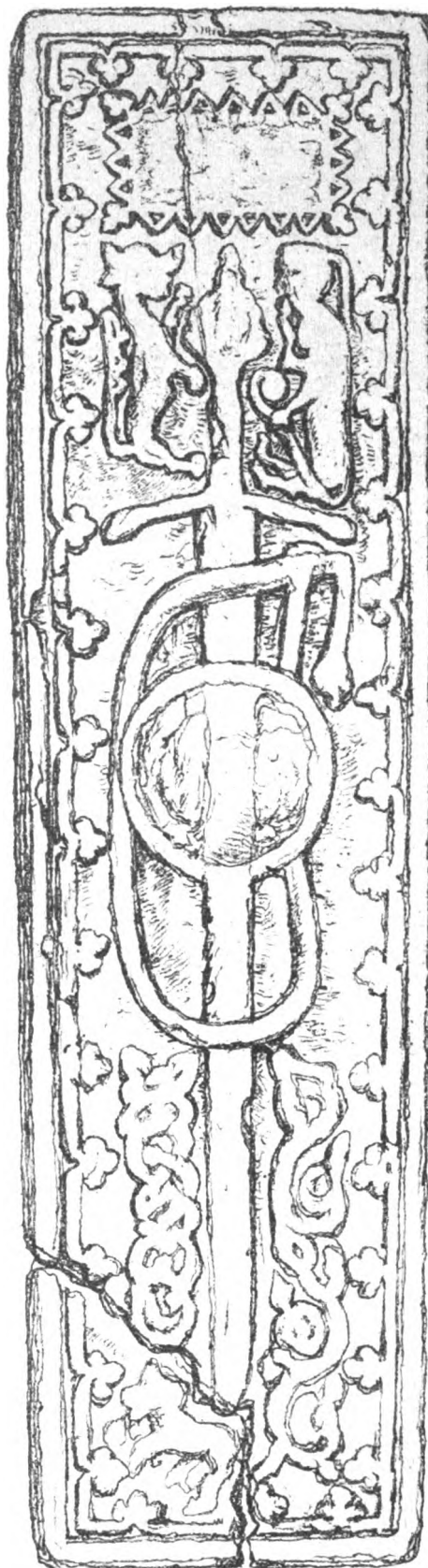
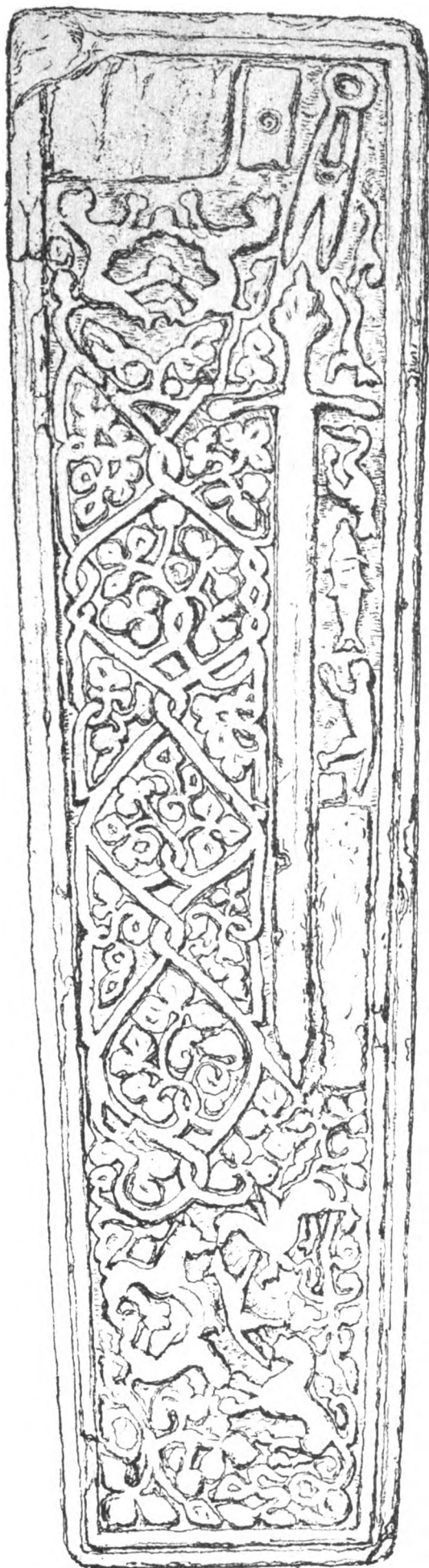
(Pl. XLIII.)—This Plate concludes the Keills illustrations. Fig. 5 is apparently the head of a sculptured cross. Fig. 3, with its ornamental cruciform design, is a slab of an unfamiliar class for the West Highlands, approaching more nearly some of the English

<sup>1</sup> It is possible we have here an attempt at the river-horse, which Mr Campbell, if my memory serves me aright, says figures in the legends of the Highlands.



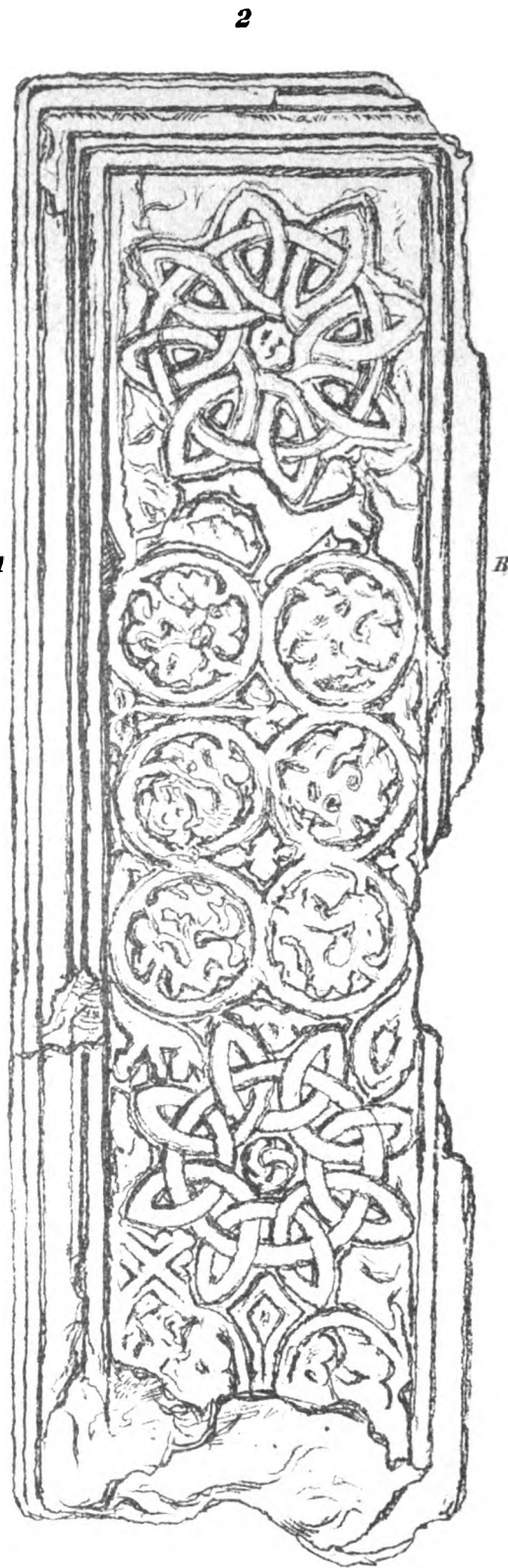
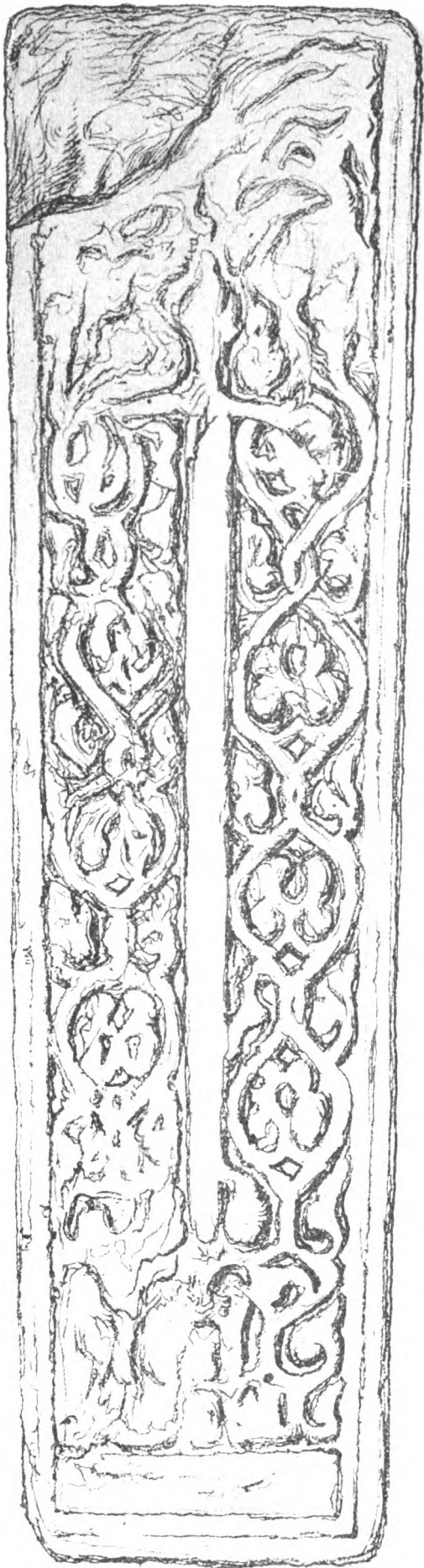
Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$





Scale  $\frac{2}{15}$





*Section through A.B.  
to show the border Moulding*

*Scale 1/4*





✠

Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



recumbent tombstones. It was buried a couple of feet deep in the ground inside the chapel, till my obliging friend the occupant of Tainish House unearthed it, and enabled me to add a sketch of it to my collection.

The tombstone in fig. 4 is also a peculiar one, there being no figuring on it, but simply one long raised label, and a circular hole drilled right through the stone's thickness, Ewan Bacach's tombstone. This slab has a curious legend attached to it, well established in the district. A celebrated "reiver" chief, named Eòghann Bacach, or lame Ewen, who, like the patriarch Jacob, limped in one thigh, had his abode with a large company in an inaccessible retreat among the heights of Cruach Lussaig, above the eastern shore of Loch Sween. Here, in addition to the exercise of their own *reiving* occupations, they were wont to lie in wait, scouting for bands of Atholmen, who, bent upon the same errand, made periodical raids into Argyllshire, penetrating as far as Knapdale in their greed for their neighbours' cattle. Ewen with the limp was a great archer in his day, and slew with the bow on different occasions many of the men from the braes of the Garry. Before his death he charged his people to cause hew a tombstone for him with a hole in it, through which he might occasionally lift his head when lying in his narrow bed, and thus be able to catch a glimpse of his beloved Cruach. The tradition provokes a smile, considering the smallness of the hole and the fact that the hill of Lussaig is not visible from this point. But the story is well known in the locality, and I had it with variations from more than one respectable authority. Ewen was also a great snuff-taker, and one version of his biography asserts that the hole through the stone was partly intended to serve the purpose of ladling down snuff to him. The slab of this mighty bowman, robber, and snuff-taker, is among the tombstones within the chapel area. In support of the legend, I should add, there is a rock or rudely-shaped stone, upon which it is said he used to sit, pointed out among the cliffs of Cruach Lussaig, and named on our Ordnance maps "Bacach's Seat."

Keills is a most interesting spot. From here a very ancient ferry, still kept open, Ancient ferry from Keills. crosses over to the island of Jura. The ecclesiastical name sticks close to the locality, and comes out in such forms as "Loch na Cille," "Rudha na Cille," "Keill Port," "Keill Mòr," and "Keill Beg." I never once heard the place spoken of by its more lengthy title of Cillvicocharmaig. Undoubtedly, however, this was the ancient name of the parish, Local names. and Keills was the mother church—the patron saint being the S. Charmaig, or more exactly S. Mac O Charmaig, of Eilean Mòr.

The interior of the chapel was not, at the time of my visits, in more sightly order than State of the ruins at Keills. such interiors usually are in the West Highlands. It was crowded with graves, which were buried deep in nettles, and huddled about anyhow in chaotic confusion. The simple reason of this would seem to be, that there was no proper care-taker to look after the place. The modern parish church has long since been transferred to the other side of Loch Sween, and no one goes near the ruin at Keills except when a burial takes place; and on such occasions the mortal dust to be consigned to earth is got rid of as quickly as possible. The sheep are, perhaps, the most useful sextons in one respect, for they eat down the grass and weeds. It is lamentable to see the old sculptures deteriorating from

simple neglect, and the want of a day or two's labour in the course of the year bestowed upon them. At the same time, it is right to say that something has been done. There is now a good enclosure-wall round the burying-ground, which there was not always. Before the erection of this wall the place must have been in an inconceivably worse condition, to judge from the following little incident. A Manksman, happening to die on board a vessel in the Sound of Jura, was landed at Keills, and there buried. I was not told if "requiescat in pace" was inscribed upon his tomb, but, if it were so, the aspiration was, not destined to attain immediate fulfilment; for some pigs got at the newly-formed grave, which seems to have been a shallow one, and were not stopped in their unhallowed researches till discovered in a fair way to make an end of the poor man's remains.

The Manks-  
man's grave.

Documentary  
records of the  
ancient parish  
named Kilvi-  
cocharmaig.

"The church of S. Charmaig or M'Charmaig," says Mr Cosmo Innes, "belonged to the monks of Kilwinning in Ayrshire, to whom it is said (but apparently with no foundation) to have been granted by the family of Eglinton after the battle of Largs in 1263. About that period a charter of Rotheric, the son of Reginald, is witnessed by Maurice, the parson of Chillmacdachormes. There appears to be no farther record of this church till the very eve of the Reformation, when, in 1551, Sir James Lindesay was presented by Queen Mary to the vicarage of Kilmakcorme, then vacant, or when it should be vacant, by the demission of Sir Emenides Hendersoun. In 1621, the parsonage and vicarage of Kilmachormuk were resigned by John, Commendator of Kilwynning, and annexed by Parliament to the bishoprick of Argyll. In 1629, a tack of lands by the Bishop of Argyle to William Stirling of Auchyle is signed, among others of the chapter, by Master Dugald Campbell, parson of Knapdail. When the chapter of Argyle was restored by Charles II. in 1662, the minister at Kilmakcharmick was made one of the prebendaries."<sup>1</sup> In the year 1591, Duncan Campbell of Dannay (Dana) granted to Donald Campbell of Obe a tack of the parsonage and vicarage teinds of one half of the chapel of Kilmachummag in Knapdail. In 1654, Archibald, Marquess of Argyll, granted to Neill M'Neill of Ardchonnan a lease of the parsonage and vicarage tithes accruing from some of M'Neill's own lands in the neighbourhood. This lease extended to what is named as "seven marks (or merklands) within the chapel of Kilmachummaig;" whence we may infer that this chapel was an endowed one.<sup>2</sup> The benefice of Kilvicocharmaig does not, from the description given of its value in the sixteenth century, impress our modern ideas as having been a very rich one; though at the scale of money computation of that period, the then incumbent was probably quite as well off as his successor of to-day. The Queen's comptroller, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, assessed it in 1566 at £16, which was the rating entered in 1561 in the "chamberlain's accounts given up to Gawin, Commendator of Kilwynning, and extracted by him briefer to be given in before our Sovereign Lady and my lords commissaries."<sup>3</sup> So much for what is recorded of the former ecclesiastical state of the old church at Keills.

Value of the  
benefice in the  
sixteenth cen-  
tury.

The landscape  
view from  
Keills.

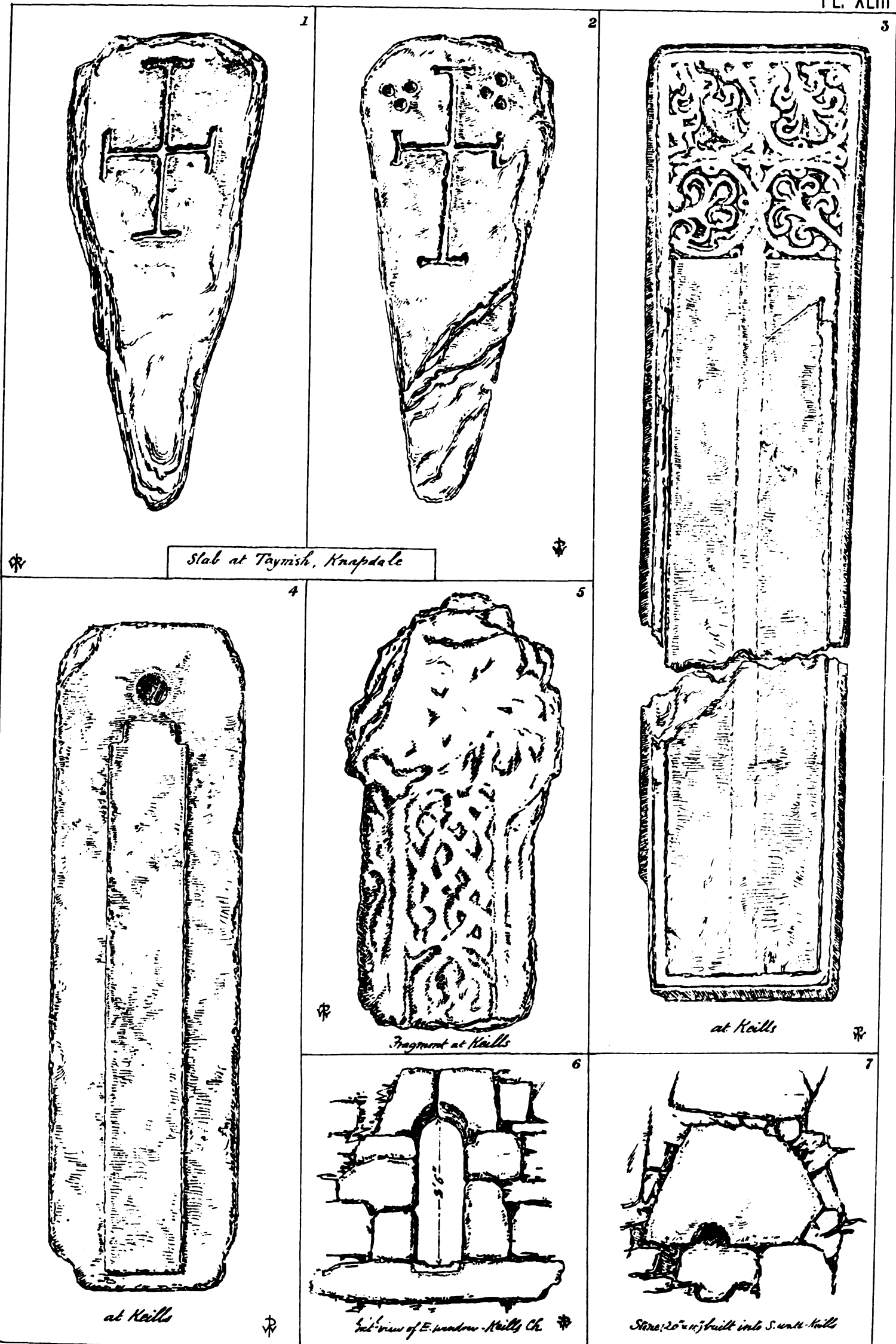
Before quitting this spot of ancient memories, let me attempt to give an idea of the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Paroch., ii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Paroch., ii. 40, quoting from the 'Book of Assumptions.'





landscape visible from it. Come and sit with me a minute under the shadow of the old cross, in the spot where it stood many centuries ago as it stands now, and where many a knee has doubtless, in generations bygone, bent in prayer. It is the afternoon, let us say, of a brilliant sunshiny midsummer's day, a gentle southerly zephyr off the sea struggling with the heat. We are on the steep declivity of a rocky, rough-pastured hill; and as far as we can look upwards, the eye ranges over patches of reeds interspersed with the yellow iris, and across long parallel ridges of schist mounting one above another. Immediately below us is a solitary farmhouse with its two cultivated fields: one a corn-field, tinted a bright gamboge colour, where the weed precious to artists, but hateful to farmers, has nearly overpowered the grain-blades; the other, a wide stretch of long rye-grass, over which the breeze is lightly playing, catching its tops, and giving them a wavy motion as though thin puffs of smoke or mist were rising from the ground. In the distance is the line of hills on the further side of Loch Sween, glazed over, to use a painter's word, with green, grey, and purple tints, and speckled with whiter spots where the bare rock protrudes. Sailing lazily, one after another, over this expansive hillside, are enormous cloud-shadows of the deepest purple bloom. Nearer, betwixt us and the big loch, comes another ridge, but low in height,—low enough to give us a peep of a grey ruin on the farther shore, with something green clinging to its walls, and a backing of dark woods—the old castle of Sueno, lord of Knapdale. Next, the eye wanders over a cottage or two on this ridge, and thence down to the bay of the "Kil," bluest of waters, with a sparkle as of a myriad brilliants. The tide is out, and a flat reach of bright burnt-sienna tint fringes the blue, where the sea-weed is clinging to innumerable boulders. Azure pools are scattered along this shore, and knee-deep in them a herd of shaggy brown cattle are vainly striving to cool their baked and fly-harassed bodies, giving forth an occasional low to let us know what they are about. This, with the plaintive note of some solitary sea-bird, and the hum of a passing bee, are the sole musical accompaniments of the scene. From this picturesque beach the eye travels on out to seaward, and rests in admiration on half-a-dozen rocky islets, rising with inexpressibly graceful lines out of the sea, which here changes from blue to cream-colour under a passing sun-gleam. The farthest out of these islets is Eilean Mòr. Lastly, in the far distance we see a long dim line of low-lying land, which those who know its outlines will recognise as the island of Gigha, the higher and bluffer eminence of Cara rising up behind.

Such are my latest recollections of the landscape view from Keills. And surely, if anywhere, here were stored up in abundance, for successive generations of preachers and teachers ministering at yonder little altar, sermons manifold in stones, in woods, in sea and sky, in the flowers of the field—those glories of external nature which the sainted abbot of Clairvaux declared should teach his monks better lessons than they could ever learn either from books or masters.

## CHAPTER XII.

North Knapdale (continued).  
Slab at Taynish House.

WE have now to retrace our steps to Taynish House, in the garden belonging to which is the relic figured at Pl. XLIII. 1, 2—a little slab about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  feet long. My host here (with whom I had the pleasure of spending some very agreeable days while employed in the neighbourhood), informed me he believed it had been brought there a few years ago from an old burial-ground we shall presently come across—Kilmory of Oib. The form of incised cross is antique-looking, and the three holes set triangularwise on each side of the cross in one of the faces are curious, most probably representing a rude embodiment of the Trinitarian symbol. A fragment, with a similar device, brought from Eilean Mòr, may be seen in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh.

Name of Kilmory.

I may mention that on the west side of Linne Mhuirich, about half-way between Keills and Tayvallich, is a farm named Kilmory, but no ascertained ecclesiastical site near it to account for the name.

Druima' Chladha.

From Taynish we will recross the waters of Loch Sween, and land at the old castle,<sup>1</sup> which will enable us to note a group of religious sites on this side of the parish, as we proceed northwards. In a field between the castle and the road, is a small circular excrescence or raised plot of ground, which appears never to have been ploughed. It marks the position of an ancient burial-ground, and is named Druim a' Chladha (ridge of tombstones).

Kilbride.

There may have been a votive chapel or oratory here, the designation of whose tutelary has slipped away, and been replaced by the above local name. I was told of an ancient slab that could at one time be seen serving the purpose of a covering-stone for a bridge across a stream somewhere hereabouts, but I did not find it. Further on, going northward, about three-quarters of a mile, is another religious site near the farm-buildings of Kilbride, which have doubtless been named from it, and represent another of the memorials in Scotland to the popular S. Bridget or Bride, patroness of Kildare, in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> There are no remains at either of these sites.

A short distance beyond Kilbride is a spring of excellent water by the roadside, and

<sup>1</sup> It is not my intention to describe Castle Sween here. It may be noted, however, that the building is much the same in character as Skipness Castle in Kintyre, and may probably be referred to about the same date, the twelfth century or thereabout. One of its turrets is named Macmillan's Tower, a circumstance pointing to the early settlement of the Macmillans in Knapdale, and bringing to mind the inscribed cross at Kilmory-Knap.

<sup>2</sup> She is met with twice in Kintyre (Archæol. Sketches, i. 140). Dr Kelly, in his notices of Irish patron saints, remarks of her as follows: "S. Bridget was specially revered in Germany and Scotland—some singular and beautiful customs in her honour being preserved in the latter country for more than a century after the Reformation. In Ireland she was styled the 'Mary of Erin;' and one of the most ancient biographers exclaims, " 'Except Mary, who can compare in heaven with my bride?'"

very near the sea-shore. It bears the suggestive appellation of Tobar Chaluim-Cille (Columbkil's Well), but why so called is not known in the neighbourhood. It may be that a tradition of S. Columba's having disembarked and preached here, or performed a miracle on the waters of the well, once hung about this spot, but has since perished, the name alone remaining. Continuing our walk along the picturesque margin of the loch, we pass the site of another *kil*, and near it a well situated in the wood skirting the shore by Daltot. Some of the gravestones of this burial-ground have been seen by persons living, but the site is all but obliterated. It is evident that the shores of Loch Sween were in favour with the ecclesiastics of early days, from the clustering of these *kils* so close together. They could never have been mere places of interment, for one such would have been ample for the wants of a large area of country. They must have been cells or oratories, erected by the piety of individuals in the locality, around which a small plot of ground was consecrated, and came to be used for sepulture. Hardly a quarter of a mile to the north of Daltot is another of these chapel-sites, whose identity is sufficiently determined by the name of an old cothouse and croft not a hundred yards distant from it—Ach Cill Bhranain (field of Brendan's cell). S. Brendan is a personage we made thorough acquaintance with in reviewing Kintyre,<sup>1</sup> and it will suffice here to merely note his reappearance. Past this site, by the by, flows a little mountain-stream with a curious name, got from a large boulder on the sea-shore near its effluence into the loch—Clach an t-Sasunnaich (the Englishman's stone).

But we are far yet from being at the end of the Loch Sweenside *kils*. The next place I have to notice is the pretty wooded island off Ashfield Point, "Eilean an Loinnean" (church island),<sup>2</sup> on which is the trace of an old chapel, or "priest's house," as it is locally called, and an enclosure supposed to have been the attached garden. The traditional account given of these vestiges is, that a priest or minister, during an epidemic which prevailed in the north end of the parish, forsook his parsonage, and transplanted himself here to be out of danger. One would think he must have been a rather worthless, and happily very rare, representative of his sacred calling, thus to abandon his flock and bury himself in this retreat just at a time when his services would most be needed. At the point we have now reached, the estuary of Loch Sween divides into two parallel branches, separated by a long wooded peninsula, at the extreme end of which is another ancient place of burial, whence the spot derives its name of Rudha Cladh Eoin (promontory of S. John's cemetery), to give it what we may conclude to be its proper dedicatory translation. Here some indications of the old gravestones still remain, and the track of the wall of some building, probably a chapel or oratory.

Kilmichael-Inverlussa is our next destination, a charmingly situated site on the north bank of the Lussa Water, a little above its confluence with the loch. This is the present parochial centre of North Knapdale, where the minister has his church, manse, and glebelands. These were formerly at Keills, the exchange having been effected about the year 1734, when a considerable slice was taken from the old parish of Kilvicocharmaig, as also

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 183-185.

<sup>2</sup> "Loinn," or "Lann," sig. a church, house, repository, enclosure.



Its monu-  
ments.

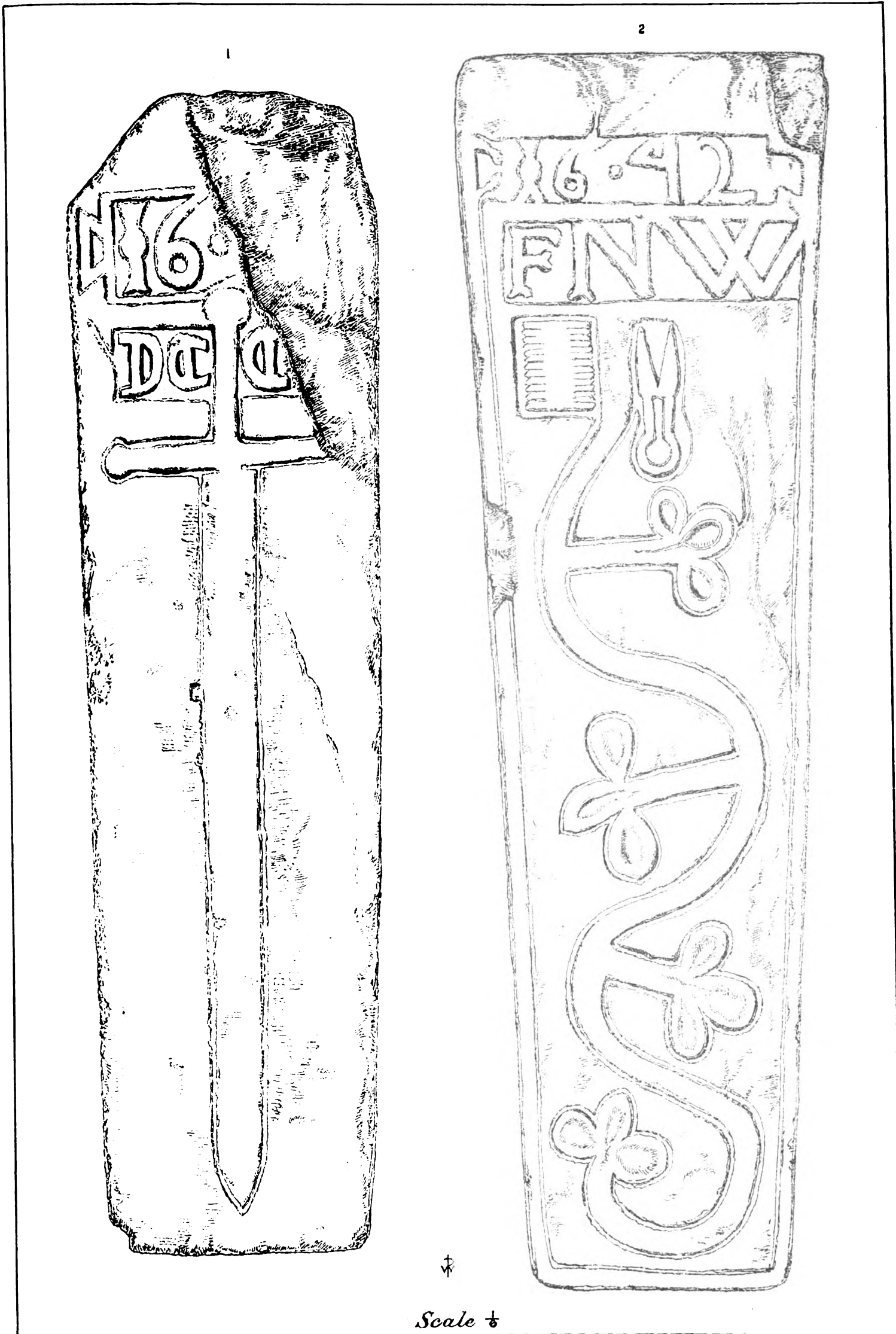
from Kilberry, to form the new one of South Knapdale. In the burial-ground of the present parish church at Inverlussa, I found no slabs or relics of interest beyond three, which, though not of mediæval date, I thought sufficiently distinctive to claim a place among these illustrations. They show, in fact—what in my experience is so rare—a certain class of sculptured objects, borrowed from mediæval models, and introduced upon tombstones of the seventeenth century. In Pl. XLIV. 1, we have the ancient type of sword or claymore, with nothing else but some initials and the date, of which part has disappeared, along with a large segment of the stone broken off at one corner. Fig. 2 of the same Plate has the date 1642, the initials FNW, below these the shears and comb of the older sculptures, and a somewhat clumsy imitation of the serpentine foliage-pattern so often seen in these latter. In Pl. XLV. 2, we have a similar ornament, the initials AMW, suggesting another member of the same family, and the date 1644. These three slabs were very probably the work of one hand, and it seems likely they may have owed their existence to the revival, during the reign of the first Charles, of what was called in Scotland “Prelacy.” For Anglican “Episcopacy,” whatever its merits or demerits, has generally displayed a leaning towards the external culture and artistic developments of the older communion from which it reformed. With the reappearance of the surplice in the pulpits of the Kirk, we might not unreasonably look for a partial return of a taste for ancient ecclesiastical art. But the sculptor would be new to his work, and would be very likely to miss, as in these slabs at Inverlussa, the full understanding of the spirit and feeling for art which the old deft stone-carvers possessed. I have met with but two other examples in the West Highlands of copies from the ancient style of Celtic monumental decoration in post-Reformation gravestones, and both of these belonged to the close of the sixteenth century. With the Commonwealth began that era, dismal to the student of ecclesiology—an era in tomb-sculpture of verbose epitaphs, skulls, and cross-bones, from which we have not even yet emerged.

Site of the an-  
cient chapel.

Priest's Well.

On the hillside, a little to the north of Inverlussa, is the site of the ancient chapel and burying-ground of Kilmichael. The visible remains here are no more than the nearly effaced outline of some building standing east and west, which I roughly ascertained, by pacing, to be about 24 by 13 feet. What seemed to have been the doorway was in the south wall, near the north-east angle. Besides this, there are traces of other walls, which, it is said, represent the priest's dwelling and surrounding churchyard, the latter most marked at the south-east portion, where the wall is about 3½ feet in width. Near these, trickling out from under a rock, is the Priest's Well (Tobar an t-Sagairt), famous, like many another spring of so-called holy water, for its miraculous healing virtues. I believe the country people have by no means yet lost their faith in its powers. A good-sized round hole, scooped in the face of a rock near the chapel, has been credited with being the ancient font or stoup; but as there are several other such cavities, round or oblong-shaped, hollowed out in the schist rock of the neighbourhood, this assumption may be apocryphal. Not a trace of a gravestone was to be seen here; but it is said that many were removed hence to the present churchyard of the parish at some former time.

A singular tradition is asserted to be current in the neighbourhood—to wit, that a ban



Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

overhangs every parish minister for the time being of North Knapdale; or to put it in local phrase, that no minister will have either health or happiness in the manse of Inverlussa. And this is the alleged reason why: In days long gone by a new church was badly wanted for the parish. Now there was a certain ship, hailing from North Knapdale, which put out to sea on a voyage, none wist whither, save the master and them that sent him; and this ship bore away for Ireland. And when a certain part of the coast of the Green Isle was fetched, they of the ship landed and went straightway to a Popish church, and tore off the lead and the roofing thereof, and bore their plunder away with them. And it was told the priest of the despoiled sanctuary what these men had done. Then came he quickly and cursed them from the altar for their impiety, and foretold that never should any peace or health or joy come to those who should thereafter minister under that stolen and desecrated material. Nevertheless, the ship brought home the roofing gear safely, and the stones of the new church at Inverlussa were laid and the roof fitted on to them, and so the building was finished. But the priest's anathema never died, and it lives still. This is the gist of the tradition, but I am unable to say how far the popular belief has been verified. The present incumbent gave me no reason to think he was the worse for the priestly excommunication; nor was his excellent and highly esteemed predecessor, so far as I could ascertain, much of a sufferer.

Odd tradition at Inverlussa.

How a new church was built,

and what came of it.

I do not know if I ought to add to the above another legend, as it is not one of ecclesiastical association. Being, however, a fair specimen of such stories, it may perhaps interest the reader. At the beginning of the present century a family named M—— were resident in a farmhouse near Inverlussa. Whence it came about did not transpire, but for some time the inmates of the house were annoyed of nights by showers of stones being, as it seemed, thrown against the windows from the outside. The nuisance at length got so intolerable, that the farmer affixed a notice to the church-door warning all concerned that a watch would be set, and that if these proceedings continued, it would be at the offender's peril. But the warning was ineffectual; for, a few nights after its promulgation, the disturbances recommenced, and volleys of stones began as before to rattle against the farmer's windows. The family, however, were prepared for the occasion; the son seized his gun and sallied out of the house by one door, the father by another. The night was dark. Young M—— sees a figure creeping round the house towards him, takes aim and fires. The figure drops, and then it is seen that the stricken individual is the goodman of the household. It was a melancholy story. The family emigrated, and the house was shut up. Nothing was ever known as to that strange stone-throwing or the sounds thereof, nor cared men to ask many questions. Soon it was noised abroad that lights had been seen in the windows of the deserted tenement, and sounds of footfalls heard about the premises, and folks said the place was haunted, and at last this house of unhappy memory was pulled down.

Another "strange story."

The craggy ridges of Cruach Lusach (hill of shrubs) to the south of Glen Lussa add much picturesqueness to the landscape at this part of the parish. The summit of this hill, if we are to accept the statement of a local authority, is named "Tom seilg mhic

Cruach Lusach.

“ Dhonuil bhallich ”—the hunting eminence of spotted M'Donald—and the hill itself was anciently a forest which belonged to the bishops of Sodor and Man.<sup>1</sup> I do not know how this piece of information was obtained. From the same source we derive the following :

The “ black field ” of justice.

“ On a field called Dubh Achadh, or ‘ the black field,’ a little south of the church of Inverlussay, Sir James Campbell of Achanambreac, about the beginning of last century, was wont to hold courts of justice twice in the year—namely, at Whitsunday and Martinmas—to settle the differences of his tenants in the parish. Here they assembled from Crinan harbour on the north, to the point of Knap on the south, where each person paid a penny to the law officers in name of court dues, whether he had a lawsuit or not. Each of these meetings continued a week, or from Monday to Saturday, when they separated. The family of the Macilebhearnaigs of Oib Graham were the legal trumpeters, who called the people to these assemblies ; and the trumpet used on these occasions was presented by Duncan Macilebhearnaig, the last laird of Oib Graham, to John Campbell, Esq., at Ardnacaig, who retains it to this day.”<sup>2</sup>

Patron saint of Inverlussa.

For the dedication of Kilmichael-Inverlussa, I need do no more than refer the reader to what has been said elsewhere respecting similar names. We had them in Kintyre ;<sup>3</sup> and they are comparatively common throughout Scotland.

Name of “ Oib.”

From Inverlussa, we have to get round by land, or cross by water, to another of those ridgy wooded promontories which so beautify the region I am describing. The one we are in search of is the long neck of land separating Caol Scotnish from Loch Sween proper. The very names of the farms hereabout denote the character of the country—a group of *Obs* or *Oibs*, as Oibmore, Ob Greim, Garoib, and so on, “ ob ” signifying a bay or creek. The particular *ob* which at present concerns us is the farmhouse of Oibmore ; and once there (the road to it is villainously bad, let me remark), all we have to do is to keep to a pathway through the wood and proceed in a southerly direction, watching carefully for a small upright slab alongside the path. Thus it was, but piloted by the farmer himself, that I found the very antique-looking relic figured in Pl. XLVI. 3, 4. It was standing in the ground, but so loosely that our joint efforts were able to lift it out of its socket, when its length was seen to be just about 4 feet. The cross carved on both sides, and also the bosses, are thoroughly Irish in style. Mark also the irregularity of position and the number of these bosses, and note, moreover, the two small crosses incised on the relieved portions of one side of the stone, as if they were an after-thought of the sculptor, to stamp, by reiteration, his reverence for the emblem of his faith. This most interesting relic is almost lost where it is, yet it is so far useful in its present position as marking the site of what is supposed to have been a very ancient burying-ground, the spot being named Ach na Cille (place of the cell.) This is the only stone left ; indeed, all trace of the “ kil ” was ploughed up, I heard, before the ground was put under wood. I sincerely

Antique slab at Ach na Cille.

<sup>1</sup> Currie's North Knapdale, 23. Mr Currie's estimate of the height of Cruach Lusach is, however, singularly inaccurate, as I have often found such local estimates to be. He calls it 3000 feet above the sea, whereas it is not more than 1530 at the highest point.

<sup>2</sup> Currie's North Knapdale, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Archæol. Sketches in Scot., i. 120.



trust the proprietor of Oibmore will look after this primitive monument, and save it from untimely destruction.

The branch of Loch Sween which runs past Oibmore is, perhaps, the most perfectly picturesque of all the inlets. From the path above, you overlook its sheltered waters, and get glimpses of a series of bays and exquisitely-wooded islands thrown by Nature's hand into an endless variety of pictures.

Another ancient religious site, the trace of which is wellnigh blotted out, is met with beside Loch Coill a' Bharra on the road from Oibmore, near where it joins the highway between Keills and Lochgilphead. It is known as Kilmory-Oib, and near it is a small cluster of deserted shealings falling into ruin, which go by the same name. Here there is a well, and erected over it is the quaint slab given in Pl. XLVI. 1, 2. On one side appears a simple incised cross, but with an unusual triangular-shaped head, which is new to me. The reverse shows a relieved cross, flanked at the top by two birds with long beaks, one not unlike a wren. In the angular spaces where the arms intersect the shaft, there are two bosses below, and what seem to be two leaves above. Next, another pair of leaves branching from the shaft, and two more birds. Lower down, a S. Andrew cross incised; and the rest is some sort of ornamentation too defaced to make out. The birds, one notices, all face to the cross, and the bills of three of them are pressed into it, as though the artist had designed in this way to signify that it was fitting even for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air to do homage to the holy symbol.

It is worthy of note that a pair of birds very similar in expression to the above are introduced alongside a raised ornamental cross carved upon one of the slabs lately discovered at S. Vigean's, Arbroath.<sup>1</sup> These slabs must indeed be of high antiquity, if some of them, as stated, can be proved to have been broken up and built into walls as early as the twelfth century. Their ornamentation and general style are wonderfully similar to what we find on many of the Knapdale sculptures; but some of those have what is altogether wanting in these,<sup>2</sup> the symbols of the eastern Scottish pillar-stones.

Before leaving this promontory, I may mention that in a field adjoining Kilmory Mill, and close to the edge of Loch Coill a' Bharra, I came across a rudely oblong or polygonal-shaped block of stone with a circular basin cut in it very like a font. It measured about 2½ ft. by 1½ ft., and the aperture 9 inches in diameter by 6 deep. There was no drain-hole, however, out of this basin. I should have been inclined to refer it to natural hollowing, as in the cavities at Inverlussa, but that it was lying close to a small circular building of curious appearance. The walls of this structure are of great thickness as compared with the size of the internal area, which is only 6 feet across. The entrance appeared to be on the west side. This little building is very closely similar to those described at Eilean Mòr as having possibly been used for hermitages. By its side can be traced the foundations of another stone erection, rectangular, and 25 feet or thereabouts in length. The west wall is quite straight and clearly defined. It may be remembered

<sup>1</sup> See notice and illustrations by the Rev. W. Duke, M.A., vol. ix. part ii. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., 1873.

<sup>2</sup> If I am allowed to except the slab at Kilberry, already discussed.

that we found vestiges of rectangular buildings side by side with the small circular ones in Eilean Mòr.

*Kilmahumaig.* At Kilmahumaig, near the west end of the Crinan Canal, is the site of another old chapel and its burying-ground, which is still in use. Close beside it is one of those old mounds known in Scotland as "laws." It is named Dun Domhnuill (or Dundonald), and is traditionally supposed to be one of those mounds upon which the Lords of the Isles were used to sit on state occasions while administering justice and giving charters to vassals in the old patriarchal fashion.<sup>1</sup> The relative claims of S. Chammak, Carmaig, or Cormac, to be considered as represented in such names as Kilmahumaig, Kilchamaig, and the like, I have discussed in going over the district of Kintyre, and on the present occasion may be left an open question.

<sup>1</sup> The very words used by a Lord of the Isles in granting a charter to a certain vassal at one of these open-air meetings have been, it would seem, traditionally handed down in the district in their Gaelic form: "I, Donald of Clandonald, sitting on Dundonald, give here to Mackay a right to Kilmahumaig from this day till to-morrow, and so on for evermore."—See Currie's North Knapdale, 19.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE last chapter closed my review of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the district of Knapdale. I have, however, embodied in the collection of illustrations given in this volume two or three more slabs of representative character obtained from other parts of Argyllshire, drawings of which I had executed when I received my orders to go on foreign service. These supplementary drawings will, I think, afford an interesting comparison with the monuments at the other places I have described.

Pl. XLV. 1 is a solitary specimen in the parish churchyard of Appin (district of Lorn). Slab at Appin. It is somewhat rude in execution, as, for instance, in the sculpturing of the sword-handle, which is out of line with the blade. The circular piece of knot-work at the base of the slab is curious.

In Pl. XLVII. we have a very large and fine slab of a type seen only, so far as I am yet aware, at Kilmichael-Glassary, near Lochgilphead. One at Kilmichael-Glassary. The arrangement of the stems and foliage, and the peculiar shape of the latter with the small round buttons at their springing from the stem, are what give the specific character to this slab. The animals, also, are of an odd style, and somewhat stiff in their outlining. The inscription here is a fine specimen of the manner in which the lettering of the old ecclesiastical carvings was made to subserve the purposes of embellishment as well as those of a record. The writing in this case is tolerably perfect, and there is no difficulty in reading the initiatory words, "Hic iacet Duncanus." Now, in 1479, King James III. granted to Colin, Earl of Argyll, the lands of Gareald, Craigenewir (in the valley of the Add), and Tanglandlew (within the barony of Glassary), resigned by *Duncan Makcane*.<sup>1</sup> With the aid of this information, if we turn again to the inscription, the following, I think, can be deciphered—

**Hic iacet Duncanus Mor M' Kane**

—and at the top of the slab the name "Lachlan." This appears to be one of those rare instances where we are enabled to identify a mediæval tombstone in the West Highlands with a substantive individual of whom there is documentary record. The date of this slab may therefore be referred to about the close of the fifteenth century. The sword-hilt and guard figured on it are of a pattern we have seen once in Knapdale, and are very prettily worked out.

(Pl. XLVIII.)—The situation of the old burial-ground where I got these two slabs Slabs at Kilmoriche, near Inverary; is at the head of Loch Fyne, opposite Cairndow, about six miles from Inverary. This is

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Paroch., ii. (parish of Glassary).

apparently the place marked in the old maps "Kilmoriche." Both slabs are of a type differing from what I have seen in other districts. The four-looped knot in fig. 1 is curious in its structure; the long-shafted object with handle at the foot of the slab may be some utensil or weapon. The design of the tracery round the sword in fig. 2 is quite original.

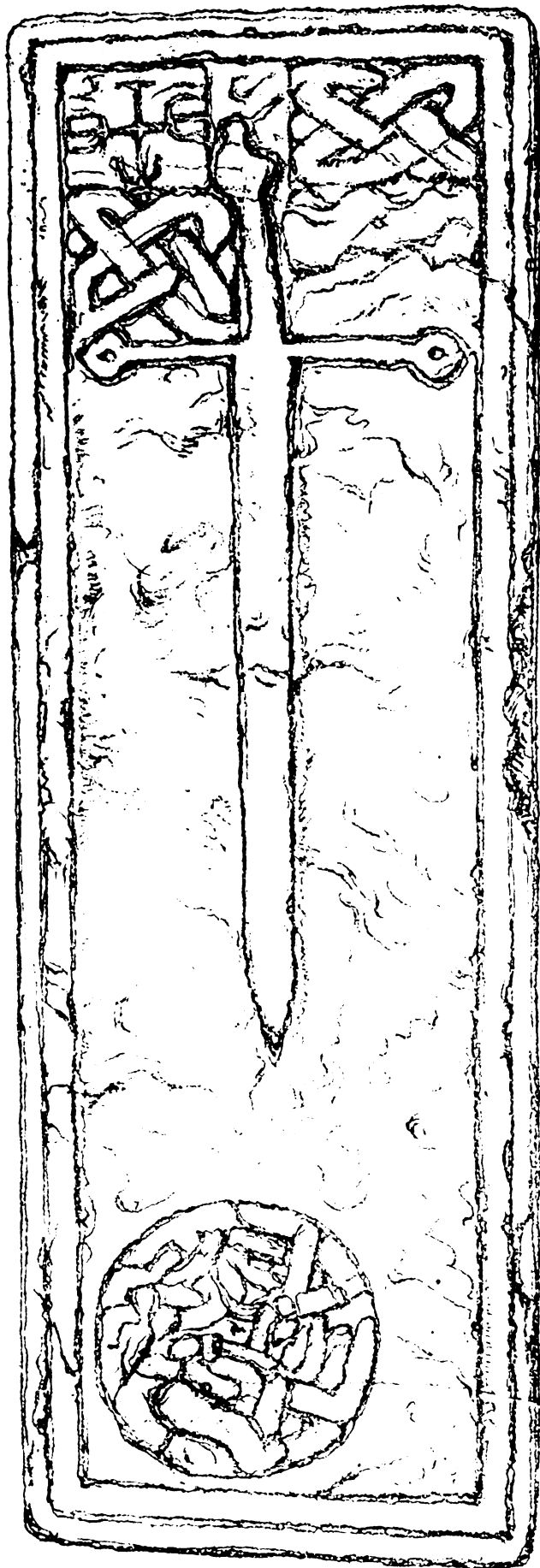
and at Kil-  
brandon, Seil  
Island.

(Pl. XLIX.)—This pair of stones are in the ancient burying-place of Kilbrandon, in the island of Seil, which lies off the Argyllshire coast between Crinan and Oban. Fig. 1 is a much-worn slab. Its execution is rude, and the style of the running pattern of foliage distinctive. I had great difficulty in making a drawing of it, owing to its being overlaid and much obscured by an ugly modern tombstone of the kind raised upon upright supports. There appears to have been an old family of Macphersons formerly located in the neighbourhood, and this slab is supposed to commemorate one of them. Fig. 2 is a beautifully-finished sculpture—a contrast to the last in respect of execution. The loop and stem tracery here are similar to what one generally finds throughout the West Highlands, and the sculpturing of the leaves has been accomplished with much delicacy. At the base of the stone is a label with figuring on it similar to what is found on one of the crosses at Campbelton in Kintyre. The pair of animals combatant are much disfigured by the modern initials M and M<sup>B</sup> scored over them. Above these are the shears, and a dirk or dagger prettily finished at the pommel. The border is elaborately worked out into five rows alternately disposed, two ornamented with tooth mouldings and three left plain; and it is characteristic of the ancient Celtic art that these mouldings are not all alike throughout, but some are more pointed and refined than others. Nor are they all of the same shape, for the outer row differs from the inner, and thus the sculpture is relieved from all trace of that monotony we so often feel to exist in modern work of the kind. This fine tombstone is in the burial-place appropriated to the MacLachlans of Kilbride, and is believed to represent one of that family.

Concluding  
remarks.

My task, so far as the contents of the present volume are concerned, is now completed. I have taken the reader over a field of monumental art of a certain peculiar and national kind—a field little trodden, but one which I apprehend will have been shown to possess materials capable of yielding a rich harvest, not only to the archæological investigator, but also to the lover of natural scenery. A veteran explorer in this department of antiquities, who, as I have elsewhere remarked, has made these and kindred monuments in western Scotland the study of many years, said to me on my taking up the exploration of Knapdale, "You are entering the richest part of the ground;" and I believe he was undoubtedly right. In what is probably no more than a remnant of the productions of a noble handicraft, we discern throughout this region of knobs and dales—along the shores of its sequestered bays, or buried in the rocky recesses of its lonely islands—wealth exuberant, the more interesting, perhaps, that to the explorer the soil is all but virgin. Iona, it is true, is commonly regarded as the parent establishment of the art. But I question if anything much finer than what is to be seen in Knapdale, anything that could be called more strictly representative of this school of sculpture—at all events, so far as the recum-

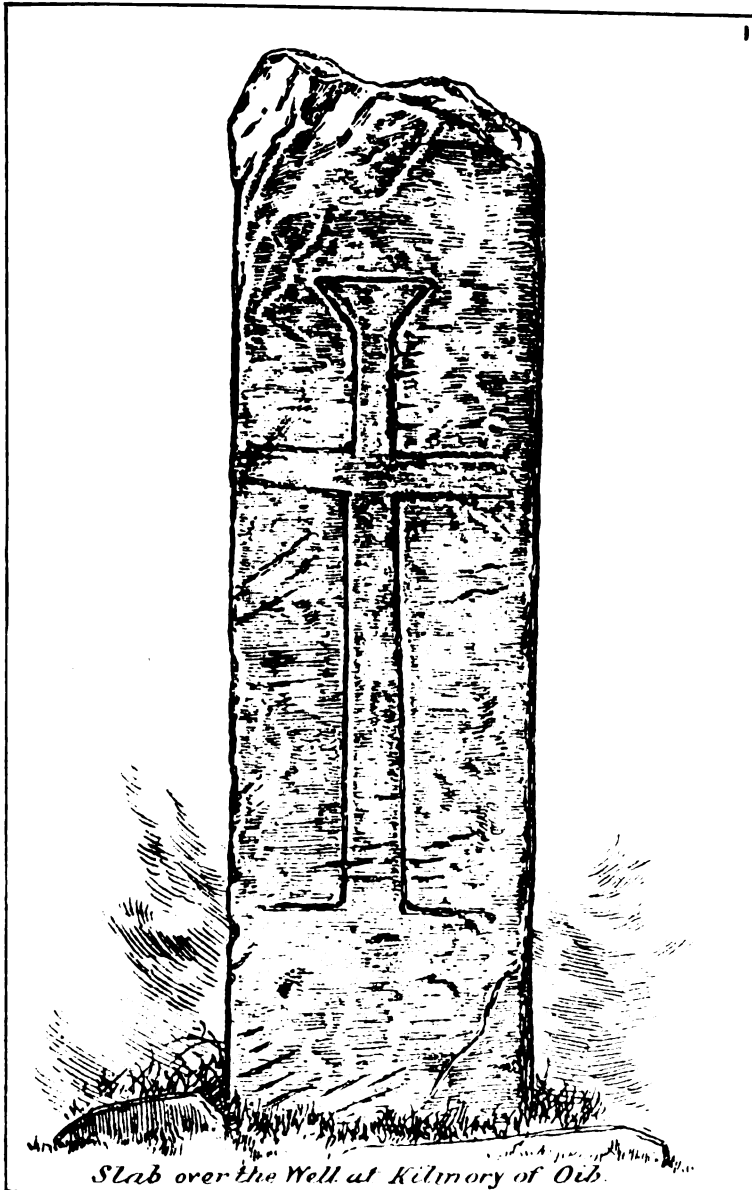




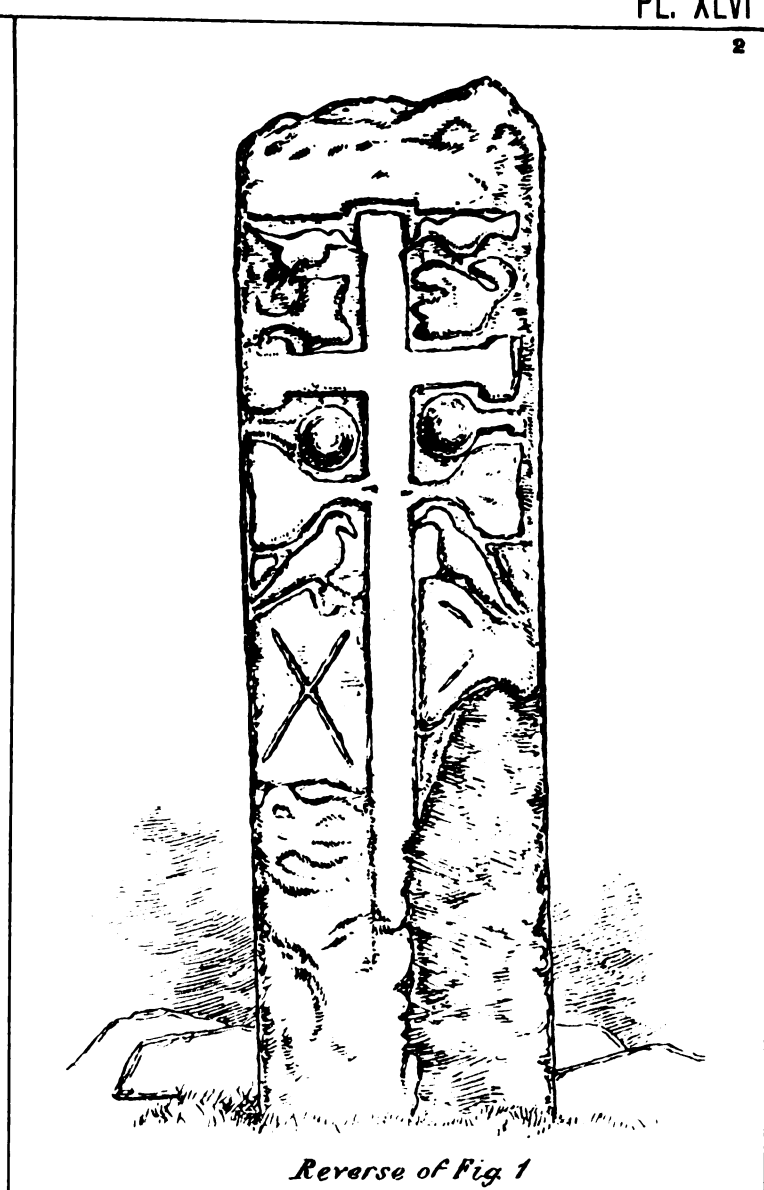
*At Appin Church*



*At Kilmichael Inverlussa*



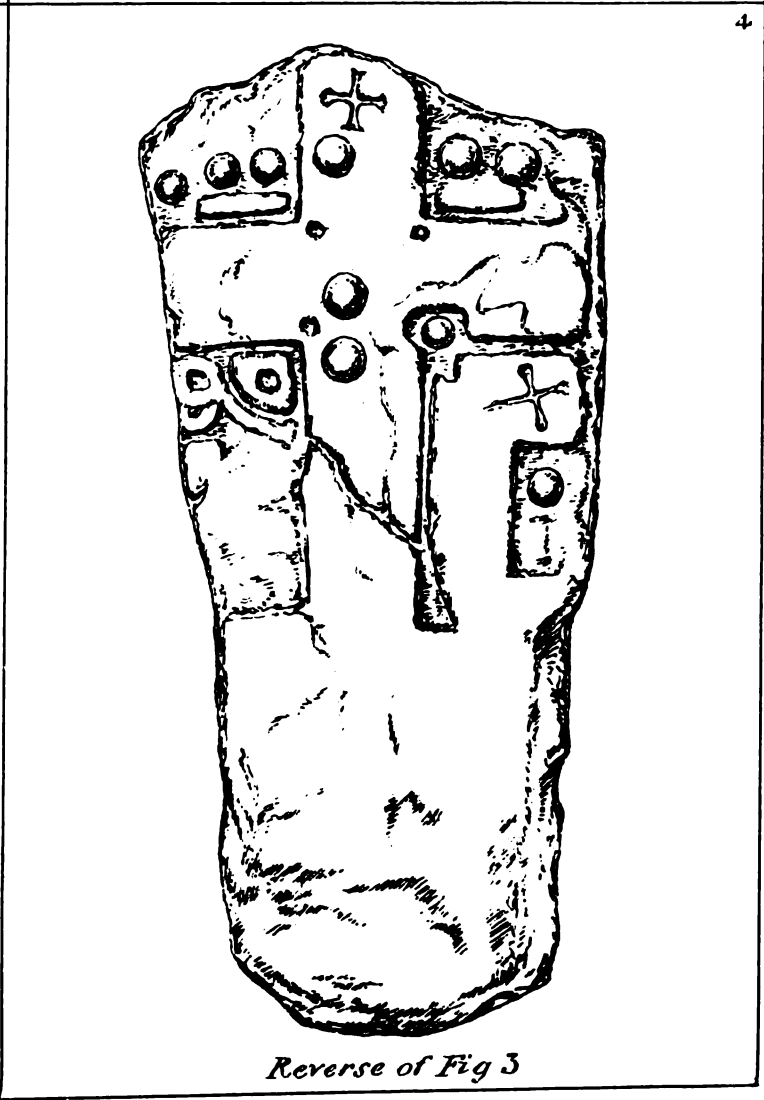
*Slab over the Well at Kilmory of Oib.*



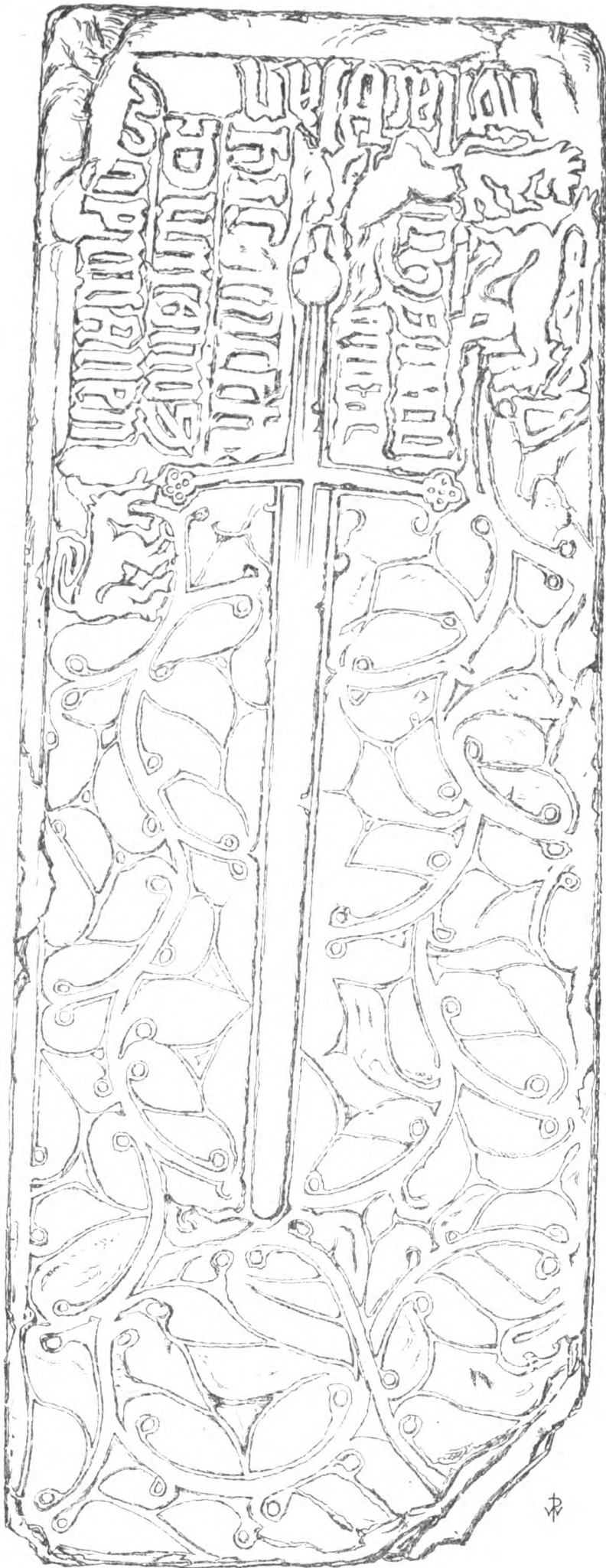
*Reverse of Fig 1*



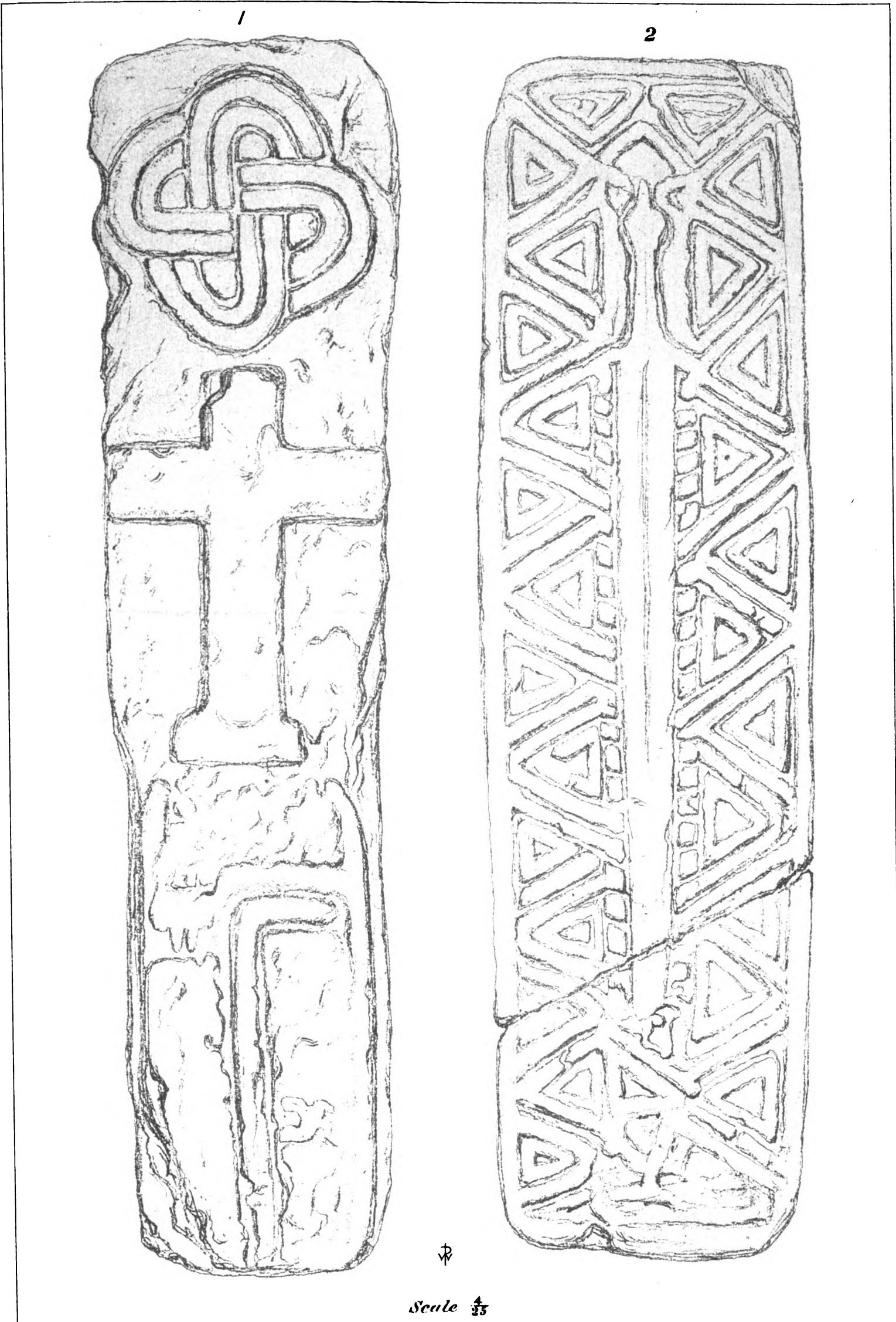
*Slab at Ach-na-cille on farm of Oibmore*



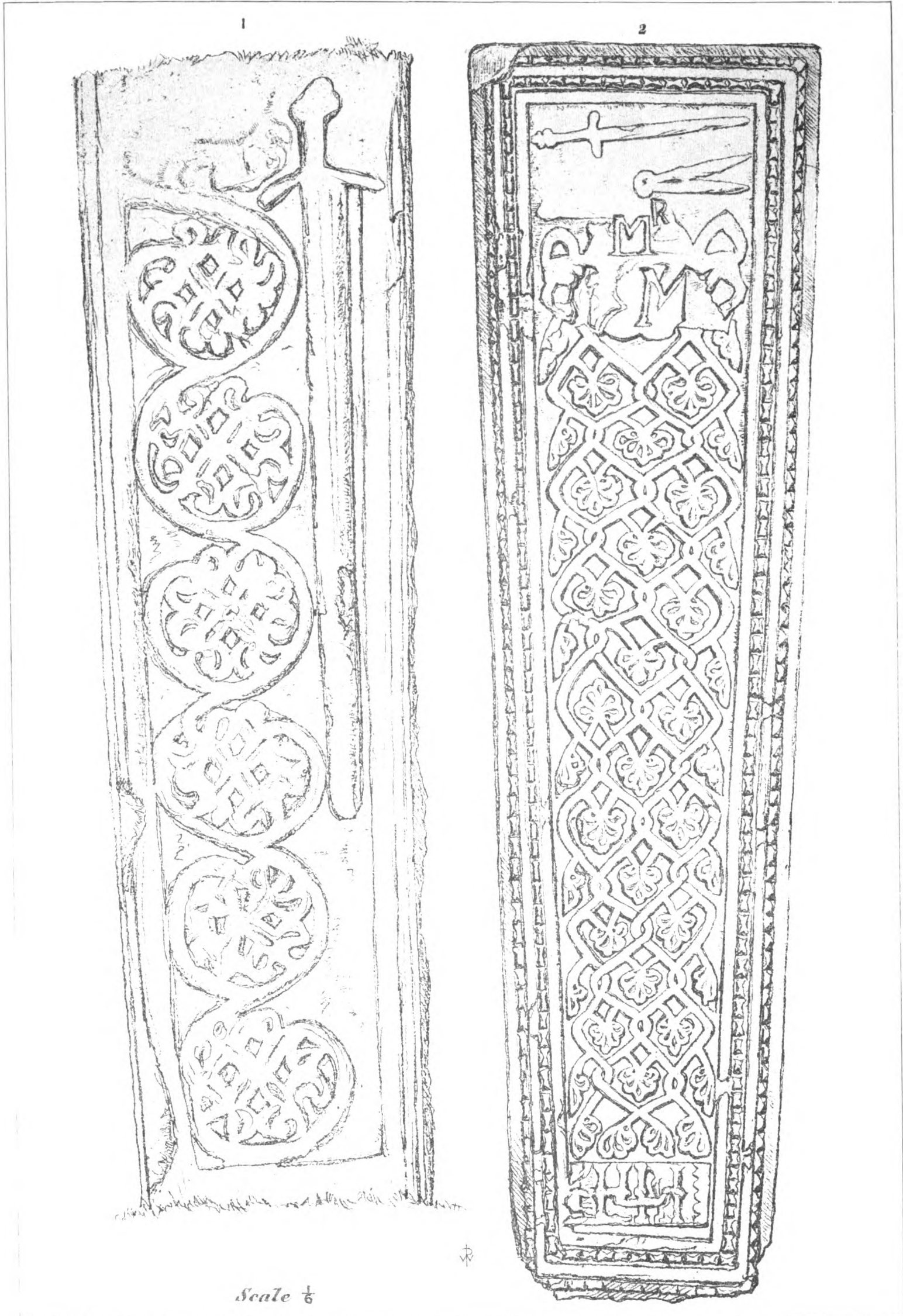
*Reverse of Fig 3*



Scale  $\frac{1}{25}$







Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$



bent slabs are concerned—is to be met with even in that venerable storehouse of ecclesiastical treasures.

We have seen that a certain close connection may be traced between the monumental achievements of the English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish; yet it has not appeared that this assimilation is due to mere copyism, inasmuch as the works in each locality bear their own original stamp. An eminent historian has pointed out this connection in some valuable remarks, which I shall take the liberty of transcribing here. “These sculptures of eastern Scotland, however” (which he has just been discussing), “though they may be set down as the produce of native genius, are not entirely isolated. In the Isle of Man and the northern counties of England there are many sculptured stones partaking so much of the same character, that were their counterparts found in Scotland, they would not surprise our antiquaries. But a still wider connection opens towards the west. All through Argyllshire, especially its south-west portion, there is a rich store of sculptured stones, which diverge into specialties of their own, yet at the same time partake so far of the character of their eastern brethren, that there is no drawing a line of division between the two; and so they pass into Ireland, connecting the Scots sculptures with the crosses of Monasterboice and other specimens, which are generally admitted to come within the category of art. With the character of the west of Scotland stones many tourists become acquainted by the annual regulation visit to Iona. There is an odd tradition of the district, indeed, that all the others grouped round religious foundations of inferior name were carried off—or stolen, as the people usually put it—from Iona. The general tone of all these monuments is in a higher and freer art than that of their eastern neighbours. The decorations pass from their absolute geometrical formulas, and, retaining the adjustments of the geometrical law, as all symmetrical decoration must, they expand with a sort of floral freedom, dealing in the arrangements of branches, leaves, flowers, and clusters. Many of them, as works of art, are extremely beautiful. None of them are so ancient as their eastern brethren; and whether or not it be from a Celtic distaste of change, the oldest types are imitated down to days comparatively modern, even to the early part of the eighteenth century. Altogether, this school of art, with at the one extremity the rudest sculptures on the stones in north-eastern Scotland, and at the other the splendid crosses of Ireland, is worthy of more study, even as part of the history of art, than it has hitherto received.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr J. H. Burton's observations on the tomb-sculptures of Argyllshire.

But Mr Burton has touched the subject of ancient Celtic art from another point of view. It had often strongly impressed me that some of the symmetrical patterns of the Argyllshire sculptured slabs were capable of adaptation for the many kinds of fabrics manufactured in these days. Instancing a beautiful piece of foliated work on a tombstone in Kintyre, I made the observation that “such a design might be utilised by a modern decorative manufacturer or jeweller with the greatest effect in a variety of ways.”<sup>2</sup> Mr Burton, in the latest edition of his History, alluding to this very point, has pretty much anticipated all that can be said about it. “It is surely to be regretted,” he continues,

The patterns of these sculptures,

suitable for copying in modern fabrics.

Mr Burton's views on this point.

<sup>1</sup> Burton's Hist. of Scot., 2d edit., i. 159, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Archæol. Sketches, i. 133.

“ that the many specimens of this school of national art are so sparingly accessible to the  
 “ world at large, and to our own people especially. It is useless to say that they can be  
 “ visited, and that an actual inspection of a monument is more instructive than the exami-  
 “ nation of a woodcut or a lithographic plate. This is an argument that would abolish  
 “ all attempts at multiplying the forms of art. The great magazine of this kind of art,  
 “ the Spalding Club Book, now costs more than £20, and is not in many even of the  
 “ public libraries. When, both for instruction and the gratification of curiosity, we  
 “ multiply in popular shapes the art of Egypt, of Syria—nay, of China, Japan, and the  
 “ South Sea Islands—why should we neglect what is so abundant at our own doors? A  
 “ collection of typical stone-carvings from England, Scotland, and Ireland, would make an  
 “ interesting and instructive book, and it might be enriched by cognate specimens of art, such  
 “ as the illuminator’s or the wood-carver’s. It might include the period before the Gothic  
 “ forms, coming from abroad and mingling with those of native growth, had entirely super-  
 “ seded them. Such a collection would be useful to the artist and the manufacturer by sup-  
 “ plying new varieties of geometrical tracery. They ought, of course, not to be adopted and  
 “ repeated, either in textile fabrics or otherwise, if they are deemed unworthy; but if, on  
 “ the other hand, they are found to be efforts of legitimate and pleasing art, that they are  
 “ of national origin should be no reason for rejecting them. . . . The example, in  
 “ fact, has been set where we would have naturally expected it to be reluctantly followed.  
 “ Trade has anticipated artistic literature, and the manufacturers of ornamental com-  
 “ modities have been recently going for original patterns of decoration to the recondite  
 “ sources of information about ancient national tracery. The kindred races on the other  
 “ side of the North Sea are a practical censure on our lethargy, for the literature of the  
 “ Scandinavin nations has for three hundred years been employed in bringing their  
 “ national monuments before the world.”<sup>1</sup>

Such suitabil-  
ity obvious

for textile  
fabrics,

carved wood  
and metal  
work,

die-stamping,

There can be little doubt that many of the patterns, both of the foliated and interlaced kind, exhibited in these pages, are suitable for present-day use in many household commodities, quite apart from the question of their revival in monumental carving. Such patterns woven into carpets or other textile fabrics would be a relief from the endless wearying repetitions of debased classic forms. They might replace the inanities which distress the eye in so much of our modern wall-papering, or be carried along the cornices of our rooms and corridors. For all sorts of carved wood-work which could be arranged in panels they would be peculiarly applicable. So with castings in ornamental metal-work; there is no lack of square or circular designs, wonderfully symmetrical, yet simple, any one of which might be reproduced with good effect in iron-gates, spandrels of arched girders, and other open work of like kind. The die-stamper, whose commodities in these days traverse the world far and wide, might use such designs, and through their medium diffuse a little genuine art among those who would soon learn to appreciate it. The bookbinder might avail himself of similar materials, and combine popular art education with profit to himself. Something in this

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Scot. (J. H. Burton), i. 161, 162.

way has been already done by the gold and silver smith, and done with success. There are few jewellers' shop-windows in the large towns of Scotland where you will not see a display of trinkets, such as necklets, bracelets, and the like, fashioned on the models of the "Iona" crosses.<sup>1</sup> And no doubt, with samples of the ornamentation of the Argyllshire tombstones and crosses before him, the engraver of the precious metals must feel himself in his element. *There* is the field, ready to the sickles of the reapers. One great art-critic, I am aware, is in deadly enmity to machine-made work; and he has laid it down that much of the constructive architecture of modern times is from its connection with mechanical agencies placed outside the pale of art. But waiving that question, it still remains that there are many avenues in the present day for the rehabilitation of the old Celtic genius.

for the gold-smith's craft.

One word, now, in continuation of my concluding observations in the former volume on the condition of the West Highland churchyards. Half a century ago, a cultivated and observant Scotsman was driven to write of the state in which he found them in the following terms: "The burying-ground of Sanda" (in Kintyre) "is still used for its original purpose; but, like all those which I have seen in the Highlands, it presents the usual marks of neglect—being unenclosed and covered with weeds and rubbish, and the gravestones being broken, neglected, and defaced by the tread of cattle. Wherever I have found these repositories throughout the country, with very few exceptions indeed, everything bespeaks that want of affection and respect which, among civilised nations, is so generally bestowed on memorials of departed friends. . . . Scarcely a nation, however barbarous, exists, in which the remains of those whom they loved are not treated by the surviving friends with care and respect, and even with affection; and the usages of many people, both in remote ages and in our own times, have been recorded by travellers with an interest that shows how universally this feeling is spread. It remained for the dark spirit of Calvinism to eradicate what it has offered nothing to replace. This censure, however, does not fall exclusively on the Highlands; and indeed a comparison of their ancient habits with the present is sufficient to prove the fanatical source in which the present negligent practices have originated." And again, he is "indignant at this Calvinistical mode of treating a living cow better than a dead man, by turning it in to fatten on the grass that grows over him. . . . We are not now permitted to say, 'Orate pro anima;' though even the thought and hope of that is a consolation at the hour of death, which is at least innocent." Contrasting this neglect with the affectionate attention bestowed upon the resting-places of the dead in Wales, he alludes to the custom obtaining there of strewing flowers over graves, a custom at least as early as the ancient Greeks,<sup>2</sup> and then proceeds as follows: "But, to pass from these fancies, in this Calvinised country, instead of the

State of the West Highland churchyards.

MacCulloch's remarks on them.

<sup>1</sup> The present Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, Sir Henry James, recently designed a neat and effective device in silver and jewels, embodying the sceptre and serpent of the Scottish symbol-stones, suitable either for a brooch or scarf-pin.

<sup>2</sup> May not this usage, still so rife among us, be merely an earlier expression of the sentiment which led to the mediæval practice of carving upon tombstones graceful foliage and other ornamental tracery?

“ rose and the laurel, the fenced and decorated mount, the weekly or the annual visit, “ the ground is encumbered with weeds and rubbish ; where there should be neatness “ and care, there are ruin and neglect ; and where remembrance, oblivion. Were even “ this all, it were something ; though a little more learning might have taught the “ followers of Calvin that these usages were not the peculiar property of the Scarlet “ Woman that sitteth on seven hills. But the rest is of the same stamp—as if the direct “ reverse of wrong was necessarily right.” <sup>1</sup>

His censures  
still in part  
applicable.

This is plain speaking ; and so far as the facts are concerned, the same plain speaking would be in place to-day. How far Calvinism may have been at the bottom of this state of things, is another matter. Could MacCulloch have lived to see its asperities softened as they are in these days, he might have come to regard the Church of Calvin with less severity. But it is unlikely that he would have receded one whit from his strictures upon the condition of the churchyards, which are for the most part unchanged. It must be matter for regret to archæologists that the objects contemplated by Sir John Lubbock's Bill for the Conservation of Historical Monuments seem for the present as far as ever from realisation. Something has been done for Iona ; and now that public attention has been thoroughly aroused in the direction of that cynosure of holy islands, it is to be hoped its relics will never again suffer what they have suffered heretofore. The noble proprietor of that island is an enlightened and accomplished gentleman, who may be assumed to take a lively interest in the history, traditions, and sculptured memorials of the land of his forefathers. Is it too much to ask of him, and his co-proprietors in a county which is a repository of ancient works of art, that they should do their utmost to preserve and exhibit these treasures to advantage ? Year by year we are paying largely to maintain and extend Schools of Design throughout the country ; while here in western Scotland, in the county of Argyll, is a ready-made unpaid School of Design, perishing out of existence for want of any one to look after it.

Valedictory.

To conclude this volume. For the present, the project the writer of it had formed with respect to a continuous illustration of the antiquities of the West Highlands has to be abandoned. The materials for carrying on a systematic archæological exploration in that quarter, *pari passu* with the Ordnance Survey, were in a fair way of accumulation so long as I remained on the Survey and was brought into immediate relation with the localities in the course of duty. A considerable quantity of such materials, still unused, were, in fact, left at the disposal of Sir Henry James on my departure abroad ; and my sincere hope is, that some one may be found to take up the work where I left it off. It is indisputable that an exhaustive collection of drawings of the Argyllshire sepulchral monuments would, if made with ordinary intelligence and even moderate artistic skill, be a valuable contribution to archæology, and supply important data for a comprehensive history of art. Had a few years more been granted me to conduct

<sup>1</sup> MacCulloch's *Highlands and Isles*, ii. 69-81. The whole of this writer's admirable remarks on this subject, headed “ Highland Funerals,” are well worth perusal.



such a work, I think I may say, without undue presumption, that it might have been accomplished, and have been followed by a similar survey of the prehistoric and castled remains. As it is, I have had to resign myself to parting, at all events for a time, with a study which had grown to be a deeply interesting one, as every study must be when one has mastered its first difficulties, and with a ripening experience begun to warm to one's work. The time, however, may yet come when the writer of these pages shall be in a position to renew acquaintance with the reader on a kindred subject. Meanwhile, if what has been attempted in this volume and its predecessor shall have proved anywise instructive or interesting, the author's labour will not have been in vain.

THE END.