EAST WINDOW OF KILBRANNAN CHAPEL
KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE. XLVII.

Sketched in Water Colour by Capt T. P. White, R. E.

W. & A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCHES

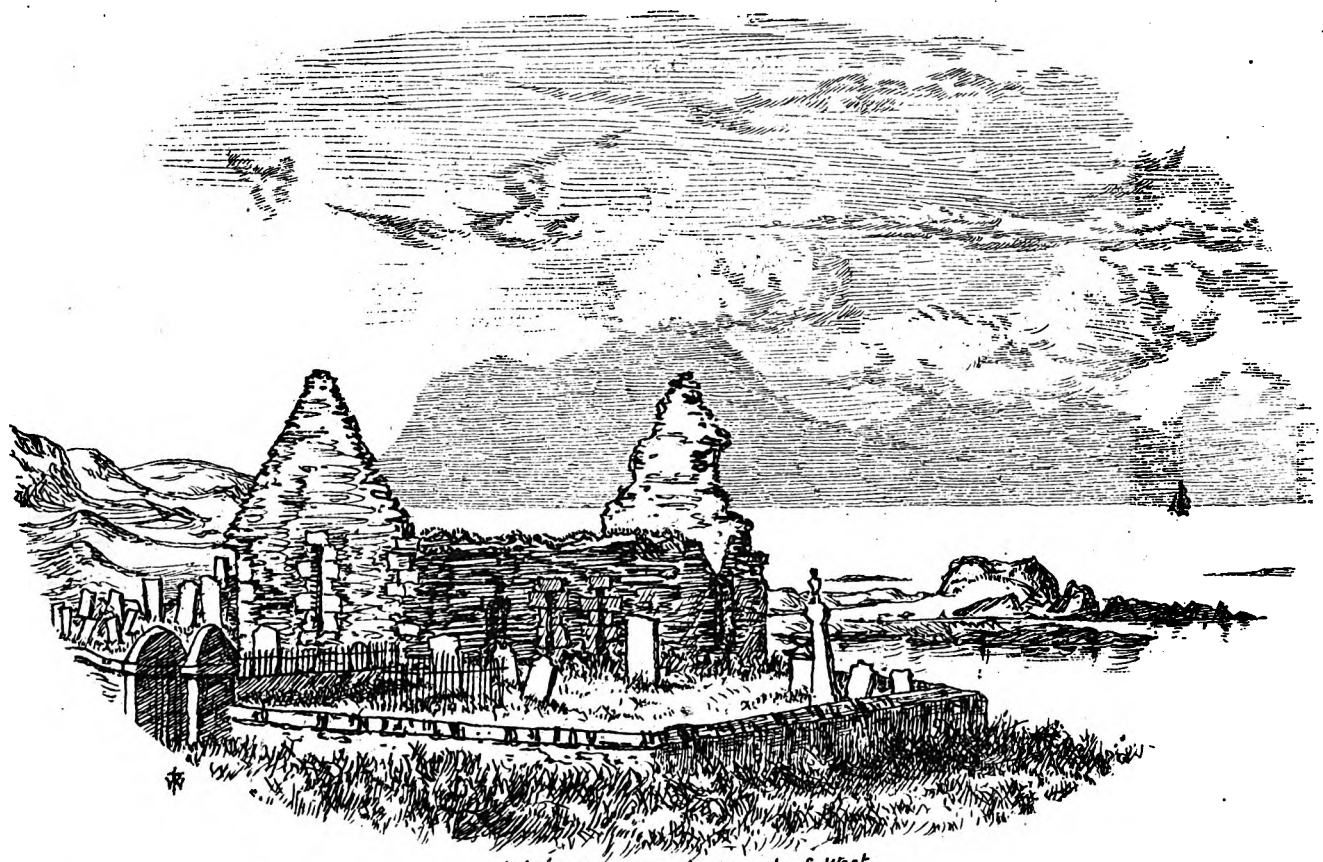
IN

SCOTLAND

DISTRICT OF KINTYRE

BY

CAPTAIN T. P. WHITE
R.E., F.R.S. EDIN., F.S.A. SCOT.
OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY



WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXIII

To

Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise

Marchioness of Lorne

Whose Success in Art

And Appreciation of whatever is Artistic

Need scarcely be here spoken of

These Sketches are Dedicated

By Her Royal Highness's very kind Permission

With the expression of the

Author's Highest Respect

PREFACE.

In offering the present volume of Sketches to the Public, it is only right that I should first of all express my great obligations and sincere thanks to Major-General Sir Henry James, R.E., for without his permission I should certainly not have felt at liberty to publish materials, entirely, as a matter of course, at the service of the Department to which I have the honour to belong, had H.M.'s Government desired to make use of them. The interest the Director-General of the Ordnance Survey is well known to take in all scientific pursuits kindred to the objects of the Survey, especially in the investigation of the national antiquities—as well as the co-operation which the officers of the Department have at all times received from him in following such studies—are not the least of the inducements which have led to the production of the contents of these pages.

Nor can I omit recording my great indebtedness, for his good offices and many valuable suggestions, to Dr Arthur Mitchell, one of the secretaries to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

To Messrs Keith Johnston I owe my cordial acknowledgments for the way in which they have entered *con amore* into their share of the work. Allowing for a defect inherent in photo-lithography,—namely, the occasional loss of some of the finer touches in a picture, and the exaggeration of others—a defect most felt in distances and skies,—the accompanying illustrations are, I think, as faithful and satisfactory facsimiles of the originals as photo-lithography could achieve. And there is always this advantage in any photographic process, that, apart from the small imperfections just mentioned, the sun rigidly reproduces one's own work with its merits and demerits, instead of the work of some one who has to interpose between the outdoor sketcher and the public, and who in so doing frequently contrives while gaining finish to part with force, if not fidelity.

It will be remarked that on some of the plates the term "sketched" has been written to the author's name, while others are spoken of as "drawn." The object of this difference is to distinguish between the latter—viz., such illustrations of monumental slabs as have been founded upon paper rubbings or tracings taken from the stone itself—and the former, or those which have been produced altogether on the spot freehand, either with pen or pencil. A few of the pen-and-ink sketches were taken originally in pencil, and etched over in ink afterwards; but the great majority of them represent out-of-door work just as they stand. The "drawings" so-called, after being outlined from the rubbing, so as to

preserve its exact proportions, were, with scarcely an exception (and in those exceptions only for reasons stated in the text), touched in more or less on the ground, and compared with the stone. In this way, incorrectness in the drawings will, I trust, have been reduced to insignificant dimensions. Nevertheless, it cannot be but that mistakes and blemishes will arise and pass unnoticed by an author in any considerable series of such drawings, whatever his care in preparing them. With respect to their artistic merits, I have nothing to say beyond this : that, considering the number of distinguished men there are in the present day of lifelong experience and brilliant talents in every branch of the draughtsman's art, an amateur may reasonably feel some diffidence in coming before the public. It must also be remembered that these plates are not put forward simply as pictures, but are intended to piece in with and explain the text quite as much as the text is intended to explain the plates.

With regard to the rubbings, I cannot omit to acknowledge the valuable assistance I have had in obtaining them, especially from Mr James Emslie of the Ordnance Survey, much of whose spare time was freely given for this purpose.

The letterpress in its original form was written as a contribution to the Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries; but as the materials when put together proved too extensive for a single paper, I was only able to communicate a very brief abstract of them to the Society in May 1871. In the present volume those materials have been considerably added to, and include two chapters embodying the contents in an enlarged form of a previous Paper on Saddell Abbey in the Society's Proceedings, the whole being put into a shape which, it is hoped, may prove not unsuitable for the general reader. In these respects my researches have been much facilitated by the very obliging manner in which the respective gentlemen having charge of the Advocates', Signet, and Antiquarian libraries in Edinburgh have at all times permitted me access to these valuable institutions.

Also, to Mr Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of H.M.'s General Register House, and others who have more or less aided me in a similar direction, I cannot do less than express my indebtedness.

Nor may it be out of place here to thank very sincerely those gentlemen of Kintyre and the county of Argyll from whom the author has received so many personal hospitalities, and the Ordnance Survey Department so much assistance in the prosecution of its work.

It only remains to add the writer's hearty thanks to the eminent Publishers of this volume, for the handsome manner in which they have given it form and substance; for their liberality and enterprise in introducing to the public an unknown author dealing with a subject popularly supposed to be dry and technical; and for the courtesy they have shown him in all his relations with them.

T. P. W.

EDINBURGH, CHRISTMAS 1872.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCHES

IN

SCOTLAND.

KINTYRE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY in 1864, I had the honour of being appointed to the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom, and in June of the same year I took over the Glasgow division of our force, which was then just commencing the survey of the county of Argyll. For the next three years our operations continued in Argyllshire; and when I left the division in the autumn of 1867 for Edinburgh, we had completed the survey of something like a third of the county. During that time I was constantly in the field, visiting parties and testing the work prior to its publication—one of the duties of the superintending officer being to go over the ground himself and examine the plans *seriatim* as a final revisionary process. This, it is obvious, would afford means of penetrating into nooks and corners of the localities visited quite out of the reach of the general excursionist, and be of great value for archæological purposes, at a comparatively small cost of time and trouble to the observer. There was also to be considered that, if the ordinary explorer was likely to find it no light labour and no little expense to collect systematically notes of all the antiquities of a district or districts in counties that already possessed published large-scale Ordnance Maps, these difficulties must be immensely increased in a Highland county where no such maps as yet existed. In a lowland country thoroughly intersected by highways, and thickly studded over with dwelling-houses, every field becomes a known area, in which it is almost impossible for an object of antiquity to escape the observation of persons in the immediate neighbourhood.

The Ordnance Survey of Argyllshire.

Advantages possessed by a Survey officer for archæological exploration.

Difficulties in a mountain county without maps.

Thus the compiler of the local guide-book, or the student of archæology, has only to block out a cultivated district into circumscribed spaces to make pretty sure of sweeping into his net everything within the particular space he may select to examine. But in a hill-country it is a very different matter. Parcel out as he may, supposing him to have

even accurate and largely-detailed maps, there are many obstacles to the satisfactory prosecution of his work. He has on his map, we will say, a hill-fort or a standing stone, or something marked down as the ruin of an ancient chapel. In answer to his inquiries, he may be told that what he wants is a long way off, up such and such a hill with an unintelligible name; or very probably, unless it be one of the red-letter antiquities of the district, no one has ever heard of it before.

Gaelic language another obstacle.

Another obstacle is the language. If you want a short cut to some "dun," to save perhaps a round of many weary miles, and can get hold of yonder plaided shepherd whistling to his dog, the difficulty is, if you "have no Gaelic," to make sure of his understanding what is said to him. Then, again, such personal qualifications as legs and lungs enter largely into the question, besides time, weather, and so forth. When the hills are dark with a shroud of mist well down their slopes, as is the case many days of the three hundred and sixty-five in Argyllshire, the pre-historic inquirer in that county is likely to have a disappointing time of it. Or when nature is in those tearful moods which, almost diurnal in the west country, make the glory of the intermittent sunshine all the more glorious, and the lover of ruined chapels has to stand knee-deep in soaking weeds sketching under an umbrella, it must be admitted that the circumstances are not favourable to the antiquarian draughtsman.

West Highlands rich in antiquites.

And if to what has been said it is added, that up to the present time less perhaps is known of the antiquities, whether mediæval or pre-historic, of the West Highland mainland than of any other part of the kingdom (although the field there is one of peculiar richness, variety, and historic interest), I shall have sufficiently explained the exceptional inducements to study its archæology, which in this, my particular surveying beat, were placed before me.

Notes and sketches taken.

The result was, that from the first I made it a rule to take notes of every object of antiquity as far as practicable; and this was done with scarcely an exception during the time I continued on the survey of Argyllshire. Since then, however, the extension of my sphere of duty to other parts of Scotland and into England has rendered the same systematic method of operation quite out of the question. The notes, as will be understood from what has been said, would vary in fulness of detail very much according to time and circumstances, being sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, often mere jottings, but always, if possible, such as to pass under review each separate object or site which could be identified and recorded in the Survey documents. Similarly with the sketches. Sometimes there was little to draw either from a picturesque or explanatory point of view,—as, for instance, frequently in the case of ancient cairns, where all that was visible might be a shapeless heap of stones;[1] or again in camps, "duns" of the circular kind in the last stages of dilapidation, &c.

Illustrations of church architecture;

On the other hand, I invariably endeavoured to secure, with pen or pencil, anything descriptive of the architecture of the old chapels, though without undertaking anything like detailed architectural drawings, which the limited time at my disposal

[1] The internal exploration of such objects would form a distinct branch of inquiry obviously too extensive for one in my position to attempt. Nothing systematic appears to have been as yet done for the district. If energy such as has been brought to bear upon the Yorkshire and Crinan excavations could be bestowed here, important results might be looked for.

rendered out of the question. I have, however, paid special attention to illustrating one class of ancient relics—the mediæval slabs found in most of the old churchyards—being desirous that what has been so admirably done by others for the sculptured monuments of the east of Scotland and elsewhere, should be, as far as possible, followed in the west. There was also this additional inducement to do so, in the fact that—if I except a work published in 1850 giving drawings of the slabs at Iona, and a few solitary illustrations of similar monuments elsewhere to be found in other works[1]—nothing like a systematic collection of drawings of these sepulchral carvings, either for Kintyre or any of the other districts of the West Highlands, has, I believe, yet been given to the public. Drawings of every mediæval carving above ground, so far as I am aware,[2] are included in the illustrations to this volume; and as these monuments form so conspicuous a feature in the ancient relics of the west country, and are, at the same time, so little known to the general public, a special chapter has been devoted to the discussion of their style, peculiarities, and place in the domain of monumental art. At the same time, their historical bearing upon, and connection with, particular localities or personages—points which will come out better when we examine the slab carvings in detail—have not been overlooked.

of the tomb carvings.

With regard to the arrangement of the field data, they were, in the first instance, invariably classified by parishes—the parish being, so to speak, the territorial unit of the Ordnance Survey; and for purposes of collecting after-information, identification of sites, &c., it seemed also the most convenient subdivision. In the present volume, however, it was thought best to group the several parishes of one district together, with reference more especially to their ecclesiastical remains, reserving for a future occasion notice of the pre-historic and such other materials as would not properly fall within the scope of the preceding portion of the subject. The advantage of such a classification is, that the attention will not be distracted between different classes of objects which have no other connection with one another than their geographical distribution, while there are also better opportunities of comparison within one set of antiquities when spread over a larger area.

Classification by parishes.

In these inquiries, one far from unimportant section has not been overlooked. I refer to the topographical nomenclature. For, whether dedicatory, as when attached to religious sites, or clinging with the cement of tradition to those mysterious stone-built structures that, whatever may be said of their comparative antiquity, are undeniably outside the pale of written history; or again, hovering, it may be, over localities where everything else of man's creation has altogether vanished,—in the local names of a district the historian and the etymologist cannot but find much to assist their researches. In this particular I have availed myself to some extent of our Survey Name-Books, as they are called. These are in themselves valuable documents, as in them every name obtained on the ground is systematically recorded by the collector, the local authorities quoted for its different modes of spelling, and a resultant orthography adopted which appears nearest the truth. There

Topographical names.

[1] *E.g.*, 'Antiquities of Iona,' by H. D. Graham, published by subscription; the Spalding Club's valuable work on "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," &c.

[2] Except in the rare instances where the carving was so completely worn down as to be practically past drawing.

is then added, when the name is Gaelic, a literal translation, as well as any other local or traditional information of apparent interest the collector may be able to procure, under the head of a column of remarks. On such a system it is evident waifs and strays of archæological material may be picked up which would never otherwise be likely to find their way into books.

Traditions, &c.

Ecclesiastical dedications.

Attention has also been paid, in the present part of our subject, to the dedications of the ancient ecclesiastical sites. These form a specific and very interesting inquiry, which no amount of investigation into mere written documents, however learnedly or searchingly conducted, can possibly satisfy without some examination on the ground of the local materials. Until quite recently, such a thing as an accessible *résumé* of Scottish calendars was not to be had; and little or nothing was known of, or at all events identified with, the Scoto-Irish saints throughout the West Highlands, where their names are so commonly to be met with. In the case of each religious site I have endeavoured to trace its patron saint, and, as a general rule, given some little account of the most interesting incidents of his life, noting, of course, especially, anything that might appear to connect him with the part of Argyllshire under review.

Other materials.

It seemed further necessary to include in the present volume a brief sketch of the history of Kintyre; for without some light thrown upon the great warrior-chiefs who built up and supported the mediæval Church, it is difficult to follow intelligibly the early charters and other documents which relate to that Church, or to interpret properly its beautiful monuments. In this part of our subject, the history of the ancient Dalriad kings; the connection of Norwegian and Manx history with localities and personages in Kintyre; the career of Sumarlid, the great Hebridean prince, and of his descendants, the powerful lords of the Isles,—are points which I have aimed at bringing before the reader in such a way as to impart to him some measure of the attractiveness they have had for the writer himself. I have also, by way of supplement, traced very briefly the more purely ecclesiastical part of the peninsula's history, noticing the struggles into life of the early missionary Church, till the times when Argyll and the Isles attained a regular endowed episcopate, the successive prelates who filled that episcopate, the relations between the secular chieftains of Kintyre and the Church, and any interesting references to particular church-sites in the district procurable from early documents.

Secular history.

Ecclesiastical history.

Existing works of reference.

Lastly, in the many excellent public libraries of Edinburgh (notably the magnificent one belonging to the Faculty of Advocates), to which the most liberal access has at all times been afforded me, I have been enabled to consult, as far as time permitted, existing works of reference—a most necessary supplement to field notes and sketches, if we wish to round off and correct, by comparison with the labours of others, our own one-sided idiosyncrasies, and weld the gathered-up links of our materials into a chain possessing something like historical and archæological cohesion.

CHAPTER II.

THE epoch of history when the territory now known as Kintyre may be said first to emerge from darkness, is towards the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Earlier than this we have little or nothing to guide us but the merest conjecture, which has to build upon such materials as an unknown race has left behind it for our mystification—round towers, Cyclopean fort-walls, circles of stones, clay urns, weapons and ornamental trinkets of stone, gold, bronze, or other metal, and the like. Yet four centuries earlier Agricola and his legions were carrying the name of their Imperial master far into the heart of Albion; and it is just possible that the Roman eagles may have been seen in the parts which constitute the present Western Highlands. For, in the narrative given us by the historian Tacitus of his father-in-law's doings, there is a passage which those eager to magnify the Roman conquests have pounced upon and interpreted in their own way. The writer is describing a sea-expedition undertaken by Agricola in the fifth year of his command, A.D. 82. "He embarked," so we read, "in the first Roman "vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and, having penetrated into regions till then "unknown, defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast which "lies opposite to Ireland with a body of troops." But it seems more than doubtful if the estuary here spoken of was the Clyde; and, even supposing it were, it by no means follows, as some authors have supposed, that the regions referred to were Knapdale and Kintyre.[1] In any case, such a passing raid could have left no trace; and for all practical purposes of our survey, the Romans may be left out of the question. Here and there we get a name from Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, who wrote about the middle of the second century, leading us to infer that the territory of Argyll and the peninsula of Kintyre[2] were localities not absolutely unknown to the Romans; but this is all. We hear of two great tribal races inhabiting Scotland at this time, Mœatæ and Caledonians[3] —the first confined to the mainland south of the wall of Antoninus Pius, and the second to the north of it. But there is no attempt to name or map out in subdivisions the rocky impenetrable forest-regions on the western or Atlantic side of the main watershed. Indeed it is only after much spelling out of Ptolemy's obscure references to Scottish topography, and by comparing him with other authorities, that we can with tolerable certainty identify his "Epidion akron" with the "promontorium Ebudum" of Richard

Opening history of Kintyre.

Was Kintyre visited by the Romans?

The peninsula referred to by Ptolemy,

and by others.

[1] Caledonia Romana, p. 57.

[2] Claudius Ptolemaius—apud Johnstone.

[3] Ptolemy subdivides into thirteen tribes, the "Epidioi" being one.

the Westminster monk,[1] the "caput terræ" of Adamnan, the Norseman's "Mula Satiri," and the modern Mull of Kintyre.

A.D. 502. We reach, then, the second year of the sixth century before a word is said in the Irish annals, our earliest and most trustworthy source of information, to indicate the movement of immigration from Ireland to Kintyre, which had clearly by that time begun to set in; and in passing, I may just say a word as to what these annals are.

The Irish annals. There are four ancient Irish Chronicles upon which the early history of the Scottish Highlands is mainly based. Of these the most venerable and important is the Chronicle of the learned ecclesiastic Tighernac, who was abbot of S. Ciaran's monastery at Clonmacnois, and wrote in the eleventh century—a contemporary of the King Duncan and Macbeth of Shakespearian memory. The MS. second in antiquity was written by the monks of Innisfallen, an Irish monastery, about A.D. 1215. The third set of annals was the work of the brethren of another Irish religious establishment, Buellan in Connaught, written about 1253; and the annals of Ulster, which appear to have been commenced in the eleventh, and been added to by later hands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, make the fourth. These MSS. are written partly in Latin and partly in the ancient Erse language. "Their "antiquity," says Mr Skene—than whom there is probably no higher living authority upon such matters—"places them in the very first rank as authorities for the early history "of the country—their authenticity and general accuracy is unquestionable, while the "narration of the events of Scottish history is so interwoven with that of Ireland and other "countries, for the truth of which we have other evidence, as to convince the most "prejudiced of their veracity." And again—"Down to the reign of David the First, when "the last struggles of the Highlanders for independence took place, they throw a steady "light upon the internal history of Scotland, and become an unfailing guide through the "intricacies of fable and the obscurity of antiquity." So that in these four books we have something like tangible standing-ground; and this, it must be remembered, is a very important point to settle, when in other directions the modern inquirer into Scottish history is accustomed to meet with so much idle guess-work, and often pure fiction.

Fergus, son of Erc. The first entry, then, of the oldest of these Irish annalists, introducing us to Scotland, briefly records that in 502 "Fergus the Great, son of Erc, held a part of "Britain with the Dalriadic nation, and died there."[2] Dalriada, or Dalaradia, was at this time the name of an extensive tract of country in and about Antrim and Down, in Ireland, which had possessed a barbaric line of princes, in which the so-called "Cairbre "Righfada" occupies a dimly-shadowed and far-away place. But it was only hereafter

The Scots, or Dalriads. (and this has particularly to be borne in mind) that the title of Dalriads or Scots came to be applied indifferently to both sides of the water—to the colonial settlement as well as to the mother country; for, however the fact may be kicked against by the national pride of modern Caledonians, it is undeniable that the "Scots" were originally an obscure

[1] "De situ Britanniæ."—Johnstone.

[2] An ancient Irish tract on the men of Alba says: "Three times fifty men were the emigrants that went forth with the sons of Erc."—Reeves and Skene.

community in a corner of northern Ireland. And this fact suggests the idea, that notwithstanding Tighernac's first notice of the Irish emigrants is dated A.D. 502, it is an open question how far this date represents the real beginning of the colonising movement. With a great country like Ireland lying not a dozen miles distant, it seems hardly credible that Kintyre should have escaped those aggressive pushing propensities which have in all periods of the world's history tended to enlarge and modify the various centres of population.[1]

Fergus, the son of Erc, had two brothers, Angus and Lorn, and after their father's death, a division of the newly-gotten British territory seems to have taken place. By this time the Dalriads had apparently not only overrun Kintyre, but had penetrated into districts further north and some of the adjoining islands. The brothers having taken their shares, Fergus was left with Kintyre; and an ancient local name applied to a farm at the southern extremity of the peninsula, "Tir Fergus" (the land of Fergus), is traditionally connected with him. Another link of evidence to the substantiality of these three individuals is to be found in Lorn's recorded relationship of great-grandfather to the most illustrious of all Western saints, S. Columba. In A.D. 505, two of the chroniclers record the death of a personage named Domangart, Tighernac calling him king of Alban, and the Innisfallen Chronicle simply Domangairt of Cindtire (Kintyre). The birth of Columba "the beloved" comes next in all four annalists; and the two sons of Domangart follow, Comgall and Gabran—the latter again styled king of Alban, and the former king of Dalriada.[2] With the year of Gabran's death is coupled an event which any one reading the foregoing remarks would have been fully prepared to find chronicled sooner or later. The original occupants of the soil, who appear to have been Picts, Caledonians, or Cruithne, by whichever name we choose to recognise them, were not to be dispossessed by strangers, and sit tamely down under the infliction. The old story of such matters was repeated; and accordingly, we have a notice by Tighernac of the flight of the Albanich before Bruid, son of Maelcon, king of the Cruithne. A generation next elapses, which brings us down to the year 574. At that date an entry records the death, in the "sixteenth year of his reign, of Conall, who gave the island of Ia (Hy) to Columba." This Connal becomes a more conspicuous personage from his connection with Columba, and from the story of the temptations to the saint's virtue by the offer to him of the king's beautiful daughter.[3] At this point in the history of Argyllshire, a new and independent testimony springs up in one of the most venerable and precious of historical documents—the biography of S. Columba, written by Adamnan about the close of the seventh century. A brief reference to "King Connall, son of Comgill," is to be found there. Apropos of this Connal, it has been a moot point whether it was really he who gave the island of Hy (Iona) to Columba. Dr Reeves, the great Irish scholar, while of opinion it was more likely the island should have belonged to Lorn (whose territory was nearer to it), or even

Angus and Lorn, chiefs of Dalriada.

A.D. 520.

The aborigines rise against the Dalriads.

King Connal.

[1] Fordun supports the supposition that the Scots passed over much earlier, and others have followed him since.

[2] The Scottish Dalriads came to be called Albanich by the Irish annalists.

[3] Picturesquely told by Montalembert, but I do not know where he found it.

to Bruid the Pictish king than to Connal, concludes that in all probability Hy was at the time unoccupied, and that Columba's entry was simply acquiesced in by the different chieftains, who would doubtless put in a claim for its sovereignty.

We have now reached a stage in our review of Kintyre when it may be convenient to pause and look around us. Hitherto we have had little more than a series of bare names, almost tedious to follow from the absence of those personal details which alone give life and interest to the records of remote generations. Yet it seemed absolutely indispensable to run through them before touching upon the history of one of the most illustrious among the rulers of the Dalriadic line. It is, after all, not much we can glean of even this prince's life and doings, but there is sufficient to bring the man in flesh and blood before us as the friend and ally of S. Columba; a ruler, moreover, of strong purpose and ambition, determined to assert the rights of the district under his sway—to see it freed from an insupportable vassalage, and consolidated into the dignity of an independent State. Connal being dead, his cousin Aedhan, or Aidan, the son of Gabran, succeeds to the sovereignty of Scottish Dalriada, and receives coronation or ordination at the hands of Columba himself.[1] Side by side with Aidan, at this time, in North Britain, were still the old Mœatæ and Caledonians of the Roman historiographers, though now in their new guise as Picts or Cruithne, and Britons or Celts of Strathclyde. Changes, however, were brewing, and before the close of the century a horde of "Galls" (strangers) was to cross the border and diffuse the language and blood of the Anglo-Saxon as far north as the wall of Antoninus Pius. On the opposite side of the water was a descendant of the barbaric kings of northern Ireland, and this descendant possessed all the prestige which in such an epoch would attach itself to the older and better-established monarchy. The green slopes and corn-fields of Erin could be seen from Kintyre, and their possessor had begun to lay on burdens in the name of the old country that the young Scottish colonists were no longer able to bear. This seems to have been the state of matters when "the "sovereignty of the Scots" colony fell to Aidan, the son of Gabran, A.D. 574. No sooner was his inauguration completed than the thorns which were to hedge about his throne throughout a long life began to make their appearance. His cousin and predecessor was dead; but he had left a son, and it would not be surprising if that son should assert a claim to his father's sovereignty. It might, indeed, have been argued that Aidan was playing the *rôle* of a usurper, and that Duncan, the son of Connal, was the legitimate heir. But however stringently men may legislate to secure a system of entailed succession, history has afforded a multiplicity of examples where it was inevitable such laws should be broken through; and, moreover, the sanction of S. Columba would be held as the best indication of the divine will in the matter. Nevertheless, Duncan and his supporters were determined to appeal to the God of battles; and a combat is noted by two of the chroniclers at a place called Telccho or Delgon,[2] in Cindtire, in

King Aidan.

State of affairs at his accession.

Battle of Telocho, A.D. 574.

[1] Boece tells us the ceremonial took place in Argyll. "Saint Colme," he says, "put the diadem on King "Aidan's head," and then proceeded to harangue the assembled nobles in a rather prosy speech, exhorting them to obey their new king.

[2] Johnstone calls it Lora, and Lowe follows him. As yet, I have been unable to identify the site.

which "fell Duncan, son of Conall, the son of Comgall, and many other of the "dependants (*de sociis*), the sons of Gabran." This is one way of reading the chronicle. Or we may imagine that Duncan's contest was with the irrepressible Picts, the men of Strathclyde, or other strangers, and that Aidan succeeded his cousin in the ordinary way. I am not aware that there are data for determining which view is correct.[1] The next entry regarding Aidan bears date 580, and records a piratical expedition, and along with it is a notification that there died Canalat, King of the Picts. Here, again, we are left to conjecture if the expedition should be connected with the death of the Pictish king. In the year following, however, all doubts are removed as to the nature of Aidan's proceedings, though the name of the locality is at first deceptive. Three of the annalists note "the battle of Man by Aidan," and two of them add that he was victorious. The place, however, was probably not the Isle of Man,[2] but the moor of Manonn, in the south-east of Stirlingshire; or possibly Clackmannan, on the Picto-British border, where a great stone used to stand. The year 583 passes away, and with it Aidan's most formidable rival, Bruid, the Pictish king, who, three-and-twenty years before, had fallen with a heavy hand on the Scots of Kintyre—Bruid, the Pagan king, whom Columba was not afraid to beard in his own headquarters, and by threats or persuasion endeavour to bring over to the true faith. But other enemies were abroad when Bruid was no more. In 590, Aidan is again battling at a place called Leithrigh,[3] which is all the information given us. That same year, perhaps as the result of the battle, the celebrated meeting[4] for a settlement of disputes between Aidan and the Irish monarch, to whom he had hitherto paid allegiance, was brought about by S. Columba. An account of the interview is given in an ancient Irish MS. called the "Leabhar-na-h' Uidhri" (book of the dun cow): "And a contest arose between these two kings, Aedhan Mac "Gabhrain, King of Alba, and Aedh Mac Ainmire, King of Erin; about the Dalriada "of the race of Cairbre Righ-fada. And that was one of the three causes for which "Columcille came to Erin, to make peace between the men of Erin and of Alba. When "he came to the meeting, Colman, son of Comgellan, accompanied him, and Columbcille "was asked to give judgment between the men of Erin and Alba. 'It is not I that shall

Battle of Man, A.D. 581;

and of Leithrigh, A.D. 590.

Aidan's treaty with the Irish king.

[1] Skene and Reeves are both silent on this point. Reeves, indeed, assumes that Connal was a subordinate prince, partly on the authority of the Annals of the Four Masters, where he is called by a title signifying a lord of the fourth degree. But, on the other hand, Connal's father is styled King of Dalriada in Tighernac's annals, which, as well as those of Ulster, add that Connal gave Hy to Columba. Comgall would appear to have been the senior of Gabran, and Connal was reigning over Dalriada immediately before Aidan. It has generally been assumed that Comgall inherited the district of Cowal (supposed to have taken its name from him), and Gabran, Knapdale and Kintyre; but it does not appear altogether clear how the inheritance of Fergus was apportioned between them. Moreover, Reeves and Skene admit that Aidan only *succeeded* Connal in the sovereignty. Then, too, is it probable the Picts would have ventured so far south as Kintyre, with Knapdale, Argyll, and Lorn, all Dalriadic territory, lying in their way? It seems hazardous to attempt anything like certainty in such a question; and the view I have suggested of Duncan's having risen, on his father's death, against Aidan, may not seem improbable.

[2] Dr Oliver seems to have thought it was, as he gives these Irish extracts in his collations of Manx history. The point appears doubtful. The spellings given of the name are Manand, Manam, and Mannon.

[3] The name signifies apparently "the grey-headed king."

[4] In the north of Ireland, near Newtown Limavady.

"'give it,' said he, 'but yonder youth,' pointing to Colman. Colman then gave "judgment, and the decision that he gave was this: Their expeditions and hostings to "be with the men of Erin always, for hostings always belong to the parent stock. Their "tributes, and gains, and shipping, to be with the men of Alba. And when any of the "men of Erin or Alba should come from the east, the Dalriada to entertain them, whether "few or many; and the Dalriada to convey them on, if they require it."[1] A rational and hospitable arrangement between the two countries, illustrating, by the use of the common name for the people on both sides of the water, how close was the tie which still subsisted between them. In the year 596, the stanch supporter and counsellor of King Aidan, the most energetic spirit that ever laboured in the Scottish Highlands for the cause of the Cross, passed away—"rested in Christ," as the Buellan monks have it—in the thirty-fifth year of his ministry, and the seventy-sixth year of his age. The death of Columba must have been a serious misfortune to the Dalriadic monarch, around whom troubles were gathering thick and fast. In the same year Eogan, the brother of Aidan, dies, and the entry announcing his death is immediately followed by the brief, passionless words of Tighernac: "The slaughter (jugulatio) of the sons of Aedan, *i. e.*, Bran and Domangart, "and Eochfin and Arthur, in the battle of Chirchind, in which Aedan was vanquished." Even at this distance of time, a certain touching pathos reveals itself in the history of this barbaric sovereign and his unfortunate children. John of Fordun, one of the best of early Scotch historians, an ecclesiastic, who wrote in the reign of Richard II.,[2] has given us an interesting sketch of the well-known incident which connects them with S. Columba.

Death of S. Columba, A.D. 596.

A.D. 596.

Aidan's misfortunes.

"When," he writes, "S. Columb questioned King Aidan as to the succession (to his "throne)—the latter not knowing which of his sons it was to be—thus prophesied the "saint: 'None of these three, Arthur, Eochod Find, or Dongard, shall reign, for they "'will all fall slain by enemies. But now, if thou hast any other younger ones, send them "'to me, and he whom the Lord shall choose of them, shall all unexpectedly (*subito*) fall "'upon my breast.' When they were summoned, Eochod Buyd (Buidhe, the yellow-"haired), just as the saint had prophesied, coming forward, sank on the holy man's bosom, "whom the saint straightway kissed, and blessing him, said to his father (Aidan), 'He "'shall survive, and be king next to thee, and his sons shall reign after him.' All which "things were fulfilled in due time." "And King Aidan," continues Fordun, "after the "war of Degsastan,[3] mourned continually, and was so afflicted with his great griefs, that "in the second year after his flight, at the great age of wellnigh eighty years, he died in "Kentyre, and is buried at Kilcheran, where none of his ancestors were laid before."[4] Four years elapsed after his crushing disaster and bereavement at Circhind before we again hear of him; and as though the old warrior were unable to keep his hands any more than his mind quiet, he is once more in action assisting a brother nation[5] against a new foe,

His son Eochod elected to succeed him by S. Columba.

Aidan mentioned by the historian Fordun.

[1] Notes to Reeves's Adamnan. See also his Vita S. Colomb, lib. I. cap. xlix.

[2] See Skene's remarks upon this historian—Scot. Soc. of Antiq. Proc., vol. viii. part 2.

[3] This name does not, I think, appear in the Irish annals.

[4] Fordun's History of Scotland, Edin., 1759—Advocates' Library.

[5] According to Boece, the Scots and Britons of Strathclyde had arranged a mutual offensive and defensive

more menacing to them both than the painted spearmen of the Caledonian forests. "The "battle of the Saxons"[1] (we read at A.D. 600)[2] "with Aedan, where fell Eanfraith, brother "of Etalfraich[3] (Ethelfred), by Maeluma, son of Baedan, in which he was victorious"—and, add the Ulster annals, "in which Aidan was vanquished." It has been thought by the best authorities that Aedan, in the campaign against the Saxons which terminated in this battle, must have been in command of a large and powerful allied army of Scots and Britons, which of itself would seem to argue the possession of talent and an eminent reputation as a leader. Dr Reeves endorses this view, and remarks of Aidan that he was the first Dalriad ruler of any great ability, and the first to exchange the less dignified title of "lord" for that of "king," and that it was under him that the real foundation of the Scottish monarchy was laid.[4] Nevertheless, fate was against Aidan, at least in his latter days. I must not omit mention of one more reference to this prince before we take leave of him. It is in connection with a Welsh chieftain, Ruydderch or Roderick, son of Tudwal, a personage alluded to by Adamnan,[5] and also in an old Welsh record. After describing a fight at a place called Arderydd between Roderick and another chief, Gwenddolen ap Ceidian, where the ubiquitous Aidan was engaged on the side of the latter, the record delivers itself of this grumbling comment upon the Scottish king: "One "of the three costly battles of the Isle of Britain was when Aedan Vradog (the false) went "to Alclut to the court of Rydderch Hael. He consumed all the meat and drink in the "palace, leaving not so much as would feed a fly, and he left neither man nor beast alive, "but destroyed all."[6] Not a bright picture this; and the last sentence has a peculiarly sinister aspect: but we are dealing, it must not be forgotten, with times of fire and sword, rapine and devastation, pursued to the uttermost by whichever side happened to be successful in securing victory. The epithet "Vradog" would seem to have been applied by the writer to the conduct of Aidan in joining his old enemies the Saxons against a prince of the Cymry.[7] Aidan, the son of Gabran, died A.D. 606, in the seventy-fourth year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his reign.[8] A Gaelic poem[9] of great antiquity, however, differing from Tighernac's computation, thus describes the duration of his reign:—

Aidan fights the Saxons.

His relations with the Welsh.

His death, 606.

"Four years and twenty besides,
Was king, Aidan of golden swords."

We have noted Fordun's mention of his burial-place as having been Kilkeran, which is the old name for the town of Campbelton in Kintyre; and the circumstance that a quarter

alliance against the Picts and Saxons. It is a pity his history of this period is such a mass of errors. He makes out that Brude, King of the Picts, fought in this battle with the Saxons, whereas all the Irish annalists agree in placing Brude's death at A.D. 583.

[1] The same battle as Bede records in Northumbria at 603. [2] Reeves makes this date 603.

[3] Boece makes out that Ethelfred himself was in this action, and lost one of his eyes in it. He gives a long speech of Aidan to his men, which is, no doubt, a characteristic specimen of this writer's inveterate habit of romancing.

[4] See notes on Dalriads in Reeves's Adamnan. [5] He calls him Rodercus filius Tothail.

[6] Reeves's Adamnan, p. 44. [7] Reeves. [8] Annals of Tighernac.

[9] Written about 1057, and styled "A Eolcha Albain Uile." It gives a summary account of the kings of Alban.—Coll. de Reb. Alb.

in this town is still traditionally known as Dal-aruan, has been thought to favour the inference that Campbelton represents the site of the ancient Scottish capital, or seat of monarchy. I do not know if I have succeeded by these few details in giving some little substance to a figure whose name belongs to a period so remote. It is difficult to rescue our conceptions of these early chieftains from dulness, or to clothe with flesh and blood materials which almost necessarily constitute the dry bones of history. But it has always seemed to me that this King Aidan stands, so to speak, a full head and shoulders above those around him in the roll of the primitive rulers of Scotland.

A battle has already been noted fought somewhere in Kintyre, where fell Duncan, son of Connal. In 622 we have apparently the same battle-field[1] mentioned by the annalists as the scene of another encounter; and immediately following the record, as though connected with it, is noted the death of Conan, or Conaig, a son of King Aidan. He was drowned, we are told; and of him, says Tighernac, Bimudine the learned thus sang:—

Conan, son of Aidan, drowned.

"The resplendent billows of the sea, the sun that raised them is my grief:
The storms were against Conan with his army:
The woman of the fair locks was in the Curach[2] with Conan;
And there was great lamentation this day at Bili Tortan."[3]

Pity we cannot lift the veil that obscures these abrupt and unsatisfying utterances. If we could know whereabouts was this Delgenn or Cinn Delgen in the peninsula, something more about this fair-haired woman who kept the king company in the coracle, or put our finger on the scene of the casualty which caused so great lamentation in the Dalriadic host—it would add something to the filling in of a picture which, as it is, must remain a bare and shadowy suggestion of what may have been a sufficiently romantic tale.

More battles

After the drowning of Conan we have more battles; and one in 629, where Scots, Picts, and Saxons seem all to have been engaged, resulted in a general slaughter, the Dalriad[4] and Pictish kings both being slain, together with the Saxon prince's son, and two grandsons of King Aidan. Out of this indiscriminate destruction emerged victorious Eochod the yellow-haired, son of Aidan, the chosen by S. Columba's prophecy for the sovereignty of Dalriada; but the fruits of his victory were short-lived, for he died apparently the same year.[5] With this prince ceases to a great extent the interest of the

[1] Cath Cinndelgthin (battle of Ceann Delgen)—Tighernac. Bellum Cinn deilggden—Annals of Ulster.

[2] Coracle, the primitive boat used by the early inhabitants of these isles.

[3] Skene.—Coll. de Reb. Alb.

[4] This was Conad Cerr, King of Dalriada, whom an early Gaelic poem describes as "a shooting-star" (Eeil bladh), and whose rule lasted only "three months."—Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 73.

[5] The "Duan Albanach," a MS. poem of date at or before A.D. 1070, thus refers to Aidan and his son:—

"Four years and twenty in possession
Was Aodhan king of many divisions;
Ten years and seven, a glorious career,
In the sovereignty, Eochaidh Buidhe."

The duration of their respective reigns, however, as here stated, does not quite tally with other information. Thus Tighernac, as we have seen, gives a reign of thirty-eight years to Aidan; and as the latter died in 606, Eochod, if he immediately succeeded his father, must have ruled twenty-three years, or thereabouts.

chronicles respecting Dalriada for some time to come. From year to year appear names of princes and their ceaseless bickerings—now it is the Scots who win, now the Picts; but nothing in any connection with Kintyre occurs till the year 681, when "the slaughter of "Conall Coil, the son of Duncan, in Cuinntire,"[1] is recorded. Both Tighernac and the Ulster annals note it, and both add details which go to show that a considerable fight took place on this occasion, for two others, presumably personages of distinction, fell along with Conall.

Eochod Buidhe, and his immediate successors.

Slaughter of Conall Coil in Kintyre, A.D. 681.

The eighth century opens with more battles, the combatants being, as before, Britons, Saxons, Picts, or Dalriads; and the same wastings and slaughterings continually recur with a wearyful repetition. In 704 there was a great carnage of Dalriads in Glen Lemna; and the same year the more peaceful announcement appears that Adamnan the Wise, Abbot of Iona (the saintly biographer of S. Colomb), "rested in Christ," in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Twice the Dalriads are in conflict with their neighbours the Strathclyde Britons (711, 717), and both times are victors,[2] as if Aidan's lessons had not been altogether lost upon his people. Again, we have a record, A.D. 719, of the Kintyre men, under the name of the tribe Gabran, engaged in a sea-fight with the people of Lorn in Glen Fine, no great distance from Kintyre, and easily reached thence by boats. The King of Kintyre, Duncan, son of Beg (the little), and Selbac of Lorn, were the two commanders in this action, and again victory fell to the Southern Dalriads. In 721 this King Duncan died; and two years later, Selbaigh, King of Dalriada, probably the same Selbac who got such a rough handling from Duncan, surrenders his sword and crown for the habit of a cleric. Next year a Pictish king follows his example, and then the records go on as before, with battles, civil strifes, putting men in chains, sea-fights, drownings, burnings, desecrations, and the like, but never a scrap of detail to interest us beyond the barest recital of these deeds of violence—nothing enabling us to pick out from the exhausting mass of names a single individual who can supply us with a portrait. All we can see is, that the line of Dalriadic kings continues in some shape or other.

Adamnan's death, A.D. 704.

Duncan, King of Kintyre, dies, A.D. 721.

Contentions between the various tribes in Scotland.

At length we reach the close of the eighth century, when begins a chapter of events which must have deeply affected the royal race of Dalriada, as it did the various other sovereignties throughout Britain and Ireland. This was the historically well-known intrusion of a new set of marauders, who swarmed across from Scandinavia and beset our islands north, south, east, and west, carrying havoc and destruction wherever they appeared, tearing down the symbol of the Christian faith, and setting up in its stead the worship of Thor and Odin. In the accounts which reach us from widely different sources relating to the epoch which now began, the same dismal tale everywhere turns up of sacked monasteries and martyred monks, slaughter and ruin descending upon man, woman, child, and beast, wherever the murdering Northmen made their appearance. As with the Anglo-Saxon, whose wail has descended to our own days through his

Close of the eighth century.

The Northmen invade Britain.

Their devastations.

[1] "Cindtire" is Tighernac's spelling, who also writes "Coil" as "Cail."

[2] The site of the battle, A.D. 717, was, according to Tighernac, "at the stone called Minvirec"—doubtless one of those rudely-hewn monoliths which overspread so thickly the Scotland of to-day.

chroniclers, so it is with the Welsh, Manx, and Irish annals; strange names, not known before, mark off exactly the tide-margin where first appear the breakers which at this terrible time kept rolling in from the northern seas. The year 794 opens the doleful page in western Scotland. The ravaging, write the annalists of Ulster and Innisfallen, of Icolmkill and all the islands of Britain by the Gentiles; the burning of Inchpatrick, and plundering by sea in Ireland and Alban; the Hebrides and Ulster laid waste by the Danes; Icolmkill burnt by the Gentiles; the community of Hy slain to the number of sixty-eight;—and so on. Monks and abbots driven out of their homes, and numbers of the best men of the native Scots destroyed one way or another by these foreign carnage-ravens. In Ireland the same things were enacting. Half a century later were conspicuous two of these northern chieftains, named Ivar and Olaf. Now they were wasting the Cruithnes (Picts) in Alban, now swooping south into Angle-land, or again, with a fleet of two hundred ships, making across the channel for Dublin with an enormous booty of prisoners, a mixed multitude of Angles, Britons, and Picts, to carry siege, rapine, and fetters into the heart of the Irish capital. And this sort of thing seems to have continued for some three centuries with intermittent intensity, till the rise of a new line of Hebridean chieftains in the twelfth century. It was a period of terrorism, in which the dial of civilisation seems to have read backward; for during the height of this new devastating influence, wellnigh all the work of Columba and his disciples was for the time destroyed. But out of it, nevertheless, sprang apparently this good to Scotland, that her native races had it forced upon them that they must henceforth unite against the common foe. Perhaps the last entry relating specifically to the Southern Dalriad rulers is the notice that Conal,[1] son of Taidg, was slaughtered in Cuinntire (Kintyre). After him appears in record Kenneth Macalpin—the generally-recognised first king of all Scotland—who died, according to the Irish accounts, in 858.

Iona ravaged, A.D. 794.

Also Ulster and the Hebrides, A.D. 798.

Slaughter of the Iona monks, A.D. 806.

The Norse chiefs, Ivar and Olaf.

A.D. 857-871.

Slaughter of Conal, son of Taidg, in Kintyre, A.D. 807.

But though the kings of Scotland, in the modern acceptation of the term, may be said to begin with Kenneth, the son of Alpin, it took many generations before they were enabled to struggle fairly into their sovereignty, and get a firm foothold in it. The Northmen obstinately remained their great stumbling-block. For centuries after Kenneth's time, piratical expeditions used to sally out from the ports of Scandinavia, and steer for the Scottish Isles, their galleys swarming with a set of daring adventurers who had little care either for gods or men, whose chiefs owed no allegiance to any one living, king nor prelate. And we can imagine how the apprehension of invasion—the uncertainty at what moment a fleet of these marauders might appear round the nearest headland—must have exercised a most malign influence on the natives of western Scotland,—must have paralysed industry, and tended to denude of its population the extensive seaboard districts which form so great a portion of the modern county of Argyle, and, in a less degree, of Ross and Inverness. And these adverse influences must be specially borne in

King Kenneth (Macalpin).

The vikings continue to disturb the West Highlands long after his time.

[1] Apparently by the record great-grandson of King Aidan. The Ulster annals call him Conal McTaidg o Connaill McAedain.

mind; for they explain the great dearth of written ecclesiastical documents—of those monasterial and other records which might otherwise have survived. After a while, no doubt, the attacks of these Northmen would change in their character; the "Gentiles" or "Galls" would gradually intermingle with the natives; and as something more approaching a regular sovereignty became extended over the devastated districts, things would mend, the more desperate of the adventurers be in their turn suppressed; and thus we might look in later times for traces of a union of Scots and Norsemen, which would leave its impress in the country in more ways than one. And this is what has doubtless actually been the case. The mediæval monuments of the class figured in this volume have been thought to bear on their faces tokens of a kinship with similar monuments in Scandinavia; and though the idea has been warmly repudiated by some[1] as not complimentary to Scottish originality, I doubt much if the affinity can be at all satisfactorily disproved.

Gradual intermixture of the Scandinavians with the Scots.

We have now reached a point in the early history of Kintyre when a fresh batch of documentary materials presents itself, out of which—though like the Irish annals they only relate collaterally to our subject—a good many interesting items are to be extracted. I mean the sagas of the Northmen. Many of them were, as we know, produced long after the events they profess to chronicle; yet the scalds who wrote them doubtless drew largely upon oral and traditional lore, like the bards of other countries, and the sennachies of the Scottish Highlands, for instance, to whom we shall presently have to refer. Allowing for the inflation of style in the triumphant songs which the Scandinavian bard was wont to introduce into his more matter-of-fact narratives, we cannot help being struck with a certain downrightness in the narrations, as if the historian, like the sea-king himself, were accustomed to hit straight out at his point, and no more mince or varnish his plain words than the other his deeds. What has already been said respecting the Norse vikings of the ninth to the twelfth centuries, does not, it must be confessed, show them up in a particularly pleasing light. But, after all, they were perpetrating no more and no less than the Pict had done, and was continuing to do, to the Scot—the Scot to the Galloway Briton over the water—the Angle to the Scot—the Norman to the Angle, and so on; the same thing having been perpetuated almost to our own day in the animosities of rival families throughout the Highlands. The first freebooters were undoubtedly fierce and cruel; but when the kings of Norway afterwards stepped in, there was more chance of clemency, and even magnanimity, if the vanquished would only give in. And in spite of the sanguinary aspect of these Northern poems and stories, it is impossible to resist the charm of their language, sometimes highly poetic, at all times vigorous and graphic. The labours of a large number of able and accomplished authors have supplied us with admirable translations of many of them. The saga of Olaf Tryggvason, the Niala and Orkneyinga sagas, the saga of King Magnus Berfœtt, and others, are singularly quaint and interesting. And when in some of them references are found to localities we are specially concerned with—as the peninsula of Kintyre, for

The Norse sagas.

Their references to localities in Kintyre.

[1] Dr Daniel Wilson is very strong on the point (see his 'Eccles. Antiq. of Scotland'). In the chapter on Monumental Art I shall have more to say on this point.

example—the interest is greatly enhanced. The poems of Snorro Sturlason,[1] the narratives of Thormod Torfæus the Norwegian historian,[2] the book of Flatey, and other MSS. of like purport and origin, contain much bearing upon the early history of the Western Highlands and Isles, as well as of the Orkneys. Take, for example, this extract from the Ynglinga saga of Snorro, referring to about the close of the ninth century:

King Harald Harfager.

"After the battle of Hafursfiord, King Harald Harfager (the fair-haired) met with no "further resistance in Norway.[3] All his greatest enemies were conquered, but a great "multitude of them fled the country. . . . There was also at that time a great "migration of Northmen to Shetland, and many of the rich Norwegians fled there as out-"laws from King Harald, and engaged in the pursuits of vikingr ('vestruiking'). During "the winter months they remained in the Orkneys, or in *the Sudreys;*[4] but in summer "they kept to the coasts of Norway, and did considerable damage to the country."[5] King Harald, continues the saga, grew dissatisfied with the depredations of these vikingr, and used to hunt them every summer, but they managed to elude him among the rocks

His visits to the Hebrides.

and islands of the Hebrides. But one summer season the king followed them close, first to Orkney, where he slew all he could lay hands on, and then to the Sudreys. Here he killed very many of them, "who had been commanders of great bodies of men," and fought numerous battles, in most of which he came off victorious. Between this same King Harald, however, and the vikings, there would seem to have been little to choose, for he afterwards sailed on to the Isle of Man to plunder there on his own account. Such glimpses as these sagas give show us what a state of things must have obtained along the Scottish coasts at this epoch. Take again, for a specimen of sonorous battle-painting,

Snorro's poems.

one of Snorro's war-songs, describing a Norse combat:—

"The strife begins,
Fields redden,
Javelins are hurled,
The din increases,
Ground is gained,
The monarch conquers,
The blade grows warm,
Wolves are sated,

"Bosses ring,
Shields are bent,
The peace-hating hero,
With ardour pants,
The sword clashes,
Mails are cleft,
Spears thunder,
Shafts are stained in blood."[6]

What could be more graphic than these short, sharp words? The whole scene forces

[1] Snorri Sturlason, better known as "Snorro," was scald or bard to Haco IV., King of Norway, and wrote, therefore, about the first half of the thirteenth century. His nephew, Sturla Thórdārson, who died in 1284, accompanied Hacon V. in his celebrated Scottish expedition, and is generally admitted to have been the writer of the very interesting account of that expedition in the Flatey MSS.

[2] Thormódur Torfason, whose name has been Latinised as above, has left us several historical works upon Scandinavia and the Orkneys, &c. He lived and wrote between 1662-1712, and, like Snorro and so many other of the Norse writers, was an Icelander by birth. I am indebted for the orthography of the above names, and information on some other points, to the kindness of Mr Jón A. Hjaltalin of the Edinburgh Advocates' Library, whose reputation as an Icelandic scholar is well known.

[3] He was the first king of all Norway.

[4] The Sudoreys, or Southern Isles, till the middle of the twelfth century, appear to have included all the Hebrides, Bute, Arran, Kintyre, and Man—the Nordreys comprising Orkney and Shetland.

[5] Oliver's translation (Monumenta de Ins. Man, vol. 1.); see also Skene.

[6] Anecdotes of Olaf the Black—Johnstone (1780), Adv. Libr.

itself as it were upon us, and reading them one almost feels one's own blood stirred. Indeed, the old Icelandic of these songs has such muscle, and bone, and sinew, such a wild trumpet-sound and sweeping measure with it, as to be almost intelligible, though we may be strangers to the language.[1]

To resume the thread of our narrative. The closing years of the tenth century set over the accustomed fields of blood and rapine, the unfortunate monastery of Iona being again twice harried by the Danes, who slew on the first occasion, Christmas Eve, the abbot and fifteen of his clergy, and on the second reaped their share of retributive justice in the loss on their part of 360 men. Then follows the slaughter of a king of Inchgall, or the Isles, by the Dalriads, and a few years later of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, by his own people, the Albanich. Internecine conflicts after these. Then a great fight between Scottish men and Saxons. And so we are brought to a battle of somewhat more memorable name, which was fought out at Cluantarf, or Clontarf, in Ireland, under curious and apparently anomalous circumstances, which show, however, in the clearest manner, the tremendous hold the Norsemen had got at this time over the Isles of Scotland. A great band of Irish, under their King Brian, who, we may suppose, were assisted by those of Dalriadic blood on this side the water, encountered a host of Danes, whose forces, according to the Innisfallen annals, were thus made up:—"Their third battalion con-
"sisted of the Galls or Gentiles (*i.e.*, the Norsemen) of the Isles, with Luadar, Earl of
"Orkney,[2] and Bruadar, leader of the Danes, and the Galls of Innsecead, and of Man, and
"Skye, and Lewis, and Kintyre, and the Ergadians, and the district Britons, &c., with all
"their kings." Here were regions where one would have looked, under ordinary circumstances, for an aggregated and settled Dalriadic nation, swarming with Galls—malign wasps, who had driven the legitimate working-bees out of their hives, and were fattening on the honey. The chronicle is silent as to the result of the contest; but at all events the Danes were at their old trade again shortly after—for in 1027, Dunkeld, the great Scottish episcopal seat, was entirely burnt, by them it may be presumed. By this time the Scottish monarchs—Kings of all Alban, as they now begin to be named in the annals

Iona again harried, A.D. 986-87.

A.D. 989.

Battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, in which the Kintyre men took part.

Dunkeld burnt, A.D. 1027.

[1] I cannot forbear quoting another specimen, where the choice of resonant words, as in the well-known Homeric line, "terrible was the clang of the silver bow," seems so to fit the theme they are telling of:—

"Lof a flutt förom
Fyrie gunnörum
Ne spurd spörom
Spioll gram snörom
Hefi ek hans förom
Til hródar görom
Ypt a vörom
Fyr ands börom."

These lines, given by Johnstone in his anecdotes of Olaf, apparently descriptive of a scald's duties on a march, are also by Snorro, according to Mr Hjaltalin. The last-named gentleman has obliged me with a literal translation of them, which I have ventured to paraphrase as follows, very imperfectly, I fear, and certainly at the expense of that terseness or compressibility of idea into few words, which a language rich in inflections, like the Icelandic, of course admits of, much more than our own:—

"Before our brisk warriors
Speeds the fame of their glory;
Nor spare we our monarch
Gleaned fragments of story.
With my lips, to the noblest
My song I upraise;
Of his great expeditions
To sound forth the praise."

To preserve the short metre I have been obliged to sacrifice some of the niceties of the wording.

[2] The Jarls of Orkney were, till quite a late period, subjects of Norway, and completely Scandinavian.

—are creeping on in something like a regular succession, though the line is snapped time after time by their being summarily put to death at the hands of their unruly and as yet more than half-savage subjects. But it must not be forgotten that their sovereignty was not, for more than two centuries, to extend, *de facto*, to the western isles of Kintyre. Under the vigorous manipulation of Harald Harfagra the pestilent freebooters of his nation were, as we have seen, to some extent got under; and the result seems to have been that the Scottish Isles, from that time, passed to the dominion of Norway, and remained so till their final cession to the crown of Scotland in the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus, for nearly four hundred years the headquarters of the old South Dalriads shared, with the isles, a nominal subjection to a distant ruler—forming, in fact, a kind of neutral ground, to be swept by the devastating fires of two rival powers, neither of which was content to yield it to the other.

Hebrides claimed by Norway in eleventh century.

And this brings us naturally to the time when we have to notice a monarch who played a not unimportant part in the history of this country—Magnus of Norway, surnamed Barefoot.[1] Snorro's saga gives a most lively and detailed account of this king's expedition to Scotland,[2] which, in many ways, resembled a still more memorable one of a later Norwegian sovereign. The picture Snorro paints is brought before us with singular freshness. The king, with Sigurd his young son,[3] and many great nobles, sail over in their galleys from Norway, and touch first at the Orkneys, the regular calling-place for their expeditions. The army, we are told, was a large and joyous one. After capturing two Orcadian Jarls, Erland and Paul, and sending them off to Norway, the king leaves Sigurd there, under charge of trusty guardians, to act for him during his absence, and pushes on southward. "The sturdy keels cleft the breakers," sings the scald Thorkell Hawar; and merrily westward, toward the Sudoreys, sailed King Magnus. He had the sons of the suspected jarls with him as hostages, and a great army besides. There was also with him, as we know from other sources, Harold, son of the last Anglo-Saxon king of the name, who perished at Hastings; for King Magnus had been kindly treated by our English Harold in former days, and when disaster overtook his benefactor, was mindful to requite the father's kindness by befriending the son. When the Norse king reached the Sudoreys, "he began to plunder, burnt the inhabited "places, killed the people, and pillaged wherever he went. But the country folk "fled to various places—some up to Scotland or into the fiords, some southward to

Expedition to Kintyre of King Magnus Berfætt, A.D. 1098.

[1] "Berfættr" is his earlier Norse title, and "Nudipes," its Latin equivalent, that of the later Danish historians. The origin of this nickname is thus explained by Torfæus: "When Magnus returned home with his victorious "fleet from his western expedition, he is said to have brought into use the customs and also the dress of the "westerns, who were used to go about the highways with bare feet, and wore tunics and short cloaks (tunicis "palliisque brevibus usi). Hence he got the name of Nudipes, though the Saxon derivation is different."—Hist. Norveg., Part iii.

[2] See Johnstone's 'Antiquitates Celtæ-Scandicæ,' 1786, Advocates' Library, the 'Heimskringla,' vol. iii., and Skene's Magnus Saga (Collect. de Reb. Alb.) We have also brief notices of the expedition by William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and other English chroniclers. In speaking of the Magnus Saga as Snorro's, I mean, of course, the saga as *rendered* by him in the 'Heimskringla' a century or so after the events it records.

[3] Sigurd at this time was but in his ninth year, but, as Torfæus adds, a boy of great parts and promise (magnæ indolis et spei).—Hist. Norveg.

"Satiri[1] (Kintyre) or to Ireland, while some submitted to the king and received pardon." After this King Magnus captures more of the islands, and brings his army into Hy (the Holy Island), where one of the rare moods of magnanimity exercised during these progresses is exhibited towards the monks. "The king gave peace and quarter to all men that "were there, and to the property of all." Thence his galleys swooped upon Ila; and here he recompensed his people for their moderation at Hy by renewed slaying and burning. The Ila men disposed of, the king went south to Satiri, and made war there on both countries—both upward on Scotland and outward on Ireland. We can easily understand what a conveniently-situated base Kintyre would make for this double field of warfare. From here the fleet sails on to the Isle of Man, where the tragedy of steel and fire is re-enacted. And at this point in his story, the scald can no longer restrain his triumphant feelings, but bursts out with an exulting quotation from the song of a brother bard, Biorn the Crook-handed.[2] After his foray in Man, the king sailed to Anglesey, and attempted to land there, but found the English ready for him in great force, under command of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Chester. After a battle, in which he slew, with an arrow shot from his own hand, Hugo the Modest, Earl of Shrewsbury, Magnus made off—according to the English annals, defeated, but, says the saga, "having gained a great victory" and turned him back to Scotland. And now ensued the episode in which the Norwegian seems to have cunningly outwitted the Scot, and, by stratagem, to have formally secured the inclusion of the rich territory of Kintyre within the category of the Isles. The details given by the Norse writers are so precise as to bring the whole scene vividly before us. A pact was made between the Scottish king[3] and Magnus, that the latter was to have all the insular territories of Scotland, which was taken to mean all land round which a helm-carrying ship could pass. "King Magnus brought his ships up to the south of "Satiri (Kintyre). Then he had a small ship drawn across the ridge of Satiri,[4] and the "helm laid across in its proper form. The king himself sat down in the poop, and "took hold of the helm-ball; and thus he got possession of all the country lying on the "larboard side."[5] Elsewhere Snorro gives a description of the general dress and

His boat stratagem.

[1] Satiri or Saltiri is the name given to Kintyre in the Icelandic of the sagas. The account given by Torfæus of the same events is as follows: "Infusus in Hæbudas incendiis et cædibus villas vicosque vastant, "bona diripuit, indigenis quaquaversum diffugientibus, alios fugâ in sinus Scoticos alios in austros ad Saltiriam "(aliis exemplaribus, iisque pluribus, Satiria est, hodie Cantiria) provexit."—Hist. Norvegicæ, Pt. iii. p. 421. (Copenhagen edition of 1711 in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.)

[2] Coll. de Reb. Alb. There is an allusion to a battle on the island of Sanda in this saga, which will presently be noticed.

[3] Apparently Malcolm, third of the name, nicknamed "Ceanmor," or the Big-headed. He succeeded the usurper Macbeth, the murderer of King Duncan, and was husband to the saintly Queen Margaret. Malcolm was slain in opposing the English near Alnwick, A.D. 1093, the date of his death being given by Robertson ('Scotland under her Early Kings') as 13th November; while from the saga it is tolerably clear that the boat incident took place earlier in the year. Robertson places the date of the expedition at 1098, but he has Gregory and most historians against him. He also discredits the incident altogether, but Mr W. F. Skene's remarks on the general accuracy of the Norse sagas, and their close agreement with the Irish annals, where the same events are chronicled, are well worthy of attention (Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 63), and do not support this view.

[4] About half a mile wide, separating the two sea-arms, at Tarbert, Loch Fyne.

[5] 'Magnus Saga'—Coll. de Reb. Alb. Torfæus thus narrates the same incident: "It was through the astute-"ness of Magnus, who, by a guileful interpretation of the conditions of peace, perverted them to his own purpose,

appearance of the king, which enables us to realise this singular tableau of the eleventh century yet more vividly. "King Magnus," says the bard, "wore on his head a helmet, "and carried on his arm a red shield emblazoned with a golden lion; in his belt was a "sword of exceeding sharpness, the hilt of which was of ivory, enwreathed with inlaid "gold; in his hand was a javelin; and over his coat of mail fell a short silken tunic of "ruby colour, embroidered with a lion of auric hue;—and all acknowledged that none "could surpass him in dignity and beauty."[1] Thus it was that Kintyre formally passed over to the crown of Norway. "Satiri," adds the knowing scald, "is a great country, and "better than any island of the Sudreys, Man excepted. There is a narrow sandy ridge[2] "between it and Scotland, so that ships are often drawn across it.[3] King Magnus went "from thence to the Sudreys, but sent his men into the fiords of Scotland, and made them "row in along the one coast and out along the other, and thus got possession of all the "islands west of Scotland, both inhabited and uninhabited."[4] The king wintered in the Sudreys, and the next summer returned home to Norway, leaving Sigurd his son king or viceroy of all his circumnavigated possessions.

The Hebrides and Kintyre become formally his.

Altogether, this expedition of a Norwegian king in the last years of the eleventh century, besides the important bearing it had on Scottish history, is a remarkable episode, and interesting both in its connection with Kintyre, and also as illustrating the lawless, haphazard condition of affairs in the west at this time, when any one powerful enough did that which was right (or wrong) in his own eyes. I have not as yet alluded to another documentary authority which, at the beginning of this century, must be added to the sources of historical information we possess respecting western Scotland—the Chronicle of Man and the Isles (Chronicon Manniæ et insularum), the original of which, a small-sized quarto parchment, is deposited in the British Museum.[5] It was written by various monkish hands, having apparently been begun about 1250. It contains a few mistakes, but on the whole is an exceedingly valuable historical document, and in tolerably good preservation, considering its antiquity. This chronicle gives a singular reason for the undertaking of his expedition by King Magnus. "Desiring," we read, "to see if the "remains of the saintly Olaf, king and martyr,[6] were still uncorrupted, he commanded that "Olaf's tomb should be opened. The bishop and clergy resisted; but the king came "audaciously, and by royal mandate caused the shrine to be unclosed. When he saw and

Chronicle of Man and the Isles.

Singular reason it assigns for the expedition of Magnus.

"that the peninsula of Cantire, esteemed before any of the Hebrides, came to be numbered with the islands. For "(the king), stationed in the poop of his galley, and taking hold of the rudder (clavum), was, by a land-journey, "drawn across the isthmus which connects it (the peninsula) with the continent; and so, having manifestly passed "betwixt these latter by a species of navigation, he extorted the peninsula,—taught, I believe, by the sophism of "Beitius, son of Goris—noris Norvegiæ eponymi fratris filio—who, in this way, many generations before, got "possession of the province of Thrandia."—Hist. Norvegicæ, Pt. iii. 423.

[1] Extr. from 'Heimskringla'—Oliver's transl.—Manx Soc.'s Mon., vol. iv. p. 143.

[2] This is scarcely a correct description. The ridge is a low but lumpy one, interspersed with schist rock.

[3] The very name Tarbert, so frequent at these narrow isthmuses throughout Scotland, signifies draw-boat (Gael., tara-bart). Felled trees would answer well as rollers on which the keels of the galleys would rest, and could be dragged along without any great difficulty. The same operation was performed by Hacon's ships at Tarbert of Loch Lomond, A.D. 1263.

[4] Snorro Sturlason's Magnus Saga. Trans. by Skene.

[5] Manx Society's Monumenta, vol. iv.

[6] King of Norway, put to death by his Norse subjects A.D. 1030.

" felt with his hands that the corpse was uncorrupted, a great fear suddenly came upon " him, and with much haste he departed. The next night appeared to him in a vision S. " Olaf, king and martyr, who said, 'Choose thou one of two things—either to lose thy life " 'and kingdom within thirty days, or depart from Norway, and never see it more.' The " king, awakening from his sleep, called unto him his chiefs and eldest born, and told " them of his vision. They were terrified, and gave him this counsel, that with all speed he " should quit Norway. Without delay he assembled a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, " and passed over to the islands of the Orcades, which he forthwith subdued; and proceed- " ing thence through all the isles, he subjugated them, and then came on as far as Mann."[1]

Death of Magnus, A.D. 1103.

The end of this long-headed and bold-hearted king took place, according to Norse accounts, near Downpatrick in Ireland, where he and his army were gone on their old errand of pillage and conquest. As the incident is very characteristic of the times, I may take leave to mention it. It was St Bartholomew's Day, and the Irish had agreed to surrender a stock of cattle to King Magnus to victual his galleys. It was noon, and the Norsemen were driving the beasts down to the shore over a boggy flat, when an ambush of the natives rushed out of a wood, and fell upon the strangers. Magnus ordered Eyvinder, his second in command, to sound the trumpet, and close ranks till they could reach firm ground; but, being hard pressed by the Irish, the Norwegians fell in great numbers. They had reached the shelter of an old intrenchment when the king, seeing a certain chief named Thorgrim, belonging to Upland in Sweden, called out to him to make for the hill with his bowmen, whilst he covered their retreat with the remaining force. Thorgrim and his men obeyed the order; but directly they were clear of the ditch, they put their shields behind their backs and ran for the ships. Magnus, seeing them fly, cried out, " Is it thus you run, you coward! I was a fool to send you instead of Sigurd, " who would not thus desert me." The King fought with incredible valour, but whilst defending himself against great numbers, was pierced through the thighs by a spear. Pulling it out, he snapped it under his feet, saying, " Thus we young warriors[2] break " these twigs. Fight on bravely, my men, and fear nothing for me."[3] Soon after, however, Magnus was struck on the neck by a battle-axe, and fell. Vidkunner Johnson killed the man who gave the fatal blow, and carried off with him the King's sword and the royal standard. An immense number of Norsemen were slain in this engagement, together with Swerker Eyvinder, Ulfr, Dago, and many other chiefs. The rest, with the King's son Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, fled to their ships, and departed.[4] This, but for the unusual trait of cowardice, is a fair specimen of those half-land, half-sea fights which for

[1] Chronicle of Man (Manx Mon., vol. iv., Appendix D). See also Hist. Norvegicæ.

[2] Dr Oliver says that Magnus was only thirty years old at this time; but it is difficult to see how this could be when ten years earlier—viz., in 1093—his son Sigurd was in his ninth year.

[3] The words of Torfæus are fuller than in Oliver's version: "Ita nos juvenes tabulas frangimus, ait," we read; and again, "Fly," says he to another of his followers, "and look after thyself, for well and stoutly hast " thou seconded me, and now we shall be cut off one by one. Bear, therefore, to King Sigurd and the rest of " my friends my greeting." "Magnus," says Torfæus, "was a magnanimous and strenuous prince, powerful, " industrious, tall in stature, and renowned for his strength of mind and body."—Hist. Norveg., Pt. iii. 445.

[4] Manx Soc.'s 'Monumenta,' App., i. 224. See also 'Heimskringla' (Magnus Saga), vol. iii.

centuries were taking place along the estuaries of the west coast of Scotland and elsewhere, wherever these Northmen, kings or vikings, were able to penetrate. And when in these peaceful days we drive smoothly along the most picturesque of roads, or lounge upon the deck of the tourist steamer enjoying the succession of seashore and islet, lovely woodland and distant blue mountain, it may not be uninstructive to call up these old pictures—to hear over again the beat of the long galley oar—to see the flash of the sunlight on the torcs and armlets of the yellow-haired chieftains—to give a thought to the lamentation of widow and orphan which followed in the trail of these galleys, and be thankful that our lot is cast in more civilised, if in less romantic, ages.

We may skip over the half century which immediately succeeded to the times of Magnus Barefoot, and come at once to a personage who now emerges from an obscure retreat in the wilds of Morvern into sudden and more than ordinary prominence. The biography of Somarled, or Sumarlid (the summer soldier, as the Norse name implies), must possess a widespread interest for Scottish readers from his having been the progenitor of so many of the West Highland Clans.

Rise of Sumarlid of the Isles.

The question as to which of the various tribes referred to in the annals is probably the one whence Sumarlid was descended—whether he was most a Celt, a Pict, or a Scandinavian by extraction—seems to be one of those profitless points of discussion so frequently met with, which had better be left alone here. As an authority of very high standing has pointed out,[1] the Celtic natives, during the lengthy period of the Danish inroads, must to a considerable extent have amalgamated with the invaders; and considering the time at which Sumarlid makes his appearance, it is more than probable that his ancestry had been a mixture of both stocks. His own name is undeniably Norse in form, but, on the other hand, the two preceding representatives of his family bore names as evidently Celtic. Those who have desired to depreciate Sumarlid's origin maintain that the term "Haulldr," applied to him in the sagas, is fatal to the theory of his having been of high birth.[2] On the other hand, Snorro, in his list of lords of the Isles (stemma regum insularum), heads it with the names of the father and grandfather of Sumarlid, Gil Adomnan and Gil Bhride.[3] Dougal "rex Insularum" comes next (1156), and Sumarlid follows fourth on the list (1164).[4] It is ridiculous, therefore, to suppose that Sumarlid rose out of nothing, although the suddenness with which he makes for himself a conspicuous place in the annals of his country is not a little puzzling.

His extraction and parentage.

Of the early life and surroundings of the great ancestor of the Siol Cuinn (the race of Conn of the hundred battles), better known as the original families of Argyll or Lorn (de Ergadia) and the Isles (de Insulis), we seem to know absolutely nothing. The

His early life shrouded in obscurity.

[1] See Gregory's Highlands and Isles.

[2] Mr Gregory shows the fallacy of this argument on its own ground; for the term was used as a nickname for kings and nobles, though its primary signification implies a person cultivating the soil.

[3] Manx Soc. Monumenta, iv. 216. Under the cognomen of "Gilbrid of the Cave," we hear of him near the Perthshire and Argyllshire border taking refuge in a cave on the north side of Loch Rannoch, where a cairn, spring, &c., are said to be named after him.—New Statistical Account of Fortingal Parish, Perthshire, 1838.

[4] The appearance here of the name of Dougal, Sumarlid's son, preceding that of his father, is explained by certain proceedings, to be presently referred to, which took place in the year 1156.

English chronicles afford the most microscopic accounts of contemporary personages in Southern Britain of much less note than Sumarlid. Indeed, what monkish records remain to us of far earlier times in western Scotland—as, for example, the hagiologies of Scoto-Irish saints—supply oftentimes minute biographical information. So it is for eastern Scotland. But from causes which will be obvious to those who have troubled themselves to read the foregoing remarks, the absence of this information in the west is explained. Thus it happens that the materials at our disposal for a biography of Sumarlid are the scantiest. They consist mainly of a fragmentary MS. written in the middle of the seventeenth century by a seannachy,[1] or family genealogist, of the Macdonalds of Sleat. "This "MS.," says Mr Skene, "is a very favourable specimen of the productions of the ancient "sennachies. Full of traditionary anecdotes, both of public events and of the private "history of families, in general wonderfully accurate, they furnish a curious addition to "the history of the Scottish Highlands."[2] The record next in fulness of detail bearing upon Sumarlid is the 'Manx Chronicle,' already alluded to, which takes up the narrative of his doings when they came into connection with the Isle of Man. The only other incidental references to this chieftain I am aware of, are to be found in the Norse sagas, if we except a solitary one in the annals of Ulster.[3]

Early documents bearing upon Sumarlid's history.

On the appearance of Sumarlid the state of matters in the Western Isles seems to have been pretty much this: From time to time there had risen up since the first inroads of the vikingr some one possessing sufficient enterprise and capability to elevate himself to the rank of a petty sovereign, practically independent both of Norway and Scotland. These were the first so-called kings or rulers of the Isles; and before long, their generally recognised headquarters was the Isle of Man. In the names of Lagman, Godred, Magnus, Olaf, Rognvald (Reginald), and the like, we recognise at once the Scandinavian character of these princes. We have seen that Harald Harfager, King of Norway, came over to Scotland at the close of the ninth century for the purpose of scourging the rebellious vikingr, and bringing the Isles under his authority, and that Magnus Barefoot paid his visit to Britain on much the same errand. But no sooner had the Norwegian kings turned their backs upon Scotland, and made sail for their distant northern land, than their nominal sovereignty, and the still more nominal rule of the viceroys or nominees left behind them, would begin again to disappear, for it was impossible that a chieftain residing in the Isle of Man could properly exercise the duties of his chieftainship over territories so extended as the Scottish Isles. Thus rival candidates for sovereignty — one here, another there—would spring up, old feuds

State of the West Highlands on his first appearance.

[1] "Seannachaidh" (Gael.), a reciter of tales, a historian. These seannachies were something akin to the bards and scalds, and most of the Highland clans or families of note employed one of them to sing their praises, who was a member of the clan, and of course warmly attached to it, and jealous of its honour.

[2] Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 325.

[3] The entry stands at the year 1164, the year of Sumarlid's death, and is as follows: "The chiefs of the family of Ia (Hy), namely, Augustin, the great priest, and Dubhsidhe, the lector, and MacGilliduff, president of the Desert, and MacFore Maigh, head of the Culdees, and the chiefs of the family of Ia in general, came to meet the Co-arb of Columcille, to wit, Flaithertach Ua Brolchain, (to invite him) to accept of the abbacy of Ia, by the advice of *Somhairle*, and the men of Argyle, and of Innsegall; but the Co-arb of Patrick the King of Ireland namely, Ua Lochlainn, and the chiefs of the Cinel Eoghain, prevented it."—Reeves's Adamnan, Vit. S. Colomb.

reawaken, and a sort of promiscuous civil war ensue, in which Scots, fair and dark strangers,[1] loyally-disposed Norwegian kingsmen and vikingr, Irish or any other plundering foreigners, might be expected to mingle, according to their several interests and traditions. Out of this seemingly hopeless confusion the figure of Sumarlid, arrived at man's estate, starts out into life before us. Our first introduction to him is in a cave in the recesses of Morvern (a district of modern Argyllshire), where, the seannachy Hugh Macdonald tells us, he lay in retirement brooding over the low condition and misfortune to which he and his father were reduced. "Then there came to Morvern one Allin "Mac-Vic Allin, with some men from Lochiel, to look for pillage and heirships," and Sumarlid thought it was high time to make himself known for the defence of his country. "There was a young sprout of a tree near the cave, which grew in his age of infancy.[2] "He plucked it up by the root, and putting it on his shoulder, bade the Morvern folk "be of good courage and do the same, and so all pulling a branch, and each putting it "over his shoulder, they went on encouraging one another. At this time Godfrey Dhu, "or the Black,[3] held the Isles north of Ardnamurchan under the Norwegian crown. But "Morvern being on the mainland, was Scottish territory, and when Olaf the Red, King "of Man, caused men from the islands to go over in force to occupy Morvern, the main-"landers had right on their side in resisting. Now the Morvern men at this time were "principally MacInnes's and MacGilvrays, and these resented the intrusion of the "strangers; but they could do nothing without a leader. But having risen up and come "in sight of the enemy, they agreed to make the first man they should meet their "general. Who should come up in the mean time but Sumarlid, with his bow, quiver, "and sword," whereat they raised a great shout of laughter. Asked Sumarlid why did they laugh. They said they were rejoiced to see him, and told him what had been agreed upon. "Sumarlid said he would undertake to head them," but only on condition they should swear to obey him as chief, which they did forthwith. "There was a great "hill betwixt them and the enemy, and Sumarlid ordered his men to put off their coats, "and put their shirts and full armour above their coats. So, making them go three times "in a disguised manner about the hill, that they might seem more in number than they "really were, at last he ordered them to engage the Danes, saying that some of them were "on shore and the rest in their ships, that those on shore would fight but faintly so near "their ships. Withal he exhorted his soldiers to be of good courage, and to do as they "would see him do, so they led on the charge. The first whom Sumarlid slew he ript "up and took out his heart, desiring the rest to do the same, because that the Danes "were no Christians. So the Danes were put to flight; many of them were lost in the "sea endeavouring to gain their ships, the lands of Mull and Morvern being freed at that

Sumarlid emerges from concealment.

The Morvern men resist the Norwegians,

and elect Sumarlid their chief.

Sumarlid fights the Norsemen, and vanquishes them.

[1] Fiongalls (fair strangers) and Dufgalls (black strangers), two tribes mentioned separately in the Irish annals, who have been thought to represent Norwegians and Danes respectively. Another name for the Danes or early vikingr in the annals is Gentiles (gentes), with whom a tribe called Gall-gael are at war in the middle of the ninth century.

[2] Whence it would seem that Sumarlid must have been bred, if not born, in Morvern.

[3] Godred, surnamed the Black, afterwards King of Man (1154-88), was the son of Olaf the Red.

" time from their yoke and slavery. After this defeat, Sumarlid thought to recover Argyll " from those who, contrary to right, possessed it."[1]

I shall not stop to follow the seannachy of the Macdonalds through all his details respecting Sumarlid. The sum of what more we know of his career is as follows: After his first success, some of the Argathelians or men of Argyll opposed him, and had to be put down. The next thing was to master Lorn, Argyll, Kintyre, and Knapdale, which he succeeded in accomplishing. Next ensues his meeting with Olaf the Red, King of Man and the Sudreys[2] at Stornoway (Stornua), where a trap was cunningly laid by one of Olaf's people, who was friendly to Sumarlid, through which the Highland chieftain was enabled to coerce Olaf into giving him his daughter in marriage. Once allied to the officially recognised reigning house of the Isles, Sumarlid Gilbridson was not the man to lose his opportunity. Comparing the Manx and Celtic accounts of him, we make out that he was steadily bent upon recovering not only Man and the Isles, but as much of the mainland of Argyll as he thought he could claim with any shadow of a title. So his power and influence increased, till the ever-watchful jealousy of rival Scottish nobles took alarm, and it was represented to the young King Malcolm that the western chief was waxing too formidable, and that his wings must be clipped. Then the King of Scotland sent an army under Gilchrist, Thane of Angus, to require Sumarlid to yield up his claim to Argyll, or quit the Isles. " But Sumarlid, making all the speed he could, went after " them; and joining battle, they fought fiercely on both sides with great slaughter, till " night parted them. Two thousand on Sumarlid's side, and seven thousand on " Gilchrist's side, were slain in the field."[3] After this the field of Sumarlid's exploits was transferred to the Isle of Man and the high seas, where he plays for a time the *rôle* of a successful sea-king; but here the writer of the Macdonald MS. is altogether silent, and we have to refer to the Manx Chronicle. Godfred Olafson was by this time King of Man and the Isles. One of his nobles rebelled, and proposed to Sumarlid that his son Dugall should be put forward to supplant Godred; and accordingly, with Sumarlid's full consent, this man Thorfinn Ottarson took Dugall round the Isles and canvassed the islesmen to assist in upsetting Godred. But one Paul Balkason, faithful to his legitimate master, escaped, and bore to Godred tidings of what was brewing against him. " Hearing " this," says the chronicle, " consternation seized Godred, who, hastily collecting his " ships, set off to meet the rebels. Sumarlid meanwhile got together a fleet of eighty " ships, and prepared for action. A sea-fight took place between Godred and Sumerled " the night of our Lord's Epiphany,[4] and there was a great slaughter of men on both

His after-successes.

Weds Olaf's daughter.

Rapid increase of Sumarlid's power.

His proceedings in the Isle of Man.

A.D. 1156.

[1] MS. Hist. of the Macdonalds (Coll. de Reb. Alb.)

[2] It ought to be explained that the terms Nordoreys and Sudreys were differently understood by differen' writers. The Norse sagas included in the Sudreys Man and all the Hebridean Islands. But afterwards—probably dating from the time of Sumarlid—the name Sudreys applied only to the Isles south of the point of Ardnamurchan, and that of Nordreys to those north of it.

[3] This estimate of the losses is an enormous draw upon our credulity, due evidently to the writer's clannish desire to make the most of Sumarlid's victory.

[4] In the month of January, therefore; and, as fixing the date better in our minds, it may be noted that this event took place little more than a year after Stephen of England's death.

" sides. Next day at sunrise they made peace, and divided between them the kingdom " of the Isles,[1] and from that day to this they have formed two kingdoms."

Two years later Godred and Sumarlid are again at war. The Highland chief was not content with what he had already got out of his unfortunate brother-in-law. " Sumerled " came to Man with a fleet of fifty-three ships, and, giving battle to Godred, put him to " flight, and devastated (vastavit) the whole island. Godred fled to Norway, and besought " the aid of S. Machutus against Sumerled, who meanwhile made a few days' stay in the " island, at the port of Ramsa." Of what happened to Sumarlid and his Argyll men here, the chronicle proceeds to give a detailed account. Some of the items in this part of his biography, and others bearing upon domestic details, will hereafter be touched upon when we come to notice the Abbey of Saddell in Kintyre, the founding of which has generally been ascribed to Sumarlid. Many of them are curious and interesting. The last act in the drama of Sumarlid's life was the culmination of the storm of rivalry which had set in against him among those who had gained the King of Scotland's ear; or it may have been that his ambition and the long run of success fortune seems to have given him, brought about the final catastrophe which overtook him. With a fleet of 160 galleys—an enormous armada for that day—he sailed up the Clyde, fought a battle with the King of the Scots at Renfrew, and was there slain. The entry in the Ulster annals recording the event occurs A.D. 1164, and is as follows: "On the kalends of " January Somerled M'Gil Adomnan and his son were slain. The greater part of his " troops, collected from Ireland, Kintyre, Inis-gâl, and Dublin, also perished."

Sumarlid's death.

Thus fell one of the most remarkable leaders of this epoch of Scottish history. In many respects his character is a repetition of that of King Aidan, and in both instances Kintyre is the locality most closely connected with their fortunes. In the case of Sumarlid, the possession of Argyll and Kintyre appears to have been a leading cause of contention between himself and Malcolm IV. The Isles he might keep, but not any mainland territory, and certainly not that portion of it which by a subterfuge had been wrested from the king's namesake and predecessor, and classed among the islands.[2] But Sumarlid thought otherwise, and so it came to war between them, and the ruin of the great chieftain was brought about. But his work of founding a family, which for generations to come, in the capacity of sovereign lords of the Isles, was to be the dominant one in the Scottish Highlands, had been accomplished, and the fruits of his ambitious energy were left to be gathered by his posterity.

Sumarlid's sons.

By his marriage with Olaf's daughter, Effrica (or Ragnhildis, as she is called in the 'Orkneyinga Saga'), Sumarlid had three sons, Dugall, Rognvald (Reginald), Angus, and, according to some authorities, another named Olaf.[3] Dugall, in the partition of

[1] Sumarlid getting all south of Ardnamurchan Point, excepting Man, which Godred was to retain with the northern half of the Isles.

[2] Macdonald MS.—Trans. Iona Club.

[3] The Chronicle of Man and the Macdonald MS. mention Olaf. The latter adds a son by a lady of the distinguished family of the Bissets, but the barefaced way in which he throws discredit on Sumarlid's legitimate eldest son, the ancestor of the clan Dugall, and puts a supposed Sumarlid in his place, destroys our confidence in his genealogies. There was also another son killed with his father at Renfrew, and probably a tribe of others we know less about.

property, got the northern part of Argyll; Bute fell to Angus; and Reginald remained lord of Isla and Kintyre. The violently-gotten island of Man, and what other territories had belonged to Godred, returned after Sumarlid's death to their rightful owner of the original stock of the Manx kings. Yet as a proof of the dignity the family of Sumarlid had attained to, even in these early days, may be mentioned the fact that his two eldest sons retained the title of *kings* of the Isles, contemporaneously with Godred, King of Man. And Thordr, an Icelandic writer of the thirteenth century,[1] speaking of "them "which were of Sumarlid's family, and untrue to King Haco of Norway," calls them "Sudurey kings" two generations after Sumarlid. Reginald and his son Donald will be spoken of more fully further on in the notice of Saddell, as their connection with that monastery was still closer than Sumarlid's had been. But as showing that Reginald was no mean follower in his father's footsteps, it may be well to note, in passing, the titles he acquired during his lifetime, as extracted from early documents. King of the Isles, Lord of the Isles, Lord of Inchegall (isles of the stranger folk), and Lord of Ergile and Kintyre, are among his names of distinction; and in a list of the kings of Man in the Harleian MSS., he is found entered as "Reginaldus filius Sũmladi" at A.D. 1164, the year of his father's death, though the duration of his reign is not stated. It is from the son of Reginald that the patronymic of the great clan Donald, with all its numerous branches, has been derived.

Their high position and dignity.

Reginald and Donald.

Reginald's titles.

And now we come to the circumstances which partly led to the celebrated expedition to Scotland of the Norwegian king, Hacon V., called also "the Aged," to distinguish him from others of his line, who bore the same noble name.[2] The question involved was the beginning of those interminable bickerings as to succession of property which for some four centuries were to convulse the several offshoots of the family of Sumarlid, and turn the Highlands into a battle-field for rival factions of one common tongue and lineage. It has been seen that Magnus Berfœtt had only claimed and obtained from the King of Scotland a recognition of his sovereignty over the *Isles*. No Norwegian king had ever established monarchical rights over any part of the mainland other than Kintyre; and even Sumarlid, when he rose against Malcolm, had no intention of repudiating his allegiance to the Scottish crown for the lands he claimed in Argyll. For by this time, after many struggles and through enormous difficulties, the rulers of North Britain had to a great extent consolidated their status as supreme rulers. The machinery of formal charter-giving had commenced, and the recognised relations of king and subject were solidifying into well-defined forms of law. But as yet—and we shall do well to place this distinctly before our minds—in the century following Sumarlid's death, the great western chiefs were in the curious position of a divided allegiance for their properties. For his estates on the mainland, each of them was a Scottish subject; but row him over to his island fiefs, and he became vassal of a court which had its capital among the fiords

Expedition of Hacon "the Aged."

The causes which led to it.

Anomalous position of the western Scottish chiefs.

[1] Anecdotes of Olaf the Black in the Flatey MS.—Johnstone, 1780.

[2] He was an old man at the time of this expedition. The name Hacon or Hakon signifies one "noble" or "lofty;" *ha*, high, and *konr*, a man or son.

of Scandinavia. This was the position of Sumarlid and his descendants till opportunity offered itself, of which the King of Scotland was quite ready to take advantage. A third son of Sumarlid has been mentioned, named Angus, who apparently came into the lordship of Bute as his share of his father's acquisitions. We know little about him, except that he and his brother Reginald engaged in an unseemly strife, probably about some land question, which resulted in a battle, when "many were mortally wounded."[1] We hear of him once more in the same chronicle. "Engus, son of Sumerled," it says, "with three of his "sons, was slain." Now one of these sons "left a daughter and heiress, Jane, afterwards "married to Alexander, the son and heir of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, who, in her "right, claimed the Isle of Bute, and perhaps Arran also."[2] But Reginald had already given Bute to his second son, Ruari; and the latter, therefore, very naturally objected to this claim, notwithstanding that the possession of the island had been for some time a point of dispute, and it had been actually seized by the lady's father. In those days, however, and for long after, great stress was laid upon the minutiæ of genealogies, and the gravest issues frequently hung upon some complicated question as to whether a remote descendant on the male or female side of a particular house was nearest the legitimate succession; and Scotland of all other nations has been pre-eminent for these microscopic inquiries. In the present case it was necessary for the King of Scotland's purposes that the son of the High Steward should take to wife a lady who could, with some plausible show of decency, be put forward as the heiress of Bute. Then ensued the familiar story of so many like cases. Ruari, who of all Sumarlid's family remained most Norse in his sympathies, and who bequeathed his traditions of fidelity to the Norwegian crown to his children, went over to Norway and complained of his treatment to King Hacon. Meantime the Scots seized Bute and Arran in the interests of the heiress; and emboldened by their being as yet no response from Norway to these aggressions, Alexander II., King of Scotland, set out with a fleet for the Western Isles, evidently intending to get rid of the Norwegian sovereignty altogether if possible. His fleet got as far as Kerrera, opposite Oban, when he was taken ill and died there, leaving it to his son, Alexander III., to carry out his intentions a few years later. Scottish encroachments went on apace. Angus, Donald's son, and great-grandson of Sumarlid, was chased out of Isla because he refused to turn traitor to his liege lord at Bergen for the islands his ancestors had held under Hacon's predecessors. Other island chiefs were in like case, and their appeals for help reached the King of Norway, and not in vain. I now follow the Norse accounts, consisting of the saga of King Hacon the Aged, contained in the book of Flatey[3] and the Frisian MSS.,[4] both written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And first to go back a little in these accounts.

A.D. 1192.

Engus, son of Sumarlid, slain, A.D. 1210.

The King of Scotland's machinations.

Ruari of Bute complains to Hacon.

Death of Alexander II.

Hacon's preparations for war, A.D. 1249.

Both sides began to make preparations for the coming struggle, and each was equally anxious to secure the powerful influence of the Sumarlidian chiefs. On different occasions,

[1] Chronicle of Man.

[2] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 19.

[3] Preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, date circa 1229.

[4] In the Magnæan Collection.—Johnstone.

we are told, Hacon entertained at his Court many distinguished Scots whom it was most desirable to win over. Among these we hear of John M'Dugall, known as King Ewin,[1] representative of the eldest branch of the family of the Isles; Dugall, Ruari of Bute's son; Magnus, Earl of Orkney; Simon, Bishop of the Sudoreys, and others. But notwithstanding all Hacon could do, some of the Sumarlid family were to turn out, if we are to accept the words of the Saga, "very unfaithful" to his interests. Alexander II. had sent over two bishops to the King of Norway, commissioned to offer, on their master's part, to purchase all the Hebridean islands, and they entreated him to accept the offer, and value the islands in fine silver. But the King of Norway replied, "He knew no such urgent want of "money as would oblige him to sell his inheritance;" and with that answer the bishops departed. This offer had been repeated, and negotiations for some time between the two countries been carried on, when they were broken off, according to the Norse version, by the hostile preparations of Alexander. Then the King of Scotland sent for Ewin Macdugall, lord of Lorn and part of the Isles, and tempted him to break with Hacon, and so did all his relations; "but he behaved well and uprightly, and declared he would not,"[2] and departed, and stopped not anywhere till he reached Lewis. At this stage of affairs, as I have said, occurred the death of Alexander II., and proceedings were stayed in consequence for a while, for the succession to the Scottish crown was at all times a matter sufficiently thorny to require the full attention of a new sovereign, and would leave little leisure for other affairs. At length, in the summer of 1261, there came to Hacon from Scotland in the west, an archdeacon, and a knight called Missel, as envoys from King Alexander III. It was the year of the coronation of the heir-apparent to the throne of Norway; and the Frisian MS. gives us just a glimpse of a quaint scene at this coronation ceremonial, where the Scottish knight was present, which I may be excused for quoting. "During mass, Missel the knight stood up in the middle of the choir, and wondered "greatly at some ceremonies unusual at the coronation of Scottish kings. And when "King (*i.e.*, Prince) Magnus was robed, and King Hacon and the Archbishop touched "him with the sword of State, said the Scottish knight, 'It was told me that there were "'no knights dubbed in this land; but I never saw any knight created with so much "'solemnity, as him whom two noble lords have now invested with the sword.'"[3] The mission of the two envoys was not satisfactory to King Hacon, for, as it seemed to him, they showed more fair language than truth. They set out so abruptly on their return that none wist till they were under sail. The King sent Briniolf Johnson in pursuit of them, and they were brought back and made to winter in Norway.

The Scottish king offers to purchase the Hebrides from Hacon.

The Lord of Lorn's fidelity to Hacon.

Alexander III. despatches envoys to the King of Norway, A.D. 1261.

Failure of the envoys.

Next summer came more remonstrances from the Hebridean chiefs. "They "complained much of the hostilities which the Earl of Ross, Kiarnach, the son of "Mac-Camal,[4] and other Scots, committed in the Hebrides when they went out to Sky,"

The Hebridean chiefs appeal for help to Hacon.

[1] Hacon's Expedition: Johnstone. See also Oliver's Translation.

[2] Circumstances, however, made him change his mind; for in 1263, says Gregory, he consented to join Alexander, "but at the same time honourably resigned into the hands of Hacon all that he held of the crown "of Norway."

[3] Extracts from the Hacon Saga.—Johnstone's Translation, Pt. x.

[4] Probably a member of the noble house which was destined to become such a formidable rival to the lords of the Isles. Already the Campbells of Lochow were a family of influence in Argyll.

and accused these nobles of many deeds of rapine and cruelty. "They said also that the "Scottish King purposed to subdue all the Hebrides (Allar Sudreyiar), if life was granted "him." These tidings gave the King of Norway great uneasiness. It was impossible "for him to sit still and see his dominions wrested from him by a rival; indeed, it would have been a poor return for the apparent fidelity of so many of the Sudoreyans to have left them to themselves. King Hacon called together his council, and it was resolved to issue the ensuing Christmas a royal edict throughout Norway summoning a great armament to assemble at Bergen in the spring. This was done, and an immense fleet of galleys and transports was got together; and with great pomp and circumstance the King, who had now reigned "six and forty winters," set sail for Scotland with a favourable breeze and fair weather. The details of what befel the expedition—"this mighty and "splendid armament, beautiful to behold"—are, from first to last, of the greatest interest to any lover of mediæval history. The circumstantiality of details, the simple yet forcible language, and the outbursts of song which every here and there break through the more sober prose of the narrative, give an unusual charm to its pages—a charm so much the greater because we are dealing with the romance of reality, and not with the unreality of romance. The vaunting words of these songs have oftentimes quite an Ossianic touch about them. "No terrifier of dragons," sings the scald, "guardians of the hoarded treasure, "saw ever together more numerous hosts." "The stainer of the sea-fowl's beak "resolved to scour the main." "A glare of light blazed from the powerful, far-famed "monarch, while the sea-borne wooden coursers of Gestils broke to the roaring waves," and so on. When we come to the local materials of our subject, I shall have occasion to refer to some of these details, for the narrative of the expedition is very closely connected at many points with the peninsula of Kintyre. Meanwhile we must run on to the end of the story. How Hacon touched at the Orkneys; how he went on to Lewis, and thence to Skye, the Sound of Mull, Kerrera, and Gigha; how, after a halt at Gigha, the fleet passed round the Mull of Kintyre; how it entered the Clyde, and took up a position at the Cumbraes; what other voyages it made from there; how the two kings sent envoys to hold a convention, and see if any understanding could be come to, and how the negotiations totally failed; how the winter crept in upon the Norwegians, and a great storm with hailstones and rain overtook them, and dashed ten of their ships to pieces; how some of the ships ran aground near Largs, on the Ayrshire coast, the result of which was an indecisive battle fought over them on the seashore; how King Hacon then weighed anchor, and returned homewards; how they had to land him at the Orkneys sick unto death; and how, at Kirkwall, on the Saturday after the festival of S. Lucia the Virgin, at the hour of midnight, "Almighty God called King Hacon out of this mortal life."[1] All this the saga tells us; and the picturesque story is closed with an account of the solemn obsequies performed over the royal corpse by the Norsemen; how they sorrowed over their beloved king, and buried him in S. Magnus's Church, and watched over his grave all winter till the next Ash Wednesday, when the body was exhumed and put on board that

Hacon assembles a great armada.

Connection of the expedition with Kintyre.

What befell, the armada.

Death of King Hacon.

[1] 'Almattugr Gud Hakon Konong af pessa heims lifi."—Hacon's Expedition (Johnstone), p. 133.

great ship which he had built for his own use; how they set sail for Bergen, and were met there by the new King Magnus, two queens, and a multitude of courtiers and citizens; and how the remains of King Hacon the Aged were reburied in the choir of Christ Church (or the Holy Trinity)[1] amid great sorrowing of the people, as sung Sturla the scald:—

His burial, A.D. 1263.

"Three nights did the brave warriors, the flower of chivalry, continue at Bergen
" ere they entombed their wise and glorious prince. The breakers of tempered metals
" stood crowding around the grave of the ruler of the nation, while in their swimming
" eyes appeared no look of joy."

The immediate result of Hacon's expedition was a great concession to the King of Scotland. In December 1265 died Magnus, son of Olaf, the reigning sovereign of Man, and this event presented a good opportunity for settling the long-pending dispute between the two nations. "On the Friday next after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul," as the scribe minutely informs us, "a formal composition and final agreement was drawn up
" at Perth between the 'most serene' sovereigns Alexander III. of Scotland and Magnus
" IV. of Norway, for the satisfaction of all contentions, complaints, losses, injuries, &c.,
" connected with Man and the Sudorey Isles."[2] Henceforth Norway relinquished all rights and claims to sovereignty over Man and the Scottish islands, with the exception of the Orkneys or Nordreys, in consideration of which Alexander agreed to pay to the Norwegian King sundry sums in merks from year to year, according to the most minutely detailed stipulations. Thus passed over to Scotland a vast insular territory which it was most important for her to acquire, and with it, what might well have been spared, the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, which had maintained its own little reigning dynasty intact for two centuries. Over this same island of Man much contention was afterwards waged, as might have been expected from its geographical position, with so many different nationalities surrounding it on all sides. The kings of England had already put in a claim to homage and feudal superiority over the Manx princes (some of whom had received English protection), and never altogether relinquished their iron grasp over the island. During the Scottish struggle for independence, it became a sort of no man's land, till the imperious Edward took it in hand, and very soon made himself its master. After being made over to Balliol, as part and parcel of the Scottish dominions, all of which he consented to hold from Edward under conditions of vassalage, the island passed to the family of Montacute, and ultimately to the Stanleys, who until quite modern times retained the sovereign rights of its ancient kings. Its bishops, curiously enough, retain to this day the title of their original jurisdiction over the Western Isles, in the name of Sodor and Man attached to their diocese.

Convention of Perth between the Scottish and Norwegian kings, A.D. 1266.

Man and the Hebrides ceded to Scotland.

I now return to the lords of Kintyre. One of the stipulations of the Scoto-Norwegian treaty was, that on the transference of the Isles to Scotland, any subject of Norway was to be free to choose whether he would leave the Isles or remain a Scottish

[1] The Norse version says, "Herra Jesu Christi;" the Chronicle of Man has "Sepultusque est in ecclesia
" sanctæ Trinitatis apud Bergam."

[2] This document is given in full by Torfæus. It is headed "Transactio de Regno Manniæ et Insularum, &c.," and begins with the customary invocation: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen."

subject. The Sumarlidians appear to have all thrown in their lot from this time with the King of Scotland. Ewin Macdugal was replaced in his lands of Lorn, Alexander doubtless arguing that he who had been so constant to another, might be counted upon under the changed circumstances to be faithful to his new master. The Ruari branch of Sumarlid's house, which had also been staunch to King Hacon, were taken back into the King of Scotland's favour, and, though Bute was irretrievably gone from them under the pressure of his domestic policy, Alexander settled them elsewhere in those Northern Isles, which, it will be remembered, remained to the King of Man after his treaty with Sumarlid in 1156. The representative of the family of Isla and Kintyre at this time was Angus, the first of the Macdonalds properly so-called, who, as we have seen, was pursued and hunted out of Isla by Alexander before Hacon's expedition came off; and he also was allowed to take the oaths, and resume possession of his estates under his new sovereign. Thus we find in 1284 three great chiefs, all of whom held extensive possessions in the Isles, as well as on the mainland, sitting in that Scottish Parliament by which the crown was settled on the Maid of Norway.[1] Their names were Alexander (de Ergadia) of Lorn, son of Ewin, Angus, son of Donald, and Allan, son of Ruari.[2] If, then, the reader has followed the sketch I have endeavoured to bring before him to this point, he will see exactly how matters stood. All these three might claim in a certain restricted sense the title which in many of the early accounts they have actually received—namely, Lord or King of the Isles. But no one of them was really in the position which, through a combination of circumstances, fell to a later descendant of Sumarlid and to his successors—the position of paramount superior or viceroy over the whole of the Western Islands, to which the later "lords of the Isles" attained.

Alexander makes terms with the Sumarlidians.

Macdugal, MacDonald, and M'Ruari, three great chiefs, A.D. 1284.

Besides Angus, there is mentioned in the Norse account of Hacon's visit to Scotland one Myrgad as also settled in Kintyre. He, equally with Angus, had to appear before Hacon while the Norse armada lay at anchor on the west coast of Kintyre, but I have not found any allusion to him elsewhere. This Angus, who is the Angus Mor Macdonald of the seannachies, died, according to the Macdonald MS., in the year 1300. The same account describes him as having been "a little black man, of a very amiable and "cheerful disposition, and more witty than any could take him to be by his countenance."[3] His blackness was the handle for a characteristic anecdote of an encounter between him and the Lord of Lorn, who, though of course a distant kinsman, was at this time hostile to the Macdonalds. "At a time when Macdougall went to Isla, thinking to surprise Angus, "Lord of the Isles, he sent a spy before him to know where Angus then was. There "was a countryman ploughing near the harbour, and the Lord of the Isles walked for "his recreation after the plough. The spy knew him immediately. They asked him" (the spy) "whither he was going, and whence he came. He answered he was lately of "Macdougall's followers, but that he was now seeking another master. Macdonald

Myrgad and Angus (Mor) MacDonald.

[1] History of Highlands and Isles.—Gregory, p. 23.

[2] Both Angus and Allan, as well as Ewin, figure in the Hacon Saga, the last named under the title of King John.

[3] Elsewhere the writer confuses Angus Mor with his son, but here he is evidently alluding to the father.—See Skene's note to the MS. in Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 325.

" desired him to ask his master when he would see him, if the little black horse would " overtake the great red horse, for himself was black and Macdougall red-haired. Mac- " dougall being informed of this by the spy, left the country that same night."[1]

Angus Oig Macdonald, Lord of Isla and Kintyre, &c.

Next after Angus Mor, the clan Donald is represented by his son Angus Oig (or the younger), whose mother seems to have been a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow.[2] This second Angus bore a conspicuous part in assisting and sheltering Bruce during the latter's adverse fortunes. The Macdugals, as is well known to readers of Scottish history, declared for the Comyn and Balliol faction, and showed thenceforth the most determined hostility to the liberator of his country, the consequence of which was that King Robert, on the final triumph of his cause, stripped Alaster Ewinson Macdugal of his estates, and turned them over to the men who had befriended him. Thus Angus Oig Macdonald came into possession of Mull, Jura, Coll, Tiree, and other lands which had belonged to the house of Lorn. In reviewing the antiquities of the peninsula of Kintyre, where Angus appears to have had his home, we shall several times come across traces of him, as well as of his royal master. Robert the Bruce had the best of reasons for remembering Kintyre with gratitude, as, but for the friends he there met with, it is more than doubtful if he would have lived to wear the crown. There was good cause, therefore, for the liberality with which he added to the already princely heritage of Angus, who, it seems, had come in before his death for a slice of the Comyn's Lochaber property. " This " Angus of the Isles," says the family seannachy, " was a personable modest man, affable, " and not disaffected either to king or State. He created Macguire or Macquarry a " Thane. . . . Angus died at Isla, and was interred at Icolumbkill."[3] Before his death he resigned his lands in Kintyre to King Robert, who, with the long-sighted policy which characterised him, was anxious not to leave the fate of his western dominions entirely in the hands of the Sumarlid family. We have already seen that Bute was not restored to the MacRuaries, but passed over to one nearly connected with the blood royal. Kintyre was similarly dealt with in the case of Angus, and the vacant property was immediately bestowed upon Robert, son of Walter the High Stewart of Scotland and the Princess Marjory Bruce.[4] On the same principle a member of the family of Campbell, which had

[1] Macdonald MS.—Trans. Iona Club.

[2] Ibid.

[3] An interesting account here given by the same seannachy of the ceremony of proclaiming the Lords of the Isles may be thought worth noting. At this ceremony, we read, "the Bishop of Argyle, the Bishop of " the Isles, and seven priests, were sometimes present; but a bishop was always present, with the chieftains of " all the principal families, and a *Ruler of the Isles*. There was a square stone 7 or 8 feet long, and the tract " of a man's foot cut thereon, upon which he stood, denoting that he should walk in the footsteps and upright- " ness of his predecessors, and that he was installed by right in his possessions. He was clothed in a white " habit, to show his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people and maintain the " true religion. The white apparel did afterwards belong to the poet by right. Then he was to receive a white " rod in his hand, intimating that he had power to rule, not with tyranny and partiality, but with discretion and " sincerity. Then he received his forefather's sword, or some other sword, signifying that his duty was to " protect and defend them from the incursions of their enemies in peace or war, as the obligations and customs " of his predecessors were. The ceremony being over, mass was said after the blessing of the bishop and seven " priests, the people pouring their prayer for the success and prosperity of their new created lord. When " they were dismissed, the Lord of the Isles feasted them for a week thereafter, gave liberally to the monks, " poets, bards, and musicians."—Macdonald MS.: Trans. Iona Club.

[4] Gregory, Highlands and Isles.

A Campbell made Constable of Tarbert Castle in Kintyre by Robert Bruce.

been among Bruce's strongest supporters, became Constable of Tarbert Castle at the north end of Kintyre. But though the Macdonalds were thus temporarily displaced from the peninsula, it was to be but for a very short time. Angus Oig's son, John (or Ewan) of the Isles, who sided with Edward Balliol in the renewed competition for the throne of Scotland which followed the death of Robert I., was at first deprived of all his possessions,

A.D. 1341.

but David II. on his final accession reversed the forfeiture, probably from political

A.D. 1344.

necessity, and Kintyre came back with an enormous extent of territory to the family which had formerly possessed it. The recovered estates of which John was now the owner were, in addition to Kintyre, the Isles of Isla, Gigha, Jura, Scarba, Colonsay, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Lewis, with the mainland districts of Morvern, Lochaber, Duror, and Glencoe; while to Reginald MacRuari were restored the wild mountain regions of Moidart, Knoydart, Arisaig, and Morar, besides the Isles of Uist, Barra, Rum, and Eig.[1]

John Macdonald, first "Lord of the Isles" proper.

John of Isla was married to Amie, sister to this Reginald, and thus upon the death of the latter, as he left no heirs, these two magnificent heritages were united, and Ewan Macdonald henceforth assumed the title and dignity of *Dominus Insularum*, or Lord of the Isles in its modern signification. Thus in the fifth generation after Sumarlid, the fortunes of his house had probably reached a pinnacle of eminence higher than they had

A.D. 1380.

ever known before. "John, Lord of the Isles, died at his castle of Ardtornish in Mor-
"vern, and was buried in Iona with great splendour by the ecclesiastics of the Isles,
"whose attachment he had obtained by liberal grants to the Church, and who evinced
"their gratitude by bestowing on him the appellation which tradition has handed down to
"our days of 'the good John of Isla.'"[2]

We cannot stop, nor is it necessary for us, to go into details respecting the succeeding Lords of the Isles. At the period we have now reached, their history as great State personages widens out far beyond the locality with which we are concerned in these pages. Donald Macdonald, the next Lord of the Isles, was the eldest son of a second marriage contracted by his father under circumstances that in these days would be deemed anything but creditable to the good name he left behind him.[3] Donald married

Donald, second Lord of the Isles, becomes Earl of Ross.

Mary or Margaret Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Ross, who ultimately, through the failure of male issue, became Countess of Ross in her own right, and thus a new dignity was added to the already princely appanages of the chief of the Clan Donald. But this rich prize was not to be tamely surrendered to the Lord of the Isles by the other great nobles, whose interest it was that no one of their order should seriously overtop them in power and influence. So they raked up a rival lady claimant to the title, and

Battle of Harlaw, A.D. 1411.

the battle of Harlaw in the Garioch district of Aberdeenshire was the result. In this affair the western clans almost unanimously followed Macdonald's standard. Donald's claim to the Earldom of Ross in right of his wife prevailed, and he himself and two succeeding generations of his heirs enjoyed this distinguished title, in addition to that of

[1] Gregory, Highlands and Isles.

[2] Gregory (who refers to Dean Monro).

[3] He got a divorce from the Lady Amie on no sufficient grounds, according to the weighty testimony of Gregory, in order to marry the Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II.

Lords of the Isles. But it would seem as if their extraordinary good fortune was precisely what led to the ruin of the family. English influence was busily at work in the Isles, rival interests were set going, and other events concurred to draw the Earls of Ross into rebellion against the Crown. The consequences are well known. In the Parliament which sat in May 1493, John, fourth and last Lord of the Isles,[1] and, till his resignation of the newer title some years before, third Earl of Ross, was attainted and deprived of his rank and estates, and died a few years later.

Attainder of John, last Lord of the Isles, A.D. 1493.

It only remains to refer to the branch families of the Isles who remained settled in Kintyre, and others who on the decline of the Macdonalds pushed into their places. The Highland clanships represented a system of mutual interdependency between the head of the clan and the several cadet houses which owed him a certain allegiance. In the case of the Lord of the Isles, there was an extension of this principle; for he had, in addition, sovereign rights over many great clans, and was empowered to issue charters of vassalage to those holding lands under him, just as the Crown itself might do. But the same system manifests itself everywhere throughout the Highlands—of the overlord having to provide "heirships" for the junior members of his family springing up on all sides of him. And in this we may see, to a great extent, the causes of the continual feuds which desolated the Highlands. Space was limited; the progenitive powers of the sturdy Celtic chiefs were unbounded; and so the smallest flaw in a title was minutely scrutinised, and the decision of a disputed inheritance generally lay with him who could bring forward the greatest number of kilts and claymores. Donald, the first Earl of Ross, had two brothers whom he liberally provided for by settling them in portions of his extensive territories. The younger, Allaster, got Lochaber, and was the immediate ancestor of the historical Clan Ranald of Lochaber, or the Macdonalds of Keppoch. The elder, John Mor, or the Tanister (as he was also named), continued to represent the original proprietary title and seat of the Macdonald family, and from him descended the Clan Ian Mohr of Isla and Kintyre, or South Clandonald. This great branch of the Macdonalds was the predominant one in Kintyre at the end of the fifteenth century, and either through its own cadets, or the representatives of other branches of the Clandonald who followed its chief, was in possession of most of the land in the peninsula. Of these latter were the Clan Allaster, or the MacAlasters of Loup and Tarbert; the Clan Eachern, or Maceacherns of Killellan; the Mackays of Ugadale;[2] and the Macneills of Carskey, Gallochelly, and Tirfergus, cadets of the Clan Neill of Gigha. The former, or direct line of the Clan Ian Mohr, included the Clanranaldbane, or family of Largie, and the Macdonalds of Sanda. All of these families we shall make better acquaintance with in reviewing the localities where they are still, or have at one time been, seated.

The branch clans of "the Isles" family.

The Clan Ranald.

The Clan Ian Mohr of Kintyre and Isla.

Other Kintyre clans.

[1] His father, Alexander, second Earl of Ross, died in 1449. On John's succession in this year to his hereditary dignities, his brother Hugh acquired with other property the barony lands of Sleat and Skye. From this Hugh sprang the family whose present representative is Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who thus through Alexander, Lord of the Isles, is the direct lineal descendant of Reginald, son of Sumarlid.

[2] Now represented through the female line in the person of the proprietor of Ugadale. The family held their lands direct from King Robert I., as we shall hereafter see.

The Clan Campbell.

I have as yet scarcely been able to say anything respecting the Campbells, a race that henceforth was to exercise, not only over Kintyre and the West Highlands, but throughout Scotland generally, an influence probably unparalleled in the history of the country. In the thirteenth century, the Campbells of Lochow were already in possession of a goodly heritage along the shores of Loch Awe and the braes of Glenorchy, and Sir Nigel or Neill Campbell of that house was the companion of Robert Bruce in one of his trips to Kintyre, and served the king devotedly in his darkest hours of misfortune. In all ages certain tribes or great families have manifested a tendency to array themselves in antagonism one against another, which antagonism, as time went on, has been wont to stiffen into chronic and incurable hostility. Nowhere need we look for more striking exemplifications of this than in the history of the bloody feuds which from time to time have distracted all three divisions of the United Kingdom. Nor would it be possible to select a better illustration of the trite saying "that history repeats itself" than in the relations of the children of Sumarlid with the powerful family who are first met with as lords of Lochow. Sir Neill's father, Colin or Cailean Mor, from whom it is supposed the clan derived the well-known patronymic often familiarly applied to its later chiefs of M'Callum More, met with his death at the hands of the Lorn Macdugalls; and a Makamal, who was probably Sir Neill,[1] has come before us in the Norse account of Hacon's expedition as having taken part with the Earl of Ross against the Sumarlidians. And so the feud went on. By his loyalty to Bruce, the knight of Lochawe made a great stride upwards in material wealth, power, and dignity, receiving the king's sister, the Lady Margaret Stewart, in marriage.[2] From the time of the first Bruce onwards, the fortunes of the family still prospered; and early in the fifteenth century, "Sir Duncan Campbell of "Lochawe, afterwards first Lord Campbell, was accounted one of the most wealthy "barons in Scotland. Colin, first Earl of Argyll, Sir Duncan's grandson, acquired by "marriage the extensive lordship of Lorn, and held for a long time the office of "Chancellor of Scotland."[3] Thus far the fortunes of the two great rivals had progressed side by side in the same direction, and from the same original cause, attachment to the first Bruce. But, as we have seen, the lords of the Isles fell away from their allegiance, and by a curious coincidence—if not something more than a coincidence—Argyll was the person chosen to execute a decree of outlawry against John, Earl of Ross and last Lord of the Isles, for high treason, after the discovery of his complicity with Edward IV. in a plot to overturn the Scottish throne. The decree was, however, not carried out, as Ross surrendered, and throwing himself on the mercy of the king, escaped for this time, and was allowed to retain his property.[4] Ross, apparently broken in spirit,

Its early chieftains Lords of Lochow.

A.D. 1294.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe.

A.D. 1475.

[1] Johnstone says the Flatey MS. reads for Makamal, Niachamal. This would point strongly to Sir Neill.

[2] The curious old poem of Blind Harry called "The Wallace," in the collection of MSS. published by the Maitland Club, enters into a minute history of this celebrated knight's adventures when attacked near his home by an Irish force in the service of Edward I. See also Dr A. Smith's 'Traditions of Glenorchy,' vol. vii. Trans. Soc. Antiq. Scot., 1869.

[3] Western Highlands and Isles.—Gregory.

[4] As has been previously stated, he was again attainted in 1493, when the sentence of forfeiture was fully carried out.

voluntarily resigned his earldom, with all the lands, castles, &c., of Knapdale and Kintyre, which resignation, as will afterwards transpire, was ultimately to work in well with the ambitious schemes of the Argyll family. After this time, the policy of the Campbells declared itself in the most unmistakable way. On every possible occasion the house strengthened itself by intermarriages with the neighbouring clans, and as gaps occurred in these latter, it was many chances to one if a Campbell was not selected to fill it. No family ever knew better how to "take in flood" the "tide in the affairs of men;" and the conspicuous success which, except in the persons of one or two of its members, has attended the house of Argyll throughout its career, has passed into a household word. James IV., it is well known, visited Kintyre in person on more than one occasion to look after the Islanders. These visits occurred between the years 1494-1499. In April of the latter year the king suddenly revoked all the former charters granted to his vassals in the Isles, and appointed Argyll to act as Royal Commissioner and Lieutenant over the now vacant lordship—or princedom it may be better named—of the Isles. Thus the Campbells obtained their first, or almost their first, footing in Knapdale and Kintyre; and as we shall hereafter find, from charter details and other sources, when going over the parishes, they gradually made their way southward from the original *locale* of the family, and if they did not entirely displace the descendants of Sumarlid, their cadets were ere long found scattered over the southern parts of Argyleshire in very respectable, not to say overwhelming, numbers, and a large proportion of the Church patronage, with the seignorial or overlord rights of the soil, passed into the hands of their chiefs. The Campbells of Skipness appear to have come into Kintyre about the close of the fifteenth century, a grant being made shortly afterwards—namely, in 1502—of the Skipness lands, barony, castle, &c., to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and his heirs; and at the beginning of the present century, the Duke of Argyll was the largest proprietor in the peninsula. Knapdale, Isla, Jura, Lorn, and other possessions of the clan Donald, tell the same tale of changed masters. Sooner or later they fell into the ever-increasing and irresistible tide of aggression which swept onwards from the headquarters of Mac Cailean Mhor. After the death of the unfortunate James on the field of Flodden, when all feuds were for the moment forgotten, the West Highlands naturally shared in an exaggerated degree the turmoil and confusion which shook the whole kingdom of Scotland. From this period the history of the south-west clans was, with brief intermission, a succession of internecine feuds, in which Kintyre was one of the principal battle-fields. In the pictures presented to us of these scenes of disorder, it is almost invariably the chiefs of the Clan Campbell who are on the side of the crown, coaxing and threatening and arresting in the king's name his refractory lieges of the house of Sumarlid, and troubled with no disquieting scruples as to the propriety of utterly destroying them, root and branch, if they persisted in opposition. Towards the close of James V.'s reign there was a brief break in the clouds, for the Clan Ian Mhor and Argyll fell into temporary disgrace. After this, Kintyre was again visited by royalty for the last time on the occasion of this monarch's expedition to the Isles. During the years of the Regency, the part taken by the fourth Earl of Argyll (who

Policy of the Campbells.

James IV. visits Kintyre.

The house of Argyll firmly planted in Kintyre

A.D. 1502,

and supplant the Macdonalds in Argyllshire.

Kintyre again visited by a Scottish king.

supported Mary of Guise) and by the other great Scottish nobles is well-known matter of history. After the Reformation the policy of the Argyll family took a new turn, and hereafter the religious question was not the least of the causes operating to keep open the breach between the Campbells and the Clan Donald. The final efforts of the Macdonalds to recover their old lands and status in Isla and Kintyre supply the leading materials for the subsequent history of these localities. The last great struggle made by the Clan Donald to shake off the grip of their hereditary enemies was in 1614-15, when the celebrated Sir James Macdonald of Isla took so conspicuous a share in the rebellion which then took place, and encountered the Earl of Argyll, who overran Kintyre with an armed force. This Earl of Argyll, it may be noted, was the same who the very next year played an extraordinary and exceptional part in the annals of his family by renouncing the Protestant religion at the very height of his popularity with the feeble James, and just after his son James Campbell had been put in possession of the lordship of Kintyre. Argyll fled to Spain, and, refusing to return after legal summons, was declared a traitor; and a temporary lift was thus given to the Macdonalds, for soon after Argyll reached Spain, the chiefs of Isla and Keppoch, who were then precisely in their rival's position, returned to Scotland and were restored to their estates—one of the most curious see-saws in the history of the clans. In the later years of the seventeenth century, during the wars of Montrose and Dundee, when the normal attitude of the two great rival clans was resumed, the Macdonalds renewed their endeavours to get their heads above water, but by this time the game was nearly played out, and their old supremacy over the Isles a thing of the past. Finally, in the collapse of the risings of Mar and the Chevalier may be said to have culminated the ill fortune of the posterity of Sumarlid, and the triumph of the clan which had so long been opposed to them.

The Campbells side with the Reformation and Presbyterianism.

Rising of the Macdonalds, A.D. 1614-15.

An Earl of Argyll adopts the Roman Catholic religion.

The wars of Montrose and Dundee.

Last efforts of the Macdonalds.

With these remarks, I may bring the foregoing sketch to a close, in the hope that the object I had in view, which was to throw some little light upon the history of Kintyre during the period preceding the Reformation, may have been accomplished; for, as has been already pointed out, without some sort of panoramic view of the principal events relating to the peoples and families who have occupied any particular locality, we cannot possibly interpret in their fullest sense the early monuments which are to be found there. An able writer has well remarked on this very subject: "As the antiquities of Paisley "Abbey ought not to be studied without attention to the history of the Stewart family, "nor the antiquities of Beauly Abbey without attention to that of the Lovat family, so "ought not the ecclesiastical remains of the Western Islands to be investigated without a "careful recurrence to the fortunes first of the Macdonalds and then of the Campbells."[1]

Bearing of the foregoing sketch on the study of the local antiquities of Kintyre.

[1] Mr J. S. Howson (now Dean of Chester), in a paper on the Antiquities of Argyllshire in the Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society, 1839-41.

CHAPTER III.

In the last chapter I endeavoured to bring before the reader's eye a sketch of the leading personages and events connected with the secular history of Kintyre. But as the contents of the present volume are devoted mainly to a notice of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the district, it is needful also to say something as to the position of the Western Church there. It would be superfluous here to do more than just indicate a subject which has been learnedly discussed elsewhere—to do more than trace, as best we can, from the scanty data in our possession, some general outlines of the rise and growth of ecclesiastical institutions in the peninsula. But if we do less than this, we shall be very likely, in coming to the names of individuals, church sites, and monuments, to lose much of their connection with each other. As the Dean of Chester, in the paper before referred to, remarks, "everything is important which may tend to bring into view the religious state "of the Highlands in a period the features of which we find it difficult to realise."

Ecclesiastical history of Kintyre.

With the Scots colonisers of the fifth and sixth centuries, it is most probable that the first germs of Christianity found their way into Kintyre. Ireland, as all students of ecclesiastical history well know, had their great apostle Patrick, and the Scottish mainland her Ninian and Palladius, some time before Columba, "of blessed memory," and his twelve disciples made their appearance in the little island of Hy. It is certainly quite possible, if not probable, that from the saint of "Candida Casa," who was preaching at the close of the fourth century to the people of Strathclyde and Galloway, and who had extended his labours as far as Southern Pictland, some scattered seed of the Gospel may have been wafted across the Firth, which divided his native province from the dwellers in Kintyre. In the dedication of one of the old chapels there, we find the name of S. Ninian, if that be any evidence of this having taken place. But whether or not any missionary influences came from the east, we may assume they could only have been casual, and without permanent effect upon the Kintyrians. It is undoubtedly, therefore, to the Irish Church and her band of emigrating saints, whose operations cluster most thickly and most successfully about the sixth and seventh centuries, that we must look for the real beginnings of the Christian religion in Kintyre and the Western Isles. Nor were their labours confined to these quarters; for the great wave of Christianising light which set in with Columba, and caught first Dalriada, pushed onwards irresistibly, carrying him and his untiring energy to the far recesses of northern and north-eastern Scotland. Columba, Kiaran, Kenneth, Cormac, Brendan, Coemgen,—names all hereafter to be

First introduction of Christianity into the peninsula.

Possibly to a small extent due to S. Ninian,

but practically to the Irish saints.

noticed locally in detail; men dauntless in spirit, unflinching in purpose, invincible under difficulties; men with that stuff in them which alone, from the beginning of things until now, has been able to insure missionary success; enthusiasts, doubtless, and like beings possessed, but possessed of angels in place of devils—heeding kings and courtiers little, and themselves less,—these were men who have left an undying stamp upon the religion of the Gospel throughout the length and breadth of North Britain. And certainly, if we consider that S. Peter, the head and front of those enshrined in the roll of Latin canonisations, was a Jew and an Eastern, it is not unreasonable that Scotland, where for a great part of their lives these missionaries bore the burden and heat of the day, should claim for them a place in her national kalendars,[1] and not allow Ireland, simply because they happened to have been born and bred on her soil, to have the entire monopoly of their fame.

Columba, Kiaran, Kenneth, and others, as much Scottish as Irish saints.

Advanced development of the Church in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The sons of Erc, Fergus and his brothers, passed over, as we have seen, from Ireland to Kintyre somewhere about the last years of the fifth century, for in 502 Fergus appears in possession of a part of Britain "with the Dalriadic nation." At this time we must remember the Christian Church had developed in Erin into a tolerably formal establishment, not very different from that of later mediæval times. There were large monasteries, or training schools for the clerics, beginning to spring up, from which issued a clergy who went hither and thither on their proselytising errands. Already among these clergy were the traditional degrees and orders of deacon, presbyter or priest, bishops, abbots, acolytes, readers, and so forth. The Irish annals supply us with unquestionable evidence of this state of things, which was doubtless the legitimate sequence of the rules and ordinances brought over the sea by S. Patrick from the headquarters of the Western Church. One of the greatest of these monks was S. Kiaran, of Clonmacnois, the founder of one of these great monastical establishments, and him we find preaching in Kintyre, in the character of a hermit, at the beginning of the sixth century. He died in 548, several years before the appearance of Columba in Scotland; and to him, therefore, must be assigned the honour of having preceded the great apostle of Hy in carrying the news of the Cross to the dwellers in the West Highlands. What we know of him in connection with Kintyre will be told further on. But unfortunately there is an absence of details with respect to Kiaran's life and doings in the Scottish locality where he had his cell. All we seem to be able to gather regarding him from fragmentary and traditional sources is, that he lived the life of a solitary here for a certain period. Unlike Columba, he comes into no historical connection with any Scottish Dalriadic prince: he has left us no picture of an active stirring missionary life, aggressively searching out new fields in Alban in which to wage the battle of a purer faith with the magi of darkness—to pit the sublime principles of a new creed against the selfishness and cruelty and corruption which were the outcome of the old. Prior to Kiaran, we have no record whatever of the existence of Christianity in the West Highlands; and we are left to the mere conjecture

Monasteries and clerical degrees.

S. Kiaran in Kintyre early in the sixth century.

[1] The want of a modern compilation of Scottish kalendars has long been felt. It is at last supplied by the Bishop of Brechin's book lately published—a work of eminent scholarship and research.

I have thrown out, that some echo of the voice of Ninian, or others among the Christian preachers of the eastern Scottish mainland, or perchance from Ireland, or the land of the Cymry, may have strayed across the wind-tossed waters which separated Kintyre from the rest of Britain. After Kiaran came Columba and his band, who, it is quite plain from the narrative of Adamnan, must have found the natives of the isles still almost entirely in a state of heathenism. In the course of his ministrations it is probable that Columba more than once visited Kintyre; and there he must surely have found some trace of the presence of his late friend and contemporary.[1] From the death of Columba to the time of Sumarlid, a period of about five centuries and a half, the history of the Church in Kintyre may be called an absolute blank. We glean from the Irish annalists a tolerably regular account of the doings of the community at Iona, as also of ecclesiastical events in Ireland during the intermediate period which preceded the great Norse irruption; and for England, in the precious chronicles of Bede and others, we have materials for filling in a sketch of the Church's progress there. But in Kintyre not a name, not a monument, not a line, scarcely a tradition, of a single pastor or monk who did duty there, has come down to us. Doubtless the history of the peninsula at this epoch would, could it be unfolded, give us details of a pastoral and agricultural monastic life very similar to what we learn of in other localities. There would of course be some attempt at episcopal rule and supervision; and the beginnings of that rule and supervision may, from collateral evidence, pretty safely be referred to the island of Hy. But the history of this episcopate in its early days; the circumstances attending the rise of the parochial system, which by the thirteenth century had assumed form and tangibility; how it worked; the number and position of the church fabrics, for church fabrics they had of some kind or another prior to the appearance of the later stone buildings; the extent to which the Kintyre churchmen suffered at the hands of the Danish invaders who inflicted such ruin in quarters hard by; how the rule of these conquering ravagers, and the admixture of their traditions and pagan usages, affected the existing ecclesiastical discipline and ministrations of the Christians; how they bore upon Christian art and architecture; what modifications ensued when the pagan vikings were superseded by a Norwegian *régime* professing Christianity; in what manner the Church's proprietary rights first adjusted themselves with those of the local chieftains, and so on,—these, unfortunately, are questions we are unable to solve, during the whole of this long period, for want of written records bearing upon them. In the twelfth century light by degrees breaks in upon this dreary waste of darkness, and the monastic chartularies—those official registers of the proceedings of the monastery, law-titles, &c., which the usage of all religious houses required to be regularly kept by the brethren—now begin to put out a beacon here and there to guide us into the track. But here again we are doomed to disappointment; for the so-called MS. records of Iona, from which Boece was supposed to have drawn for much that we are now assured could have been nothing but historical romancing, are not more dead to us than are the original

Columba follows Kiaran,

and visits Kintyre.

Blank in the ecclesiastical history of Kintyre.

What we lose by this blank.

The monastic chartularies.

Absence of these invaluable documents for the West Highland monasteries.

[1] S. Kiaran was only six years older than Columba, though the former died in 548, and the latter in 596. They had been friends and school companions in Ireland.

documents, registers, inventories, or what not, which doubtless had existence both for the diocese of Argyll and the Cisterican Abbey of Saddell, and which, had they been preserved to us, would have elucidated at all events the local history of Kintyre during the 13th-16th centuries.[1] Of the line three centuries long of mitred abbots whose bones are mouldering beneath the ruins at Saddell, one solitary name is all that has descended to us. An epitome only it might have been, but a biographic record of some sort we should unquestionably have had in the chartulary of Saddell for all the superiors and more eminent inmates of this venerable West Highland monastery; and this record, it must be admitted, would have been sure to throw valuable light over the social and domestic life of the district,—the relation of the Abbey to the lords of the Isles, and especially to the Clan Ian Mohr,—the expedition of Hacon, with which, as we shall ultimately see, the brethren were actually brought into contact,—the visits of Bruce to Angus Oig Macdonald, and so on. As it is, all that stands for this has had to be picked out bit by bit from the records of a distant monastery possessing only a collateral interest and connection with Kintyre, and unlikely to give more than such details as concerned grants and transfers of land, bequests, &c., within that connection. Thus it happens that shreds of information from this source, and driblets of a similar kind extracted from charter documents in the Edinburgh Register House and elsewhere, are about all we have; and such details, with their legal prolixity, and often wearisome enumeration, cannot be said to constitute a very full historical repast. Yet, as far as they go, they are invaluable material; and we must consider ourselves greatly indebted to the Maitland, Bannatyne, and other literary clubs,[2] for what they have supplied us with in this direction.

The Paisley chartulary,

and other early charter MSS.

Rise of the episcopate in Argyllshire.

It only remains to say a few words respecting the rise of the episcopate under which, by the thirteenth century, we find Kintyre placed. With the Irish ecclesiastical system there came over to Scotland a practice of having clerics who had been consecrated bishops distributed in considerable numbers through the religious communities. These bishops were superior even to abbots in respect of their ordination and ability to consecrate and administer the elements at the mass, while at the same time they might be occupying a comparatively subordinate position in the monastery.[3] The nearest equivalent to their status that occurs to me is brevet-rank in our modern military service. The brevet-major, for example, in his own regiment may retain his subordinate place under a senior captain, but directly the function of command steps beyond the regiment, the superior rank asserts itself. These bishops, moreover, with a few

[1] It is possible that these and other missing documents of like kind, as Dr Stuart has observed, may be stowed away and yet turn up in some of the libraries or charter-rooms. The great Continental libraries are likely places for such treasures; and the Roman Catholic hierarchy have, I believe, some inestimably rich collections of MSS. in their colleges and elsewhere.

[2] The Cartulary or Register of the Monastery of Passelet (Paisley), published in the Latin text by the Maitland Club; 'Origines Parochiales' by the Bannatyne Club, and edited (vol. ii.) by Professor Cosmo Innes; Transactions of the Iona Club, &c. &c. These I have necessarily drawn considerably upon for early information.

[3] Skene, Reeves, Burton, and others have ably discussed this point, which is beyond dispute. See also 'Iona,' by the Duke of Argyll.

exceptions, were not diocesans; they were unattached, but always available for episcopal functions when required. In the early Columban Church, as Mr Skene has pointed out, the monastic system reigned supreme; and consequently, for all but certain specially defined objects, the abbots or heads of the corporation were at first the only practical rulers of the Church. And upon this system, we can easily see what large missionary resources the abbots of Iona would possess, and what ready means would be at their disposal for supplying the neighbouring isles and mainland districts with a missionary clergy entitled to act as diocesans, or sub-diocesans if necessary. In all probability, therefore, Kintyre would enjoy the benefits of a pastorate specially provided, until the areas of the later sees began by-and-by to assume something like defined limits. Whether Kintyre originally fell within the diocese of the Isles, or was included in the enormous extent of country presided over by the bishops of Dunkeld, is a point I have been unable to clear up, but the former seems the most probable. Keith[1] gives a list of mythic names of bishops of the Isles, beginning with an Amphibalus about the year 360, and continuing till we arrive at one Roolwer; and as this Roolwer is mentioned in the Chronicle of Man as the first bishop of Man and the Isles, we may perhaps fairly start from him as a substantial character.

Titular and missionary bishops.

The Kintyre pastorate.

Roolwer, I infer from the wording of the chronicle, lived some time before (aliquanto tempore ante) the reign of Godred Crovan (the White-handed), who conquered Man and became its sovereign in 1076-77.[2] To him succeeded a Bishop William, and after him one Wymund or Hamond, son of Jole, who about the year 1151, "on account of his "importunity," writes Matthew Paris, "was deprived of his eyes and expelled."[3] Wymund's successor was Gamaliel,[4] an Englishman, who was probably in the episcopate of the Sudoreys during the time of Sumarlid. Next we have Reginald, a Norwegian, to whom "was first given a third of the churches, that in future times they might be "free from all episcopal exactions." After him, as if to show the connection kept up between the Western Scottish Highlands and the Isle of Man, comes Cristin, an Argyllshire man (Archadiensis genere), and following him Michael, a Manx man, who, we are told, "was a person of irreproachable life, and being a monk, he was, for gentle-"ness, gravity, and eminent qualities, raised to the bishopric." Pity the Church ever allowed its overseers to be elected for the charge of souls upon any other than these excellent principles! Another native of Argyllshire, Nicholas, followed; and a second,

Bishop Roolwer of the Isles.

Succeeding bishops of that see,

some of whom were natives of Argyllshire.

[1] Catalogue of Scot. Bishops by Bishop Keith, who wrote early in the last century.

[2] "Many bishops," says the chronicle, "have existed since the time of the blessed S. Patrick, who first "brought and preached the Catholic faith to the Manx in Mann, but the memory of these bishops has "perished. Suffice it to say, that whatever bishops existed before, we know not, because they have not been "transmitted to us in writing, nor by the traditions of our fathers."—Chron. of Man: Oliver, vol. i. p. 198.

[3] Keith, Catal. Scot. Episc. Paris calls him "primus episcopus," which Keith thinks may have been either because he was the first bishop consecrated from the archiepiscopal see of York, or the first appointed to the Isles by the Norwegians. Roger of Wendover follows Paris: "Primus autem ibi fuerat episcopus "Wimundus, monachus, Saviniensis, sed propter ejus importunitatem privatus fuit oculis et expulsus."

[4] According to the Manx Chronicle. Roger of Wendover names him John "monachus Sagiensis."—Mon. de Ins. Mann.

Reginald, a noble of the royal race, succeeded him in the bishopric. This Reginald, the monkish chronicler tells us, "ruled the Church with strictness; and though of a "weakly constitution, and infirm, continued to perform his duties until, by the grace "of a merciful God, confessing his sins, he resigned his spirit." John, the son of Hefar, who, "through a melancholy accident arising out of the carelessness of his "servants, was burnt to death," and after him another native of Argyllshire, Symon, a man of great prudence, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, are the next bishops met with. The last-mentioned, according to Keith, held a synod in 1239, wherein he made thirteen canons. He died, Torfæus tells us, in 1249. One Lawrence, archdeacon of Man, was chosen to be Symon's successor; and being in Norway at the time of his election attending on Harold, King of Man, he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim, but was unfortunately drowned on his way home, and so never came to the dignity.[1] The next after Lawrence, and the last we need trouble ourselves with, was Richard, an Englishman, who, according to Torfæus, was consecrated at Rome (in curia Romæ) in 1252, and presided over the see till his death in 1274, some years, as we know, after the conclusion of the Scoto-Norwegian treaty which severed Kintyre and the Scottish Sudoreys from Norway, and therefore from all further connection with the Isle of Man. Prior to 1266 we know that Kintyre remained in the classification of the Sudor isles, and till a comparatively modern period it was looked upon as a separate shire. Hence it seems unlikely that the district was ever within the episcopate of Dunkeld.

Prior to 1266 Kintyre a shire by itself, and included with the Sudor isles.

Up to the time we have reached—namely, the thirteenth century—the see of the Isles appears to have been undivided; that is to say, its bishops were variously designated "of Man and the Isles," "of the Hebrides" (Æbudarum), and "of the "Sodors," which last title, as is well known, is retained to this day by the bishops of the diocese of Man.[2] But about the beginning of the thirteenth century the see of Argyll appears to have come into existence. Prior to its erection into an independent bishopric, the mainland of Argyll had formed part of the see of Dunkeld, an extent of territory which, even in those times of plurality of benefices, came to be recognised as too much for one man to preside over. Dunkeld arose as an episcopal seat, about 1127, out of the ruins of what had previously been an establishment of that perplexing community known as Culdees, about whom and their usages there has been so much polemical discussion. In 1200, John Scotus was Bishop of Dunkeld; and it is recorded of him that he voluntarily applied to the Pope for the subdivision of his see into two, stating that he himself was unable to speak Gaelic (the Irish tongue), and that the revenues of the see were ample for the maintenance of two bishops. The bearer of this message was his chaplain Harald, or Ewald, whom he recommended to his Holiness as an excellent Gaelic as well as English scholar, and otherwise well fitted

See of Argyll founded circa 1200.

The Argyllshire mainland previously included in the diocese of Dunkeld.

[1] Keith's Catal. of Bishops, p. 299.

[2] Keith thinks there were three seats of the bishopric—in Man, Iona, and Bute. It is more than probable that Iona would be an episcopal seat, and that Kintyre would look there for ecclesiastical supervision.

for the episcopal office. The Pope accordingly consecrated Harald bishop of the new see of Argyll, and signified his approbation of what, we may presume, would in these days be considered unusual magnanimity on the part of a prelate in the position of John of Dunkeld.[1] Harald, first Bishop of Argyll.

The extent of the new diocesan charge was of itself considerable. It appears to have consisted not only of the mainland districts of modern Argyllshire, but also of Lochaber in Inverness-shire, and some of the smaller islands contiguous to the mainland. Among these latter was Lismore,[2] where the episcopal headquarters were fixed, with a cathedral church. Harald,[3] soon after his installation, was presented with some land by Alexander II., as an endowment for the purposes of a pure and perpetual almsgiving. The charter conveying the gift begins with the usual quaint greeting: "Alexander, by the "grace of God, King of the Scots, to all just men of his whole realm, clerics and laymen, "health!"—and then proceeds to enumerate the details of the gift. The date of Harald's death is uncertain; but in 1240 another bishop is noted in the see, by name William, who, according to Fordun and the Melrose Chronicle, was drowned in the following year. It may have been remarked by the reader that death by drowning was pretty frequent in these western parts during early mediæval times—a fact which, considering the extent of seaboard and island which had to be visited, and the fragile boats they would very likely use, need cause us no surprise. The next two names in the episcopate, Alan and Laurence (1250-1304), we shall meet with further on in local connection with one or other of the parishes of Kintyre. Three bishops follow between 1304-62, named Andrew, David, and Martin,[4] the last of whom was suspended from his office under circumstances to be hereafter detailed.[5] "Martin de Ergail" was recommended to the Papal Court as bishop-elect by Edward of England in the year 1342, as being of the ancient house of the lords of Lorn (the Macdugals), who were all in the English interest.[6] A blank of about sixty years now occurs in the record of prelates who filled the see of Argyll, and the next name we note is that of Finlay, a Dominican friar, and chaplain to Murdoch, Duke of Albany, in the year 1425.[7] The house of Albany was at this time mortally affronted with King James I. for his policy in favour of the lords of the Isles; and in the very year of Finlay's nomination to the diocese, Duke Murdoch, his sons, and the Earl of Lennox, were tried by a jury of their peers, and condemned to death, Alexander Macdonald "de insulis," second Earl of Ross, being one of the jury. After the Duke's fall, Bishop Finlay went over to Ireland, and there died. George Lauder, his successor, appears to have been the first noted in the chartularies as "episcopus Lismorensis."[8] A Robert Colquhoun, and a bishop noted as John of Lismore, succeed Lauder; and the names of three more,—David Hamilton, brother to James, Earl of Arran; William Cunningham, the Earl of Glencairn's brother; and Robert Montgomery, son of the first Earl of Eglinton,—bring us down to the

Royal charter to Harald, A.D. 1228.

Succeeding prelates.

Circa A.D. 1437.

1473-99.

[1] See Orig. Paroch., vol. ii.—Local tradition communicated by Rev. D. Macnab. Also Keith's Scot. Episc.

[2] The long low island opposite Oban.

[3] Evidently the same with Evald, or Erald.

[4] Keith. [5] Cart. of Passelet. [6] Keith. [7] Ibid. [8] Ibid.

The Reformation.

year 1558, the eve of the Reformation. James Hamilton, Chatelherault's natural brother, was now presented to the see, and he conformed to the doctrines of the Protestant Con-

A.D. 1560.

vention which sat two years later. Later on, we find him with his relations signing a bond for the release of Queen Mary from the rough custody of the confederate lords. I must not omit mention of John Carswell, made bishop or superintendent of Argyll and the Isles in 1566, under the Reformed *régime*, as he was eminently a representative of the transition at this time. The Queen of Scots presents him the same year with a bishopric and abbacy, the presentation being thus worded: "By these presents, we make, constitute, and create "the said Master John, Bishop of the said episcopate of the Isles, and abbot of the said "abbacy of Ycolmkill in like manner, and as freely in all respects, causes, and conditions, "as if the said Master John had been inducted (foreseen) into the said episcopate and "abbacy in the Roman curia."[1] In the General Assembly, on 5th July 1569, Carswell was censured for accepting the bishopric "without making the Assembly foreseen, and for "riding at, and assisting at the Parliament holden by the Queen, after the murther of the "king (Darnley)." He was rector of Kilmartin (where the ruins of the castle he built himself are still standing), minister of the new Reformation, and chaplain to the Earl of Argyll. He died before the end of the year 1572.[2] Episcopacy, as we know, was for some time after allowed to linger on, and bishops were still appointed in Argyll, continuously from the date of the Reformation till the outbreak against Laud in 1637. Neil Campbell, who followed Hamilton, was parson of Kilmartin, and bishop during 1580-82. When all his brother prelates, says Keith, were lampooned in a satirical poem, and taxed with immoralities (though falsely), yet such was the universal good character this bishop had obtained, even among those who hated the order, that he alone is excepted. On the contrary, the author of that angry and insolent satire says of him, "Solus in Ergadiis prœsul meritissi-"mus oris." He resigned the episcopate in 1608. To this bishop succeeded John Campbell and Andrew Boyd, and these were followed by James Fairly, a minister in Edinburgh, who was consecrated Bishop of Argyll only two days before the now historic scene took place, where Jenny Geddes launched her cuckie-stool at the head of the unfortunate curate in St Giles's Church. Bishop Fairly was deprived by the Presbyterian Assembly the following year, but was not above consenting to exchange his mitre for the black Genevan gown in the parish of Leswood in Mid-Lothian. After the Restoration, there was a return of episcopacy to the Churches of the State in Scotland;[3] and the surplice was again seen in the parochial pulpit. The series of events which led to the downfall of the Stuarts; the putting forth of the League and Covenant; the invidious duties executed by the much-maligned Dundee; the persevering folly of Charles; and the hopeless obstinacy of James,—are matters known to every reader of history and need not be added here.

James Fairly consecrated Bishop of Argyll, 15th July 1637,

but deprived the next year.

[1] Privy Seal, *apud* Keith.

[2] Keith.

[3] The names of the subsequent bishops, 1661-88, are of no interest. Several of the clergy are entered in the records of the Presbytery of Kinloch (Campbelton) about this time as "indulged."

Deaneries of the see of Argyll.

The diocese of Argyll appears to have consisted of four rural deaneries, of which Kintyre was one, and this division was probably effected soon after the creation of the see, as record of the Kintyre deanery occurs as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. At the Reformation the limits of the see included all the mainland of Argyllshire, except Muckairn;[1] so that since its first coming into existence there had been a curtailment of its area to the extent of two large districts. Kintyre, besides being a separate deanery, appears, as I have noted, anciently to have been a shire by itself.[2]

[1] "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ."

[2] Keith's Bishops.

CHAPTER IV.

I NOW proceed to notice in detail the ecclesiastical sites of the peninsula of Kintyre. As regards the geography of the district, I must refer the reader to the map which accompanies these pages, only remarking that Kintyre is a promontory some fifty miles long, with an average width from sea to sea of not more than eight to nine miles. Near its southern extremity, the hills which extend continuously to this point from Tarbert fall away into a "laggan," or flattish hollow, and here the land narrows considerably. It then bulges out again, forming a sort of knob to the peninsula, and in this knob is situated the aptly-named parish of Southend, which I take first on our list.

Parish of Southend (anciently Kil-colmkill and Kil-Blane parishes).

The modern parish of Southend comprises the two ancient parishes of Kil-colmkill and Kil-Blane, which were united in 1617 by a commission of Parliament. Mr Innes informs us that in 1621 another commission was empowered to erect a new church for the united parish, to which, he says, the adjoining parish of Kil-kivan,[1] now absorbed in the modern Campbelton, appears by local tradition to have been subsequently annexed. It may perhaps, however, have been another church of Kil-kivan, or St Coivin's, within Southend, which is thus indicated, and of which more presently. Besides the ruins of one of the two parochial churches, Southend contains the actual remains of six other chapels or dependent oratories, while in its topographical nomenclature, and from traditional sources, traces of two or three more are to be found.

The Category Comprises :—

Parochial,	Kil-colmkill (S. Columba's). Kil-blane (no remains left).
Existing remains of sub-chapels,	Kil-chattan. S. Ninian's. S. Coivin's. S. Catherine's. One nameless. Katti-kil.
Other ecclesiastical sites indicated by local names,	Kil-bride. Kil-mashanachan. Kil-irvan. Kil-calmanell. Kil-davie.

[1] Orig. Paroch.—Local tradition communicated by Rev. D. Macnab.

OUTLINE MAP OF KINTYRE IN ARGYLLSHIRE, &c:

5°.40′ 5°.20′ 5°.0 55°.40′ 55°.20′

I. Danna
Bilsan Mor
Point of Knap
Loch Caolisport
Caolisport
Bagh Achadh a Mhillein
Port Gill Mairee
L. Nan Torran
Barnedan
Craig Lod
W. Loch Tarbert
Ardpatrick
Kilchamming
Glenrisdell
L. Crine
Skipness
Kilbrannan C.
Skipness Point
Kilcalmonell
S. Ch.
Ronachan Ho.
Billinetkill
802
L. Romain
Brian Point
Glenmore
Kilmichael
B. G.
Ballochroy
L. Cadadale
Gigha Island
Eilachattan
Rhunahaorine
Loyndonmore Burn
Largie Castle
Kilmorry
Aura I.
Kilkean Ch.
1188
Machaig Water
Mausdale
Glenacardoch Pt.
Killmaluag
Glenbarr
Killagmile
Ach-nam-Cladh
Beinn an Tuire
1491
Torrisdale Castle
Carradale
Dippen
Lettricle.
Saddell Abbey
Saddell Ho.
Sgreadan Hill
1299
Ballochantuy
Carrylach
Prob. S. Ch.
Killocraw
Killarow
Kilkenzie Ch.
Machrihanish Bay
Kilmicho
Kilmichael Ch.
Kilelhousland Ch.
Visaed
Lossit Park
Kilkivan Ch.
Craigaig Water
Kilcomin
Kilchrist
Arinarach
1031 Hill
Kilchiaran S. Ch.
Kildalloig
Davarr I.d
Eorndale Pt.
Kilnaimpmach
Killellan
Croc Mor
1462
Kerran Hill
Rudh'a' Mharoiche
Kilkivan
Kilchattan Hill
Colladal
Kildavie
S. Ciaran's Ch.
Lag-nan-Cleth S. C.
S. Blane's Ch.
Kilblane
Beinn
1405
Southend
Kilmashanachan
Lighthouse
Corkey
Corkey Bay
Cove Point
S. Columba's Ch.
Sheep I.d
Stron Uamdas
MULL of KINTYRE
S. Ninian's C. &c.
Sanda Island
Achinhoan Head
S. Ciaran's Cave
Rh. Stanish
Shenachie
Drum Point
Acharesdow
Milldallock
Portan Eilein
Troustan
Knapp Point
Colintraive Ferry
Brackley Point
Ardnamarnoch House
South Hall
Kames
Kilmichael
Strone Point
Budhan Preasach
Gleamore
Kilbride Farm
Glecknabae
Tighnafiline Point
Kames Castle
Ramsburgh
Toward Point
Sgat Mhor
Ardlamont Point
ROTHESAY
Haggarroaig
Goit Bagh
Marnoch L.
St Ninians Point
Ardscotnish Point
Kilcattan
Garroch Head
L. Fad
S. Newton
Catacol
Lenymore
Sannox
Corrie
Pirnrioc
Whitefarland
GOAT FELL
2866
Ballikine
ISLAND OF ARRAN
1679
Dougrie
Brodick
Brodick Bay
Monygoil
Clauchlands Point
Tormore
Ballymichael
Iganlash
Holy I.
Lochranza
Shedog
Kingscross Point
1497
Drumadoon Point
Whiting Bay
Brown Head
Largybeg Point
Kiddery
High Kilmory
Dippin Head
Bennan Head
Pladda
Kilbrannan Sound
Firth of Clyde

REFERENCE TABLE

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

In Old English:
- Sites of Parish Churches with remains ..... Ch. — With or without local name affixed
- Do. ..... without ..... S. Ch. ..... Do.
- Do. ..... Chapels ..... with ..... C. ..... Do.
- Do. ..... without ..... S. C. ..... Do.
- Do. ..... Burial-Grounds ..... B. G.

In Italics { Names of farms & probably indicating ecclesiastical sites } ..... thus *Killarow*

Other names ..... in black. The figures within the Map show the heights above the sea at those points

Reduced from the Ordnance Survey Map by permission — *Scale Four Miles to One Inch*

Printed by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh

As in the majority of cases throughout Ireland and Western Scotland, the prefix "Kil" (or cell) is for the most part found attached to all traceable religious sites in Kintyre, and, I may add, the West of Scotland generally.

S. Columba's church, or Kil-colmkill.

The church of Kilcolmkill,[1] dedicated to the memory of that most renowned of early Scottish saints, the "father of monasteries," as Adamnan calls him, is situated in a lovely retired spot on the southern shore of the parish, with a romantic sea-view (Pl. I., 1); embracing Ireland, the islands of Sanda and Ailsa, and the Ayrshire coast on one side; the bluff rock where stood the castle of Dunaverty,[2] and a wall of precipitous crags rounding away to the Mull of Kintyre, on the other. It lies close down upon the shore at a sudden turn of the road, which here winds round a cave-hollowed cliff into the beautiful bay of Carskey—this cliff and the neighbouring country house indicating in their respective names (Keil Point and Keils) their proximity to the chapel of the saint. Traditionary associations almost, if not quite, as strong as those which cluster round the lonely cave-cell not many miles distant of S. Columba's intimate friend and contemporary Kiaran, still cling to the spot, though the existing building, with its enclosed burial-ground full of mouldering tombs, can hardly be of much earlier date than the thirteenth century. Caves in the face of the precipice overhanging the cemetery are pointed out as having sheltered the apostle of Hy-colmkill during a sojourn here in the course of his numerous and often protracted missionary wanderings; and abutting on the western wall of the burial-ground stands a green rocky knoll, with the track of a small building and the pedestal of an ancient cross still visible on its flat summit, the name of the knoll in the expressive Gaelic being "Guala na pobuill"—literally, the shoulder of the congregation—whence, tradition says, the voice of the sea-faring apostle went forth to the assembled multitude.[3] A sacred spring of pure ice-cold water bubbling out of the rock is named the Priest's or Holy Well, and has doubtless played its part in generations gone by as one of those miraculous fountains spread over the length and breadth of our land (Pl. I., 3). On the face of the rock below which the basin of the well is scooped out, is rudely carved a small incised cross, about eight inches long,—of what antiquity there appear to be no data for determining. That S. Columba did veritably land at some point in the immediate neighbourhood would seem, from these local and other circumstances, by no means improbable; and I can imagine no likelier spot for his coming ashore than the adjacent

The Priest's Well.

[1] Kil-Colomb-cille—"the cell of Columba of the Cell," literally interpreted. Columb-kil was an alternative name for this far-famed saint.

[2] This site of historical memory will be described with other similar objects hereafter.

[3] The track of the building measures about 20 by 9 feet inside. On an exposed slab of rock inside, close to the cross pedestal, are two curious and puzzling objects. These are a pair of human shod footprints, chiselled from ¾ to 1½ inches deep in the rock. Suspicion is thrown on the antiquity of the footmarks by there being beside them, in comparatively modern characters, what read like the figures 56, and letter L superadded. Yet tradition, that mine of mingled truth and rubbish, has tacked to them a story of a giant who, striding across from the opposite Irish shore, planted his feet here; and it avers that their counterparts are to be seen on the other side. The footprints are somewhat under a full-grown man's size, being 10 and 11 inches in length. One of the caves, with a small arched entrance, penetrates a long way inland, forming a strange, darksome alley, whose recesses have not, I believe, yet been properly explored. Legend, busy again, tells of a piper who was seen to enter the weird place playing an old pibroch ("Macrimmon's Lament," I think it was), and who never came our again.

bay of Carskey, at the mouth of the Breackerie Water. Constant trips in search of new fields for proselytising enterprise, or temporary seclusion for purposes of prayer and sterner austerities, were undertaken, we know, by that coterie of devoted missionaries already alluded to who have made themselves so illustrious in the annals of the Western Church. Moreover, from the very position of the peninsula of Kintyre, protruding from the mainland of Argyll till it almost touched his beloved land of Erin,[1] we are certain that Columba, in his frequent cruises between Scotland and the eastern side of Ireland, must often have passed within sight of this very shore, where his memory is still perpetuated. And when we consider the intimate relations which had subsisted in their earlier days between Columba and Kiaran, or again the intimacy of Columba with Aidan the Dalriadic king, the proximity of the three localities with which these historic personages are most immediately associated in Kintyre becomes something more than a mere coincidence. At all events, this spot, sacred to the memory of the chief of Scottish saints, is scarcely seven miles distant from the cave-cell of the apostle of Clon-mac-nois, which, again, is a bare three-mile walk from Kinloch Kerran, the supposed headquarters of Aidan. Of one instance when Columba was sailing off the Mull, possibly on a visit to King Aidan—perhaps on the very occasion of his landing here—we are actually told by his biographer Adamnan. I have translated the legend as it stands, it being of some interest as the only one, so far as I know, containing a local name in Kintyre in actual connection with the great apostle's travels: "Likewise, on another occasion, Lugbeus of "the race of Mocumin, coming to the saint on a certain day after grain-thrashing, could "in no wise look upon his countenance, which was suffused with a wondrous blush; and "fearing exceedingly, he fled away precipitately. Whom, with a little clap of his hands, "the saint called back to him. On his return, being straightway questioned by the holy "man why he had so hastily run away, he (Lugbeus) gave this reply—'I fled because I "'was terrified beyond measure.' After a short pause, the faithful servitor makes bold "to ask the saint, 'Has not a portentous vision within this hour been revealed to thee?' "To whom came the response, 'How dire a vengeance is now being consummated in a "'remote part of the world!' 'What vengeance, and where?' cries the youth. Answers "the saint, 'At this very hour a sulphurous flame is raining down from heaven upon a "'city of the Roman State, situated within the confines of Italy, and nearly three "'thousand men, besides women and children, will perish. And before this year is over, "'Gallic sailors will be here from the provinces of Gaul, and shall tell thee of these things.' "Which words, after some months, were proved to have been true. For this same "Lugbeus, as he was nearing the Land's Head (*i.e.*, the Mull of Kintyre) in company "with the saint, addresses the master and crew of an approaching bark, and hears from "them a narrative of all things concerning the city and citizens exactly as foretold by the "illustrious man."[2] It seems, then, not unreasonable to connect the site of this Kil-colm-

Legend of S. Columba off the Mull of Kintyre.

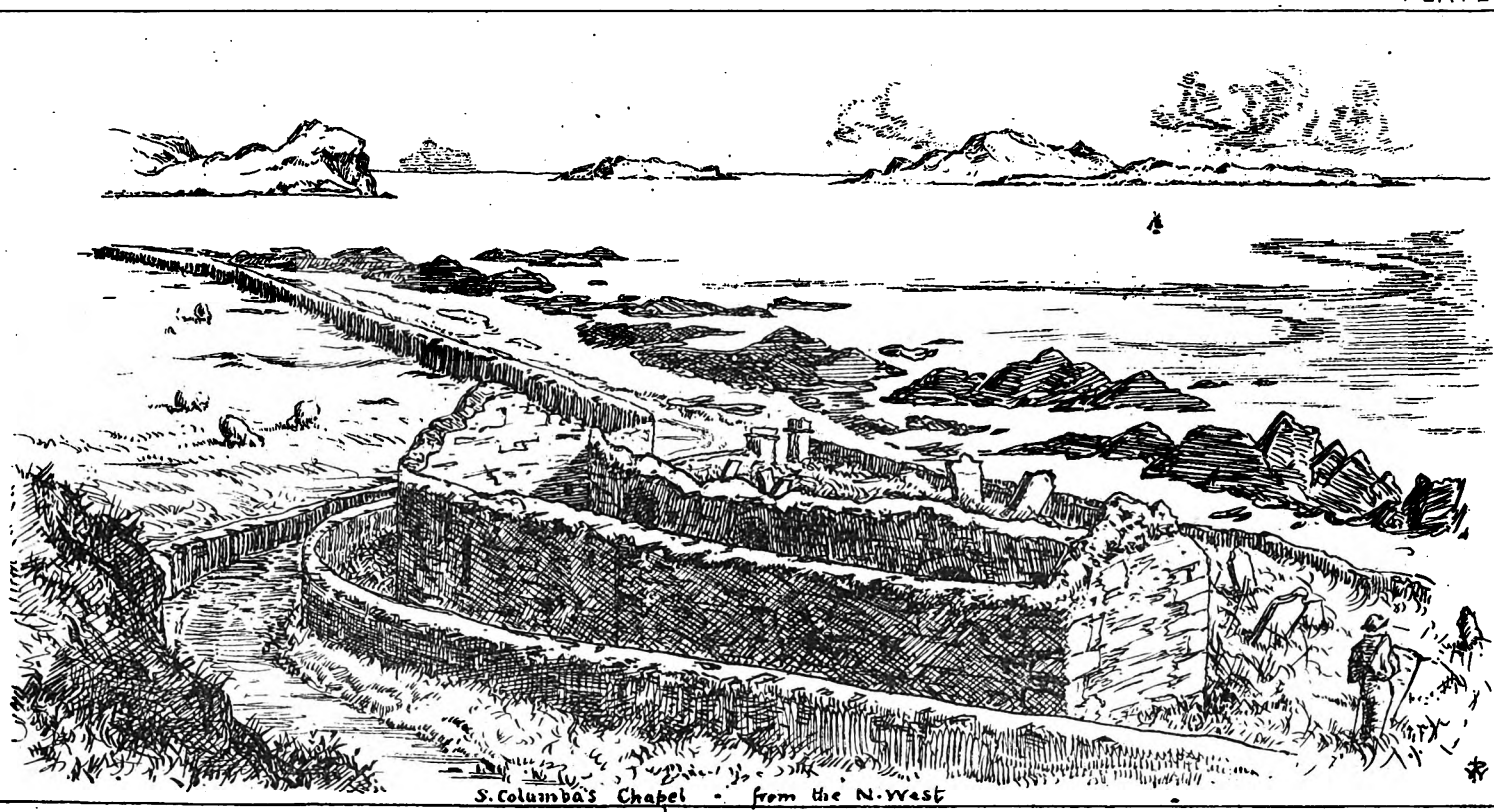
[1] Torr Head, on the Irish coast, is only some twelve miles distant from the Mull of Kintyre; and from the neighbouring Mull heights, says an ancient writer, "one may decerne the corne-lands and housis of Ireland."—Macfarlane, Geogr. Coll.

[2] Adamnan, Vit. S. Columb.

SKETCHES AT ST COLUMBA'S CHAPEL IN SOUTHEND. KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

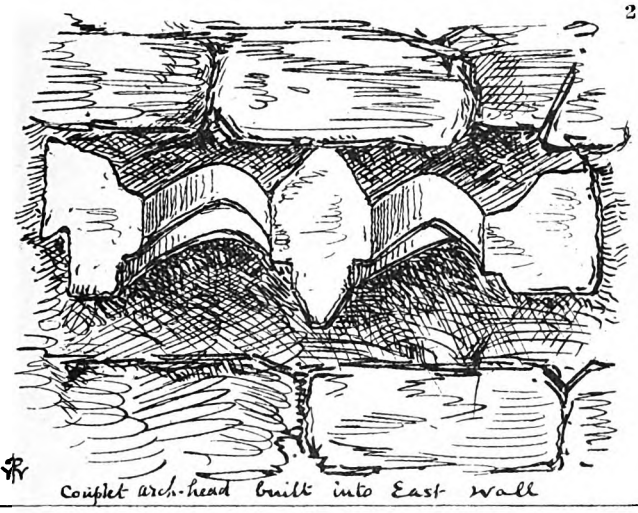
PLATE I.

1



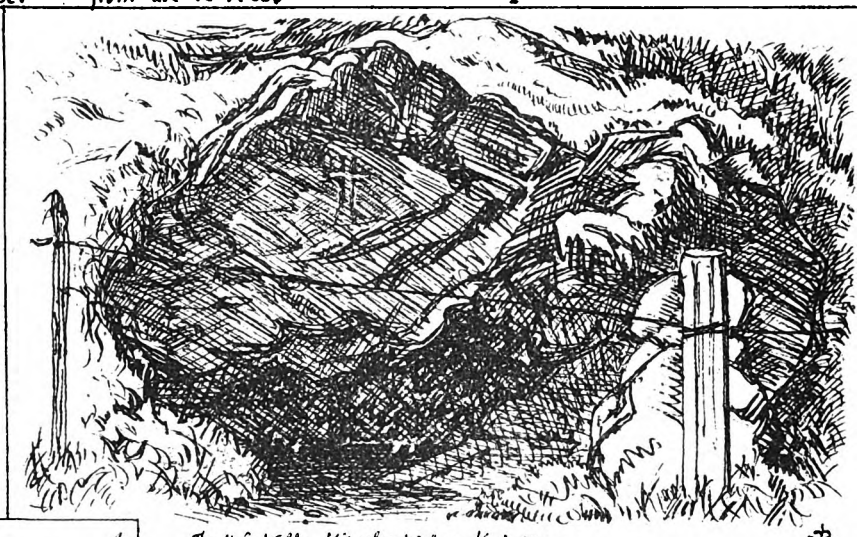
S. Columba's Chapel - from the N. West

2



Couplet arch-head built into East wall

3



The Holy Well - Kilcolmkil - Kintyre

4

Doorway at S. Columba's - Kintyre

5

S. East Window

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

kill with the actual presence of Columba twelve centuries ago; and thus a more than ordinary interest attaches itself to this site beyond what is felt towards others scattered throughout Scotland dedicated to, but not believed to have been visited by, the saint.

Remains of ancient churches in Argyllshire.

Little detailed attention has been paid to the ancient religious edifices of the county of Argyll. Two writers alone, that I am aware of, have considered it worth while to bestow any notice upon them; and their accounts, excellent as far as they go, are but the briefest of references, and relate only to a few of the more conspicuous examples.[1] Mr Muir, one of these writers, has alluded to certain peculiarities of style which may be said to belong to the early church-building of western Scotland, differing from anything found in other localities; and my own observations agree with what he says.[2] These peculiarities are, broadly speaking, their curious dimensions, which generally exhibit a length in the building out of all proportion to the width; small windows of the lancet-type, with rear-vaults deeply splayed, vertically as well as laterally, the splay being carried into the super-imposed arch; the frequent absence of anything in the east gable corresponding to the dignity of chancel windows elsewhere; and, indeed, a generally prevailing plainness, sometimes bareness, of ornamental detail throughout. Yet, as Dean Howson has well

[1] A MS. work by a Mr William Dobie of Grangevale, with some drawings, quoted by C. Innes and others, I have not been able to get hold of. It seems to have been brought before the Society of Antiquaries in 1838, but recent inquiries from myself and others have failed to trace it.

[2] His remarks are so pertinent to the subject, and his acquaintance with Scottish church-architecture so well known, that I cannot do better than give the following quotation :—"The Argyleshire churches and chapels, of "which scarcely anything has as yet been said, form a large proportion of the aggregate remains in the mainland "of Scotland. . . . Regarding their age, it would, in at least many instances, be venturous to speak, except "in very general terms. Some specimens are certainly First Pointed, and others have much of Romanesque "expression; but the greater number have so little of definite character, that it seems nearly impossible to fix "the period of their erection, though it is evident that part of them are not older than the fifteenth and sixteenth "centuries. The material which has been employed in their construction is the thin slaty stone of the country, "interspersed with granite and other stones of lumpish form; and of these, without having undergone much "preparation, windows and doorways are sometimes made, though, for such parts of the building dressed sand-"stone—occasionally of a bright-red colour—has much more frequently been chosen. In plan and general "appearance, the more definable of the series resemble very closely the First Pointed chapels in the eastern "counties, but with some differences in the adjustment of detail. The doorway—for it is not often that we find "more than one—is not, for instance, always in one or other of the side walls; and the windows, which are "generally limited to two or three at most, are placed apparently more to meet some local necessity than to "harmonise with the conventional rules of church arrangement. The fewness, smallness, and unsettled position "of the perforations—which, it may be suggested, were, in all likelihood from the want of glazing material, left "quite open—were designed doubtless with a view to shelter in exposed situations, and also, perhaps, as a means "of partial defence against the eruptions of the Northmen and other predatory strangers. At St Oran in Iona, "and Kilneimh in Isla, for example, the greatest shelter is on the west, and the greatest exposure on the east "and north; and accordingly, in both cases the doorway is in the west end, and the windows, of which there are "only two in each building, are placed north and south in the one, and east and south in the other. Many "other examples occur in which a similar apparent accommodation to local requirement is observable, except, "perhaps, as regards the doorway, which is generally to be found in one or other of the side walls. In these the "east elevation is not unfrequently blank, and sometimes, in the same instance, the west one also. In a good "many cases the vacancy occurs on the north side, but never on the south, at least not on that side in any one "of the chapels referred to in the present narration. The west end, when pierced at all, has never more than "one short light, placed either in a central part of the wall itself or in the apex of the gable; and the treatment "of the east elevation is seldom more complex—a single lancet, or narrow round-headed light of moderate "length, being a very common allowance in that part of the building; or at most a couplet of long lanciform "lights, set sufficiently wide of each other to afford room for the enormous expansion of their splays in the "interior wall."—Old Church Architecture of Scotland, p. 48-50.

Architectural details of S. Columba's church.

observed, when speaking of this very church of Kil-colmkill, "simplicity never becomes "meanness in the architecture of these old chapels." Of the unusual dimensions I have just alluded to, the church of S. Columba is a remarkable example, its length being 69¼, while the width is only 14 feet. These are the internal measurements, the external being 73¾ by 19, and the average width of walls 2½ feet.[1]. I was particular in taking the exact dimensions by tape, and the result repaid me for the close scrutiny; for it showed, in the mason-craft of those who originally built or afterwards extended the church, a small defect which a modern clerk of works might get abused for overlooking. This is a discrepancy of 4 inches in the width of the end walls,[2] the west gable being shorter to that extent than the eastern, which latter it is that measures outside 19 feet. The explanation of this and of the unusual length of the building, even for Argyllshire, might strike one as due to the original structure having been for some reason subsequently lengthened eastwards by about 30 feet, as indicated by an unbonded junction forming a distinctly visible line in the north wall at that distance from the east end. It has been suggested that the original church may have been elongated because of the occasional concourse of Norwegians and Islanders, the adjacent island of Sanda having long been a rendezvous for their fleets.[3] My own idea is that there has been no alteration in the dimensions, but that a piece of the north wall, probably what lies to the westward of the junction line, had at some period been demolished or fallen into ruin,[4] and been rebuilt without properly bonding it into the old portion. This view is confirmed by the fact that the windows throughout show no difference that I could detect in their masonry or general character. There appear to have been only three windows to light the church, and the easternmost on the south side is the only one in an uninjured state (Pl. I., 5). The lancets measure 4 feet by 8 inches, splaying out to a width of 4 feet in the internal face of the recess. The doorway is in the south wall, near the west gable, and the crown of its arch stands above the present surface of the ground only 4½ feet. The arches turned over doorway and windows are all semicircular, and are prettily faced, the former showing a plain moulding at the external angle of the jamb, with small projections for fixing the door.

State of the ruins.

Outside the building the ground-level has risen considerably, and now covers part of two windows, indeed nearly the whole of one of them. The eastern gable is still standing to a height of 15 feet, and the other walls are entire, though roofless; but ragged gaps are beginning to show themselves in the masonry, and the work of dilapidation, assisted in this exposed situation by the winter storms, is silently going on. On a second visit last year to this interesting spot, I discovered, built into the outside face

[1] They agree pretty closely with the observations of others:—

Thus, Howson gives	72	×	15
Muir	" 75¼	×	18′ 10″
And Dobie	" 73	×	18 (according to Orig. Paroch.)

Curiously enough, this same difference, 4 inches, occurs in the length of the side walls of the chapel at Skipness, to be described further on.

[3] Howson. The last-mentioned fact is undoubted.

[4] The masonry here being squared and bonded in more regular blocks than the rubble elsewhere.

of the east gable wall, a moulded fragment (Pl. I., 2), which in all probability represents what had been the head of the now missing east window. It is a couplet with pointed arches, separated by a pentagonal shaft. Small windows of this kind, divided into couplets by a single pillar, are commonly met with in Argyllshire. Clearly, then, this gable also has been rebuilt during post-Reformation times,[1] as by none but those utterly indifferent or hostile to the relics of mediæval workmanship could such a misplacement as this have been perpetrated. As to the age of the church, we have a record of it in A.D. 1326, before which it was granted to the canons of Whithern by Patrick MacShillingis and Finlach his wife, the grant being confirmed by King Robert Bruce.[2] A fragment of what may have been the holy water-stoup or *bénitier* of the church is still to be seen within its walls.[3] The churchyard, which for a wonder is enclosed with a respectable stone wall, is full of tombs and headstones of all dates within the past two centuries. Some of these, with their quaint spelling, are curious specimens of their class, and conspicuous amongst them is one with a large escutcheon, containing the arms, I believe, of the Macdonalds of Sanda. Another, to one Ranald M'Donald, also of the house of Sanda, with the date 1681, lies in the family burial-place outside the church, near the east end. In the west end of the church is a railed-off enclosure, with tablets to the memory of the Maclartys of Keile; and where the altar should have stood is a tombstone, with the usual skull and crossbones, announcing "Heir lyes Neil M'Neil of "Carskiey, who depairted this lyfe the 30th day of October 1685." This is evidently, however, a new stone in renewal of the older original. Another conspicuous monument of the earlier post-Reformation type, is one to the memory of the Laird of Ralston—the representative of an ancient Galloway or Ayrshire family, I was informed,—who was driven to take refuge over here during the Covenanting troubles. The earliest date on this monument seems to be 1644 or 1671—it is not clear which—a later one being 1799. The Ralstons settled in Glen Rea, a feeder of the Breackerie valley; and their descendants, who have hardly intermarried at all with the rest of the country-folk, are still tenant-farmers in the neighbourhood. It is always worth while, in the search for more ancient monuments, to pay some attention to those of the intermediate period, which are so many steps in the ladder leading up to remoter generations; and in passing to the dimly-lighted cloister with its shadowy company of mitred abbots and saintly nuns, gorgeously clad priests, and long-sworded warriors, gone centuries ago to their rest, it is not without interest that we find ourselves traversing chamber after chamber filled with the distinguished personages who succeeded them. The names,—the very orthography of men and women who may have seen Charles Edward Stuart, or heard speak of the disastrous battle over the water which sealed the fate of his unfortunate grandfather and his house; or yet further back—of those who may have beheld (perhaps from this very churchyard)[4] the

Antiquity of the church.

The churchyard and its monuments.

Tombs of the Sanda, Carskey, and Ralston families.

The earlier post-Reformation monuments to be studied as well as the mediæval.

[1] I find, by my note-book, that this impression was confirmed on a second inspection, as a close scrutiny showed the character of its rubble work to be smaller and newer-looking than the rest of the masonry.

[2] Orig. Paroch., and Register of Great Seal.

[3] Howson. Also called by its Latin name "Aspersorium." I did not notice this relic.

[4] The rock of Dunaverty stands out conspicuously in the landscape seen from this point. It was the scene

enemies of Montrose at their work of fire and sword; or yet again, lived under the sway of the royal child and grandchild of the beautiful Queen Mary,—must necessarily possess a certain historical value and association, besides giving oftentimes a clue to the interpretation of the earlier sculptured memorials which have descended to us from mediæval times. But before noticing these latter, the representation of which is one of the main objects of the present volume, I may take this opportunity of saying something as to the art, intention, and peculiar characteristics of a class of ornamental tomb-carving comparatively so little known, and yet, perhaps, for chasteness, for beauty, and for certain unique features, unsurpassed in the domain of monumental panel-sculpture.

of a blockade and conflict between the Macdonald men and the Presbyterian troops under General Leslie and Argyle in 1647. It has memories of Bruce's days, too, and yet more distant traditions floated up from the times of Galls and Dalriad kings.

CHAPTER V.

Sepulchral monuments

FROM the earliest times in the history of mankind it has been almost universally the practice to commemorate the dead by means of stone or other monuments. We hear of this in the sacred writings, where it is told us that a great stone was erected over the grave of this or that great chieftain; we see it in the massive tombs of the early eastern kings, in the great Pyramids, in the relics of ancient Greece and Rome, throughout Europe and Asia, in the mausolea of Islam, and among all but the very lowest tribes of the continent of America. From the smallest and most modest of monoliths to the grandest and most elaborated shrines, we can trace up through every graduated variety and degree of excellence the progress of monumental art. As with the types of architecture adopted for buildings of the ordinary kind, so this art may be said to have been to a certain extent the expression of the soil, local materials, and general idiosyncrasies of the particular countries where it was worked out. It has certainly not shown a uniform advance; and if we except perhaps the productions of the last two centuries, it has probably never before reached the mediocre level we see it fallen to in our own day. Tomb-carving, considered as an art of which we as a nation can be proud—an art in any high sense of the term—may, with a few notable exceptions, be said to have perished at the Reformation.[1] We are content to fill the undertaker's pockets, and impoverish those whom the dead have left behind them, to provide a show of trumpery funeral gear; and we grudge not to pay considerable sums of money for some marble or granite abomination, to be an eyesore to future generations. The little unassuming headstone, with its initials or other brief inscription, is intelligible; it assumes to be nothing but a record, and it does its duty. But the huge urns, stuccoed round with meaningless pseudo-classic wreaths; unshapely obelisks of portentous dimensions; tablets framed in with imitation Corinthian columns; truncated pillars embraced by weeping damsels in Roman drapery, and the like,—these are the successors to the beautiful crosses and tombstones, the brasses and recumbent effigies, of the mediæval period. In some respects, indeed, our forefathers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were even worse than we are; for when imagination had done all it could in the way of ponderous scrolls and winged angels,

made use of in the earliest times.

Their types.

Poverty of the prevailing modern type.

[1] In his excellent 'Summary of Gothic Architecture,' Mr J. H. Parker thus remarks of this decadence subsequent to the sixteenth century: "Every sort of barbarism was introduced on funeral monuments; but the "ancient style lingered longer in some places than in others. The tomb of Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity "College, Oxford, who died in 1558, in the chapel of that society, shows the altar-tomb in its debased form, "after the true era of Gothic architecture had passed away."

they parodied death, and made its aspect more horrible by every conceivable ghastly variety of scythe-bearing skeletons, death's-heads, and crossbones. Far better was it, because less ugly, when long-winded and pompous epitaphs filled up the tablet, and left no room for other hideous insignia — epitaphs of the style we all know so well, which may be said to culminate in such a strange jumble as the often-quoted record to the memory of the lady of whom we are informed that, among other accomplishments, "likewise she painted in water-colours, and of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Style of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Yet, in another respect of them, the grisly and uncouth productions of our Puritan forefathers were preferable to the feeble things of our own day. These men meant what they executed. Earnest and conscientious as they undoubtedly were in their beliefs on certain subjects, it is undeniable that those beliefs too often took a harsh and forbidding form. Life and death, in relation to the majority of mankind, were viewed in such a manner that it was scarcely within the power of human nature to grasp those views fully and yet retain its ordinary light-heartedness. Thus in some measure, I take it, grew out, as the natural expression of the ideas of the age, the repulsive outlines of our churchyard monuments of the last two centuries. Emblems of corruption, of warning, of the final judgment; hideous spectres of malignant visage, and so forth,—were before the mind of the stone-cutter, and the triumph of his skill was to make others as far as possible shudder like himself over his conceptions. Wherever one goes throughout the country, it is, with few exceptions, the same thing with these post-Reformation burial-grounds. The

Its ugliness.

changes are rung upon florid escutcheons, grinning skulls, sickly angels, that parody of the cruciform symbol the crossed bones, trumpets, doom-bells, sand-glasses, and similar representations, to aid and cheer our meditations as we think of those who have passed away before us. In one district of a northern Scottish county, I found the other day a somewhat ingenious grouping of such suggestive objects, consisting of a bell, a sand-glass, and a thing like a miniature coffin, all carved in strong relief on the tombstone. The force and appropriateness of this coffin-shaped example of sepulchral tautology seemed to have pleased the people of the district so well that in one parish churchyard the three objects were repeated side by side in identical fashion upon seven or eight gravestones.

Another unquestionably patent cause of the decay in monumental art at this epoch lay in the adoption of what is known as the Renaissance type of architecture, in which a hybrid union was attempted between the ancient classical and the Franco-Gothic styles. This wave of constructive design passed lightly over the Elizabethan period, gained strength in the Jacobean, and perhaps reached its maximum objectionableness in the pompous façades, nymph-adorned grottoes, and sham temples we find strewn over the country as legacies from the Georgian age. Under such an influence, church-building and everything connected with monumental art were likely to suffer; and in the last century, this degradation was assisted by the indifference to religion which, taking the place of the earnestness that preceded it, brought down the Protestantism of this country

Monuments of the nineteenth century.

to a lower point than it had probably ever attained since the Reformation. But there is no accounting in the same way for the expressionless inanities of our modern burial-grounds.

Tomb-carving with us is at present only a trade, though it may not be impossible that it should again rise to the dignity of an art. The money now spent upon tawdry and incongruous ornament, so-called, would be amply sufficient to obtain, probably not so pretentious, but infinitely chaster and more artistic results in monumental sculpture. There are, it is true, some signs of turning over a new leaf in this matter. Copies of the mediæval tomb-carvings and ornamental crosses may now be seen in some of the recently-opened cemeteries, and so far we are in the right track. But as yet it is a rare thing to find a really good copy. The "made to order" system seems to be fatal to the realisation of art, as the old workman knew it. No copy can be satisfactory unless he who undertakes its execution has mastered the true spirit of the original: and these modern crosses are an example of this; for the more subtle qualities, which I shall presently have to speak of as characterising the mediæval tomb-sculptures, are for the most part conspicuously absent in their imitations of to-day. It is the difference, to use a homely simile, between the garment turned out by a skilled tailor and the work of a provincial clown. The general effect may be imitated, but the niceties of the craft are wanting. It is what distinguishes the reproduction of a Raphael, a Murillo, or a Rembrandt from its great original, or the elaborated efforts of so many of our modern architects from the noble achievements of the old Gothic builders. I have in my eye many of these imitation crosses as they are to be seen throughout the country. The simpler forms are sure to be the best. The more ambitious may look imposing at a distance; they may be made of good material, there may have been painstaking industry bestowed on them, but almost invariably something is deficient. The work is too stiff, or it is too uniform, or there is some staring incongruity introduced, or the carving is not kept down to one plane, but rounds are seen side by side with flats, spaces are perhaps insufficiently filled in with ornament, or—and this is one of the commonest faults of all—the chisel-work is shallow and ineffective. As an example of incongruity, I may instance a granite pyramid in a certain cemetery erected over a grave and standing about as high as the enclosure wall, as if to slavishly imitate the mere shape of those grandest of the world's monuments were to invest such a wretched travesty of them with dignity. Or, as in another instance I remember to have seen, where a grey granite wheel-cross, otherwise in tolerably good taste, was utterly disfigured by a glaring panel of white marble let in at the bottom, which of course blinded the eye to everything else.

Signs of improvement.

Copies of the mediæval coming into favour,

yet too often lacking the subtler qualities of the originals.

Very different was it with the ancient tomb-sculptures. The earliest and rudest of them, mere blocks of undressed stone, nevertheless impress us by their magnitude, and the labour it must have taken to set them up. When we come to others which are carved, the objects delineated, although their meaning may be unknown to us, are found to be by no means ungracefully represented—nay, oftentimes cut into the stone with considerable freedom and vigour of drawing. Such symbols as the fish, the double disc or so-styled "pair of spectacles," the serpent coiling round what has been termed "the sceptre"; or again, the concentric rings, zigzags, and spirals found inscribed on flat rocks and in the interior of "cists" or primitive graves,—are often boldly sculptured, and arranged with an

The ancient tomb-sculptures.

Unsculptured monoliths.

eye to ornamental effect. It is impossible for me to do more than indicate the different classes of these ancient monuments without carrying the present chapter to an inordinate length. But without noticing them we cannot properly interpret the genius of the mediæval tomb-carvings, which were their offspring, and are often found reproducing some distinctive feature of the lineaments of their ancestry, just as the child of to-day may startle us by a strange and unexpected likeness to some faded old portrait in the family picture-gallery.

Directly, then, we pass from the absolutely unsculptured monolith, we find ourselves in the company of men whose desire, whatever else they wished to convey to us in their drawings, was evidently in the direction of ornamentation. It may seem hypothetical to contend that the cup-marked stones—that is to say, stones punched over with a number of pit-marks or simple round holes without any apparent arrangement—represent an intention to embellish. And so it would be if they stood alone. But the fact is, by insensible degrees these intermingle with and develop into more markedly ornamental forms, which, again, in their turn, are improved upon. And thus the original spring, bubbling spontaneously from the primitive domain of man's imagination, trickles onward, and in course of time becomes a steadily flowing stream, ever increasing in volume from the tributary stores which pour into it from a thousand side channels.

Cup-marked and other elementary forms of monument.

From the elementary forms of crossed and zigzag lines, circles, single and double spirals, &c., there is a natural transition to the more complex symbolic representations of objects already alluded to, and from these to animals and the human form. Yet perhaps I ought not to say transition, as I do not mean to assert that rudimentary attempts to depict all the last class of objects may not have co-existed. Among the tribes of the Rio Colorado in North America, Mölhausen found, only a few years ago, rock paintings where the old zigzags, spirals, and concentric circles reappear; not, however, probably as works of antiquity, being, in his opinion, of comparatively modern date. In the same district he met with elegantly plaited basket-work, both in household utensils and the walls of corn-sheds, &c. So it is among the African races; so it has ever been with the various peoples of the globe in their primitive state. The same gropings after decorative design appear and reappear, borrowed, without doubt, from the natural objects around; for the eternal types of things have only been appropriated, not created, by the mind of man. I have spoken of the picturing of animals. Of this there is a notable example constantly to be met with on the pillar-stones which has been called an elephant, from a supposed likeness to that beast. But after all, the explanation is fanciful; for if we examine the drawing of the creature, it is found to be made up of spiral flourishes, one of them being the supposed elephantine trunk. It is easy to imagine Phœnician vessels trading with the aboriginal inhabitants, and bringing with them portraits and stories of the huge creatures of the East; and it is to some extent corroborative of this view that an animal extremely like a camel or dromedary is found sculptured on some of the Scottish monumental slabs. But the field of speculation is endless; and till we can arrive at more satisfactory data as to the real age and the sculptors of these early tracings,

The more complex symbolic representations.

World-wide tendency towards decorative design.

it seems vain to ransack our brains for an explanation of their signification. It is true,—if we are to accept the conclusions of an eminent writer,[1]—that tree and serpent worship have long been established in Hindostan; but it is a great stride from this to the assumption that the curious serpentine creature clinging round the "Z" symbol on our own Scottish pillar-stones was also an object of worship in these isles, and yet a greater to believe, with Mr Phené, that an irregularly-shaped mound in an Argyllshire glen represents a snake whose vertebræ are to be found in the roofing-stones of an underground chamber inside the mound. Or, because we find depicted on the fourteenth and fifteenth century tomb-stones more often than anything else drawings of serpentine stems and branching foliage, would it be fair to assume that here was the continuation of Hindoo idolatry? Probably it will be safer to conjecture that wherever the early stone-engravings show us the similitudes of objects with which we are familiar—such as, for example, the stag, the horse, fish, birds, &c.—they point to the favourite pursuits of the individual commemorated. That is to say, that he hunted, rode, fished for salmon, flew the falcon, shot the eagle, and so on; that the ladies of the day used the comb, and other domestic implements which we think we see depicted. And thus, after leaving a margin for unknown personal ornaments, and for the fanciful play of the artist's hand in working out his ideas, we may arrive, without the necessity for abstruse symbolism, at a rational interpretation of the sculptor's intention. And this view, as we shall see, comes out in a stronger light when we arrive at the Christian monuments.

Tree and serpent worship.

Probable intention of the symbols on ancient Scottish sculptures.

The growth of decorative art, then, brought with it an ever-increasing and inexhaustible variety of beautiful patterns. But it is to be noticed that in this particular of relation to art, Christianity only ran parallel with the Paganism which preceded, and was for a considerable time contemporaneous with it. Many of the great basilicas of Italy and Byzantium, which grew up in the later days of the Roman Empire, were but copies of the old pre-Christian public buildings; and in some cases at Rome the actual buildings themselves were adapted for the new worship. But it was during the still earlier times of the more corrupt emperors, while as yet denial of the heathen deities was visited as a crime, that many of the rude and simple tracings found in the Roman catacombs and similar hiding-places are supposed to have been executed by the persecuted community, which could have had but little heart or leisure to devote itself to the pursuit of fine art. Out from this community, as years went on, would pass emigrants to carry to other climes the news of the Gospel; and thus would be borne into our own islands the elementary typical forms of Christian symbolism. These last, in the hands of the missionaries, would make a new start, and in our remote northern regions, in the midst of a barbarous people, enter into a distinct and national process of development, but a development slower than in and around the great metropolitan centres of Christendom, because unassisted by the wealth, resources, and accumulated store of noble architecture already possessed by the Church at these latter places. And in this early British and Irish monumental art

Growth of decorative art.

[1] See the elaborately-illustrated work by Mr Fergusson, F.R.S., on Tree and Serpent Worship of Hindostan.

Symbolism to be looked for on the early Christian monuments of Scotland.

we may and must look for symbolism; for the early Christian missionaries had no such opportunities as we have in these days to assert their beliefs,—and the consequence was, that they soon began to grave on rock and stone the shadows of those verities they came among us to teach. So we find stamped in upon the damp walls of caves, within hearing of the ocean's unceasing moan, the simple cross, various emblems of the Trinity, figures of men and animals, and so on, but all executed in the rudest style. We have also standard crosses, equally primitive in workmanship, mere blocks roughly shaped out into the revered outline which is the embodiment of our creed—as if, again, the battle of these early missionaries against darkness and brutality had left no time for the nurture of the faculty of design. And thus, it would seem, the two schools of thought, Pagan and Christian, kept side by side, gradually assimilating and interchanging ideas, till the first fruits of the completed union appeared in some of the Irish crosses which still remain to us, referred by an eminent authority[1] to a date as early as the eighth or ninth centuries. 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; 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 symmetrical 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.

Early Christian emblems.

Scandinavian influence.

The so-called Celtic or Runic crosses.

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 ecclesiastical 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 elaboration 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 pre-historic 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. But in the west there are many retired spots where crosses of very antique type are still standing which may be of almost any age. There are two we shall presently come to—one of which, for aught we know to

Those of eastern Scotland.

Those of the West.

[1] See 'Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language' by Dr George Petrie, a work published for the members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, 1870.

the contrary, may have been looked upon by the eyes of S. Ninian himself. On the other hand, the beautiful specimen in the market-place of Campbelton is almost certainly not older than the year 1500. And here I may note that the chief habitat of Scottish mediæval crosses is the county of Arygll, both in its mainland and numerous islands. Inverness-shire probably ranks next in the number of these relics it possesses, then Ross-shire, and so on along the western sea-board—the rule apparently being that the further we go from Argyll the rarer become these monuments. Precisely the same thing holds good of the tomb-carvings which we are shortly coming to. Indeed, so far as my observations have extended—and that is more or less through the whole of the Scottish mainland north of the Forth and Clyde line—it may be laid down as a rule that as you depart north, south, or east from Argyllshire, the area of the beautiful Celtic sculpturings contracts, and if it does not altogether dwindle away, its products undergo a marked change to simple and less ornamental forms. In Perthshire, the nearer we approach the western glens the oftener do we meet with the tomb-carvings—as, for example, at Balquhidder. In the north-east counties they are almost entirely absent. How far this may be due to the comparative density of population, and the corresponding strength of the iconoclastic mania, it is difficult to determine. But allowing for this, it still remains that Argyll is the locality where the Celtic art thrives most kindly. And it is in the proximity of this part of the country to Ireland, where from the very first everything ecclesiastical has been tenderly nurtured, and has blossomed luxuriantly, that we may probably discover the most potent influences tending to this result.

Mainly confined to Argyllshire.

The cross of the West Highlands is usually a long tapering pillar-stone with two flat faces; and as its depth is generally considerable, there are two corresponding flat edges. Its height varies, sometimes reaching to 12 or 14 feet. Both faces and edges are almost invariably decorated with carving, cut deep and boldly on the flat surface, so as to give great relief and richness of effect. The varieties of cross-patterns are very great, the most common, perhaps, being the wheel hollowed out in the centre, which resembles most nearly, I think, the types still extant in other Celtic localities. But the Iona crosses are now so well known as to make it almost needless for me to attempt a minute description of them. The crosses of the Argyllshire mainland present the same general features as those of Iona, but with variations of detail and treatment distinguishing the different districts, and even extending to particular church-sites. The patterns are generally divided into panels on the faces, each panel having its distinct tableau. These tableaux consist of hunting-scenes—such as dogs in pursuit of deer—low relieved figures of warriors and ladies, vested ecclesiastics, archers and harpers, one-masted galleys, griffinish birds and beasts, armed horsemen, mermaids, &c.; and thrown in as adjuncts to these we find tracery consisting of plait-work, foliage, and other symmetrical designs, often of extraordinary beauty. The edge-tracery is almost always made up of a long, running twisted plait, or Greek border, fining off to suit the taper, for the thickness of the edge is in general admirably proportioned to the varying width of the face. A three-ply twist at the side, for instance, starting from the bottom of the cross, will pass into a two-ply, and again into a

General character of details in the Celtic cross.

single strand, in the most unerringly symmetrical manner. These edges, indeed, are often a perfect study for an artist. A beading, single or double, generally runs round the panelling both at front and side. A very distinctive feature is the method of the carving. The chisel cuts perpendicularly into the stone, and leaves the objects sculptured still with a flat surface. I have nowhere seen any attempt at rounding, except in the one instance of bosses which stand out at the intersection of shaft and arms in some of the crosses. The reason of this, as I imagine, was, that for a cross or tombstone intended to be set up or laid down in exposed places, anything but flat panelling would have been unsuitable, as being more liable to injury.

The method of the carving.

Having said thus much of the crosses, it is necessary I should notice a most important variety or development of them—the carved tombstones. This branch of the monumental art we are considering is perhaps the most important, as its representatives outnumber to an overwhelming extent the standard crosses, and in its special class it is, I may say, quite unique. We have in England, answering to these tombstones, the monumental engraved brasses, which latter were extremely rare in Scotland during the mediæval period, probably from the greater difficulty of obtaining metal; or it may be that the genius of the Scots adapted itself better to sculpture in stone. In Ireland, I am not aware if there is a group of sepulchral slabs exactly filling the place of those in Argyllshire; but if there is, little has been heard of them, and I suspect they would vary considerably from their Scottish congeners.[1] It would be an interesting inquiry how far the mediæval tomb-slabs of the Scandinavian countries agree with the Scottish; but this also is a comparison I have not been able to follow out to any extent. So much, however, may safely be said of them: That no existing type of early monumental art is more entitled to notice—none bears more distinctive marks of independent local working-out—none has greater claim to be ranked as a sub-department of original decorative design—and in its own peculiar style none surpasses it in the realm of pure artistic beauty. I refer, of course, to the mediæval period; or, to state more explicitly, an epoch extending over the three centuries immediately preceding the Reformation,[2] though, as will appear

The mediæval tombstones of the West Highlands correspond to the English monumental brasses.

Their relation to the slabs of Scandinavia.

The western Scottish mediæval slab a distinct branch of monumental art.

[1] Those contained in the first two parts which have appeared of Dr Petrie's Clonmacnois Monuments are much older and very different in style, though with some family resemblances. Most of them have inscriptions of a uniform type in the old Irish character, such as "Or do Comgan" (pray for Comgan), &c.

[2] Dr Stuart is inclined to narrow this period within considerably later limits, but the determination of date in the earlier specimens of these slabs is, I think, too precarious to enable us to do so. The remarks, however, of so experienced and weighty an authority as the author of 'The Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' are well worthy of consideration: "The crosses and slabs in Argyllshire and the Hebrides, which have been introduced "in this volume, are only specimens of a very large and interesting class; and I must express an earnest hope "that some of those who are more immediately connected with the districts where they occur may be induced "to combine for their publication in a shape worthy of the object. As the style of the early monuments is "peculiar and national, so is that of the beautiful crosses and slabs just referred to, which range in date from "the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century; and as the former are peculiar to the east side "of Scotland, so the latter are confined to the west, for the slabs in other parts of Scotland, of the same period "as the *late* Argyllshire crosses, differ from them both in tone and design."—Sculpt. Stones of Scot. Preface, vol. ii. I cannot help thinking that if Dr Stuart will examine some of the Kintyre slab-illustrations, the chain-armour effigies and the Sanda crosses, for instance, and bear in mind the ornate character of many of the Clonmacnois slabs of the ninth and eleventh centuries, he will modify his opinion as to the date of the western group of monuments.

hereafter, some of the Argyllshire carved slabs, to judge from a comparison of them with cognate Irish specimens, may be assigned to a much earlier date.

The objects I have detailed as represented on the crosses are all found on the tombstones; but the latter show a rather more extended range of subject. The long cross-hilted sword, for example, which is rarely seen on the pillar monuments, now appears. Purely ecclesiastical tableaux, also, are more frequent—such as the sacramental chalice effigies of priests full-robed in gorgeous eucharistic vestments, the missal-book or psalter, trinitarian emblems, and so forth. The prevalence of the sword is extremely marked, and this appears to produce a certain subservience of the other ornamentation, which is made to group itself easily and gracefully around the sword, with strict relation to it as a central object. The drawings in the present volume will give ample illustration of this, and of what has been remarked besides respecting the details of these carvings. I have already spoken of the basket-work designs. These occur continually, but with ever-varying shapes and arrangement. It is impossible to see the persistent recurrence of this form of ornament without asking ourselves the question, Whence the original idea? This identical basket-work pattern appears in Abyssinian missals, some of which came into the hands of our people during the late release expedition. I have seen a facsimile print of a page from one of these MSS.[1] (a copy of the Gospels, I believe), which represents a large cross made up of nothing but this elaborately interlaced plait-work. Then again, it is to be traced in British MSS. at least as early as the eighth or ninth centuries; in the marvellously intricate illuminated pages of the gospels of Deir and Durrow, for example; and, again, in some of the earliest known (Christian) stone monuments of Britain and Ireland. In fact, this plait-work is a symbol which, emerging out of the darkness of the pagan era, has run into and passed on uninterruptedly through the monumental art of Christian times, down to its final and abrupt extinction, when all that was beautiful disappeared from ordinary tomb-sculpture to make way for three centuries of urns and angels, death's-heads and cross-bones. Probably this wicker-work pattern is the most universally diffused of all Christian types; and we can easily see why. For the weaving of osiers or slender rods into a compact meshwork suitable for structures of all kinds would be a contrivance likely to suggest itself to the rudest of human tribes—would indeed be among the very first constructive resources seized upon by the brain of man. The rush-plaited cradle of the Hebrew law-giver was doubtless merely a specimen of an art deftly and cunningly perfected long ere his time. And the wattle-walled huts and churches of the primitive Christians of Britain are reproduced to day in the "kraal" of the African savage, and the dwelling or cattle-pen of the Colorado Indian.[2] Another

Plait-work designs.

Seen in Abyssinian, early British MSS., &c.

[1] Produced by Messrs Keith Johnston for the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot., 1871.

[2] The practice of carving knot-work upon the tombstones of chieftains seems to have been very early in force among the Irish. In Petrie's work, an ancient Erse poem which is given, has the following verse with reference to the burial-ground at Clonmacnois:—

"Nobles of the children of Conn
Are under the flaggy, brown-sloped cemetery;
A knot, or a craebh, over each body,
And a fair, just ogham name."

dominant type of ornamentation constantly introduced upon the mediæval slabs of the West Highlands, consists of stems and foliage arranged in patterns of endless diversity. The most common is an intertwist of two stems crossing over and under alternately, so placed as to give a series of spherical loops, each of which again is filled in with a double leaf and stem. This pattern we shall constantly meet with in the illustrations further on. An ornament of this kind will run into a very elongated raised panel or label, side by side with a sword perhaps, and the two main stems frequently finish off into the tails of a pair of beasts set combatant-wise. The effect is singularly rich and graceful, from the never-failing symmetry of the curves, which are always tangential, and from the depth of the hollows separating leaf from stem. Often, too, the foliage fills up a square-shaped panel, the stems in this case usually intersecting in the centre of the square, one pair diagonally, and the other so as to divide the intervening space, the combined effect being a subtle combination of the most ornate tracery, the leading lines of which, whatever be the point of view, invariably resolve themselves when closely scrutinised into a series of crosses. So it is with the varied patterns of linked or contiguous circles. Elaborate and enchanting combinations of symmetry, that only geometry can extract from that most fertile of material to work upon, the circle,—are to be seen on these slabs; and through them all we are sure to find, ever present in one shape or another, the key-note, as it were, of the sculptor's composition, the venerated cruciform symbol of his faith. Yet not always is this symbol patent to the eye on a casual glance at these sculptures, for the charm that first possesses us is apt to be drawn from the rich, almost sensuous, depth of light and shadow, and beauty of form of the foliage, rather than from the more fundamental lines which permeate it—as though it were to remind us that for some eyes there is no visible beauty beyond the externals of material objects, but that if we will only look deep enough a profounder under-current of symmetry may be detected, a yet nobler interpretation of what is beautiful be read, and that nowhere has this grander second-sight been so exercised as on the guiding-lines of the cross. I have referred already to a sort of Greek border often appearing on the rims of the standard crosses. This, I observe, occurs in one or two of the earliest slabs at Clonmacnois,[1] and doubtless is a legacy from the most ancient times of the Church. The two-ply and three-ply twisted cable and dog-tooth ornaments are other forms of edging to the Argyllshire slabs of frequent occurrence. 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

Patterns of stems and foliage,

and of linked and contiguous circles.

Subtle cruciform arrangement of these patterns.

Greek border or vignette.

Other ornamental designs, circular, &c.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, may we not infer from this that some of the Argyllshire slabs with knot-work carvings possibly represent Scottish members of this same race of Conn, the "Siol Cuinn" whose chiefs were Lords of the Isles, belonging to a period considerably earlier than some of us have been inclined to admit?

[1] Petrie's Irish Christ. Inscr. (Pls. XII. XVI. XVIII., Part I.)

that this ancient device meant that a leg pointed to each of the three kingdoms, or the other versions resulting from ignorant guess-work.[1] 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.—each of the three members or arms of the symbol being identical in dimensions, &c., with the other two.

Ornaments emblematic of the Trinity.

An object of frequent recurrence on the slabs is a pair of shears, with or without the sword. It very closely resembles the common sheep-shears still in use, having no pivot in the centre, but working from the spring of the metal when pressed from the top. Tailors' shears are, I believe, of the same description. Various guesses have been made as to the signification of this device, one of the likeliest to my mind having been adopted by Sir Henry James, that it typifies the cutting of the thread of life, though, as a rule, the mediæval sculptors seem to have dealt more in realistic objects illustrating the costume and pursuits of the individuals commemorated, than with allegorical representations. The other day, when going round my winter survey parties in North Wales, I had an opportunity of visiting the fine old Norman castle of Denbigh, where I was shown one-half of a pair of shears much eaten away by rust, which had lately turned up many feet deep in the ground in excavating among the ruins. This instantly struck me as the counterpart of what one sees on the Argyllshire slabs. Of the Celtic sword I have already spoken. No one example is absolutely identical, in the sense of modern architectural identity, with any other—there being varieties in the patterns of hilt, cross-guard, dimensions of blade, &c. Most commonly the pommel is cinque-foiled, a common form on English monumental brasses; but sometimes it is sept-foiled. The grip of the handle has generally a swell in the middle. Another characteristic is the frequent accompaniment of a cusp pointing downwards from the centre of the guard, as in some English examples—the "De Creke" brass, for instance (A.D. 1325), at Westley Waterless, in Cambridgeshire; Sir Simon Felbrigg's, in Norfolk (1413); Peter Halle's (1420), in Herne Church, Kent, and many others figured in works illustrative of English monuments. Occasionally the guard is set quite square, but more usually it bends towards the sword-point at an acute angle. It has generally been taken for granted that the delineation of a sword necessarily implied a knight or warrior;

The shears.

The long-sword.

[1] Another notion I heard when in the Isle of Man conducting the Ordnance Survey was, that as, whichever way you throw over the legs, they always keep their balance—"keep their legs," we may say—so the Manx kingdom has held its own through troublous times, and will never be overthrown.

but although this was no doubt for the most part the case, I shall adduce one example of a slab in Kintyre where it can hardly have been so. A distinguished authority in all such matters [1] is of opinion that the monumental swords of the West Highlands were all faithful portraits; and there certainly seems no safer hypothesis whereby to account for the minute variations of detail which so clearly distinguish, and give a marked identity to, these sword-carvings. Another noteworthy point I may draw attention to, corroborative of Dr Stuart's view, is the existence of striking differences between the sculpturings of this weapon as they occur on the eastern Scottish monuments and upon those of the west.

Probably in most cases a portrait of the actual weapon.

The galley.

The galley is another representative object of illustration on the tombstones of Argyllshire; and the same rule holds here as with the sword, as to the absence of monotony in the pattern. And when we read the precise accounts in the sagas and elsewhere of the ancient ships in use by the Norwegians and Scottish islanders, we are at no loss to trace in these West Highland stones pictures of what must have been in effect the private carriage, often the principal home, of the chieftain of bygone days. The details of the sculptured galley almost invariably show the pointed prow and stern raised high above the deck—helm, single mast, and rigging consisting of furled sails, shrouds, and stays, with a banner or shield, and sometimes the figures of a crew, introduced as a supplement. Now, in the east coast monuments, the galley, I believe, is very rarely found; and here, therefore, is another point of contrast in the two styles naturally suggesting divergent conditions, and the greater prevalence of a seafaring life in a district like Argyllshire, mainly made up of estuaries, islands, and isthmuses. But the galley is not the only evidence of this. A rather puzzling object often found on the west-country slabs is the figure of a mermaid; and as this object appears singly, and is not, so far as I have seen, grouped with anything else that would tend to interpret its meaning, we are left to the fertility of our imaginations for a solution of the question. The only one I am able to offer is that, like the galley, the introduction of this sea-sprite was to tell the story of an insular race of chiefs. This, of course, goes against the statement already made, that emblematical objects were not favourite ones with the Celtic sculptors; but unless we are to suppose that (like the famous sea-serpent, long doubted, but at last vouched for some time back as having been seen by the crew of one of her Majesty's frigates [2]) the mer-people are realities, and that the Macdonalds had better opportunities of finding them out than we in our day have, I do not see how we are to account for the pictures of these fish-tailed human figures on the slabs. The mermaid and galley are still found, as might be expected, on the slabs and escutcheons of western families, as the house of Lorne, the Macdonalds, Macquarries, Mackinnons, &c. An example I may instance of an English sepulchral monument where the first-named object occurs, is the brass (1417), at Wotton-

The mermaid.

[1] Dr John Stuart (already referred to).

[2] Somewhere in the South Seas. I forget the name of the vessel, but the testimony of members of the crew, corroborative of former accounts by other ships' captains, made out so strong a case that even Professor Owen is said to have been staggered. And only the other day the monster turned up again, according to the newspapers, off the north-west coast of Scotland.

under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who wears over his mail-gorget a collar with mermaids traced on it, one of the cognisances of the family.[1] We learn also from Johnstone that the original vellum of the Flatey book, which is quaintly ornamented with pictorial designs, contains a representation of a man fighting with a mermaid. In the same book are to be found paintings of mailed figures, wearing helmets sometimes conical, and holding two-handed swords.[2]

Tableaux of the chase.

Another very characteristic set of tableaux found on the monuments are the hunting scenes. They usually take the form of a stag with head set well back, as a hard-run beast's would be, and fine branching antlers, one or more dogs in full cry after him. The drawing of these scenes is often exceedingly spirited, and the shape and paws of the deer-hound can occasionally be made out,[3] though the figures are often so worn away as to make it impossible to say what variety of dog the sculptor intended to carve. At times the foremost dog is seen with his nose buried in the stag's haunches; but as often as not the animals are grouped apparently rather with reference to the available space to spare on the stone, after the sword and other leading objects had been inserted. In two or three cases, what most resembles a hare takes the place of the stag, and sometimes it is a doe that appears. In three or four examples in Kintyre we have the otter pursuing a fish which may be intended for a salmon. We have also pictures of goose-like birds, objects like frogs, the hawk apparently, and perhaps pigeons, and so on. These are what I may call the animals representative of the chieftain's pursuits in ancient times, but we have to guard against too readily jumping at conclusions as to exact details. It is easy, and no doubt more satisfactory to one's self, to pronounce decisively that such and such a beast is a hare or a greyhound, a goose or a pigeon; and in drawing such objects with a foregone opinion, it is the most difficult thing in the world to avoid, unconsciously almost, giving a touch or a turn that shall bear it out. We shall see many examples of what I mean when discussing the illustrations further on.

Other representations of animals, &c.

Mythic creatures figured.

Besides the above mentioned, birds and beasts sometimes of an indeterminate character, often obviously mythical, are introduced upon the slabs. A griffinish bird clawing a dragon-like beast—which an obstinate realist might persist in calling, in defiance of the carving, an eagle and a wolf in deadly combat—is a tableau found upon some of the crosses, the tails of the creatures intertwined and carried out into an elaborate pattern of loop and circle and foliage spun out to the other end of the tombstone. Winged beasts, birds with impossible necks and tails, humped quadrupeds not unlike the camel, and the like, carry the mind away to the Eastern pillar-stones with their weird elephantine and serpent carvings, and those crocodile-shaped creatures that twine, and wriggle, and lock themselves round each other till their attenuated bodies are all but lost in the interminable foldings of the tails. In all this we seem to trace the relationship, distant doubtless, but still recognisable, between the two earlier and later types of Scottish monumental art.

Meeting-point of the eastern and western carvings.

[1] Bontell's Mon. Slabs and Crosses.

[2] Preface to Hacon Saga.

[3] See the rosary slab at Skipness (Pl. LII.) The dog here is unmistakably shaped like the magnificent breed of old Scottish deer-hound.

What I have now said respecting details may be taken as giving a general idea of what is found on the very numerous group of slabs with one uniform flush surface, where the sculpturing is brought out simply by chiselled *outlines*, cut in with varying depth, but where no one detail is in higher relief than the rest. An important group of monuments —important because, so to speak, more personal and illustrative of history—has now to

Effigies, be noticed, namely, the effigies. These are of two kinds, those in low or half relief, and those in high relief. The former are usually confined to the figures of ecclesiastics, which are raised a little above the general surface of the slab, and upon which more than ordinary pains and refinement have been lavished in the elaboration of costume details. The blocks of stone selected for these carved slabs are almost invariably either of the common blue schist or whinstone of the country, of great weight and hardness; and our surprise and admiration are therefore the greater when we find on the chasuble of a priest the most delicate fretwork chased with a sharpness and perfection we should only expect to meet

of ecclesiastics, with in the soft marbles of the southern monuments.[1] The study of the vestments of the mediæval monks and clerics, as they were actually worn in the West Highlands, is of no small interest to the ecclesiologist, and without doubt tends to bring out one of the features of that centralisation and uniformity of usage which, if they have been the snare, have also constituted the great strength, of the Latin Church. When we come, further on, to note the details of this class of effigies, we shall find alb and chasuble, amice and stole, mitre and maniple, as prescribed in the Roman or Anglican directories of to-day. The sacramental chalice I have referred to. It is a frequent object of representation on the tombs of those who, in the discharge of their sacred office, were daily making use of it. Its form never, in my experience, varies from the ancient double-goblet shape, reversible, something like a modern sand-glass, and often, by writers who ought to have known better, mistaken for it. By a curious coincidence the sand-glass, long after the chalice and its carvings had become hateful Popish emblems for the Reformers to smash and trample on, rose high in popular favour, and, as we have seen, has run a race with skulls and cross-bones for supremacy in our modern churchyards. The paten, which we might reasonably have looked for in company with the chalice, I have so far not been able to identify, though there are square-shaped objects, to me unintelligible, on some of these slabs which may have been intended for it. In Iona, which is of course exceptionally rich in every class of such monuments, the bishop's jewelled mitre and pastoral staff are to be seen in several cases; and on one sword-slab there we see depicted the celebration of mass by a priest and his assistant, of which we have no example above ground in Kintyre. The psalter, or illuminated missal, in daily, almost hourly, use by the monks, and the books of offices from which every ministering priest was wont to recite the prayers of the Church, are objects of frequent occurrence, and are occasionally represented in the carving as enshrined in richly-ornamented covers.

The other class of effigies, those of full length and in high relief, are, in Kintyre, and I

[1] See specimens at Kilkivan and Saddell. There is a fine example of this at Eilean Mor, off the Knapdale coast.

believe generally elsewhere, confined to the delineation of knights and warriors. From the specimens given in the present volume, it will be seen that the figure occupies most of the slab, and in other respects this class of monument resembles the highly-finished recumbent statues placed upon altar-tombs in the Lowlands and elsewhere. The figures are represented in mail, with the surcoat reaching to the knee, gorget or camail, as it is called, casque, *coudières* or elbow-plates, long sword across the body, spur-straps over the ankle, and the feet sometimes drawn with the pointed shoe or stocking at one time in fashion. Occasionally, as at Iona and elsewhere, the knight's head rests on a cushion, and his feet, as in most of the English knightly effigies, on a dog. It was also, as we know, common to introduce on the altar-tombs a small attendant figure of a priest, angel, &c., at the knight's head or feet. Two examples of this, one of which is of unusual type, will be found among the illustrations of Saddell Abbey. One noticeable and rather anomalous characteristic seen in some of the West Highland effigies, is the inequality of the sculptor's attention to details. In one instance, a bit of the sword-belt and its buckle are indicated on the upper surface of the figure, but at the sides, where in other cases the indication of the belt is carried on, there is nothing. It is usual, also, to find the folds of the surcoat represented by simple straight and rather stiff lines, and so in the arms; while perhaps in the same effigy the utmost care has been bestowed to bring out the expression of the fine chain mail-links in the gorget, or to enrich the *coudières* and basement slab, both of which last are in shadow, and therefore less likely to catch the eye. The Saddell alto-relievos, and the one of a member of the Largie family at Killean, are excellent illustrations of artistic labour laid out just in the least conspicuous parts of the sculpture, which is a testimony to the earnestness and chivalrous devotion to art of these mediæval carvers—qualities so rarely exercised in the execution of modern ornamental work.

of knights and warriors.

A noticeable characteristic of these effigies.

From what has been said of the details of these effigies, it may be thought we can have no difficulty in fixing their date with tolerable precision. Yet it must be borne in mind that, just as in times comparatively recent, fashions of dress would be found prevailing among those who were *habitués* of the Court, or resident in its neighbourhood, long before the same fashions penetrated, through the medium of travelling hawkers or stray trading vessels, to remote districts; or as the quern, plough, or harrow of ancient days may almost in our own day be found at work in out-of-the-way spots,—so, I take it, might the costume and style of armour of the English chivalry linger on long out of date in the Western Highlands. This is, of course, a doubtful question, which people will be likely to determine according to their estimate of the dignity of particular Highland chieftains commemorated on these tombs, their probable intercourse with the Courts of London and Edinburgh, and so forth. One other point I may refer to in connection particularly with these effigies of Highland knights and warriors. May not the surcoat which is scored over with straight lines, and reaches just to the knee, be in reality the garment whereupon so much wrangling has been indulged in—the kilt—and the lines have been intended for its folds? I must leave the controversy to others more competent to deal with it than myself,

Question of their date.

Is the kilt ever represented on the knightly effigies?

merely noting, for the reader's information, that I have found in the north of Argyllshire one slab, with an archer on it drawing a bow, attired in the nearest thing to a kilt that a sculptor could very well produce on a flat stone. But it must be confessed, that to our eyes a man dressed in a kilt, with bare legs and spurs on, an enormous sword belted round his waist, his uppers encased in mail, and a huge conical-pointed helmet on his head, would be a striking but hardly a dignified object.

Comparison of the Highland effigies with English brasses.

Yet one more remark, applicable alike to effigies of ecclesiastics and to those of knights. The monumental brasses of England have already once or twice been alluded to as exhibiting in some of their details points of resemblance to their western Scottish representatives. It is impossible to examine such works as those of Meyrick, Boutell, Löwy, Hewitt, and others, with their beautiful series of plates, without being at once struck with certain general features and particular details common to the sepulchral carvings of both countries. Certain arms, armour, and accoutrements are found to have been in use during certain epochs, and the range of these epochs begins to make itself obvious to us when we have brought a sufficient number of examples under scrutiny.

Brasses of date A.D. 1360-1424,

Now this is markedly the case with that period within which, so far as my own inquiries have extended, we may reasonably place the type of knightly effigies in Kintyre. One turns over page after page of Boutell's beautifully-illustrated volumes on English Monumental Brasses, and sees the same chain-mail camail, highly-peaked helmet, *coudières*, &c., throughout, beginning with the brass of Sir John de Argentine (A.D. 1360), and continuing steadily on till we reach that of Robert Hayton (1424). To any extent outside these dates, either in an antecedent or subsequent direction, the helmet changes its form, becoming rounder, as in Sir Thomas Bromflete's (1430), Sir John Leventhorpe's (1433), and so on; while the "De Creke" brass (1325), the "De Fitz Ralph," and "De Bacon" brasses (both 1320), &c. &c., diverge similarly from the type of sharp-pointed conical headpiece, and conduct us back to the flat globular casque of the well-known "De Trumpington" monument (1289). The curved and pointed sollerets, again, keep company very closely with the peaked helm, and, like it, lingered on in exceptional cases to the end of the fifteenth century. They may be traced about 1335; they appear prominently in the statue of the Black Prince (1376), and are very *prononcé* about 1420. Other minor items of armour habiliments might be instanced as affording meeting-points between the military costumes of the two countries, but we shall be able to notice these better hereafter as we find them on the slabs. Yet in a general way the English knightly statues and incised brasses are a great contrast to the stone effigies of the West Highlands. When we come to the effigies of ecclesiastics, the same analogy holds good. A glance at the splendid brasses of Abbot Delamere at St Alban's (1375), of the two priests at Wensley and North Mimms churches respectively (both 1360), of John de Grofhurst at Horsemonden (1330), Laurence Seymour at Higham Ferrers (1337), and many others I cannot stop to enumerate, shows us the alb and chasuble, with their gorgeous embroideries, amice, stole, and maniple, all closely resembling the same vestments worn in the West High-

most resemble in details the Argyllshire full-length effigies.

Sollerets with pointed toes.

Ecclesiastical vestments.

lands. On the other hand, some marked divergences are seen in the absence upon the body or ground of the English chasuble of that elaborate and exquisite figuring we see in the slabs of Highland ecclesiastics; and this is the more evident from the perfection of finish shown in other respects upon the brasses of English churchmen. Then the chalice is of different shape, only approaching in one or two instances the curious primitive type of hemispherical cup equiform at top and bottom, and, in its nearest approach to the Highland chalice, by no means identical with it. Again, in Kintyre we have no effigies of coped ecclesiastics. Now in England clerics are most commonly represented with the cope after the first quarter of the fifteenth century, those figured in chasuble being principally confined to a period anterior to 1425; and this circumstance might incline many to infer an earlier date for the western Scottish slabs than Dr Stuart has assigned to them. The posture of the joined hands in the sculptures of ecclesiastics is another item of difference. Here the two sets of monuments seem invariably to disagree, the position of the hands in England being sometimes crossed, more commonly pressed close palm to palm; but in Argyllshire, where they are shown as touching at all, represented in contact only at wrists and fingers. All these, and any other points of accord or divergence in the monuments of localities widely distant from each other, are worth careful study; indeed it is only by instituting such comparisons that one begins, as I have said, to feel one's way a little towards the determination of date where there are no legible inscriptions or other satisfactory historical evidence to supply this information. At the same time, with respect to these comparisons, it will not do to overlook or underestimate the natural effects of local treatment—the working out, that is to say, of original ideas on the part of native artists in secluded districts—altogether irrespective of date; for it is most true, to quote the words of one well qualified to speak on such a subject, that "the peculiar arts which modified "the sepulchral and monumental sculpture, as well as the architecture, of the primitive "Scottish Church, doubtless also occasionally conferred equally characteristic forms on "the sacred vessels and other articles of church furnishing."[1]

The chalice.

The cope not depicted in the Kintyre slabs.

All points of accord or divergence worth careful study.

Local modifications of style.

The inscriptions of the western slabs I have not yet referred to. These occur indifferently on all classes of tombstone, and upon the crosses. In the Kintyre slabs they are unfortunately for the most part quite too obliterated to decipher, so that we can rarely get a clue to the individual commemorated. The lettering in all the later mediæval monuments is invariably in what has variously been termed Old English, Church text, Saxon, Gothic, and Lombardic character, and is, of course, in the Latin language—but very rarely, and then only in the later examples, having a date affixed. The custom of adding dates to inscriptions seems to have been in vogue at a much earlier period in the Lowlands and in England than here. The letters are sometimes small and sometimes in capitals, but usually either altogether the one or the other. Brevity is the general characteristic of the inscriptions on the Argyllshire tombs. "Hic jacet," and then the name; or, in the case of the carved cross, after the name "qui me," or "qui hanc

The slab inscriptions.

Their brevity

[1] Daniel Wilson on ancient Scottish chalices—Prehist. Annals of Scot., vol. ii.

"crucem," "fieri faciebat"—this is the usual post-obit tribute which the old monks considered quite sufficient for the most distinguished individuals, and it forms a curious contrast to the ponderous and often fulsome list of virtues appended to the tombs of modern grandees, set up in high places. Yet in fairness it must be said that one of the probable reasons why the inscription was made as short as possible would be, that the carving of these raised letters was made as elaborate as the rest of the ornamentation, and was therefore a much tougher job than the shallow incisures on the tablets of our day. Another reason may have been that the mediæval Church cared not to blazon a man's deeds on his tombstone; for whether good or bad, all who died within her pale were entitled to the consideration of the true believer, and to the benefit of his prayers, which last the evil-doer would need more than his fellow who died with the "odour of sanctity" upon him. The phraseology engraven on the crosses, that such and such an individual "caused "me to be made," suggests the feeling of reverence which we may be sure these beautiful sculptures must have inspired, especially in the mind of the artist himself. It was not merely a tombstone or a pillar with an "in memoriam" reference that had been produced, but a thing of intrinsic beauty; and, like all creations of the brain and hand of man which fall into forms of loveliness, it became to him almost as a being of life with a soul breathed into it. Another special feature of the inscriptions in these western carvings is their ornamental character. They were not stuck in simply as records, but to subserve the general decoration of the slab; and for this purpose they are found graven in bold and strong relief, the labels they occupy being commonly arranged to fill up any empty space, and harmonise, in chiaroscuro and otherwise, with everything else contributing to the enrichment of the sculpture. This ornamental function lay of course more or less in all the old Gothic writing, whether in MSS. or elsewhere, and in any modern attempts to copy the early monuments, must not be overlooked. In one of the best attempts I have seen in a modern cemetery to reproduce the West Highland cross this defect occurs—the lettering is shallow and comparatively feeble, and is cramped into the middle of a blank panel, instead of filling it up so that each letter should stand out as an individual supplement to the whole carving.

contrasted with the diffuseness of modern epitaphs.

The sculptor's reverence for his art.

Ornamental character of these inscriptions;

a character wanting in modern copies.

In what has been said, I think we have briefly reviewed all the principal characteristic details of the western group of ornamental slabs. One other point which I must not omit, is a certain rugged strength which impresses one in many of the carvings—a force of light and shadow produced by great depth, boldness, and thoroughness in the incisures of the chisel. In this respect the Highland slab presents a marked contrast with what corresponds to it in stone in the south, and with the memorial brasses. In the few specimens of monumental stone slabs I have seen in the east of Scotland, the carving was invariably shallower, and the effect in consequence weaker—the designs being far less varied, and commonly confined to a simple ornamental pattern of cross, or an incised sword. This is the case at St Andrews, Arbroath, and elsewhere, though there are exceptions; and in a batch of early slabs got out of the excavations at the old Culdee church which lately came to light at the former place, I observed one or two of better relief than

Boldness of chiselling in the western sculptures.

usual.[1] The eastern pillar-stones I do not, of course, include in this remark, for they have much the same bold treatment as the western monuments. In North Wales, again, where I lately came across a very ancient parish church, there is a slab with incised sword and graceful design of a floriated cross, closely resembling one of the slabs at Arbroath, and with the same character of plainness as contrasted with the cognate tomb-carvings of Argyllshire. In the Isle of Man I met with no sepulchral slabs, but the standard crosses at Kirkmichael, Andreas, Maughold, &c., are numerous, and have much in common with those of both eastern and western Scotland, and are still more nearly akin to those of Ireland. I have already remarked on the greater finish of the highly-relieved effigies in the Lowlands. This it is but fair to note in comparing the two styles of monumental art. The marble and alabaster full-length sculptures to be found at the various cathedral and abbey sites throughout Great Britain, far surpass in minute delicacy the generality of the same class of monuments in the west, so far as I have seen, not excluding Iona, the headquarters of the tomb-carving art. In the representation of drapery folds, for instance, the West Highland raised knightly effigy is sketchy, not to say rude, and there is here and there a failure to work out details in their fullest completeness. We have already noted illustrations of this, and shall refer to them again when examining the sites where they occur. The drawing of the figures too, is occasionally a little defective,[2] and we shall also have to refer to this as a particular where the greatest care must be exercised by the draughtsman who undertakes to sketch these monuments; for he must transcribe such defects just as they stand, and must not allow himself to correct them, if he wishes to give us a true copy of the original sculpture. On the other hand, it is a peculiarity of the western slab that, even in those cases where minor faults are to be detected, we shall perhaps find thrown into other details, side by side with what is thus rude or faulty, the most careful elaboration of some exquisite ornament, often introduced, as we have already seen, in the least conspicuous places.

Their affinity to the Manx, Irish, and eastern Scottish crosses.

Certain defects in the Argyllshire effigies.

Occasionally a little out of drawing.

There remain to be considered a few general questions which suggest themselves with reference to the branch of national monumental art we have been discussing in detail. Something has already been said as to its probable date and origin, but in both these respects it will be safest to allow a pretty wide margin. Later investigations have pressed this conclusion most strongly on my mind. Doubtless the details of costume, the inscriptions, and style of the ornamentation, are so many aids to our determination of date. But when we come to consider the possible age of many of the old Argyllshire burial-grounds—for all we know, older than the ruins of the churches and chapels they contain; when we find many of these last to be of early English architectural character, and records of there having been churches existing on their sites as early as the thirteenth century; when we also bear in mind the secluded position of these sites,—we must give a wide range of period to allow for the production of so numerous and so varied a group of sculptures. Among the Runic crosses in this country, some of the

Difficulty of determining the date of the slabs.

[1] The collection may now be seen in the museum of the University there.

[2] See remarks and note on this subject further on.

very earliest examples exhibit decorative designs identical with the western Scottish.[1] 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.[2] 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. An example of the three-limbed "Isle of Man" symbol already spoken of, is figured on a silver-bronze Runic casket of the tenth or eleventh century.[3] And on the gold and silver trinkets of the old Norsemen, we have rope-work and other patterns known in Scotland. A twelfth-century tombstone at Thisted, in North Jutland, has a broad margin and ornamental *relieved* cross, with Runes along one rim. Many, again, of the ancient slabs of Scandinavia still in existence, show the running serpentine leaf and stem device, which is such a marked characteristic of the Argyllshire slab-ornamentation, with merely some differences of arrangement, such as having generally birds perched in each bend or loop. On the other hand, slabs with relieved carvings are very rare in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—most of the more ancient monuments having Runes only, no ornament being added, and the Runes not raised, but incised. Carvings in relief, in fact, have been usually accepted as evidence of later workmanship than those which are simply cut in outline.

Comparison with Runic monuments in Scandinavia.

Following what has just been said comes the question of where the art originated, and how its successive stages developed themselves. It is a question far from easy to determine. Notwithstanding the warmth with which an eminent archæologist has repudiated the notion suggested by another able writer of a Scandinavian source,[4] I think the reader may view the matter in a different light. That a barbarous horde of pirates should leave any permanent impress on Scottish art, seemed to Wilson most unlikely, and derogatory to the national pride. But, as we have seen, the Norsemen were for centuries in partial occupation of the western districts of Scotland, and considering the fusion that must in the nature of things have taken place between the two nationalities, it could hardly be but that a considerable importation of the ideas, traditions, language, &c., should pass from one to the other. In Kintyre, though much less than in the outlying islands, there are traces of Norse topographical names, and many traditional and historical indications of their presence. Is the art of the carved slabs, therefore, as has been assumed, altogether Celtic? But when all has been said favouring the Scandinavian hypothesis, we naturally turn to Ireland as the real source of the peculiar style of ornamental slab found in the West Highlands. As the Argyllshire man, at any rate the dweller in the southern part of the county, must acknowledge his earliest ancestors to have been Irish, his language to be Irish, Irish the saints who have given names to the burial-places of his fathers, so may he rest assured that for the mainsprings of the art,

Difficulty also in tracing the origin and development of the art of these slabs.

Probably not unaffected by Scandinavian influences.

Kintyre, and the West generally, much associated with the early Norsemen.

[1] See Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland.

[2] Old Northern Runic Monuments.—Stephens, 1866.

[3] Ibid., p. 476, A.

[4] See the chapter on Ecclesiological Remains in 'Prehistoric Annals of Scotland.'—Daniel Wilson.

which has bequeathed to the lovely and sequestered glens and bays of western Scotland so many beautiful relics of antique workmanship, he is indebted to the sister isle.

Yet main-springs of the art undoubtedly Irish-Celtic.

Another question is, Who were the carvers of these stones? That they were executed under the superintendence of the monks, I have little doubt; for we have similar legacies from their hands in the shape of the elaborately-illuminated missals and engrossed parchments that have descended to us. And as these latter were from the earliest times the handiwork of the ecclesiastics themselves, it might seem reasonable to credit them with the working out of the stone carvings. It has been, however, lately suggested to me by an archæological friend, that though the design was in all probability supplied by brethren of the monastic houses who were told off for this sort of duty, yet that the actual chisel-work may have been given over to lay workmen. In this view the ecclesiastic would have the same sort of interest in, and supervision of, the work that a modern architect has. We know that, so far as church-building was concerned, the mason craft of mediæval times was a great institution; and the component parts of the magnificent structures which grew up over nearly the whole of Europe were dressed and moulded by ordinary artisans, whose mason-marks are still to be found on them. At one period English workmen, from their superior reputation for skill, were deported to foreign cities; and I believe there are traditions in the neighbourhood of more than one of the gorgeous church edifices of the Continent that they were erected by English masons. But whether the case was as suggested with the slabs under review, or that the sculptors were among the monks themselves, seems to be a question we cannot determine. To this day most monasteries have brethren who act as artisans for the necessary work of the house; and in one of some celebrity I visited lately in Wales, the superior introduced me to the monasterial workshop, where a brother was engaged carpentering on a carved chancel-rail, which brought to my mind the question of the sculpturing of the Argyllshire stones. Whoever they were, the sincerity, thoroughness, and devotion displayed in their work, will do them honour as long as the stones remain.

The question, Who carved the slabs?

Whether ecclesiastics themselves,

or lay artisans under ecclesiastical superintendence.

But it may be asked, What was the particular object in view, the *rationale*, in fact, of all this carving? Why put anything over the dust and ashes of a man, be he never so great a one, but a plain tombstone with a simple record on it? I suppose the only reply to this is, that the element of intrinsic beauty can never be out of place so long as there are eyes to look upon it. But further than this, the principle, as we have seen, of ornamenting tombs in honour of those whom they covered, has ever been an instinct of the human race; and if it be acknowledged that this instinct is not unreasonable, there only remains to consider the most congruous and artistic mode of carrying it into effect. The mediæval sculptor had this task before him, and he doubtless decided that to memorialise the departed by depicting on his tomb what would best remind his friends and kindred of what he was when in life, would best answer the purpose. The dead man had been a great warrior, therefore he is represented grasping sword or spear, or upon his charger, or in the full suit of mail he was wont to wear. Or he was a mighty hunter as well as soldier, and the stag, the otter, or the hare, with his favourite dogs, are engraved

The *rationale* of the art.

on the stone. Or it was a dignitary of the Church, a bishop or abbot, who had gone to his rest, and the hands are folded in prayer over the breast, and the gorgeously-embroidered vestments he wore on high days are reproduced with minute fidelity; or when some saintly cleric in a humble sphere had passed away, the brethren, in affectionate remembrance of their lost companion, had him portrayed with simple hood and gown, and a few lines of inscription, with perhaps some graceful leaf-pattern added, or some other device he had admired when alive. When in these days one we have loved or esteemed disappears from among us, we treasure up a photograph of him as we knew him best, in his ordinary dress and appearance. To unearth his fleshless bones and eyeless skull, and stereotype copies of them on stone, or to conjure up typical representations of such deathly objects for our contemplation, would indeed seem a remarkable way of perpetuating his memory. Yet it is chiefly such associations of the charnel-house that the tomb-sculptor has been in the habit of selecting for this purpose since the Reformation. With the mediævals the mortal dross, once covered from view, was kept out of sight, and only forms of beauty and pleasant remembrance of the individual were allowed to figure on his tomb, conspicuous among which was, as we have seen, the beautiful carved foliage. Even in Boccaccio's rather unwholesome story, we see something of this kind in the girl who, out of her great affection for her murdered lover, cut off his head and brought it home to be her companion, yet hid it away, and only found her solace in gazing at the beautiful basil-plant which grew out of it. But the mattocks, scythes, and shovels, with all the other funereal accompaniments of our modern obelisks, reawaken no memory which is pleasing, and can only make the aspect of death more repulsive than it need be.

The intention of the mediævals in the subjects they carved on the slabs.

Modern ideas of tomb-sculpturing.

One of the most striking points with respect to the old carvings of Argyllshire is the abrupt extinction of the art about the period of the Reformation. No gradual transition from one style to the other took place; they are separated by a line almost as sharp as when we pass from the area of one geological stratum to another. This at least, with a single exception[1] to be met with in one of the Argyllshire parishes, is so in my experience. In this solitary instance may be seen associated with the ancient type of knot-work such emblems of handicraft as the pick, woodman's axe, &c.; also a human arm with open hand, an animal, an inscription bearing the name "M'Ivar," and the tell-tale date 1591, all cut in bold and uniform relief; while scribbled over the axe are the traces of a later appropriation of the stone in the name "Robart M'Farlin" and date 1697. This is a most curious and unique tomb-carving. But I may say that uniformly throughout the old West Highland churchyards the two classes of slab which lie side by side are totally dissimilar. Nor need this appear so strange when we call to mind the outburst of revolt in Scotland against everything which savoured of the old religion. Neither must we, while sincerely regretting the results, be too severe upon those who thus broke out; for the cords which have been used to bind men are like the fastenings of material things—the tougher the fibre and the greater the strain, the heavier will be the recoil when they are snapped

Abrupt extinction of monumental art at the Reformation.

The iconoclastic furor not altogether unintelligible.

[1] Since the above was written I have come across another example of a carved tombstone, a late mediæval, with a skeleton sculptured on it.

asunder. Nevertheless, in the correction of abuses—and even the stanchest adherent of the Roman Church of to-day will not deny that there were abuses requiring correction when the great ecclesiastical revolution took place—it was pity the reformers could not content themselves with trampling out what was bad without meddling with what was beautiful and good. The fact, however, remains, that not only did the new protesting body, when they got the upper hand, put an entire stop to tomb-carvings and all church architecture of a decorative kind, but north, south, east, and west they set on foot a blind, wholesale destruction of ecclesiastical relics, tearing down crosses, smashing monuments, and stripping the churches and monasteries of every vestige of ornament, till often there was scarce one stone left standing on another.

But I must hasten to conclude the present chapter. On the whole, if the reader has followed me so far in my attempt very briefly to sketch the general details, character, and origin of the mediæval monuments of the Western Highlands, he will probably be of opinion that a specific and beautiful branch of national art has been lost to us. And the question at once suggests itself, How far is it possible to revive it? The circumstances of the age in which the art existed were, it is obvious, much more favourable to all work of the kind than those of our own day. It was an age pre-eminently devoted to things artistic. Painting, sculpture, architecture flourished. Handicrafts, in the true sense of the term, were the sole media for executing workmanship of all kinds; and fabrics of every sort in domestic use had more or less the manual, as distinguished from the machine-made, stamp upon them. In gold and silver cutting, in the beautiful metal-work of the armourer, in carvings of bronze, wood, and stone, in embroideries and the products of the loom, there was a personality and attention to decorative forms which has long ceased to exist, and which, to the same extent, is hardly possible under the changed conditions of a later epoch. The subject is one which has been searched out and well-nigh exhausted by our modern art-writers,[1] and I have no intention of enlarging upon it. But with reference more particularly to the monuments we have been discussing, and the question of our being able to reproduce them, one thing may be remarked. Although it is true that the mediævals had vastly more spare time—although, from the difficulties of travel, the want of large centres of industry, of ready markets and trade competition, and from other like causes, time was an element of less account than now, and therefore more generally, perhaps, at the disposal of art—on the other hand, the division of labour in these days should, by its focussing of strength, directly tend to improve and bring to perfection every branch of work which is undertaken. And therefore we can have no valid excuse for poverty of design, tawdriness in taste, or feebleness of execution, in the sculpture of our sepulchral monuments any more than in other departments of art. But there are other obstacles, it must be confessed, to a realisation of the power and spirit of the old tomb-carvings, inherent in the fashions and *entourage* of these utilitarian days.

How far is it possible to revive the art?

The modern sculptor's difficulty in portraying our unpicturesque costumes.

[1] Mr Ruskin's works have become "household words" almost. Professor Digby Wyatt's Cambridge lectures on fine art may also be studied on this head with great advantage, his two chapters on "Art applied to Industry" especially.

The artistic has disappeared from our costumes, if not from the domestic utensils and articles of personal use among us. How would it be possible to carve a dignified or picturesque effigy for our distant posterity out of such materials as a cut-away coat and orthodox black hat? or satisfactorily to render in stone a modern lady with protuberant "chignon" and elaborately-trimmed "pannier"? It is being tried every day; but even with the assistance of the costliest and most elaborate decoration in the way of superimposed shrines, the essentially commonplace and unornamental character of our modern garments will make itself felt, and is a difficulty acknowledged more or less by every sculptor. To persuade one's self of this, it is only necessary to take a walk to S. Paul's Cathedral, and after inspecting the monuments—many of them highly elaborate, ranging from the time of Wren to our own—to proceed to Westminster Abbey, and see there what the mediæval tomb-carvers have bequeathed to us. Yet this difficulty of existing costume is not insurmountable; and if the monumental sculptor of to-day will but be content to copy the style and spirit of his predecessors, there is really no reason why practically a beautiful tomb—one that in future ages might serve an historic purpose—should not be executed at a reasonable cost. A judge in his robes; a clergyman in his surplice and hood; a soldier with his distinctive uniform and his sword, and so on (or the emblems, without the figures, of the men themselves, if the latter were felt awkward subjects to produce), with a brief inscription, and graceful designs of leaf or other tracery introduced,—if these details were to be worked out strictly after the ancient manner, what a change would take place, after a while, in the aspect of our cemeteries! A movement in this direction has already begun; and if the taste of the public can only be drawn this way, it may succeed.

Yet a difficulty not insurmountable.

Meanwhile, our main concern should be the preservation from ruin of these beautiful models of monumental art which, alas! are now but a remnant of what once represented the skill and refinement of those who have long rested from their labours, and whose works were worthy to live after them. On this point I shall have to say a few words more hereafter.

CHAPTER VI.

Let us now return to the old chapel of S. Columba, where we left off at the mediæval slabs. Of these monuments five were all that could be found, and they are included in the accompanying series of illustrations to the present volume. Four are entire; but the fifth is broken, and the middle piece gone. Plate II. 1, apparently represents an ecclesiastic robed in a simple alb, with hands folded horizontally across the breast—an unusual attitude, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. The head and neck are bare, the former resting on a pillow or cushion, and the figure is in low relief. I should imagine this to be the tombstone of some acolyte of distinguished family, who had taken the vows, and been attached to this church. Fig. 2 of the same plate is another ecclesiastic, with shaven crown, this time the hands touching in the orthodox benedictory manner at the tips of the fingers only. He is attired in the chasuble, and occupies a canopied niche in the manner of the so-called "Abbot's Stone" at Saddell (which I shall notice in more detail further on) and other examples, and is in similar relief. Under the niche of the figure is carved the sacramental chalice, the rest of the space being occupied by panelling, in which nothing can be made out.[1] Figs. 1 and 2 (Pl. III.) both have the galley of the Isles, and small shield above it; the long sword of the ordinary pattern, placed in fig. 1 at the centre and in fig. 2 at the left-hand side of the slab; the representation of a deer in the grip of a hound at the sword-foot; and tracery of what I may, for distinction's sake, call the loop and leaf pattern, made up, as it is, of two stems so interlaced as to bulge out into large spherical loops, generally filled up with foliage. Fig. 1 has, in addition, the shears, and two raised panels on either side of the sword-hilt containing an inscription in six lines, very much effaced, in which all that can be made out is the initiatory "hic jacet." This slab is in the Macdonald burial enclosure, and may be safely inferred to have been the tomb of an early chieftain of the family. In the two fragments of fig. 1 (Pl. IV.) we have the effigy of a warrior in slight relief, spear in hand. The figure is in a trefoil-headed niche which takes up most of the length, the rest of the stone being blank. Remains of an ancient cross here are also spoken of, but I could discover no remnant of it.[2]

Notice of S. Columba's church resumed.

Its mediæval monuments.

Slab of a cleric in plain alb.

Of another ecclesiastic.

Other slabs.

[1] I was unfortunately unable, on two visits subsequent to the taking of the rubbing, to find this slab, though I was assisted in my search on the second occasion by a gentleman resident in the neighbourhood, well acquainted with the old churchyard. The drawing given of it must therefore be accepted as a mere transcript from the rubbing, according to my reading of the latter, without the advantages of an after-comparison on the ground.

[2] Dean Howson says (1841) he found in the weeds a fragment like a "cross-flory;" and the writer of the

Chapel and burial-ground (nameless).

The next religious site to be mentioned is between S. Columba's and the Mull, about four miles from the latter, and a short distance from Carskey. The remains, which are close alongside the main road, consist of a small chapel, 15 feet by 10, the walls of which are little more than foundations, and a burial-ground of oblong shape, some 70 feet in length. There is a well close by it, which may have been the chapel well, whence the necessary supply of water for consecration, &c., would be obtained. On the other hand, three-quarters of a mile distant is another spring, by the roadside, named on our plans "the Hissing Well," and supposed to be so called from the little stream which supplies it here falling over a rocky bed and producing a hissing sound. This is the name given by three local authorities; but on my last visit to the neighbourhood, the proprietor of Carskey informed me that he had always heard it called "the Wishing Well," as being one of those fountains with miraculous powers ascribed to it, where the country people were accustomed to drink, and wish three wishes, which it was supposed would come about if kept secret. These wells are well-known mediæval institutions, abounding not only in the British Isles, but more or less in all early Christian countries.[1] It may be presumed that the supply of baptismal and holy water would be drawn from these wells, which are usually found in the immediate vicinity of the old chapels. One eminent archæologist lays, I know, great stress upon the proximity of these springs to ecclesiastical sites of reputed antiquity, as proof of the early character of the latter. No record whatever appears to exist of this chapel, nor are there any names in the vicinity to guide us as to its tutelary saint. Doubtless it was an offshoot oratory of S. Columba's, at a time when, as we shall hereafter see, the district was much more thickly populated than it now is. Only a few mounds remain to show where burials have taken place. The spot is a lonely and unfrequented one, beyond the last of the farmhouses to be seen after you pass the pleasant vale of Breackerie—nothing before you but a wild stretch of dark moorland extending onwards for miles, unbroken by a single human habitation save the solitary lighthouse of the Mull—no sound to be heard but the murmur of the little "Allt Breac" (Speckled Burn), as it bubbled by, the moaning of the wind, and the boom of the surf from the Moile headlands below.

parish account remarks (1843), "Here is the pedestal of a large stone cross, which has been removed from its "proper place, and now lies neglected at Inverary." The latter is probably retailing one of those popular explanations so often invented to account for what is not known. The house of Argyll has long had considerable property in this neighbourhood, but it is extremely unlikely that any of its representatives should have been at the trouble to remove such a relic so far when there were others like it nearer hand. Mr Muir, I see, mentions the tradition, but only to discredit it.

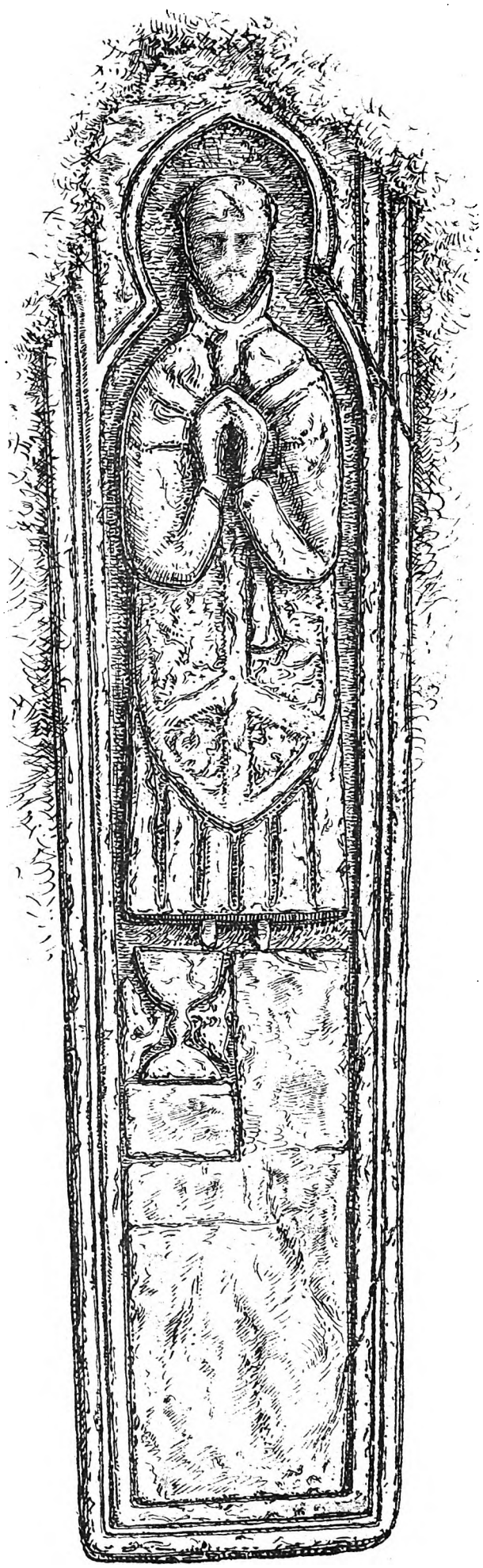
[1] In the limestone districts some of these wells were very conspicuous natural curiosities, actually possessing medicinal properties; and elaborate shrines were often built over them. The celebrated one at Holywell in Flintshire, which I saw the other day, is among the most remarkable of these objects. It has been accurately gauged, and found to give out about twenty tons of water a minute, a large volume, which passes at once into a good-sized river. The freestone of the beautiful archway erected over the spring by an English queen in mediæval times is covered with inscriptions, names, and dates ranging over three to four centuries, which, like the decaying fragments of crutches still to be seen in rows along the walls, represent strangers, sick and whole, who have come here from all parts of the three kingdoms. Such a well is a great contrast to the little trickle from under a stone on a Highland hillside, yet both equally belong to one of the most venerable institutions of the mediæval Church.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT ST COLUMBA'S CH IN SOUTHEND. KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE II.

1

2



SCALE $\frac{1}{7}$

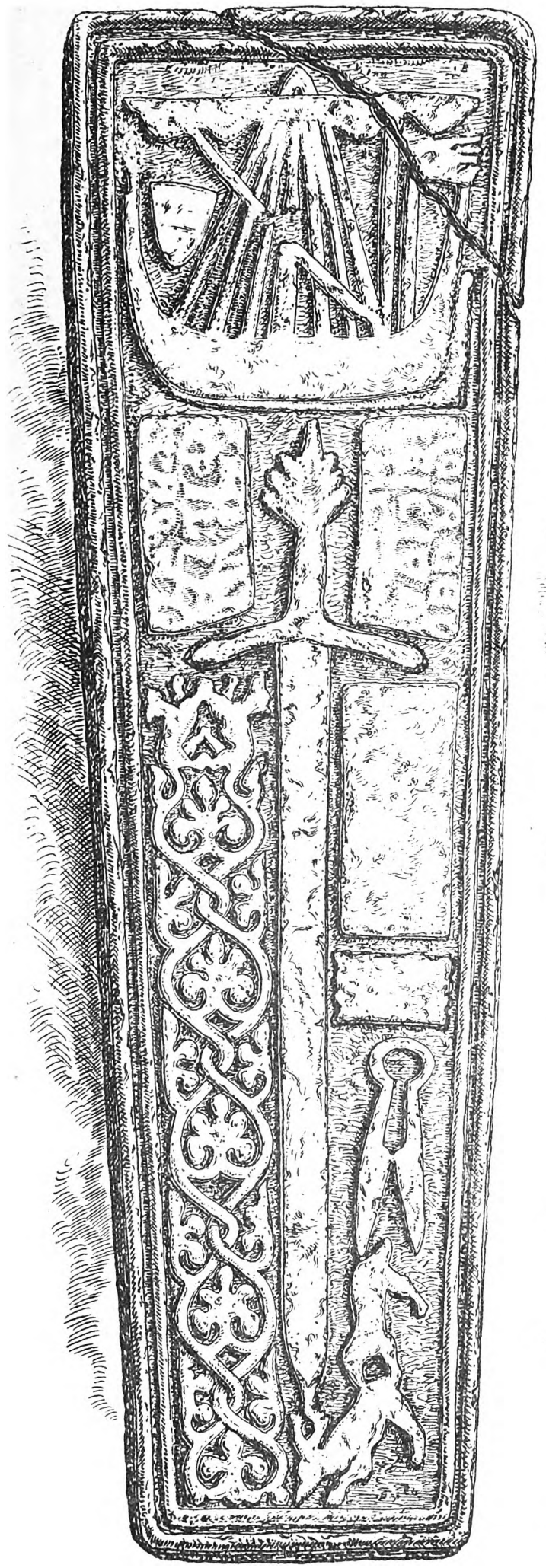
Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

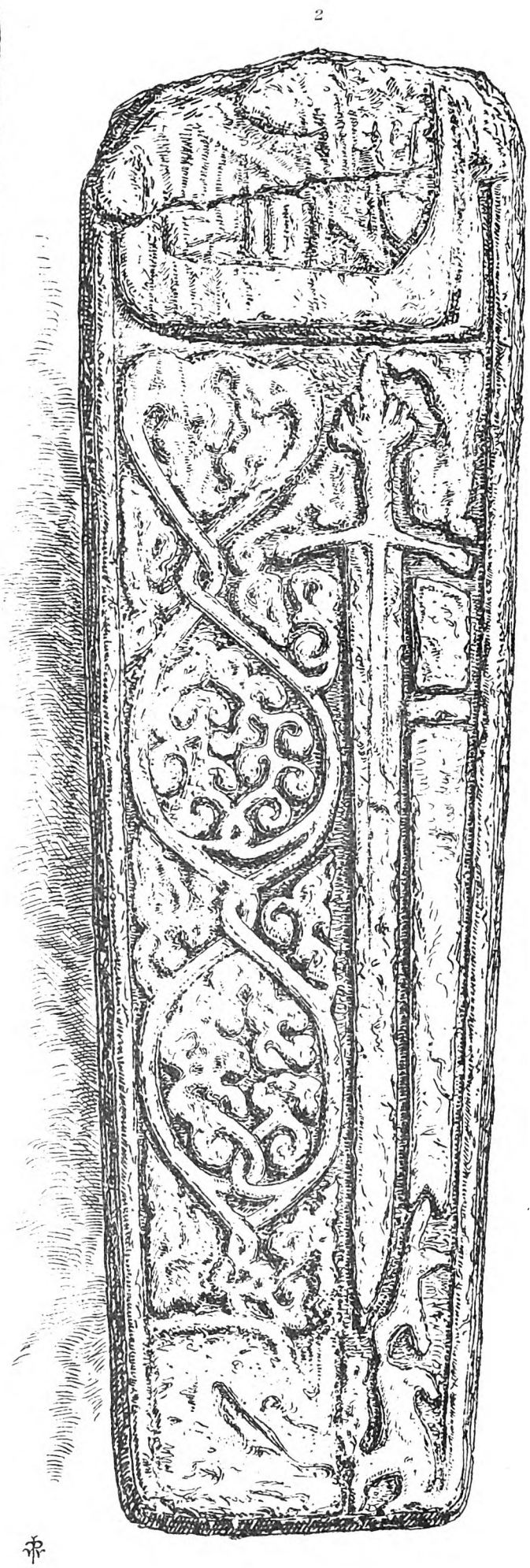
MONUMENTAL SLABS AT ST COLUMBA'S CH. IN SOUTHEND. KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE III.

1



2



SCALE 1

Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White, R.E.

Photolithographed by W&A K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KINTYRE, ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE IV.

1

at Kilcolmkill

2

at Kilkivan

Sketched by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh

Let us now take boat and pass over the Sound to the island of Sanda (Pl. V. 5), where, says an ancient writer,[1] "the streame runns so swiftlie that no shipps can remaine "near it, except they be within the harborie." Sanda lies about a mile and three quarters distant from the nearest point of the mainland, and with its two or three adjacent islets belongs to the parish of Southend. Its small area forms a single sheep-farm, the greatest length of the island scarcely exceeding a mile, with about half that width.[2] It was anciently known as Aven, Abhuinn, Avona Portuosa, and, according to Munro, "Hauin" by the Norsemen.[3] Upon it are the remains of a small chapel (Pl. VI. 2), whose interior dimensions measure 28 by 16 feet, the building standing, it is almost needless to say, like all others of the kind, nearly due east and west. The doorway, which is in the north side by the west angle, is a plain one, rectangular in shape, and entire, the bolt-holes remaining intact as when in use. It stands 5 feet high above the present ground-level. Its jambs have a projection of 3″, and are made up of plain stones chamfered at their outer edges. The walls are much demolished, but three windows still remain, one in each side wall near the east gable, where the third is. This last, however, is not, as might have been expected, in the centre of the gable, but a little to one side, nearer the south angle. The sketch (Pl. V. 4) of the window in the south side gives, I think, a good idea of the splay and general character of these openings. The sill in this instance splays upwards to the outside, but not in shelves, as is generally the case. Here also, at one corner of the recess, is the remnant of a piscina *in situ*, one of the plainest I remember ever to have seen, being simply a bowl-shaped projection cut out of one of the blocks which form the facing of the window. It is flat on the top, and the drain-hole carried into the wall is quite visible, but there is no ornament or moulding of any kind. Near it in the same recess is a shallow stone basin 15″ in diameter, which probably served as the stoup. It may or may not, however, be in its original position—most likely not. The window-sills are grooved on the outside, probably to hold a shutter of some kind, which filled the place of glass. The walls of the chapel are 2½ feet thick, and standing in parts to a height of 10 feet. They are constructed of the ordinary schist rubble-stone, as at Kil-colmkill and other places. I have somewhat minutely noted the details, for it is often only by attention to very slight architectural differences that we are enabled to compare one example with another, and arrive at an approximate idea of their relative antiquity.

Island of Sanda.

Its chapel (S. Ninian's).

Architectural details.

[1] Dean Munro, who wrote in 1549. See Macfarlane's MS. Transcriptions (1749), Adv. Libr.

[2] "Ane yle neire ane myle large."—Munro.

[3] The name "Sanda," though having a modern sound, as if connected in some way with a sandstone formation or sandy soil, is undoubtedly ancient. I believe it is Norse in character, for one of the Orkney Islands is similarly named. The Rev. Mr Kelly (New Stat. Acct.) says Adamnan calls it so, and concludes it is therefore the more ancient name; but I could discover no mention of it in Reeves's edition of this saint's writings. In the sagas of Magnus Berfætt and Hacon V., the isle is named "Sandey," and in the 'Heimskringla' the forms of "Sandera" and "Sanderey" are also noted. These latter suggest a relationship of the name with "Sanntiria," a synonym for "Satiri" (Kintyre) found in the same work. "Abhuinn," is Gaelic for "a river;" but the other similarly sounding versions of the name given above bring to mind our English word "haven," thus according with the expression "tutissima navium statione insignis," applied to Sanda Island in the 'Heimskringla,' and with certain further observations I shall presently have to make on the same subject. Such variations and coincidences in topographical nomenclature it is most important for the historian to note in looking out his materials from the earlier documents.

Probable early date of the chapel.

Looking on the one hand to its greater isolation, and on the other to the exceeding simplicity of its architectural features and its more advanced state of dilapidation, we may probably, I think, assign a somewhat earlier date to this island chapel than to its parochial church on the mainland, S. Columba's. The thirteenth century has been named by a very able and evidently experienced observer[1] as the period beyond which it is unsafe to venture in suggesting a date for the erection of most of the existing church-remains of Argyllshire. Coupling this with the fact that piscinas were of rare occurrence prior to the same century, we can hardly go far astray, in the direction of over-estimating the age of this Sanda chapel, if we assume this date as the probable one of its construction.

The chapel's dedication.

The name of the saint to whom the chapel was primarily dedicated is more difficult to determine. On the Ordnance Survey plans we have followed the principal authorities, and called it S. Ninian's, after the well-known apostle of the Strathclyde Britons, already alluded to, who was settled in Galloway. But Fordun, in speaking of the island "Awyn,"

S. Adamnan.

assigns to it a cell of S. Adamnan (ubi cella sancti Adamnani), and others have adopted this dedication.[2] A third local name has also got attached to the place, Kil-mashenaghan, or "Cill-mo-senchain," the burial-place of the sons of Senchan.[3] Father M'Cana, however, in his account of Sanda, is quite clear about the dedication.[4] "Here," he says, "is a

S. Ninian.

"chapel sacred to S. Ninnian, towards whose cell in Galloway the whole island faces." In the next sentence, referring to the S. Senchan or Shenaghan, he continues: "Attached

S. Senchan.

"to this chapel there is no cemetery but the grave (ossarium) of the fourteen eminently "saintly sons of that most holy Irishman Senchan" (who, though a saint, was, we see, no celibate!) .This at once explains the name "Kil-ma-shenachan." But it is worth noting that one of the Gaelic words for a sage is "Sean-cheann" (literally, ancient-head); and this

Mistakes in etymologies.

may possibly be an illustration of how, in primitive languages, proper names applied to individuals so often grow out of mere distinctions of personal character or circumstances. Whether it is or is not so in the present instance, we can easily understand how there may thus arise an element of confusion in interpreting etymologies with reference to *quasi* saints. Tradition, we will say, cherishes the recollection of some wise and holy man in a particular locality, and the site of his last resting-place is religiously pointed out. A stranger, it may be some ecclesiologist in search of relics of the Fathers, with more zeal for the discovery of what he desires to find than caution in accepting the genuineness of what he actually does find, is told of such and such a name attached to a religious site. This may mean nothing more than the "cell" of some reverend recluse who has been called the "hermit," "wise man," "holy man," &c. &c., for lack of any more information

[1] Dean Howson, *supra*.

[2] Reeves gives his weighty decision in its favour, and adds it to the seven other sites identified in Scotland as appertaining to this saint. Among these, as will be seen further on, is one in the neighbouring parish of Campbelton.

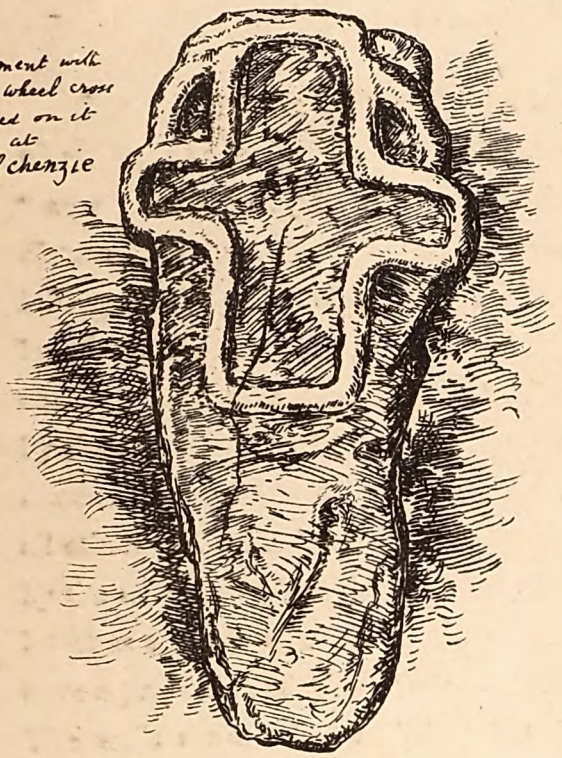
[3] Reeves and Howson assert that a saint of this name came from Ireland, and was left by S. Columba in charge of Kil-colmkill in Kintyre; but they give no authority. The Bishop of Brechin, I find, mentions two SS. Senan—one of Luss, the other of Inniskiltry in Ireland. In Scotland this last, he adds, appears as Moshenoc. The similarity of names is very puzzling, and the question arises, Are Senan and Senchan one? The Bishop's Kilmahunach in Kintyre (p. 444), which he refers to Senan, is, I think, really Kilmashenachan, as we shall see further on.

[4] MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, by Friar Edmund M'Cana, date 1600.—See Reeves and Forbes.

SKETCHES AT OLD CHAPEL SITES &c. IN KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

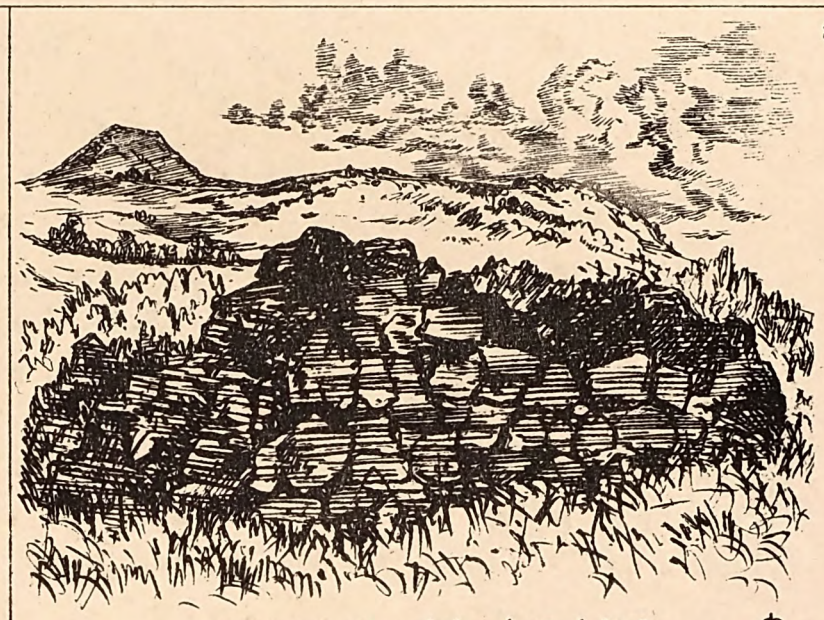
PLATE V.

1



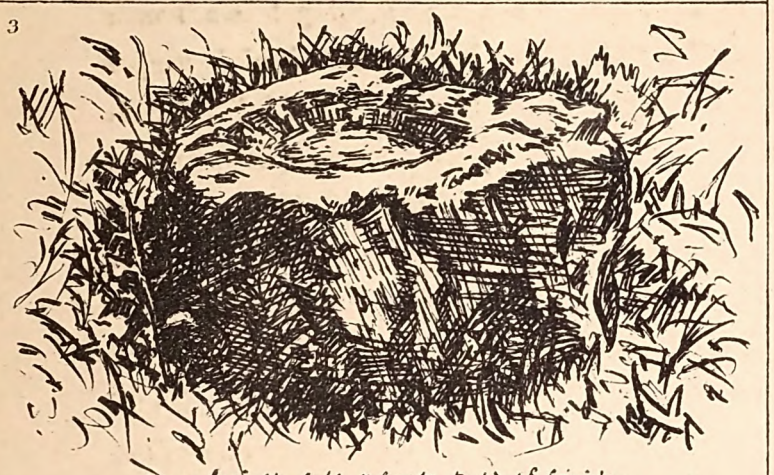
Fragment with rude wheel cross carved on it at Kilchenzie

2



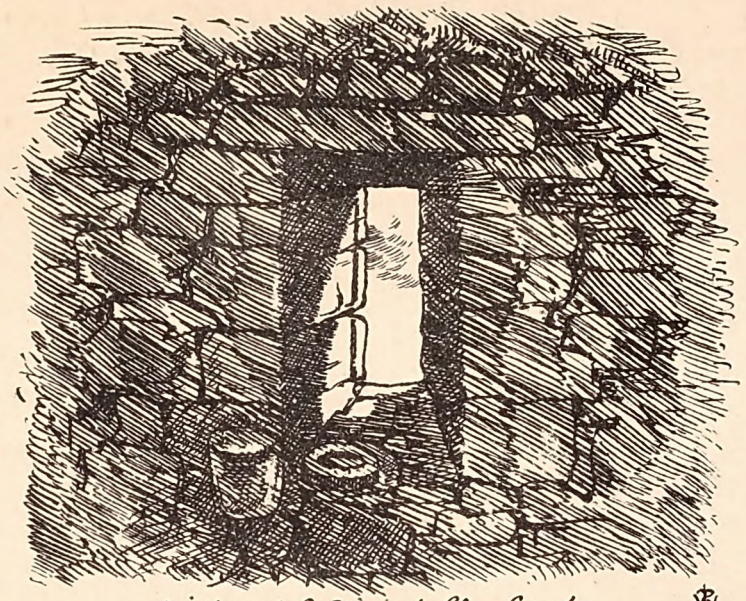
S. Coivin's Chapel- Macharioch- Kintyre

3



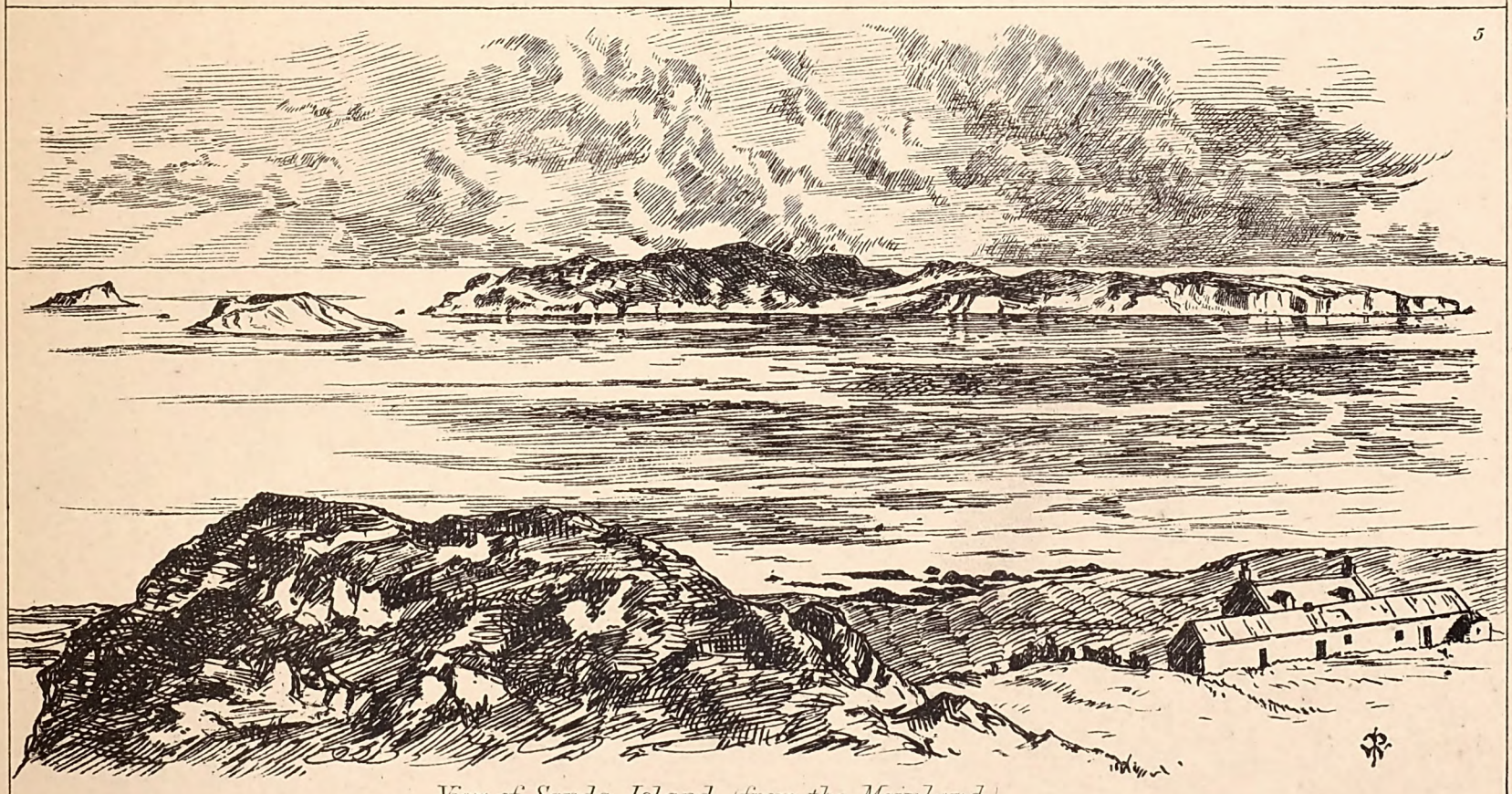
Stone basin (probably Holy water stoup) at S. Coivin's - Macharioch - Kintyre

4



Window at S. Ninian's Ch - Sanda

5



View of Sanda Island (from the Mainland)

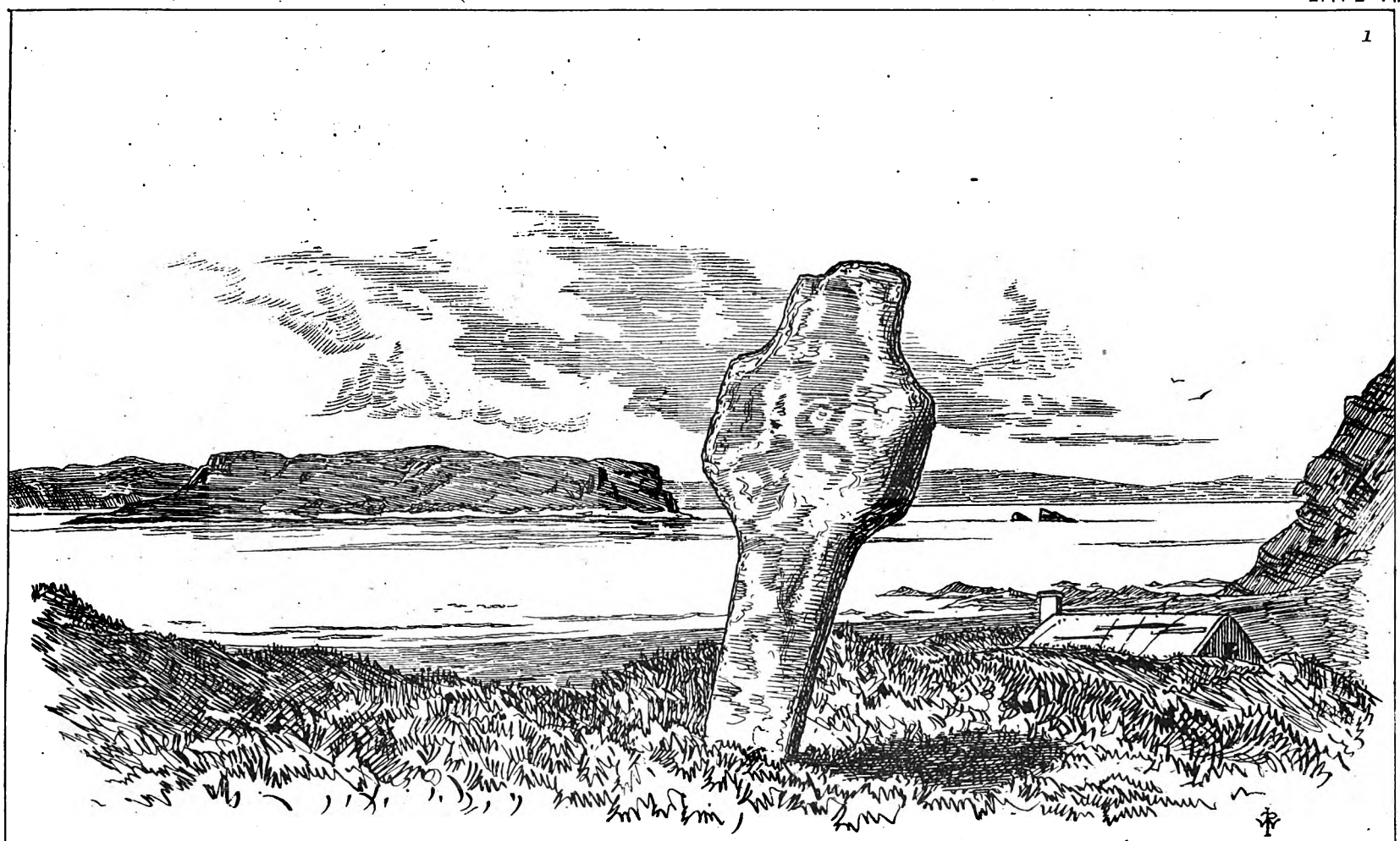
Sketched by Capt. T.P. White, R.E.

Photolithographed by W&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

VIEWS IN SANDA ISLAND, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE VI.

1



2

– Ruin of the old Chapel at Sanda Id. –
(from the N. East.)

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

Photolithographed by W. & A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

regarding him. But at once the appellation is converted into the name of a saint, and the pious collector returns home to ransack the saints' calendar for a name similar in sound and spelling to the local compound he has obtained. And so a new title creeps into the writings of the later hagiologists, which in time becomes encircled with a cloud of mythic tales, drawn partly from imagination, and partly from the stores of miraculous legend laid up in many a cloister without any very definite owner to claim them. I do not say this is so in Father M'Cana's case. But let us hear him again: "In this island was found an "arm of S. Ultan, which before this was religiously kept enshrined within a silver case by "a nobleman of the illustrious house of Macdonell." Referring to this, Dr Reeves makes the following remark: "Could this be the reliquary now commonly called S. Patrick's "arm? Nothing is known of its history; and as to the saint's name, it has probably "originated in a vulgar guess." So much for the Father's *quasi* S. Ultan, according to one of the greatest ecclesiastical authorities of our time.[1] As to S. Ninian, Munro's MS. seems to bear out M'Cana, for we are told of "ane spring or fresh-water well called S. "Ninian's well, and it doth recover severall men and women which doeth drink thereoff "to their health againe."[2] So that, on the whole, the safest conclusion would seem to be that the Galloway saint of the fourth century was the first to give his patronage to the island, and that the introduction of Adamnan's tutelage was an engraft of a later date. Whether either or both of these distinguished apostles ever visited the island, and left the tradition of their appearance there, must remain a matter of conjecture. There would

S. Ultan's arm.

S. Ninian's Well.

appear to be no inherent improbability in such a supposition; for if we sought out on the map a spot more than any other suggesting itself as a landing-place for procuring fresh water to those voyaging northwards from the Galloway coast, Sanda would be the likeliest. Indeed, the short stretch across the North Channel between the two Kil-colm-kils situated at the northern and southern extremities respectively of the Galloway and Kintyre peninsulas, would of itself infer the existence of a frequent intercourse in early times for missionary purposes.[3]

Sanda possibly visited by S. Ninian.

That Sanda is a locality of very early associations, to the ecclesiastical as well as the secular historian, can hardly be denied. Respecting the tomb itself of the fourteen saints, we have some interesting details. It was enclosed at one time, we are told, with a low stone wall, within which were seven large polished stones covering the sacred remains, with an obelisk in the middle, "higher than a man's stature;" and it is added that none entered that enclosure with impunity.[4] Another account says the tomb was a four square of ten feet, placed at the side of the chapel, where, "they say, that the bones of certaine "holie men that *lived* in that island is buried. It has been tryed that neither man nor "beast that doth goe within that place will live to ane yeare's end."[5] This story appears to have taken deep root among the traditional superstitions of the parish; and an alder-tree, which, if it still exists, escaped my notice, is said to overhang the spot.[6]

Tomb of the fourteen saints (Cill-mo-senchain).

On the other hand, Bishop Forbes mentions two Ultans, and has made a Scottish saint of one of them, apparently on the authority of two of the later calendars. [2] Macfarlane's MS. Collections.

[3] It will be seen further on that the lands of Macharioch and S. Ninian's within the parish belonged at one time to the bishopric of Galloway. [4] M'Cana's MS., *apud* Reeves. [5] Macfarlane. [6] New Stat. Acct.

Can either of the ancient crosses (Pls. VI. fig. 1, and VII.) still standing in the burial-ground of the chapel be the obelisk spoken of? It would add greatly to our interest in such a relic that it had come down to us from that primitive epoch to which the great bulk of Scoto-Irish canonisations are to be referred. Could we but pass the boundary of the tenth or eleventh century, and regard one of these unmistakably antique crosses as having veritably been set up in this retired sanctuary over the bones of the children of some remote Christian apostle who dwelt there, a more than ordinary interest would be awakened. I saw no trace myself of any enclosure near the slabs; but at the time of my visit I was unaware of its existence, and a faint track of such an object, if it remained, might very well escape observation. Both of the existing standard-slabs are nearly seven feet high. Both have the appearance of long exposure to weather, though the one which is the more elaborately sculptured we may probably dismiss from the supposition under consideration. It is only to the pillar (Pl. VI. 1) of rude, lumpish type, without a vestige of ornament, and roughly shaped into the figure of a cross, that we might perhaps venture to attribute a possible antiquity far exceeding that of the adjoining stone building, with its piscina and *bénitier*. Such primitive-looking monuments are occasionally to be met with, principally in isolated spots, as the remoter Western Isles, &c. They carry the mind back to times when the little cell or oratory was constructed of wattles, long ere the *réligieux* had time or thought to bestow upon the marvellous sculpturings of a later mediæval age.

Mediæval monuments.

Rude standard-cross or pillar-stone without ornament.

The more ornate sculptured standard-slab (Pl. VII.) already referred to, must once have been of great beauty. It is seven feet by two, and consists of a slightly-raised slender shaft with the indications of where the arms were. At the intersection is a central circular or cup-shaped hollow encircled by four similar hollows, one at each angle, the five making a pretty pattern of a S. Andrew's cross. The outer quadruplet of circles are not in contact, the intervening spaces being filled in with four smaller cups. The rest of the stone is divided into panelling, cross-hatched with interlaced plait-work of the usual type, but having no animals or figures of any kind. This slab is probably of early type, though, as I have remarked, of quite a different class from its unadorned neighbour. In shape, and in the pattern of the raised cross, it is very similar to the monolith at Applecross, in Ross-shire; but the latter has little or no tracery. It is greatly worn down, and most of the ornamentation is undistinguishable to the eye, though quite legible in the rubbing made of it.[1] These are the only two slabs of mediæval date. Inside the chapel is a tombstone to the memory of one of the old lords of Sanda. A shield reversed, containing a galley under a lion rampant and sword alongside, is embossed on the stone, with the date 1682, and an inscription, of which I was able to make out this much: "Heare lyes Archbald . . . . son to . . . . M Donald." This is the tombstone referred to by Dean Howson, who apparently succeeded in deciphering more than I did, as he says it also commemorates one "Cirstin Stewart who died in 1688." "There is," he adds, "every reason to "justify the identification of this Archibald M'Donald with an infant who was remarkably

Antique pillar-slab;

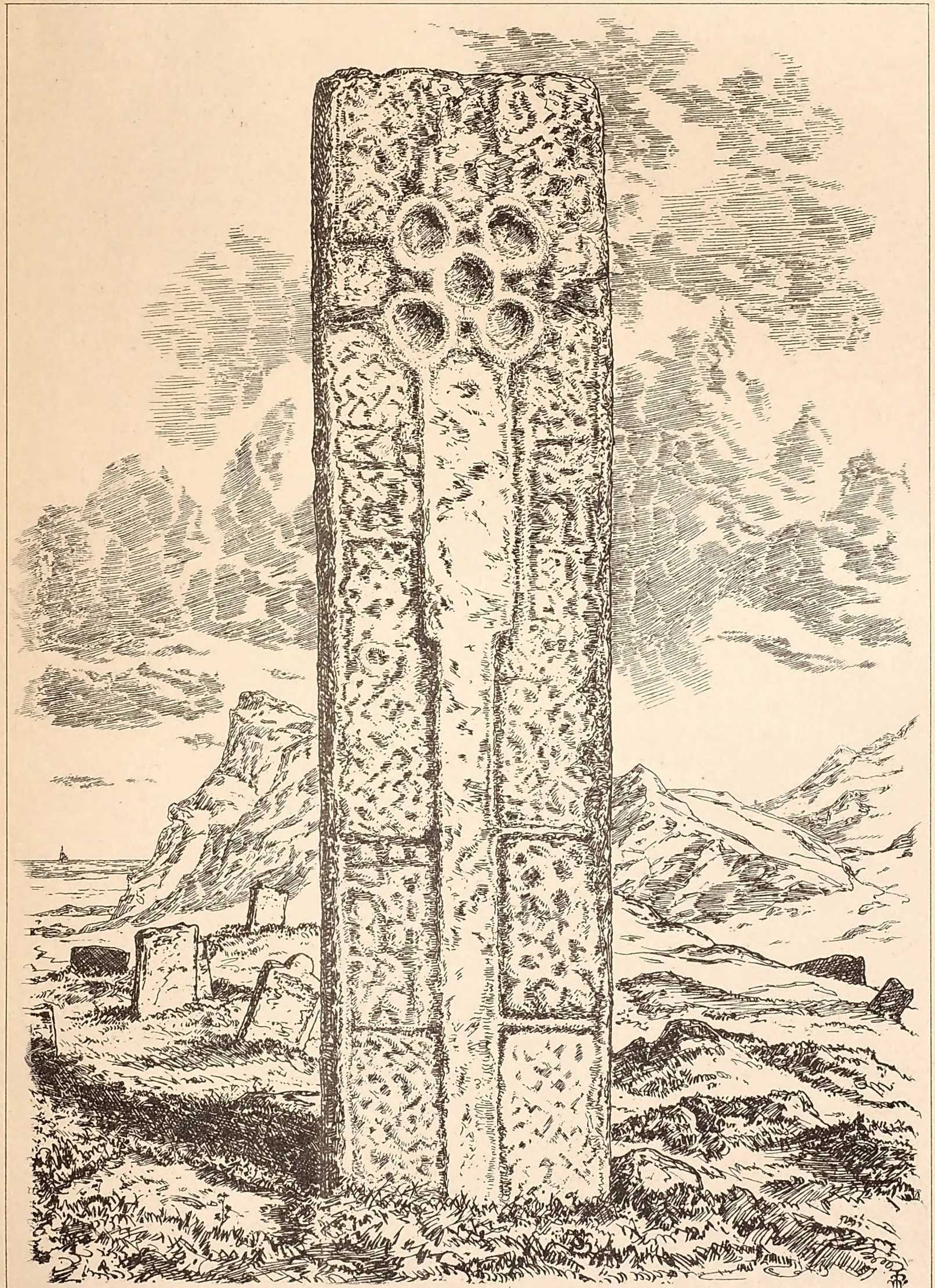
its ornamental pattern of cross.

Other monuments.

[1] See Observations on Rubbings for Monumental Drawings—Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot., 1871.

SCULPTURED SLAB AT St NINIAN'S, Ip OF SANDA,
KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE VII.



SCALE $\frac{1}{9}$

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

Photolithographed by W&A K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

" saved from the massacre of Dunaverty in 1647 (where 300 of Colkitto's men were mur- Archibald Macdonald's tombstone.
" dered by General Leslie after a surrender at discretion), who was afterwards educated by
" the Stewarts of Bute, and married a lady of that family, and came to the possession of his
" property in Sanda. The story relates that his nurse fled from the castle with the child in
" her arms. She was met by Campbell of Craignish, who interrogated her about the child, Story of this Archibald's rescue from the Campbell's at Dunaverty.
" and when she said it was her own, exclaimed that 'whose child soever he might be, he
" had the eye of a Macdonald in his head.' So saying, he divided his plaid with his
" sword, and giving her one-half as a garment for the child, bade her hasten away. And
" thus the young Macdonald was saved."[1] A few old headstones are strewn about outside the chapel, their inscriptions for the most part illegible. One, the most readable and modern-looking, tells in its own quaint way a sorrowful tale: " Here lies the remains of Headstone with a sorrowful epitaph.
" Robert Rodgerson, mate of the brig Christiana, who was totally lost 2d December 1825.
" All on board perished." The ever so little of a smile raised by the manner of telling the story, vanishes at the thought of what that story is.

It has been already indicated that the island of Sanda must have been a favourite and convenient harbourage for the Norse fleets in their frequent expeditions to Scotland; and no better anchorage than the sheltered bay known as Sanda Roads could be desired. Sanda a resort for the Norse galleys.
This bay, shut in by high cliffs on both sides, is close under the site of the old chapel, and with the rocky outline of Sheep Island just outside, makes up into a very picturesque bit of marine landscape. Near the curious arched rock on which stands the lighthouse, at the southern extremity of the island, two names occur, one of which, " Prince Edward's Name of Prince Edward's Rock.
" Rock," is supposed to have a connection with the brother of the illustrious Bruce. History tells us that the king had on more than one occasion to take refuge in the district of Kintyre, and we know how closely Edward Bruce attached himself to the fortunes of his brother.[2] Besides which, King Robert is said to have spent two or three nights at the Castle of Dunaverty, which is on the Southend shore, only two and a half miles distant from Sanda. This was after the unsuccessful rising and encounter with the English forces at Methven, and the local tradition appears to be that Bruce, who went on from Kintyre to Rathlin, left his brother in Sanda to keep a look-out, and give him timely notice of the approach of danger.[3] Here, evidently, would be a convenient half-way station from whence to keep up communication between the king in his more distant island retreat and his Lowland subjects. These were the last days of that Reign of Terror which the English Edward had inaugurated in Scotland. When next we meet with the gallant

[1] The proprietor of Carskey tells me there is a cave under the Moile headlands well identified as the retreat where the child and his nurse lay hid for some time after, and had food secretly brought to them by the country people. It is still called Macdonald's Cave.

[2] The Macdonald MS., in narrating the personal history of Angus, Lord of Kintyre, who so befriended Bruce, has the following: " The king stayed with him (Angus) half a year at Sadell in Kintyre, sent his galleys
" and men with him to Ireland, transported Edward Bruce very often to Ireland, and furnished him with neces-
" saries for his expedition." Thus the above name acquires greater interest as being corroborative of the seannachy's account; and we can hardly doubt there having been some incident connected with Edward Bruce, and signalised in the name attached to the rock.

[3] New Stat. Acct.

Probable connection of the name with the royal family of Bruce.

Name of Wallace's Rocks.

Mention of the island in early history.

Bruce at the other extremity of the peninsula, it is no longer as a fugitive, but as a crowned monarch on a visit to one of his own royal castles.[1] A short distance from the lighthouse at the other end of the bay called "Fliuchach" (the rainy), and a little way up the hill, is a group of large boulders known as "Wallace's Rocks;" but whether the name has arisen from any historical association with the earlier champion of Scottish independence is not known. Kintyre is many times mentioned in the Norse sagas, and one particular narrative in the Flatey MS. points unmistakably to Sanda as a halting-place for one of the fleets. An expedition, we are told, headed by Ottar Snakoll and Paul Balkaison, sailed from Bergen A.D. 1231, to take part, at King Hacon's command, with Uspac,[2] grandson of Sumarlid of the Isles, against Allan, Earl of Galloway. The fleet, consisting of twenty ships, first touched at Islay, where an affray broke out between the Norsemen and the brothers of Uspac, which terminated fatally for one of the Islesmen. "After this the Norwegians collected reinforcements from all the islands, and assembled "a force of eighty ships, with which they sailed to the Mull of Kintyre (Satiris-mula), and "on to the Isle of Bute," where the Scots had intrenched themselves in a castle, under the command of Siward.[3] A fierce conflict ensued here, resulting in the capture of the place by the Norwegians.[4] But hearing that Earl Allan was at the Ness with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships, they sailed northward to Kintyre and anchored there,[5] making frequent raids on the neighbouring coasts. Here Uspac died, and after visiting Man, the ships returned to Kintyre, resuming their plundering operations along the coast; and thence setting sail for the Orkneys, where, of course, they were at home, ultimately found their way back to Norway after many adventures and difficulties, wherein they "won

[1] Tarbert Castle, on Loch Fyne.

[2] The Norwegian monarch, we are told, bestowed the title of king on Uspac, and as a mark of favour gave him his own name of Hacon (sig. noble). Uspac's career was a curious one. Before his elevation "he had "long been with the Birkebeins," or common people (so called because they were so poverty-stricken a class as only to wear birchwood sandals in place of shoes). But when it came out that he was a son of Dugal Sumarlidson, the tables were turned, and Uspac was promoted to great honour.—Flatey Book.

[3] Johnstone calls their leader "a Steward of Scotland." 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.

[4] The whole of this narrative is interesting, but I shall only give two selections. The first is the account of the action before the castle. "The Norsemen sat down before the fortress, and gave a bad assault. But the "Scots fought well, and threw down upon them boiling pitch and lead. Many of the Northmen fell, many also "were wounded. They therefore prepared over themselves a covering of boards, and then hewed down the "walls, for the stone was soft, and the rampart fell with them: they cut it up from the foundations. A master "of the lights (candalarius) named Skaji Skitradi shot the Steward to death while he was leaping upon the "ramparts. Three days did they fight with the garrison before they won it. There took they much wealth, "and a Scottish knight released himself for 300 merks of fine silver. Of the Nordmen there fell Sweinung the "Swarthy, and in all about 300 men, some of whom were Sudureyans." An episode on the Kintyre coast is thus described: After Uspac's death, and the Norsemen's visit to Man, leaving King Olaf behind them, "they "sailed north under Kintyre (Satiri), and there went on shore; but the Scots came to meet them, and darting "to and fro, were very irregular in the battle (ok voro miög mög lausir vid bardagan lupo til ok frá). And when "the Norsemen came to their ships, then had the Scots killed all the servants that were on land preparing victual; "and all the flesh-kettles were carried away."—Anecdotes of Olaf the Black: Johnstone.

The site of this engagement was probably either along the flat skirting Machrihanish Bay, or perhaps the sea-shore strip immediately to the north of Bellochantuy. The tradition of one battle between Scots and Norsemen still survives in the former spot, and a series of tumuli are to be seen at the latter.

[5] Probably in East Loch Tarbert.

"great renown for their king."[1] A reference to Sanda Island occurs also in the Hacon Saga. On the return north of the Norwegian fleet after its disaster and unsuccessful attack on the Scots in the Firth of Clyde, King Hacon, we read, after lying one night under Arran, sailed "thence to Sandey, and so past the Mull of Kintyre" to his old quarters at Gigha.[2] Another allusion to the island is of still earlier date, and, as we noted in a former chapter, seems to point to a battle of some sort having taken place here. It occurs in the Saga of Magnus Berfætt, embodied in one of those war-songs the historian Snorro was so fond of interpolating in his narratives. Again it is Biörn "Krepphendi" (the Crook-handed) who sings to us, and whose fiery half-savage exultation over the unsparing violence of the king he is panegyrising is but scantily veiled by the metaphorical language made use of. The following may not perhaps be thought too free a translation of the stanza :—

"Wide o'er the low isle of Sandey
The sovereign renowned bears his targes—
Smoke from the hamlets of Ila ascends,
And raised by the hosts of the all-potent king
Fire upon fire enlarges.
Beneath the sword-edge in Satiri's southland
Low bowed the warriors' sons to the ground ;—
And next when the far-famous victory-giver
Swooped on the Manx men, their place was not found."[3]

In 1546-47, during the regency of Arran, Sanda was proposed, by James Macdonald or Mac-Connal as he was called, claimant to the lordship of the Isles, in an appeal to King Henry of England, as the place of rendezvous for a subsidiary force to meet a gathering of certain Western clans favourable to his interests, which he undertook to assemble there by the next S. Patrick's Day.[4] Sanda, we learn from Fordun, had the privileges of sanctuary for criminals. Beyond its ecclesiastical remains, it contains nothing archæological that we were able to identify, nor could we trace any vestiges of a building spoken of as existing in one of the neighbouring islands.[5] In Munro's time Sanda[6] was "inhabited and manurit;" and the Sheep Island (Eilean-nan-Caorach)[7] possessed "verie many coneys and arrettis," whatever the latter may have been (harts ?).

[1] Flatey MS., Oliver's and Johnstone's Translations.

[2] "Ok thadan under Sandey, ok sva til Satirismula." Torfæus says the same thing in other words: "Inde a Melanseya ad Herseyam" (Arran) "navigatum, ibi nox peracta, sequenti die ad Sandeyam, mox "Satiris Mulam, seu Cantiriæ promontorium, eadem nocte in aquilonem sub Gudeyam perventum."—Hist. Orcad.

[3] The Latin rendering of these lines given in the edition of the 'Heimskringla' I have had access to is as follows :—

"Late circumtulit inclytus per planam
Sandeyam (insulam) Rex (bello) clypeos :
Fumarunt per Ilam loca, ubi auxere omnipotentis viri incendia.
Sanntiriæ se curvavit ad austrum
Militum proles (mascula) sub acies ;
Victoriæ dator effecit postea
Præclarus Manniæ incolas prosterni."

Heimskringla, tom. iii. (Exped. of Magnus Berfætt to Sudreys.)

I have given "planam" its secondary meaning, as the island is far from being a level plain.

[4] Gregory, Orig. Paroch., &c.

[5] Dean Howson remarks: "On S. coast of Sanda are the traces of a building associated with traditions of "Fingal, and on one of the neighbouring islands are traces of another."

[6] According to the Macfarlane MS.

[7] The "Yl-na-Gerac" of Blaeu.

CHAPTER VII.

Return to the mainland.

LEAVING the interesting island described in the last chapter, the shortest course we can steer in returning to the mainland will land us at a rocky point a short distance east of Dunaverty, known as "Rudha M'Shannich." This name and that of the adjoining farm, "Kil-mashanachan," at once suggest a connection with the S. Senchan already alluded to, the name in one case having got transmuted into the ordinary modern form of Celtic surname. Near Kil-mashanachan is another farm called "Kilbride," but no other indication of a site dedicated to the popular S. Bridget or Brigid is to be seen in the neighbourhood. This saint has the patronage of many ancient chapels in Scotland, including a large number in Argyllshire. "A female saint," says of her an eminent writer, "more powerful than any of Ireland's male saints," and "aptly called the madonna of the "Irish." She appears to have held the rank of Co-arb or Abbat, with one or two bishops appended to her court.[1] She was still living at the birth of Columba, who afterwards composed a famous ode to her memory, beginning :—

Rudha M'Shannich.

Kil-mashanachan.

Kilbride.

S. Bridget.

> "Bridget, the good and the virgin;
> Bridget, our torch and our sun;
> Bridget, radiant and unseen,—
> May she lead us to the eternal kingdom."[2]

S. Coivin's chapel near Machariooch. Kevin the saint.

A little further along the coast, going eastward, the road brings us to the grounds of Machariooch House, in a field close to which are the remains of a chapel, whose patron saint is said to have been a S. Coivin, evidently identical with the Kevin who has a dedication in the adjoining parish of Campbelton.[3] Coivin, Kevin, or Coemgen, an Irish cleric, and founder of the monastery of Glendalough[4] in his native land, A.D. 549, was an early successor of S. Patrick, one of that band of saints "who," to quote the Irish hagiographers, "counted by millions the souls whom they led to heaven."[5] He was contemporary with Columba and other missionary saints, whom we shall hereafter have to notice in connection with the district. Like Paul the hermit in his habits and life, he was distinguished for the beauty of his person, and lived, if we are to believe the monkish records, 120 years.[6] In the Drummond Castle missal there is a remarkable salutation to him in the Irish language.[7] A singular legend of S. Kevin, which I have

Norse legend of Kevin.

[1] Burton's History of Scotland. [2] Montalembert's Monks of the West.
[3] Mr Innes, I see, does not endorse this; but it seems the most probable view, I think. [4] Reeves.
[5] Montalembert's Monks of the West. [6] Scottish Kalendars—Forbes. [7] Ibid.

thought worth translating, comes to us from a Norse source. One of the band of Irish saints, it tells us, S. Kœvin by name, was upon a time leading a hermit's life at Lough Erne. He had a youth related to him who dwelt with him, and this youth became very sick. The boy entreated the saint to get him an apple, or some fruit to ease his pain; but none being procurable, Kœvin besought the Lord for him. Rising from prayer, and walking abroad, the saint perceived a huge willow-tree, upon whose branches appeared apples just timeously ripe, three of which he plucked and brought to the boy. Immediately that the boy tasted of the fruit the pain lessened, and by the morrow he was whole. And even yet in any year of sickness the tree bears the same kind of fruit, which ever since that time has been called S. Kœvin's apples, and they are carried through all Ireland to be eaten for the cure of disease, and are found to be a specific against all kinds of complaints.[1] The foundations of the chapel, which are all that remain, measure about 28 × 12 feet inside, and 2¾ in thickness. The tracks of more walls are traceable; and just outside the building I found, on my last visit to the place, a stone block about 12 inches deep, with a small circular basin scooped out of it, which was probably the holy-water stone of the chapel (Pl. V. 3). There were a good many other stones lying about, perhaps the remains of graves, but they are fast being covered up by an overgrowth of weeds and long grass. The chapel wall still stands some five feet above ground at the east end (Pl. V. 2). The view from here on a summer's day is lovely: the Achinhoan headlands dipping into the sea, a far stretch of heaving water, for ever changing its hues; below, the woods of Macharioch, and inland behind more wooded clumps and green undulating hills, the perfection of sheep pasture; for foreground, the old chapel walls, in the midst of a confusion of broken stones, variegated grasses, foxgloves, and wild hemlock.

Remains of the chapel.

In the name of Kildavie, which is found attached to a group of farms a little to the north of S. Coivin's, we may perhaps trace a dedication to an Irish ecclesiastic, Davius—if not, as might have been imagined, to the renowned Welsh Saint David.[2] S. Davius is said to have preached with great success in Alba (Scotland), as well as Ireland.[3] There are one or two other chapels to his memory. The place is marked on Blaeu's map, and a similar name appears on the island of Bute. From this point a short walk brings us to the spot where once stood the ancient parish church of Kil-blane or S. Blaan's, in the Conieglen valley. Unfortunately nothing but the site can be pointed out of either church or churchyard which formerly existed here, but of which all trace had disappeared by the end of the last century.[4] The earliest record of its existence is in 1527, when its rector, Sir Morice Makneile, died, and was succeeded by Master James Haswell, the Crown apparently at

Kildavie.

S. Blaan's (Kil-blane).

[1] Extracted from the Kongs-Skuggsio or Speculum Regale, in Johnston's Antiq. Celt. Scand.

[2] Referring to S. David, a writer in the 'Quarterly Review' makes the following remark:—

"In the great cathedral, 'Ty Ddewi,' the 'house of David,' as it was called, rested the shrine of the patron "of Wales—the saint who, besides his labours in his own country, helped to regulate the Irish Church of the "sixth century, and who influenced, more perhaps than is generally suspected, the lives and teaching of the "missionaries who found their way from Iona to the 'regions of the Picts,' and to the kingdoms of English "Northumbria."—"Pilgrimages to the Shrines of England," Quart. Rev., July 1872.

"Daibhidh" is the Scottish Gaelic form of the name David.

[3] Scot. Kalend.—Bishop Forbes.

[4] New Stat. Acct.

that time being patron of the living. In 1538, Sir Robert Montgomery resigned the charge, and Sir James M'Gaughane succeeded him.[1] The church would seem to have stood on the left or eastern bank of the Conieglen, about the middle of the bend opposite the present manse, on the top of an alluvial bank, which has been washed away to its present position by the river-floods. Old residents, the minister informed me, remember seeing exposed on the side of this bank human bones in great numbers, the relics of the cemetery. The modern church which stands near the spot is no older than 1774.[2] Besides the site of the church, there is an adjoining farm bearing the name of Kilblaan. This Blane is said to have been a saint of considerable note in the fifth century;[3] but if the tradition of his being the grandson of King Aidan is to be accepted, that would bring him on to at least a century or more later. The burial-place of the Dalriadic king, as we have seen, can with reasonable probability be assigned to the adjoining parish; and upon the supposition that such relationship existed, we can at once account for the dedication. Among other marvels related of S. Blane, we are told that in returning to Scotland with his mother, after seven years' apprenticeship in Ireland to Saints Congall and Kenneth, he crossed over in a boat without oars[4] (not so impossible a feat after all). Harder to believe is the tale of his having brought fire from his finger-ends, as when flint is struck with steel,[5] when one night his light had gone out. His memory is retained in Dunblane, Perthshire, and elsewhere. About a mile above Kilblaan, a tributary stream, the Kerran Water, which bears the name of an illustrious saint presently to be noticed, joins the Conieglen. In this valley there were formerly two burial-grounds, but it is not known if chapels were connected with them. It was probably the lower one, the site of which is pointed out on the edge of a steep bank near the fork of the stream, that gave the names of North and South Kil-irvan to two adjoining farms. Blaeu, however, marks precisely at this junction Kil-calmanell, a name met with further north, but which seems to have dropped out of local tradition here, and consequently does not appear upon our Plans. As I am not aware of any S. Irvine or Irvan in the Scottish or Irish calendars, the more probable etymological interpretation seems to be that a "v" has got substituted for an "r," and the "k" dropped from the name of S. Kerran or Kirran. No one in the parish knows when the last burial took place here, nor is there a vestige on the ground to indicate a place of sepulture, though as a traditionary site it is perfectly well recognised. Regarding the other burial-ground, which stood a mile or so higher up the vale, the now ruined farm-stead and hill adjoining it, which are both named "Kil-chattan," sufficiently indicate the designation it once bore. The track of a wall, which, to judge from its dimensions, may have been that of the chapel, is here discernible, and the spot is clearly marked out by a space left unploughed. Very probably both "Kils" included small oratories affiliated to the neighbouring church. In Kil-chattan, we have doubtless the same dedication as that which gave the title to the Priory of Ardchattan in Lorn, of which S. Catan or Cathan, a bishop, uncle and tutor to S. Blane, is probably the patron.[6] At Stornoway

The "Kerran Water.

Kil-irvan or Kil-calmanell.

Kil-chattan.

[1] Orig. Paroch. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Scot. Kalend.—Bishop Forbes.
[5] Ibid. [6] New Stat. Acct., and Scot. Kalend.

there was a cell said to have been the residence of this saint, and to have contained his remains.[1] There is also another parish of the name conjoined with Killbrandon in Nether-Lorn, and a church of Kil-chattan in the island of Gigha, besides other Scottish sites supposed to commemorate him. Leaving the Conie Glen, and crossing over the hill into the valley of the Breackerie, so as to strike the farm of Low Glen Aladale, let us ascend the pretty little branch-stream which near here joins its tinkling waters with the larger main river or brook. The very name Glen Aladale is musical, more so than its older form Glen Adle; and with their usual eye to the peaceful and secluded in nature, the old monks here pitched upon the choicest spot to be found in this charming little valley to erect a house of prayer. The site occupies a sheltered bend, and is prettily wooded. There are two enclosures marking the remains of buildings; the larger square-shaped, which was perhaps the attached burying-place—and the other doubtless the chapel, an oblong, but circular at the north-west end. The dimensions I omitted to take; but one peculiarity, in my experience almost if not quite unique, was at once apparent. For looking lengthways at the smaller building, it is seen to point in a direction N.N.W. by S.S.E.—that is, nearer north and south than east and west. That this considerable departure from a world-wide conventionality in the mode of erecting Christian churches was purely accidental, there can scarcely be a doubt; but its occurrence here is sufficiently noteworthy, if we bear in mind the extreme anxiety of the primitive and mediæval Church to secure an eastern aspect in many particulars of devotion, but most especially in the case of buildings set apart for worship and in sepulchral memorials. The chapel goes by the name of "Caibeal Cairine" (the tomb or cell of S. Catherine), and the name reappears in the two farms of North and South Carrine not far away. Across one angle of the decaying walls the last survivor of some aged rowan-trees threw its thick clusters of green when I visited the spot. The holy well spoken of at the end of last century as being in the glen was not to be found. S. Catherine, virgin and martyr, A.D. 307, had fifty-one churches dedicated to her honour in England. She was put to death in the reign of the bloodthirsty Emperor Maximinus, and has for her symbol the well-known Catherine-wheel of pyrotechnic celebrity, emblematic of the torture designed for her. I know of only one other dedication to her in Argyllshire, a site on Loch Fyne side opposite Inveraray.[2] Lower down the Breackerie, and some distance up the western hillside, on the edge of the large moorland tract which here fills up a third of the parish, is the track of a building 27 feet by 20, much overgrown and obliterated, with evidently an attached burial-ground, as I found one grave-mound remaining. Tradition points out the place as the site of an ancient chapel, but nothing beyond its generic designation of Lag-na-Cloiche[3] (the hollow of gravestones) has been preserved. But the Amsterdam map, already referred to, which was published upwards of two centuries ago, here comes to our assistance, and we have no difficulty in identifying this site with the place marked there as Katti-kil. Blaeu, in fact, shows it about a mile or more up the Breackerie, which is pretty nearly its true position. Here

S. Catherine's chapel (Caibeal Cairine);

its holy well.

S. Catherine, virgin and martyr.

Katti-kil (Lag-na-Cloiche).

[1] Scot. Kalend.

[2] Dr Forbes does not include her name in his list.

[3] "Lag-nan-Clach" is the form of the name on our engraved six-inch sheet.

also we have apparently the key to the names of two neighbouring farms, High and Low Cattadale, the situation of which, about midway betwixt the "Katti-kil" and the "Kil-chattan" of the Conie Glen, at once establishes the identity of these latter titles.

This closes the list of ancient ecclesiastical settlements within the modern parish of Southend, exhausting, I think, everything of which any traces whatever now remain. And if, through the perhaps somewhat tedious repetition of Church names, and architectural details it has been thought necessary to go into, the reader has so far accompanied me, one thing I am sure must have been prominently brought before him —I mean the conspicuous contrast exhibited between the number of religious edifices provided for the wants of the people in former days, and the single solitary parish church of the post-Reformation period. In 1843, there existed a chapel of ease, built in the year 1798 at the request of certain Lowland farmers of the parish, who by no means relished being preached to in Gaelic; but it was poorly attended, as the Highlanders constituted the bulk of the parishioners.[1] Now, as it was in 1662 that a Lowland colony migrated here from Ayrshire and neighbouring counties on the opposite coast, we make the startling discovery that for nearly a century and a half the people inhabiting an area of some fifty square miles had but one place of worship, and that as good as closed to at all events an influential and not inconsiderable section of them. Whereas under the old system, we have been introduced to no less than seven churches or chapels, of the existence of which we are assured, besides others indicated by lingering topographical names, which swell the probable total to a dozen. And to a greater or less extent this same disparity will be manifest in our survey of other localities throughout the Western Highlands of Scotland. Everywhere there is a superabundance, it may be said unnecessarily so, of buildings set apart in former days for public devotion. Everywhere is to be seen the little oratory where the herdsman or tiller of the soil, the gentle dame, the well-born warrior, could drop in as each felt disposed for a momentary offering before the "Sancta Crux" enshrined upon every altar. It may be urged, on the other hand, and not without truth, that this multiplication of churches meant multiplication of beneficed and too frequently idle clergy, and arose, as often as not, from the superstition of powerful and unscrupulous proprietors, anxious, in winning the favour of the Church, to secure a satisfactory "quid pro quo," and to obtain remission of the penalties accruing to the soul for a long course of misdeeds done in the body. Yet when all has been said on both sides, it is impossible to doubt that amidst much that was formal and corrupt there yet were interwoven into the everyday structure of mediæval society religious opportunities which it was a great mistake in the Reformers so completely to thrust aside.

The parish in mediæval and post-Reformation times.

Superabundance of chapels and oratories in the former period.

I shall conclude my notice of this parish with one or two extracts from the 'Origines 'Parochiales,' in which its history in connection with ecclesiastical affairs is brought to light. The bishops of Galloway or monks of Whithern had anciently possessions here. In 1584, Patrick, Commendator of Whitherne, with consent of the convent, granted to

Early parochial charter details.

[1] New Stat. Acct.

Archibald Campbell, Lord of the fief of Argyll, the lands of S. Ninian in Kintyre, amounting in all to the yearly value of sixteen pounds. Macharioch, which is among the different messuages enumerated, has lately, with adjacent property, come again into the possession of the house of Argyll; but though holding land in the north of Kintyre at an earlier date, it was, as we have noted, apparently not till about the first quarter of the sixteenth century that that family acquired any hold of this part of the peninsula, and then it was at first in the capacity of justiciars and chamberlains. This was soon after the fortunes of their hereditary enemies the MacConnells or Macdonalds, the ancient lords of the district, had begun to decline. In 1619, Archibald Oig M'Connell was served heir to his grandfather in these very same lands of Macrereache,[1] &c., though his tenure of them was not to be permanent; for in 1632 they were erected by Andrew, Bishop of Galloway, again in favour of an Earl of Argyll, into a tenandry, the manor-place of which was to be the chief messuage for yearly payment of twenty pounds, and of twenty shillings in augmentation of the rental.[2] In 1640, James Levingston, Keeper of the Privy Seal, had a nineteen years' lease of the lands and teinds of S. Ninian, belonging to the bishopric of Galloway, and in 1648 made a disposition of them in favour of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, which was in the same year confirmed by King-Charles I.[3]

[1] Orig. Paroch. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII.

Parish of Campbelton;

I PASS now to the parish of Campbelton, the history of which, for many reasons, claims a central interest in the annals of the district. To have contained the first veritable capital of Scotland, and that at a time when the roll of her kings just emerges from the mists of legend and tradition into something like legible characters, should alone invest any locality with historical dignity.[1] Again, the circumstances of possessing in its estuary perhaps the finest harbourage in the west, and a soil for the most part level and well suited for agriculture, must at all times have given to Campbelton a pre-eminence over the hilly region constituting the rest of the peninsula. Of this there will be found ample illustration when we come to glance at the civil history of the district, but at present our concern is only with ecclesiastical matters. Yet here, no less than from a secular point of view, is the parish one of primary importance; for besides the ample provision for the religious wants of its population, evidenced by the establishment of *four* parish churches where there is now but one,[2] it has handed down to the present generation actual relics of the presence of an illustrious primitive saint some time resident within its confines. It is from this saint that one of these four churches, Kil-kerran, takes its name.

its ancient names.

The parish of Campbelton, formerly known as Lochead, or more anciently by its Gaelic synonym of Kinloch Kilkerran,[3] has an area of between eighty and ninety square miles, the bulk of which consists of well-farmed arable land, with a patch or border of moorland at either end. It stretches from sea to sea, occupying the full width of the peninsula, and forming a sort of trough or alluvial basin between the hills north and south of it. Besides its four parochial endowments, this area contained, like Southend, several subsidiary chapels. Of these we have identified three by what remain of their ruined walls, and four more are suggested by local names, to which, if we add another dedicatory saint's name found in Davar Island (without, however, any traceable site of an accompanying building), the probable total of independent ecclesiastical settlements would have numbered twelve. Of the four parochial divisions, Kilkerran occupied the south-east corner, the church standing about a mile out of the modern town of Campbelton and within the present cemetery.[4] Traces of the walls of an old church are still visible, measuring

Old parish churches. Kilkerran;

[1] See the remarks in Chap. II.

[2] I refer, of course, to the parish church proper. There is now a separate church in the town devoted to the Established Gaelic charge, besides the unestablished places of worship.

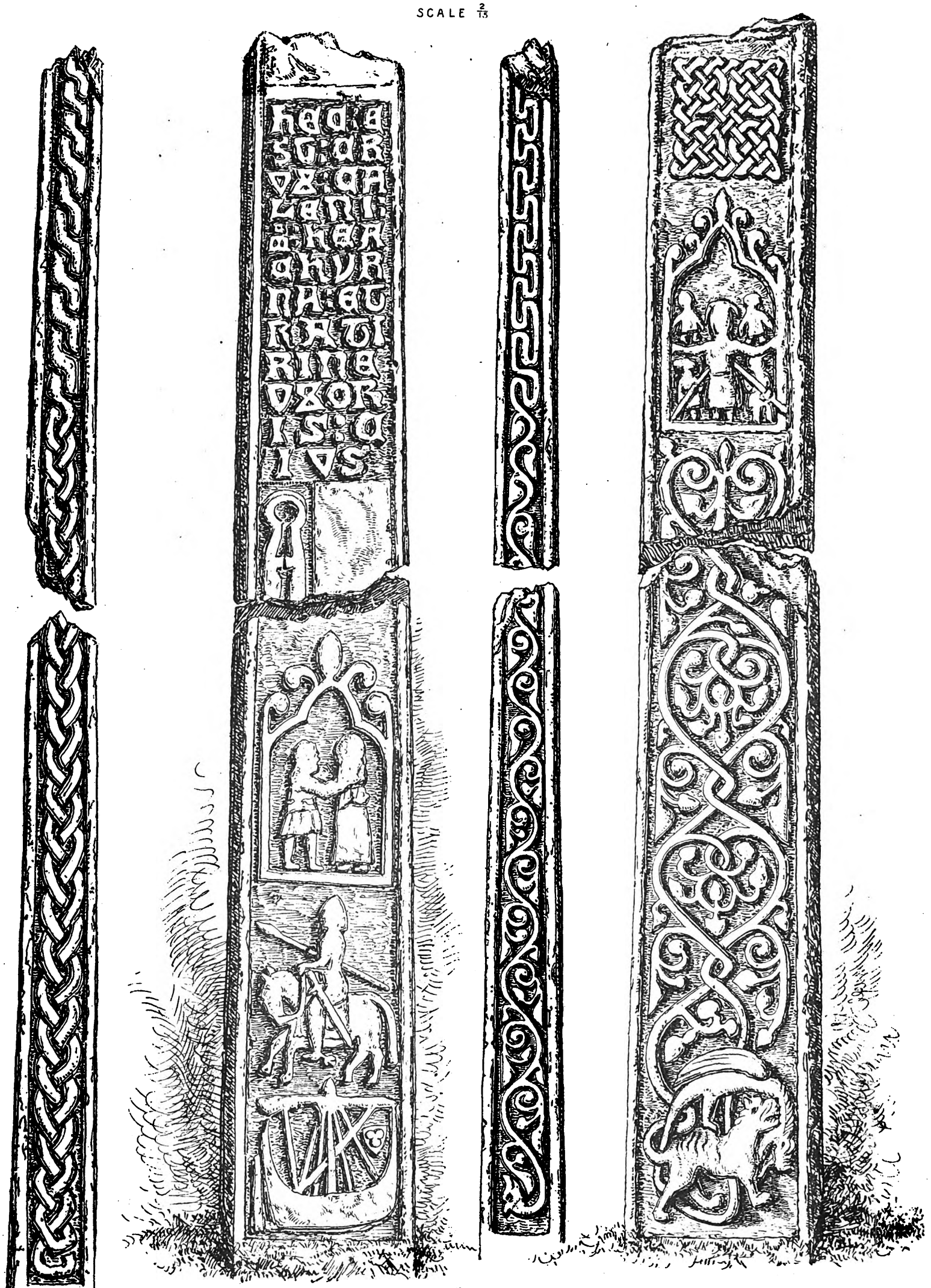
[3] This name analysed is "head of the loch of Kiaran's Cell."

[4] The modern parish church, situated within the town, was built in 1780, but an older one was erected by

FRAGMENTS OF A SCULPTURED CROSS AT KILKERRAN IN KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE VIII.

SCALE $\frac{2}{15}$



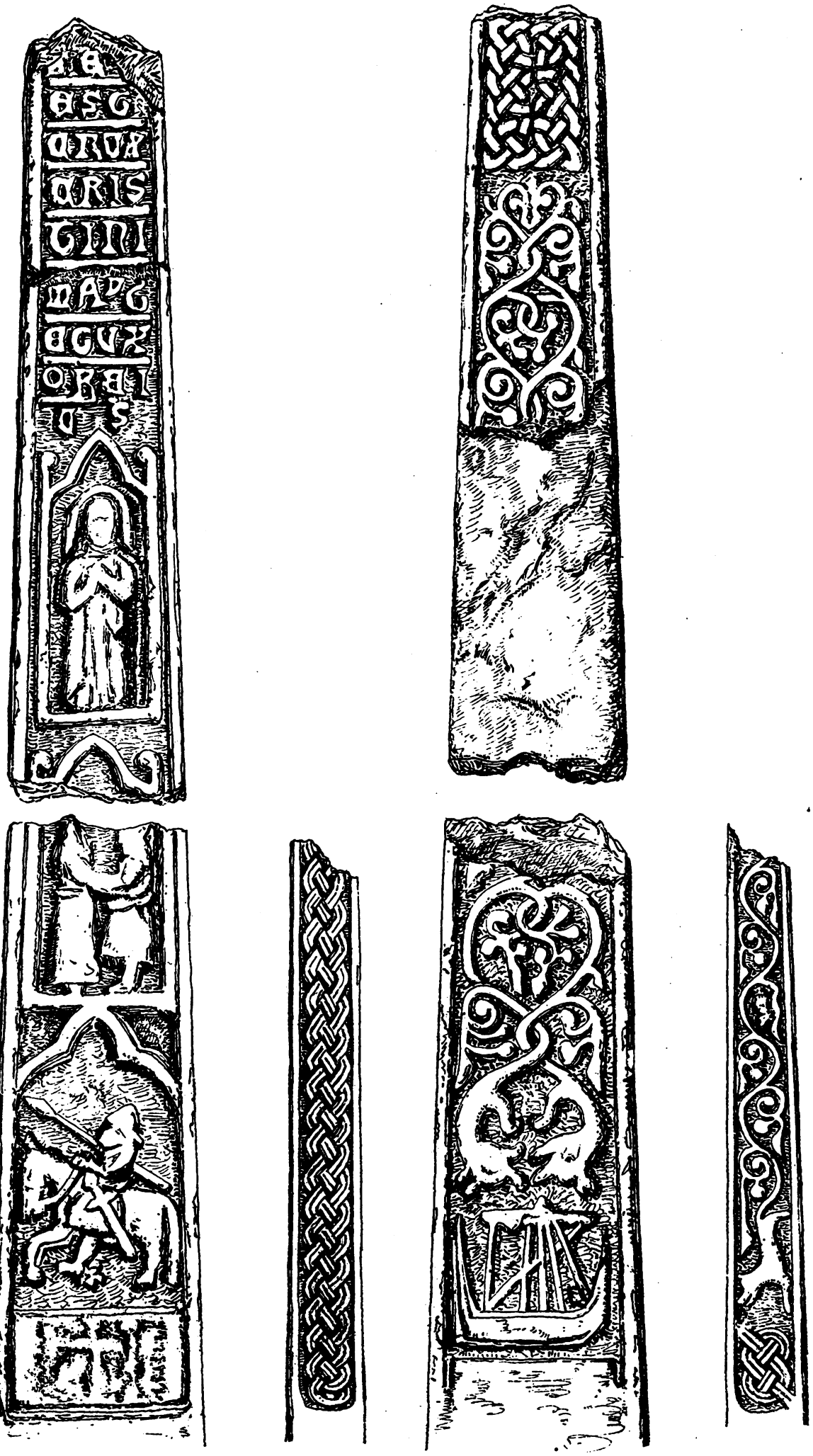
Side view *One face* *Side view* *Reverse face*

Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

FRAGMENTS OF A SCULPTURED CROSS AT KILKERRAN IN KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE IX.



SCALE $\frac{1}{7}$

Drawn by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

under sixty feet in length by less than twenty in width; but whether this represents the original structure of mediæval times or not, it is hard to say.[1] However that may be, the ancient burial-ground remains, and is clearly enough distinguishable from the modern one.[2] It contains fragments of two sculptured crosses (Pls. VIII. and IX.), besides two mediæval slabs (Pl. X.) Of the former, both have inscriptions, all in Gothic capitals, and tracery of an ornate character. In one (Pl. VIII.) the inscription occupied twelve lines, and runs thus :—

its burial-ground containing sculptured slabs and crosses.

HEC : EST : CRVX : CALENI : MCHEACHARNA : ET : KATIRINE : VXORIS : EIVS.

Calen Mac-Eachern's cross.

Immediately underneath are the shears and a blank panel, and below these a trefoiled niche containing the figures of a man and apparently his wife. Under the niche a warrior on horseback, with sword and spear, spurs, and a helmet which, it has been remarked by one well conversant with these details, resembles very closely in shape the morion of the sixteenth century. At the foot is a galley, and in the hollow space left between the raised carving of the prow and rigging has been inserted a small shield with a trefoil embossed upon it. The reverse of the cross represents a niche with a crucifixion tableau, two soldiers spearing the Saviour's body, and two more figures introduced above the extended arms. Over the niche a square of cunningly-arranged plait-work, and below it a beautiful interlaced pattern of foliage, terminating at one end in a heart-shaped loop, and at the other in a weird intertwist of two griffinish creatures, biped and quadruped. The beasts and foliage here are, as remarked by Dean Howson, singularly like, but are not exact copies of what we find on the Saddell cross. The attitude of the beast, though apparently meant to signify clutching at the bird's throat, while his paw is in her mouth, is, in my reading of the sculpture, hardly such as to warrant its being spoken of as "having by" the throat. Again, the paw in the bird's jaws has been so treated by the sculptor, that it might very well pass for the long tongue so often seen protruding from the mouths of these dragon-like creatures in the Argyllshire carvings, and may have been intended by the artist thus to do double duty. Yet, in spite of the temptation, when drawing the Kilkerran cross, to help this expression by a touch, I have been careful to represent no more than I conceive to be the actual fact. I refer to this in consequence of a criticism having been made[3] in these very particulars upon a drawing of mine at Saddell (Pl. XXXIX.),

Necessity for rigid accuracy in copying the slab sculptures.

order of a Parliamentary commission between the years 1621-38. As Campbelton, however, had by this latter date attained some importance as a trading port, the site of the older building would most likely be selected nearer the heart of the burgh, and not where the still more ancient original church had stood. It is pretty certain there was a church of some kind in existence so far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, as before 1250 a charter of Rotheric, the grandson of Sumarlid, is witnessed by Gilbert, the parson of Kil-Chieran.

[1] Dr John Smith evidently thought it did. (See Old Stat. Acct.)

[2] Another burial-ground, apparently of unknown age, once stood in the thick of the town at the head of what is called the New Pier. All traces of it have now disappeared, but there are persons living in the neighbourhood who remember to have seen the last of the gravestones there.

[3] Report in 'Scotsman' and Courant' journals of 13th Dec. 1870 of a paper on Early West Highland "Monumental Art," read by Mr J. Drummond, R.S.A., to the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot. the previous evening. Some of the criticisms by that gentleman on this occasion, however, were more or less correct; and in pointing

where precisely the same thing holds good. It is not uncommon in the case of these antique stone-carvings, exquisitely true and beautiful as their drawing generally is, to find little matters here and there which the modern artist in copying might improve into a better picture. Nor, for example, is the sculpturing of the alto-relievo effigies in the Highlands always in perfectly correct drawing, as any one conversant with these tombstones must have remarked. In this particular, however, no more were the English sepulchral monuments without imperfection, in spite of their general refinement of detail. Speaking of the earliest engraved brass now known to be in existence, that of Sir John d'Aubernoun (1277), Mr Waller remarks that, "considered as a work of art, it will "be found that the figure is ill-proportioned, but the arrangement of the drapery "judiciously contrived; whilst" (in another respect) "this brass is not excelled by any "posterior example."[1] Nevertheless, in all our drawings of such objects, it is rigid transcripts that we want—that which *is* there, not what the artist may think would have been better there. The other cross at Kilkerran (Pl. IX.) has, besides the inscription, a niche containing a figure in prayer, below which is another niche with a pair of figures embracing, and under that again a third with a mounted warrior attired as in the other cross; below the horseman is a panel where an ornamental cross-symbol can be made out, with other objects undecipherable. The niches are all trefoil-headed. On the reverse, we have tracery terminating in a pair of dragon's heads, a galley of the usual style, and an oblong piece of knot-work intertwined in a manner quite different from that on the other stone. The edges in both are beautifully ornamented with plait, cable, and foliage running designs, finished off with a dog or dragon's head. The inscription, in nine lines, reads :—

Cristin's Cross.

...E... EST . CRVX . CRISTINI . MA'T (or D) . ET . VXOR . EIVS .

The H of what was doubtless the word HEC is mutilated, and the C gone altogether. The letter following the "Ma'" looks like a T, but may be D, in which case the slab would doubtless refer to a Macdonald. It is the greatest pity that two such beautiful relics should only remain to us in a fragmentary state. The other two slabs have swords carved upon them, and tracery of the usual elegant design—one of them (Pl. X. 1) a fine specimen, with a defaced inscription in tolerable preservation, though sadly mauled about the corners; the other (Pl. X. 2) in a fragmentary state. Of more modern tombs, I may mention one to the memory of a Mr James Boes, sometime minister of the parish, who figured in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant as a martyr to nonconformity, and who has given his name to a cave near Dunaverty in the adjoining parish, where he is said to have concealed himself from persecution. The epitaph is well intentioned, though not particularly happy in its wording :—

Modern tombs.

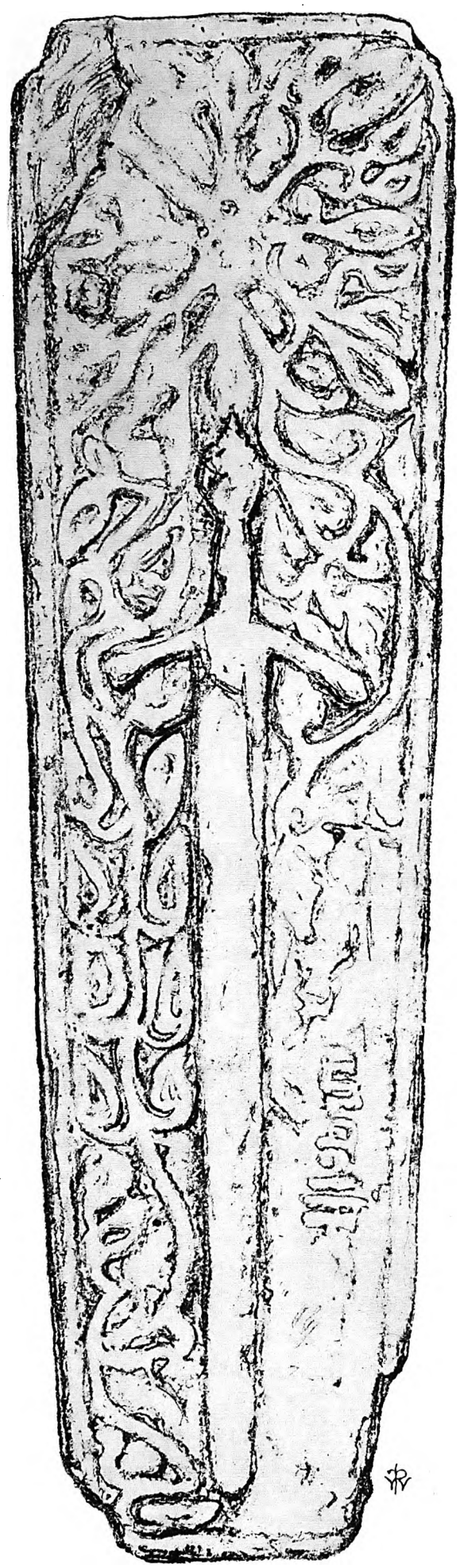
out such mistakes as I have elsewhere admitted—which, to my extreme regret, crept into one or two of the Saddell plates printed in the same Society's Proceedings—he has done me good service. The drawings in question were the first of the kind I attempted, and having been produced from rubbings only, without an after-comparison on the ground, some inaccuracies arose through misinterpretation of these latter. In the present volume I have endeavoured to put all right, though it is but too probable some points may yet have escaped me.

[1] Referred to in Boutell's 'Mon. Brasses and Slabs.'

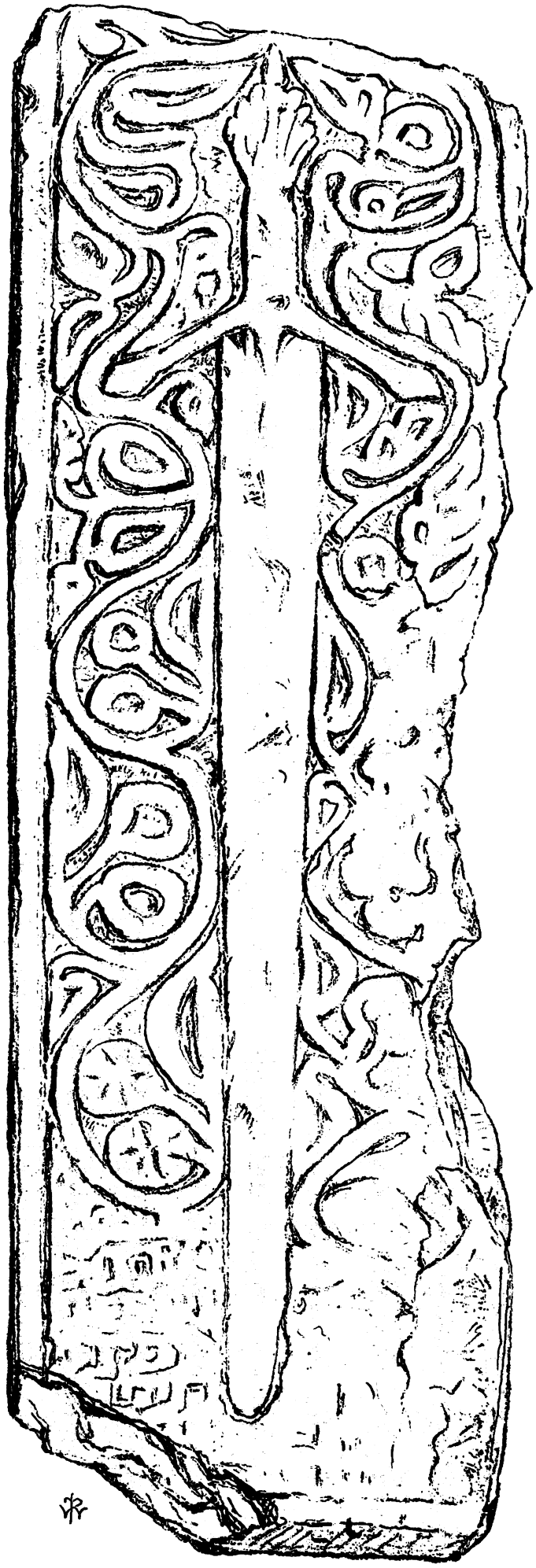
MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKERRAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE X.

1



2



Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White. R.E.

Photolithographed by W&A.K Johnston. Edinburgh

"Here lies the body of Mr James Boes, one of the ministers of Campbeltown, who "was born 1667, and died 14th Feb. 1749. Was (an extraordinary pious man) much "beloved by his flock, whom he loved as a faithful pastor 57 years, and by many whose "piety endeared him."[1]

Epitaph on James Boes, minister of Campbelton, 1667-1749.

What a curious contrast here to the terse, almost chilling simplicity of the earlier utterances, "Hic jacet," or "Hec est crux," and then the name, but not another word about the individual, unless in rare cases to bid us "orate pro anima"!

The Mac-Eacherns.

Looking over the burial-ground, one finds, as might be expected, the name of M'Eachern occurring frequently. This family have a private burial-place, and from their tombstones we learn that some of them occupied the position of merchants in Campbelton at the beginning of last century, besides being represented by individuals in the humbler grades of life. I have described the M'Eachern cross as having on it a galley with a shield and trefoil. Now upon the cross at Saddell is a scutcheon with a precisely similar trefoil embossed upon it, so that here we have evidence exactly tallying with what is known of the clan Eachern of Killelan, an ancient tribe in the district, which, after the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles, followed the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre, and would be likely to assume their cognisance.[2] Colin M'Eachern of Killelan was head of his clan in 1493,[3] and, as Dr Stuart remarks, it is probably this chief and his wife whom the cross at Kilkerran commemorates.

The Mac-millans.

Macmillan is another common name in this burial-ground, and the family must have attained some consequence for one of them to have had the beautiful cross erected to his memory at Kilmorie, in the neighbouring district of Knapdale. When the recent statistical account of the district was made, descendants of these two families still remained in the neighbourhood as landed proprietors, in the persons of M'Eachern of Oatfield and M'Millan of Lephinstrath.

The cross of Yvar and Andrew M'Eachern.

I have still to mention—and I may fittingly do so here, from its probable connection with this burial-ground—the most perfect and best known of the sculptured crosses in Kintyre, the beautiful relic (Pl. XI.) which has been erected in the centre of the town of Campbelton.[4]

Its style and details.

The style is late mediæval, and though there is no date upon it, its antiquity has been fixed to about the year 1500. The cross, which stands 10 feet 10 inches in height above the pedestal, is of the wheel-pattern type, with a lip or projection at the top and sides of the wheel. A mermaid grasping a sword, next to her a grotesque winged creature, a pair of animals face to face in each of the side lips, and an intricate design of foliated tracery with a crosswise arrangement of the stems, fill up the circular space. Along the shaft this design lengthens into foliage of the loop-pattern, passing into a labyrinthine square of plait-work, which in its turn gives place as we descend to more foliage, running at the bottom into the tails of four more beasts. On the reverse face, within the wheel, one of the projections contains an angel with cross-headed spear vanquishing a dragon, and four

[1] I quote from Mackintosh, as I did not see the tomb myself.

[2] Gregory's Hist.

[3] Reg. of Privy Seal.

[4] Several notices of this cross have appeared. The most complete representation of it I have seen is the one in Dr Stuart's work. My drawing is from the excellent plaster cast in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities.

more figures encircled with tracery are introduced, leaving a lengthy blank space, where seems to have been another figure, probably of the Saviour. Along the limb two trefoil-headed niches extending about half-way down; in the upper one, more foliage, with apparently a comb; in the lower one, a square-shaped object, and a chalice, but these so placed as to give one the idea that something must have originally occupied the intervening space. Below the niches comes the inscription, and the rest of the space is occupied by more intertwined foliage, ever-varying as it descends, to avoid monotony, and ultimately twisting and twining itself in the most fanciful way into the tails of two four-footed creatures, one of which has a bird's beak and wings. The edges of the cross have the single leaf and stem ornament so common to these Western carvings, a kind of "trail" or "vignette" arrangement.[1] The wording of the inscription, all in church capitals, is—

Its inscription.

Hec est crux domini. Yvari. M. Heachurna quŏdam Rectoris de Kyl.(k)e(b)an. et domini Andree nati ejus Rectoris de Kil.C(om)an qui hanc crucem fieri faciebat.

The name "Kylkevan."

The letters about which I feel uncertain are bracketed. Dr Stuart and Mr Joseph Anderson read "Kyl-recan" for "Kyl-kevan," but a close scrutiny of the plaster cast (a very perfect one) decided me in favour of the latter; for what I here read as "V" is as nearly as possible identical with the second letter of "Yvari," and the "R" in these inscriptions is often hardly distinguishable from "K." Moreover, the rendering "Kylkevan" agrees better with what we know of the locality and with the remarks immediately to follow. The "om" of Kylcoman is illegible in the cast.

The date of this cross.

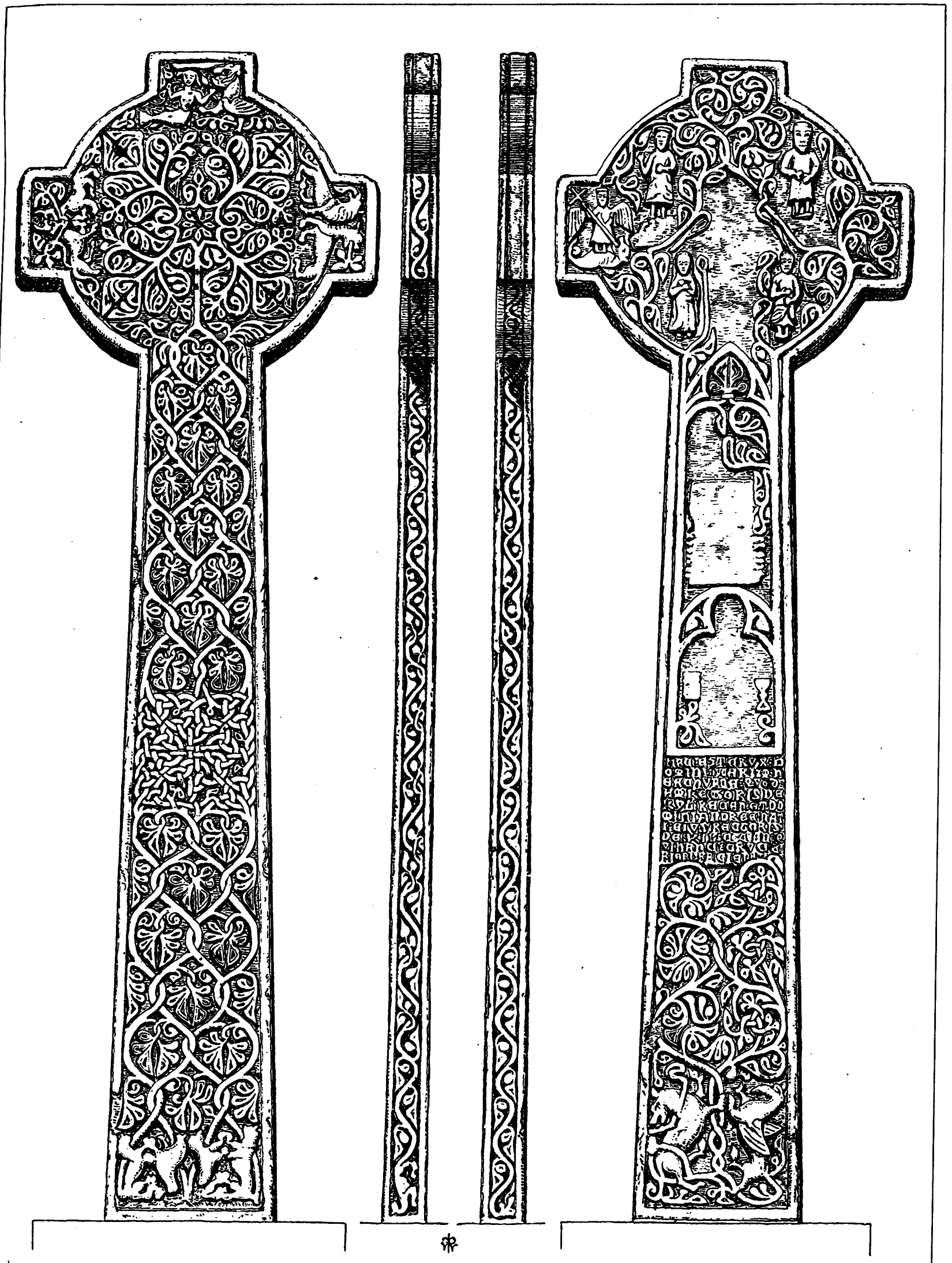
Respecting the antiquity of the cross, the argument has probably been fully summed up by Dr Reeves. From the character of this slab, as compared with Lauchlan MacFingon's cross-shaft in Iona, which is dated 1489, the former, he remarks, has been referred to the same period—and rightly so, he thinks, as is proved by the following record: "In "A.D. 1515, James V. presented to the rectory of Kilquhoan (or Kilchoan) in Ardnamur-"chane, vacant by the decease of Sir Andrew Makeacherne."[2] "This individual," proceeds Reeves, "was also rector of Elanfinan, now called Sunart. But Kilchoan is the "phonetic form of Kil-coman (so called from S. Comghan of October 13, in the Scotch "and Irish calendars), which appears on the cross; and as that cross was erected during "the incumbency of a man who died no later than 1515, we may reasonably refer the "execution of the work to 1500, only eleven years subsequent to the date assigned in Mr "Smith's judicious conjecture." After adding some further details of interest respecting the surname and family of MacEachern, the writer concludes, from the above evidence, "that the cross (at Campbelton), instead of being an importation from Hy, is probably "standing in its original parish (Kil-ciaran), and records the name of an old family of an "adjoining one." So far as the age of the cross, and the identification of the second indi-

[1] Both these edges are noteworthy—one from the unusual double branching of its stem, the other from the dexterous reversal of the pattern near the middle of the shaft. And, curiously enough, a little above where this break occurs, we observe what might be thought a fault; for two succeeding leaves, instead of alternating as elsewhere, are seen to be on the same side of the stem.

[2] Quoted from Orig. Paroch., Part II. p. 194.

SCULPTURED CROSS AT CAMPBELTON, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XI.



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

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

vidual commemorated on it with Sir Andrew Makeacherne of Kilquhoan are concerned, there appears to be no doubt of the correctness of Dr Reeves's view. But is it so certain that the "Kilcoman" on the cross is identical with the "Kilchoan" of Ardnamurchan? Persons of good family in those days were frequently rectors of more churches than one, and Sir Andrew MacEachern might very well have a family benefice in the locality occupied by his sept and adherents. Now "Kilchoman" and Kilkivan are both names under which an adjoining parish church, presently to be described, is designated in early documents,[1] and the ruins of this church are only some four miles distant from the site where in all probability the cross originally stood, and about the same distance from its present situation. Is it, then, too far-fetched to refer the Kilchoman and Kilkevan of this cross to one and the same place, the father having been *quondam* rector, and the son succeeding him, the dual form of the name given, we may suppose, to avoid tautology, or to satisfy a freak of the sculptor?[2] It seems, in any case, most likely that this beautiful monument was carried off from one of the neighbouring churchyards after the Reformation, and, as Dr Stuart remarks,[3] purposely defaced as a relic of superstition. This would account for the blank spaces in the ornamentation of the cross. This piece of sculpture is one of the most beautiful of the kind to be met with in Scotland. The popular belief as to its age appears to be greatly exaggerated. I had it on good authority that the eleventh or twelfth century was commonly assigned to it in the neighbourhood. Much, I am aware, is often made of popular tradition in these matters, and the utterings of half-educated persons, unaccustomed to sift evidence, are apt to be caught up and religiously hoarded, as if the repetition of an idle tale through a multitude of tongues must necessarily make it any the more credible. The unintelligible tradition that every slab of mediæval sculpturing in the Western districts was transported from Iona is almost universally accepted,[4]

The name of "Kilchoman."

Popular ideas of the antiquity of this cross.

[1] The parish of Kilkivan or Kilkevin, Kilchoman, &c.—Orig. Paroch., Part II.

[2] "The surname MacHeachyrna," says Reeves, "is commonly written MacEachern, and in the county of "Antrim has assumed the form M'Cagheron; while in Clare, the O'Echtigerns, who were chiefs of a small "territory north-west of Limerick, are now called Ahern. The origin of the name Each-tighern" (the Scotch Gaelic synonym is identical—Each-tighearn—master of horses) "was very common in Ireland. Thus Each-"tighern, son of Flann of Manister (*i. e.*, Monasterboice), was himself, in 1067, herenach of that monastery, "established a family name, and was succeeded by Eoghan MacEchtigheirn, who died in 1117; and the latter "by Feargna MacEchtigheirn, who died in 1122. In Scotland the family was called Clann Ectigearna" (Coll. de Reb. Alb.) "They were freeholders under the lords of the Isles" (Macdonald MS.), "and in the fifteenth "century held under them eight marklands in Kilblane at the south-east extremity of Cantyre, with the mayoralty-"of-fee of the lordship of Kintire, which was confirmed to Colin in 1499 by James IV., but in 1554 passed away "from the family (Orig. Paroch., vol. ii.) In 1605, John Grown Mac Vic Kechern was foster-father of Gillie-"callum Macfeithe of Colonsay, and 'officear' of the island. He had two sons, Archibald and Gilliecallum" (Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 203). "Colin Makachern, of 1499, is probably the 'Cailin' of the genealogy." The genealogy here referred to is one among others translated from a collection of Gaelic MSS. found accidentally several years ago in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The date of the collection is put down with tolerable certainty to about the middle of the fifteenth century. The MacEachern genealogy contains about a dozen names from father to son, and is headed "Genelach clann Ectigearna."—Reeves's Vita S. Colomb., p. 420.

[3] Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. ii.

[4] I am aware of the arguments put forward by Mr H. D. Graham in his 'Illustrations of Iona' in favour of this belief being true. But though doubtless *some* of the slabs throughout other parts of Argyllshire may have been abstracted and boated off from the revered island, that is a different thing from the supposition that *all* came from thence. It may be well said, however, that what is impossible in fact is true in idea, for Iona was indeed the nursery of the *spirit* which impelled these obscure monks to enrich the land with their patient and unselfish toil.

The so-called "Iona" stones.

as if the island had been a great factory of tombstones with a shipping and carrying trade devoted to such articles, and that there were no sculptors elsewhere to produce them. One might as well suppose, for any evidence there is in either case, that every moulded stone in the old chapels came out of the same workshop. The notion about the Inveraray cross having been stolen from Southend is probably of a piece with the Iona tradition. It may be admitted there is often good grain to be extracted from the husks of popular beliefs; but one must mercilessly apply the flail, and not be surprised if the truth be nearly smothered in the chaff that comes away with it.

Down on the shore near the churchyard, is the ruin of the royal castle of Kilkerran; and another, belonging to the lords of Kintyre, stood on the site of the present parish church in the town of Campbelton. Both, being much interwoven with the secular history of the district, will be noticed in their proper place hereafter; meanwhile it may suffice to note their respective situations. Apropos, however, of what we have just been commenting upon—the looseness of popular traditions—may be instanced a cave a little further eastward on the same side of the bay. Its local name is the Piper's Cove; and the identical story, with only a slight variation, is attached to it that we have noted respecting the cave at Kiel, in Southend. The piper, playing "Macrimmon's Lament," walked in at the cave's mouth with his dog, and was never more seen; but the dog, says the Campbelton account, came out to the light again from the Kiel cave minus his hide, which had been skinned off on the journey, presumably by the powers of darkness. Both versions of the story, however, agree that the piper has gone on ever since playing the same tune, which folks above ground may occasionally hear to this day. Here we have a specimen of the easy way in which many a story is made to do duty over and over again in a variety of localities. Nevertheless, it is vain to expect that the discrepancies and misappropriations so constantly crossing one's path in searching for old stories will ever be sufficient to deter people from believing in them. The universal answer those wedded to faith in popular traditions give us is—and there may be something in it—that the various garbs in which an old tale is dressed up only go to show that it has a foundation of truth.

S. Ciaran.

And now, from the church which bore his name, let us turn for a moment to the life and character of the saint. Ciaran, Kieran, or Queran, was born A.D. 515-16, some six years before the date of S. Columba's birth. Educated with Columba in the monastic schools of Ireland, which even at that early time were established institutions of the Christian Church in that island, it was not surprising that Ciaran should come to attach himself warmly to his more ardent companion, whose master-spirit was soon to assert itself wherever he went. While attending these schools together, a characteristic incident is recorded of the two fellow-students. Let M. de Montalembert tell it in his own charming way. "The royal birth of Columba procured him several distinctions in the "schools, which were not always to the satisfaction of his comrades. One of the latter, "named *Kieran*, who was also destined to fill a great place in Scotic legend, became "indignant at the ascendancy of Columba; but while the two students disputed, a celestial "messenger came to Kieran, and placed before him an auger, a plane, and an axe, saying,

" 'Look at these tools and recollect these are all thou hast sacrificed for God, since " 'thy father was only a carpenter; but Columba has sacrificed the sceptre of Ireland, " 'which might have come to him by right of his birth and the grandeur of his race.'" At no time in the history of the Church, to its praise be it said, has the circumstance of humble birth closed the door to the cloister or the pulpit; and in those days of signs and omens, Ciaran might have reminded the angel that to be the son of a carpenter should in itself be reckoned a distinction of more golden augury than to be the offspring of a king![1] Ciaran's monastic apprenticeship, as we learn from authentic records, terminated under S. Finnian, the founder of Clonard, who was to the full as distinguished in the hagiologies as his pupil. It was from his hands that Ciaran received his ordination as deacon. This Finnian, be it remembered, was the celebrated monk under whom it would appear that Columba, Ciaran, and another famous Scottish saint who has also left his name in Kintyre, Kenneth, were all three fellow-students together at Clonard; and the well-known story of the Psalter surreptitiously copied by Columba appertains to him. Ciaran, a year before his death, founded the renowned monastery of Clonmacnoise, in Ireland, for which his chief patron, King Diarmaid, granted the site and endowments.[2] On the 9th Sept. A.D. 548,[3] as the annalists tell us, the saint died in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He was esteemed one of the chief saints of Ireland, and his monastery rose to the highest importance. The greatest of the Irish princes had their bones laid in Ciaran's cemetery; and at the beginning of the present century, besides several ecclesiastical buildings, two round towers, a castle, and two large standard-crosses, there remained among the Cluan relics no less than one hundred and forty ancient sepulchral slabs. "The value," says the editor of Dr Petrie's illustrations of these monuments, "set on this spot as a cemetery, is of very early antiquity, and, like "that attached to Iona, arose out of a belief in the power which the patron saint's "intercession would have with the Deity on the last day. . . . Thus, in the life of "Ciaran, it is set down that the best blood of Ireland have chosen their bodies to be "buried in Cluain; for that Ciaran had such power—being a holy bishop, through the will "of God—that whatever souls, harboured in the bodies, are buried under that dust, may "never be adjudged to damnation. The Pilgrim's Road, one of the ancient approaches "to Clonmacnois, is still traceable for many miles." That Ciaran's reputation as a missionary was fully established, is apparent from the title "Queranus Coloniensis," bestowed upon him in the Paschal Epistle of Cummian, who ranks him among the "Patres Priores" of the Irish.[4] Columba, it is equally certain, regarded his early associate with distinguished favour, for he appears to have written a highly commendatory hymn to his memory, calling him "the light of this Isle" (Ireland).[5] Among other dedications to

Incidents related in his life.

His high reputation.

[1] His age, and the nature of his father's trade, did afterwards, it seems, lead to his being likened to Christ. He never looked upon a woman, and never told a lie.—Bp. Forbes's Kalendaria.

[2] Reeves's Adamnan: Vita S. Kierani.

[3] The date adopted by Dr Forbes, who follows the majority of Scottish calendars. Some authorities give the year as 549, and vary the day slightly.

[4] Reeves's Adamnan: Vita S. Kierani.

[5] Old and New Stat. Accts.

Ciaran in Scotland are Kil-kiaran in Islay, Lismore, and Carrick.[1] It is tantalising that not a word should be said by any of the Irish chroniclers as to his migration into Kintyre. At what time in his short life the visit was made, how long he remained, and all the necessarily varied incidents of his mission-work there, remain to us a sealed book. We have the cave-cell on the lone sea-shore, to be presently described, containing some primitive relics, which it is not impossible may date back to the remote times of the saint himself; and that is all, with the exception of one meagre scrap of documentary evidence, which has also been brought to bear upon his residence there. This last, according to Dr Smith,[2] is a very ancient MS. missal, already referred to, "discovered during the last "century in Drummond Castle, and supposed to be that which was borrowed by Father "Innes, as mentioned in his critical essay." The missal contains a prayer in Erse, or Irish Gaelic, ascribed to S. Ciaran himself; and from there being the mention of a cell in this prayer, Dr Smith inferred the Campbelton Cave to have been the probable locality of its composition.[3] The language of the prayer is simple and earnest, telling of an asceticism which must have been in his case but too real. In the expression addressed to our Saviour, "Long have Thy visits been denied to my cell," we recognise that peculiar characteristic of the early saints which some of us call faith and others credulity, but which at all events sufficed to animate and sustain them in their labours wherever they went. In the days of Columba and Ciaran, the traditions and spirit of apostolic times still lingered; nor need we greatly wonder that it should have seemed as if the bodily presence of their divine Head, so lately amongst His flock, might sometimes vouchsafe to return to earth—that it should have seemed to them no mere visionary dream to supplicate for "the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that was still." Ciaran was no exception to the general run of the ecclesiastics of his time, and his biography of course teems with the miraculous. There was the vision of the tree which grew on the Shannon's banks and covered all Erin with its shadow, the rede of which was aptly enough interpreted to signify that "Kieran's honour should fill all Ireland" (Scottish Dalriada might have been added), "and the shadow of his grace and piety protect it from "demons, plagues, and dangers, while the fruits of his teaching should spread to the ends "of the world." Of Ciaran's everyday life in Ireland we have all sorts of quaint little sketches. How a certain dun cow, "odhuyr Kyarian," supplied the whole establishment

Silence of the Irish annalists as to his presence in Kintyre.

Supposed reference to Ciaran in the Drummond Castle missal.

Ciaran's prayer.

Legends of the saint.

[1] Dr Forbes gives eight in all. It seems rather strange that Mr Grub, in his History, should have said not a word about Ciaran and his intimate connection with part of Scottish Dalriada. All he does is to quote from Alcuin with reference to S. Adamnan, who is classed with the most eminent of his nation—"Patrick, Kieran, "Columbanus, and Comgall." The passage itself by Alcuin is ample testimony to Ciaran's reputation; "Patricius, *Cheranus* Scotorum gloria gentis, atque Columbanus, Congallis, Adamnanus atque præclari patres, "morum vitæque magistri."—Eccles. Hist. of Scot.

[2] Author of the Old Stat. Acct. of this parish, one of the ablest notices of the series. Low also refers to this MS., and one of Bishop Forbes's calendars is taken from it. I understand it is shortly to be published with facsimiles of its pages.

[3] He translates the prayer as follows: "Alas that a learned cleric should perish! O Thou Son (of God), "have mercy on one devoted to Thy service. Heat and quicken my benumbed soul. Long have Thy visits been "denied to my cell. Yet should I have quickly failed, if Thou hadst not supported me. I will therefore render "Thee the tribute of my highest praise, before the multitude of the people; and place whatever pangs I may "endure to the score of my own sin and folly."

at Clonmacnois with milk, and how, long after her death, her hide remained a charmed talisman, whereon if any one should be fortunate enough to repose in his last moments, "vitam eternam cum Christo possidebit." Even for the Cluan brethren, however, this miracle was rather too much to be permanently swallowed; for, as Dr Reeves adds with a twinkle of humour, they afterwards converted the leather to a more practical purpose by making it the cover for one of their manuscripts. On one occasion, when the saint was walking abroad, he met a beggar in bad case as to habiliments, and at once parted with his hood (casula) to cover the naked one, which proceeding called forth from Senan,[1] a brother saint who chanced to be passing by at the moment, a severe rebuke—"Is it not "a shame for a priest to walk abroad in a pallium without his 'cuculla'?"[2] alluding to the upper and under garments generally worn by the clerics of the day—a somewhat Pharisaical remark, considering that the charity of the act might have sufficed to cover a multitude of sins in costume. Details, it may be noted, of the vestments of Ciaran's time, every scrap of them, are valuable items, especially with reference to the Scoto-Irish sculptured monuments of later date. The tunic and alb or surplice, besides the hood and cloak—all of which are found in the carved effigies of monks in the West Highlands—we know to have been worn by the primitive saints of the Columban era. Here, again, is an example of the virtue supposed to be inherent in the MS. parchments of the Fathers, and to insure their indestructibility by fire or water. S. Ciaran's copy of the Gospels on a certain occasion tumbled into a lake, and after remaining immersed for some time, was brought out in an uninjured state sticking to the foot of a cow, which had gone into the water to cool herself. The saints generally had some particular bird or beast associated with their miracles. In Ciaran's case the cow would seem to have been the medium. As to the members of his community at Clonmacnois, one thing we learn, that they were not altogether water-drinkers. "In those days"—I translate again from the Chronicle—"when "the brethren of S. Ciaran were reaping their corn, merchants of Gaul came to the saint and "filled up a huge vessel with wine, which he bestowed upon the brethren." And here, as in the story of Columba and Lugbeus at the Mull of Kintyre,[3] and in other instances, we get a glimpse of the frequent intercourse maintained in these primitive times between France and the western coasts of Britain. That Ciaran himself was an ascetic, what we have already noted of him in Kintyre makes pretty evident. One of his self-inflicted penances was a habit of subjecting the body to extreme cold—a common form of self-mortification, as his friend Columba, according to O'Donnell, was in the habit of taking a cold bath every night, and remaining in it while he recited the Psalter! In these days, I fear, such a process would damp the religious fervour of the strictest devotee. One more legend of the Dalriadic saint, and I have done. It shows the "odour of sanctity," to use a religionist's phrase, which he left behind him. For Ciaran being dead, S. Columba

Details of vestments mentioned in these legends well worth noting.

Ciaran's copy of the Gospels.

Ciaran a great ascetic.

[1] Probably the "Senchan" of Sanda Island, who, according to Forbes, would be many years senior to Ciaran, and therefore better entitled to admonish him.

[2] The "cuculla" was a sort of cloak and hood combined.—Reeves.

[3] See *ante*—description of Southend Parish.

Ciaran in Scotland are Kil-kiaran in Islay, Lismore, and Carrick.[1] It is tantalising that not a word should be said by any of the Irish chroniclers as to his migration into Kintyre. At what time in his short life the visit was made, how long he remained, and all the necessarily varied incidents of his mission-work there, remain to us a sealed book. We have the cave-cell on the lone sea-shore, to be presently described, containing some primitive relics, which it is not impossible may date back to the remote times of the saint himself; and that is all, with the exception of one meagre scrap of documentary evidence, which has also been brought to bear upon his residence there. This last, according to Dr Smith,[2] is a very ancient MS. missal, already referred to, "discovered during the last "century in Drummond Castle, and supposed to be that which was borrowed by Father "Innes, as mentioned in his critical essay." The missal contains a prayer in Erse, or Irish Gaelic, ascribed to S. Ciaran himself; and from there being the mention of a cell in this prayer, Dr Smith inferred the Campbelton Cave to have been the probable locality of its composition.[3] The language of the prayer is simple and earnest, telling of an asceticism which must have been in his case but too real. In the expression addressed to our Saviour, "Long have Thy visits been denied to my cell," we recognise that peculiar characteristic of the early saints which some of us call faith and others credulity, but which at all events sufficed to animate and sustain them in their labours wherever they went. In the days of Columba and Ciaran, the traditions and spirit of apostolic times still lingered; nor need we greatly wonder that it should have seemed as if the bodily presence of their divine Head, so lately amongst His flock, might sometimes vouchsafe to return to earth—that it should have seemed to them no mere visionary dream to supplicate for "the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that was still." Ciaran was no exception to the general run of the ecclesiastics of his time, and his biography of course teems with the miraculous. There was the vision of the tree which grew on the Shannon's banks and covered all Erin with its shadow, the rede of which was aptly enough interpreted to signify that "Kieran's honour should fill all Ireland" (Scottish Dalriada might have been added), "and the shadow of his grace and piety protect it from "demons, plagues, and dangers, while the fruits of his teaching should spread to the ends "of the world." Of Ciaran's everyday life in Ireland we have all sorts of quaint little sketches. How a certain dun cow, "odhuyr Kyarian," supplied the whole establishment

Silence of the Irish annalists as to his presence in Kintyre.

Supposed reference to Ciaran in the Drummond Castle missal.

Ciaran's prayer.

Legends of the saint.

[1] Dr Forbes gives eight in all. It seems rather strange that Mr Grub, in his History, should have said not a word about Ciaran and his intimate connection with part of Scottish Dalriada. All he does is to quote from Alcuin with reference to S. Adamnan, who is classed with the most eminent of his nation—"Patrick, Kieran, "Columbanus, and Comgall." The passage itself by Alcuin is ample testimony to Ciaran's reputation; "Patricius, *Cheranus* Scotorum gloria gentis, atque Columbanus, Congallis, Adamnanus atque præclari patres, "morum vitæque magistri."—Eccles. Hist. of Scot.

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made a pilgrimage to his lost brother's tomb at Clonmacnois, and taking thence some of the superincumbent earth, started back for Hy. But on the return-voyage, when his bark was nearing the dreaded Corryvreckan, a great storm arose, and soon the vessel was discovered to be drifting towards the whirlpool. Whereupon Columba threw out into the sea some of the sacred soil, and—mirum valde dictu!—instantly wind, waves, and whirlpool calmed down, and the ship was saved.[1] One small note I may make here regarding the saint's name. Curiously, one of the Scottish Gaelic synonyms for a solitary or sage is "maol-ciaran," used, I believe, in the sense of a forlorn person, "maol" signifying literally "bald." The prefix "mael" was a common one in the names of Irish ecclesiastics and others, especially those connected with Ciaran's monastery at Clonmacnois, and afterwards buried there. Not only so, but four of the ecclesiastics of that establishment, prior to the twelfth century, bore successively the name of "Mael-chiaran," which appears on their tombstones.[2] May not this term have originated with the saint—perhaps applied to him in his lifetime in allusion to his wearing the tonsure,[3] and in process of time incorporated into the language as the designation of a hermit? These are nice questions for the philologist, and not without their suggestiveness to the historian and archæologist.

The name "Mael-Chiaran."

S. Ciaran's cave.

Having attempted to sketch very briefly a few incidents in the life of S. Ciaran with the hope of bringing out his figure into some sort of tangible relief, I must not omit mention of what is still to be seen on the lonely spot haunted by his name and associations of his presence. The cave traditionally said to have been his cell is about three miles from Kilkerran, near the south-eastern limit of the parish. It is by no means easy to find, for the shore as you approach it steepens to a formidable cliff; and either way of reaching it, whether along the beach over broken boulders and shingle, or from above down a foot-track more suitable for a goat than a human being, requires a stiff bit of walking. To any one who has a head for climbing, I would say let him walk out by the shore road from Campbelton as far as the farm of Achinhoan, then make off straight for the sea across a flat and over a brow, descend the green slope on the other side till it becomes a precipice, and then scramble down the best way he can. This will land him somewhere very near the spot required.[4] The cliff is named Achinhoan Head; and the cave, which is hollowed out of the limestone composing it, is one of many similar rock-fissures occurring along this coast-line. Out of these weird caverns, as you enter, rock jackdaws and pigeons flit scared at the intrusion, and by-and-by flutter in again to vanish into innermost depths of blackness which the eye is utterly unable to penetrate. The dwelling-place of

Its lonely and inaccessible situation on the sea-shore.

[1] Adamnan: Vita S. Colomb.

[2] Petrie's Irish Christian Inscriptions.

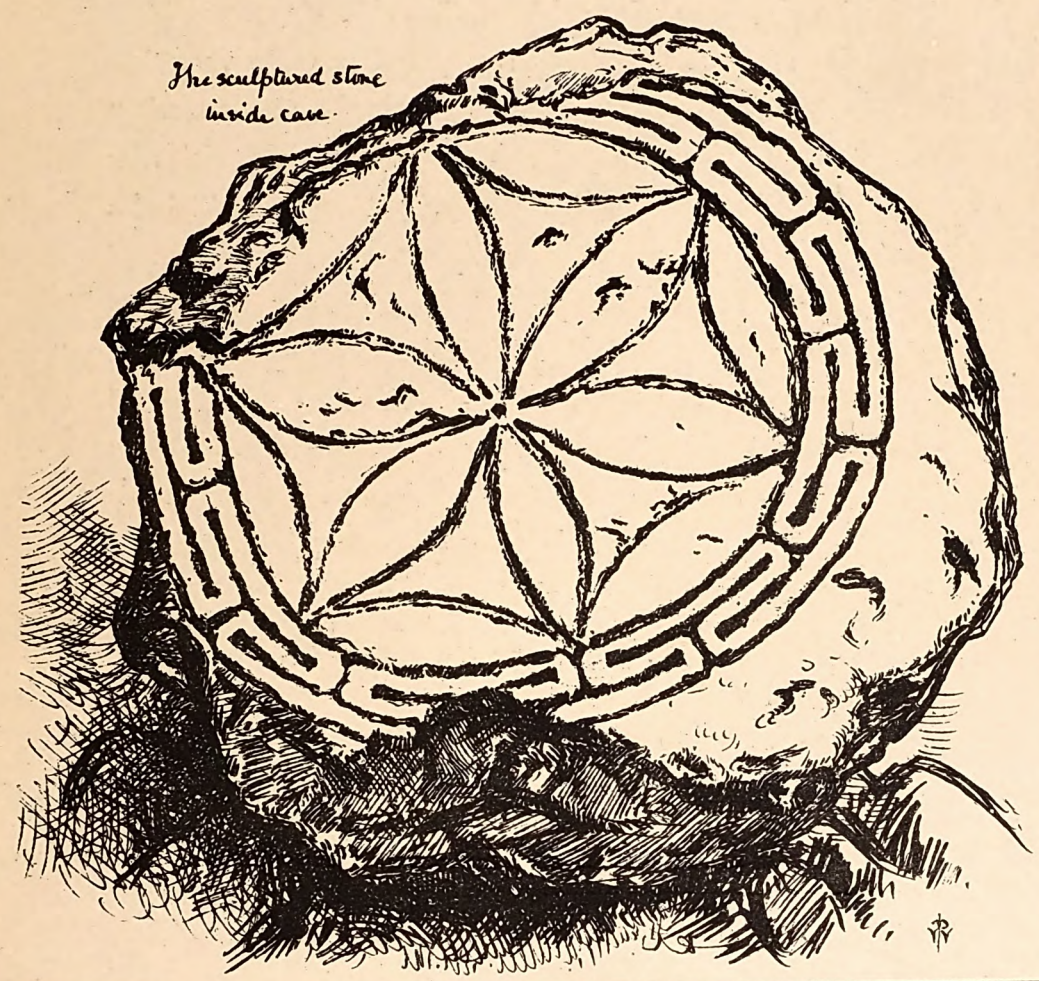
[3] My first views on this point are fully confirmed by the translation of the name "Mael-chiaran" given in Petrie's work—"the tonsured (servant) of Ciaran." "Ciaran," pertinently adds the writer, "being the patron saint "of Clonmacnois, it is but natural to suppose that a name thus expressive of devotion to his memory would be a "common one amongst the ecclesiastics of that place." The reader may be reminded that it is a very general, if not almost a universal, practice for a Romish "religious person" of either sex to change his or her name on taking the vows.

[4] Only, however, if it happens to be pretty low water. At other states of the tide, the place can only be got at by boat.

SKETCHES AT S. KIARAN'S CAVE, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

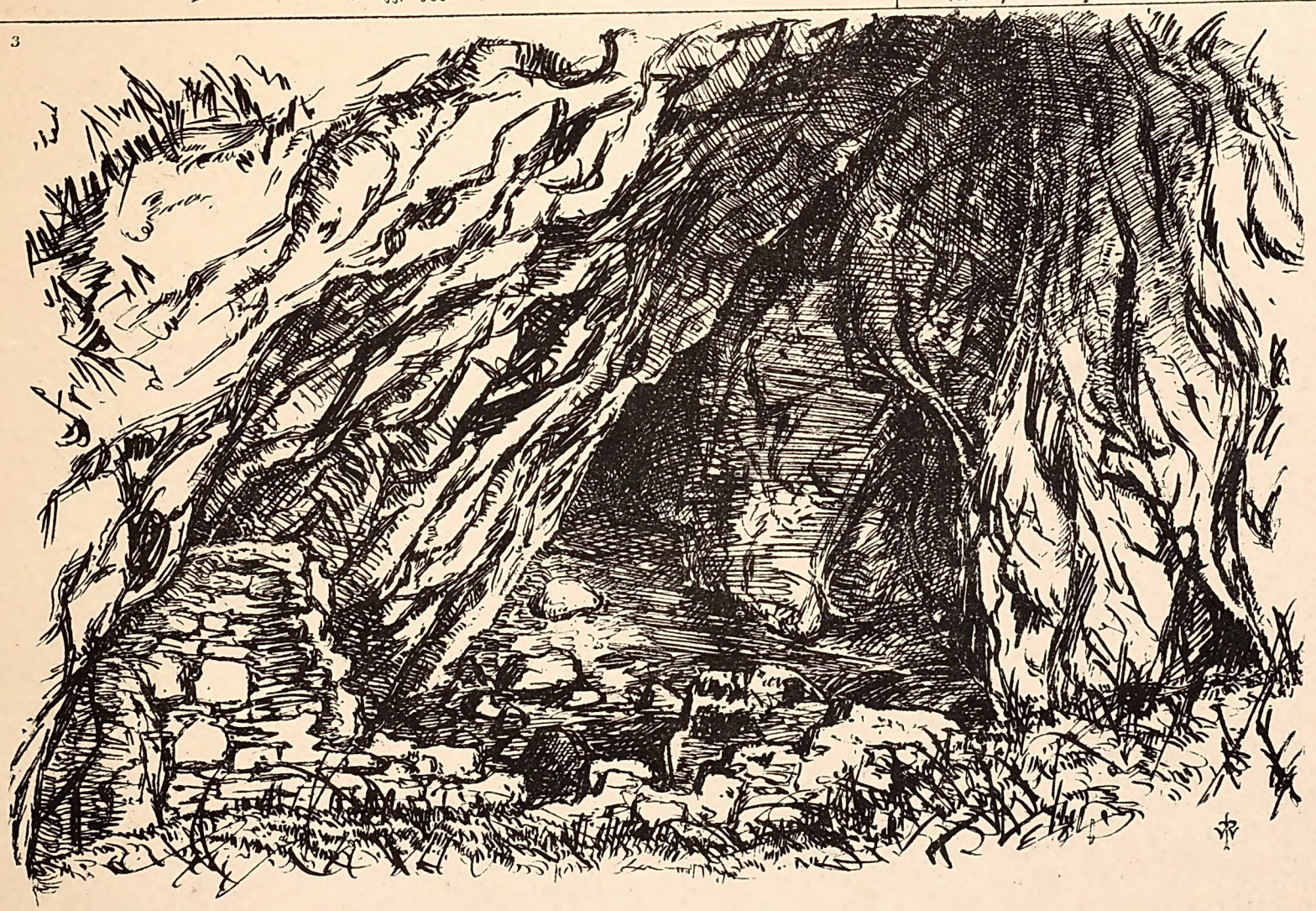
PLATE XII.

1



2

3



S. Kiaran's Cave (from outside)

Sketched by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

the saint (Pls. XII. and XIII.) is about the largest of all the caves, and is very lofty inside. Barring its entrance are the remains of a substantially-built wall, 3 feet in thickness, and still standing some feet in height, the masonry of which has the appearance of being at least as old as the ruined churches of the district. On the left going in, is one of the relics already alluded to—a flat roundish stone (Pl. XII. 1), about 2 feet in diameter, which at once suggests the idea of a seat. Carved upon this stone is a circular figure, with inscribed hexafoil,[1] having its cusps connected by arcs, and surrounded by a cable border arranged in a sort of Greek pattern of square folds, the whole being incised. From the character of this carving we might be inclined to refer it to the same era as the general run of the sculptured tombstones; but how should such a relic have found its way here? The most probable explanation I can offer is, that the stone itself and the font near it may be genuine legacies from the sixth century, when the hermit made use of this cave; and that in a later age the Church, which highly venerated everything in the shape of relics connected with the early Fathers, found these mementos of S. Ciaran's presence in the cave, caused the stone seat to be embellished, and perhaps adding the wall, converted the place into a shrine.[2] Near this stone, which has lost some pieces cutting through the border, is another small fragment traced over with lines, perhaps one of these lost pieces. Besides these, there is a small basin (Pls. XII. and XIII. 2), nearly oval in shape, neatly scooped out of a block, 2 feet long by 1½ wide, which exactly underlies a drip of water from the roof of the cave. The water-supply is said never to have failed, and always to keep the little basin full. Tradition calls it the saint's font or holy well. One can fancy the saint's solitary meditations, as he sat perchance at the mouth of his rock-hewn hermitage, to have been not altogether unrelieved by the majestic panorama on all sides of him, for it were impossible that any but the most unobservant eye should be insensible to such scenery. The entire length of Arran island on the horizon to the north-east—the low headlands, creeks, and promontories of the Kintyre shore stretching away towards the north—in the far distance Ailsa and the hills of Carrick—and dominant above all the great expanse of sea, with the everlasting wash of its waters within his hearing, and almost at his very feet! A remarkable rock close by the cave is named "Fiddler's Rock," from some unknown association not apparently savouring much of the saintly; and a little further on towards Campbelton I came upon a coffin-shaped hole, just clear of high-water mark, cased with stone, but without cover, which is said to have been the grave of a shipwrecked seaman. The name of the saint, besides being perpetuated in the cave, is found in a neighbouring hill and stream.

Description of the cave's interior, and relics.

The style of carving on the stone seat.

From the memories of S. Ciaran let us turn to the later charter details connected

Parochial charter details.

[1] A hexagonal figure, precisely similar, with a single surrounding circle, occurs as one of the symbols of S. Valentine.—Parker's Illustrated Calendar.

[2] I have let this sentence stand as it was originally written, before I had an opportunity of consulting Dr Petrie's work on Irish sepulchral memorials. But I was much impressed by finding, among the earliest of the Clonmacnois slabs, which are by that author referred to a period as far back as the eighth and ninth centuries, the identical pattern of border seen on this cave-relic of Kintyre. Coupling this with the plainness of the incised hexagonal figure, and the retired situation of the cave, I find myself induced to give the relic a far wider range of possible antiquity; nay, is it so very improbable that S. Ciaran may himself have been the sculptor?

with Kilkerran, which are much fuller than in the case of the neighbouring parishes. It is from the Register of Paisley Abbey that most of this information is derived, and by means of it we can make out something like a continuous record of the clergy who filled the benefice, and of their proceedings between the middle of the thirteenth and the close of the fifteenth centuries. The narrative also brings out clearly the close relations of the Macdonald family with Kilkerran, and again of both with Paisley. Whether, as has been suggested,[1] this connection with Paisley had originated with the circumstance of Sumarlid "de Insulis" having died so near that place—at Renfrew—may, I think, be doubted. The importance, dignity, and sanctity of the great Clyde Monastery, and its being so conveniently situated on the natural highway from the Isles to the low country as necessarily to make it a consideration for the chiefs of the Isles to be on good terms with the brethren, might seem a sufficient reason. But whatever the reasons—and they were evidently in part religious ones—we find the son and grandson of Sumarlid, Reginald and Donald,[2] who are the real fathers of the house of the Isles, figuring as monks (lay brethren, doubtless) of Paisley, and their benefactions and connection with that monastery continued through their successors. Apparently the first ecclesiastic mentioned by name in the capacity of Parson of Kilkerran is that Gilbert already stated to have witnessed a charter of Ruari or Rotheric,[3] the grandson of Sumarlid. This was a little earlier than the year 1253. At or about the same date, one Malcolm is recorded to have been rector; and here we suddenly, as it were, drop into the midst of a system of parochial church organisation seemingly in full force, the antecedent links of which are altogether missing. Parson, *curé*, parish priest, call him what you will, here he is, in the middle of the thirteenth century, doing his work, doubtless, within his beat, as the Scottish minister's assistant or the hard-worked curate south of the Tweed has to do his to-day; while the rector in too many cases enjoys the temporalities of the living, or the best part of them, and does little or nothing in return.[4] This is to all appearance the meaning of these entries. But with what a strange abruptness are we introduced to this parochial system! Between Gilbert and Ciaran of the Cave is a gulf seven centuries wide, while of the bridge connecting these individuals not a pier, not a stone is visible. We have a record, with a few of its earlier pages left dimly legible, then a great vacuum of torn-out leaves, after which the narrative is resumed, fragmentary, and with many gaps at first, but gradually settling down into the clear unbroken sequence of modern ecclesiastical history. Another entry in the Register, evidently referring to a date prior to 1253, shows us the first Macdonald proper (Engus, son of Donald, Lord of Hyle) granting Kilkerran Church to the Paisley monks for certain reasons set forth at length. Thus runs the quaint phraseology of the document: "To all the faithful in Christ present and future eternal "greeting in the Lord, (from) Engus, son of Douenald. Be it known that I, for the sake

Of Gilbert, first recorded parson of Kilkerran, *circa* 1250;

and Malcolm, rector of the parish, at the same period.

Gulf in the records between Ciaran and the above.

Engus Macdonald's charter.

[1] Howson: Trans. Cantab. Camden Society.

[2] See the account of Saddell Abbey further on.

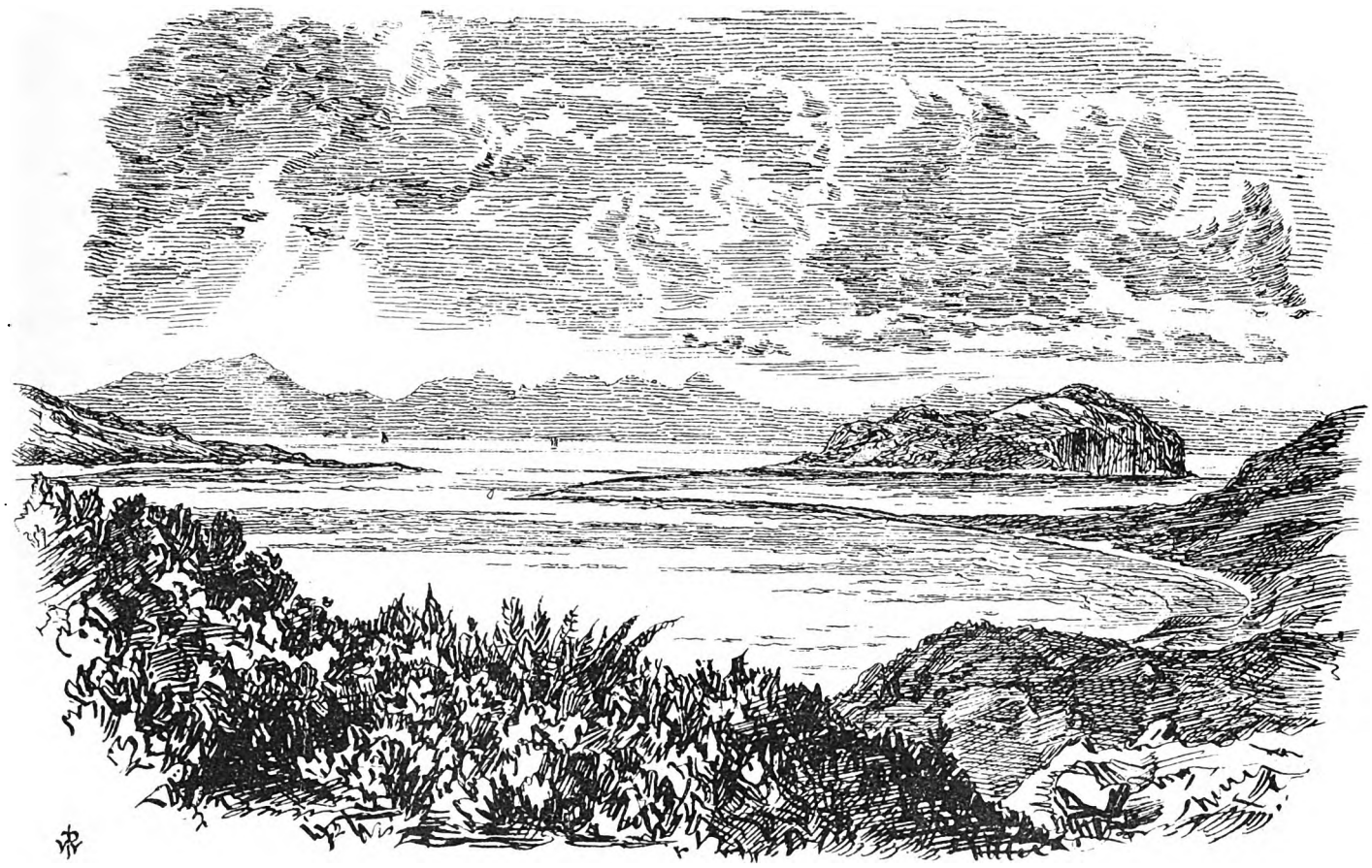
[3] The Ruari who, as we have seen, stuck so stanchly to King Hacon and the crown of Norway.

[4] This sort of thing happily is becoming rarer and rarer in the Anglican Church.

VIEWS IN CAMPBELTON PARISH, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

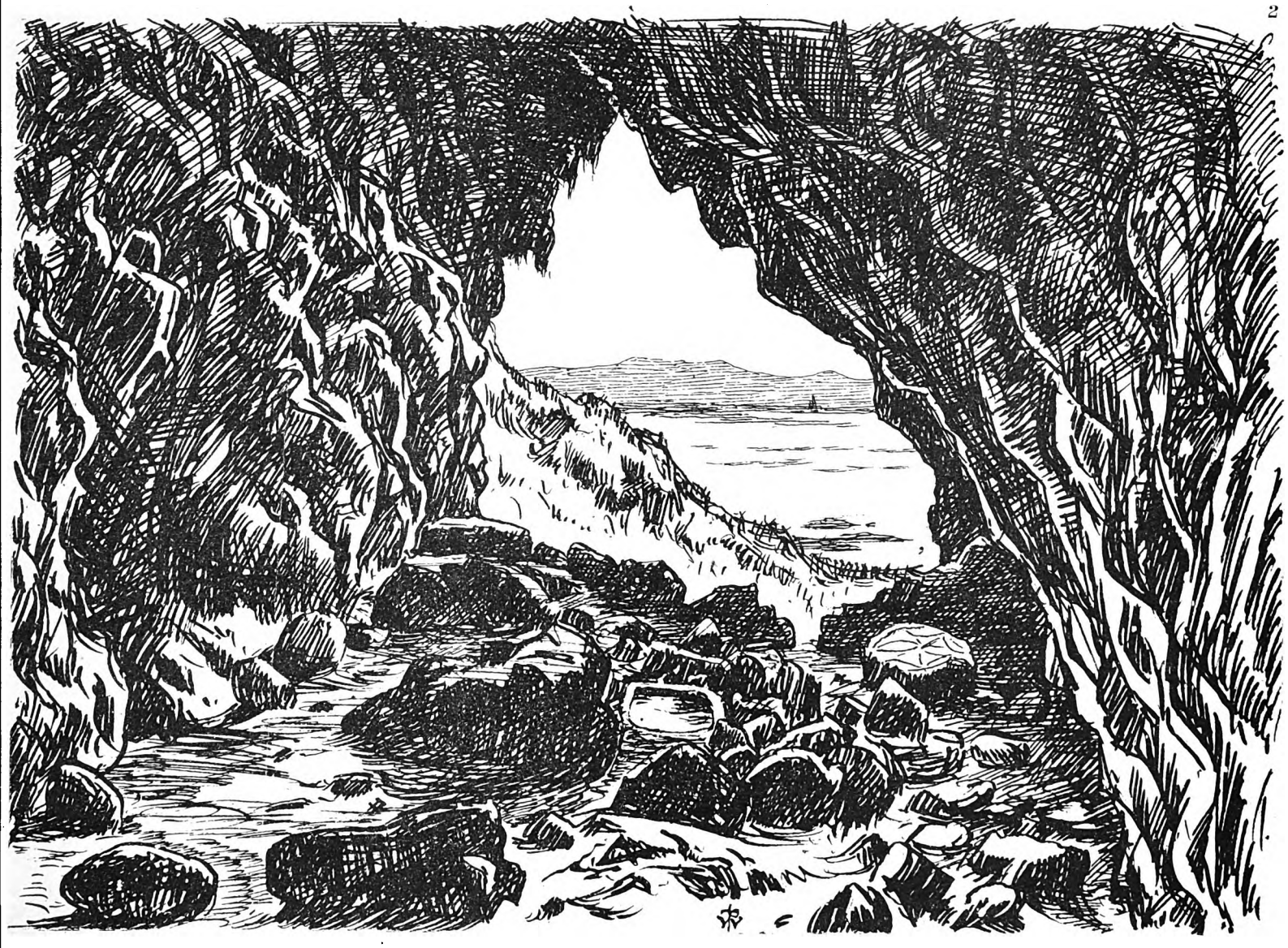
PLATE XIII.

1



View of Davar or S.Barr's 1st & Bay of Campbelton (From above Kilkerran)

2



S.Kiaran's Cave near Campbelton

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

" of piety, and for the welfare of my illustrious Lord Alexander, King of Scotland, and of " his son Alexander, and of myself, and my heirs, have given, conceded, and confirmed, by " this my charter, to God, to S. James, and S. Mirinus of the monastery of Passelet, and " to the monks now and for ever hereafter serving God there, the church of S. Queran in " my territory (which) is called Kentyir: To have and to hold, for a free, pure, and " perpetual almsgiving, with all its just pertinents, as freely and peaceably as any other " church soever in the kingdom of Scotland is held and possessed through the gift of earl " or baron having right of patronage in churches. These are the witnesses—the Lord " Alan of Nef, soldier; Ferchar, son to Nigil of Buyt; Dovenald, clerk of Kildufbenin; " Gilhis Macdunsith; Kennauth Macgilruth; Gilleschop the Nuncio, and others."[1] In 1253, Alan, Bishop of Argyle, inspects and confirms the above grant, reserving, however, by express mention, his own fourth share, appertaining to the episcopal table, and all episcopal rights.[2] And the charter of gift is afterwards inspected and certified by James the Steward of Scotland among other witnesses, to see that all was in form.[3] The mediæval ecclesiastical corporations, it may be observed, were invariably most particular in securing to themselves, by means of every possible lock and double lock of legal exactitude, whatever came their way. Neither would they relax a jot or tittle of spiritual suzerainty over a particular church when once it had become in any way bound to them. Here is an instance. Malcolm, the rector of Kil-Queran, had, with consent of his patron Engus, bound himself to pay yearly from that church to the Paisley monks a pension of a weight of iron commonly called a stone. Having failed to do so, he is sued at law, in the year 1261, by a writ from Alan, Bishop of Argyle; and as he repents of his disobedience, the matter is patched up by Bishop Alan's agreeing to give the unlucky delinquent absolution, but only on condition that he is to be saddled with an annual tribute of a pound of wax, or sixpence in addition to the stone of iron, for the remainder of his days, from the date of the bishop's award.[4] It is from incidents of this kind that we

Rector Malcolm's default with the Paisley friars.

[1] Registr. Monast. Passelet, p. 128. This Angus, Sumarlid's grandson, was at this time, as we have seen, a subject of King Hacon of Norway for his island dominions, and afterwards actually bore a command in the Norwegian fleet's operations in the Clyde against Scotland.—See the Hacon Saga.

[2] Registr. Monast. Pass., 129.

[3] The copy of Angus's original deed of gift, above quoted, with Bishop Alan's confirmation, are what James Steward certifies to. The other witnesses certifying are—the Lord Robert, treasurer of the church of Glasgow; Master Thomas Nicholay, sub-dean of the same place; and Master Alexander Kenedy, canon of the same church.—Registr. Monast. Passelet, p. 127.

[4] The transaction is so characteristic, that I cannot refrain from quoting the bishop's mandate in full. It is headed in the Chartulary, "Concerning the pension payable by the Rector of the same church," and is in these words: "To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear this writ, health in the Lord, (from) Alan, by " the grace of God, Bishop of Argyle. Be it known that Malcolm, Rector of the church of S. Queran in " Kentyir, which the nobleman Lord Engus, son of Dovenald, very patron of the same church, conferred upon " the monastery of Passelet and the monks now and hereafter serving God there, undertook, with consent and " by desire of the same nobleman, during the time of our predecessor, to pay annually from the aforesaid " church to the foresaid monastery a pension of an iron weight, commonly called a stone;—that he failed to " discharge the payment in full, for which reason he was sued in the presence of delegated judges;—that " afterward he, repenting of his disobedience and inconstancy, humbly made satisfaction concerning the " undischarged payment of the aforesaid pension, and both he, with a bodily surety and an oath upon the " most sacred Gospels, and the Abbot and convent of the same place, have submitted to our ruling in respect

gather an idea of the rigid justice, seldom or never expanding into generosity, which was administered in inter-ecclesiastical causes. The notion of an emissary starting annually from Kilkerran to sail up the Clyde with a cargo consisting of a stone of iron and a pound of wax, would appear ridiculous if we made no allowance for the circumstances and ideas of precision in discharge of bargains which obtained in the middle ages. In 1265, Pope Clement IV. signs the bull of confirmation of Engus's grant, which is now stated to include the church of Kyl-keran, with its *chapels* and *lands*, so that the parish was by this time thoroughly in the grip of the Paisley friars. In 1269, Laurence, Bishop of Argyle, finds it necessary to add his confirmation; and in it Kilkerran, along with another Kintyre church, is spoken of as "a mother church, with its chapels, &c."[1] Probably this term "mother" referred simply to the head church of the parish, and not to a distinction extending over adjoining parishes.[2] About the year 1294, Alexander of Hyle (Isla), the son and heir of Engus, Lord of Hyle (Angus Mor), confirmed his father's grant to the Paisley monks; and this charter has a certain interest from the names of some of the witnesses to it. After recapitulating the terms of Angus's gift, and referring to "the "hospitality and other compassionate gifts which are being wrought (fiunt) and daily "increase in the said monastery," the writ is fortified with the usual solemn asseverations, and thus closes: "And lest what has been done and recognised by me as an act of pious "devotion should at any future time be lost sight of (lit., 'perish in dark oblivion'), I have "provided, for the sake of a surer testimony, that this present writ be fortified with my "seal, together with the seal of Laurence, by the grace of God, Lord Bishop of Argyle, "and of the Lord Robert Brus, Earl of Carric." Then come the witnesses, "Patrick, "by God's grace Lord Abbot of Crosragal; the Lord Robert Bruce, Earl of Carric; "Robert, his son and heir; the Lord Robert, an English soldier; the Lord Maurice, "vicar of Aran (Arran); Patrick, a cleric of *Kentyir;* the Lord Nicholas, monk of "Crosragal, and others."[3]

Kilkerran a "mother church."

In 1299, we have a judgment or deliverance, to use the modern Scotch term, of an ecclesiastical court in connection with Kilkerran, on the old and much-vexed question of patronage. The parties in the suit were the Abbot of Paisley *versus* Laurence, Bishop

Ecclesiastical suits

"of the annual pension to the foresaid monastery. And we verily, for that the said Malcolm failed to discharge "as he was bound to do the first pension as promised, give judgment as follows;—to wit, that the same "Malcolm pay annually after Glasgow Market at Paisley, to the Paisley monastery in respect of his foresaid "church, one pound of wax, or else six pennies, by way of pension, and that the said Malcolm remain wholly "absolved from all proceedings and litigation which could be moved by the Abbot and convent of Paisley in "respect of arrears of payment up to the day of this judgment. In testimony of which judgment we have caused "the present writ to be confirmed (roborari), with the safeguard (munimine) of our seal. Given at Ar (Ayr) this "day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, in the year of grace one thousand two hundred and sixty-one. In "testimony of which thing, we have caused this present writ, for the sake of a surer evidence, to be confirmed "by our own seal, along with the official seal of the Corporation of Glasgow."—Registr. Monast. Passelet, p. 130.

[1] Registr. Monast. Passelet, p. 136. The wording is: "Matrices ecclesias cum capellis suis et omnibus aliis "libertatibus suis et justis pertinentiis."

[2] Kilcalmonell and Killean have each been supposed to have some special importance about them, from their being so called. This I doubt.

[3] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 129. The title "dominus," which I have here rendered "lord," is usually given as "sir."

of Argyle, respectively represented by one Venald, a Paisley brother, and Master Nicholas, Rector of S. Modan's Church,[1] the bishop's procurator. The Bishop of S. Andrews had been appointed sole arbiter by His Holiness, and had named two commissioners to act for him. Judgment was given on the Thursday after the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, with the following result: The Bishop of Argyle admits the abbey's claim to the patronage of S. Queran's Church, and with the usual solemnities of oath and seal agrees to do what has so often been done in similar cases—give up the shadow of what he is contending for on condition of retaining the substance; that is to say, Sir Angus, the vicar of the parish, his nominee, is to resign, and then be immediately reinstated in his vicariate by the monks.[2] In 1351, the brethren of Paisley are again at war with the Bishop of Argyle, at this time named Martin, for interfering with the tithes and fruits of some of their churches in his diocese; and their complaints elicit a lengthy missive from Pope Clement, who consents to appoint delegates to act in any suit they might bring forward.[3] Some years elapse, but at length the bishop is summoned to appear, in answer to the charge, before a commissioner within the Cathedral church of Glasgow on the 30th May 1362. The bishop failing, however, to appear on this day, a letter of suspension is without a moment's delay issued against him by the Pope's delegates, which sets forth the act of contumacy that had been committed, and threatens the bishop with the pains of the greater excommunication should there be any further opposition on his part beyond three days after receiving the writ.[4] Ultimately the matter was amicably adjusted through the medium of friends, the bishop to a certain extent yielding to the monks; and an indenture was entered into whereby he promises the Abbot of Paisley to abate his usurpations for the future in the matter of sequestration of church fruits and patronage, and undertakes also to make known the terms of the agreement by public proclamation in the mother tongue within every church and place in the diocese where any of these litigated points were in abeyance. Nor was Bishop Martin left a loophole of escape from publicity in the matter, for the proclamation was not to be made to empty churches, but the people were to be assembled to hear it.[5] In 1455, the monks of Paisley still retained their advowson rights in Kilkerran, which were confirmed to them in that year by John of Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles.[6] In 1489-91, the representative of the episcopate of Argyle, in the person of Bishop Robert, is again in disgrace, and at the old work, sequestrating on his own authority the fruits of certain churches in Kintyre—namely Colmanell, Kyl-Keran, and Kyl-lelan—which were the property of the Paisley Monastery. Evidently the obligation to pay away tithes and other church incomings was becoming

between bishops of Argyle and the Paisley monks.

[1] Kilmodan parish is in the Cowal district, S. Modan's church being in the secluded valley of Glendaruel.

[2] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 131; and Orig. Paroch. [3] Ibid., p. 140-144.

[4] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 144.

[5] The words of the whole clause are: "And lest anything of the preceding articles of agreement and "composition should hereafter be left open for revocation, the said lord bishop has promised to cause, expound, "and publicly proclaim in the mother tongue to the people for this or any other purpose assembled, the present "composition or agreement, in every church and place in his diocese where there was any question of the foregoing "matters."—Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 145.

[6] Orig. Paroch.

irksome to the incumbents of the see of Argyll; nor can we much wonder it should have been so, when it is remembered that these burdens were exacted by a distant monastery on the strength of ancient writings penned during times when proprietary rights were in a state of considerable oscillation and unsettlement. Again the Pope steps in, and the bishop is cited to appear in court before the Abbot of Culross or his deputies. On his declining to present himself, a deputation is appointed, consisting of two of his own curates[1] and another, who, through a notary acting at Dumbarton named Alexander Clugston, priest of Candida Casa, threaten him, unless he forthwith appear, with all the pains of the major excommunication, which were to be denounced against him "on all "Sundays and other festivals immediately after Mass, with lighted as well as extinguished "candles, after the usual manner," &c. &c. But all to no purpose; and two years later—namely, on the 17th day of April 1491—the refractory prelate is publicly excommunicated by the same notary from the parochial altar within the Cathedral Church at Glasgow, "the parishioners," as we read, being assembled therein to hear these religious matters (divina), in presence of these witnesses,—namely, Master John Goldsmyt, of the excellent (alme) University of Glasgow; Patrick Mason, rector of Mynto; Archibald Crawfurde; John Scot, curate of the aforesaid church of Glasgow; and George Ramsay, minister in the place of the parochial clergyman of the aforesaid church.[2] A curious little episode this, revealing the full-blown discipline of the Church at the close of the fifteenth century, when we can see at work the different springs of its formal and highly-elaborated machinery. Nor, if we substitute the Pope for the General Assembly, is that machinery so very unlike that of the modern Presbyterian Church; and at least in one important particular, not found in the Anglican Establishment, the two systems are identical—I mean the absence of any civil jurisdiction or court of appeal to oversee the decisions of the ecclesiastical tribunals. In the year 1561, the Abbot of Iona appears to have had a two-thirds' share, and the bishop one-third, of Keil-Cheirran Church.[3] In 1607 and 1614, the bishop possessed the whole of the teinds of the parish; but in 1621—and this demonstrates the former proprietary rights of the Paisley monks in Kilkerran—they belonged to Lord Paisley and Kilpatrick, as heir to the lordship and barony of Paisley.[4] In 1662, when Episcopacy resumed its brief reign in Scotland, the chapter of Argyle was reconstituted by King Charles II.; and the minister of Kilkerran (Lochead in Kintyre) was made one of the prebendaries.

Citation of Bishop Robert;

and his excommunication.

Change of the parish name.

I have already mentioned that the name of the parish was changed from Lochead to Campbelton about the year 1672, in honour of the family of Argyle. The records of the Presbytery of Kinloch (afterwards Kintyre) begin in 1634. Of one of the ministers, John Cameroune, it is noted that in a visionary trance on the morning of the 22d June 1679, he saw the flight of the Presbyterians at Bothwell, and was fully convinced of their defeat. "He was," adds the record, "a singularly pious and devout person, had a very edifying gift, and was countenanced with many seals of his ministry." In 1694, James Boes, whose

John Cameroune, minister of Campbelton.

[1] Namely, of Dunoon (Dunowne) and Kilmun (Kylmon).

[2] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 152-155. [3] Orig. Paroch. [4] Ibid.

epitaph in Kilkerran churchyard I have already referred to, succeeded to the Lowland ministerial charge of Campbelton parish. In 1704 he was offered the living of Newbattle, which he declined to accept, stating that "my people are so knitt and unite to me "as they resolve to stand by me to the outmost." Upon this, Elizabeth, Duchess-Dowager of Argyll, resident at Campbeltown, wrote to Jean, Countess of Lothian, on this wise: "I "can't comply with your request in parting with Mr Boes. 'Twair a sin to doe it, for his "people are so wedded to him; and I do as nearly think it lawful to separate man and "wife as a minister and his people."[1] James Boes.

We pass now from Kilkerran to yonder rocky island which throws its bluff outline across the entrance to the beautiful bay of Campbelton (Pl. XIII. 1). Nothing in the way of a site of any religious edifice can be traced here, but in old documents its name occurs as Sanct Barr's Island, its modern name being Davar. In the form "Dewre," found in an old charter of Robert I., we have a specimen of the way in which the origin of names oftentimes becomes so disguised as to be barely recognisable. S. Barr, or Finbar, was founder and patron saint of Cork, and also patron of Dornoch, the episcopal seat of Caithness, and of Barra, one of the Western Isles.[2] Like others already spoken of, this saint was a great rover in the cause of Christianity; and it may have been that during one of his long seafaring expeditions, Eilean Davar was visited with other localities. If so, his cell would very likely be one of the numerous caves which have been scooped out of the cliff on the seaward side of the island, a wild and melancholy spot. It is well known Davar or S. Barr's Island. S. Finbar or Barr.

that little out-of-the-way islands possessed attractions for these early saints, whether from their solitude, inaccessibility, or other causes; and it would be quite in character with the habits of these anchorites that S. Barr should have selected this rocky islet for a temporary home. Colgan informs us of this saint, that in a pilgrimage made by him to Rome he was attended by twelve companions. This number Twelve, as Dr Reeves has pointed out, was much adopted by the primitive Church in adjusting her social and religious arrangements, for in her excess of veneration for the apostolic order she loved to symbolise and copy even its accidental features. According to the martyrology of Donegal, S. Barr received consecration from the Saviour Himself![3] The same authority says he died in Caithness.[4] Glen Barr, in the adjoining parish of Killean, may have got its name from the same source as the island.

[1] Orig. letter in Newbattle Abbey Archives quoted in 'Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ,' whence I have obtained the above from the Presbytery records.

[2] Grub identifies him with S. Finnian of Moville, the tutor of Columba.

[3] Scot. Kalend. : Bp. Forbes. [4] Ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

Parish of Campbelton—*continued.*

THE next site I have to notice represents another of the former parish churches, Kilchouslan, situated on the north side of the bay of Campbelton. The ruin of the church, in dimensions some 60 feet by 20, is still in good preservation, walls and gable-ends tolerably entire, but the roof gone. The marvel is that the masonry has not long since been appropriated to build adjacent farmsteads, or fence in the crops. The windows are of the general lancet type, but plainer even than usual, and all square-headed. The south wall has three, that at the east end broken through to the ground, so as to give the appearance from a little distance of being a doorway (vignette on title-page). The gables have one each, but the north wall is blank, with a break in it (similar to that at Kil-columb, in Southend) one-third of its length distant from the east end. The burial-ground is still in use, and already inconveniently full of graves. A few inscriptions (Pl. XIV.) belong to the latter part of the seventeenth century, and are worded in the quaint manner of their time. One, a tablet in the west gable (Pl. XIV. 3), is to the memory of the late Dr Smith, the able and learned compiler of the first Statistical Account of Campbelton contributed to Sir John Sinclair's work, who is still spoken of in the district as having been a preacher of universal merit and popularity, a great scholar, and an amiable and accomplished gentleman of the old school of Scottish clergymen. Only one stone remnant of the mediæval period has been spared to us—namely, the fragment of what was evidently a beautiful standard-cross (Pl. XV.), though Dr Smith assures us that these relics were at one time so numerous in the churchyard as to have given their name to an adjacent farm.[1] It is very similar in character to the crosses at Kilkerran. On one face a horseman with spear and morion, above him the h ndle of a sword (the rest being broken off), and below a dog and stag. On the reverse, knot-work, two beasts *vis-à-vis*, and at the bottom the usual galley. One edge has the serpentine single stem and leaf pattern, the other a three-ply plait, each ply enriched with a double channelling. Another small fragment, obviously belonging to the same cross, shows a leaf pattern of some sort (Pl. XV.), but too little is left to make it out. Besides the cross, however, I found a small circular stone like a barrow-wheel or grinding-stone, with a round hole in the centre big enough to pass the hand through. One tradition tells a curious story about this stone. If a man and woman eloped, and could reach the churchyard in time to grasp hands through the

Kilchouslan church;

its architectural details.

Monuments.

Cross.

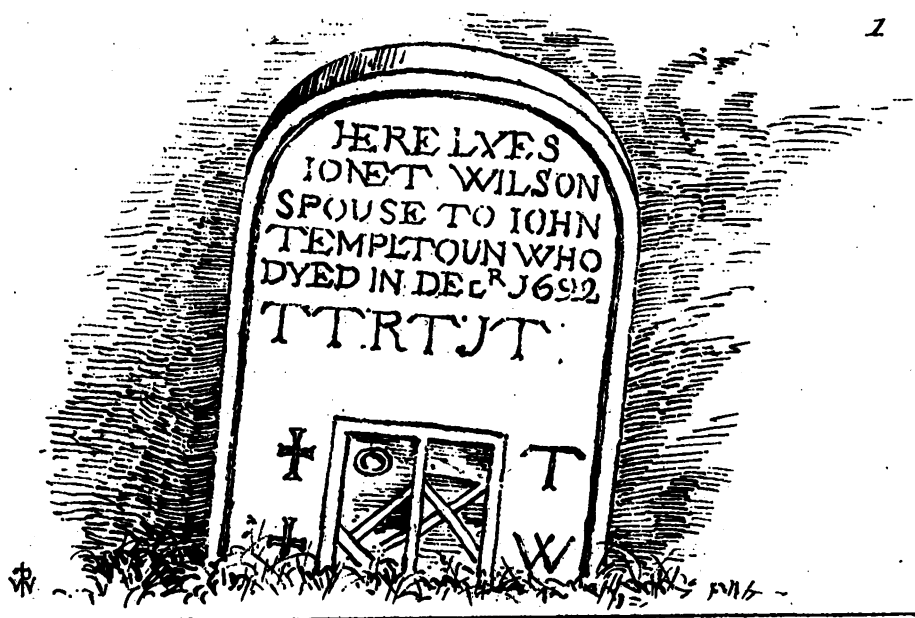
Curious circular stone,

[1] The farm of Crossibeg, I suppose, which our map shows close by; or perhaps another named Ardnacross within a short distance of it, as Macintosh mentions a cross having stood near the farm buildings of the latter a century ago. What he calls the "Priest's grave" in an adjoining field is clearly a prehistoric cist.

SKETCHES AT KILCHOUSLAN - KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XIV

1

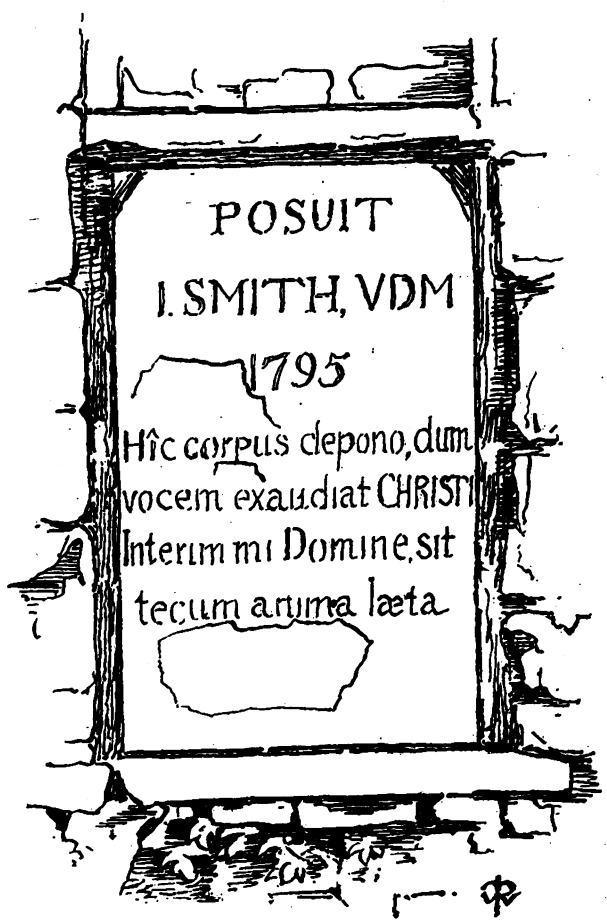


2

Window in S. wall

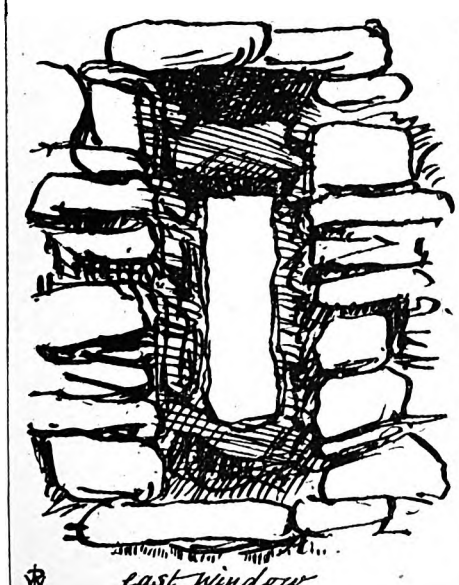
modern monuments in churchyard

3



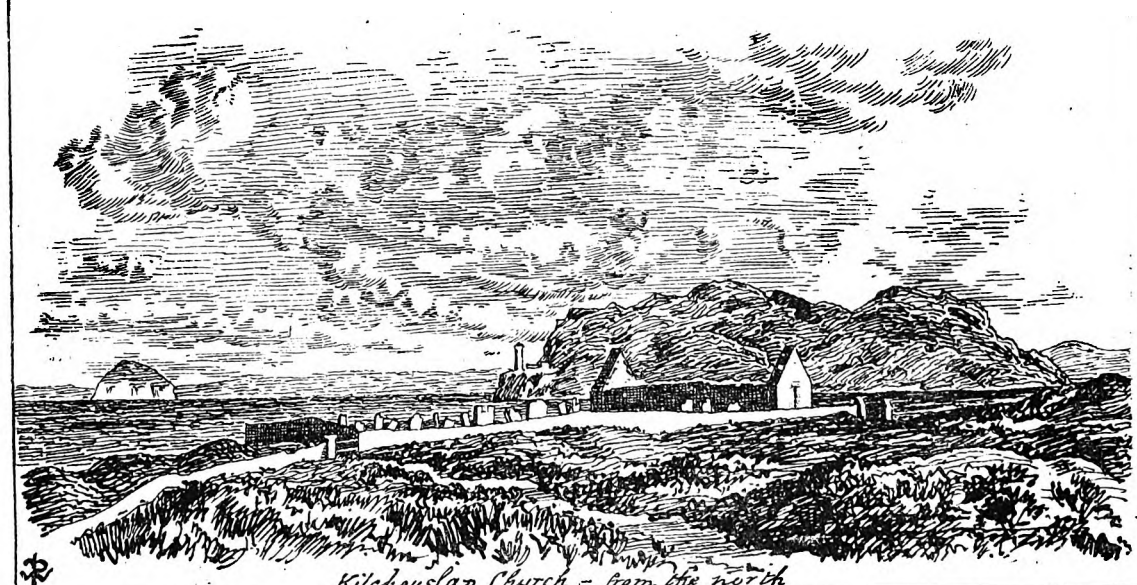
4

5



east Window

6



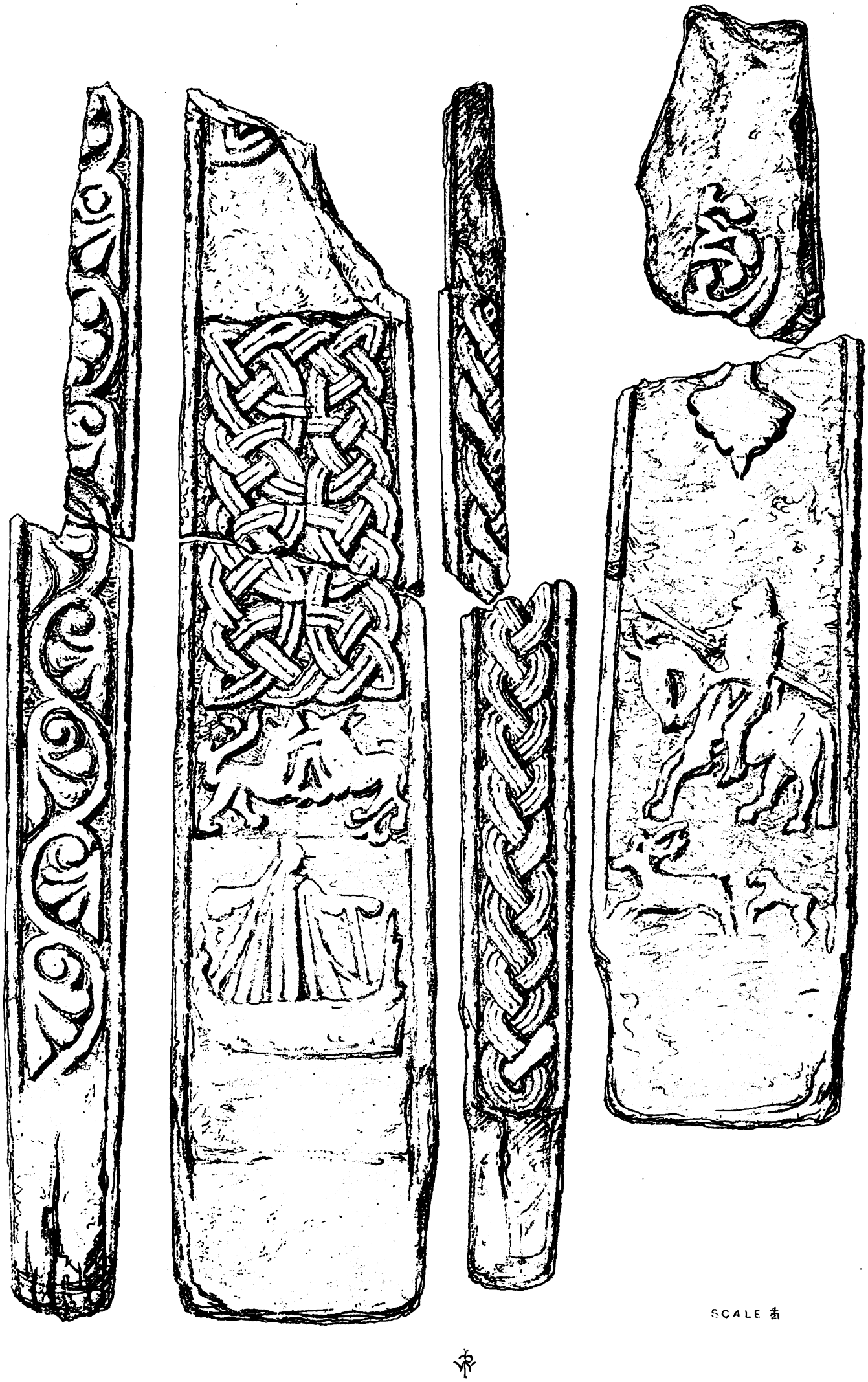
Kilchouslan Church - from the north

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

FRAGMENTS OF A SCULPTURED CROSS AT KILCHOUSLAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XV.



SCALE ¼

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

hole in the stone, a sort of sanctuary was granted them, and they were safe from pursuit of kith and kin. A slightly different version of the story says that the joining hands was looked upon as consecrating an interim tie, by which the Scottish poorer classes were wont very frequently to anticipate wedlock, and which certainly had the merit of simplicity and economy by saving the parson's fees. Another and more prosaic account of the object is, that it was a common grinding-stone with an axle-hole, but how it came to be lying in the churchyard does not appear. It would be a pity, however, to part with the nuptial tradition, especially as the latter rendering of it was supposed to have had the sanction of the patron saint himself, and the breaking of the tie to be followed with awful consequences. The name of Kilchouslan, Kilquhislane, &c., with its variations, was evidently a puzzle to the local etymologists. The learned writer of the old parish history contented himself with the name of the patron saint as he found it in the guise of Couslan. But others, disappointed, doubtless, by finding no such saint's title in the calendar, pitched upon a lady by name "Cusalan," daughter, it was said, of a certain king of Spain, who, dying while cruising off the Kintyre coast, was brought ashore here and buried. Thus she was the originator of the parish name; and to make the story surer, there is pointed out a grave without distinguishing marks as the burial-place of this princess. Another explanation, of a less hazy character, and dissociated from the name altogether, would account for the grave in a more satisfactory manner. This is that one of the ships of the Spanish Armada was driven into the Firth of Clyde, and lost off Kilchouslan, and the body of a female, apparently of rank, recovered and buried here. In this way, of course, the unknown grave is accounted for; but the royal "Cusalan" vanishes into thin air, like the princesses of many another legend. The real dedication of the church is seen in one of its ancient designations to be found in the Register of the Great Seal, A.D. 1508, Ecclesia Sancti Constantini;[1] but the transition of the saint's name to its present form of Chouslan is curious. This Constantine is said to have been a prince of Cornwall, who relinquished his sovereignty, and became a monk under S. Mochuda, or Carthac, at Rahan in Ireland, whence he passed over to Scotland and founded the church and monastery of Govan on the Clyde, over which, according to Fordun, he presided as abbot.[2] "His labours," adds Reeves, "were extended to Kintyre, where he suffered martyrdom, and where is a church "Kilchousland, called after his name. His festival in the calendars, both of Scotland and "Ireland, is March 11th." The principal authorities for incidents in his life are Fordun, the Breviarium Aberdoniense, Colgan's Acts of the Saints, &c. &c. In the Irish annals there appears this brief record of the saint of Kilchousland, "Conversio Constantini ad "Dominum"—the date against this entry in the book of Ulster being 587, and in the book of Tighernac 588.[3]

with a tradition attached to it.

The church's dedication to S.Constantine.

Story of a Princess "Cusalan's" burial here.

"Ecclesia Sancti Constantini."

The accounts of this saint are peculiarly interesting to us, from the comparative agreement of most of the very early annals respecting him. Moreover, the Aberdeen Breviary actually localises him in Kintyre; Fordun does the same, giving him the honour of having converted "the whole island" of Kintyre. As to his martyrdom here in 590, and burial

S. Constantine (king and martyr).

His history.

[1] Orig. Paroch. [2] Reeves's Adamnan. [3] Ibid. and Forbes's Scot. Kalend.

at Govan, the authentic records also appear pretty well agreed. It would be absurd, as a general rule, to quote that easy-going historian Hector Boece as an authority; but where, as in the case of this Constantine, he agrees with others, we may be allowed to hear his translator, Bellenden, in his quaint old diction. After setting forth how Loth, King of the Picts, had made a compact with King Arthur of the Round Table that the succession to the British throne was, in default of heirs to Arthur, to fall to himself and his heirs, we learn that the English king and his nobles had a great meeting, and chose Constantine in defiance of the pact. At this time Loth dies, and his son Modred, after vainly expostulating through his ambassadors with Arthur, being wroth at the breach of faith, assembles a great army on the Humber. Arthur follows, and arrays his hosts against the Pictish king. Then interpose the bishops and prelates on both sides, but to no purpose, and "baith the armyis joinit with mair cruelte than evir was hard in ony warld afore." A panic seized the British, and hastily leaving their weapons, they fled. "In this sorrowful "battle," continues the chronicler, "was slain of Scots and Picts twenty thousand, with "Modred, King of Picts, and all the nobles of both their realms; and of Britons thirty "thousand. Among all others was slain King Arthure, and Walwane, brother to Modrede, "who fought that day, for love of King Arthur, against his natural brother. On the morrow "all the spoil of King Arthur's camp was parted among the confederate people by right of "arms. Guanora (Guinevere), the Queen of Britain, and spouse of King Arthur, was tane, "with many ladies and knights," &c. &c. So far this rather wild but picturesque narrative.

Boece's reference to him.

His alleged connection with the mythic King Arthur.

But now comes the continuation, which is in accord with what Colgan borrows from Gildas. "This Constantine, King of Britain, that no succession of Modred should claim the crown "of Britain, slew the sons of Modred in presence of their mother, who was daughter of "Gawolane, through which all the succession of Modred failed." Many uncouth marvels" followed these troubles to Scotland. At length Constantine is worsted in battle by a Saxon invader, chased into Wales, and thence escapes to Ireland, "where he lived certain years, "with his wife and children, unknown among the indigent and poor people, on alms. As "soon as he was known, by persuasion of monks he shaved his head in an abbey of the same "country (Ireland), where he lived a devout life, and was slain after by Scots, and 'eikit' to "the number of martyrs. In memory hereof, many kirks are among us 'dedicat' to him."[1] S. Constantine, it appears, accompanied S. Columba in one of his later visits to Scotland; and it would not, I think, be an out-of-the-way conjecture to suppose that the two may have touched at the peninsula together, either at Kilcolmkil in Southend, or elsewhere. It was a strange career altogether this of the Cornish king and Kintyre martyr; and with the help of the Breviary of Aberdeen, which differs slightly from Boece's account, we are enabled, without any very great stretch of imagination, to picture for ourselves a sketch of him in his latter days of penitence. After the death of his wife he entered a religious house in Ireland, where we are told he was employed for seven years carrying grain to the convent mill. "One day he was overheard asking himself, 'Am I Constantine, King "of Cornubia, whose head has carried so many helmets, whose body has worn so many

Constantine slays the sons of Modred.

Constantine accompanies Columba to Scotland.

Entersan Irish monastery incognito, and does menial duty there;

[1] Hist. and Chron. of Scot. by Boece, lib. IX. chaps. xi. to xiii.: Bellenden's trans.

"corselets? That I am not.' This being overheard, he was at once carried off to the cloister, "where they educated him, and raised him to the priesthood. Thence he betook himself to "S. Columba, and after that was directed by S. Kentigern to preach the word of God in Gol- "vedir (Govan), where he was elected abbot. In his extreme old age he prayed God that "he might die a martyr for the Church of Christ. His prayer was heard; for when he was "preaching through the country, and had come to the island of Kintyre, certain wicked "men landed to fulfil in their sin what the good man had sought in his piety. They cut "off the hand of his servant, which he straightway healed, and falling on him, wounded "him, cut off his arm, and left him for dead. Then, calling together his people, he fell "asleep in peace in the year 576."[1] Not often, amidst the changes and chances of this mortal life, is such a picture presented as this. A king and soldier—a beggar subsisting on alms—a thrall carrying grain-bags—an abbot—and then the poor, broken-down old man, who is allowed to exchange the memories of his earthly coronet, his sins and his penances, for a more glorious crown!

is elected abbot of Govan under Kentigern's direction;

and is slain while preaching as a missionary in Kintyre.

It was in 1617 that the union of Kilchousland with the parishes of Kilkerran and Kilmichael took place, Kilkivan coming in as a fourth in the group, at a subsequent period unknown. The year 1499 appears to be the earliest in which we have any record of this church, when we learn that the parsonage of Glenquhissilan became vacant by the death of Alexander M'Rannall Mor M'Donal, and Master Adam Colquhoun was presented to the cure by King James IV.[2] The Colquhouns, who must have been regarded as strangers in this part of the country, probably enjoyed two consecutive incumbencies of the living at this time, as we find a Michael Colquhoun nominated in 1507 by the same king to succeed Master Adam, when the death of the latter should create a vacancy. Pluralities about this time, as is well known, were egregiously common among the higher clergy. In 1508, Kilchouslan and the neighbouring Kilmichael were handed over by the king to swell the revenues of the bishop of the diocese.[3] Early in the next century an arrangement was effected by which the then Bishop of Argyle, M'Neill Campbell, leased his interest in the living of Kilchouslan—viz., its teinds—to Archibald, Earl of Argyle.

Charter details.

Incumbents of Kilchouslan at the close of the fifteenth century.

The landscape view (Pl. XIV. 6, and title-page) from the site of the old ruined church is strikingly beautiful. The low wall of the little churchyard is abruptly stopped by a green bank overhanging the rocks of the sea-beach. On the left, the magnificent cliffs at the north end of Arran, set upright in the sea, fall softly away into rounded outlines. Beyond is a faint suggestion of the Ayrshire coast-line; and more to the right, again, the haystack-shaped rock of Ailsa. Still further round are the lighthouse and dark-brown background of moorland on Davar, with the headlands of Southend bearing away to the southward behind.

Picturesque situation of church.

[1] I have taken the liberty of quoting this gracefully-told legend just as it stands in the Bishop of Brechin's notice of the saint. S. Constantine had twelve Scottish dedications according to the bishop, but it would seem doubtful, *prima facie*, whether some of these may not be due to the king of the same name, who became a pilgrim, and died A.D. 943.

[2] Orig. Paroch.

[3] Ibid.

Burial-ground and site of chapel (Kildonald).

Attached to Kilchouslan there would seem to have been a chapel, of which nothing now remains but the traditional memory of the spot where stood its burial-ground, which is by the sea-shore, about five miles further north, the name of "Kildonald" (or Cil-donain) attached to the site being also applied to an adjacent bay. The site is close to the farm of Bellochgair, and persons resident in the neighbourhood have no difficulty in localising it. One man remembered the burial of a girl having taken place here, from the circumstance that her mother used to sit out of nights for some time after, keeping watch over the grave. The name Kildonald[1] might be at first sight misleading. It has apparently no connection with any member of the ancient family of Kintyre, but, according to Reeves, represents one of the dedications to S. Donnan, the apostle of Eig island, who was martyred there, A.D. 617, on the 17th April, if we are to accept the precise record of the chroniclers.[2] "And there came," says one account, "robbers of the sea, on a certain time "to the island (of Ega), when he was celebrating mass. He requested of them not to kill "him until he should have mass said, and they gave him this respite. And he was "afterwards beheaded, and fifty-two of his monks along with him."[3] He has many churches to his honour in Scotland, among which, besides that of Kildonan in Eig itself, are one in Fife and another in Wigtownshire.[4] And in the lately-discovered gold-field at Kildonan, in Sutherland, we have another reminiscence of this saint's name.

[1] "The name of this Kil," says a local authority, "is also descriptive—the Kil of the auburn-haired girl. "The history is as follows: A poor woman of this neighbourhood had a beautiful little daughter with brown hair, "who died, and was buried in Cildonian. The spot is on the north side of the highway. The mother was very "disconsolate on account of the death of her child, and for a long time spent whole nights sitting on her daughter's "grave, crying 'Mo dhonaig, mo dhonaig' (my auburn-haired girl). Her voice might be heard for a long way off; "so that the name was given to the place."—P. Macintosh, History of Kintyre, p. 131. The author of this little book has done good service in giving us a collection of the old stories current in the locality, and has here, no doubt, correctly enough written down what "they were saying," as the Highland expression goes; but it is almost superfluous to point out the inherent improbability that such an explanation of the name could be the true one. That the name of an old burial-ground, and also of an adjoining bay—a name prefixed with "Kil"—should have originated in a cottage-woman crying over her dead daughter, is in the highest degree unlikely. Besides which, on the face of the story, the burial-ground was already in existence when the pathetic little episode occurred. In all probability, the name of this "Kil" originated centuries preceding what we can call modern times. But the country folks were unable to understand its real derivation, and setting about to find one, manipulated the actual fact of the mother who was known to have sat out of nights over her child into this tale, the child's hair becoming brown (donn, donnaidh, adj. brown-haired) to suit the etymology. But, after this fashion, we might equally well have got out "Kildonais" (the devil's cell); and considering the popular antipathy to things Popish, that might have been an equally appropriate translation. At any rate, here is pretty plainly another specimen of the loose material which so often crumbles away at the touch—current tradition. Picturesque as these old wives' tales commonly are, it would be a pity to lose them altogether; but to swallow them as facts is more than we can ask from an intelligent reader.

[2] Reeves's Adamnan. Blaeu also marks down this site as "Kildonnen."

[3] Martyrology of Aberdeen: Transl. by Bishop Forbes. The S. Donald and his nine maiden daughters of Finhaven, in Forfarshire, would be unlikely to have any connection with Kintyre.

[4] Robertson's Index. See also Forbes's Scot. Kalend.

CHAPTER X.

THE next of the old parish churches I have to notice is Kilkivan or S. Coivin's. Of Kevin or Coivin, who, as we have seen, was patron of a chapel in Southend, something has already been said. "Coivin," according to Dr Smith, is simply the phonetic of the Gaelic Caomh-ghin (Coemgen), which he translates Clement; but this is probably a fanciful rendering, and at all events the Irish Kevin could hardly be confounded with the far more venerable S. Clement, who was the companion and fellow-worker of S. Paul.[1] Another form of the name, Kilchoman or Kilkowan, has given rise to two supposed derivations, one interpretation being "Kil-caomh" (cell of the beloved one),[2] the other bringing forward as a saint one Chomanus or Commanus.[3] The church with its burial-ground stands close to the farmhouse of High Kilkivan, to which it gave its name, about four and a half miles to the west of the town of Campbelton. The building is in tolerable preservation, the western gable being nearly entire; but the east portion and part of the north wall are gone (Pl. XVI. 5). What are left of the walls stand ten or eleven feet high—that is, to about the springing of the roof. I paced the internal dimensions of the building fifty-two by eighteen feet, which runs very near the proportions commonly found in these Western chapels. The only remaining doorway is in the north wall, not far from the western angle (Pl. XVI. 3, 4, 5). It has a highly-pointed arch of Gothic character, but it would be unsafe to infer from this that the general features of the church were pure Gothic. It must have been originally a low doorway, not exceeding six feet to the crown of the arch. A pair of corbels or shaft-heads, with splayed sides chamfered at their edge, and projecting from the inner face of the wall, one on either side of the doorway, doubtless carried an arched moulding; and below, a little to one side of the door, is another larger but shallower projecting stone, on which may have stood the stoup. The soffit of the archway shows the rubble to have been set on edge, and faced with larger stone blocks

Kilkivan or S. Coivin's parish church.

Architectural details.

[1] S. Clement, according to Tertullian, was ordained bishop by S. Peter, and Eusebius states he succeeded to the See of Rome, in the year 91.—Parker's Illustrated Calendar.

[2] As, however, in the case of a saint's name we have already discussed, it is quite possible that the first S. Coivin may have taken his name from the circumstance of his having particularly endeared himself to those about him. Proper names, as we know, have almost invariably originated in a similar manner; but the difficulty is to make certain when we have really probed down to their actual root.

[3] The Bishop of Brechin and Dean Howson both refer Kilchoman in Islay to S. Commanus, the former adding, in his notice of this saint, that the name appears on the cross at Campbelton. In names like Kilchoman, Kilchoan, &c., it must obviously be often difficult to fix the dedication out of such a list as SS. Coemgen, Comgan, Comman, or the multitude of Colmans to be found in the hagiologies.

inside and out. The door linings and quoins are of whitish freestone, the walls being filled in with schist rubble-work of the kind common in the neighbourhood. In the west gable wall, I noticed, about seven feet above ground, another projecting corbel-stone, placed there for no apparent object but to support a shaft or image. Nothing was to be seen in the south wall but a small deep triangular recess (Pl. XVI. 1), some eighteen inches high, distant about a third down from the east angle, perhaps a niche for reception of the sacramental elements, and a larger square recess set close into the same angle, either for a similar purpose or intended for a piscina. There are six sculptured slabs within the area of the church near the chancel end, apparently lying *in situ*, as they are side by side, and face east. Four of them are representations of swords, with accompanying tracery,[1] two in very good preservation, except as to their inscriptions, one of which is quite, and the other partly, illegible (Pl. XVII.) Both have the pointed double-sided head, not a common shape,—animals spun out into tails of monstrous length heavy with ornamental foliage, and symmetrically-arranged plait-work designs; on one a hound with his nose at the haunches of a stag, and a hound after what seems to be a hare on the other, both so like in style and execution as naturally to suggest one and the same sculptor, yet each with its own individuality as a work of art, and never in a single detail showing a trace of actual repetition. Of the partly decipherable and best defined of the two inscriptions, we can just make out in the top line "Hic jacet," then "PIM" seems to follow, and in the lower line some more letters, of which I fancied I could make out "MCLAOD," though we should hardly have looked for a M'Leod in these parts.

Mediæval monuments.

Another of the slabs (Pl. XVIII.) is a life-sized representation of a full-robed priest within a niche, with chalice and circular tracery above, very similar to the so-called "Abbot's Stone" at Saddell; but though in other respects the vestments appear identical, this slab has what the other has not, a minute and delicate figuring at the bottom of the centre fold of the alb, which is new to me, but which is doubtless intended for the "apparel," so styled, of the alb, an embroidery or orphrey-work, usually square or oblong in form, which was attached in front and at the foot of this vestment.[2] Another noteworthy peculiarity in this slab is its having the left-hand corner cut off, the beading round the edge being in no way disturbed. The only explanation I can suggest is that, in its original state, either before or after it had received its carving, the slab got broken at this corner, and had to be patched up in this way by the sculptor. One can imagine the artist's grief at an accident happening to a beautiful piece of work like this; but of course, carved or uncarved, so fine a block of stone would be far too precious to be sacrificed on any such account. The sixth and remaining slab (Pl. IV. 2) is a raised effigy of a warrior of the ordinary type, represented girding on his sword. One of the empty spaces at the head of the slab has a two-lined inscription, but it is unreadable. A local authority[3] says the

Slab of an ecclesiastic.

[1] One of them too blurred and worn down to be worth drawing. Another, a good deal worn, has the shears as well as the sword, a galley, animals and foliage (Pl. XIX. 1).

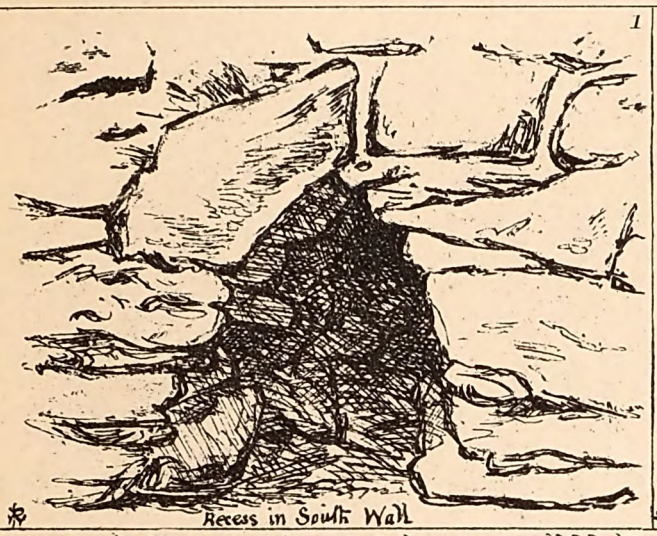
[2] Boutell's Monumental Brasses. A description of the vestments on these slabs of ecclesiastics will be found in the chapter on the Saddell monuments.

[3] Macintosh.

SKETCHES AT KILKIVAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

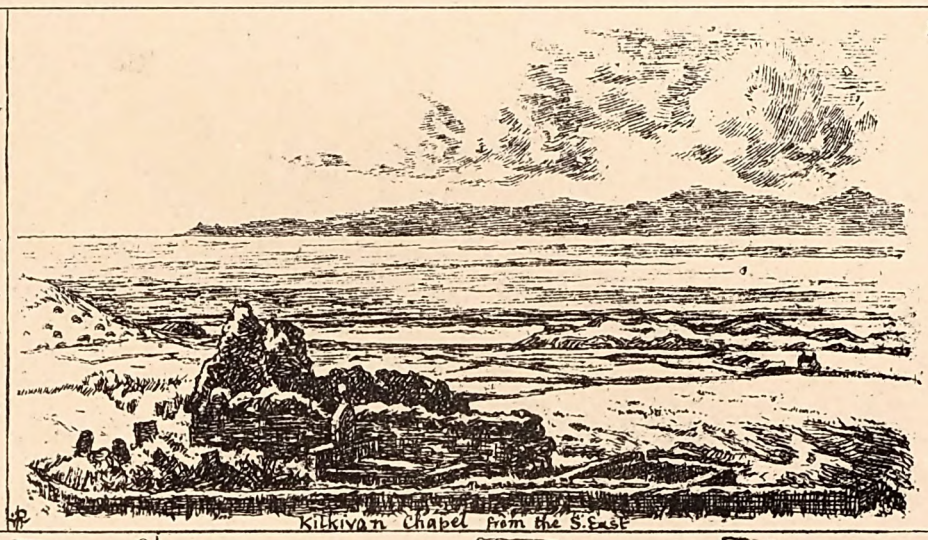
PLATE XVI.

1



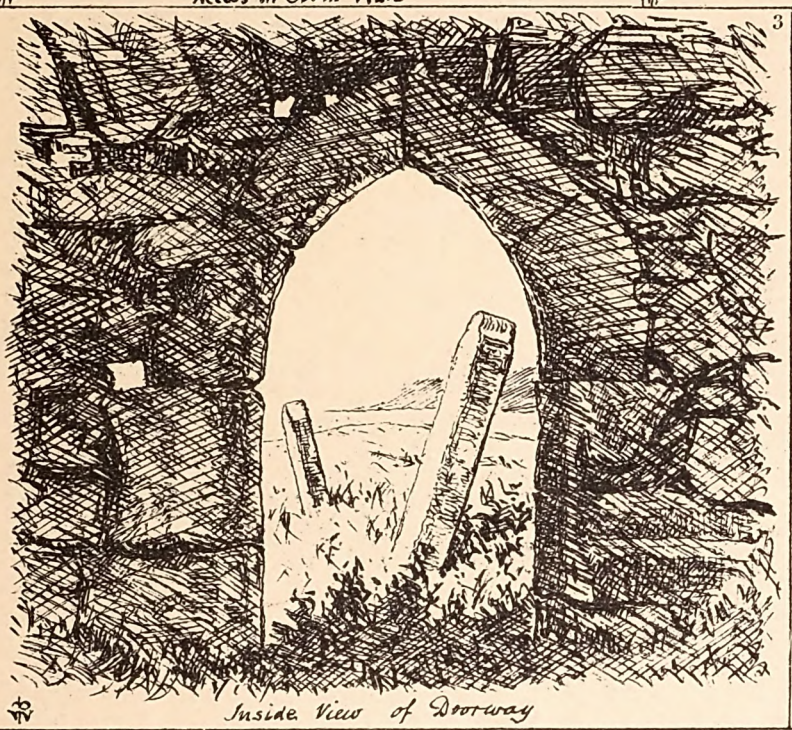
Recess in South Wall

2



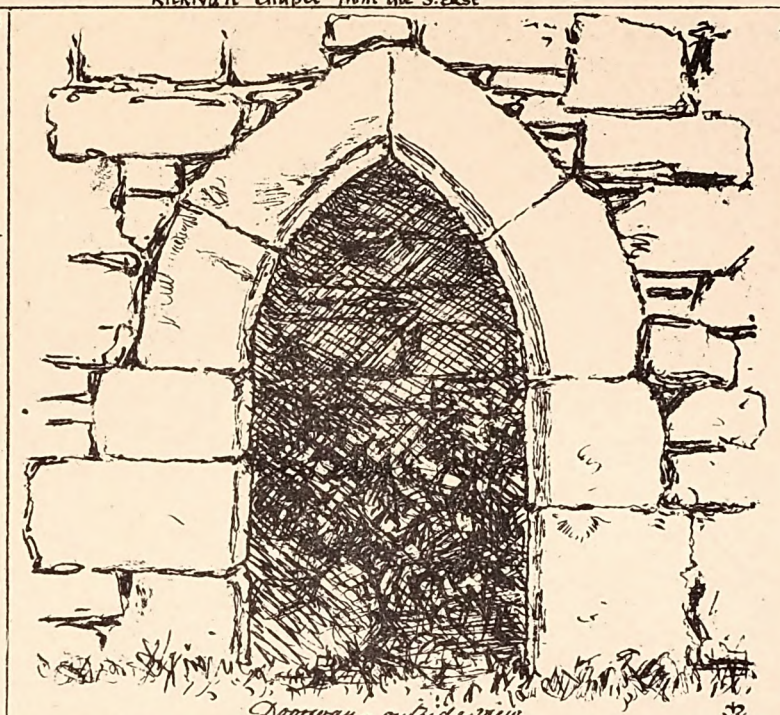
Kilkivan Chapel from the S. East

3



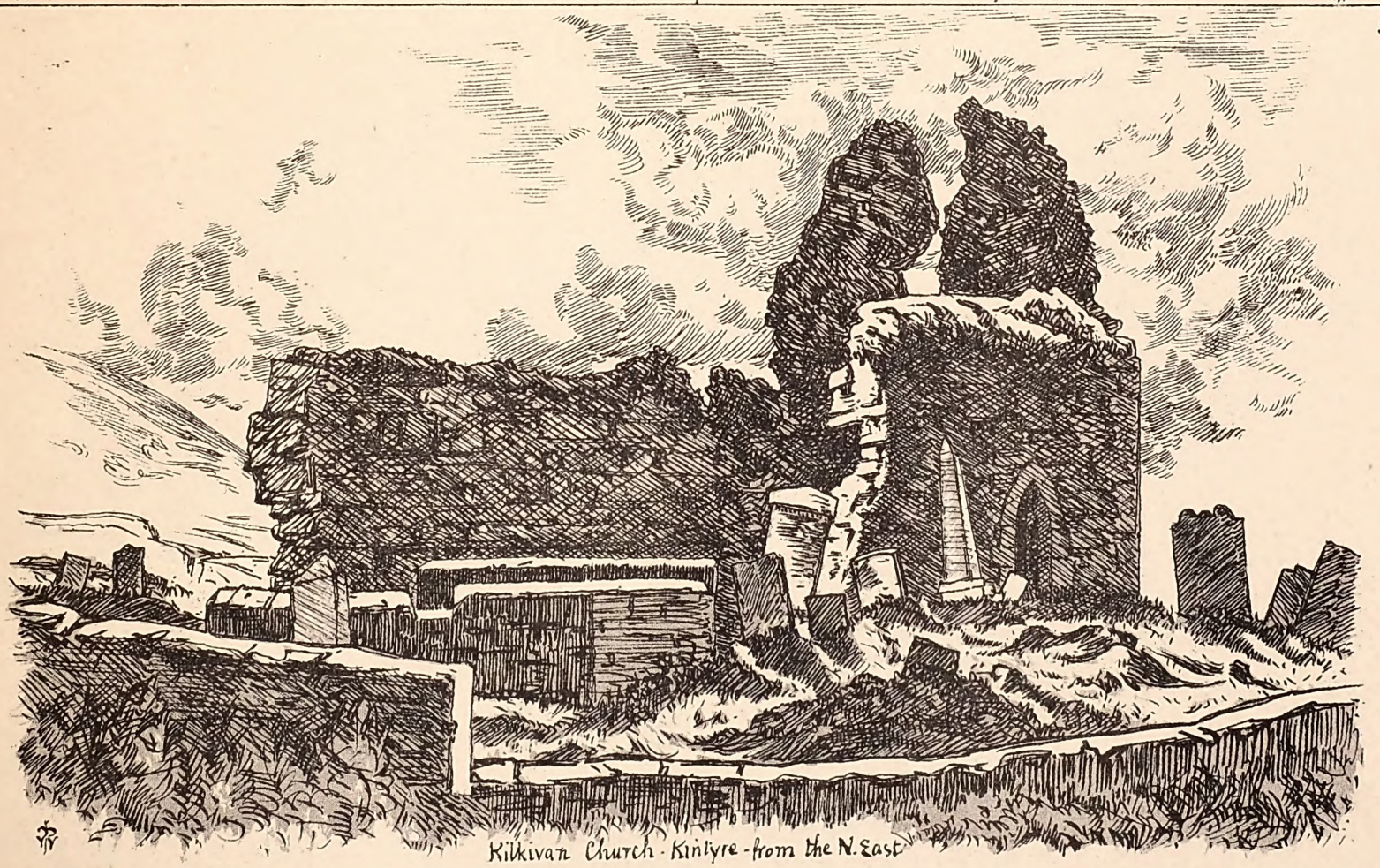
Inside View of Doorway

4



Doorway - outside view

5



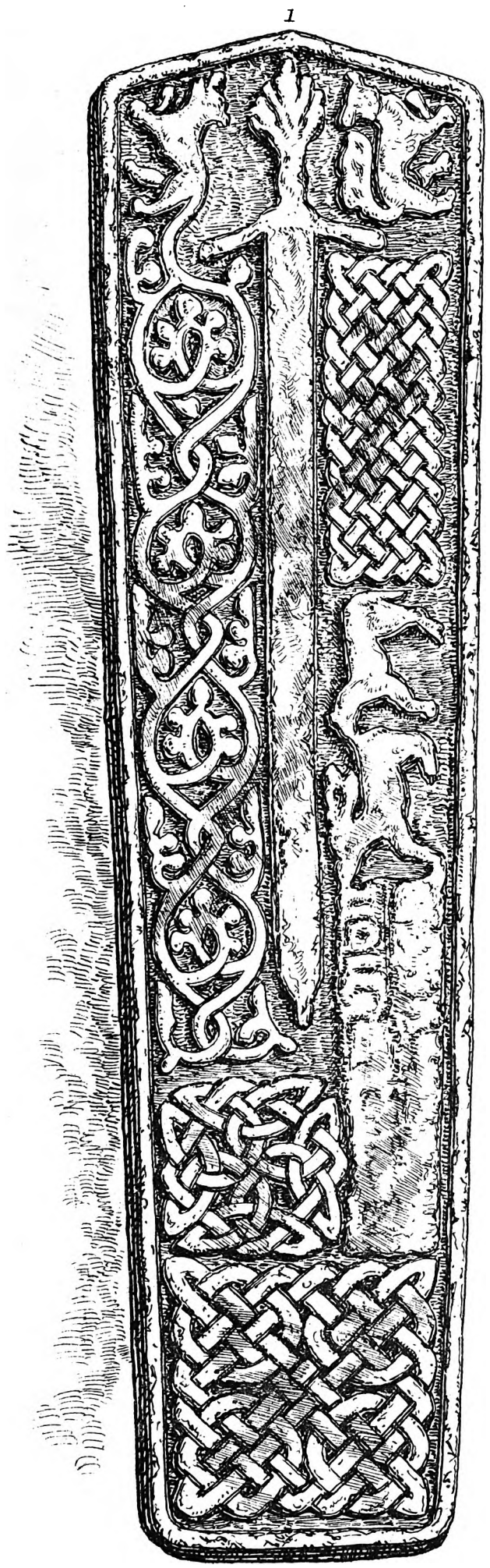
Kilkivan Church - Kintyre - from the N. East

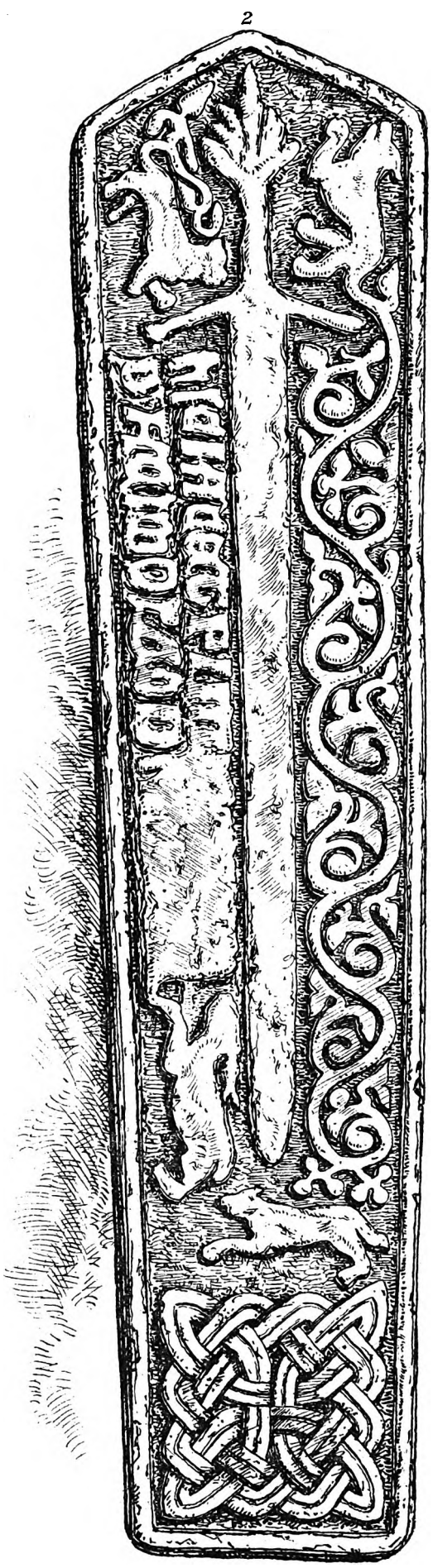
Sketched by Cap^t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKIVAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XVII.





Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White. R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKIVAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XVIII.

SCALE $\frac{1}{8}$

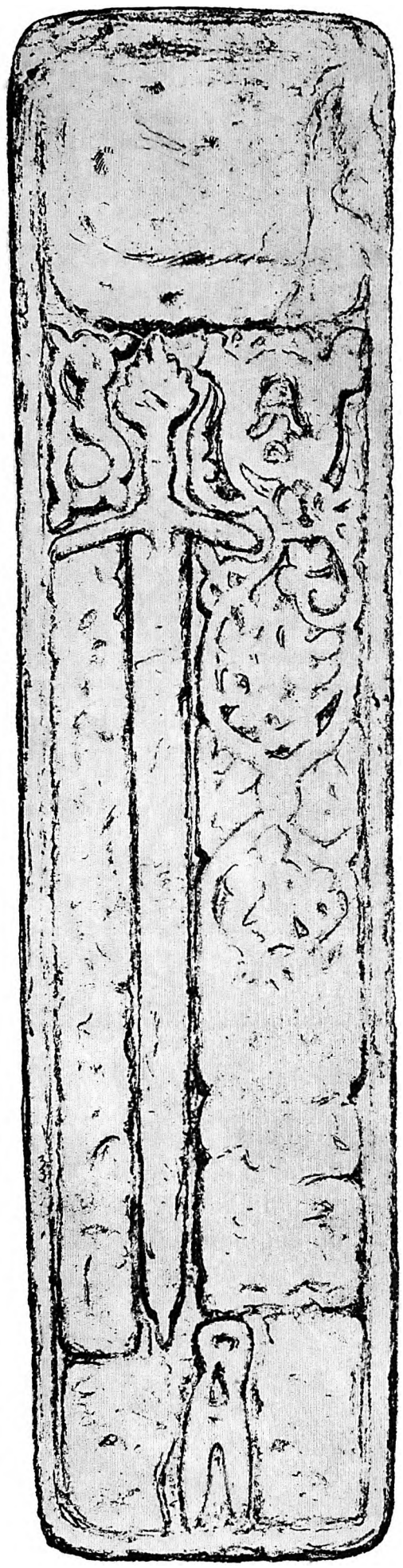
Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White, R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

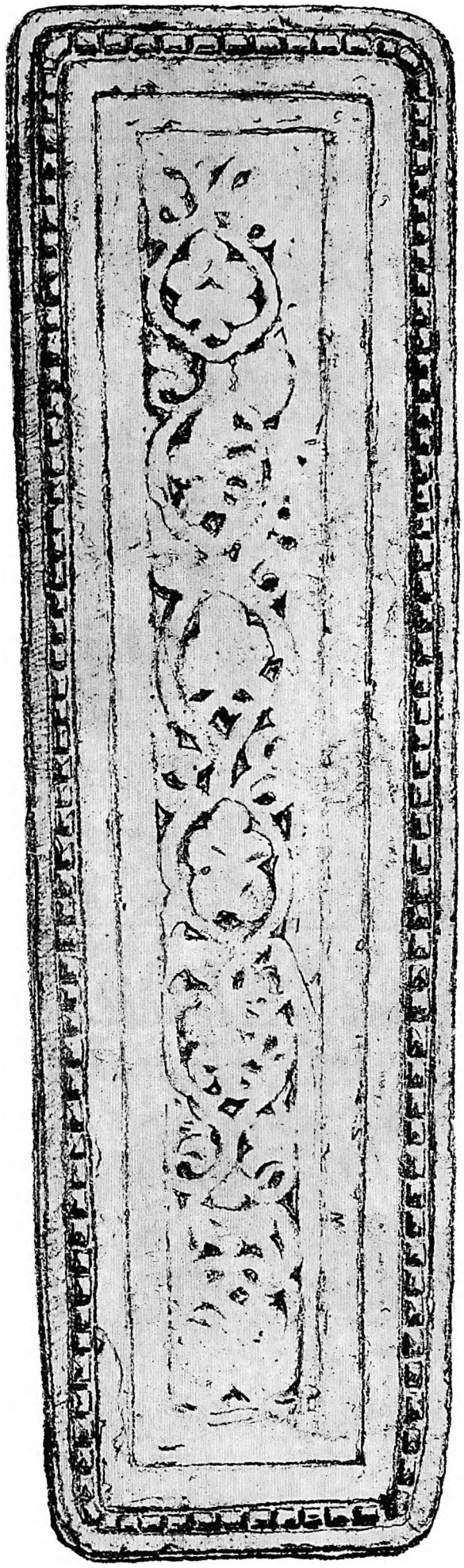
MONUMENTAL SLABS IN KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XIX

at Kilkivan
1



at Clachan
2



Scale $\frac{1}{7}$th.

Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

slab of the knight was appropriated to cover the remains of one Archibald Macneal, of Tirfergus, who distinguished himself as fencing-master and duelling champion of his native district in the middle of the last century. This was when Kintyre was overrun with gangs of professional swashbucklers, who were in the habit of challenging the tenants to fight, under a fine or penalty if declined. Macneal, however, was too much for them, and slew, we are told, a great many of these bullies. Thus, in covering so renowned a modern warrior with the tombstone of his more aristocratic predecessor, there was, perhaps, somewhat less of misappropriation than usual.

Alto-relievo effigy of a knight.

The view from Kilkivan (Pl. XVI. 2), towards Islay and Gigha islands, and the magnificent strand, four miles long, of Machrihanish Bay, is very fine, and affords another illustration of the attention paid to the picturesque by the mediæval church-builders in selecting sites for their religious edifices. I must not omit a peculiar traditional story which is told in connection with this church. "The priest or minister"—I quote the briefer of the two versions—"being much annoyed with delinquencies, proposed and put in practice that a "yearly meeting should take place in the church, when all who were not satisfied with their "wives or husbands, should assemble, the church being darkened, and try their fortunes in "grasping some one or other. When the church was lighted again, whether the one they "held was hunch-backed or crook-legged," each was obliged to put up with his partner "till "the next yearly meeting." But that this queer story, with slight differences of detail, has the respectable sanction of a Doctor of Divinity, I should hardly venture to allude to it here. Dr Smith, indeed, dates the custom from Kevin himself, and adds that it had "for "many ages been handed down by tradition." Without endorsing this, we may believe in the tradition being an ancient one, and whether old or new, such a settlement of matrimonial disputes has the merit of simplicity. A little to the south of the church is a small hill named "Cnocan-a-Chluig" (knoll of the bell), so called, it is said, because from its summit a bell used to be rung to summon the parishioners to their devotions. The bell appears to have been duly consecrated, and christened by the Gael "ceolan-naomha" (the sacred music).[1] Long after bell, mass book, and candle had disappeared, the town-crier of Campbelton is said to have been in the habit of publishing proclamations from this hill.

Picturesque situation of church.

Legend of an ancient marriage custom.

"Cnocan-a-Chluig."

The early history of Kilkivan Church is unknown;[2] but the benefice would seem to have been the property of the bishop of the diocese. In the year 1539, the perpetual vicarage of Kil-cowan, in Kintyre, was held by Sir John Hawick, chaplain, and the next presentee named by King James V. during vacancy of the see was Sir John Fleming, chaplain.[3] During the seventeenth century the teinds were in the hands of the bishop, and in 1636 they were valued along with those of Kilcolmkil and Kilblane.[4] Some of the lands in the parish were in the fifteenth century granted to the neighbouring abbey of Sagadull or Saddell.

Early history of Kilkivan.

The fourth and last of the old parish churches, Kilmichael, stood close to the present farmhouse, which has taken its name from it. The foundation of a rectangular

Kil-michael Church.

[1] Macintosh. [2] Orig. Paroch. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

building, and a few fragments of what once were tombstones, are all that remain to indicate the site. The walls are said to have been remorselessly made away with at the end of the last century, to furnish stone for building "dykes," and the burial-ground has now fallen into disuse. In England, especially towards the south coast, a large number of churches were under the patronage of S. Michael, generally associated with "All Angels."[1] There was a Scottish abbot of the name of Michael, belonging to the twelfth century, who obtained canonisation, and appears to have had a dedication in Galloway; but there is no sufficient evidence to enable us to connect him certainly with Argyllshire.[2] There is one other dedication to S. Michael in Kintyre which we shall come to by-and-by, and another in the parish of Kilmichael-Glassary on Lochfyne side. The area of the parish was probably made up principally of the flat now known as the Laggan of Kintyre, the richest part of the modern parish.[3] In 1617, Kilmichael was by an Act of the Scottish Parliament united to Kilcharrane and Kilchusland.[4] As already stated, in 1508 the proprietary rights of this church were made over in full by James IV., along with those of Kilchousland, to be held in mortmain by the Bishop of Argyle and his successors, for the better maintenance of the episcopal dignity. This was a graceful concession by the king in commiseration of the poverty of the see, and its remote situation in the midst of a wild and uncivilised people.[5] The glebe of Kilmichael is now, or was not long ago, the property of the Duke of Argyll.[6]

Subsidiary chapels.

Passing to the subsidiary chapels, we find three whose foundations can still be traced on the ground. They are grouped tolerably near one another at the south end of the parish, and were probably dependencies of Kilkerran. The one furthest south is

Kil-ellan.

Kil-ellan,[7] near the mansion-house similarly named, the site being in a wood by the roadside. Its walls can be traced above ground, and are of the ordinary thickness, 2½ feet, the interior dimensions of the building being 31 feet by 15, better proportioned than the more lengthy specimens we have met with. A few nearly obliterated graves are to be seen within the area of the chapel. One of the SS. Fillan was evidently the patron here, as at Inverchaolain in Cowal, Kil-helan in Queen's County (Ireland), Kilallan in Renfrewshire, &c., the "f" being constantly dropped as a prefix in Erse proper names. There appear to have been two, if not three, distinctly Scottish saints of the name—one the patron of Strath Fillan, in Perthshire, whose day is January 9th; the other Faolan or Fillan the lesser, whose memory is retained in the village at Loch Earn foot in the same county.[8] From the proximity of these two places, one might have supposed their dedications referable to the same source; but it would appear it is not so. A third of the name was nephew to S. Congan, in whose life mention is made of Felan and his two

[1] Parker's Calendar (Oxford).

[2] Dr Low takes for granted that Michael and Coivin were two saints resident in the district. He says they appear to have laboured in planting the Gospel each in that parish which, through gratitude, has retained his name.—Eccles. Hist.

[3] Orig. Paroch. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

[7] Already mentioned as the designation of the lands of the Clan Eachern.

[8] See Reeves's Adamnan.

brothers, Fursey and Ultan (perhaps the Ultan of Father M'Cana's reference to Sanda), who left Ireland for Loch Alsh.[1] But it is no easy matter distinguishing between them, and a feeling of despair must take possession of the Irish hagiologist when he encounters nineteen saints of the name in the "Acta of Colgan."[2] A miraculous legend of the saint's arm in its silver case, before which King Robert the Bruce paid his devotions on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn, thus securing his great victory, has added to the celebrity of Fillan in Scottish annals; and two very ancient relics, still in preservation, and now well known to archæologists—a crosier, and one of the small square-shaped "sancte-bells," so rarely to be met with—are attributed with more than the usual probability in such matters, or, shall I say, less of the ordinary credulity, to the times of the saint himself.

Another of these chapel-sites, with foundations remaining, is named with the adjoining farm Kilchrist, or Christ-church, to call it by what would be its Southern synonym. It is believed in the locality to have been an erection of very early date. Killeonan, the third, has one of its gable walls left a foot or two above ground, and its dimensions agree pretty much with those of Kilchrist—namely, forty feet or so by fifteen. In Killeonan we have a remarkable example of the corruption or transmutation of ancient names; for the tutelar saint here is Adamnan, who becomes T'Eunan in the case of Forglen Church, Banffshire, and Skeulan at Aboyne, in Deeside.[3] Killeonan is also written Kil-lewnane and Killyownane. The same name, curiously enough, results from a different compound in the form of Gill or Giolla Adhamnain (servant of Adamnan), which early became a Celtic Christian name. It appears somewhere about the beginning of the twelfth century in the person of the grandfather of Sumarlid, and doubtless for that very reason became a favourite name in the Macdonald family. It afterwards passed into a surname of the clan or sept of the Maclennans of Glenshiel, in Ross-shire.

Kil-christ.

Killeonan.

Lastly, come three "Kils," found only as prefixes in names of existing farms and hills; Kil-keddan, obviously identical with the Kilchattan and Katti-kil of Southend; Kil-whipnach, perhaps compounded of Kil-ui,[4] and something else embodying a saint's name; and Kildalloig. The last may possibly be a form of the name of S. Maluag, Moloc, or Molua, a Scoto-Irish saint who is recorded to have taken up his abode and founded a monastery in Lismore Island, which afterwards became the seat of the episcopate of Argyle.[5] According to some authorities, the saint flourished as early as the sixth or seventh century; according to others, not till the eleventh.[6] His pastoral staff is said to be still preserved in the possession of the Duke of Argyll.[7]

Names of Kil-keddan, Kil-whipnach, and Kil-dalloig.

[1] Bp. Forbes's Scot. Kalend.

[2] Ibid. The Bishop inclines to think that the first two only were Scottish saints.

[3] An old tree and well in Aboyne parish, called the "Skeulan Tree" and "Skeulan Well," are still held locally in reverence. The changes have been effected thus: "Adamnain" becomes "Eunan;" S. Eunan, T'Eunan, Theunan, Skeulan.—Reeves.

[4] "Ui" (of the race of), a common prefix to Celtic names. The Rev. J. C. Russell of Campbelton suggested to me it might be "Cill-a-Chiobnach" (cell of the ill-favoured one). This name has, I confess, completely baffled me; nor does Dr Forbes give anything the least like it in his list.

[5] Orig. Paroch. [6] Ibid. Forbes gives A.D. 592. [7] Forbes's Scot. Kalend.

Kirk Street chapel (seventeenth century).

I must not conclude this notice of the ecclesiastical sites of Campbelton parish without making mention of an old building situated in Kirk Street, within the boundaries of the burgh. It looks ancient, and has a decidedly church-like appearance, with small Gothic windows. It is built of red sandstone, which has very much corroded, and faces, as far as I remember, nearly east and west. The name of the street is probably due to the presence of this church, but I could extract no information in the town bearing upon its history or use as a place of worship. I was told it had been long used as a miscellaneous store, and that was all people seemed to know about it.[1]

[1] I have since been informed by the Rev. Mr. Russell that this church was built about the middle of the seventeenth century for Presbyterian worship in the English tongue, to accommodate settlers from the low country—worship in the district being at that time exclusively conducted in Gaelic.

CHAPTER XI.

United parish of Killean and Kil-kenzie.

I TAKE next the united parish of Killean and Kilkenzie. As elsewhere, the extent and position of this parish differ materially from what constituted in former times the two separate parishes so named. There was, in fact, a third parish, Kilarow or Kilmarow, which interposed between them, but which has since been absorbed. The grouping therefore stood thus: Next to Campbelton going north, Kilkenzie, then Kilmarow, both on the western side of the peninsula, extending from seaboard to watershed; north of Kilmarow, again, Killean, which originally stretched right across Kintyre from shore to shore.

The modern united parish, however, does not anywhere overpass the watershed. Thus its area forms a lengthy strip somewhere about eighteen miles long by four to five wide, the arable lands occupying a narrow border along the shore. The old church of Kilkenzie or Kilchenzie is very similar in size and external appearance to other structures of the kind already noticed (Pl. XX. 1), particularly Kilcolmkill in Southend; but its features, Mr Muir thinks, look a little earlier than those of the latter church. The walls and gables are nearly entire, with the exception of large gaps towards the east end. The springing of the roof was about twelve feet above the present ground-level. In the east end is a circular-headed lancet-window, the lighting space some five feet long by a foot in width, splaying to an interior recess, also round-headed, four feet wide, and six high. In the south wall, about the centre, is another small lanciform window, (Pl. XX. 2, 4, 5). The quoins and linings are like those at Kilkivan, of white freestone. The church is between four and five miles from the town of Campbelton, and is close by the roadside. Its position is a little inland from the shore, but it makes a conspicuous and picturesque object in the landscape, as seen from the road on approaching it. It derives its name from another of the celebrated brotherhood of missionaries already spoken of, who, like Ciaran, was a close friend and associate of Columba, and is frequently spoken of by Adamnan.

Kilkenzie church; its architectural details.

Cainnich, Coinneach, or Kenneth, has many dedications to his honour in Argyllshire and the Western Isles.[1] Among these are Cill-chainnich, a small chapel in Iona, and Inch-Kenneth Island off Mull. He is also patron saint of Kilkenny,[2] in Ireland.[3] His festival in both countries is October 11th, and in the Aberdeen Breviary there are six lessons at its celebration.[4] He was the founder of the Irish monastery of Aghaboe, and patron saint of the diocese of Ossory. Kenneth was a frequent associate of Columba, Brendan, Comgall, and other noted Scoto-Irish saints; and his biography is to be found in more

Its dedication.

Life of S. Cainnich or Kenneth.

[1] See Reeves and Forbes.
[2] The phonetic equivalent of Kil-kenzie.
[3] Reeves and Forbes.
[4] Ibid.

than one of the "Codices Vitarum," or histories of the saints, scattered through the great libraries. He was born in 517, and died in 600. He appears to have been an intimate friend of S. Columba: "My visit to Comgall, and feast with Cainnech, was indeed delight-"ful," are the words we read in an ancient Irish song[1] attributed to the great founder of Hy—a song in which the occurrence of such beautiful imagery as "the sound of the wind against the elms," "the blackbird's joyous note as he claps his wings," "the cooing of the cuckoo from the tree on the brink of summer," and so forth, serves to remind us of the keen appreciation these primitive monks had of the natural scenery around them. It was probably due to his connection with Columba that Kenneth has received such a large share of notice from Adamnan. We cannot stop to follow this latter saint through all the legendary sketches he has penned of S. Kenneth, but I have selected one as a good representative of this kind of lore. The writer tells us how, on one occasion, at a time when Kenneth was far away from the scene of the legend, it chanced that Columba and other brethren with him were caught in a storm out at sea. His companions called upon Columba to pray for them, who made this reply—"'To-day it is not mine to pray for you, "'but the part of that holy man, Abbot Kenneth.' Whereupon, wonderful to relate, S. "Kenneth, in his monastery of Aghaboe in Ireland, heard in his ear the voice of Columba, "just at the instant the community were about to dine. 'It is no time for us to be dining "'when holy Columba's ship is in danger on the sea,' said Kenneth, as, leaving in his haste "one shoe behind him, he ran with all speed to the church. Then after narrating what "had been revealed to him concerning Columba's present perils, he fell on his knees and "prayed, and at once it was so that the tempest abated, and the great Columbcille was "saved. Who (Columba) seeing in spirit, from out his boat, during the raging of the "storm, what was passing in the monastery, pronounced the following words: 'Now "'know I, O Kenneth, that God will hear thy prayer; now indeed is thy speedy race to "'church with only one shoe to profit us much.'"[2] On another occasion S. Columba prophesied that Kenneth would come to Hy, and the prophecy was literally fulfilled.[3]

Story of S. Kenneth's losing his shoe.

Other legends of S. Kenneth.

Some other interesting incidents related of the saint may be taken note of. There is the well-known legend of Columba's visit to the Pictish king Brud, when the iron door of the king's court, which had been closed against the saint, opened of itself at his prayer, and the king's son, along with his wizard-Druid, who had brought their sorceries into competition with the holy man's powers, and drew forth from him an invocation, met with an untimely death. In this miracle, according to one account, SS. Cainnech and Comgall were associated with Columba.[4] We have seen elsewhere the miraculous immunities from injury popularly supposed to attend certain articles belonging to saints, such as books of MSS., &c. An instance of this is recorded in S. Cainnech's life. The early saints were in the habit of using a sort of satchel or leathern case for the carriage of their parchments. This satchel was always supposed to be impregnable to fire or water. On the particular occasion the story refers to, "the fire," we are told, "durst not (non ausus est)

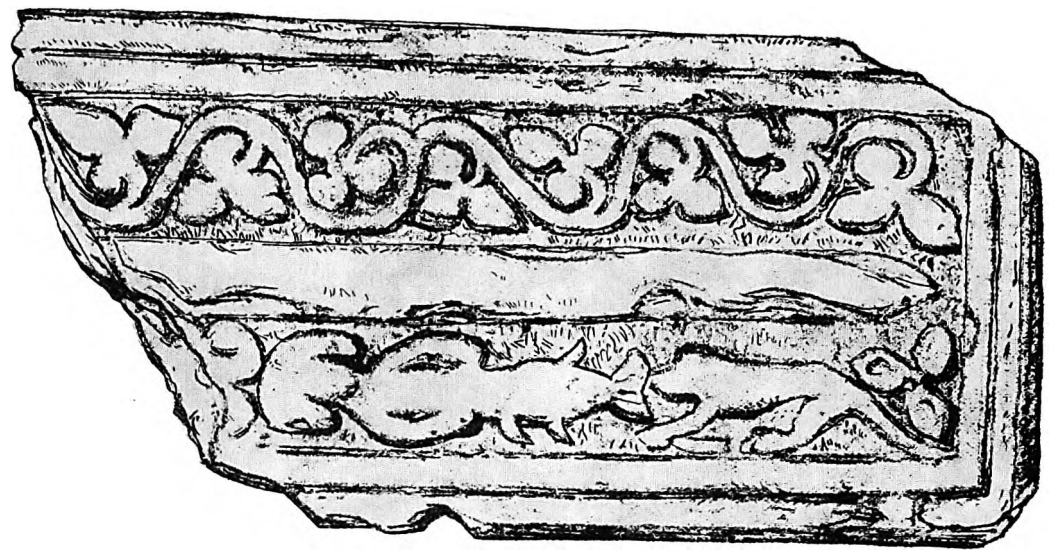
His satchel of MSS. impervious to fire.

[1] Among the O'Clery MSS.—Reeves.
[2] Adamnan: Vit. S. Columb., lib. II.
[3] Vit. S. Columb., lib. I.
[4] Vita S. Comgall.

SKETCHES AT KILKENZIE, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

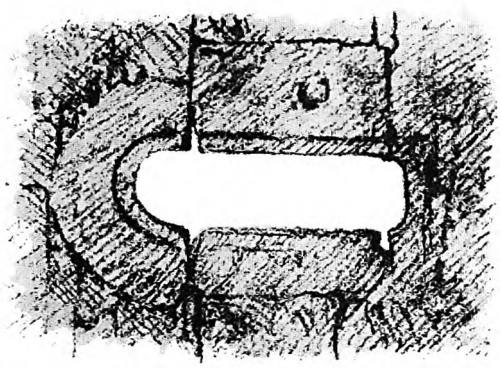
PLATE XX

3



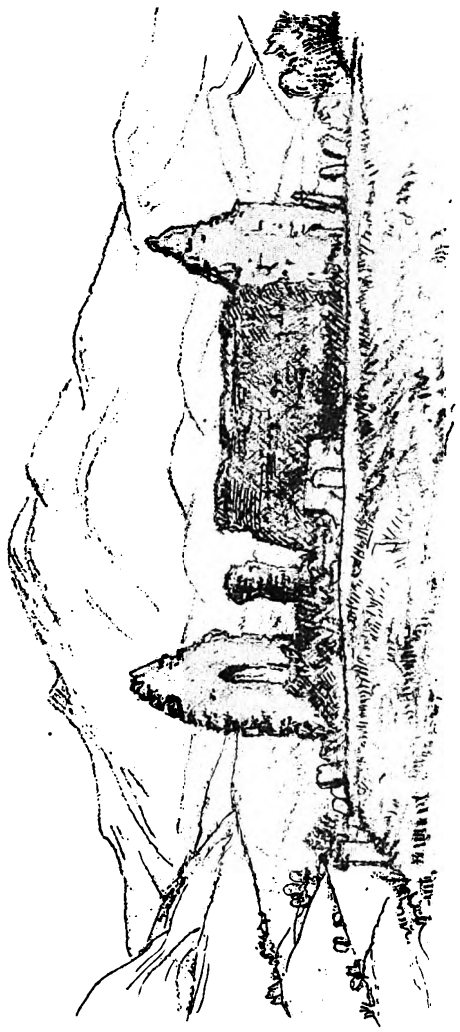
Fragment of a slab

2



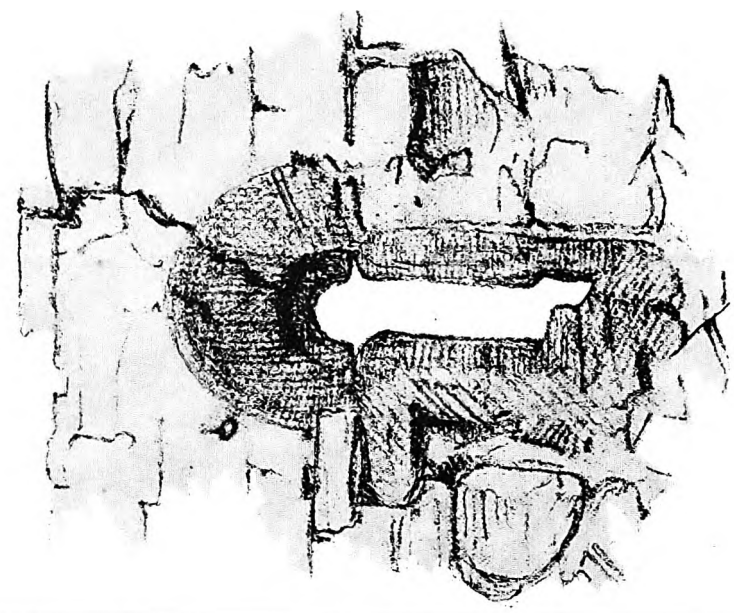
S. Window-outside

1



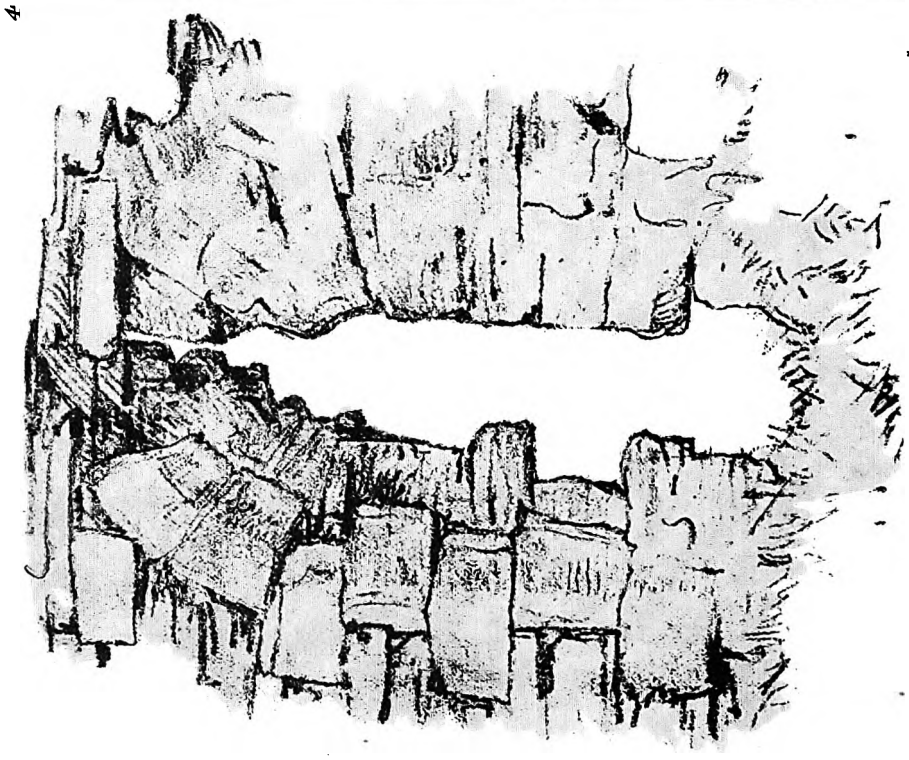
Kilchenzie - from the north west

3



South Window-inside

4



E. Window fr. inside

Sketched by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

" burn the part where the satchel was with the holy man's books."[1] We learn also, among other items, of a curious primitive custom in his time of threshing grain, due to the absence of kilns. His community had no artificers capable of constructing a kiln for the purpose of drying and threshing their grain, so they used to thresh it afield on the bare ground. Kenneth, it appears, was one of those anchorites whose austerities procured for them such a reputation for sanctity. He is said to have made a toilsome pilgrimage from his native Ireland to the heart of Scotland, penetrating into regions "trans dorsum Britanniæ," and there to have followed the rule of the most ascetic recluses. Hearing that he was leading a hermit's life in Britain, certain Irish saints sent messengers after him, who, forcibly and contrary to his inclination, removed him from his cell.[2] On another occasion, when S. Kenneth was travelling from his friend's monastery at Hy to Ireland, he left by mistake his pastoral staff (baculum) behind him. When the staff was found and brought to Columba, he carried it into his oratory and engaged in prayer. Meanwhile S. Kenneth, discovering his loss, was much grieved thereat, but going ashore upon an island, what should he find lying upon the ground but the missing "bacul"! One more incident will suffice. On a certain day, when Kenneth was sitting writing in the monastery where he was at the time domiciled, the convent bell sounded, summoning the monks to their work. Now it happened that at the precise instant when the first stroke of the bell reached the ears of brother Kenneth, his pen was in the middle of a letter "o." Instantly, with prompt obedience to discipline, he stopped short in his work, leaving the letter just as it was, half finished. Here we have a quaint but excellent illustration of the rigorous code of laws adopted in some of the monasteries. In many of these establishments it appears to have been the rule that the instant any one of the brethren heard the bell, all who were engaged in writing or transcribing from MSS. were to cease from work, and not even complete an unfinished letter of the alphabet. These, and suchlike stories, part real, part mythic, are far from uninstructive material, as being in themselves curious and interesting photographs of monastic life. The saint's burial-place is associated by local tradition with the island named after him,[3] on the west side of Mull; and the proximity of the latter to Hy, where Kenneth would be so often drawn, either in the course of his duties, or from the attraction of Columba's presence, makes this view more probable. Whether the selection of a patron saint for the church at Kilkenzie may not have been determined by some very remote traditional vestiges of S. Kenneth's presence here, there appears to be no evidence to show. But all along this western seaboard we might more reasonably than further inland look, *a priori*, for traces of the primitive Christian missionaries; and in an early form of the name of this parish, Skeir Kenzie[4] (Kenneth's Rock), we may feel an inclination to imagine something of this kind, and apply it perhaps to yonder black broken bit of rocky foreshore (but a short walk from the church), where the Atlantic breakers unceasingly roll in. Kilkenzie appears to have been joined to the next parish, Kilmarow, before or about the period of

Kenneth said to have led a hermit's life on the east side of the Grampians.

Columba and Kenneth's pastoral staff.

Anecdote of Kenneth's prompt obedience to convent discipline.

The saint's supposed burial-place.

Early history of Kilkenzie.

[1] Brev. Aberdoniens. and Vita S. Cainnech.—Reeves, &c.
[2] Ormonde's Vita S. Cannechi.—Reeves. [3] New Stat. Acct. [4] Orig. Paroch.

the Reformation.[1] It was united to Killean before the year 1636.[2] Of the parsonage of the church, two-thirds at one time belonged to the monks of Iona, and the other third to the Bishop of the Isles;[3] but in 1561 the whole passed over to the Bishop as Commendator of Iona.[4] In 1609, the names of Charles M'Lauchlan V'Eachen, and his father Lauchlan M'Lauchlan of Killorow, appear on record as lessees of three-fourths of the parsonage tithes, which share, it appears, was let for an annual payment of twenty-six shillings and eightpence Scots,[5] an absurdly small sum, according to our present notions of money-value. By the year 1695 the tithes of the united church of Skeir-chenzie and Killorow had come into possession of the Earls of Argyle.[6]

Sculptured slabs.

Of the nine mediæval slabs here, four are in a very perfect condition (Pls. XXI. and XXII.) In one (Pl. XXI. 2), the shears accompany the sword, with this inscription—

HIC IACET : KATERINA : F..LIA : NEIL

The Lady Katherine Neil's tombstone.

the second letter in "filia" being gone. So far as the shears go, the presence of this inscription to a lady seems rather to tally with the conjecture which has been advanced that this curious detail, so often found carved upon the slabs, was intended to memorialise females. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the introduction of the sword in this instance upon the theory that these sword-carvings were portraits of actual weapons borne by the warriors upon whose tombs they appear.[7] Viewing this slab with that idea, *primâ facie* we might imagine that lord and lady were here buried together; but as sword, shears, and inscription are all obviously part and parcel of the original carving, such a supposition is at once negatived. For the inscription is to a lady alone; whereas, had a male also been commemorated, it is scarcely conceivable that in it not a word should have been said about him: nay, it is more than probable his name would have come before the lady's. Whatever the shears may mean, I should suppose the sword must be accepted in the present instance rather as emblematical of the lady's rank than anything else. The MacNeils were a numerous and important house in the district, and, were any MS. histories by the seannachies extant referring specially to the Clan Ranald Bane or other Kintyre families, it would have been interesting to look for identification of this Lady Katherine (Mac) Neil (or O'Neil, to use the Irish form of the name).[8] Her slab, besides

The sword carved here probably symbolic of the lady's rank.

The MacNeils

[1] Orig. Paroch. [2] Ibid. [3] A similar allotment we have seen at Kilkerran.
[4] Orig. Paroch. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

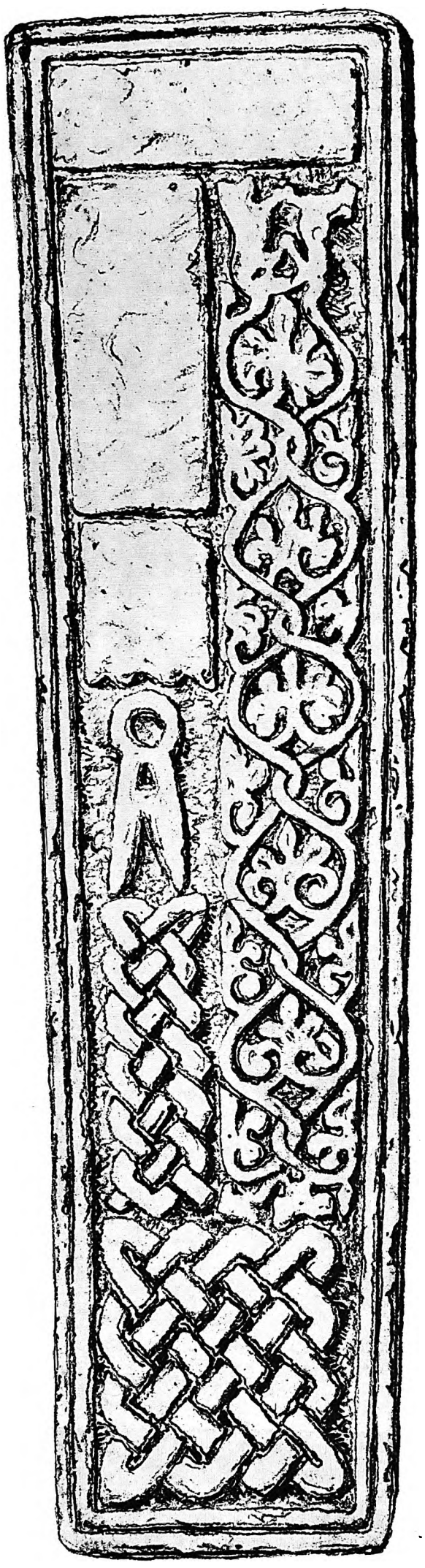
[7] As I have remarked, this is Dr Stuart's idea, and there seems no reason to doubt its general applicability. But the above seems a case where we are obliged to assume an exception to the rule.

[8] In Wilson's 'Prehistoric Annals of Scotland,' reference is made to a beautiful antique cup with a similar lady's name engraved on it—one of the Dunvegan relics. Could the lady of Dunvegan association have been buried at Kilkenzie? At Kilkivan, a church-site only three or four miles distant, we have noted a slab with an inscription apparently containing the name of a Macleod. This cup has received notice from Sir Walter Scott in the 'Lord of the Isles.' The cup is beautifully embossed with carving of the old Irish type, and has its inscription carried round the rim. Wilson's reading of the latter is as follows: "Katharina nigen uy Neill "uxor Johannis Meguigir, principis de Firmanac, me fieri fecit Anno Domini 1493. Oculi omnium in te sperant "Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno." "The latter part of the inscription," adds Wilson, "strangely misread by Sir Walter Scott, is the 15th verse of the 145th Psalm, according to the Vulgate. The "family legends of the Macleods associated the Dunvegan cup with an old traditional chief or hero, Neil "Ghlune-dhu or Black-knee, by whom it may have been borne off in some foray from the chief of Fermanagh;

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKENZIE, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXI.

1



2

SCALE=$\frac{3}{19}$

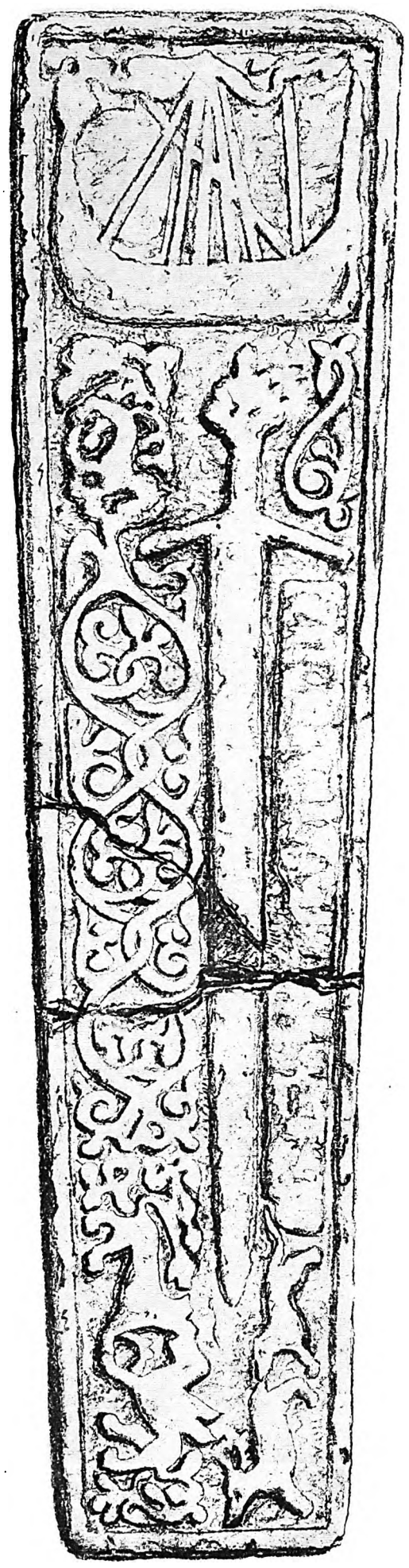
Drawn by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

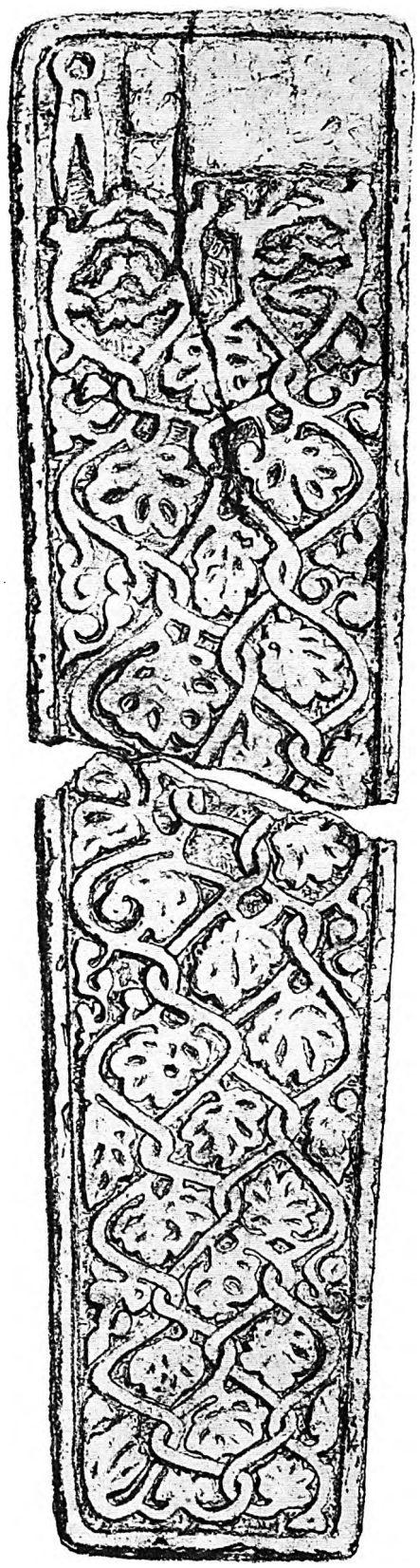
MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKENZIE, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XXII.

1



2



Scale $\frac{1}{7}$th.

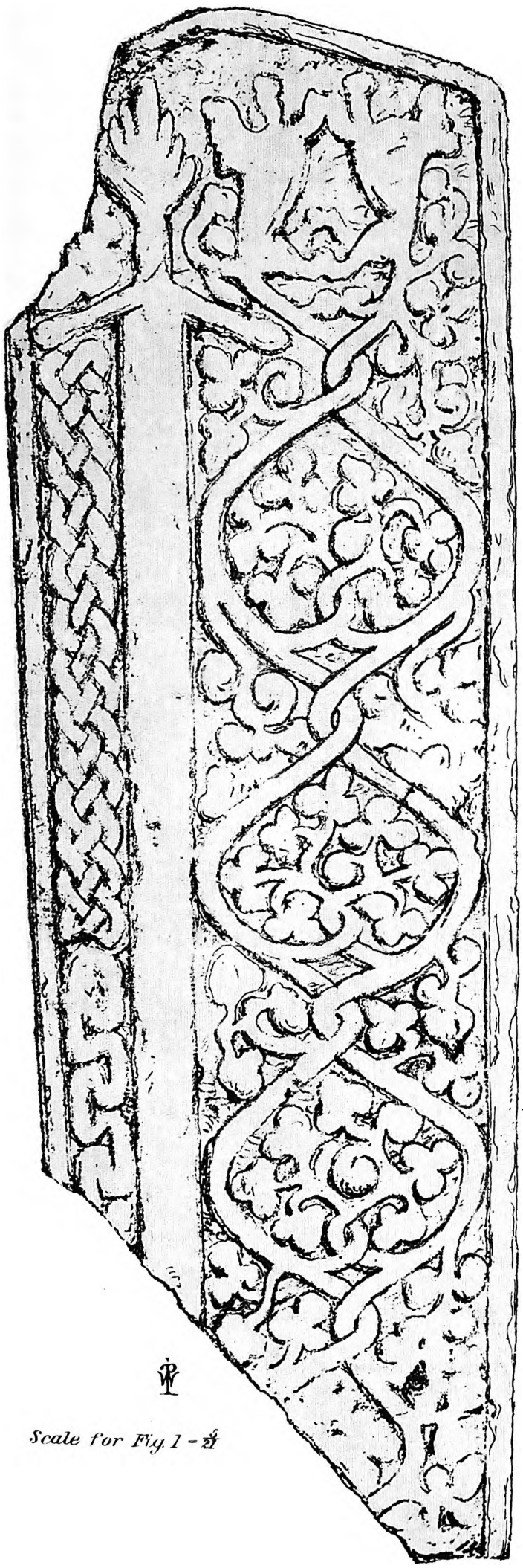
Drawn by Capt. T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILKENZIE, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

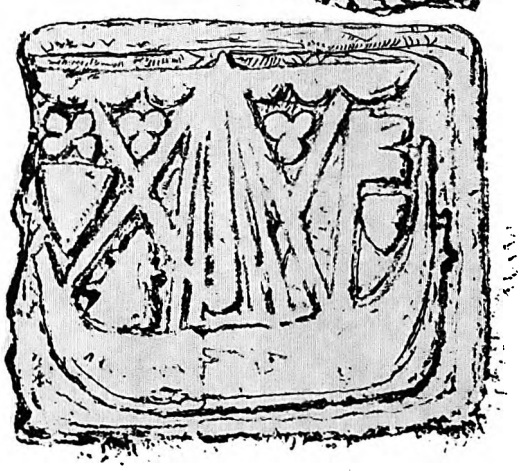
PLATE XXIII.

1



Scale for Fig 1 - 1/4

2



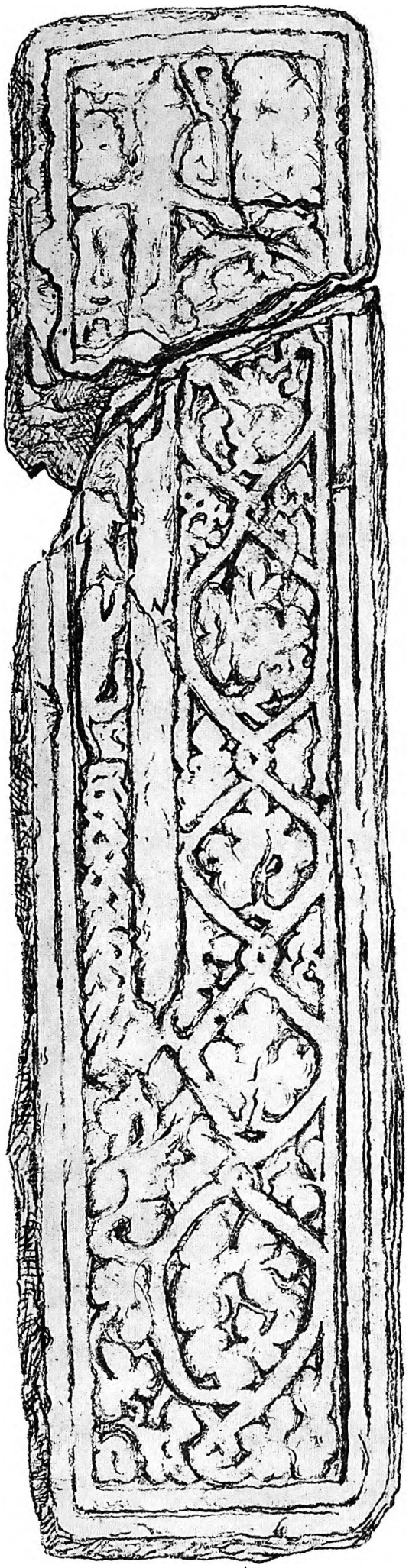
Drawn by Capt. T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT SADDELL & KILKENZIE
KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

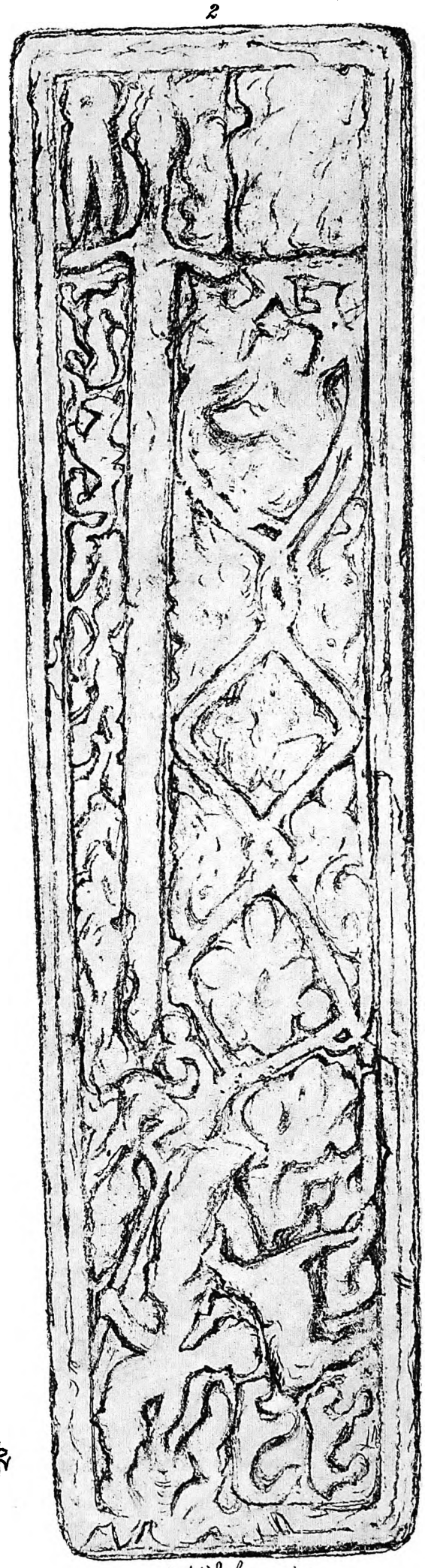
PLATE XXIV.

1



at Saddell

2



at Kilkenzie

Sketched by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

what has been spoken of, has two birds carved beak to beak—one like a pigeon, the other like a goose with preternaturally elongated and twisted neck; two animals in combatant attitude; an otter after a fish; and a triple-loop double stem design with singularly delicate and beautiful leafage tracery terminating in a pair of griffin heads. The sword is unfortunately broken near the middle. On another slab, we have a pair of beasts with lengthened and ornamented tails, two plaits, the shears again, and three blank panels (Pl. XXI. 1). A third has another broken sword; a galley; stag and hound; two dog-like beasts in combat—one of them winged; foliage ending with another beast; and a long blank panel (Pl. XXII. 1). A fourth (Pl. XXII. 2), besides having the shears, is covered with foliage of the most delicate and varied chiselling, no one loop being either in size or in the pattern of its contained leaf like any other. At the top, the stems appear to have struggled into weird spider-like phantoms of creatures all legs and no body, as though the artist had hovered for some time in his ideas between finishing off with the animal or the vegetable kingdom. This slab has a quality of fineness and tenderness of delineation beyond the general run of its fellows. A fifth (Pl. XXIV. 2), very much worn down, but otherwise entire, has, besides the sword, shears, and tracery of the usual type, two beasts represented near the sword-hilt, one of them a most singular-looking creature with a pair of wings, or perhaps humps, like a dromedary's. Towards the foot of the slab are seen a fine stag and a pack of dogs, and beside them the figure of a mermaid in a reclining attitude holding in her out-stretched hand a long wand.[1] This is the first example of a mermaid so depicted I have yet met with, the nearest approach to it being the mermaid on the Campbelton Cross, grasping a sword. Besides these five, there are the fragments of apparently three more, all with swords and different combinations of tracery; one fragment (Pl. XXIII. 2) having a fine specimen of a galley with a helmeted figure and shield at the prow, a shield and banner astern, and above these again, in the spaces between the rigging, two trefoils and a quatrefoil. Another fragment (Pl. XX. 3), 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. Pl. XXIII. 1 is a handsome though mutilated slab.[2] There is still another fragment to be mentioned, probably much the oldest relic of all (Pl. V. 1). It is a rough oblong stone, about 4 feet in length, with a rude form of wheel-cross brought out by means of a broadish band or beading in relief. Inside the band forming the wheel, the top part only of which remains, comes the cross proper; and if we picture the sails of a windmill with a tolerably wide border carried all round their outside edges, that will give us something very near the shape of this cross. Its precise type is new to me.

Other slabs.

Antique pattern of cross.

" but the inscription leaves no doubt of its Irish origin. The chief, John MacGuire, is repeatedly mentioned in " the Annals of the Four Masters, and his death is chronicled in 1503; but no notice of his wife, Katherine " O'Neill, has been discovered."—Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. 2 (chap. on Eccles. Antiq.)

[1] This slab had very nearly escaped me. It was only on a recent visit to Kilkenzie, shortly before these pages went to press, that I discovered it lying face downwards, and there being no means at my disposal for taking a rubbing of it, I had to sketch it off-hand.

[2] In this drawing I had to rely solely on the rubbing, for on visiting Kilkenzie to touch up plates I was unable to find the stone.

Name of Kilmaho.

A little to the south of Kilkenzie, and just within the parish, are two farms bearing the names of North and South Kilmaho. Kilmaho, Killarow, Killocraw, Killagruar, Kilmorry, &c., all names of existing farms within the united parish, appear to be merely different forms of one and the same dedication to Mael-rubha, or Malruve, the apostle of north-western Scotland, whose chief settlement was Applecross, in Ross-shire.[1] The

S. Malruve.

Scottish and Irish annals differ somewhat in their accounts of this saint's life. The Aberdeen Breviary elevates him to the dignity of a martyr. A band of Norsemen, we are told, fell upon him, and his body was exposed in the forest to be devoured of wild beasts. He was buried at Apurcrossan (Applecross), and his grave is still traditionally marked out in the parish churchyard, where a pillar-slab with an antique type of cross carved on it still stands, resembling a good deal, as we have noted, one of the Sanda monuments.[2] On my last visit to Applecross, I stood some chance of emulating the fate, but certainly not the reputation, of the saint, in the endeavour to hunt out two wondrous sculptured tombstones of black marble, supposed to be somewhere in the churchyard covered up a few feet below ground. We began trenching operations by permission from the higher authorities, and got a nonagenarian, who could vouch for having seen the slabs when the old church was being pulled down, to point out the spot where they were believed to be lying. But notwithstanding that we were in no way interfering with the part of the ground appropriated to modern burials, word got about that we were defiling the bones of bygone Apurcrossians, and the diggers had to stop work, not without threats to the peril of their

Ancient parish of Kilmarow.

lives if they stirred another finger. The old parochial church of Kilmarow appears to have stood, says Mr Cosmo Innes, near the south end of its parish, nearly due north from the church of Kilkenzie. Blaeu's map is apparently the authority for this, but its topography is too loose to be relied upon for fixing definitely any ecclesiastical site, when there are several

Chapel (site of).

possible ones. The only site of a building said to have been a church or chapel anywhere near the supposed bounds of the old parish is by the roadside between the farms of Kilmaho just spoken of. But as this site lies to the south of Kilkenzie, we can hardly imagine it to represent the ancient parish church of Kilmarow, unless, indeed, there was a bit of that parish detached or protruded into Kilkenzie at this point. A tenant farmer in ploughing turned up here the foundations of an old building which is locally considered to have been a religious one, but no trace of it now remains. Its proximity to the farms bearing the parish name, in its form of Kilmaho, is certainly a point in favour of the view that this building was the parish church; and at Kill-arow farm, some two miles on the roadside north of Kilkenzie church, there is no vestige or tradition of a religious site.

Site of burial-ground of Killocraw.

But on the other hand, about the same distance still further north, at Killocraw, there is a site pointed out of an ancient burial-ground, which would answer well enough to Blaeu's

Name of Killagruar.

position for the church, and seems to have the probabilities in its favour. The farm-names Killagruar (High and Low) occur where was probably the northern extremity of

[1] Dr Reeves has shown the many varieties this saint's name has assumed, some of which would be quite unrecognisable without explanation.

[2] See *ante*—Isle of Sanda.

Kilmarow parish—namely, on the south side of the Barr Water. But there is no tradition of a burial-ground here.

Dedication of Kilmarow church to S. Malruve.

To return to the dedication of Kilmarow. From one source it would seem as if the Virgin Mary had been patroness, the church being noticed as Ecclesia Sancte Marie[1] in the Register of the Great Seal. But on the other hand, Reeves quotes certain forms of S. Malrubha's dedicatory name, which exactly agree with those in this locality. Mărōw, Maree, Morry, Arrow, Olrow, are all given, and the writer remarks of the first three that it was in this way a confusion often arose in distinguishing, *on paper*, between Malrŭve and the Virgin. He also lays stress on the fact that dedications to the Virgin Mary were very rare in Scottish churches. It would thus seem that although the name of the church was written by the scribe "Sancte Marie," perhaps from an idea on his part that its dedication was to the Virgin, the fact was really otherwise; and could the phonetic value of the original name as it was known in the locality, have been preserved in the written records, the northern saint would have been recognised as patron. This is perhaps an unusually perplexing example in the way of ecclesiastical dedications, and it is important to note it. The name of Kil-morry farm further north probably represents a religious site which had formerly existed somewhere in its neighbourhood, and was also dedicated to S. Malruve.

Kil-morry.

Early history of Kil-marow.

There is early mention of the church of Kilmarow. Before the year 1251, Rotheric,[2] the son of Reginald, Lord of Kyntire, gave, for the service of the church of Killean or S. John in Kyntire, five pennylands—namely, three of the church of S. John, and two of the church of S. Mary (Kilmarow), in honour of both these saints.[3] In the year 1507, the grant was confirmed to David, Bishop of Argyle, by King James IV., on account of the singular devotion which he bore towards the blessed confessor S. Moloc, patron of the Cathedral church of Lismore. There appears to be no further record of Kilmarow till after the Reformation, when it is noticed in connection with the disposal of the tithes, as already mentioned under head of Kilkenzie. In 1697, John Campbell of Ardchattan was served heir to his father Archibald, "fear" of Ardchattan, in the property of the church, parish, teinds, and patronage of Kilmarow, in Kintyre.[4]

Kil-maluag.

Coming to the north side of Glen Barr, we find traces of an ancient burial-ground on the farm of Kil-maluag. A small, half-effaced bank, enclosing a corner of a field, and two or three moss-grown slabs, are all that remain to indicate the spot. The place bears the local name "Ach-nan-Cladh" (the field of tombstones). In the garden-fence of Kilmaluag farmhouse, I found a slab with an ornamental cross carved in relief on one face (Pl. XLIX. 4). It was standing upright, though insecurely stuck into the fence, but had evidently been transplanted here, most likely from the burial-ground. It was 3½ feet long by 15 inches wide, and 4 inches in thickness. It struck me, however, that this stone was only a fragment of a longer one. As an almost inconceivable instance of how unobservant in matters which do not immediately concern them the rural population may be, I may mention that one of the occupants of the farm, though he must have seen the slab a

Fragment of a slab with ornamental cross on it here.

[1] Orig. Paroch.
[2] Often called Ruari or Rory.
[3] Reg. Mag. Sig., *apud* Innes.
[4] Orig. Paroch.

Dedication.

hundred times, told me with a wondering air he had never noticed there was any carving upon it! Maluag or Moloc,[1] who doubtless formerly had a chapel here in his honour, is the saint we have already ventured to connect, though only problematically, with Kildalloig, in Campbelton parish, and he will be met with again before we have done with these pages. He died in 592.[2] He has an office to himself in the Breviary of Aberdeen.

Topographical names.

Name of "Port-na-Croise."

The only remaining topographical names in the united parish suggesting any association with our present subject, appear to be "Dunan Sagairt" (the Priest's Knoll), applied to a knob or neck on the north bank of Drumore Burn, near the sea; "Port-na-Croise" (Port of the Cross), a little shingly bay among the jagged boulders which strew the shore under Tangytavil farm-steading; and "Port nam mairbh" (Port of the Dead), another small creek or bay of the same kind. The two last names are found a little to the north of old Kilkenzie church; and, as I have remarked, it is just possible they may have had some early ecclesiastical association attached to them.

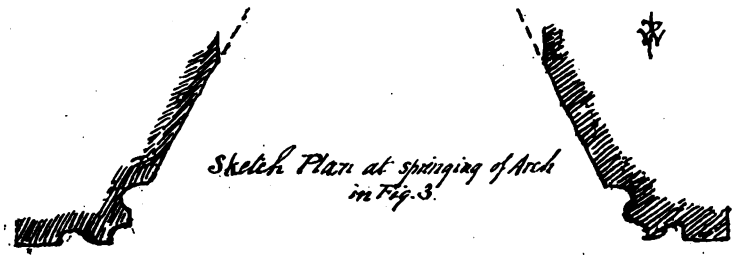
[1] Sometimes also called S. Lughaidh.—Reeves.

[2] Reeves's Adamnan.

SKETCHES AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

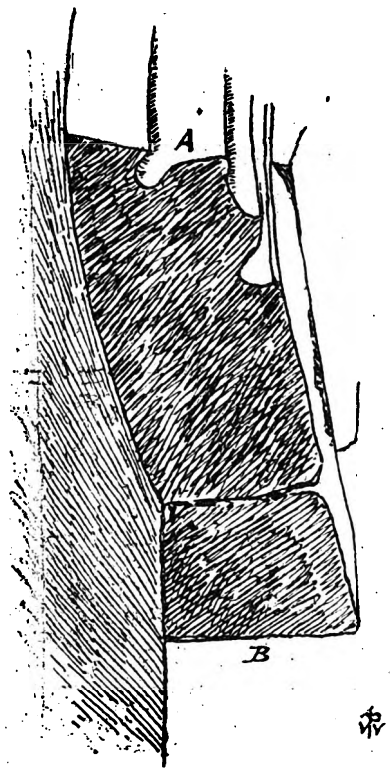
PLATE XXV.

1



Sketch Plan at springing of Arch in Fig. 3.

2



Exposed Section of Window Arch from underneath

3

Window Arch in S. wall

4

View of the old church of Killean - from the East

Sketched by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

SKETCHES AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXVI

4

In Vestry - (from outside)

3

Aumbry in N. wall (from outside)

2

Window-head in N. wall (from inside)

1

Fragment lying in burying Ch.

7

In N. wall: chancel end - (external view)

6

In S. wall

5

S. Side of Vestry - (interior view)

Sketched by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh

CHAPTER XII.

Killean church (S. John's).

VERY much in the same state of preservation as the ruin of Kilkenzie is the church of Killean, though bearing traces of higher finish in its architectural features (Pls. XXV. and XXVI.) The building is a rectangle, about 74 by 17 feet, with a wing apparently added to it at a later period on the north side. Mr Muir considers Killean to have been probably one of the high churches—a mother-church, perhaps, of the county—from the elaboration of its details; and he imagines the wing building to have been either a sacristy or chantry chapel.[1] The walls, with the exception of the west one, are nearly perfect. There are four windows, besides the couplet in the chancel end, two on each side north and south. The two in the north side are small circular-headed lancets, splayed as usual. About midway on the south side is a larger and more important window of Norman type (Pl. XXV. 1 to 3). Another window of the same size (Pl. XXVI. 6), in the south wall nearer the west end, differs from the last in being quite plain, with a circular facing but no mouldings. The couplet of windows in the east gable are long and narrow, with pointed heads, and above them a string-course moulding is carried (Pl. XXV. 4), afterwards descending in three steps, and then continued to near the south angle of the gable, where it stops short at a formidable crack in the masonry, while the other end is carried round the north angle, about 5 feet along the side wall, and then dies away. In this bit of wall, between the vestry and eastern gable of the church, is a blocked-up window (Pl. XXVI. 7.), the sole of which is but a few inches above ground. It is 14 inches wide, and has splayed jambs with a bead moulding down their centre. The wing building on the north side, already referred to as probably a vestry, occupies the position of a transept; but as there is no corresponding one on the south side, the effect is decidedly unequal. It has a low, round-headed doorway 5 feet high, admitting from the main building, and over this doorway is a small circular loophole (Pl. XXVI. 5). It is lighted by two lancet-windows, 4 feet long by 8 inches wide. As usual, the ground-level appears to have risen a good deal outside. The roof was a high-pointed arch in shape, but has been tiled over in modern times, and the walls whitewashed, to adapt the building for the purpose it now subserves—namely, the family vault of the Macdonalds of Largie, the Clan Ranald Bane, as they were anciently called. In the burn outside, which passes close by the church, I found a scooped-out square block of stone unmistakably like a holy-water stoup, the basin being regularly circular, and of the usual size[2] (Pl. XXVI. 1).

Architectural details.

Windows.

Wing building probably the sacristy.

Stone with circular basin, probably the *bénitier* of the church.

[1] Muir: Old Church Architecture of Scotland.

[2] The proprietor of Largie, to whom I pointed out this relic, has had it replaced in the church, from which doubtless it came.

Name and dedication.

The name Killean was also written "Kilican,"[1] and sometimes appeared as "Ecclesia Sancti Johannis," so that we are left in no doubt as to the church's dedication. Before the year 1753, the parish comprised the district of Saddell, which, conjoined with Skipness, now form a separate parish.[2] The church of Killean, as already noted, is

Charter details.

thought to have been the most important one in Kintyre. The year 1243 appears to be the first in which there is a charter record of its existence.[3] In 1545, a deed of Donald, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, is witnessed by Sir Archibald McGillivray, vicar of Killean.[4] Dean Howson speaks of an impression existing that there had been a monastery at Tayinloan,[5] the village barely a mile to the north of Killean church; and inasmuch

Name of "Kilmorry."

as a farm named Kilmorry intervenes between these two places, the local idea seems to have some confirmation.

Mediæval slabs.

The churchyard here is full of ancient monumental slabs of the usual Western type (Pls. XXVII. to XXXII.) I have drawn eleven, all that were to be seen, excepting parts of two, which I discovered in a mutilated and barely distinguishable state, still paving the doorway admitting to the church. Of these last, one has the sword, and the other tracery of some kind. Of the eleven drawn, four are within the private vault of the Largie family, the others lying outside in various stages of decay, some of them, however, preserving in their

Pedestal of a standard-cross.

carvings singularly crisp and sharp outlines. Besides these, I found the pedestal with socket of a standard-cross, a large block of stone just outside the gateway; and a fragment of the shaft is within the family vault, but it is without tracery, being doubtless the bottom

A sword-slab exquisitely carved,

end. It has a spindle fitted for the socket with a grooved and beaded edge. The most elaborate and beautiful specimen of tomb-carving I remember to have seen anywhere in the West is one of these slabs (Pl. XXVII.) The sword, as usual, is the *pièce de résistance;* and round about it on all sides the sculptor has let his chisel run into forms of the most exquisite grace and symmetry. Below the sword-hilt on either side the pattern takes the shape of two running stems, intersecting so as to enclose a row of five circles, each containing four ornamental leaves arranged spirally and with a view to enriched effect. On one side above the pattern is a blank space, the only defect in the sculpture, due perhaps to the designer having been prevented by death or otherwise from finishing

with grotesque figure upon it, part human, and part ape-like.

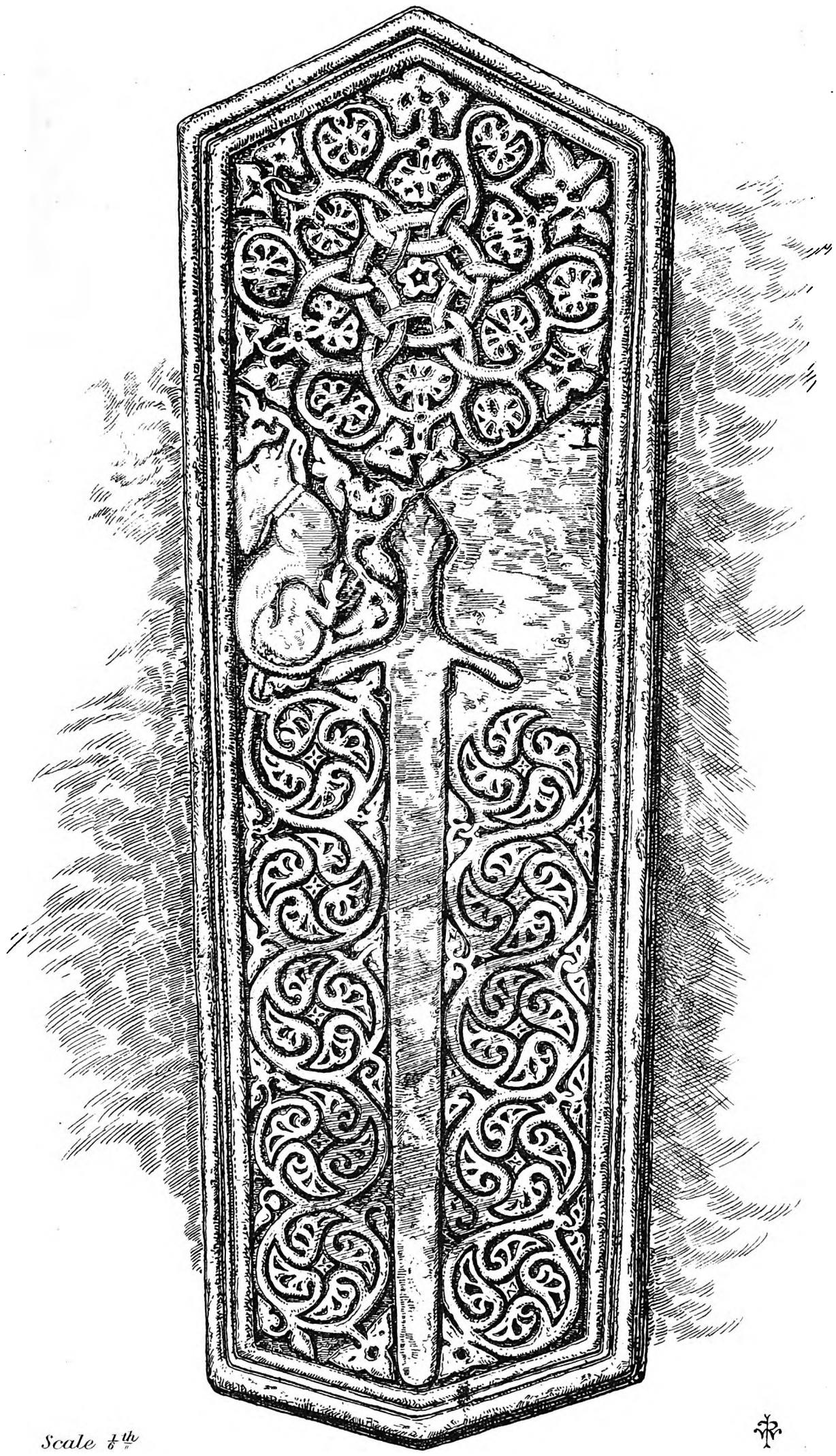
his work. On the opposite side of the sword this same pattern of circles passes into the tail of a grotesque creature, with a body like an ape's, a dragon's claw, and the face of a man, the lips rather protruded, and on his head what, I think, most resembles the peaked cap worn by fools or jesters in mediæval times. This figure is a curious and somewhat puzzling object. Could it have had reference to some jester in the service of the lord or chieftain here commemorated? Or, more probably, was it not a mere freak of the sculptor's fancy, after the manner of those queer grotesque figures of men and animals one sees so frequently introduced in the corbels,

[1] Orig. Paroch. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

[5] Mr Cosmo Innes has apparently inferred from Dean Howson the existence of another chapel at Tayinloan; but the latter evidently means, by the chapel of Tayinloan, the church of Killean. There is no other remaining.

MONUMENTAL SLAB AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXVII.



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$ th

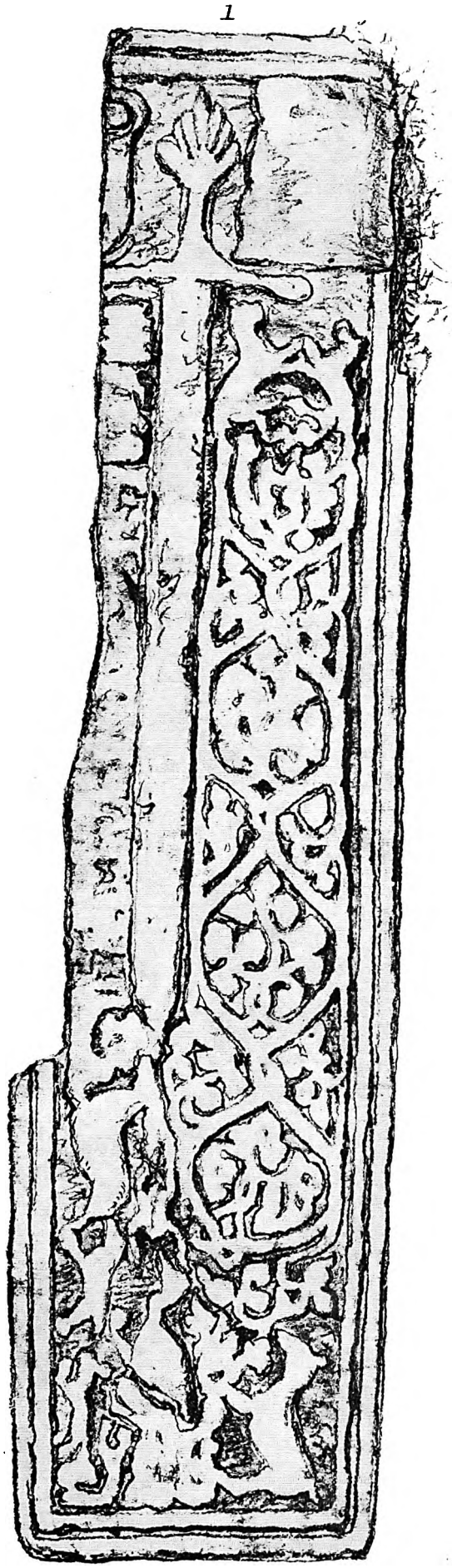
Drawn by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XXVIII.

1



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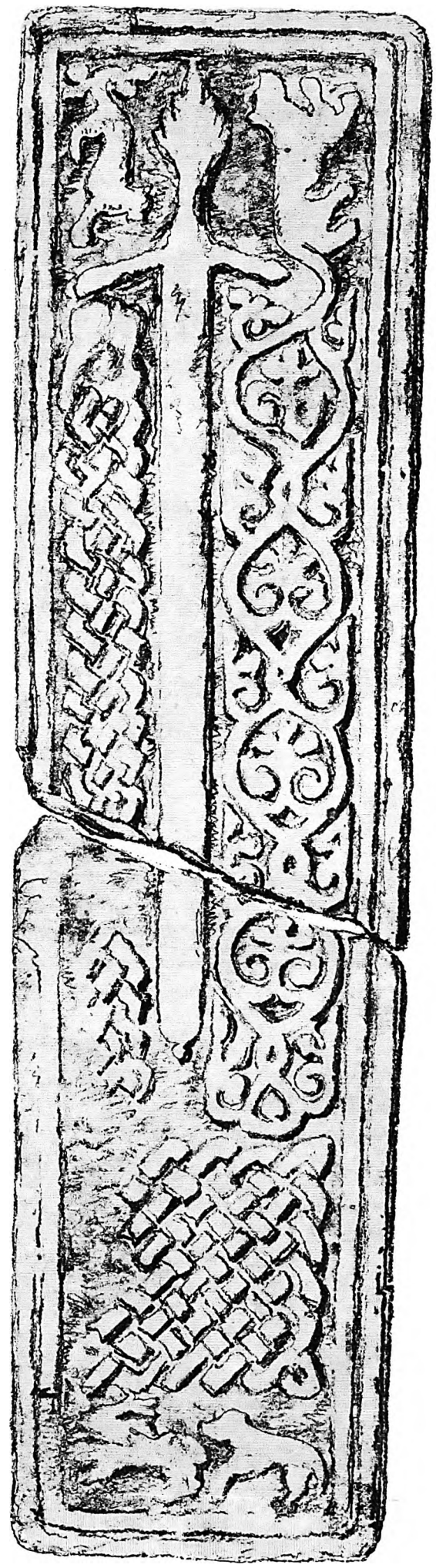


Scale $\frac{1}{7}^{th}$

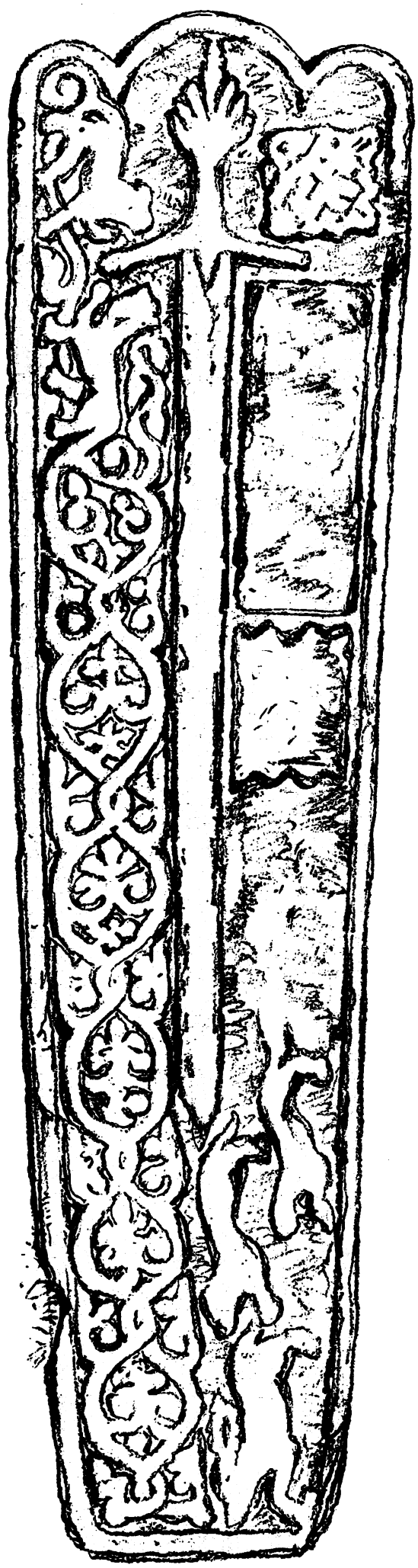
Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXIX

1



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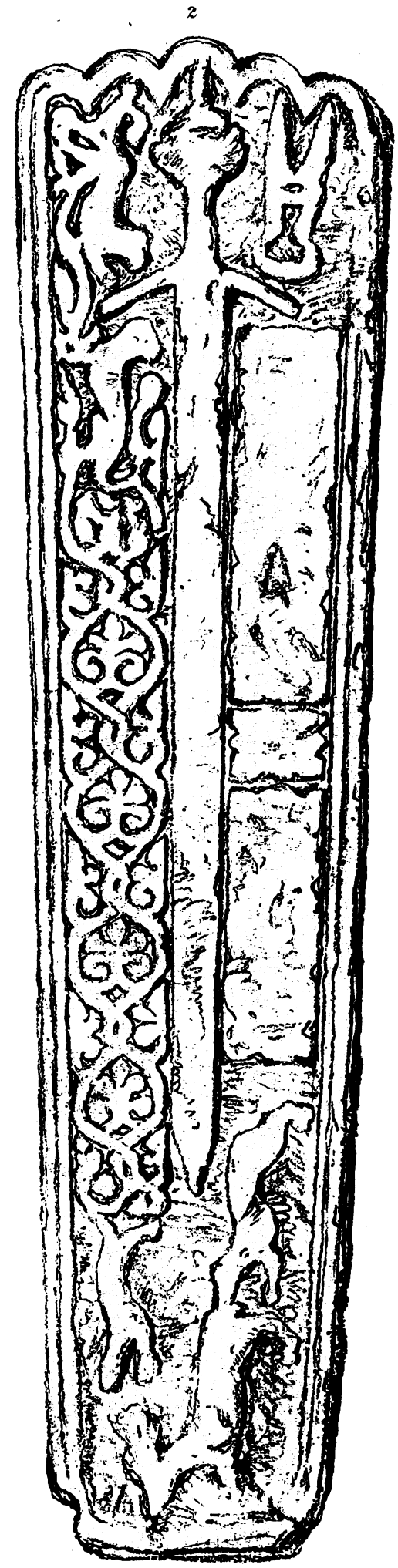


SCALE 1/7

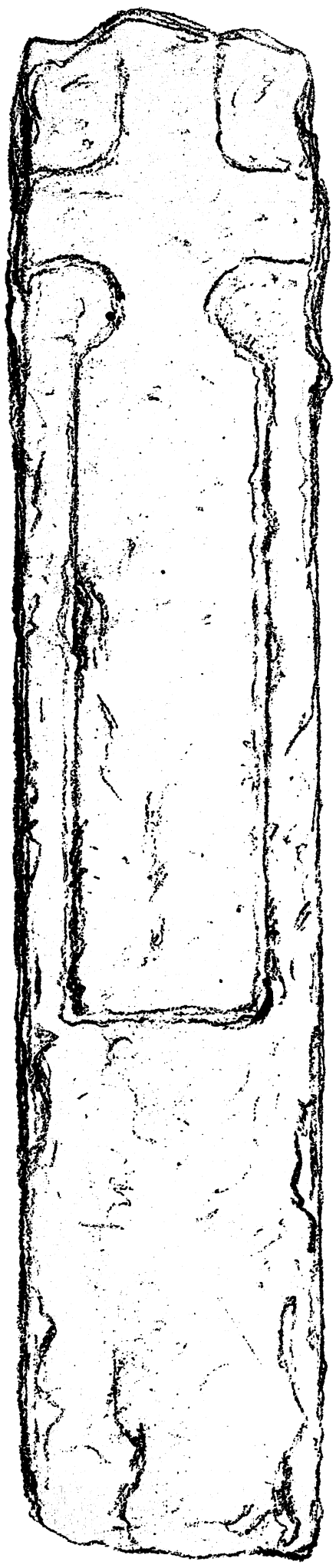
Drawn by Capt. T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXX.

1



2

SCALE 1/4

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston Edinburgh.

gargoyles, and cornices of early Gothic buildings? Another offshoot of the creature's tail is carried up into a stem and leaves, which, like the blank panel on the other side of the sword, are so arranged as to leave room at the head of the slab for a hexagonal space, having one of its angles resting on the point of the sword-hilt. This space, again, is worked into a fresh pattern of interlaced stem-circles and foliage, with a boss or flower set like a gem in the centre. Such a design might be utilised by a modern decorative manufacturer or jeweller with the greatest effect in a variety of ways. The lines of the carving on this slab are somewhat shallower and more delicate than usual, the effect of the whole suggesting lightness of hand combined with marvellous dexterity and precision. As for the way in which the curves are grouped, their grace and power are magical, with the sort of witchery of effect only attainable by the curved line, and which these monkish sculptors of the West seem to have had an inspiration in realising. This charmingly beautiful tombstone is encircled with a flat and broad double beading, separated by another slender one. Some modern Goth, it would appear, had begun to operate upon the stone, which he had doubtless seized upon for a departed relative, and the letter "H" has been cut in the blank space so conveniently left for his purpose. Fortunately, however, the mutilation has gone no further. Four more of the slabs outside have swords, accompanied by rich tracery. On one (Pl. XXVIII. 1) is a stag-hunt, a doe, and what has been not unhappily described by another observer[1] as "a goose about to gobble up a frog," shears, a comb, an illegible inscription, and foliage.[2] Another, unfortunately cracked through the middle, has a single hound pursuing a stag, besides animals, foliage, and plait-work (Pl. XXVIII. 2). This last is evidently, I think, the slab which the same observer has interpreted as representing a boar-hunt—and at first sight the animal is not unlike a boar; but on closer examination, the branching antlers, though worn down a good deal, unmistakably settle the genus he belongs to. One has to be cautious in particularising as to the subjects of these sculptures, so many of them being often doubtful; indeed it is frequently necessary to get one's eyes close down upon the stone before it is possible to say what some detail may be. Another pair of very similar slabs give, in each case, the sword, a couple of dogs springing out of a long row of loop tracery, blank panels, and a deer-hunt (Pl. XXIX. 1, 2). The similarity in these two is sufficiently marked to point with almost certainty to the same designer, or a very good copyist. The principal point of divergence is at the left-hand top corner, for where in one we have a square plait, the shears appear in the other; and this is another of the many examples where the shears accompany the sword on the same slab, but without other evidence to show whether the sculpture was intended to commemorate both a male and female. The remaining two slabs outside the church are quite plain; a flat raised Latin cross in one case, and in the other an incised sword, with long straight guard set squarewise (Pl. XXX. 1 and 2). In the family vault which occupies the vestry building, are a very handsome pair of carvings. One shows two couple of dogs with looped foliage attached,

Extreme grace of the curves in this sculpture.

Other slabs of various patterns.

Caution necessary in particularising details of the slabs.

Two plain slabs, with Latin cross, &c.

[1] Notes on the Early Monumental Art in the West Highlands, by Mr J. Drummond, R.S.A. and F.S.A. Scot.

[2] A considerable piece, I regret to say, has been torn away from one side of this stone.

each loop containing a couplet of leaves tip to tip in an elegant and unusual combination,[1] two panels at head and foot filled up respectively with an incised pattern, and what seems the remains of an inscription (Pl. XXXI. 1). A central sword, flanked by beautiful serpentine stem foliage, and headed by an elaborate quatrefoil ornament, with a small panel for inscription at the foot, make up the other (Pl. XXXI. 2). The last two to be described here are also in the vault, effigies of a priest and warrior (Pl. XXXII.) The warrior slab is of the class already described of full-length effigies in high relief, but the general character of its details is richer than most others. The effigy is that of a knight in full armour, with sword and belt, casque, &c., as usual; but his left arm is hidden behind the shield which covers his left breast, while the right arm is doubled up and the hand clenched over the beading which edges the slab, so as to leave it doubtful whether the sculptor intended this beading to answer for a spear or not. The shield has a galley upon it, and something which evidently was either a fish or a mermaid. I suspect the latter, from what we know of the Largie Macdonald's cognisance; but more than this I was unable to make out. Two lions or dogs with ornamental tails occupy the blank space at the head on one side, and a single similar animal on the other. The rest of the flat spaces round the figure are ornamented with tracery of beautiful and varied patterns, the carving showing a more than ordinary attention to minutiæ of enrichment and finish just in these obscurer portions of the monument where an artist might have been expected to save himself labour. Whence it would seem fair to infer that this warrior, whose stony features, roughly indicated, stare up at you with a certain strangely impassive expression, must have been a chieftain of rank and importance in the district; and, remembering the galley and fish-tail on the shield, we may set him down with tolerable certainty as one of the heads of the house of the Clan Ranald Bane, now represented by the Largie family. In the other slab alongside the knight (Pl. XXXII. 2), a cleric in vestments occupies a central niche, with a chalice below his feet. The rest of the space is divided into panelling, which was very probably, as in other instances, to be afterwards ornamented. The panel above the figure seems to have had a tolerably lengthy inscription, but it is now utterly defaced.[2]

Effigies.

Of a knight full length and in high relief.

High finish in parts of this effigy.

This monument doubtless represents one of the Macdonalds of Largie.

Killean a place of early ecclesiastical importance.

Killean, we see, can still show upwards of a dozen pieces of mediæval sculpture, the *débris* of what once existed there, which is about the number of similar objects to be seen at Saddell. We may imagine, therefore, that the place must have been of some importance as a religious site in earlier times; and the parish cross it had was, no doubt, sacred to the devotions of the country-side folk, and would be a picturesque addition to the appearance of its church.

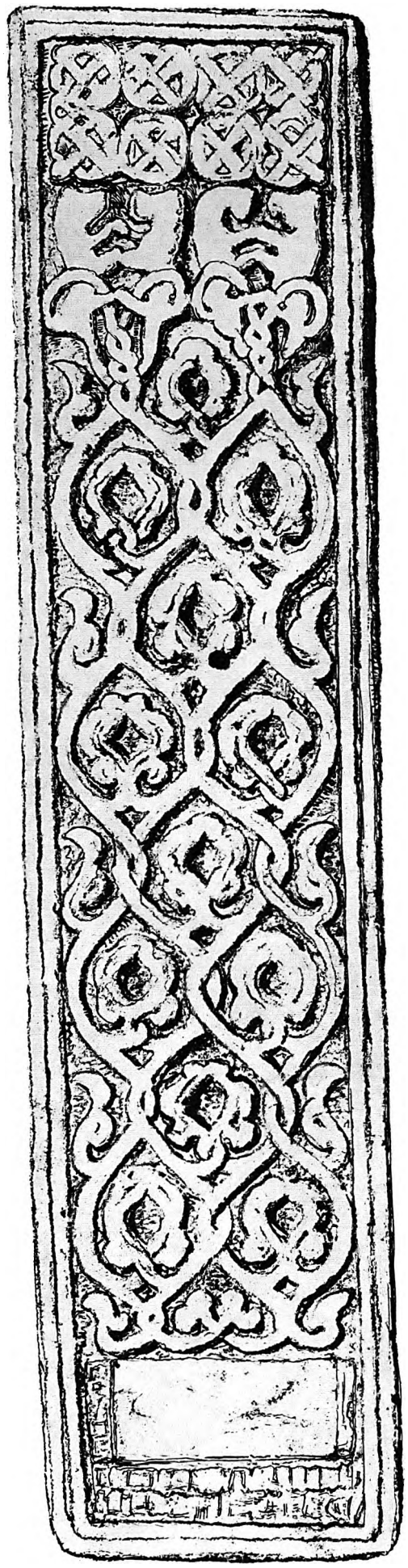
[1] Mr Drummond calls the leaf laurel; but this is being more speculative than I think the representation warrants. Similarly in another instance where he decides upon ivy.

[2] Owing to the imperfect lighting of the vault, I found it no easy matter making out the monuments there.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXXI.

1



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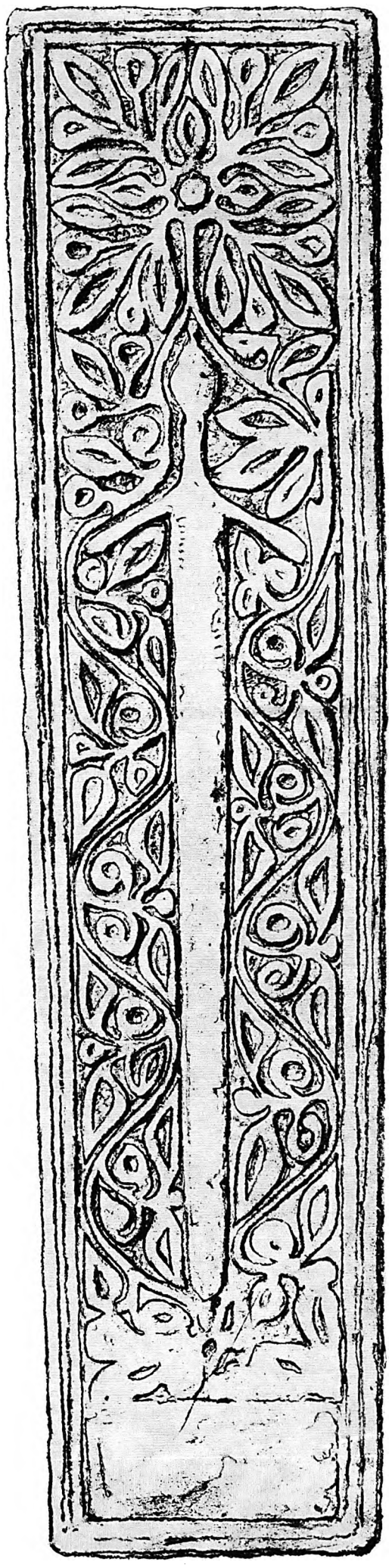

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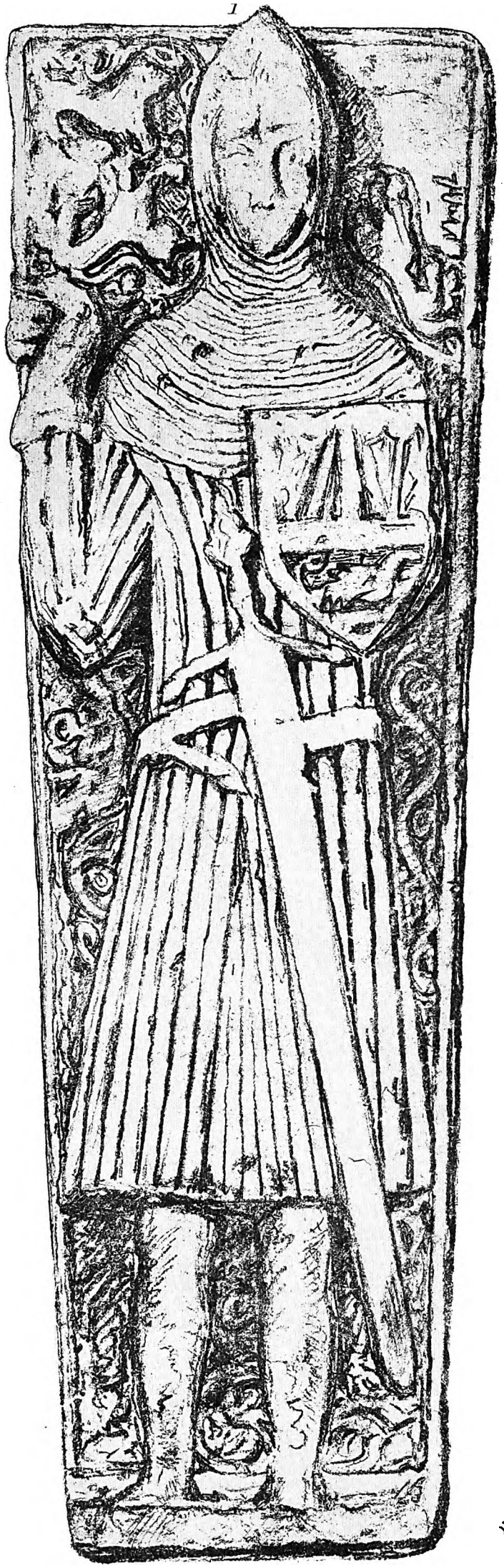
Drawn by Capt. T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

EFFIGIES OF A KNIGHT & ECCLESIASTIC AT KILLEAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XXXII.

1



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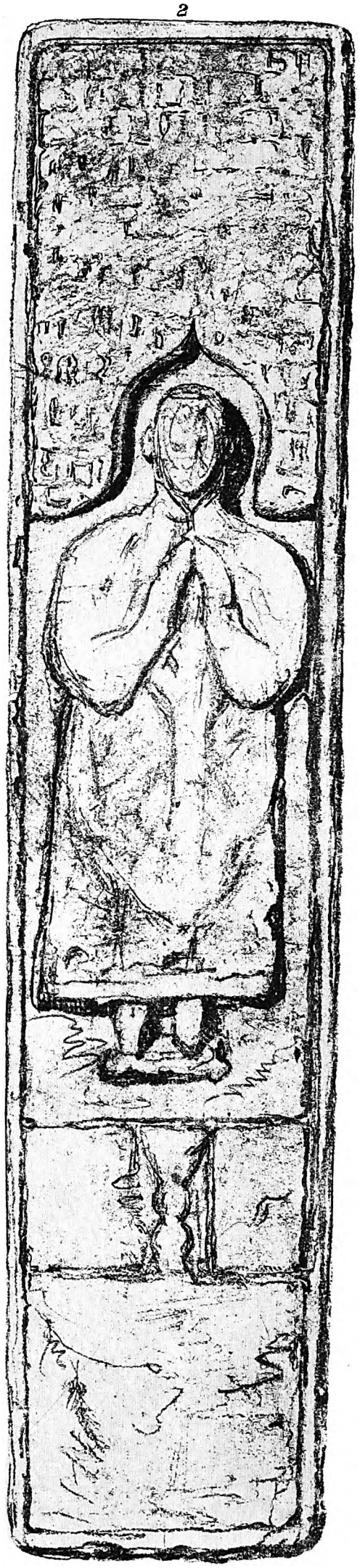


Sketched by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XIII.

United parish of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry (Kilcalmonell subdivision).

LET us pass now to the parochial subdivision of Kilcalmonell, which, in modern times, has been conjoined with its neighbour Kilberry to form another of those straggling and unwieldy parishes so common in Argyllshire. West Loch Tarbert forms a natural separation of the two parts, and it is difficult to see any good reason for their conjunction, the date of which is unknown.[1] Other changes besides this have taken place in their territorial limits, as what may be called the eastern half of the old parish of Kilcalmonell has been lopped off, and, with a similar slice abstracted from the ancient area of Killean, been converted into the modern united parish of Saddell and Skipness, with which we shall presently deal. This arrangement was effected in the year 1753.

Extent of the parish.

Kilcalmonell in its modern limits thus occupies a long strip, much of a size with united Killean and Kilkenzie, and filling up the remainder of the western coast-line of the peninsula, as also a small extent of the eastern, to the southward of East Loch Tarbert.[2] Kilberry, lying as it does wholly to the north of the loch, falls without the district of Kintyre, and is therefore beyond the scope of our present inquiries. The west side of Kilcalmonell is charmingly wooded, especially on the Stonefield property towards Tarbert, and the views obtained in the drive along the shores of the estuary are among the most beautiful in the county.

Site of old parish church.

Of the original church of the parish nothing now remains. It stood, according to Innes, in the seventeenth century, at Clachan—a village near the coast, about twelve miles from Tarbert on the Campbelton road—and probably at an earlier period at the adjacent place now known as Balnakeill or Ballinakill, marked by Pont and Blaeu as Balnaheglish. The earlier site, as I shall presently show, we have, I think, succeeded in identifying. It is within a very short distance of the existing church, which latter was not erected till as late as 1760. The situation is sheltered, the "Clachan"[3] lying in a hollow, with a ridge intervening between it and the coast. The

[1] It is only right to mention, however, that latterly a "quoad sacra" arrangement has been adopted, giving practically, for religious purposes, a separate church and officiating minister to each division. Thus Kilkenzie is a sort of chapel of ease to Killean, Kilberry to Kilcalmonell, and Skipness to Saddell. This system has become general throughout the large united parishes of the West.

[2] The boundary strikes the east shore at a point called Camas na Ban-tighearna (the chieftainess's bay). I have not thought it worth while for the objects of this volume to specify the present parochial boundaries minutely. Those who wish to ascertain them can consult the plans of the Ordnance Survey, published on the scales of 25 and 6 inches to a mile, for arable land and moorland respectively.

[3] The Gaelic term "clachan" (place of stones) is applied, as a rule, in the Scottish Highlands to villages or small hamlets where a parish church is situated with its burial-ground. According to Macleod and Dewar, its original application was to prehistoric, or so-called Druidical, circles of stones.

Kilcalmonell burial-ground and slabs.

modern churchyard contains some rude slab-carvings of a curious and distinctive type, besides three of the more ornate later mediæval kind. Of these last the one in best preservation has sword and shears together, the former placed at the side, leaving room for a lateral play of foliage ornamentation very graceful in its style (Pl. XXXIII. 2). Another, much worn down, has its sword in a central position, the right-hand side being taken up with a unique pattern, consisting of a long stem which serves as a second inner beading or edging to the slab, and out of this stem branch a row of large and rather stiff pear-shaped leaves, one under the other (Pl. XXXIII. 1). The left-hand space by the sword, as far as can be made out from its obliterated condition, was ornamented in a similar manner. From the antique style of the foliage, I take this to be an earlier specimen than most we have been considering. A third (Pl. XIX. 2) must have been particularly handsome, but the pattern is now so hopelessly blotted out, that it was only from the rubbing I could make anything of it. It has a wide margin, not brought up flush with the proper surface of the slab, to which circumstance we are probably indebted for the very perfect condition of the beautiful dog-tooth moulding which runs entirely round this margin, giving the effect of a rich frame to the slab. On the upper surface itself is another wide double margin, indicated by grooves, and thus there is left a very narrow oblong panel for the main enrichment of the stone, which is made up of loop foliage. These three slabs, and a fourth with foliage too defaced to make a drawing of, are within a space set apart as the burial-place of the MacAlisters of Loupe. As is so often the case, two of them have been reappropriated by later representatives of the family, to whose memory scribblings sprawl over the stones in defiance of the old carvings. "This," says one, "is the burial-place of Ronald M'Alister of Dun, and Mary M'Niel "and their children, 1707;" the other, "Here lyes Archibald M'Alister of Dun Skeig" (a farm close by the Clachan). Of the presumably earlier specimens two have simply an incised sword and a margin. In neither is the sword drawn centrewise, one being askew in a diagonal direction (Pl. XXXIV. 1), for no apparent reason, and the other placed on one side (Pl. XXXV. 3). A third slab (Pl. XXXV. 1) has a deeply-incised cross with shaft and arms, the former "T"-shaped at the top. These have all a certain shadowy, long, worn appearance, and the very substance of the stone has chipped and cracked and flaked away till much of the original shape is gone. But the strangest and most phantom-like of all the sculpturings is one with the mere suggestion of a half-length human figure, which it takes some time and close watching to see, looming out goblin-like from the stone (Pl. XXXV. 2). A pair of gigantic hands are spread open one under the other, across the middle, and below them the ghostly shape mysteriously disappears. Above, the features of a weird face and square shoulders are grotesquely indicated. This carving is incised, and the slab has a beaded margin. Whatever its age may be, mediæval or not, this specimen of monumental art, with its rude and spectral conception, now almost obliterated by time and weather, is quite a curiosity. There is here also the top of a primitive-looking cross, with roughly-shaped arms, standing as headstone to one of the graves (Pl. XXXIV. 2). None of this last group of monuments have any inscription or

Curious type of foliage on one of the mediæval carvings here.

Another, unusual type of slab.

Burial-place of the Loupe family.

MacAlister of Dun Skeig.

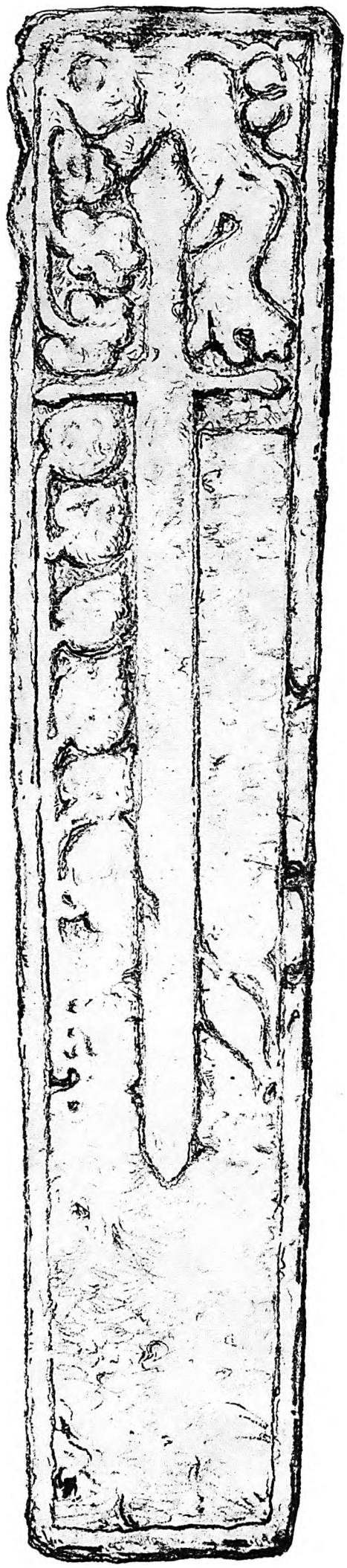
One remarkable carving of rude type.

Fragment of a primitive-looking cross.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT CLACHAN (KILCALMONELL), KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXXIII.

1



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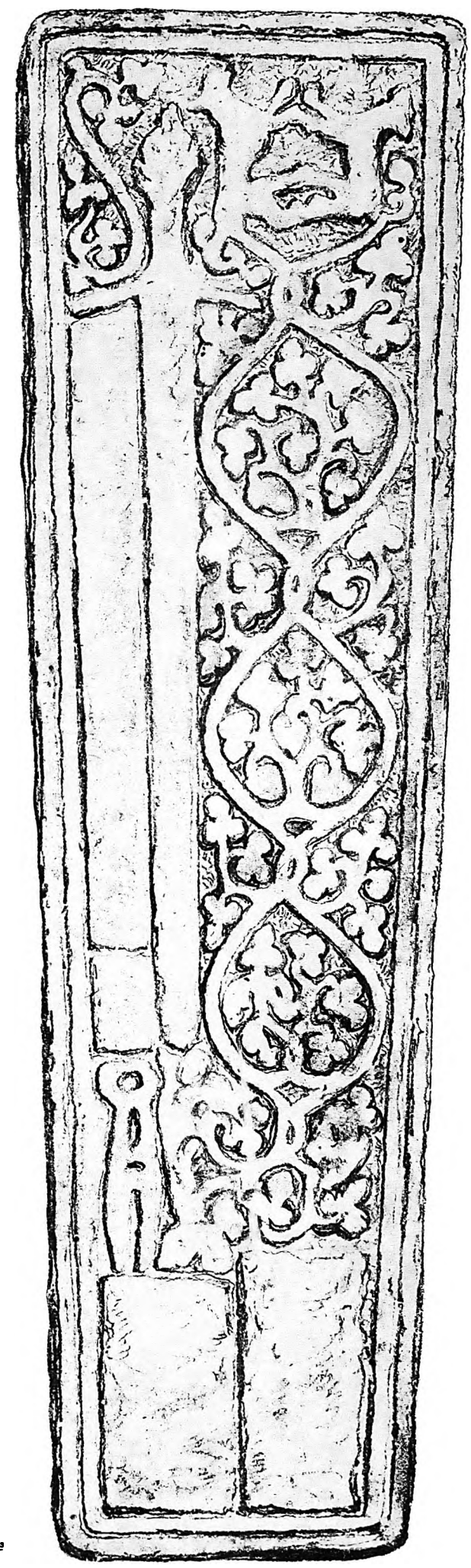

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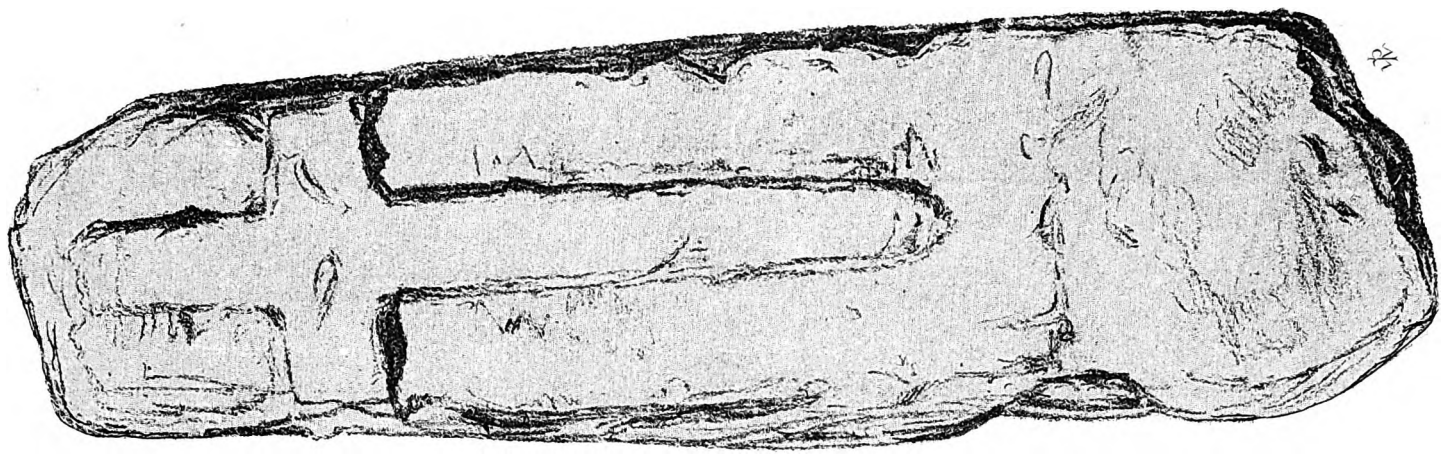
Drawn by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White. R.E.

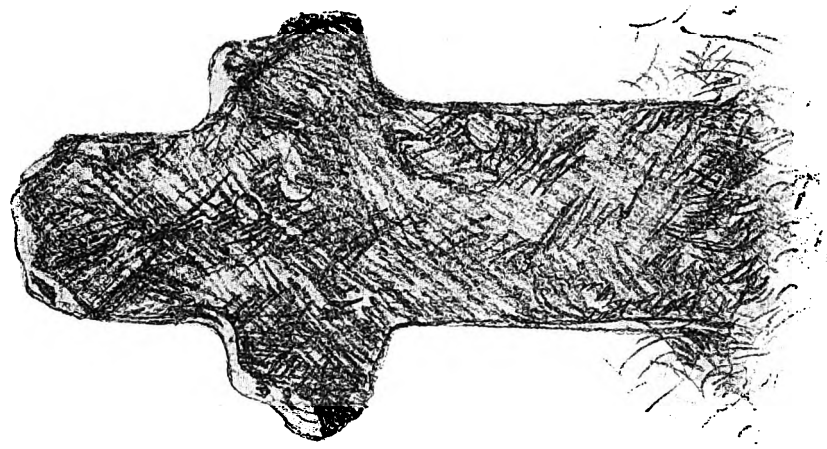
Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT CLACHAN & KILMICHAEL KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

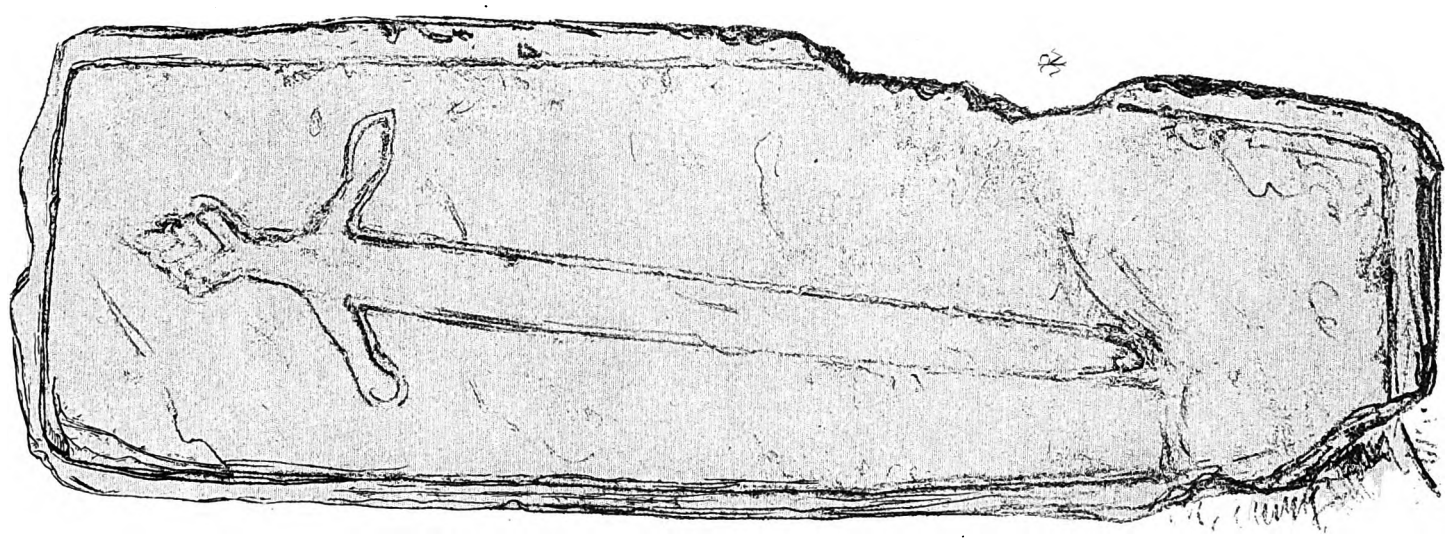
PLATE XXXIV.



at Kilmichael (Balnacroy)



In Clachan Cy.d



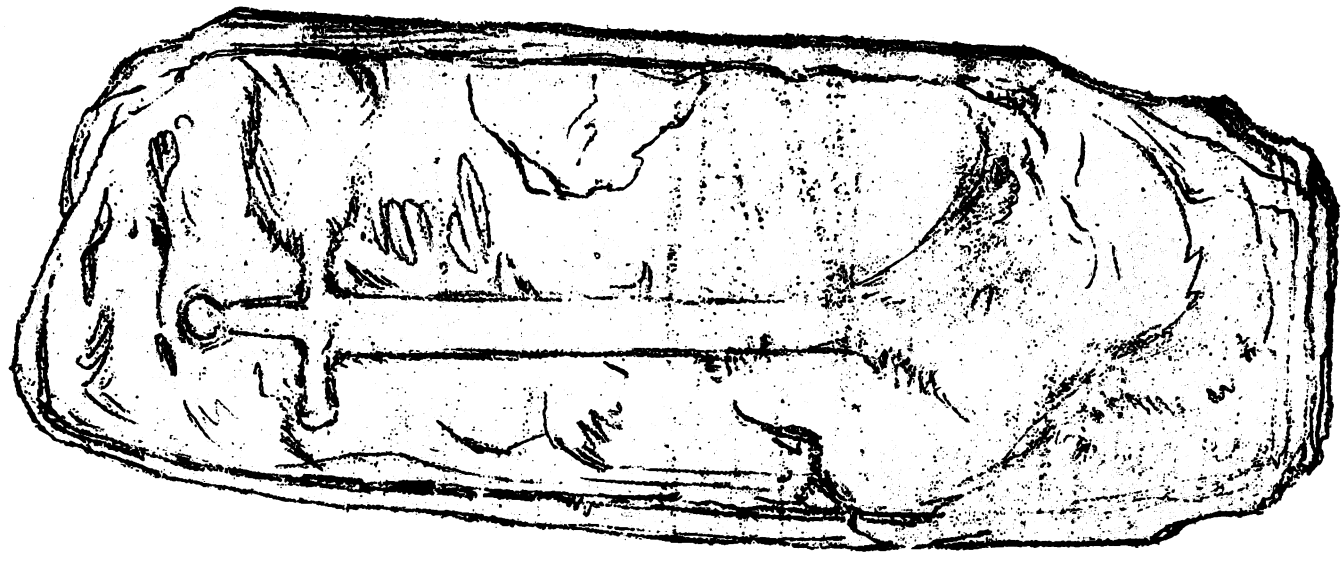
In Clachan Church Yard.

Sketched by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT CLACHAN (KILCALMONELL) KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXXV.



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Sketched by Cap.t T.P White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K.Johnston Edinburgh.

ornamentation superadded to what I have described as represented upon them, and this plainness is a feature markedly distinguishing them from the three other slabs. Considering also the signs of greater dilapidation about them, the inference would be that they are earlier productions. But in all such cases I think we must be very cautious as to expressing a positive opinion, for decay is not always due to age alone; nor are we aware of any reservation of the rights of antique sculptors against having their works copied in after-times.

Ancient site of the church.

The spot referred to as having been the original site of the parish church is to the north of the river, in a small field adjoining the grounds of Ballinakill House, which has given the name of Sheanakill (the ancient cell)[1] to the part of the village on its side of the water. In these grounds, I may mention, there is a curious conical mound or tumulus, on the summit of which I found an upright slab standing three feet high, and about five inches thick, with a fragmentary cross sculptured upon it, which seems to have been of the wheel-pattern (Pl. XXXVI.) The mound, to judge from the fact that several urns were got out of it some years ago, is a prehistoric relic; and the cross in all probability belonged to the original site of the church, which, from what has been said, we may safely place in the field at Sheanakill. A difficulty may suggest itself in the fact that all the carved stones, except the one on the tumulus, are now found within the modern burial-ground; but this latter in ancient times may have extended beyond its present limits, or been somewhat detached from the church fabric itself.

Cross at Ballinakill.

Curious epitaph.

One oddly-worded epitaph I noticed here seems worth transcribing from my note-book. It begins with three lines in Latin, and then proceeds thus:—

"Here lies Mulmonich Darroch, Person was in Kilcalmonell, who died 10th March "1638, aged 63, and served the cure."

The tablet is a renewal, so it tells us, by two namesakes, and I suppose descendants, of this long-deceased parson. From the minister of the parish I got the following particulars respecting the church. The present building, as we have seen, is scarcely above a century old. It has a porch or small offset on the west side, with a large arched aperture taken out at the ground-level, underneath the staircase admitting to the gallery. The history of this aperture is curious. When the church was being built, an old soldier, whose forebears were buried at this particular spot, refused to allow the masons to build over it, and with loaded gun and sword mounted guard over the place for several days and nights without stirring, swearing to despatch the first man who should lay a finger to the work. The result was that the church-builders gave in, agreeing to throw an arched recess over the spot in dispute, and the old warrior retired mollified, and was ultimately laid peacefully himself in the spot he had contended for. The story would hardly be worth telling, but that the aperture in the wall strikes one as something very peculiar, and requiring explanation.

Story of the obstinate soldier.

Traditions of Kilcalmonell.

I was also told of some current notions among the villagers respecting the supposed church fabric of ancient days. It was, say they, made of wattles like a sheep-pen, and left unroofed to let the people's

[1] Or the name may have reference to the S. Senan of Sanda Island.

prayers ascend better. And the priest was wearing a sword, and when the folk would be putting the stone or tossing the caber on the Sabbath, then he would draw his sword and drive them into the church like a flock of sheep. Not improbably the sword and basket-work patterns of the carved tombstones, interspersed as they so often are with religious emblems, may be at the bottom of this jumble of fact and fiction, which I suppose is to be dignified with the name of tradition.

Dedication to S. Colman Ela.

I must now refer to the dedication, which, by general acceptance, is associated with S. Colman Elo or Ela, also called Columbanus and Colmanmus (filius Beogni) by Adamnan. Like Columba, with whom he was contemporary, this Irish saint claimed descent from the royal race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose name held so high a place in the pedigrees of these early times; and mention is also made of him as Nepos Briuni, the descendant of Brian, another kingly name of barbaric note. Something of this saint has been told by Adamnan; of the repulse of the demon who was lurking in a milk-pail; of Baithan and Columbanus the holy presbyters, how they besought and obtained from the Lord by the prayer of the blessed S. Columba a fair wind each on the same day, though sailing from Hy in opposite directions; and how it was so, that when, on the morrow after S. Columba's prophecy, Baithan started for Tiree in the morning with a south wind, the same afternoon God changed the wind to a north one, which wafted Colman Ela to the shores of Ireland, his destination. Then we hear of the saint's peril in a whirlpool off the coast of Rathlin Island, and so on.

Adamnan's mention of this saint.

Other particulars respecting S. Colman Ela.

S. Colman received his surname of Eala, by which he is called in the Irish calendar,[1] from a stream in King's County, Ireland, which also gave its name to his monastery of Lynally. He was the founder of Muckamore, in the county of Antrim. According to Tighernac, he was born in Tyrone A.D. 555, and died at Lynally in 611,[2] aged 56. His day in the Irish calendar is the 26th of September. Another church in Scotland which had this saint for patron was Colmonell, in Ayrshire.[3]

Early parochial records.

Coming to the parochial records of Kilcalmonell, we are met with the same hiatus observable in other parts of the district. There is nothing traditionally or otherwise to show any connection of S. Colman Ela in his lifetime with the site of his Kintyre church, and the first written announcement respecting the church only dates from the thirteenth century. In the year 1247, note is made of a transaction which brings into light the existence of two individuals in the district—namely, the rector of the church of S. Colmanel, and a certain Dufgall, the son of Syfyn, Sewen, or Sweyn,[4] then laird of the adjoining lands of Skipness (Schypinche). The transaction was, as usual, about a small grant of land presented by the proprietor to the church, which Pope Innocent IV. was duly called upon to confirm. Another donation follows shortly after—that is, in 1261—this time to the monks of Paisley, which included the advowsons to the church of S. Colmanel and one of its dependencies, the "Chapel of S. Columba" at Skipness. Of

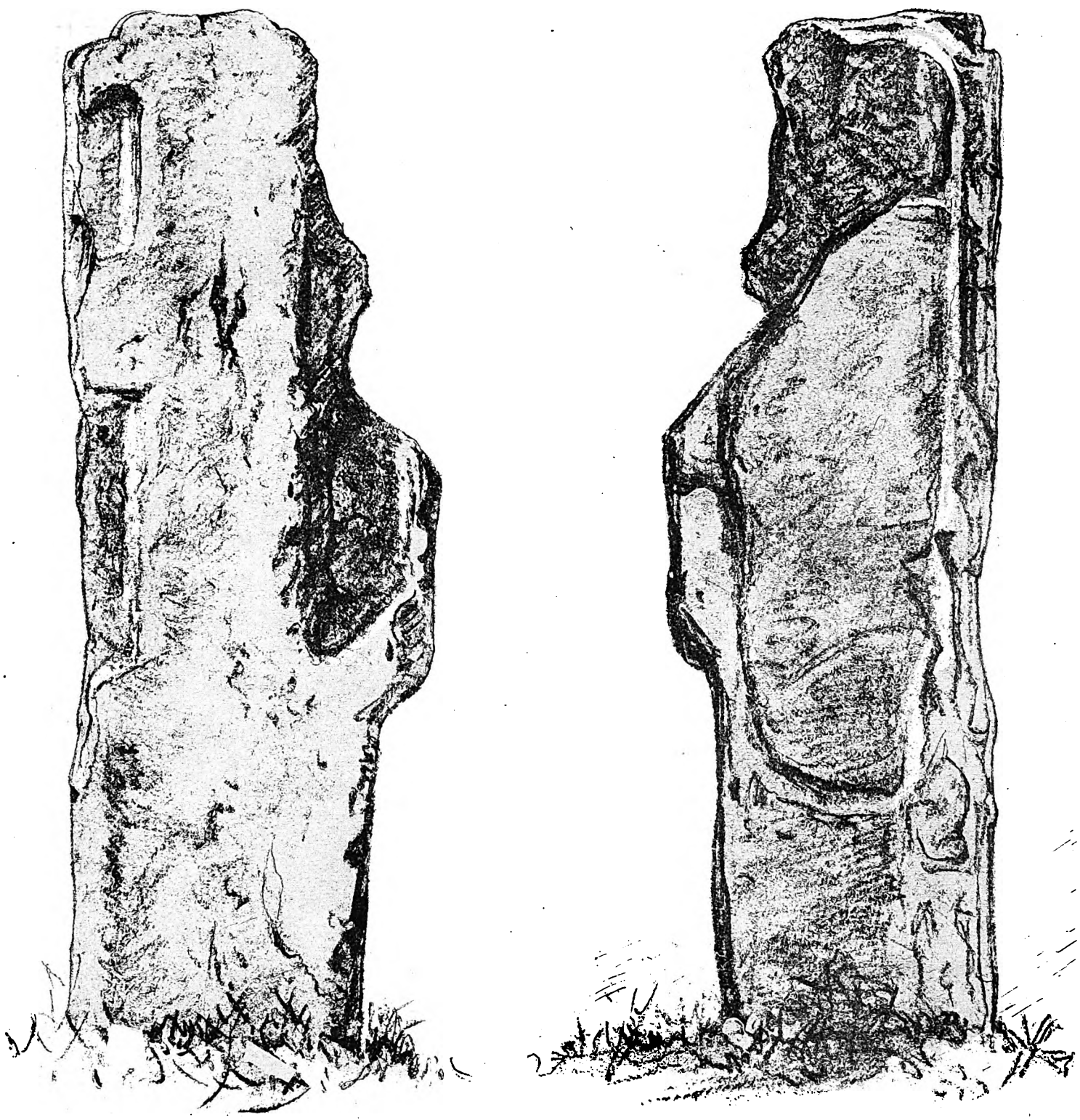
Dufgall, laird of Skipness, grants the advowson of Kilcalmonell church to the Paisley monks.

[1] Sometimes rendered "Colmanellus." [2] The Bishop of Brechin makes it 610. [3] Reeves.

[4] The name seems eminently Norse, and on first thoughts one might imagine some Norwegian viking to have settled here. This Dufgall, however, was doubtless one of the Sumarlidian stock, as Dugal was a common name among them.

MONUMENTAL STANDARD SLAB OR CROSS AT BALNAKILL
KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXXVI.



Sketched by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

this bequest more hereafter, when we come to notice the next parish. The same year, Alan, Bishop of Argyle, confirms the grant, but hedges it about with certain reservations, not forgetting the vicar's portion of the church emoluments, nor the fourth share of its proceeds due to the maintenance of his own table,[1] on the very proper principle that "they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." In the following year, Walter Steward, Earl of Menthet (Menteith), appears in record as the successor of Dufgall Sifynson, who had conferred upon him the lands of Skipness (which at that time, it is clear from the record, extended over to the west side of Kintyre, and included the site of Kilcalmonell church[2]), and in his new capacity the Steward confirms the late lord's grant previously made to the Paisley monks. This transaction took place in Sweyn's lifetime, for he himself witnesses the Steward's charter to the monks.[3] Various confirmations of this same gift follow in the record, where we may take note of the usual jealously watchful formalities to secure the monks' title. In 1284, some hitch would seem to have arisen in the matter of the grant, for we learn that Laurence, Bishop of Argyle, issued his mandate to Oddo, who is curiously styled Dean of Christianity of Glasrod,[4] ordering him to accompany the chaplain of an adjoining parish (Kilfinan) to the church of S. Colmanel, in Kentyir, and there to give two of the Paisley monks, Brice and William, representing the Abbot and convent of Paisley, corporal possession of that church and its dependency at Skipness (Chypehinche). A very characteristic scene this, with its accompaniments, if we can only picture it to ourselves—the Dean with his brother from Kilfinan over the water, and the pair of cowled bailiffs, not over-Christianly disposed after their long journey from Clydesdale to these wilds, presenting themselves at the church-door for admission, and solemnly perambulating the churchyard, as we may suppose they did, on the Sunday next (so the record tells us) before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1284.[5] Then comes the confirmation of these proceedings, and so on through the records of two centuries, the chief ecclesiastical item noted being this bestowal of the Kilcalmonell church upon the Paisley friars. We are dealing, it must be remembered, with their own Register, and should expect they would take very good care to give the claims of their house a prominent place. In 1455, John of Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, whom we have met with in previous parochial records, appears as overlord and proprietor of the church of Kilcalmonell, which he confirms to the Paisley Abbey.[6] Near the close of the fifteenth century occurred Bishop Robert's contumacy and excommunication already alluded to, which had reference to his interference with Kilcalmonell among other churches in his diocese. By the end of the sixteenth century,

Two delegates from Paisley Abbey take corporal possession of Kilcalmonell church A.D. 1284,

accompanied by a dean and chaplain of the diocese of Argyll,

by orders from Laurence, its bishop.

Bishop Robert's contumacy.

[1] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 122 : "Donatio ecclesie Sancti Colmaneli," &c.

[2] "Priusquam terram suam de Schypehinche mihi contulit, super ecclesia Sancti Colmaneli infra "predictam terram sita."

[3] Charter headed "Confirmatio Walteri comitis," &c., in Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 121.

[4] Glassary, another of the Argyllshire deaneries.

[5] The grave urbanity of the opening sentence of the mandate is also characteristic : "Brother Laurence," we read, "by divine compassion, humble minister of the church of Argyle, to Oddo, Dean of Christianity of "Glasrod, eternal health in the Lord," &c.—Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 124.

[6] Orig. Paroch.

the family of Argyll comes into immediate connection with the church, but only as lessees of its fruits. This was in 1581, the parties named being William, Commendator of Paisley, lessor; Colin, Earl of Argyle, Justice-General of Scotland: and Dame Agnes, his Countess. Finally, in 1632, all rights in the church appear to have passed to the Campbells, in the person of Archibald, Lord Lorne, who acquired them in exchange for other similar property, from Sir Dugal Campbell of Auchinbreck and his wife—these last having got them from the baronial family of Paisley, which again had succeeded to the abbey's proprietary rights at the break up of the monasteries.[1] Thus, with regard to much of the ancient church property of Kintyre, the Argyll family is in the position of legal representative of the old Paisley monks.

Church rights pass to the Earls of Argyll in 1632.

Coming to the dependent chapelries of Kilcalmonell, we find there are five which can be identified, one of which, the most important, is outside the limits of the modern parish, and will be noticed presently in its place. Of the other four sites, only one retains any vestiges of its chapel. This is at the spot which goes by the name of Cladh Bhride (S. Bride's burial-place), situated a little inland from the main road some three miles down West Loch Tarbert, and sheltered by a double row of trees running all round it. The walls of the chapel are mere ruins, two or three feet above ground, and in a very imperfect state; but we can see that the west end was curved and not quite rectangular as usual. In dimensions, the building measures about 32 by 20 feet, and the walls 4 in thickness. Just outside the east end I observed a pentagonal-shaped stone block about 8 inches average width, and containing a long deep socket with the fragment of a pillar in it 2 feet high. This was probably an ancient cross. There are some slight traces of what may have been more buildings here, or they may be due to old interments. Cladh Bhride was the early burial-place of the Campbells of Stonefield, a long-settled and distinguished family in the neighbourhood, the present representative of which is proprietor of most of the parish. Of the dedication,[2] the second we have met with in Kintyre to S. Brigid, I need say nothing, beyond noting the local explanation given us when conducting the survey—namely, that the place was so called from a priest of the name of Bride! Another burial-ground and probable site of a chapel, is near the southern end of the parish by the farmhouse of Kilmichael, near Ballochroy. A few graves remain on the spot, which is a small level area on a knoll, but the tombstones are mostly obliterated. I found and sketched one relic, however—a rude slab with a plain cross relieved upon it of primitive type (Pl. XXXIV. 3), and at its head a stone with the following quaint inscription :—

S. Bride's Chapel (Cladh Bhride).

Supposed site of chapel at Kilmichael.

Slab with rude cross here.

"Here lies the corps of John M'Neil, Tobacconist at Inveraray, who was wrack^{t}.
"and perished near Kilmichael, Kintyre, in Oct. 7th 1756, aged 30."

[1] Orig. Paroch.

[2] See notice of her chapel in parish of Southend. A great many of the early ecclesiastics wrote biographies of S. Bride, and have piled up miracle upon miracle in relation to her acts. For an excellent *résumé* of these legends, I must refer the reader to the Bishop of Brechin (Scot. Kalend.) He has, I observe, not noticed either of her Kintyre sites, but in remarking upon those in Bute and Arran, adds that "her "dedications, as might be expected, are found in those parts of Scotland which were nearest to Ireland, and "under Irish influence."

A Kilmichael has been noticed in another parish, and the name, as I have explained, is not uncommon in Argyllshire; but we should hardly have expected to meet with two distinct sites dedicated to the same saint so near each other, as in this instance; for about midway in the parish is another old burial-ground known as "Cladh Mhicheil," though it is of course only conjectural that a chapel may have stood here. But according to the proverbial saying, "No smoke without fire," I am inclined to think no "Kil" or "Cladh" was without its accompanying oratory. At Cladh Mhicheil I found no monuments of interest. Within a mile of it is the dwelling-house of Kil-chamaig farm, which occupies, it is supposed, the site of another ancient chapel, but no vestige of a burial-ground or anything else to indicate it survives, if I except some human remains which were ploughed up in an adjoining field close by the house. There is no evidence, however, to show the antiquity of these remains, or whether they belonged to Christian times, especially as a cist stands not far off, and an urn of prehistoric type was found somewhere near. In the name Kil-chamaig is probably, I think, commemorated that famous Western saint, Irish we can hardly call him more than Scottish, whom Montalembert styles "the "boldest of those daring monkish navigators"—he who made voyage after voyage to discover a solitude as yet unknown, and barely escaped death at the hands of the Pagan Orcadians—who was driven, says his panegyrist, for "fourteen successive days and nights "by the south wind almost into the depths of the icy ocean"—and who has left his name in a little rocky islet distant but a few miles hence, which contains relics among the oldest in Scotland,—Cormac, fellow-worker with Ciaran, Kenneth, and others whose names have already passed before us. And there can be no difficulty in conjecturing—when such a name has so persistently survived all material traces, and when we bear in mind the geography of this district—that either the first Cormac, or his supposed successor Mac-ua-Charmaig, of the island cell on the Knapdale coast,[1] may have found his way up the estuary of West Loch Tarbert, and, drawing his ocean-tossed bark to shore in some sheltered inlet near this spot, have originated the name, and perhaps set up the forerunner, of the building which later mediæval piety was to erect to his memory.[2]

Burial-ground (Cladh Mhicheil).

Kil-chamaig (supposed site of chapel).

Probable dedication to S. Cormac.

There is nothing more, I think, to record of ecclesiastical interest within the parochial subdivision of Kilcalmonell, and I therefore proceed to notice the united parish of Saddell and Skipness, the concluding one on our list.[3]

[1] "Eilean Mor' Mhic o' Charmaig," it is called by Skene and others.

[2] S. Cormac, according to Bishop Forbes, preceded Charmaig, or Alban Mac-ua-Charmaig, by 43 years, and has a distinct day devoted to his memory. But the reference to this Charmaig is somewhat slight, and we are tempted to doubt if he should be considered tutelary in any instance where a name similar to his occurs in a dedicatory shape, and not rather his earlier and better known predecessor. The "Chammak" of the bishop's list indicates, he tells us, the existence of a saint, whose name, divested of the "ak" or "og," becomes Commanus or Comanus. When, however, there is a doubt, and no evidence to the contrary, it seems a good rule to adopt the best-known saint, and thus Commanus, the monk of Hy, would have to give place to Cormac. Commanus's death is given at A.D. 688. Blaeu in his map writes "Kilchammak" for "Kilchamaig."

[3] The two islands of Gigha and Cara, lying off the west coast of Kintyre, and forming a parish by themselves, I propose to notice on a future occasion.

CHAPTER XIV.

United parish of Saddell and Skipness.

WITHIN the limits of this extensive modern parish only three ecclesiastical sites have been identified, but the dignity of one of them more than compensates for any numerical inferiority as compared with other parishes. Indeed, next to Iona, I suppose no ecclesiastical seat in the West Highlands stood higher in dignity, or enjoyed a greater reputation for sanctity, than the monastery of Saddell. To this day an extraordinary reverence is felt by the country-folk for this venerable spot, where the ruins of the old monastic buildings still linger out a precarious existence. To the ecclesiastical historian Saddell cannot fail to possess a remarkable interest, for the beginnings of the fraternity who located themselves here can be traced back with almost certainty to the times of Sumarlid and the Crusaders. There is also stored up here a memory of King Hacon the Aged; and many other incidental references to the place are scattered through early documents, all going to show that at a remote date it must have been a religious institution of considerable note. In addition to these sources of interest, we have to acknowledge the charm of one of the most picturesque natural situations one can imagine: we have moulded stones and the skeletons of walls that, despite their lamentable dilapidation, yet suggest what must have been, considering the locality, a church fabric of no small dignity and architectural symmetry: we have many ancient monumental carvings, besides an abundance of more modern tombs, to attest the store set by this spot as a place of sepulture: and, hovering about these material relics, there is to be gleaned, in somewhat less scant measure than usual, an under-current of traditional story wherewith we are enabled to call up from the remote past some faint glimmerings of scenes here and there, which have been enacted in this secluded glen, and in one or two instances to clothe with name and substance the ghosts of its long-departed tenants.

Saddell Abbey.

Its historical interest;

interesting for other reasons.

Its picturesque ation.

The situation of the abbey I had perhaps better describe first. Any one travelling by steamer from Glasgow to Campbelton on the look-out for scenery, could hardly fail to be attracted by the beautiful strip of creamy white beach, wooded hillside, and more distant blue peep towards the head of the glen, with the old castle and modern dwelling-house near the shore, which form such a perfect picture of a site for a country-house, monastery, or anything else where seclusion was desired. And if we go ashore, and, passing the grim old castle-keep, bury ourselves in the shade of a venerable avenue of stately beeches, and follow it to the public road, the home of the old Saddell monks is before us. Across the road, a pretty stream, "Allt nam Manach" (the Monks' Burn), comes winding down through the woods, and forms here the southern boundary of the abbey burial-ground, as

far as we can make out its track. The sunlight, glinting through the grand old trees which overshadow the ruined walls and mossy stones before us, may be dappling the turf as we follow the little footpath up the glen; or it may be, as on the first day I visited the place, that the tombs are all wet with rain—the nettles, plentiful here as in other similar spots, limp and dripping—and a melancholy wind sighing through the boughs overhead. Further on, the ash and beech trees pass into the more sombre-hued firs, the wood narrows into a strip, and finally disappears altogether, and we are fairly out on the open hillside, the rivulet rushing down the steep winding groove it has worn for itself by ages of seaward travel. Upwards still, knee-deep through a wilderness of bracken, and, if it be the season for it, over purple heather tufts breaking here and there through the rich green, and soon the woods, the corn-fields in the valley, the track of the Saddell water, the beautiful curve of the bay which shuts in the glen, the expanse of sea, and the distant hills of Arran, group themselves into an enchanting picture below; while hillward stretches an expanse of rough sheep-pasture, where the sole relief to the silent solitude is the occasional cackle of a grouse-cock, or the melancholy pipe of a plover (see Pl. XXXVII. 1, 2, 4). Similar scenes, which impress one vividly with a sense of their freshness of beauty, are not by any means uncommon in Kintyre; but here at Saddell there comes in to an unusual degree that indefinable charm which the historian or archæologist can add to his appreciation of such a landscape,—a charm growing out of the consciousness that the peacefulness and retirement of this lovely spot have been enjoyed—shared with us, I may say—by the men who built and lived within yonder walls, though they are separated from us by a gulf of many hundred years.

Rise of the abbey.

But now let us overpass this gulf, and, transporting ourselves to the time of the second Henry in England and the fourth Malcolm of the Scottish line, look into the circumstances attending the rise of Saddell Abbey, and see if we can throw any light upon the points still unsettled, as to which of the two individuals it lies between—father or son—was its real founder. Both Sumarlid and Reginald, the two great ancestors of the Lords of the Isles, have had the credit of the foundation of Saddell monastery. It may probably be shared by each, for the original scheme drafted by the father, with or without the necessary after-provision for selection of site and endowment, may have existed before a stone was laid on the ground, Reginald, perhaps, having carried out and completed the substantial details.

Who founded it?

The earlier authorities, however, for the most part agree in naming Sumarlid as the founder. In Father Hay's mention of Saddell, the point is brought out explicitly. He says distinctly that the abbey was founded by Sowrdy Madurdy, or MacIllurdy; and then, apparently quoting from Dempster, goes on to say that "the "original charter has Surle-Maderdy, who was the first author of the monastery, no common "house in its repute for sanctity."[1] In Spottiswood's notice of Scottish religious houses, the same thing is referred to—although, for what reason is not clear, this author speaks of Reginald as the founder.

The earlier authorities point to Sumarlid.

[1] "Soirle Mackilvrid," another corruption of the name, is given by Spottiswood, and all of them are obviously synonyms with "Somhairle McGilbrid," the Gaelic form of Sumarlid's name.

In a former chapter, I reviewed the principal events in the life of Sumarlid, with the intention of supplying, when we came to notice the antiquities of Saddell, such further particulars as seemed to bear more closely on his connection with that locality. And in doing this, I think some suggestions, though not exactly in the nature of palpable evidence, may be elicited, favouring the view that Sumarlid was the real inaugurator of this ancient ecclesiastical establishment.

Sumarlid's personal history resumed.

At the point where we left off in the narrative of Sumarlid's doings in the Isle of Man chronicled by the monks of Rushen, the great Highland chieftain had succeeded in crushing the unfortunate Godred, King of Man, for the second time, in a sea-fight, and driving him over to Norway to invoke the good offices of S. Maughold, or Machutus, against his formidable antagonist. Sumarlid, meanwhile, in the flush of victory, had laid waste the whole island of Man, and was spending a few days in the port of Ramsa doubtless to refresh his men and gather up all the spoil they could lay hands on. Most visitors to the Isle of Man will remember the exceedingly pretty walk of some two or three miles from the modern Ramsey to the church of S. Maughold (Kirk Maughold), where several ancient Runic crosses, and a famous holy well hard by, are still to be seen. These interesting relics may very well have been in existence at the time of Sumarlid's visit to the island, though I do not recollect if any part of the present parish church can be put down as possibly referable to the same date. However that may be, Kirk Maughold must evidently have been the scene of the following incidents, which I shall translate verbatim as nearly as I can from the monkish chronicle.

Sumarlid and his army in the Isle of Man.

How they fare there.

"At the same time, when Sumerled was in Man, in the port which is called Ramso, it "was told his army how that the church of S. Machutus was crammed full with great store "of money; for this place, on account of the reverence paid to the most saintly confessor "Machutus, was a secure asylum from every danger for all fugitives. But a certain chief-"tain, more powerful than the rest, Gilocolm by name,[1] made suggestions to Sumerled "concerning the aforesaid money, and declared that it would in nowise prejudice the peace "of S. Machutus to carry off the beasts which were grazing outside the enclosure of the "burial-ground to supply the army with victual. But Sumerled began with a refusal, saying "he could by no means possibly permit the peace of S. Machutus to be violated. On the "other hand, Gilocolm insisted with urgent entreaties, praying that he and his men might "be allowed to go to the place, and the guilt should lie entirely on himself. After hearing "which, Somerlid, albeit unwilling, gave permission, and said to him: 'Be it between thee "'and S. Machutus, I and my army shall be innocent; we want no share of your booty.' "Whereupon Gilocolm, rejoiced at this result, went off to his people, and summoning his "three sons and all his dependants, charged them to be ready that night, so that at the first "break of dawn they might be on the look-out to make a rush upon S. Machute's church, "some two miles distant. Meanwhile a rumour reached the church of the enemy's

One of his chiefs proposes to violate a shrine.

[1] Possibly Sumarlid's fourth son is here referred to, otherwise called Gillicallane, or Gillies; but if so, the Manx account does not square with that given in Hugh Macdonald's MS., that he was slain with his father at Renfrew. "Malcolm" is the modern equivalent of this name.

"approach, which raised such a universal terror, that many of the people who were there "fled from the church and hid themselves in caves and recesses of the rocks. The rest of "the multitude, with ceaseless cries, kept calling all night long upon God for pardon through "the merits of S. Machute. The weaker sex, with hair dishevelled, ran wailing to and fro "around the walls of the church, vociferating with loud cries, 'Where art thou now, O "'Machutus! where are thy miracles which hitherto thou hast wrought in this place? Wilt "'thou forsake us now by reason of our sins, and abandon thy people in such straits? And "'if not for our sakes, at least for the honour of thine own name, help us in this our "'misfortune.' Moved, as we believe, by these and suchlike entreaties, S. Machute, having "compassion on their miseries, rescued them from immediate peril, and condemned their "enemy to a terrible manner of death. For as soon as the aforesaid Gilocolm had laid him "down in his tent to sleep, there appeared to him S. Machute arrayed in a white robe, and "holding in his hand his pastoral staff. And standing before his bed, the saint addresses "him in these words: 'What is it, Gilocolm, between thee and me? In what way have I "'done despite to thee or thine, that thou art now planning to rob my shrine?' Whereto "replieth Gilocolm, 'Who, pray, art thou?' Quoth the saint: 'I am Machutus, the "'servant of Christ, whose church thou art purposing to contaminate, but this thou shalt not "'accomplish.' This said, he raised on high the staff (baculum) which he held in his hand, "and pierced him through to the heart. The wretched man gave a dreadful shriek, which "startled every one in the tents round about from their slumbers, and at another thrust from "the saint he shrieked again, and yet again at a third thrust. Then verily his son and all "his host, disturbed by his cries, ran to him seeking to know what could have happened. "But he, scarce able to speak, said with a groan: 'S. Machute has been here, and has "'thrice stabbed me with his staff. But haste! speed to his church, and bring hither his "'staff, and the priests and the clerks, that they may intercede for me with S. Machute, if "'peradventure he will be lenient to me for the things I have plotted against him.' Speedily "these injunctions were complied with; and the clerics were besought by his followers, who "told them all that had befallen him, to bring with them the saint's staff, and come and visit "their lord, who now appeared to be *in extremis*. Hearing these things, the priests and "the clerks and the rest of the multitude rejoiced with a great joy, and sent off certain of "the clergy with the staff, one of whom, when they reached his presence, and saw that he "was now well-nigh lifeless—for he had lost his speech a little while before—uttered this "'imprecation: 'May S. Machute, who has begun to punish thee, not cease till thou art "'brought to destruction, so that others seeing and hearing (these things) may learn to show "'more reverence to holy places.' These words spoken, the clergy returned home; and after "their departure, so great a multitude of huge and loathsome flies began to buzz about his "face and mouth that neither he himself nor his servants could drive them off. Thus, in "excruciating torments, about the sixth hour of the day he expired. At his death, such "terror seized Sumerled and his army, that, directly the flood tide made and floated their "ships, they set sail from that port, and so in extreme haste made off to their own "country."[1]

The terror of the Manx.

S. Machute of the shrine appears to Gilocolm;

and avenges the insult.

Gilocolm *in extremis*.

His terrible end.

Sumarlid quits the island in dismay.

[1] Chron. of Mann—under date A.D. 1158.

Such is the circumstantial narrative of the chronicle, and a most quaint and interesting page in the biography of Sumarlid is thus revealed to us. Somewhat strangely, the family seannachy of later times, who has gone so minutely into other matters relating to the Lords of the Isles, says not a word about it. It may be that no tradition of Sumarlid's exploits in the Isle of Man had come down to Hugh MacDonald; he may never have had access to the Manx accounts of his patron's great ancestor, or, if he had, it might seem desirable to be silent rather than have to record so ignominious a mishap as that just quoted.[1] There seems no reason to doubt the story, for it was probably written no very long time after the event; and, allowing for the monkish colouring, the circumstances recounted are quite intelligible without taking for granted anything savouring of the miraculous. The presence of the hostile Sumarlidians, their predatory and high-handed proceedings in the island, and then the culminating act of sacrilege contemplated, would raise a furor of indignation, out of which it would not be difficult for the church to call to her aid some more daring spirit than ordinary, ready for any deed of retaliation. This would account for the saint in the white garment, who had doubtless something sharper to menace Gilocolm with than the blunt end of a crosier. And then the consternation, and the dramatic scene which followed, culminating with the swarm of flies which come into the story (it being probably summer weather at the time), are perfectly natural incidents, and such as would furnish material which a very little manipulation on the part of the clergy could convert into excellent religious capital. From this tragic incident a suggestion may occur to us. Even to take the Manx scribe's version of Sumarlid's conduct, the latter was altogether opposed to the violent and sacrilegious intentions of his subordinate, and was struck by the *dénouement* with horror and dismay. In an epoch of the Church's history, when an imperious English king could be brought to the pitch of letting himself be scourged by monks to appease the manes of a Becket, the ecclesiastical power was at a great height, and its terrors both mundane and supernatural caused the bravest spirits, whatever their worldly rank or dignity, to tremble. Thus it may have been that when Sumarlid sailed away from the Isle of Man on this occasion, the idea of founding a religious house may have occurred to him; or such an idea, if it previously existed in his mind, may have been clinched by the calamity which had overtaken him. And to help out this conjecture—for conjecture only it is—there comes in the generally accepted date, A.D. 1160, of the foundation of Saddell Abbey, so very near, and a little subsequent to, the occurrence of the episode in question. Everybody in the least acquainted with mediæval history knows that many of the early religious structures, chapels, monasteries, hospitals, and the like, owed their erection to particular misdeeds or acts of sacrilege on the part of great potentates, whether with the interested view of obtaining for themselves a *quid pro quo*, or from motives of real penance. Another circumstance may or may not, according to how we regard it, seem to tell in support of the hypothesis that

No reason to doubt the main facts of this story.

The supernatural part easily accounted for.

Possible bearing of the above incident on the foundation of Saddell Abbey.

[1] I have examined an anonymous volume published in Edinburgh, and bearing date 1819, giving an account of the MacDonald family, but neither does this author allude, except in the barest way, to Sumarlid's connection with the Isle of Man.

Sumarlid was the original founder of Saddell. He appears to have been twice married, and his second wife was a sister of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, by whom there were no children.[1] Now in 1190, only thirty years after the supposed inauguration of Saddell Abbey, a monastery for the same order of monks springs up on the neighbouring coast of what is now Wigtownshire—the celebrated Glenluce Abbey—under the auspices of one of Fergus's successors, Rolland (or Roland), Earl of Galloway, a province or district of country anciently brought much into relation with the peninsula of Kintyre by intermarriages, land tenures, and so on. It may also be noted that in the middle of the twelfth century the Cistercian order was in peculiar favour at the Scottish Court, the abbey of Kinloss in Moray, for example, having been founded by King David I. in 1150.[2]

Further evidence of Sumarlid's having been the founder of Saddell.

But another, and probably the strongest argument for the view we are considering, lies in the circumstances connected with the death of Sumarlid. One of the most distinguished authorities upon the history of the Scottish Isles,[3] rejecting the account given by the Macdonald seannachy that Sumarlid's burial-place was in Iona, was, he remarks, led from modern inquiries to the conclusion that this great Hebridean chief "was "interred at the church of Sadale in Kintyre."[4] In these modern inquiries this author perhaps included what traditional evidence was to be procured on the spot; for there seems to be a tradition that the bones of Sumarlid are mouldering under the sod somewhere in Saddell churchyard, and that his veritable tombstone is hidden away there, if not actually represented by one of the existing stone effigies. But if the fact of his burial here is to be accepted, we must surely assume either that a prior religious site of considerable sanctity already existed here, or that the spot where the monastery was to stand had already been marked out and the ground consecrated as a place of sepulture. On the whole, it seems, I think, most reasonable to infer that the Abbey Church at Sumarlid's death was already in progress—that he himself was the donor of the site —that he very possibly had made Saddell or its neighbourhood his usual place of residence—and that on his death, his bones very naturally were laid in the spot with which during his lifetime he had had most connection.

Which view is borne out by the circumstances connected with his death.

Sumarlid probably buried at Saddell,

and the Abbey Church in progress at his death.

And these remarks appropriately bring us to the closing scene in the life of Sumarlid. The accounts of it which have come down to us are decidedly conflicting, varying very much according to the personal bias of the several writers on the subject. Some have apparently been anxious above all things to magnify the power, position, and dignity of the island prince,[5] and attempts have been made to show that he met the King of Scotland

Accounts of the death of Sumarlid conflicting.

[1] Hist. of the MacDonalds, already alluded to (Edin. 1819).

[2] Dr Stuart's Records of Kinloss Monastery—Pref., p. 9. The statement in Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, that in 1151 "in capitulo Cisterciensi statutum est, ne de cætero aliqui novam construerent abbatiam, " quia numerus abbatiarum illius ordinis usque ad quingentas excrevit," could not have been applicable to Scotland.

[3] The late Mr Donald Gregory, whose contributions to history and archæology must be gratefully acknowledged by all who are interested in such studies.

[4] Hist. of Highlands and Isles, p. 16.

[5] Of modern historians who may be trusted for an impartial view of the subject, Mr Burton, though barely mentioning Sumarlid, admits that "through conflicts of various kinds, he became to be, if not the sovereign of the " Isles and Argyle, certainly the holder of the chief power of these districts. . . . The traditions of nearly all the

on terms of perfect equality as a brother sovereign. "King Malcolm," says one of these, "sent him a message intimating that he should receive a remission of all his offences, on "condition that he would give up his whole territory on the mainland, content himself with "the islands, and become a subject of the king. Such a message appeared to Somerlett "of a very extraordinary character: never having acknowledged the King of Scotland, it "was not easy for him to brook the affront. He sent for the messenger, drew his sword, "and said, 'This shall settle our dispute.'"[1] The Macdonald MS. treats of Sumarlid in a similar strain. On the opposite side—by those who affected to regard everything connected with the wearers of the kilt as barbarous, and who saw in the history of ancient Highland chiefs little else than a recital of acts committed by a set of unscrupulous robbers—other versions of Sumarlid's death are given, less flattering to the pride of his posterity. But there is a general agreement that in the year 1164 things came to a crisis between Malcolm and Sumarlid. A hostile faction had by this time made head against the latter, and the Lord High Steward, who doubtless had a vigilant eye to the safe keeping of Bute and Arran, seems to have been a prominent member of it, for he was afterwards put in command of the royal force which opposed Sumarlid. Sumarlid "resolved"—as one, the most circumstantial of all the accounts, puts it—"to lose all, or possess all he had in "the Highlands; and gathering together all his forces from the isles and continent, and "shipping them for Clyde, landed in Greenock. The king came with his army to Glasgow "in order to give battle to Sommerled, who marched up the south side of the Clyde, "leaving his galleys at Greenock. The king's party quartered at Renfrew. Those about "him thought proper to send a message to Sommerled," &c. &c. The purport of the message we have already in a previous chapter touched upon.[2] It bore upon what lands the Highlander was expected to give up, and what, as admitted Lord of the Isles, he might retain. But Sumarlid claimed to retain all, and stood upon his rights as a Norwegian subject, reminding the Scottish king that when in former days his (Sumarlid's) ancestors had been ousted from their estates and driven into holes and corners by Danish marauders, the predecessors of Malcolm had been unable, or unwilling, to stir a finger to help them. "The messenger returned with this answer to the king, whose party was not altogether "bent upon joining battle with Sommerled; neither did the king look much after his "ruin: but as the most of kings are commonly led by their councillors, the king him-"self being young, they contrived Sommerled's death in another manner. There was "a nephew of Sommerled's, Maurice MacNeill,[3] his sister's son, who was bribed to

Sumarlid determines to oppose the King of Scotland.

Collects a great fleet,

and lands at Greenock.

"clans in the West Highlands and Isles carry back the ancestry of their chiefs to this mysterious Somerled."—Hist. of Scot., vol. ii. p. 104.

[1] Hist. of Macdonalds. [2] Chap. II.

[3] A namesake, if not the same individual, figures in a stratagem said to have been adopted by Sumarlid to win Olaf the Manx king's daughter, Effrica. Olaf with his fleet on one occasion lay in Loch Stornoway. "Sommerled came to the other side of the loch, and cried out, if Olay was there, and how he fared? Olay "replied that he was well. Then said Sommerled, I come from Sommerled, Thane of Argyle, who promises to "assist you in your expedition, provided you bestow your daughter on him. Olay answered that he would not "give him his daughter, and that he knew that he himself was the man; but that he and his men should follow "him in his expedition. So Sommerled resolved to follow Olay. There was at that time a foster-brother of

"destroy him. Sommerled lay encamped at the confluence of the river Pasley into "Clyde. His nephew taking a little boat, went over the river, and having got private "audience of him, being suspected by none, stabbed him and made his escape." The MS. proceeds: "The rest of Sommerled's men, hearing the death and tragedy of their leader and "master, betook themselves to their galleys. The king coming to view the corpse, one of "his followers with his foot did hit it. Maurice being present, said, that though he had "done the first thing most villanously and against his conscience, that he was unworthy "and base so to do,[1] and withal, drew his long scian (knife), stabbed him, and escaped by "swimming over to the other side of the river, receiving his remission from the king there-"after, with the lands which were formerly promised him.[2] The king sent a boat with the "corpse of Sommerled to Icollumkill, at his own charges." "Sommerled," adds the MS., "was a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and "quick discernment." This is the account, full, it must be confessed, of interesting personal details, which a writer, resting principally on oral and other sources within his own clan, has pieced together, and from which, coupled with the Manx narrative, we are better able to picture the man in his flesh and blood, and the personal traits in his character, than from mere general statements of the political position he occupied.

Sumarlid's men take to their galleys.

The Manx scribe, in alluding to Sumarlid's death, does so in a brief and severe manner. He is apparently just fresh from the contemplation of the tortures which fell upon Gilocolm from the hand of the blessed Machutus, and which drove the Sumarlidians in dismay from the island, and thus he laconically takes leave of Gilocolm's master: "Sumerled collected a "fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, and landed at Renfrew, desiring to subjugate to "himself the whole of Scotland. But by divine retribution, he was vanquished by a small "force, and along with his son and an innumerable company, was in that same place slain." Two of the early Scottish historians are equally dead against him. Wyntoun condescends to bestow upon Sumarlid fourteen lines of his 'Orygynall Cronykil' of Scotland,[3] recounting at the year 1163 how

How the monkish chronicler in Man viewed the fate of Sumarlid.

What Fordun and Wyntoun say of Sumarlid.

"Sowyrle off Argyle that yhere
"Till hym gadryd a gret powere,"

"Olay's, one Maurice MacNeill, in Olay's company, who was a near friend of Sommerled, and when Sommerled "brought his two galleys near the place where Olay's ship lay, this Maurice came where he was, and said that "he would find means by which he might come to get Olay's daughter. So in the night time he bored Olay's "ship under water with many holes, and made a pin for each hole, overlaying them with tallow and butter. When "they were up in the morning, and set to sea, after passing the point of Ardnamurchan, Olay's ship sprung a "leak, casting the tallow and butter out of the holes by the ship tossing on the waves, and beginning to sink, "Olay and his men cried for help to Sommerled. Maurice replied that Sommerled would not save him unless he "bestowed his daughter upon him. At last Olay, being in danger of his life, confirmed by an oath that he would "give his daughter to Sommerled, who received him immediately into his galley. Maurice went into Olay's galley, "and fixed the pins in the holes which he had formerly prepared for them, and by these means they landed in "safety. From that time the posterity of Maurice are called MacIntyres (or wright's sons) to this day."—(Hugh Macdonald's MS.) This was certainly, to use a cant phrase, a very "smart" thing on the part of McNeill. We can excuse Sumarlid's part in the transaction, under the circumstances, and Effrica probably did so too.

[1] This seems to have been a very Judas-like repentance.

[2] Hugh Macdonald's MS.: Trans. Iona Club.

[3] Historians of Scot., vol. iii., edited by Mr D. Laing, p. 201.

and how for twelve years "he assayed to worry and assail his lord king." Fordun is a little fuller in his account, and much bitterer. He tells us that "Sumerled, King of Argyll," and his nephews, "being joined by a great many, rose against their king, Malcolm, in the "first year of his reign, and disturbed and troubled great part of Scotland, . . . kept "up the civil war, . . . still wickedly wrought his wickedness among the people, ". . . impiously fought for twelve years against King Malcolm, his lord," and "at length, bent on plunder, he brought up at Renfrew with a strong army and very large "fleet, which he had hired out of Ireland and sundry other places, but through God's ven- "geance he was, with his son Gellicolan, and a countless multitude of traitors, slain there "by a few countrymen."[1] But the most malevolent and evidently partisan of all the versions of Sumarlid's death is to be found in a singular poem given in the appendix to Mr Skene's Latin text of Fordun, entitled "Interfectio Sumerledi Sitebi (or Sicebi), &c.," where again he is styled "king." This poem, remarks Skene, gives "a contemporary "account of the defeat and death of Sumarlid, the failure of his expedition being attri- "buted to the merits of S. Kentigern, the patron saint of the diocese he had invaded." Besides the interest of such a composition due to its subject and antiquity, as a clever specimen of the quaint rhyming Latin versification of the monkish age it is well worth noting. The poem opens with the complaint that no sooner is King David in his coffin than the fraud of the troublesome Scots becomes manifest, and Gaels and Ergadians begin to rage and slay honest men with impious hands :—

Ancient Latin poem on Sumarlid's death.

"David rege, mortis lege, clauso in sarcofago,
"Fraus Scottorum infestorum propalatur ilico.
"Galienses, Argaidenses, freti vi Albanica,
"Sæviebant, et cædebant justos manu impia." . . .

Next we have an invocation of S. Kentigern's good offices, &c., and further on Sumarlid is portrayed as envious, detestable by his fraud, most atrocious of enemies, conspiring and fuming against the ministers of God :—

. . . "Invidi
"Sumerledi, fraude fœdi, hostis atrocissimi,
"Conspirantis, anhelantis in ministros Domini." . . .

After this it is told how in the first blush of the fight he falls by the sword :—

"Sed in prima belli rima, dux funestus cecidit;
"Telo læsus, ense cæsus, Sumerledus obiit." . . .

Praise is then given to Kentigern for his aid, and a clerk, cutting off Sumarlid's head, hands it over to a priest :—

"Caput ducis infelicis Sumerledi clericus
"Amputavit, et donavit pontificis manibus." . . .

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[1] See Skene's translation of Fordun, "Historians of Scot.," vol. iv., which has made its appearance as the last of these sheets were going to press.

And the poet William modestly concludes with a couplet which the Church would doubtless think much to his honour, the false quantity in "decori" notwithstanding :—

> "Hoc quod vidit et audivit Wilhelmus composuit,
> "Et honori et decori Kentegerni tribuit."

Other accounts.

Other accounts, such as that Sumarlid's son Dugal was killed at Renfrew, and he himself taken prisoner and hanged—or again, that both father and son were taken prisoners and executed, and their army cut to pieces,[1] may be dismissed from consideration : for in the first place, we know that Dugal at his father's death succeeded to possession of the province of Lorn; and as for the army being cut to pieces, it does not appear that there was any general action at all, their leader dying before anything could take place. Similarly, we may dismiss as incorrect the account given by the Orkneyinga Saga, which, after stating Sumarlid's marriage, and the names of his sons in accordance with the received versions, details his death in a sea-fight with a noted piratical chieftain named Sweyn Asleifson, in the year 1159. It is in this saga that Sumarlid is styled "Haulldr."[2]

One more point may be touched upon in connecting Sumarlid with Saddell. The statement in the seannachy's MS., that "the king sent a boat with the corpse of "Sommerled to Icollumkill," has to be explained; and we have also to deal with an entry in a royal charter of 1507, where Reginald, and not Sumarlid, is referred to under the title of "fundator" of the abbey. Now, even if we were to rely, as some have done, upon this entry, it need not be taken as establishing more than that the originating of the abbey was an *in memoriam* act, on the part of Reginald, after his father's death; and in this view, something like the following may be presumed to have taken place. The body of Sumarlid, we will say, was sent off from Renfrew, with all due honour, and under proper escort of his own people, and destined for Iona. But in the event of contrary winds—a gale from the westward, for example—the transport might find itself unable to weather the Mull of Kintyre, and have to put in somewhere for shelter. And what place so likely to suggest itself as the bay of Saddell, the neighbourhood of the deceased chief's home? Here, then, the corpse would be landed, or, if

An alternative view as to the founding of the abbey.

[1] Simson and other historians referred to in the 'History of the Clan Donald.' Boece says that Sumarlid "was vincust, and hingit on ane jebait, be command of King Malcolme."

[2] The story runs as follows: There was at this time at the Norwegian Court one Gilla-Odran (from his name, probably a Celt), who in a quarrel slew a favourite follower of Jarl Ronald of Orkney, and then fled to the Western Scottish Highlands, where he took refuge under the protection of Sumarlid. Earl Ronald sent for Sweyn Asleifson, who was about to start on a buccaneering cruise, and begged him to be revenged on Gilla-Odran. "Afterwards," continues the saga, "Sveinn with five long ships set out on his piratical errand. When "he drew westward towards the Scottish bays, he heard that Sumarlid Haulldr was approaching with seven "ships equipped for action, one of which was under command of Gilla-Odran, who was on his way to the "bays to collect the troops not yet assembled. Sveinn, apprised concerning Sumarlid, engaged in a severe "naval battle with him, and here fell Sumarlid with a great army."—See Orkneyinga Saga (Icelandic and Latin text), edited by Jonas Jonæus; Copenhagen, 1780. Torfæus's account is almost identical: "Sveinum piraticæ "accinctum Comes Rognvaldus accivit, petiitque, ut occasionem ulciscendi Odrani Gillii, modo daretur, non inter-"mitteret. Is fortunæ eventus in exploratos præfatus, mox quinque myoparonibus (light piratical galleys), inoc-"cidentalis Scotiæ sinus infusus cognovit, Sumarlidium Hauldum, cum septem navibus ad piraticam instructis, "in procinctu stare, quarum unam Odranus Gillius ducebat, in sinus Scoticos ad deportandum inde militem pro-"fectus. Mox ergo Sveinus Sumarlidium adortus, post acerrimum ab utraque parte conflictum, cum magna "suorum parte occidit."—Hist. Orcad., Lib. I. p. 139, 140.

the vessel had found it easier to run into the beautiful land-locked harbour of Loch Kerran, Campbelton, there might be a great funeral march to Saddell, only some ten miles distant, where the ashes of the island king would be laid, and the site be definitely fixed for the new monastery. Notwithstanding the above, I am inclined to think that the balance of evidence is in favour of Sumarlid's having been the actual founder; and in any view of the case, it seems impossible to dissociate Sumarlid from the history of Saddell and its ancient religious establishment.

But in any case Sumarlid closely connected with Saddell.

Seeming analogy between the abbeys of Paisley and Saddell.

But there is yet another circumstance which, before we finally take leave of Sumarlid, may be adduced as supporting, by a somewhat marked coincidence, the view we are at present taking of the foundation of Saddell. The great Cluniac monastery of Paisley was founded about the year 1163, or according to Crawford, 1160, and this corresponds as nearly as possible with the date usually assigned for the rise of Saddell Abbey. It must be remembered that the founder of Paisley Abbey was the man who may be regarded as one of Sumarlid's most powerful rivals, the man who led the opposing force against him at Renfrew, and, according to some, bribed the assassin by whose hand he is supposed to have fallen—Walter Fitz Alan, the High Steward of Scotland, first of the race whose fortunes in after-times were to be so faithfully followed by Sumarlid's posterity; and perhaps it is not stretching a point too far to consider that one of these great religious houses was founded, so to speak, in emulation of the other. To sum up, it is only necessary to recall what has already transpired throughout these pages, illustrating the very close relations which, in the persons of the later Lords of the Isles, existed between Kintyre and the establishment at Paisley; to remember what has been said as to Sumarlid's probable intentions towards the Church from motives of penance or policy; to bear in mind the appearance of corrupted forms of Sumarlid's name in early documents treating of the foundation of Saddell Abbey; to note also the local tradition of his burial here, and whatever else has been said tending to connect him with Saddell; and I think it must be clear that, to those who take a special interest in the history of the great family of the Isles, everything connected with this picturesquely-situated monastery in Kintyre, its crumbling ruins, its monuments, and its traditions, must have a special and peculiar value.

Close connection of the Saddell monastery with the family "of the Isles."

The monks of Saddell.

Having dealt with the question as to the abbey's foundation, and summed up the career of Sumarlid, let us proceed to notice what is known about the place itself, and the fraternity who took up their abode here.

A Cistercian community.

The monks of Saddell belonged to the well-known Cistercian or Bernardine order, instituted in 1098 by Robert, Abbot of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres in Burgundy. Their designation of Cistercians originated in the name of the place where was situated their chief house and first monastery, Cistertium or Citeaux, in Burgundy; and the alternative title of "Bernardines" was in honour of S. Bernard, a Burgundian, who, says Spottiswood, "fifteen years after the foundation "of the monastery of Citeaux, went thither with thirty of his companions, and "behaved himself so well to their humour, that he was some time after elected

"Abbot of Clairvaux (Clarevallensis)." This Bernard founded above one hundred and sixty monasteries of his order. They were divided into thirty provinces, "whereof Scotland was the twenty-sixth, and had thirteen monasteries in this country" (Scotland). Abbot Bernard appears to have been an ecclesiastic of very great fame in the reign of Louis VI. of France. According to another account, he became dissatisfied with such slight deviations as he perceived from the original rigour of his order's rule, and came to the conclusion that the possession of riches in a community could not possibly be compatible for any length of time with the exercise of the highest virtues. So he emigrated, says the same authority, with his twenty-one monks, to a desert place in Burgundy, in another diocese, there to maintain themselves by the labour of their hands, in accordance with the precepts of their regulations.[1] The brethren of the Cistercian order wore a black cowl and scapular, the rest of their habit being white, from which circumstance they were commonly known as white or grey friars, to distinguish them from the Benedictines, who were clad altogether in black.

Concerning the Cistercians.

Of the inmates of the monastery at Saddell, we unfortunately know little or nothing. There is record of an Abbot Thomas, styled Sandalius, who assumed the Cistercian habit, and presided over the community as early as the year 1257. He became celebrated for his great continence and austerity of life. Many of his works, we learn, were preserved in the library of St Andrews.[2] If only these precious documents, heirlooms from the thirteenth century, could be laid hands upon, what a priceless revelation of the history of Kintyre, and especially of Abbot Thomas's own monastery, we might expect to be forthcoming! But not a trace of them has been found; and strange to say, not a word, so far as I am yet aware, appears in any of the chartularies extant of the other Cistercian houses alluding directly to the monks of Saddell or any of their transactions. This is the stranger when we consider the importance and dignity of the Kintyre Abbey, as evidenced by a comparison of its standing and privileges with those enjoyed by the neighbouring community at Paisley. For it was not till the year 1245 that the superior house at Cluni—where the general headquarters of the powerful Cluniacs were established—probably induced by an attempt of the Cistercians to establish themselves in the rich foundation of Paisley, yielded to the entreaties of the Bishop of Glasgow, and other Scottish bishops then at Lyons, and consented to allow an abbot to be substituted for the secondary rank of prior in the government of the Paisley house.[3] Thus, if Dempster's statement is to be accepted, Saddell must have been in possession of its abbacy about as early as, if not earlier than, Paisley.

Abbot Thomas of Saddell.

The history of the Saddell monks all but a total blank.

Saddell probably a senior abbey to Paisley.

One other reference to the Saddell monks I must not omit. It is in the Saga of King Hacon, and, brief though it is, the glimpse of them which it gives us cannot fail to be interesting. To throw ourselves once more, however, into the circumstances of Hacon's

The Saddell friars mentioned in the Hacon Saga.

[1] This is the sense in which I understand the passages in Father Hay's MS. beginning "Cum suos ab "antiquo observantiæ Rigore aliquantulum deflectere videret," &c. &c.—See his Notices of Religious Houses, Adv. Libr.

[2] Dempster, *apud* Hay.

[3] Registr. Monast. Passelet, Preface, p. v.

expedition, and bring again before the mind's eye in its local colouring the picturing of the scene as narrated, we must go a little back in the narrative.

After the king had reached the Sound of Skye in his southward voyage, "he "next," we are told, "proceeded to the Sound of Mull, and then to Kiararey," (Kerrera, opposite Oban), "where King Dugall[1] and the Hebridians (Sudreyingar) "were assembled with all their troops. King Hacon had now above a hundred vessels, "mostly of large size, and all of them well provided both with men and arms. While "King Hacon remained at Kiarerey he divided his forces, and sent fifty ships south to the "Mull of Kintyre to plunder. The captains appointed over them were King Dugall, "Magnus, King of Man, Bryniolf Johnson, Ronald Urka, Andrew Pott, Ogmund Krækidanz, Vigleik Prestson. He also ordered five ships for Bute. These were under "command of Erland the Red (Raudr), Andrew Nikolas-son, Symon Stutt, Ivar "Ungi, Eyfari, and Guthorn the Sudreyan, each in his own ship.

King Hacon anchors his fleet at Gigha,

King Hacon sailed afterwards south to Gudey (Gigha), before Kintyre, where "he anchored. There King John[2] met him: he came in the ship with Bishop "Thorgil." The narrative here goes on to recount what passed between John and Hacon, who had received from some quarters such bad accounts of his doings, and

and is visited by the abbot of Saddell.

then proceeds: "There came to King Hacon an abbot of a cloister of grey monks "begging protection for their dwelling and holy church; and this the king granted them "in writing.

The king's chaplain dies of sickness,

and is buried at Saddell.

"Brother Symon had lain sick for some time. He died at Gudey. His corpse "was afterwards carried up to Kintyre and buried at the grey friars' (Grá múnka) "monastery. They spread a fringed pall over him, and called him saint."[3] This Symon is evidently one of the four priests previously mentioned in the narrative as the king's chaplains, who, along with Thorleif, Abbot of Holm, and others, were on the quarter-deck of Hacon's own galley. It would be interesting to know by what route the corpse of this stranger priest was borne to the churchyard at Saddell—for the Saddell monks are obviously the grey friars alluded to, as we gather even more explicitly from Torfæus[4]—whether by sea, or by one of the two or three of the naturally-marked-out tracks across the hills separating the east and west coasts of Kintyre. Those who know the country, for instance, can imagine the funeral *cortège*, after it had landed on the Kintyre shore

Speculations as to what route the monks took.

[1] Dugall MacRuari, great-grandson to Sumarlid.

[2] This was Ewin MacDugal, Lord of Lorn, already mentioned (Chap. ii.); another great-grandson of Sumarlid.

[3] Hacon Saga. I have slightly altered Johnston's translation, where the Icelandic text of the Flatey Book is worded so like our own English as to be easily readable. Take, for instance, the opening words: "Thar kom til Hakonar Kónongs Abóti einn af Grá munka Klaustri." No one could very well misread this.

[4] Compare his version of the above: "When King Hacon lay at Gudey, a certain abbot of a monastery "of the Grey Order (Ordinis Grisei) came to him, to supplicate for the peace of his monastery and holy church, "and of his dependants (clientium), which peace he obtained. At this time brother Simon is said (traditur) "to have died of sickness in Gudey, and his lifeless corpse, covered with fringed (lit., shaggy) silk (serico vil"loso), was buried by the monks of the Grey Order at their holy church in Southern Kintyre (*in Australi "Satiria*). Thenceforward they held him as a saint."—Hist. Norvegicæ, Pt. IV. p. 295.

opposite Gigha, threading its way along some ancient burnside track up the Largie glen, and then striking the head of the Carradale Water and descending that valley, making its way along shore to its destination; or, a still more likely route, boats or a galley might run down from Hacon's anchorage at Gigha to the foot of Glen Barr, and the little company of monks, doubtless well acquainted with all the mountain-paths hereabout, ascending this glen and crossing over the watershed at its head round the skirts of Ben Tuirc, would strike Glen Saddell at once, and get home that way. For the details of the journey, and all the accompaniments of the funeral scene, we are unluckily dependent almost entirely upon our own imaginations. That Symon was an ecclesiastic of no mean family and distinction appears probable from the fact of his having been one of the royal chaplains in attendance upon the king, and kept so near his person. Moreover, we are left to infer this when the veil is lifted, though but for a moment, over the delivery of his remains to the Saddell monks. A most valuable supplement to this notice of Symon in the saga would be supplied if in our search for mediæval monuments at Saddell a tombstone were to turn up which could with any reasonable probability be regarded as his. But though just possible, it seems unlikely that either of the two slabs above ground, bearing effigies of ecclesiastics, which are among the illustrations to these pages, are so early in date as the middle of the thirteenth century.

This chaplain probably a person of distinction.

Unfortunate that we cannot trace his tomb at Saddell.

CHAPTER XV.

Sumarlid's immediate posterity.

Notice of his son Reginald resumed.

LET us now turn once more to the house of Sumarlid, and in the persons of his immediate descendants note the further connection of the family with the monastery at Saddell. Reginald, as we have seen in an early chapter, was Sumarlid's second son, and from the accounts given of him, must have been a chieftain second only to his father in rank, power, and territorial possessions. The territory of Argyle, up to the boundaries of the Lorn country—which latter was his brother Dugal's property—Kintyre and Knapdale, Isla and the neighbouring isles, seem to have been his,[1] and to these we must add some property in Arran and in Galloway, as evidenced by charter record. One of these is a document of some interest, if it really relates to Reginald, son of Sumarlid. It would seem that in the year 1205, a Reginald who is styled King of the Isles entered into a league with John, King of England, and a few years later swore fealty to him as his liege lord for some lands he, Reginald, had obtained in Galloway.[2] The deed which sets forth the latter formality is the one I refer to. It is dated the 16th day of May 1212, at Lambeth, and begins as follows: "To all the faithful in Christ who shall inspect this "present deed, I, Reginald, King of the Isles, greeting." Then follows the vow of fealty, and next the list of witnesses—namely, the Lord Bishop of Winchester (P. Winton), W. Earl of Sarum, G. father's son to Earl Essex, S. Earl Winton, William Bruver, and Guarin Geroldson.[3] The other is the confirmation charter I have lately spoken of from James IV. to the Saddell monks, where "Reginald, son of Sorlett" is styled "fundator "of the said monastery," and in which grants of land in and near Glen Saddell, and at Ceshin or Casken in the Isle of Arran, from Reginald to the abbacy, are also noted.[4] Of this charter more presently. It is further stated by one author, on the authority of a fragment in MS. which he says he found bound up with the Manx chronicle, that after a dispute between William the Lion, A.D. 1196, and one Harold MacMadid, relating to the possession of Caithness, in which Harold refused to accept the King of Scotland's terms, Reginald, "filius Somerlid," King of Man, came to the king and bought from him all Caithness save

Mention of Reginald in an early charter.

Reginald supposed to have bought Caithness from King William the Lion.

[1] The Macdonald MS. mentions a son and namesake of Sumarlid, and says his share of the paternal inheritance was Argyle, but this is not supported by other authorities.

[2] History of the Macdonalds. The writer assumes it is our Reginald, but in the printed index of the 'Fœdera' I was unable to trace it. I cannot help thinking the author of the Macdonald History may have confused the two Reginalds; for Reginald Godredson was King of Man and the Isles A.D. 1188-1226, and was more likely to have had relations with John than his namesake of Kintyre.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera.

[4] Reg. Mag. Sig.

and except the king's annual revenues there.[1] In the register of Paisley Abbey, we also hear something more of Reginald. Indeed, the deeds and charters granted by successive lords of the Isles which are here met with, are among the most valuable materials of the kind extant. "They form," says the editor of the Maitland Club's text of this register, "what must generally be considered the most interesting portion of the work, both from "their intrinsic peculiarities, and from the great family whose history they tend to illus- "trate."[2] The first I shall cite is a charter by Reginald himself; and when we bear in mind the antiquity of the original of this curious document, which, though the transcript of it bears no date, is obviously referable to the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century—its style and wording acquire an interest of their own, which, I think, is best satisfied by a verbatim translation in full. The document is headed, "Charter of Reginald the son "of Sumerled, Lord of Inchegal, concerning one penny from each house on his territory "whence issues smoke," and refers to an ancient tribute which has been termed the smoke-penny tax, occasionally levied from the vassals of the great nobles.[3] The charter then proceeds: "Be it known to all present and future that I, Reginald, son of Sumerled, Lord "of Inchegal, have been made brother, and my wife Fonie sister, of the House of Pas- "selet in a chapter of the whole Cluniac order; and I, purposing to remain for ever a true "brother and good friend to my brethren of Passelet, as well as my heirs and my people, "have, under testimony of my seal, agreed to give them, for the welfare of myself, my "wife, my heirs, and my people, during this year, eight oxen and two pennies from every "house whence issues smoke; and after this year I will give them annually one penny from

Reginald referred to in the Paisley chartulary.

His charter to the Paisley monks;

wherein he declares himself and his wife to be members of their community.

[1] Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Normannicæ. A passage in Torfæus, however, seems to conflict with this statement, and to suggest that the Reginald here called the son of Sumarlid, may in reality have been Reginald Godredson, King of Man, (circa) 1188-1228. After alluding to the indignation felt by King William the Lion at hearing of the tyranny and usurpation of Jarl Harold of Orkney, who had overrun all Caithness, the writer proceeds as follows: "He" (the King of Scotland) "sent to Rognvald, called in the chronicle of Mann "Reginald, the son of Gudrod and King of the Hebrides, the most distinguished warrior of all the Western chiefs "of his time. For, indeed, during three successive years he" (Reginald), "after the manner of the most famous "ancient pirates, passed his time on board ship, neither would he go under a sooty roof (fugilinosam tectum "non subiret), by which is meant that he would enter no house. His father was Gudrod" (Godred), "who was "son to Ingibiorge, daughter of Earl Hacon Paulson, and to Olaf Bitling, King of the Hebrides. At the "Scottish king's command he" (Reginald) "collected a great army from the whole territory of the Isles, as "well as from Satiri or Cantire, and no mean force likewise from Ireland, and invading Caithness, subjugated "the whole of it."—Hist. Orcades Torfæus, Lib. I. p. 146. The mention of Kintyre also appears in the Orkneyinga Saga's account of the same transaction; and were it not for the explicit reference to this Reginald's parentage, we should assuredly have supposed that the son of Sumarlid was meant. The two Reginalds were contemporaries, and both are styled "Kings of the Isles," whence we can readily understand their often being confused with each other.

[2] "The family of the Isles," truly adds this writer, "commands our interest, not more from its great power "and consequence, than from the impenetrable mystery which involves its origin, the obscurity and doubt "attending its extinction, and the clashing pretensions of the numerous races which have parcelled out its "possessions, to be held its descendants and representatives. Exercising extensive sovereign power, and "frequently asserting a regal style, these princes appear in history, at long intervals, treating almost on equal "terms with the greatest crowned heads; while in the intermediate times, their remote existence is marked only "by the ravages of their fierce followers on every coast where a prey was to be taken."—P. xiv., Registr. Monast. Passelet.

[3] The smoke-penny tax is to this day paid to the Bishops of Sodor and Man on their first accession to the see.—Manx Soc.'s Monumenta.

Of the smoke-penny tribute he grants them.

" each house within my whole territory whence smoke issues, and my heirs shall give the " same after me, or, should they fail to do so with the utmost promptitude, they shall have " my malediction. Likewise my wife Fonia has agreed herself to grant them, for the pur- " pose of an alms, one-tenth of all things that God has bestowed upon her—that is to say, " no less for what she might desire to retain n her own keeping than for such articles as " she might henceforward be sending away for sale by sea or land. And because I and my " heirs are, and hereafter shall be, participators in all the good things which do, or shall " henceforward, accrue to the house and the whole order of Passelet, both in respect of " prayers and other indulgences of divine service, I have given and conceded to them, and " confirmed in this present writ by authority of my seal, the steadfast peace of myself, " my heirs, and my people, with the maintenance of the good brotherhood, wherever they

He commands his people to befriend the brethren ;

" themselves or their people may be, or come to be, by land or sea; and I beseech my " friends and command all my people that wheresoever they may find the aforesaid monks, " my brethren, or their people, they should maintain them, and aid them in their business, " with the certain knowledge that by S. Columba whosoever of my heirs molests them

Under the severest penalties if they should fail to do so.

" shall have my malediction, or if peradventure any evil should be done unto them or " theirs by my people, or by any others whom it is in my power to bring to account, they " shall suffer the punishment of death. These are the witnesses: Ameleus, son of " Gillecolm; Gillecolm, son of Gilmihel; Maurice, my chaplain; and many others here " at this time present." [1]

Then runs the quaint diction of this mediæval instrument, which is certainly a curious commentary on the style and mode of thought prevalent at the time. Such documents were of course drawn up under dictation of the ecclesiastical scribes, who, as must be evident from what has transpired in the other parishes we have already dealt with, took uncommon care that the Church's title to the temporal gifts bestowed upon her should be placed beyond dispute for all time to come. Reginald, moreover, is careful to look after his own salvation first, then his wife's, and after her his posterity's; while his vassals and dependants are allowed to come in at the tail of the bargain. Another suggestion we gather from this charter is the excellence of the bargain driven by the Paisley monks. A penny from every house and cottier's hut where a fire had to be kindled must have meant, over such an extent of territory as belonged to Reginald, a very large sum of money, not to mention the eight oxen and two pennies which the unlucky vassal was mulct of in the first year of the stipulation. But of course, in exchange for the highly-prized privilege of brotherhood in so distinguished a monastery, the favour of powerful mother Church, and yet more, the improved prospects of salvation for such an army of souls as were here contracted for,—no payment would be likely to appear exorbitant. Nor are we to suppose, as the preface to the printed text of the Paisley Chartulary very justly puts it, that the language of such a charter as this was " a mere respectful form of " words employed by a lordly benefactor, nor only for the purpose of securing the prayers

What we learn from this charter.

[1] Registr. Monast. Passelet, p. 125. Where I have rendered such documents as the above in English for the reader's convenience, it is to be understood that the translations are, as far as possible, verbatim.

"of a religious community. In those times of violence, it was an object, even for the "highest, to provide a safe retreat for age or adversity; and it was often held an advan- "tageous investment of the fruits of rapine to purchase the means of devoting to a tardy "penitence the years unfit for violence." Lastly, we see what enormous penal powers were put into the hands of the Church by such a threat as the charter concludes with; for if a single dependant, an Isla man, Kintyrian, or what not, raised a finger against any one however remotely connected with the great Strath Clyde abbey, a complaint might find its way to his all-powerful chief, and the delinquent have to pay the penalty with his life.

The white wax seal impressed upon this document.

In 1426, "the Lord Andrew Stuart, prior of the conventual monastery of Paisley,"[1] caused a notarial transcript of this charter of Reginald to be made, on which occasion the impression in white wax of what appeared to be the true and indubitable seal of the Lord of Inchegal is thus described by the notary Robert de Hopprew, priest of the diocese of Glasgow "In the middle of the seal on one side was sculptured a ship filled with men-at-arms,[2] and "on the reverse the image of an armed man on horseback, with a drawn sword in his "hand."[3] May not these objects impressed upon Reginald's seal suggest some connection with the frequent appearance of the galleys and figures of armed horsemen upon the carved slabs of the West Highlands?

I have said that Reginald has been considered by some writers as the founder of Saddell Abbey; and one account mentions, but on what authority is not stated, that he sent to Rome for consecrated dust, and made the building commensurate with the extent to which it could be scattered."[4] From the Clan Donald seannachy we are supplied with the following particulars concerning Reginald's relations with his brother Dugal of Lorn:

Further details in the life of Reginald.

"When John, nephew to Reginald, passed the years of his minority, he desired his "uncle Reginald to send a party with him to apprehend Muchdanach, who held the lands "of Moidart and Ardnamurchan, who always assisted Dugall against his uncle Reginald, "for Dugall had most of his children by the Muchdanach's daughter. So John and "Clement Clericus, so called being a scholar (or cleric), killed the Muchdanach; but when "they returned home, Reginald was very wroth with them for killing him. Although he "wished to have him apprehended, he did not desire to have him killed. John said he "would ask no more of his father's but the lands of Ardnamurchan and Glassridh "(Glassary), and 20 pound lands of Isla, which his uncle granted him." This part of the MS., however, must be accepted with considerable reserve; for, as Mr Skene has pointed out, the writer endeavours to cast a most unmerited stain on the origin of the Clan Dugal. "Reginald," proceeds the seannachy, "was married to MacRandel's daughter, or, as "some say, to a sister of Thomas Randel (Randolph), Earl of Murray, for by her the "Macdonalds challenged proper to themselves some lands in the Braes of Murray. He "had by her Donald, he had Angus, of whom descended the Robertsons in Athol, and

[1] There was, of course, also an abbot at this time.
[2] This exactly corresponds with the cognisance of the Manx kings.
[3] "Instrumentum de denariis," &c., p. 147, Registr. Monast. Pass.
[4] New Statistical Account.

" MacLulichs, who are now called in the low country Pittullichs. He had another son, " John Maol, or ye Bald, who went for Ireland, of whom descended the Macdonalds of " Tireoin. In the mean time Reginald died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried " in Icollumkill."[1] In dealing with historical characters of the remote date, and the note of Reginald, one is inclined, especially where, as here, the biographical items are so few and far between, to treasure up every fragment of information, from whatever source it has come down to us. As to Reginald's asserted burial at Iona, it is very probable that the seannachy was only indulging in guess-work. Iona was, of course, the spot of greatest sanctity in the West; it was the last resting-place of many early kings, and undoubtedly of a great number of the West Highland chiefs; and thus a panegyrist of his clan would be very apt to assume, in the absence of any certain information to the contrary, that the great ancestors of the family were entombed there. But inasmuch as the writer's statement regarding Sumarlid's place of sepulture seems doubtful, so it may have been with regard to Reginald. And although we can point to no particular tombstone at Saddell to which any tradition connecting it with Reginald can be attached, there are monuments elsewhere, differing but little from the stone effigies presently to be described, assigned to a date scarcely, if at all, more recent than that of his death. Moreover, his close connection with the abbey here, and with Kintyre, coupled with the probability that Saddell was the burial-place of his father, point in this particular rather to Saddell than Iona.

Reginald dies in his fifty-fourth year;

and was probably buried at Saddell.

The next after Reginald whom we must notice as having been brought into very close relations with the monastery at Saddell, was his eldest son Donald, of whom so far we have said nothing beyond mentioning his name. Our acquaintance with the incidents in his life rests very much on the same mixed evidence that was furnished in the case of Reginald. That Donald must have been a noble of high rank and power is tolerably evident from the charters he appears to have granted. One of these, cited by a family historian from the History of the Frasers, is a noteworthy document, for if it be genuine, it proves two things: first, that a member of Sumarlid's family had, or claimed to have at this time, extensive property in the north-east of Scotland, and an important stronghold still further north; and secondly, that he assumed a *quasi* regal style, and was in a position to grant a formal charter to the representative of one of the greatest Scottish families of the day, John de Bisset, Lord of Lovat, founder of the monastery of Beauly. The charter is as follows: " I, Donald, King of the Isles, by tenour of these presents, give, " bestow, and concede to *our* friend, the illustrious Lord John Bisset, all and whole the " lands of Achterless and Moncoffer,[2] with all things appertaining to them both above " and below ground, situated in the province of Banca, and this to himself and his " successors in perpetuity; and we will maintain to them this charter firm and steadfast, " which we confirm and attest with our seal and autograph. Given at our castle of Ding- " wall, in presence of our well-beloved relatives and councillors, M'Leod of Lewis and

The career of Donald "de Insulis," son of Reginald.

Donald grants a charter of lands in Aberdeenshire to the Lord of Lovat, A.D. 1245.

[1] MS. Hist. of Macdonald.—Trans. Iona Club.

[2] Auchterless and Montquhitter are two extensive parishes in Aberdeenshire.

"M'Leod of Harise" (Harris), "on the nineteenth day of the Ides of January, in the year "from Christ's nativity 1245, in the year of the pontificate S. D. N. Gregory the 9th."[1]

He renews his father's charter to the Paisley monks;

The next charter of Donald's to be mentioned is one to the Paisley monks respecting the smoke-penny, and is almost a literal recapitulation of that already cited given by Reginald. It contains, however, at its close, a brief but significant addendum to the provisions of the previous document. After setting forth as before what was to incur the penalty of death, the text thus continues: "And be it noted, that wheresoever I or my "heirs or any of my people shall die, whether on land or sea, the aforesaid monks shall "for ever thereafter pray that we be saved, and shall cause prayers to be offered for us "throughout the whole Cluniac order."[2]

and desires their prayers in perpetuity.

Macdugal of Lorn opposes Donald.

Donald, it would appear, encountered serious opposition from his cousin Ewin of Lorn, the King John of the Hacon Saga; and we can well understand how the ambition of two such powerful island princes, whose territories were contiguous, should produce considerable rivalry and conflict of claims. The kingdom of Man at this time was in a very unsettled state, and the Sumarlidians, as we have seen, could not fail to exercise a very great influence on the destiny of its rulers. A "certain chief named Dofnald" is mentioned in the Manx Chronicle, "an aged nobleman, who before all others was especially honoured "by Harald Olafson," the reigning King of Man during 1237-49. Of this Dofnald a curious adventure is related as having occurred in the island; but as there is no evidence to show whether he could have been one and the same with Donald of the Isles, I shall not further allude to it.

The clan seannachy's account of Donald.

Donald emigrates to Denmark,

An envoy sent to Kintyre from King Alexander to Donald

is slain by Donald,

who also commits other deeds of violence,

From the family seannachy we learn that Donald succeeded his father as Lord of the Isles and Thane of Argyle, and married his first cousin, the daughter of Gillies, by whom he had three sons, Angus Mor being the eldest. "He went to Denmark, and "brought over with him many of the ancient Danes of the Isles—namely, the Macduffies "and Macnagills. . . . After this, he and his uncle Dugall became enemies, so that at last "he was forced to kill Dugall. After this, King Alexander sent Sir William Rollock as "messenger to him to Kintyre, desiring him to hold the Isles of him" (Alexander), "which "he had now from the King of Denmark."[3] Then follows the recital of the old disputes as to Donald's respective duties of allegiance to the two sovereigns, the result of which was "that he and Sir William could not end the debate. In law or reasoning, Donald "being advised by wicked councillors, in the dawning of the day surprised Sir William "and his men. Sir William with some of his men were killed. He banished Gillies out "of the Isles to the glens in Ireland, where some of his offspring remain until this day. "He killed Gillies's young son, called Callum Alin. He brought the MacNeills from "Lennox, to expel Gillies out of Kintyre." This, we must confess, was a pretty catalogue of misdeeds for a man to have to account for, and may help to explain what is next related of Donald. "After this he went to Rome, bringing seven priests in his company,

[1] Charter quoted in Hist. of Macdonalds; but I do not know where it is to be found.

[2] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 126.

[3] Or Norway. The Norsemen are generally styled Danes by the Celtic writers.

"to be reconciled to the Pope and Church. These priests declaring his remorse of con-
"science for the evil deeds of his former life, the Pope asked if he was willing to endure
"any torment that the Church was pleased to inflict upon him? Donald replied that he
and is absolved by the Pope. "was willing, should they please to burn him in a caldron of lead. The Church seeing
"him so penitent, dispensed with him.[1] Some writers affirm that he had his rights from
"the Pope of all the lands he possessed in Argyle, Kintyre, and the rest of the continent."
The seannachy's next statement is probably inaccurate. "After his return home, he built
Saddell monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary. "the monastery of Sadell, in Kintyre, dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mary." There is, it is true, the tradition of a nunnery having at one time existed at Saddell; and the remains of a small building detached from the church are still spoken of in the locality as "the nunnery." This may possibly be what the writer is alluding to as the work of Donald. Or he may have extended the abbey buildings in some other way; but the monastery, in the widest sense of the term, must have been erected by his father or grandfather. Donald, concludes this MS., "mortified forty-eight merks lands to Saddell
Donald dies at Skipness, A.D. 1289. "monastery, and the island of Heisker to the nuns of Iona." He died at Shippinage "(Skipness) in the year 1289, and was buried at Icolumkill."[2] There seems to be, however, some mistake here as to date, for there is evidence to make it all but certain that Donald was not alive later than the year 1253,[3] as in that year Alan, Bishop of Argyle, inspects and confirms a charter to the Paisley monks previously granted by Angus;[4] and a charter, worded as this one is, could hardly have emanated from the son during his father's lifetime. Ruari of Bute, we know, was a benefactor to the Saddell monks to the extent of a large area of land in the neighbourhood of the abbey, as will appear immediately; and this demonstrates that he must originally have shared with his brother Donald in the possession of Kintyre.

References to Angus Mor, son of Donald. With Angus Mor himself we have not much concern as directly connected with Saddell Abbey. In the chapter of this volume dealing with the history of the Lords of the Isles, something has already been said of him. The statement by one of the Clandonald historians that "Angus was a very great benefactor to the Abbey of Sagadull," and that he granted to it lands, by no fewer than four charters, in the years 1253 and 1261,[5] is unsupported by the printed text of the Paisley Chartulary, and, as I have explained,
Alexander of Isla. probably originated in a mistake—at least, I have been unable to verify it. The same writer mentions a charter of confirmation granted by Alexander, Angus Mor's son, to the same abbey, "preserved in the Chartulary of Paisley," confirming a deed by his father, where he is designed "filius et hæres Domini Angusii, filius Donaldi, Dominus Insu-
"larum." This document also I have not been able to trace in the Paisley Register. The only one in which Alexander appears under a very similar title,[6] is in a deed already

[1] Mr Skene adds his weighty endorsement to the asserted fact of this pilgrimage.—Hist. of the Highlanders.

[2] Macdonald MS.

[3] I suspect the writer of the 1819 Macdonald History has made two mistakes with reference to this deed. He speaks of a charter by Angus as extant in the Chartulary of Paisley, "confirming his father's and grandfather's "grants to the Abbey of Sagadull," and dated in 1253. No such document can I find there. This 1283 charter to *Paisley* Abbey is most likely what he was quoting from.

[4] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 129, 130.

[5] Ibid., p. 32.

[6] "Alexander de Hyle, filius et heres domini Engusii filii Dovenaldi domini de Hyle."—Paisley Reg., p. 128.

mentioned, confirming to the Paisley friars the gift of Kilkerran church, before noticed, which had been granted to them by his father, but he is here styled "de Hyle" only, and not Lord of the Isles.

After this period there appears to be no documentary record illustrating any immediate connection between the Abbey of Saddell and succeeding generations of the family of the Isles till we reach the sixteenth century. Indeed, for reasons that have been pointed out, it happens that the history of this interesting religious house is almost entirely a blank from first to last. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see when examining the ancient monuments in Saddell churchyard, there have survived local traditions of one or two of the descendants of Sumarlid; and it is only reasonable to conclude that many more of the Macdonalds of Kintyre, and members of the other septs of that family resident there prior to the Reformation, must have had intimate relations with the venerable fraternity domiciled at Saddell, and would ultimately be brought here for burial.

Connection of Saddell Abbey with succeeding lords, and branch families, of the Isles.

The solitary charter which, so far as I have been able to discover, deals directly with Saddell Abbey, and can be inspected in the original, has of course a special interest to all who are desirous of going to the fountain-head for information in such matters. Yet this document is to a certain extent disappointing, for it only refers to evidences respecting certain charters from Lords of the Isles to the monastery, but does not recite for us, as is so often done, the verbatim text of these charters. It gives, however, an abstract of what we may assume to have been their contents; and this, with its antiquity, and the noteworthy names introduced, make it a very precious literary relic to the historian of the West Highlands. I have already spoken of this charter. It is preserved in the magnificent collection of muniments from which Scottish history has been so largely drawn—a collection which fills up many shelves of ponderous tomes under the title of the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. This invaluable record was begun in the year 1306, and has grown continuously from that time to the present, transactions connected with the disposal of property held directly under the Crown, and the like, being still entered in its pages. The charter in question is a deed of confirmation by James IV.—that is to say, a deed in the first place recognising the Saddell abbacy's claim to certain landed bequests from former Lords of the Isles, the claim being supported by certain evidences produced by the then Bishop of Argyle; and secondly, formally making over and confirming all this landed property to the bishopric of Argyle, on the union of the latter with the abbacy.

Charter concerning the abbey in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.

This charter granted by James IV. in 1507.

"James, &c. &c. . . . Be it known, . . . whereas we and our Lords of Council have "inspected and fully understood certain authentic evidences produced and made manifest in "our presence and theirs by the reverend father in Christ and our chosen councillor David, "present (modernum) Bishop of Lismore, with respect to the Lords of the Isles, Earls of "Carrick, and Lords of Lochquhaw, and with reference to certain lands given and granted "by them to the abbacy of Sagadull, situated within our dominion of Kintyre, set forth as "follows: and confirmed by our most noble predecessors Alexander, Robert, David, and "Robert of the Scots, for whose souls may God be propitiated:—One evidence rendered "respecting Reginald, son of Sorlet, Lord of Ergile and Kintyre, who styled himself King of "the Isles, founder of the said monastery of Sagadull, concerning all and singular the lands

Its purport.

As to certain evidences of the abbacy's claim to certain lands.

"of Glensagadull and of twelve merks' value of the lands of Baltebean, with their pertinents, "lying in the aforesaid dominion of Kintyre: likewise another evidence respecting the "same Reginald, of twenty merks' value of the lands of Cesken, with their pertinents, situate "in the island of Arane: another evidence as to Roderic, son of the said Reginald, of all "and singular the lands of Glentorsadull (Glen Torrisdale) and Ugladull (Ugadale) with "their pertinents, within our aforesaid dominion of Kintyre: an evidence as to Nigel, Earl "of Carrick, and Isabella his countess, concerning two pennylands named Kildonune and "Treisbeig (or Creisboig ?),[1] with their pertinents, lying within our earldom of Carrick: "an evidence as to John, Lord of the Isles, son of Angus, in regard of two merklands named "Lesenmarg, with their pertinents: an evidence as to Alexander, Lord of the Isles,[2] "concerning two merklands named Cragvan, with pertinents in the island of Giga (Gigha) "and concerning the island of Sanct Barre, with its pertinents situate at Loch Kilkerran: "an evidence as to John, Lord of the Isles, and Angus, his son, of all and singular the lands "of Knochantebeg, and two unciates or ounce lands[3] named Kellipull, with pertinents: "and an evidence as to Duncan Campbele of Lochquhow, concerning one obole of land "named Barrandayl and Blairnatibrade (Blairantibert), with pertinents lying in the dominion "of Knapdale; granted to the said monastery for a pure and perpetual almsgiving: and "whereas the said abbey is at our supplication united to the see of Lismore" (Argyle) "by our most holy lord the Pope, it is annexed to the same to remain so in perpetuity. "We therefore, as tutor and governor of our dearest first-born son James, prince of Scot-"land and the Isles, . . . in renewal and corroboration of the foresaid evidences, and in "fortification of the foresaid union, . . . and also for the singular devotion we have and "bear toward the blessed confessor and holy monk who is patron of the said see, and for "the special love and favour we bear toward the said reverend father and present "(modernum) bishop of the same, we, of our own will and certain knowledge, approve, "ratify, and . . . confirm to the said see and aforesaid reverend father in Christ, . . . and "to his successors, the aforesaid evidences, donations, and infeftments of the above-written "lands with their pertinents, . . . at Edinburgh this first day of the month of January, "in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seven, and in the twentieth "year of our reign."[4]

This document an important one,

This document is an important evidence upon several points. It shows that the Saddell monks were proprietors of a considerable extent of land in Kintyre alone, and that, prior to the Papal act of incorporation now confirmed by the king, they held their lands in independence of the bishops of the diocese in which their abbey was situated. Possibly the brethren may have made opposition to this absorption of their ancient house;

[1] It is uncertain from the caligraphy of the charter which of these two is meant.

[2] Evidently this is the third Lord of the Isles proper, and second Earl of Ross, who lived 1420-49; and not, as one at least of the Macdonald historians makes out, Alexander of Isla, son to Angus Oig.

[3] Lands valued at an ounce weight of silver.

[4] Reg. Mag. Sig. (Lib. xiv. No. 408). I have to thank Mr Dickson, of H.M.'s Great Seal Office, for his kindness in assisting me to transcribe the original Latin of the above from the much contracted and not easily legible text as it stands in the parchment.

but David Hamilton, the then incumbent of the see, backed up, doubtless, by his powerful family connections, appears to have been too strong for them. The religious corporations had always been jealous of any interference with their liberty, and occasionally one or other of them would break out into resistance against the exercise of some alleged episcopal right, such as visitation, &c., over their particular monastery. But at this time, when the sixteenth century was already entered upon, the last days alike of episcopal and monastic establishments were drawing near. We see also, from the document, where certain great families had acquired landed property—as, for example, that the Campbells had by this time got a footing in the country adjoining Kintyre. And we may gather from this how the monastery had extended its influence and connection far beyond the little secluded valley where its inmates had their home. We further note in this charter a point much controverted—namely, in whose persons the style and title of "Lord of the Isles" first received official recognition from the Crown. For here Reginald, notwithstanding his vague title, is only allowed to have been *de facto* Lord of Argyle and Kintyre; and where Angus Oig and his son John are mentioned together, it is only the latter who is called "dominus "Insularum."[1]

as giving us some valuable information.

The Campbells by this time in Kintyre.

As to the first possessor of the *bona fide* title of "dominus insularum."

In the following year, 1508, the lands of Saddell Abbey were converted into a barony, and licence was given to the Bishop of Argyle, as its representative, to build castles in Kintyre, and fortify them with stone walls, &c., including what is called "le machcoling" (*i. e.*, machicolated battlements). It has been thought that the old castle at Saddell may have been built by Bishop David about this time, as he was evidently its custodian or "Commendator;" and its keep, which alone remains, happens to have a machicolated parapet; moreover, we hear nothing of the castle at an earlier date. In 1556, we have record of James M'Onele of Donnawik, evidently Macdonald (or MacConnell, as this house was also called) of Dunyveg, in Isla. On giving up his claim to certain lands in Arran, he received in the same year from the earl of that island the entire lands of Saddell and keeping of the place thereof, held by the earl of his brother, the Bishop of Argyle. There was, however, this further condition attached to the grant, that the Lord of Donnawik was to pay the accustomed dues, to keep open house for the bishop and the earl as masters of the same, to do nothing to the prejudice of the isle of Arran, and to bind himself to assist the bishop in levying his rents and teinds throughout Kintyre.[2] In the 'Libellus Taxationum' a place named Sauledene (apparently intended for Saddell) is rated at £40,[3] —a figure which, it is almost needless to say, must be taken at an estimation totally different from its modern one.

Arran presents James Macdonald of Isla with the lands of Saddell A.D. 1556, under certain conditions.

I think I have now brought under notice all the accessible historical matter, so far as I am aware, in existence, bearing in any way upon the Abbey of Saddell. Its local remains, traditions, topographical names, &c., had better perhaps form the subject of a separate chapter.

[1] This exactly accords with Gregory's conclusions. [2] Orig. Paroch., vol. ii. Part I. [3] Ibid.

CHAPTER XVI.

Description of the abbey buildings.

THE picturesque situation of the abbey buildings at Saddell has already been referred to, and the accompanying illustrations (Pl. XXXVII.) may help to bring this more fully before the reader. Of the church, only two or three fragments of walls remain standing to any height, and these one would guess to be in parts nearly 30 feet high (Pl. XXXVII. 1); but from the faint tracks or mounds left in continuation of them, we are enabled to ascertain with tolerable certainty that the church was cruciform, and that the existing ruins represent its transept (Pl. XXXVIII. 8) and chancel. The Cistercians, it may be noted, were rather given to build their churches in this shape. The parish account gives the dimensions as follows: "Length from east to west about 136 feet by 24, and of the transept from north to south, "78 by 24. South and west of the transept there was a square 58 feet wide, forming the "cloisters." I made the length 134, and width of transept 26 feet, very nearly the same thing.[1] A little to the south-west is a roofless building consisting of an end, and parts of two side walls, now used as a burial enclosure, to which, as already mentioned, the name of "the nunnery" is attached. The masonry of this building looks old, and within the recess of the single window that remains a tree has taken root and grown up to a considerable size. According to one observer, Cistercian churches always had long naves, and the domestic buildings of the order were usually built on one model, the chancel (or the nave of it) forming one side of a quadrangle, opposite which was the refectory; the chapter-house, mortuary chamber, and other apartments occupying the east side, and the remaining buildings the western. So, he concludes, it was at Saddell. The cloister court he makes to have been 25 yards from east to west, and 17 from north to south; and adds that this disproportion in the sides of the square was compulsory, owing to the position of the rivulet on the south side of the site, and the fall of the ground to the north. The standing walls remaining he considers to have belonged to the refectory.[2] I confess this is much more than I was enabled to make out of the ruins; nor does Dean Howson appear to have been more fortunate. Writing in 1839-41 of their condition, he remarks: "The demolition of the

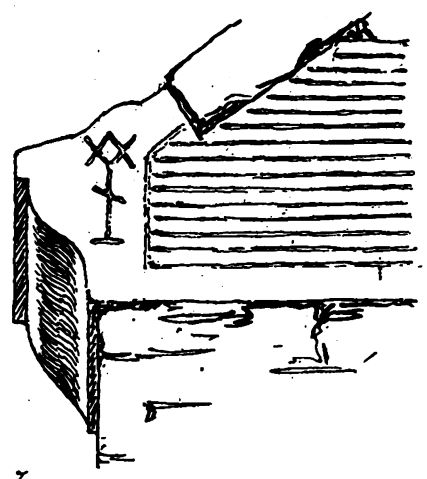
[1] The outline of the building is shown in the Ordnance Survey 25-inch plan. Curiously, it corresponds very closely with the general plan and dimensions of the priory church at Beauly in the north, where the community was also Cistercian. In both cases the lengths I obtained by pacing are identical—viz., 134 feet, the mean width of Saddell church being 25, as against 21 feet in that of Beauly. The situation of the cloisters, so far as we can make out, was also the same. Beauly church is, however, in an infinitely better state of preservation.

[2] Notice of Saddell in the 'Argyllshire Herald,' 22d August 1861—by an Episcopalian clergyman, I believe.

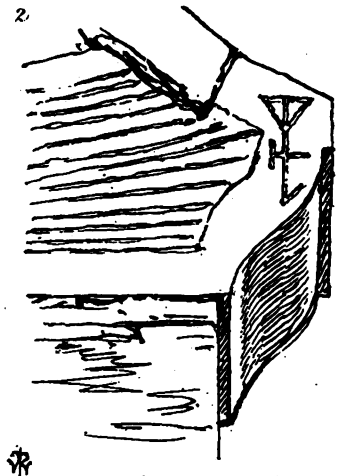
SKETCHES AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XXXVIII.

1

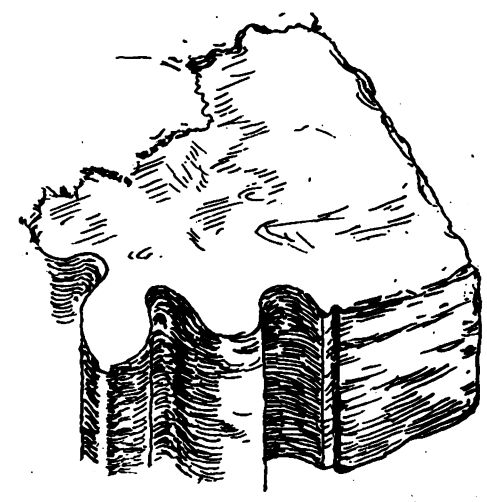


2



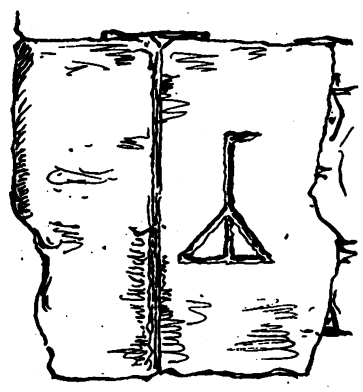
Two moulded stones built into stable-left (probably from Abbey)

3

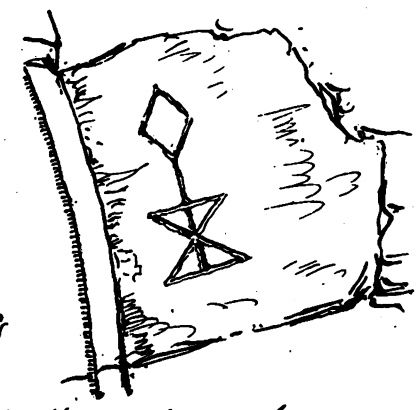


Moulded stone (from Abbey) on Top of stable wall

4

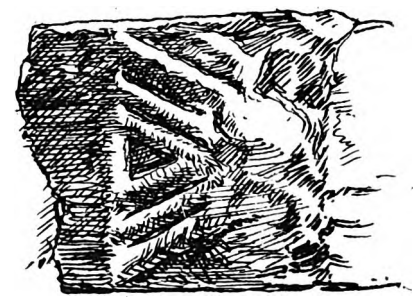


5



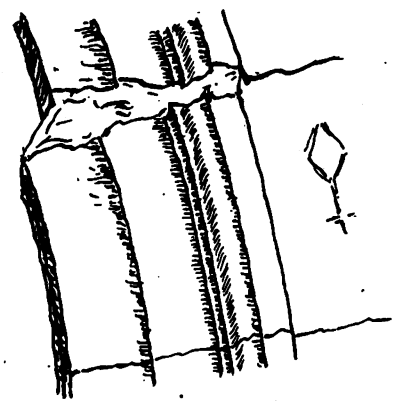
Two large moulded stones built into the stable archway

6



Moulded stone inside stable window

7



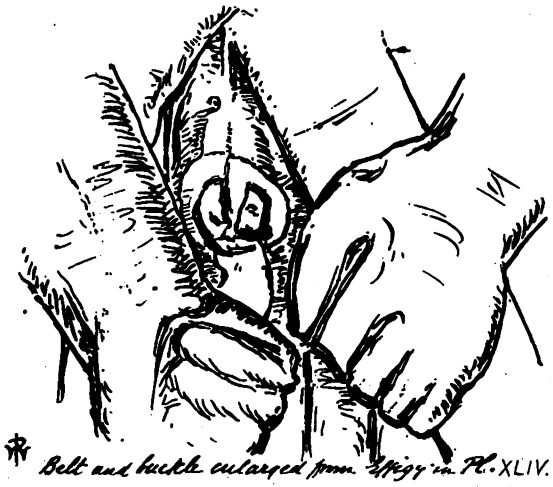
Stone (Fig. 5) continued to inner edge of archway

Sketch plan

8

Remains of N. wall of transept of the Abbey Church

9



Belt and buckle enlarged from Fig. in Pl. XLIV.

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

Photolithographed by W. & A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

"buildings is so great, that it is utterly impossible to ascertain the architectural character "of any portion of the monastery. The apertures of the windows are narrow, and appear "to denote an early English character; but the hewn stones were taken by an ancient pro- "prietor of the estate to build the House of Saddell." This statement is perfectly correct. So far as the architecture of the old abbey is concerned, the Dean's views are fully confirmed by further discoveries of moulded stones evidently taken from it, and now built up into the walls of the Saddell House stables. See particularly the sketch (Pl. XXXVIII. 3), which represents one of a pair of stones I accidentally noticed during my last visit to Saddell, in a crenelle on the top of the stable enclosure wall, and was enabled to sketch with the help of a ladder. The mouldings of this stone are decidedly early English, for we have the bold rounds, deeply-cut hollows, and rectangular plan of the style; while in particular the fillet at the keel of the angle shaft, and the bead at the edge of the last hollow, are further characteristics. Moreover, the north wall of the transept contains two moulded stones in the window recess at the springing of the arch, which have also been thought to be early English in character[1] (Pl. XL. 1). To judge from the appearance of the base of this wall, so far as one can make out in the excessive dilapidation, the church would seem to have had a sloping plinth.

Abstraction of the masonry of the buildings,

Of the wholesale spoliation—for this it certainly was—to which the Dean refers, I must now speak. The present mansion-house of Saddell is believed to have been built a century ago, or rather more, and the stables or outside offices somewhat later, though no one seems to be very accurately informed on the subject. But all accounts agree that the proprietor who erected these buildings made wholesale use of the materials he had ready to his hand in the venerable walls of the ruined monastery. It is almost certain many stones thus stripped from the abbey church are at the present moment doing duty at some distance from their original situation; and were we sure it was only the rough rubble blocks that had been thus appropriated, there would be less to be said. But one gravestone is actually to be seen built into the masonry of Saddell House, where it remains, by no fault whatever of the present proprietor, a monument of unscrupulous desecration. And for aught we know, there may be many more tombstones, some of them perhaps richly-carved mediæval treasures, hidden away here, face inwards, as one sometimes finds them elsewhere. And when we exchange the house for the stables, more of this misappropriation meets the eye. There are the two stones just referred to on the top of the stable wall, and two more (Pl. XXXVIII. 1 and 2) at the angles of a projecting upper window in the west range, mason-marked, which are suspiciously like old stones, and different in appearance from others near them. These latter, however, I do not feel quite so sure about. Then there is the principal stable archway, which is lined entirely with very large dressed sandstone blocks, moulded as shown in Pl. XXXVIII. 4, 5, 7, and filling up the full width of the archway. These stones, which also have mason-marks much worn down, are quite distinct in character and appearance from what we find in a second corresponding archway close by, and differ indeed from all the rest of the modern masonry, being much

By a proprietor of Saddell in the last century.

Moulded stones from the abbey built into modern walls.

[1] Dean Howson remarked these.

more like the stonework of the old castle itself. It may be, however, that these last, and the other mason-marked pair of stones, had been first taken from the abbey, and then manipulated by comparatively modern masons. It is almost impossible to ascertain anything certain as to the results of the spoliation beyond what we can see and judge of by appearances. The first pair of stones are beyond question of an ancient ecclesiastical character, and those figured in Pls. XL. 2, and XXXVIII. 6, are almost as certainly so. These last three are built into stable windows.

Further proof of this.

But we have further testimony to the work of removal of relics which went on here in the last century. I was told of a tradition in the neighbourhood, that on the building of

Legend of the spectral monk;

the present mansion-house the apparition of a monk appeared to the proprietor, whose name is pretty well identified but need not be mentioned here, and told him no prosperity would ever thereafter attend the lairds of Saddell. This sort of thing we have often heard before, and, according to our particular proclivities, may believe as much or as little of as we feel disposed. But it does, as we know, sometimes singularly fall out that these current legends respecting families seem to be remarkably fulfilled; indeed, few of us but can recall from our individual experience instances of the kind. In the present case, after-circumstances appear to have given a colour to the popular legend of the spectral monk's warning. The New Statistical Account of the parish, after noting the popular allegation regarding the above-mentioned proprietor—namely, that he even paved some of the offices of Saddell House with gravestones—adds, "that he shortly afterwards lost his life by a trifling acci-

and other traditions.

"dent, which, with the consequent passing of the estate into other hands, was tradition-"ally looked upon as a punishment for his sacrilege." It may be added, that when one particular proprietor left another West Highland estate to come here, the people on the property he left lamented his going, and reminded him of the prophecy, which they also were perfectly aware of; and, as it happened, the result to his health of the change of residence was such as to confirm the traditional belief.

Mason-marked stones.

One word here as to the mason-marked stones just spoken of. It is undeniable that the practice of marking stones with hieroglyphics, known only to the craft of Freemasons, has descended to us from the very earliest times. As we are reminded by an able author treating of this subject,[1] Colonel Howard Vyse, when he succeeded in forcing his way into the Great Pyramid, almost certainly for the first time since its construction, found cut inside the building engraved symbols identical in character with those we find all over the world. The mediæval masons, it seems, were not in the habit of marking all stones in this manner, but only a few in a building—those probably of greater importance, or such as were intended to be set in more conspicuous positions. Let any one interested in the subject compare the varieties figured by Wilson of these curious symbols as they occur on stones found at Roslin Chapel with these at Saddell (Pl. XXXVIII.), especially those given in figs. 1 and 5, and he will at once be struck with the close resemblance in the two cases.

Mediæval monuments at Saddell.

I now come to the monuments in the burial-ground. The first to be described

[1] Prehistoric Annals of Scotland: Professor Daniel Wilson. See the chapter on mediæval ecclesiology.

LOWER PORTION OF A SCULPTURED CROSS AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XXXIX.

SCALE $\frac{1}{5}^{TH}$

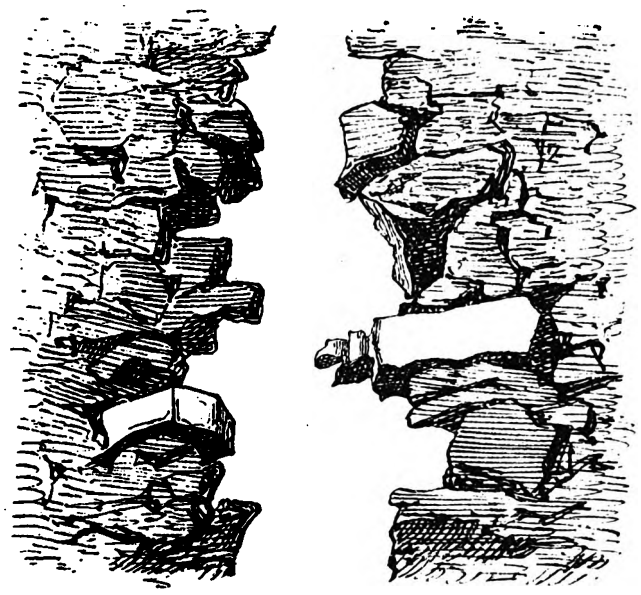
Drawn by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White, R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

SKETCHES &c. AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

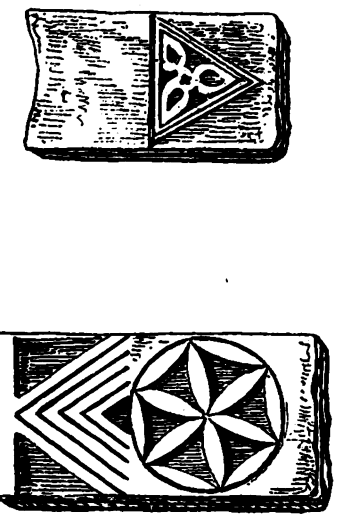
PLATE XL.

1



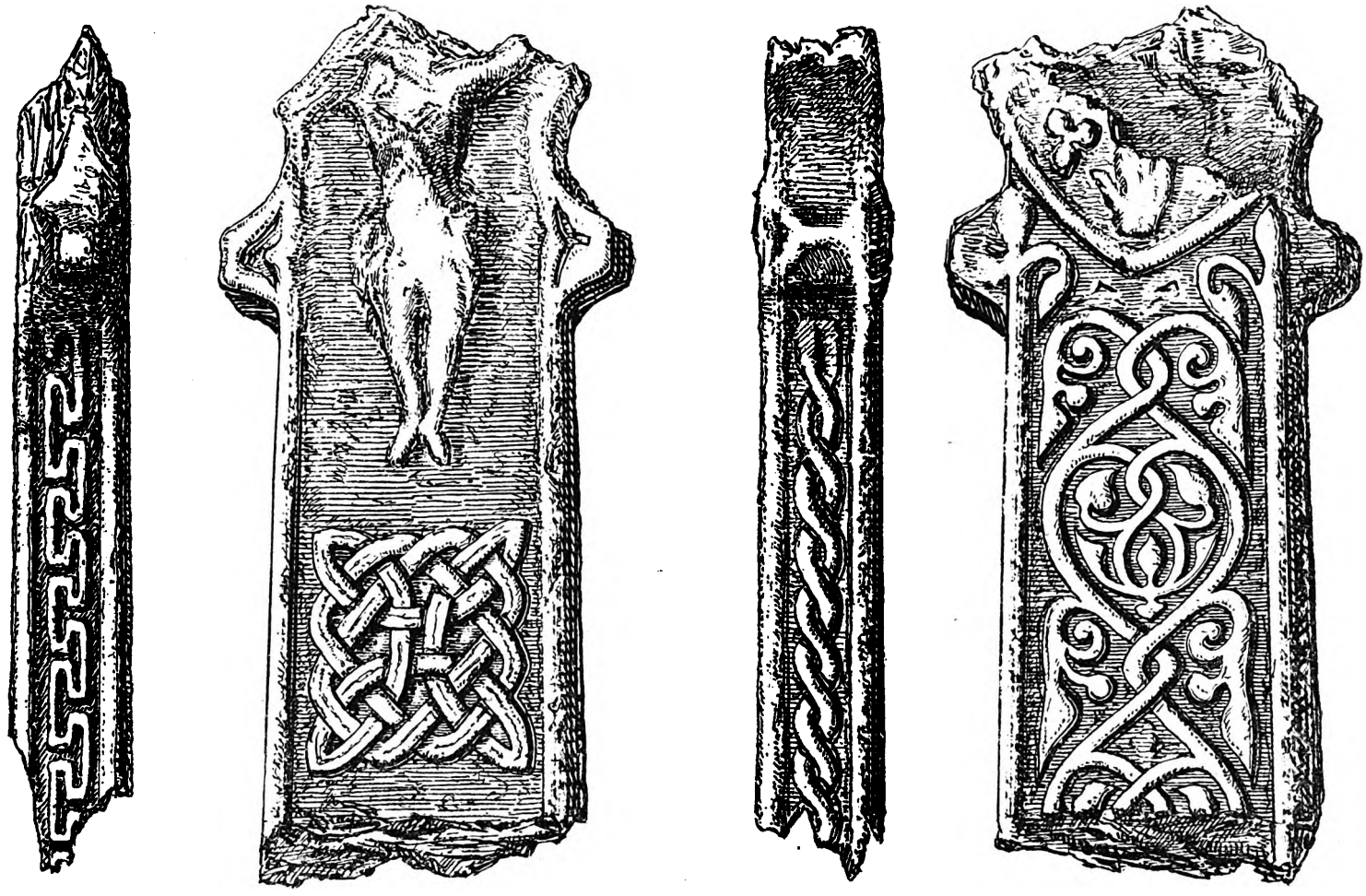
Springing of arch of transept window showing moulded stones.

2



Sculptured stones taken from Abbey building

3



Upper portion of Sculptured Cross (see Plate XXXIX)

Scale (for Fig. 3) $\frac{1}{3}$ in.

Sketched & Drawn by Cap.ⁿ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

are two fragments of what must have been when entire a very beautiful tapering standard-cross. Pl. XXXIX. represents the lower portion, and Pl. XL. the upper. The middle piece is missing; but by comparing the taper of the two former, we find that its length must have been about two and a half feet, which gives the total length of the cross, allowing for the defective bit at the top, as eight feet or thereabouts. On one face of the lower limb is the cross-handled sword, part of it broken off, and on either side of it are the following objects: a dog, two birds, one apparently a dove, and the other (which may be a dove also) represented as if asleep. There are also the capital letters DRI, something so mutilated as to be unintelligible, and below the sword a galley and small shield of the ordinary type. The letters are evidently a continuation of an inscription, and suggest the name "Alexandri" in some such sentence as "hec est crux . . . Alexandri," Alexander or Alaster having been a common name among the Clandonald of the south and its offshoots—as, for instance, the MacAlisters of Loupe, &c. On the reverse face is a mounted warrior with sword and spear, and above we have the usual graceful leaf and loop pattern carried out of the tails of a beast and dragon-like bird in combat, very similar to what appears on one of the Kilkerran crosses (Pl. VIII.) Both edges are enriched with a variety of the ornamental vignette common to the Western crosses. In the upper limb we have on one face a mutilated crucifix or image of the Saviour, and underneath a square of plait-work. On the other face the running pattern of the lower limb is continued, and above at the cross-head is the fragment of what was perhaps an escutcheon, a hand and trefoil carved upon it still remaining. In the edges the pattern from below passes into a Greek border and cable-work respectively.

Remains of a beautiful standard-cross.

I may remark, as regards one of the moulded stones figured in Pl. XL. 2, that the design of hexagon and circle is the same as that on a cross at Millport, in the Cumbraes of Bute,[1] and on the carved stone seat in S. Ciaran's Cave (see Pl. XII. 1). A similar pattern is traced upon a stone at Aberlemno, in Forfarshire, the six-foil in this instance being inscribed in both discs of the so-called "spectacle" and "Z" ornament.[2] The probable reason for the adoption of the hexagon as a Christian device, was, I imagine, because it is made up, geometrically speaking (as any one can test for himself), by setting two equilateral triangles—the well-known Trinitarian symbols—crosswise, and connecting their angles.

Moulded stone with hexagonal pattern.

Pl. XLI. 1, is a beautiful example of the sculptured tombstone, and represents an ecclesiastic in full eucharistic vestments, similar to two we have already noticed, one at Kilcolmkil, the other at Kilkivan, only a finer specimen than either of these latter. First of all, we have the alb depicted, distinguished by its folds. This, "the most ancient of the "vestments, is constructed of white linen, and envelops the entire person of the wearer. "It is not open in front, like a surplice, but is girded round the loins; the sleeves, also, are "comparatively tight."[3] Next appears an elaborately-figured robe, the chasuble, which was worn over the alb,[4] and which in this instance is fringed at the neck. The trans-

Tombstone of a full-robed ecclesiastic.

Description of the vestments.

[1] Sculpt. Stones of Scotland, Spalding Club, vol. ii. [2] Ibid. [3] Boutell's Mon. Brasses.

[4] The tunic or rochet, and over it again the dalmatic, which in England are frequently superadded to the alb in the monuments of bishops and abbots, are absent here.

verse band, which was brought across the shoulders, and continued to the pointed extremity of the garment, is known as the "Y orphrey," and was sometimes supplemented, as in the present case, by a corresponding V-shaped bar below the waist. These bands in English brasses are termed the "apparels" or "paruras" of the vestment, and almost invariably appear as richly-figured embroideries, while the ground of the chasuble is left plain. But rather singularly, exactly the reverse is the case here and in the Kilkivan slab, for the "parura bars" are left plain, while the remaining surface of the garment is beautifully ornamented. "The

The chasuble.

"chasuble is recorded as having been an cclesiastical vestment as early as the sixth "century: it generally appears in ecclesiastical brasses anterior to about the year 1425, after "which period coped ecclesiastics predominate."[1] The chasuble is defined by Archbishop Cranmer as typifying the purple robe which the soldiers of Herod placed upon our Saviour, and also as emblematic of charity in the celebrant of the Eucharist.[2] Of late years, as we all know, there has been much controversy in the Anglican Church with reference to the greater or less store we ought to set by ecclesiastical vestments. The student of mediævalism, however, can have no sort of doubt that the particular fashions of garment to be worn upon specified occasions by the clergy were points in which the pre-Reformation Church insisted upon a world-wide uniformity—albeit a uniformity not so rigid as to preclude variety in minor details. Doubtless this arose in part from her cosmopolitan tendencies, but mainly in consequence of the elaborated symbolism which grew up and attached itself to anything it could lay hold of, such as architecture, clerical dress, postures, and the like. The chasuble in the present example is a wonderful piece of work. The pattern of the figuring is greatly worn down, and more than likely to escape the eye unless the stone is thoroughly washed and the incisions picked out; but when this has been properly done, the ornamentation can be made out to consist of a delicately-chased

The sacramental chalice.

foliated scroll-work, arranged in small contiguous circles. Under the joined hands is the sacramental chalice, and by its side what appears to be one end of the maniple, a short species of stole, which generally hung over the left arm, "and was originally substituted "for the purpose to which the stole itself had been applied"—namely, as a kerchief to wipe the face. The Golden Legend says of S. Peter, that "he bare alway a sudary (or mani-"ple) with wyche he wyped the teerys yt ranne from his eyen." The maniple, however, like the stole, soon became a mere decorative enrichment of the costume. It was accounted a badge of honour as early as the sixth century, in the ninth was common to priests and deacons, and conceded to the sub-deacon in the eleventh.[3] At the effigy's neck showing above the chasuble we have the amice with its embroidered collar, a vestment introduced about the eighth century, and his head is bare. The figure is carved in medium, or rather low relief, under a cusped canopy, and the spare space above is filled in with more foliated tracery. The bottom panel of the tombstone is divided into two, and a good deal obliterated. On one side is what has been taken for a sand-glass, but which I imagine to be

[1] Boutell's Mon. Brasses.

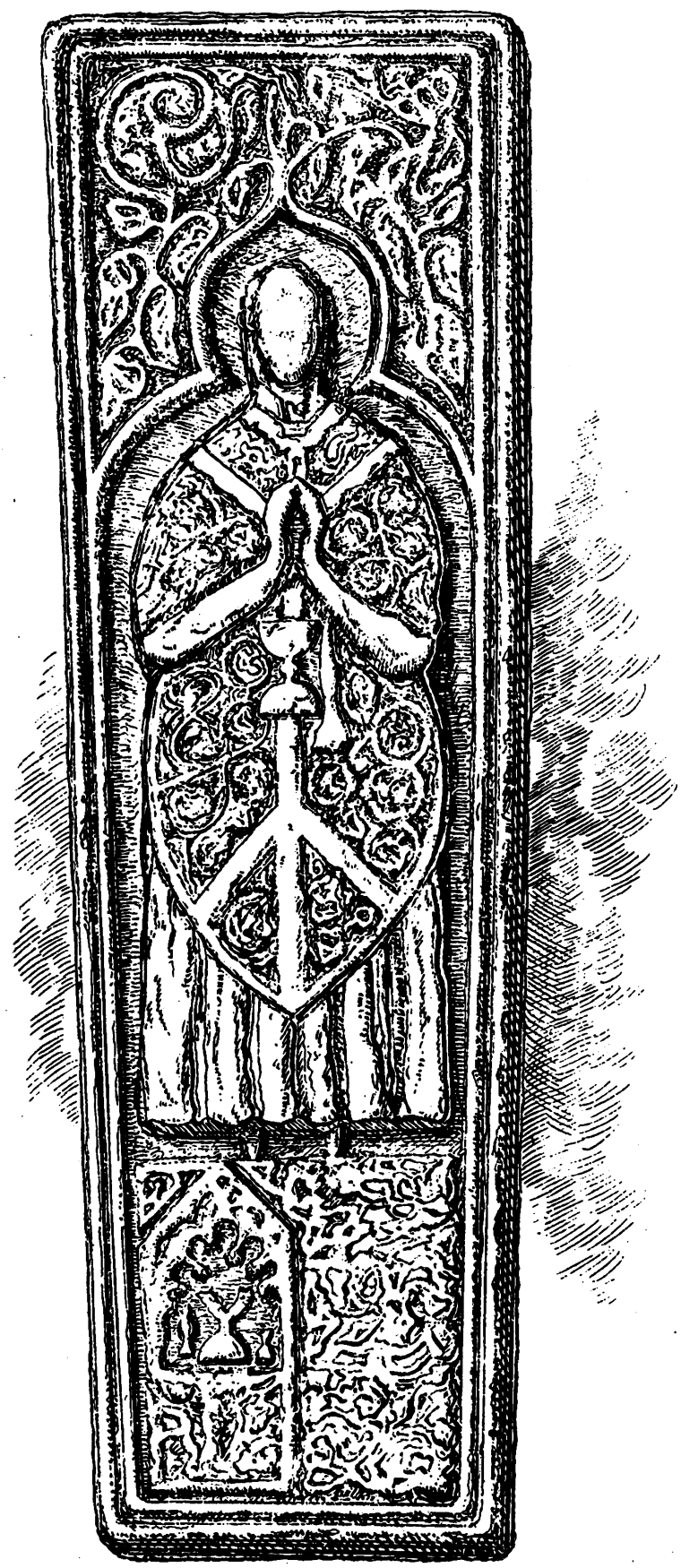
[2] Blunt's Annotated Prayer-Book, a very elaborate work.

[3] Boutell's Mon. Brasses.

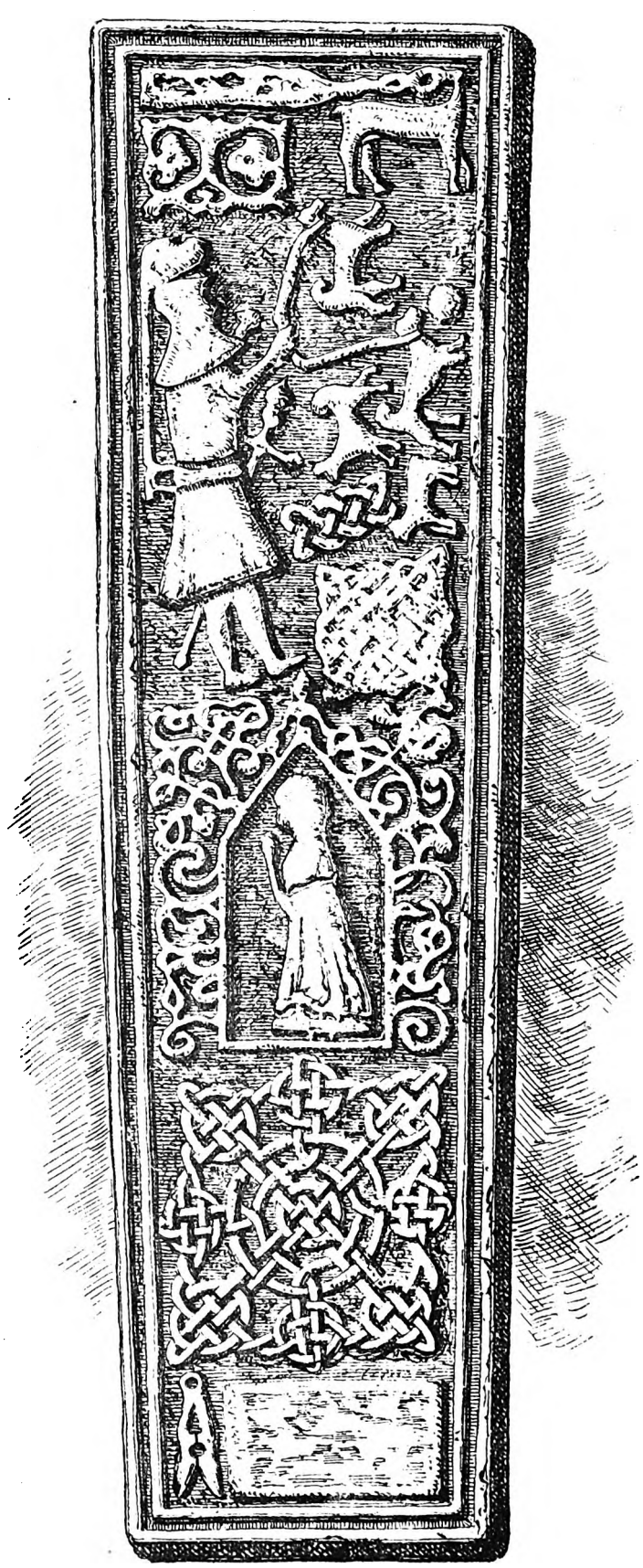
MONUMENTAL SLABS AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XLI.

1



2



SCALE $\frac{1}{3}^{TH}$

Drawn by Cap.^n T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

another chalice, or possibly some antique form of raised paten for holding the consecrated wafer. The pair of small objects by its side I could not decipher. Over these is a small ornamental arch, and the rest of the slab is filled up with tracery. This is probably the so-called "abbot's tombstone, which lies somewhere among the ruins," described as "a "remarkably fine one."[1] There is, however, no traditional or other evidence, so far as I could trace, to show whether the ecclesiastic here sculptured in effigy was an abbot or merely a priest. We cannot even with much safety infer that he was a friar of the Saddell convent; for, as we have seen, a stranger priest in King Hacon's train was buried here with some "pomp and circumstance," and the same might happen with other outsiders from time to time. Besides, an abbot would probably, as at Iona and other ancient burial-places, have been represented with mitre and crosier. The attire figured on this slab, taken by itself, though very highly decorated, is, I believe, nothing more than that of an officiating priest during the performance of the mass.

Tombstone of the hunting warrior.

Pl. XLI. 2, represents another very fine slab of a somewhat uncommon type, which I may call, for the sake of distinction, "the hunting warrior's" tombstone. Here we have a warrior holding a leash of dogs, a stag with horns carried into a scroll, and a curious double leaf-ornament like a monogram above the warrior's head. The diminutive figure in the niche—whether meant for priest or female is hard to say, but I think the latter—with its accompaniments, is characteristic. The knot-work, shears, and tablet are as usual. The warrior's helmet is fastened to the waist in a peculiar manner, similar to what is represented on the Kilmorie cross in Knapdale,[2] and appears on the oldest but one of existing English brasses, the "Trumpington" one (A.D. 1289), already referred to. The object of this fastening was to enable the knight to recover his helm if struck off in the fight. This detail of costume appears to have been most in vogue towards the close of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries,[3] though it has come down in a modified form to us in the cavalry regiments of our own day.

Slab with sword, galley, mermaid, &c.

In Pl. XLII. 3, we have a slab of a rich pattern, a good specimen of the numerous class where the sword is the dominant member of the sculpture. The accompaniments to the sword in this instance are—at the bottom of the slab a stag, a dog, and a bird somewhat resembling a goose, which has its beak ominously near a small object like a toad or frog.[4] Observe the characteristic way in which the stag's horns run away through the intricacies of a plait-work and loop pattern into the tail of a dog or lion. So, in a somewhat different manner, on the other side of the sword. Then we have the mermaid for the fourth or fifth time in Kintyre, the galley, shears, a small object with a bird's beak and body, another animal, plait-work, a square label, and two more small details of which I could make nothing. The galley here is of rather different shape from what it is on most

Peculiar form of the galley.

[1] Thus referred to in the New Statistical Account of the parish.

[2] Sculpt. Stones of Scot., vol. ii. Pl. 33.

[3] See Ancient Armour, by J. Hewitt, M.A.I., Boutell, &c. The brass of Sir John de Northwode (1330) has this chain, but attached to an ornamented staple affixed to the breast.

[4] Refer to one of the Killean illustrations (Pl. XXVIII. 1) for a similar pair of objects.

other examples. The stern terminates in a sort of ornamental crested finial, which at first looked to me like a beast's or dragon's head. There is a banner at the prow; and the top-line of the hull, instead of being straight, is indented, so as to convey somewhat the idea of a separation of decks. The royal ship of King Hacon the Aged, "that great vessel all of "oak which he had caused build for him at Bergen, was," we read, "ornamented with heads "and necks of dragons beautifully overlaid with gold;" and we know that carved beak-heads were in frequent use for the adornment of the better class of ancient galleys. Also, in the detail of the same king's fleet, and the crew of his own flag-ship, a division into three decks is specified. "On the quarter-deck, along with Thorliffe, abbot of Holm, and four "chaplains" (already referred to), "were Aslac Guss, the king's Master of the Horse "(Stallari Konongs), . . . and many others; on the main deck Aslac Dagson; . . . on the "fore-deck Sigurd, the son of Ivar Rofu, . . . and most of the king's chamberlains, with "Andrew Plytt, the king's treasurer; and in the forecastle Eric Skifa, . . . and many "of the cup-bearers."[1] The Lords of the Isles in their personal galleys would be likely to follow the regal fashions of their day.

Full-length knightly effigies in alto-relievo.

Three knightly effigies have now to be described. The first we will deal with (Pl. XLII. 1, 2, 4, and 5) is one of the most highly finished I have met with in the West Highlands. It is a recumbent statue carved in high relief out of a massive stone slab seven feet long, and is situated at the south-west angle of the choir of the abbey church. Here there was to be seen till quite lately an arched niche in the wall, which has now been built up by the proprietor of Saddell, with some other repairs required to keep the fast-decaying walls from tumbling down altogether. The knight is represented in armour.

The lance-bearing knight.

We have the conical basinet or long-pointed helmet with a camail or gorget of chain-mail attached to it, which came into such general use in the fourteenth century. Below these comes the long surcoat reaching to the knee, its folds conventionally indicated by straight lines. This addition to the knightly habit was introduced about the beginning of the thir-

Curious mode of sculpturing his lance.

teenth century, and consists of two kinds, with and without sleeves.[2] The knight is apparently gauntleted, and his right hand grasps a lance or spear, the latter, however, merely indicated by a bead not raised above the flat part of the slab, in consequence of which it at first escaped my notice. Across the knight's body is his long sword, with the indication of its belt round his waist. The legs are carved plain and simply rounded, but with spur-straps across the instep. The feet rest against the base of the slab, which is formed into a plain

His shoes with pointed toes, "à la Polaine."

sloping ledge of the same height as the knight's figure; and are evidently intended to be represented as encased in those curious mailed shoes termed "sollerets," with long pointed and curved toes (XLII. 4), which came into vogue about the second half of the fourteenth century.[3] This mode was copied from the ordinary shoes of the gallants of the day, which were named "souliers à la Polaine," the fashion having been imported from Poland. The indication of this curious detail of dress, as well as a few minor points in some of the other monuments, escaped me on my earliest visit to Saddell; indeed none but those who have

[1] Hacon Saga. [2] Ancient Armour: Hewitt. [3] Ibid., vol. ii. [4] Ibid.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XLII.

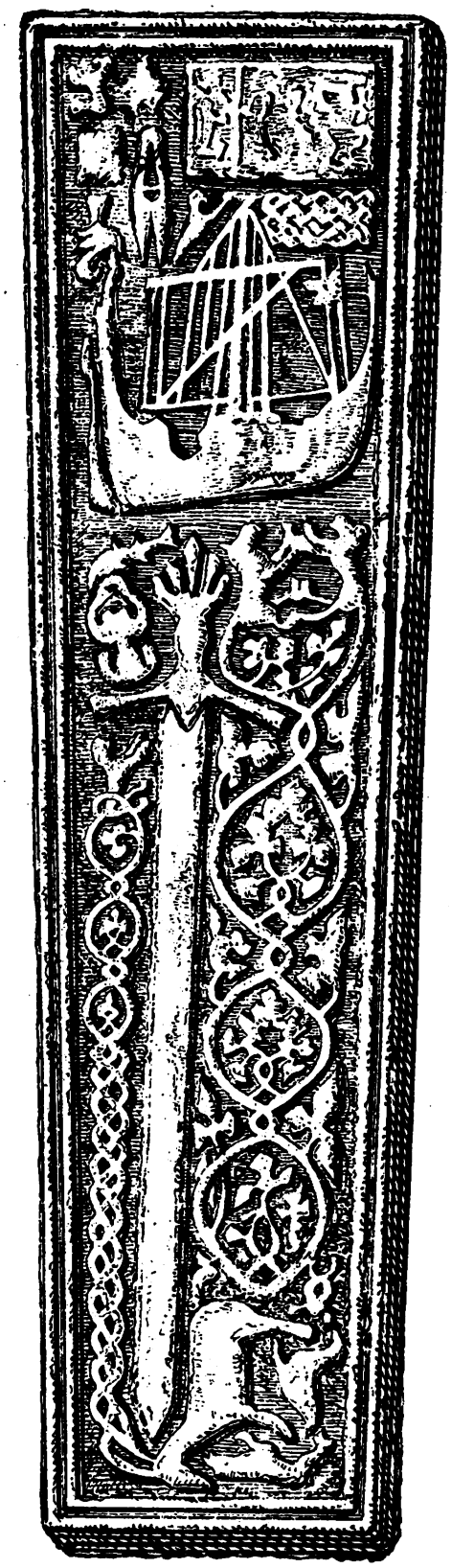
1

Enl^d. Profile View of No. 2

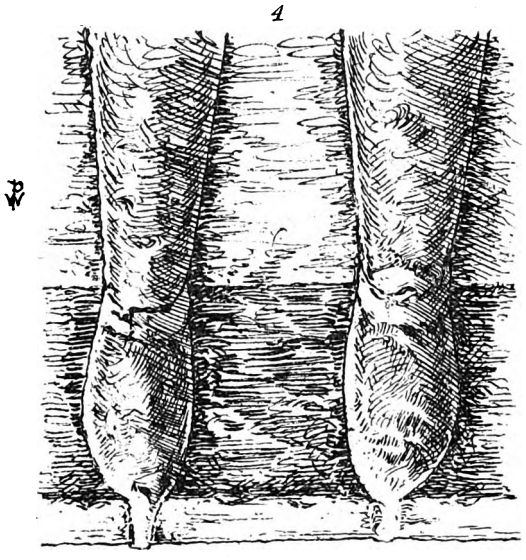
2

Knightly effigy in the choir

3



4



Effigy's feet enlarged showing pointed toes &c

5

Right elbow-plate of effigy enlarged

Sketched by Cap.^t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston Edinburgh.

paid attention to these early and often much-defaced monumental sculptures can realise the difficulty of making sure that one has secured every item which the original artist intended to express. The knight's "coudières" or elbow-plates are beautiful bits of carving (XLII. 1 and 5). They are of the cup-shaped pattern, with a tracery outside of intertwined leaves and stems, fig. 5 showing something very like the fern-leaf. These elbow-guards were of rare occurrence prior to the fourteenth century. A single beading, as will be seen from the sketch (XLII. 1), runs round the edge of the slab along three sides, disappearing at the bottom ledge; and an inscription of nine lines in Gothic capitals, of which only a letter here and there can be made out, occupies an incised panel in one corner. Putting all things together, I think this effigy may fairly be assigned to the fourteenth century.

His ornamental "coudières."

With respect to this monument, local tradition is not altogether silent. I had some difficulty in distinguishing between the stories attached to this and another effigy next to be described, and also in the choir; but after many inquiries, it fully came out that this must be the tombstone popularly ascribed to a chieftain named in the Gaelic "Ruonal cam na "Foille," or "One-eyed Ronald the deceitful," supposed to have been a member of the Clan Alaster of Kintyre. There was nothing, however, to be told of this personage that I could extract beyond his name, which is an epitome of story in itself, and leaves ample margin for the imagination to work upon. None of the Macdonald histories I have looked into refer to a Ranald MacAlaster.

Local tradition of this monument.

Said to be the tombstone of Ronald MacAlaster.

In Pl. XLIII., we have a monument of the same class as the last mentioned, but in a much more worn and disfigured condition, for which a curious reason is given. This is said to be the tombstone of a certain Macdonald Mòr, or great Macdonald, nicknamed the Tyrant, and also spoken of as "the Fingalian," who has succeeded in leaving behind him an unenviable notoriety for guile and cruelty. Here is a case where tradition has really taken very deep root in the locality. There are old people now alive who remember hearing, when they were young, from a generation then old, how the very children knew the wicked Macdonald's tombstone, and would hack at it with stones, and that they actually did in this way strip off the horizontal slice which has unfortunately disappeared from the top of the statue's head-piece. There is a certain circumstantiality here that gives probability to the story. This chief is supposed to have lived in the old castle of Saddell, or some previous one, and to have exercised his cruelties there and in the glen in a variety of ways. We are told how he confined a certain Irish lady in the castle and starved her husband in the dungeon, and how, on hearing of his murder, she threw herself from the ramparts; how he kept pointed from the tower a terrible gun, named "the Cuckoo" for the quaint song it made; how he cut off the heads of certain visitors of another clan to try the power of his sword; what concubinage he carried on in the glen, and so forth; and how, through the killing of a man at the head of the glen whom on one occasion he found ploughing there and took some offence at, the tyrant came to his death—for a certain boy, kinsman to the murdered man, nourished his revenge, and

The effigy with two attendant figures.

Current traditions concerning it.

"The great Macdonald" supposed to be commemorated in this slab.

His evil deeds.

after a time found an opportunity, by conspiring with one of the concubines, to catch him in her house and shoot him through a window. These, and other embellishments of a legendary kind,[1] we are of course not called upon to put much faith in; but the broad fact of there having been a chieftain of the Clandonald resident here in mediæval times, who was much hated in the neighbourhood, we may safely enough accept. The story of the gun, if it were authentic, would of course localise the tombstone to a period certainly not antecedent to the end of the fourteenth century. The mixing up the idea of the Fingalian heroes with the representative of this tombstone is probably another instance of that popular confusion of names and ideas in such matters to which we are so well accustomed.

Style and workmanship of this effigy.

The style and workmanship of this effigy resemble very closely the preceding one. We have the same large pointed camail falling over the shoulders, though very indistinct from wear—the peaked basinet, the great sword similarly placed, the same long and rather stiffly represented surcoat, the substantial legs, and the spurred feet resting on the slab's base. The "coudières" here, however, are only indicated by a pair of straps, one above and one below the elbow, the markings of the arm being continued through the intervening space. Here also the right hand holds what I suppose, to judge from the other effigies, the sculptor intended for the buckle-end of the sword-belt; but curiously this bit of detail stands alone, and no continuation of the belt is seen at the sides or front of the figure to show any connection with the sword, as in the former effigy. Note also the way in which the bit of belt is made in all three effigies to die away immediately after leaving the hand. In the present example, taken by itself, one might very well imagine the object held in the right hand to be a knife or dagger, rather than a waist-belt. The sword-guard is a curious instance of imperfect working out, for it is made to die away, as we can see by the adjoining armour channellings, directly it parts from the blade. The left hand, like the head, has a huge piece barbarously shorn off it, another memento of the hereditary vindictiveness of the children of Glen Saddell towards the terrible MacDomhnuill Mor. The toes, so far as I could detect, are not shown with the pointed shoes formerly described. The triangular spaces at the sides of the slab are enriched with a delicate running pattern of foliage tracery, while rather anomalously the rest of the flat open portions are left plain. But this is one of the characteristics of the Argyllshire slabs—namely, a certain erratic tendency, if I may so call it, in the sculptor's execution, which, for a reason that is not always apparent, will pass over a prominent space, and expend itself perhaps in some less conspicuous spot, in the most graceful and dexterous achievements. We have still to take note of the two singular figures, or maller effigies, one at the head and the other at the foot of this tombstone. The former represents a priest in alb, amice, and chasuble, his hands being joined in prayer. The latter is very singular—a naked human figure apparently buckling or unbuckling the knight's spur, as in the effigy at Oronsay;[2] but whether it is the right arm that is meant to be shown poking into the corner space on the

Its details.

Revengeful mutilation of it.

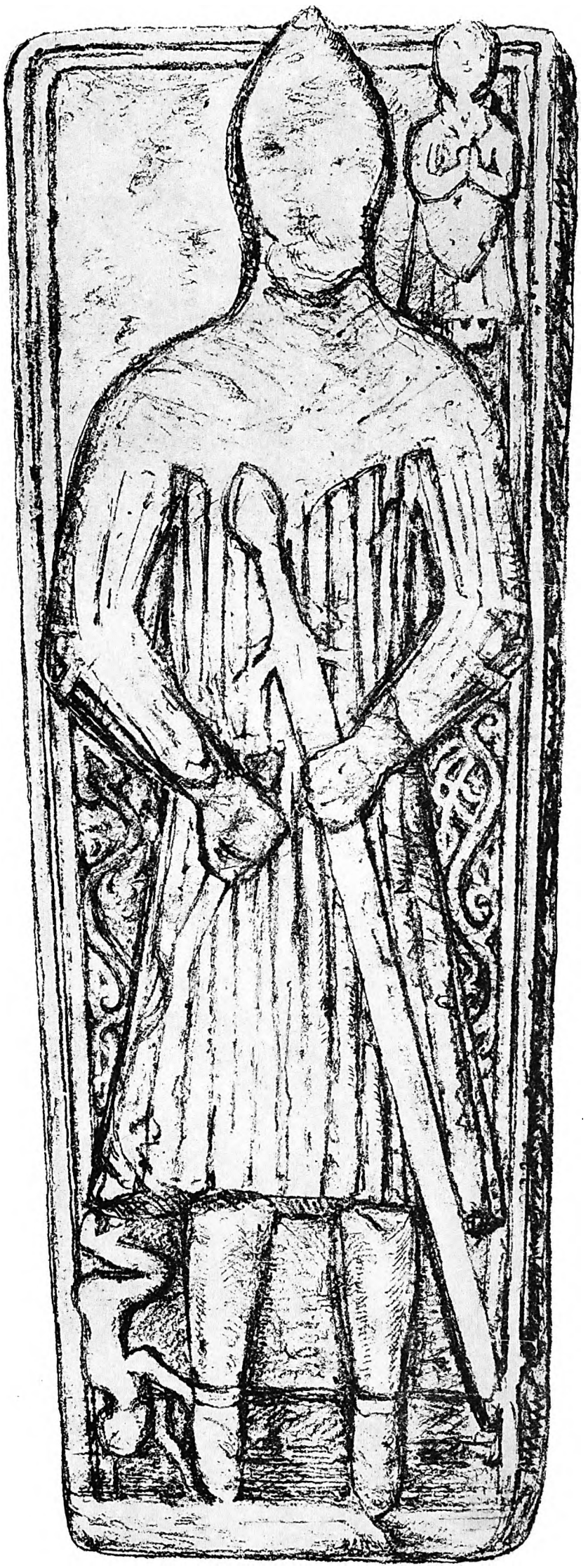
The small attendant figures.

[1] Some of which will be found in detail on reference to a work on the scenery, &c., of Kintyre, entitled 'Glencreggan,' and to Macintosh's little book on the same subject.

[2] Sculpt. Stones of Scotland, vol. ii.

EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XLIII.



Sketched by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

right of the knight's foot, or what it is, the carving certainly, which I have drawn as faithfully as I could, does not satisfactorily show. The practice of putting an angel at the head or feet of knightly effigies in England and elsewhere was not uncommon, and doubtless had a symbolic meaning, as we may suppose it would have here. The figure at the foot might, for instance, be designed to indicate the high social dignity of the knightly office; or, supposing its attitude that of unbuckling the spur, we might read it as emblematic of the warrior's work being done, just as the attitude of this and the third effigy I am about to describe, which may be assumed as that of ungirding the sword, might be similarly interpreted.

"The knight's bones are dust,
His good sword is rust;"

but I very much doubt if many of the Glen Saddell folks would add the concluding line of Coleridge's fragment—

"His soul is with the saints, we trust."

Popular explanation of them.

The popular explanation of the two diminutive figures in the Macdonald's slab was thus expressed to me, that "the one was singing in his ears, and the other clawing at his "toes," the supposed object in both cases being to soothe the unquiet monster to sleep, as his evil conscience left him no rest!

The third effigy with one attendant figure.

The effigy in Pl. XLIV. is of identical type with the other two. The markings of the camail come out very distinctly, and the small facial opening of the casque is traceable. Here, again, we have by the effigy's head the small attendant figure which struck me at first as having a sort of circular band or girdle; but as I now see it in the illustration, it suggests a female with a child in her arms, or some one holding a turned-up cushion; and angels holding cushions in similar positions are often seen elsewhere. The figure is, I think, too much worn for this point to be satisfactorily decided. The other top space shows faint traces of some carving, which apparently included two animals. The bit of belt in the knight's right hand is this time unmistakable (see the enlarged sketch, Pl. XXXVIII. 9), though it stands quite isolated; and the space at the feet, where in the last effigy the naked figure occurs, is, together with the sides, filled up with ornamental chasing. The pommels of the sword[1] on all three effigies differ somewhat from each other, and from what appears in the sword-carvings on the flat slabs. In the first we have the cinque-foil, in the two last a sort of plain lozenge-shape. This monument is lying in a neglected state, partly sunk in the earth outside the ruins of the church. Respecting it I could get no tradition.

Returning to the flat tombstones, we have five still to be described, the carvings of which must have been very fine, though one or two, I regret to say, are in a very weather-

[1] The cusp to the cross-guard seen in Pl. XLIV., and so often elsewhere (see Chap. V. p. 65), is figured in some quaint illuminated pictures of the ancient lords of Glenorchy, given in the Black Book of Taymouth (Ed. by Prof. C. Innes, Edin., 1855). In one of these pictures—the portrait of a mailed knight, headed "Dominus "Duncanus Campbel de Glen Urquhay obiit añ Dō 1536"—the disc or button at the sword-point already spoken of also appears.

An unearthed tomb-carving.

worn and shadowy condition. One of these I only discovered on the occasion of my latest visit to Saddell, and then quite accidentally. A headstone to a modern grave by the side of one of the effigies caught my eye, and on investigation turned out to have some tracery of the usual ancient type carved on it. This, with a good deal of trouble, we dug up, and found to be a fragment of a slab sunk some three feet in the ground, with the bottom piece missing. Near this, on searching, we found another headstone peeping above ground with a beaded edge, corresponding in width to the other piece, and this we also got out, and found that the two stones, when laid together, fitted exactly into one slab (Pl. XXIV. 1). Among other objects here figured, we meet again with the otter and fish, and the tracery is very artistically arranged. This tombstone has sustained much attrition, and some of its details are by no means easy to make out. Another interesting sculpture is the slab (Pl.

Tombstone of the cowled monk.

XLV. 1) with the figure of a cowled monk, which was found two or three feet below ground by a carpenter when digging a grave for a child a few years ago. A great slice is gone from the top, but otherwise the stone is in unusually good preservation, and the lines of the carving are wonderfully sharp, no doubt in consequence of its having lain so long covered up. The monk is represented clasping to his breast a breviary or service-book, and is attired in a plain surplice, the folds of which are very delicately and cleanly chiselled, and over the surplice the "cuculla" (cowl) or hood. At the foot of the slab is an inscription beginning ✠ hic iacet, but the succeeding words are unintelligible, though a

The two-sworded slab.

letter can be read here and there. The two-sworded slab (Pl. XLV. 2), the one with

Two other slabs.

sword and small cross at its foot, and another (Pl. XLVI. 1 and 2) with a warrior grasping a spear within an ornamental niche,[1] are all interesting specimens, the first two especially being of rare type. The latter pair well repaid the trouble of rubbing by the detail this process developed.

Further remarks on the above monuments.

Altogether this beautiful and interesting series of ancient monuments numbers twelve, of which only five, exclusive of the one we dug up and laid along with them, are within the walls of the church, and can be considered as lying where they were originally placed, facing the high altar. The rest are scattered through the churchyard outside, acting as family tombstones for any enterprising "moderns" who may have at some time laid hold of them and established a claim to their ownership, which by this time has to be religiously respected. There must have been many more at one time, from all accounts; for it is said that the burial-ground formerly extended eastward to where the stream which passes by it joins the Saddell Water, or nearly a quarter of a mile in this direction, and that in fact many graves are buried under the site of the present houses which form the "clachan" of

Great extent of the old abbey burial-ground.

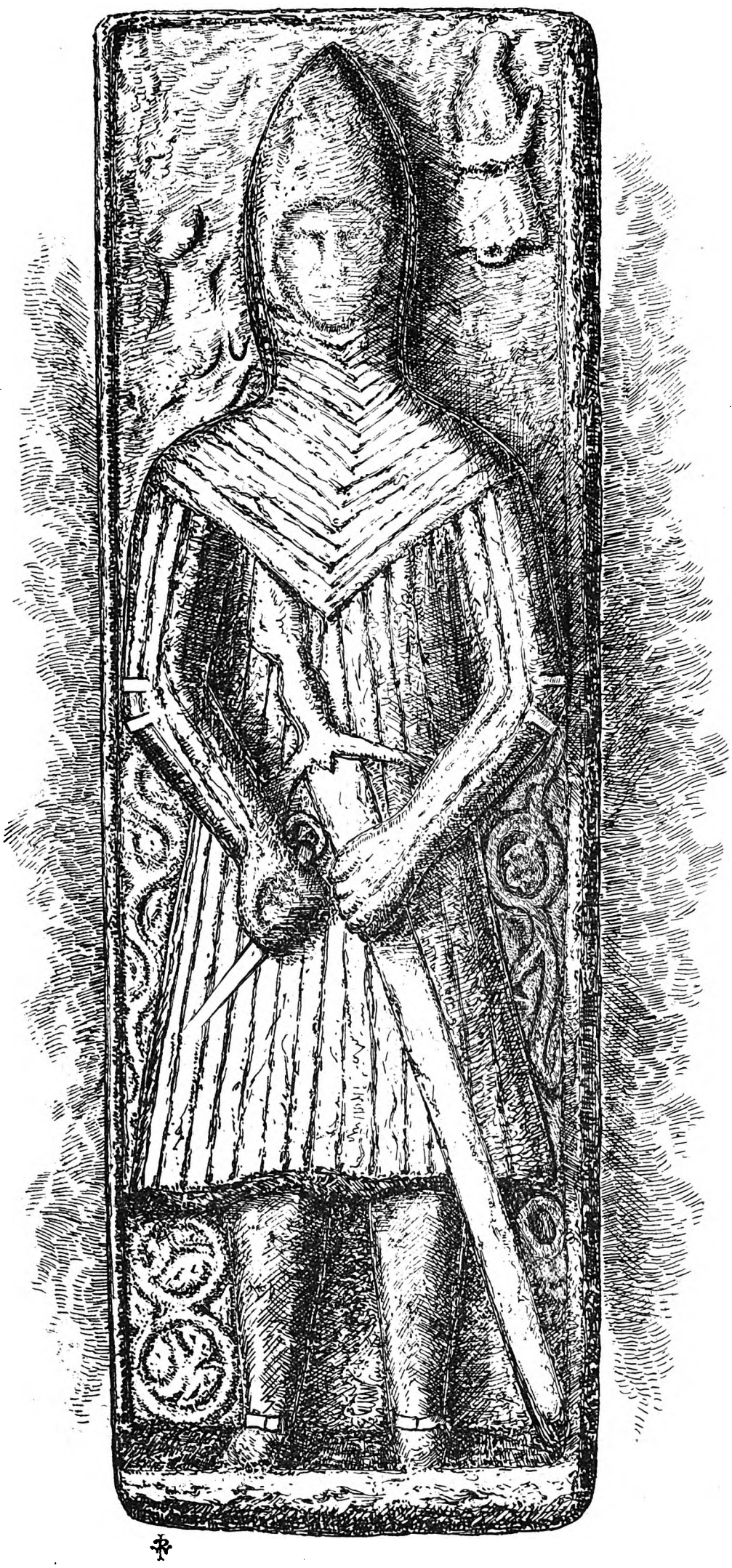
Saddell.[2] This seems a very large area to give to a churchyard; but if we think of the great extent of the cemetery at Iona, and bear in mind what has been said of the high sanctity of Saddell, it is intelligible that it should have been so. And considering also

[1] See one very like this further on at Pl. LIII. 2, and similar examples at Kilmodan and Kilmichael-Glassary, in Argyllshire (Sculpt. Stones of Scot., vol. ii.), the latter of which Dr Stuart thinks exhibits traces of the older character of the eastern Scottish monuments.

[2] This is borne out to some extent by a local rendering of the etymology of Saddell given by Macintosh and others, which I shall presently refer to.

EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XLIV



Sketched by Cap.ᵗ T.P. White R.E.

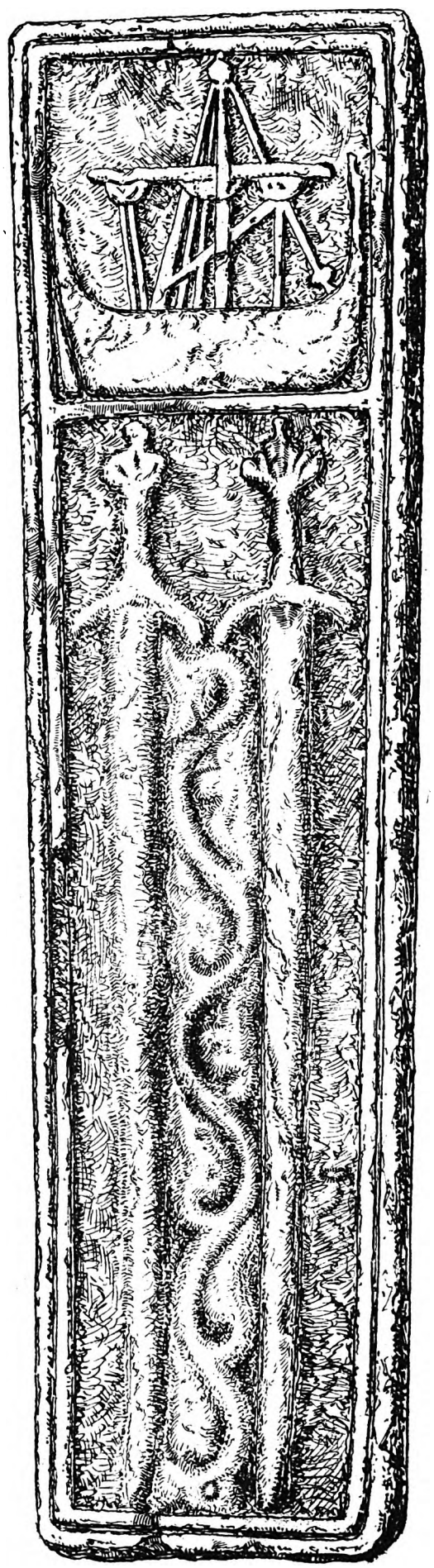
Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

EFFIGY OF A MONK & MONUMENTAL SLAB AT SADDELL ABBEY KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE XLV.

1

2



SCALE 1

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

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

the ravages among the old crosses and tombstones of Iona, and consequent disappearance of immense numbers of them,[1] we may infer that what are left of the Saddell monuments are but a fraction of the original number. Had none ever been destroyed, we might confidently have looked for memorials of the great founder and early benefactors of the monastery, as well as of their descendants, some of whom are doubtless represented by the stones that remain. Within the church walls is a modern headstone with rather a quaint epitaph.[2] It is to the memory of one Duncan McKinley, who, we are told, "perished "crossing Torrasdale Water" on November 1, 1792. On the reverse side are four lines (*sic*)—

What remain to us probably but a fraction of the original number of tomb-carvings.

"Though ninteen days
In water I was lost,
Yet here I lay to
Moulder in the dust."

Quaint epitaph on a modern headstone.

From its ordinary size the Torrisdale stream would hardly seem capable of drowning anybody, but to one who has seen how a single thunderstorm can change a rippling burn into a rushing furious torrent, it is by no means an impossibility.

Near the abbey ruins, and on the opposite side of the stream (Allt nam Manach) close under its bank, is a charming spring, one of the Wishing or Holy wells, which has the usual virtues and miraculous powers ascribed to it—among others, says one writer, that any one drinking of its water may be married within the year! A pretty little stone pillar, nestling in ferns and water-plants, with a plain Latin cross carved upon it, is scooped out into a small basin (Pl. XXXVII. 3), into which the water is led.[3] It was erected by a Bishop Brown, who resided at Saddell in the beginning of the present century, and took a great interest in the conservation of the old relics, to replace an older one that had formerly stood there, but was in a very imperfect state. I was told it was an ancient relic, and that in the present restoration of it the bishop took particular care to have the old cross copied exactly. The spring probably supplied the *bénitier* and baptismal font of the abbey; while the stream which runs past—the "Friar's Burn"—would furnish the water needed for the ordinary use of the monastery. A short distance along the shore to the south is another spring, which goes by the name of Lady Mary's Well, so called in honour of a noble lady of the house of Saddell, who, according to the tradition, "would drink no "other water."

The Holy Well.

The origin of the name Saddell, Saundale, Sagadull, &c.,[4] as it was variously spelt in ancient documents, may possibly be a corruption of "Sandy dale," in reference to the beautiful strip of beach at the effluence of the valley; or, as a local interpretation would

Origin of the name "Saddell."

[1] One author asserts that only 4 out of 360 crosses remain at Iona, and that, according to tradition, the Presbyterian Synod of Argyll ordered sixty of them to be thrown into the sea.—Graham's Antiquities of Iona, p. 22.

[2] I forget if this was one of the carved fragments we dug up, but I have some idea it was.

[3] The place, thanks to the present proprietor of Saddell, has lately been put into very neat order, with a gravel-walk leading to it.

[4] The corruptions of this name are not few. In addition to the above we have such forms as Sandale, Saidill, Saddagull, Sauledene, Sorletus—this last form, as we have seen, embodying the Gaelic name of Sumarlid.

suggest, it may signify plain or dale of peace (Gael., Sàimh-dail). "Its traditional history," says the authority for the latter etymology, speaking of Saddell, "has been repeated to me "many times by old people, who received it from their ancestors. It says that a certain "individual murdered his stepfather, and after having committed such a horrid deed, he "always imagined, both by night and day, that he saw the murdered man before him, and, let "him try what he would, it was impossible to banish the apparition. He at length went to "Rome to confess his sins to the Pope, who ordered him to go home and build a church "between two hills and two waters, and that then his troubled mind would be relieved. He "made choice of Saddell, it being between two hills, and, dividing the water of the glen, it "formed an island,[1] and there he built the church of Samh-dail, as the name signifies."[2] I would suggest another possible derivation of the name in its form of Sagadale or Sagadull, as from the Gaelic word "Sagart," a priest; "Sagadale," therefore, the priest's dale. Most of the topographical names of Argyllshire are Celtic, with but a very slight intermixture of Norse, due to the early visits of the Scandinavian vikings. Two other names of interest in the locality I may here mention. On the burnside, near the abbey, is a spot called "Bealach-na-Mairbh" (pass of the dead), doubtless so called from the fact that in early times, on account of the place's great sanctity, the dead were frequently brought long distances to Saddell—even, it is supposed, from the neighbouring isles, for on the other side of the peninsula are one or two spots pointed out as halting-places for funeral processions when on the way here. This accords well with what we know of the Highlander's extreme attachment to, and preference for, the ancient burial-places. The other name is "Port-Righ" (the king's port), given to a pretty little bay about four miles to the north of Saddell, which can be entered with safety at all times of the tide, and where, according to tradition, Robert the Bruce landed, accompanied, adds one account, by Sir Nigel Campbell of Lochaw, Sir James Douglas, and Sir Robert Boyd, the party being the guests of Angus Oig of the Isles at Saddell, and afterwards at Dunavertie.[3]

Topographical names of interest connected with Saddell.

"Bealach-na-Mairbh" (pass of the dead).

Port-Righ, or the king's port.

It was customary, we are told, but at what period is not stated, to preserve in the church of Saddell a human skull, exposed in a prominent place, to keep the congregation in remembrance of death.[4] Such a usage savours strongly of the dismal era of monumental art already discussed, and we may guess that the contemplation of the unsightly object would not add much cheerfulness to the religious meditations of the worshippers. Another traditional notion obtains respecting Saddell, which the same writer notices—namely, that the abbey is still on the list of religious houses kept at Rome, and that prayers are regularly offered for it to this day. From a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church whom I lately had occasion to consult on some other matter connected with the

Tradition of a curious custom observed in the Abbey church.

Tradition connecting the monastery with Rome.

[1] This is incorrect. The site of the abbey churchyard seems to have formed what in Gaelic is termed a "socach," or fork-shaped tongue of land, but certainly not an island.

[2] Macintosh's Kintyre. I suspect this traditional story is merely another dressing up of the seannachy's tale of the murder by Donald "de Insulis" of his uncle Dugal.

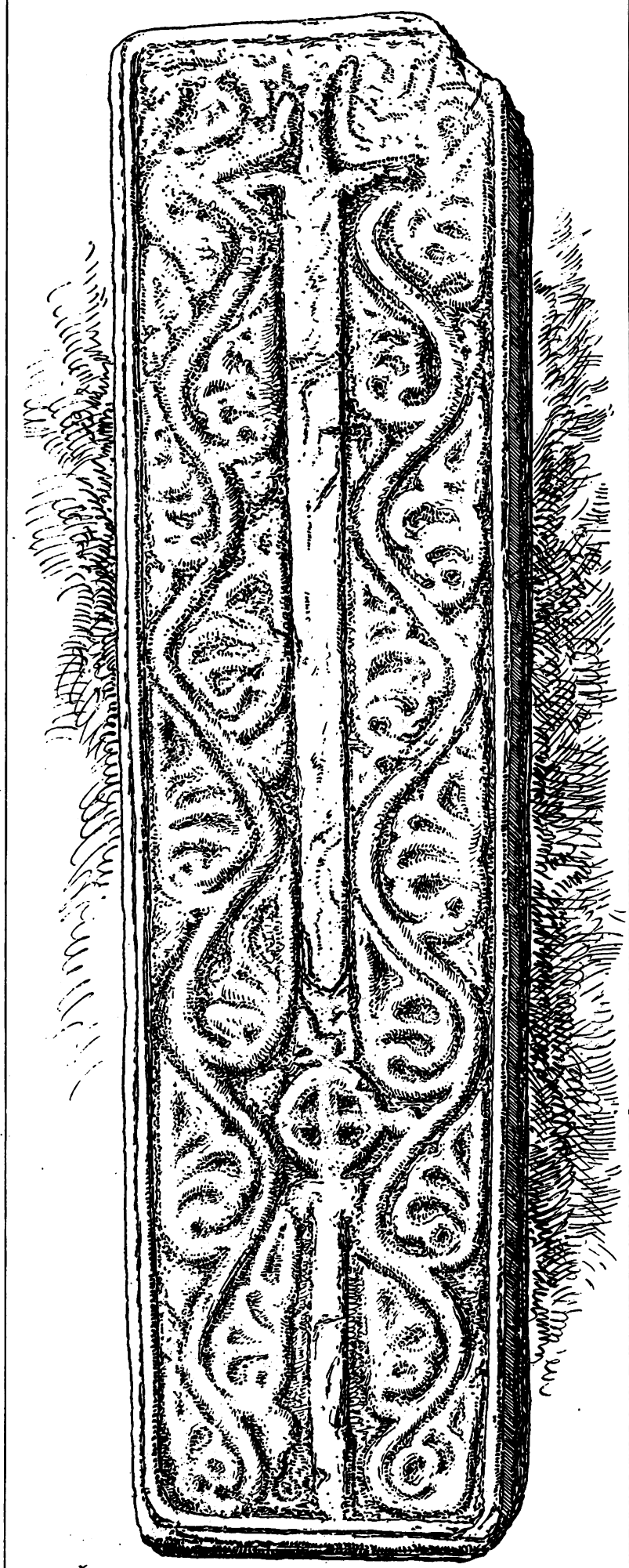
[3] New Statistical Account (parish of Saddell).

[4] Macintosh's Kintyre.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT SADDELL ABBEY, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

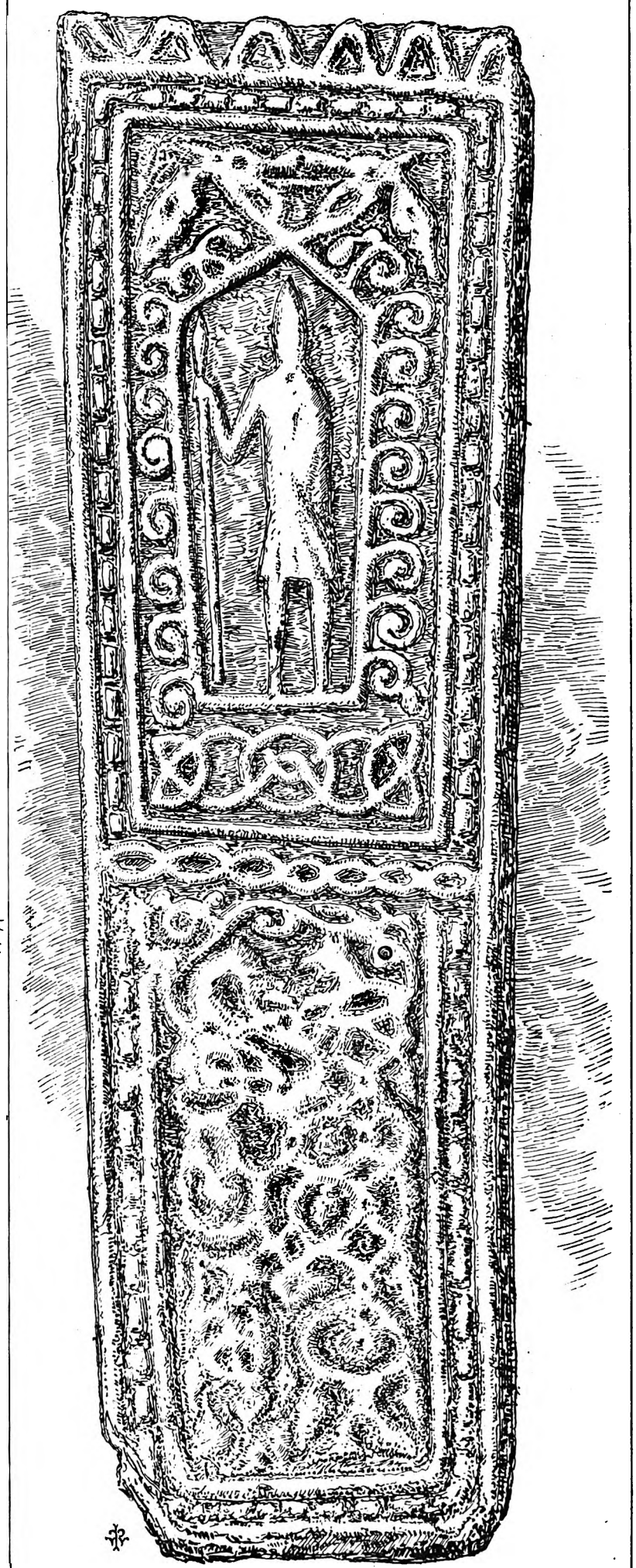
PLATE XLVI.

1



SCALE $\frac{2}{15}$

2



SCALE $\frac{2}{15}$

Drawn by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.& A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

present volume, and to whose courtesy in meeting my inquiries I am indebted, I learnt a fact of the same kind which renders the Saddell tradition intelligible. It seems it is not uncommon to find the names of monasteries long since extinct still borne upon the official archives of the Curia at Rome; and he instanced an ancient Carmelite house situated in a suburb of Edinburgh of which every local vestige has disappeared, yet for which a titular superior is still regularly appointed with the usual formalities, precisely as if it were still flourishing. A curious illustration this of the tenacity with which the Roman Church still clings to its traditions of ecumenical jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XVII.

Notice of the united parish of Saddell and Skipness — *continued.*

LEAVING Saddell, there are no traces of any ecclesiastical site elsewhere till we reach Claonaig, where the road along the east coast of Kintyre leaves the shore and trends westward. Here a spot is indicated by tradition as having been an ancient burial-ground, and the little stream which runs past it bears corroborative evidence of the fact in its name of "Allt-an-Cille," but there is nothing whatever to be seen on the ground. About three miles further on—that is, some eighteen or nineteen distant from Saddell—the point of Skipness (or Schypinche, as it was anciently called) protrudes itself into the Sound of Kilbrannan, and projects into the estuary, dividing what is called Loch Fyne from the Sound of Kilbrannan. Near the extremity of this point, and quite close to the more modern house, stands the fine old ruin of Skipness Castle, and adjoining it the chapel of Kilbrannan or S. Columba, for it bears the latter name in one early document. This chapel, we should judge, was probably the principal appanage of its parent establishment at Kilcalmonell, from its receiving special mention with it in the early chronicle, and also from its situation so near a castle of such antiquity and importance. This castle, I may just note *en passant*, is one of the finest and earliest in its architectural details of any in the Highlands, and may safely be referred to the twelfth or thirteenth century, or even earlier. With respect to the chapel, as we are introduced by the Paisley chartulary to a church of S. Columba at Schepehinche in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Dufgall Syfynson was doubtless occupant of the castle, the only question we need ask ourselves is whether the present edifice and the one spoken of are identical. And, considering the character of its details which are evidently early English,[1] there is every probability that they are. The chapel has some pretty features, and is altogether in a better state of preservation, thanks to the Skipness lairds, than any other of the Kintyre churches (Pls. XLVII. or Frontispiece to LIII.) Its figure is of the same elongated kind elsewhere prevalent, measuring internally 73 by 19 feet or thereabouts, and 82½ by 27 externally,[2] its walls ranging between four and five feet in thickness.[3] The irregular arrangement of the windows again strikes one. In the south wall are four, dividing the space with tolerable regularity; but in the north only two

Name of "Allt-an-Cille."

Chapel of Kilbrannan (also called S. Columba's).

Its architectural details.

Windows.

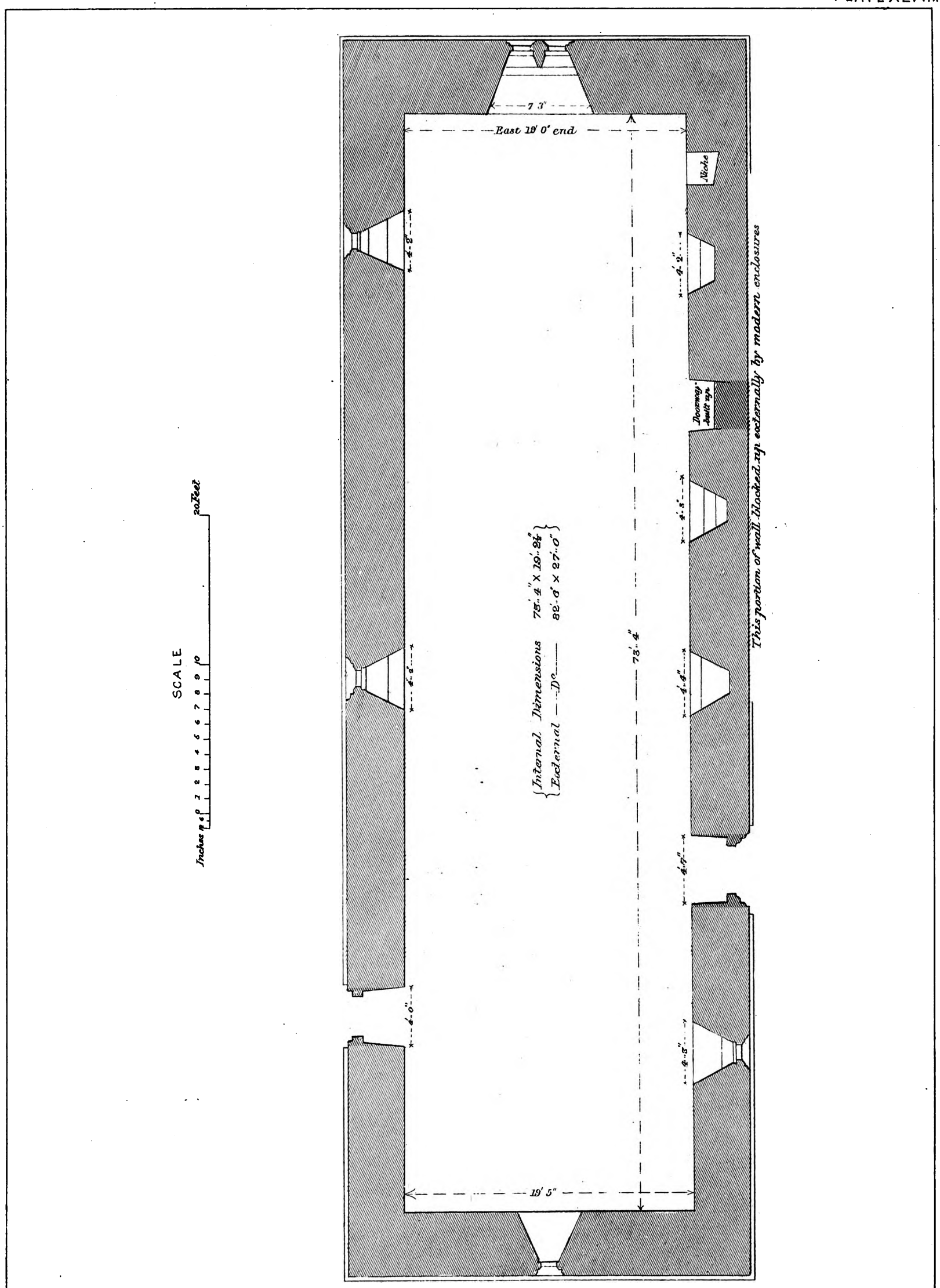
[1] Advanced first-pointed, according to Muir.

[2] Agreeing exactly with Mr Muir's measurements. He calls this church the largest in Kintyre, and probably also in Argyll, but he must have overlooked Saddell, which, excluding wings, was 134 by 26 feet.

[3] On a second visit to Skipness I had time to take a plan of the building drawn to scale (Pl. XLVIII.), showing mouldings and some additional sketches of the details. The dimensions of opposite walls vary by two or three inches, the average being very close to the figures given above, exclusive of the plinth, which projects three inches more.

PLAN OF KILBRANNAN CHAPEL, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XLVIII.



Surveyed & plotted on the ground by Capt T.P. White, R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

SKETCHES AT KILBRANNAN, SKIPNESS, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE XLIX.

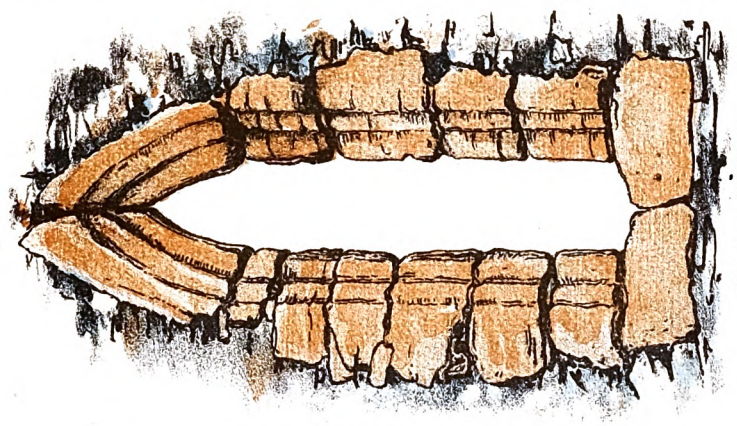
3

Kilbrannan Chapel — from the S. West

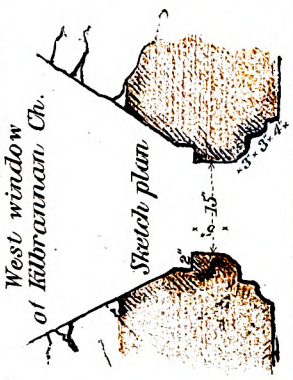
5

View of Kilbrannan Chapel- looking towards Arran

2

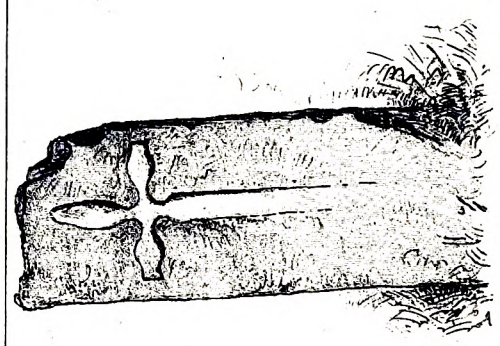


West window of Kilbrannan Ch.



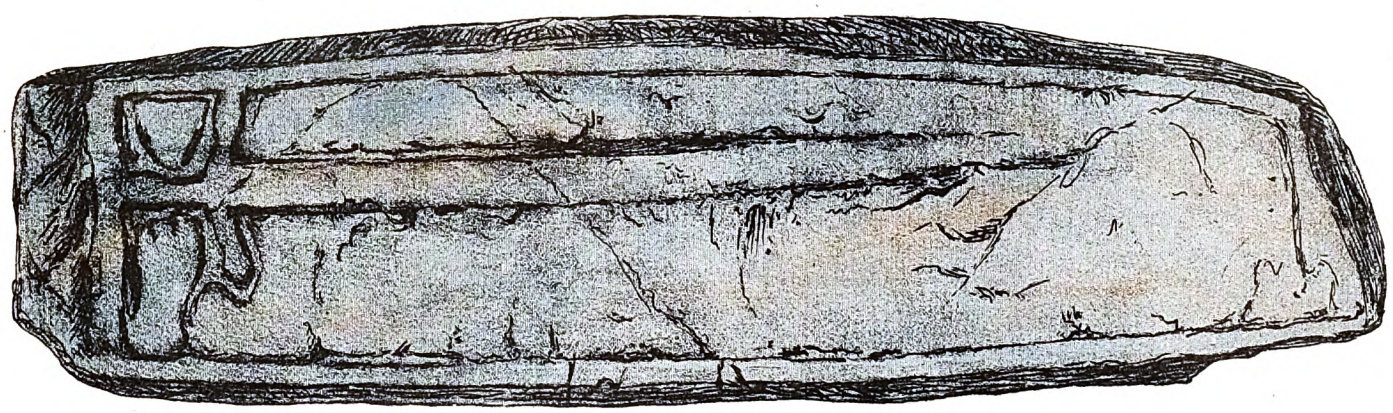
Sketch plan

4



Slab in a garden fence at Kilmahuag

1



monumental slab at Kilbrannan

Sketched in Water Colour by Cap^t T. P. White, R. E.

W. & A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

SKETCHES AT KILBRANNAN, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE L.

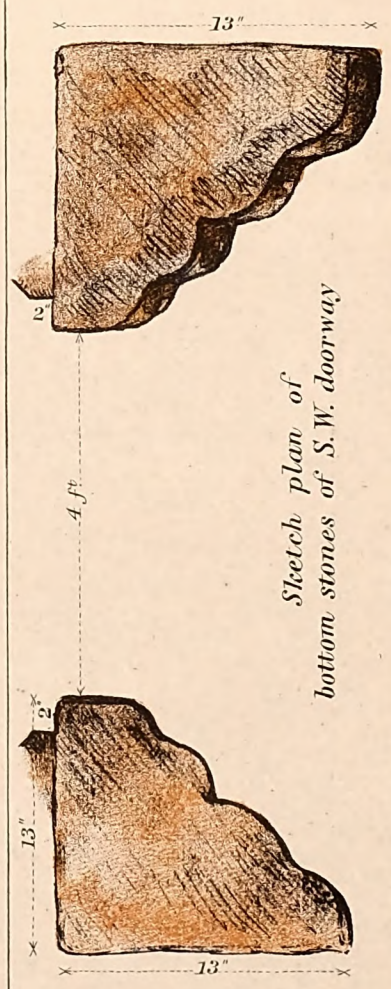
1

East end of the chapel
(External view)

2

External view of S. West doorway

3



Sketch plan of bottom stones of S.W. doorway

Sketched in Water Colour by Capt T. P. White, R.E.

W.&A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

—one near the east angle, the other a little west of the centre. This north-east angle window, with a corresponding one in the south side, were evidently to light the chancel division, but that would still leave only one window opposite to three for the nave. The west gable contains a similar window, and above this is another smaller one, square-headed. This gable, which, as well as the other, is entire, is carried up into what suggests the remains of a bell-cot.[1] The use of bell-gables at the western end of small chapels that had no regular belfries, appears to have been very frequent in the early English style. All the windows are pointed lancets, deeply splayed in their recesses, these latter being headed with the common form of Gothic arch. Of the three doorways one admitted to the chancel on the south side, and the other two are situated near the west end, but not opposite each other, that in the south wall being placed further east to make room for a corner window. Both these last doorways (Pl. LI. 2 and 4) have pointed heads, and the south-west one has jambs prettily moulded, though plain in style, square or nearly so to the inside, and deeply splayed externally, the splay being worked into an alternation of four rounds and three hollows, the central hollow, which is the deepest, being brought to a square angle (Pl. L. 2, 3). The window-mouldings are of similar character in their external splays, but slighter in proportion to their size, their effect in elevation being as of one round and two hollows. To the east of the south-west door a modern mausoleum has been built against the wall, so that the external details of the openings there are blocked up (Pl. XLIX, 3). This is a great pity, and much mars the appearance of the chapel. The chancel-window I have still to mention. Whether seen from the inside or outside it is a charming feature —quite a little gem of harmonious effect (Frontispiece and Pl. L. 1). It is of the slender sharply-pointed type, with a single mullion dividing it into two similarly-pointed lights, and leaving a third very small opening at their head, while the interior arch of the recess is nearly semicircular. The contrast of the bright red sandstone introduced into the escoinsons and outer linings of the openings throughout, with their intermediate bluish-grey rubble, is a very happy treatment of colour.[2] What simple mouldings there are in the chancel-window are unmistakably early English. We have the broad single chamfer on the inner edge of the escoinson arch—but not continued down the jamb—the small projection at the edges of the sill, the rounds and hollows as before, and a mullion splaying off at both ends to a narrow flat edge, the inner splay being more pointed than the outer. At the east angle of the south wall is a piscina or elemental niche. The splayed jambs of all the window-recesses are quite plain, and the recesses are stepped down from the sill apparently in three ledges. The walls of the building are still entire. The place has a somewhat unusual look inside from a number of trees which have got in, and shot up to a considerable size. The view across the Sound is one of exceeding beauty; for yonder

Doorways.

Chancel window.

Picturesque view from the chapel.

[1] On my last visit to Skipness, a perforation in the wall immediately below the sill of the small upper window was pointed out to me, which I had not previously noticed. The worn appearance of this opening at once suggested a bell-rope passed through it from above and worked from the outside.

[2] The frequent use of bright-coloured sandstones in the door and window linings of the old Argyllshire churches has been referred to at p. 51. Kilbrannan Chapel being an excellent representative specimen of this, I have thought it desirable to give the sketches of it (in Pls. XLVII., XLIX., and L.) their local colouring.

majestic pile confronting us from the farther side of the watery highway, a wilderness of peaks and ravines, bears the well-known outlines of that most picturesque of islands, Arran.

Confusion of dedication.

I have spoken of the chapel's bearing two names, and here arises an element of confusion. For while, as we have seen, everything points to this having been the church alluded to in the Paisley Register as S. Columba's, locally it would appear to be known only by the name of Kilbrannan, which also attaches to the neighbouring estuary. A third kindred name, revealing the source whence all were derived, is applied to a small creek hard by the chapel, and reappears in a slightly-varied form in a sandy bay near Eascairt, some six miles distant to the southward. In the former case the designation is "Brann-a "Phuirt," in the latter "Brian Puirt," both obviously signifying the same thing, which, when viewed in relation to the name of Kilbrannan, we can have no hesitation in fixing as Brennan or Brandon's Port. See, then, what a hold the associations of this celebrated Western saint have got in the locality! and there being apparently no other ecclesiastical site in Arran or Bute [1] which would account for the name of the Sound, we are forced to bring home these associations to the neighbourhood of Skipness. Yet, so far as I know, not a writer ever mentions the name of Kilbrannan,[2] or does anything but follow the monastic scribe in giving the chapel the title of S. Columba;—a proof this how essential it is to ally local inquiry with documentary evidence in all cases of the kind. With regard to the duality of name, I conceive it is to be accounted for only upon one of two hypotheses,—either that the draughtsman of the chartulary, responsible for the mention of S. Columba, whether in transcribing from an earlier copy or from the original document, made a mistake, and the mistake got perpetuated; or that two patron saints were adopted at different times. An instance I may mention of two dedications attached to the same site occurs in Ardchattan parish, where the older one to S. Modan has given place to a more modern one to S. Cathan. But the well-established local name is clearly the safest, and has accordingly been adopted on the Ordnance map.

Duality of name.

Now let us turn to the contents of the document itself, which is peculiarly interesting from the information we are enabled to derive from it:—

Dugall Syfynson's charter to the Paisley monks respecting Kilbrannan chapel.

"To all the sons and the faithful of holy mother Church who may see or hear this "present writing, Dufgal, the son of Syfyn, greeting. Be it known to your community" (*i. e.*, the Paisley monks), "that I, in respect of charity and out of my own pure free-will, "and with assent of John my heir, have given, granted, and by this present charter of mine "confirmed, for the welfare of my soul, of my spouses Juliana and Johanna, and of my "ancestors as well as successors, to God, S. James, and S. Mirinus of Passelet, and to "the monks now or hereafter ministering (Deo servientibus) at that same place, the right "of patronage of the church of S. Colmanel, which is situated in my territory of Kentyr,

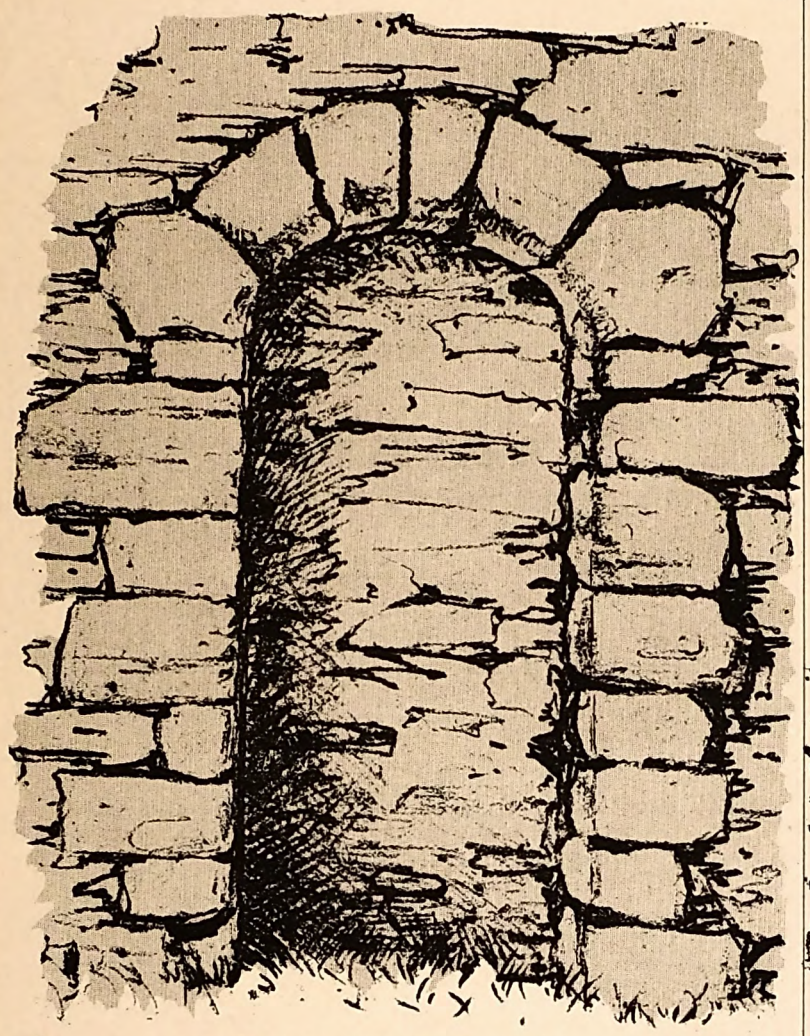
[1] Since the above was written, I found mention in the 'Scottish Kalendars,' on the authority of Fordun, of a cell in Bute erected by S. Brandan of Clonfert. I am not aware, however, that this has been verified locally, and no site in the island is named by the right reverend author as appertaining to the saint.

[2] If I except allusion to the Sound by Bishop Forbes. He was, of course, unaware of the names at Skipness.

SKETCHES AT KILBRANNAN CHAPEL, KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE.

PLATE LI.

1

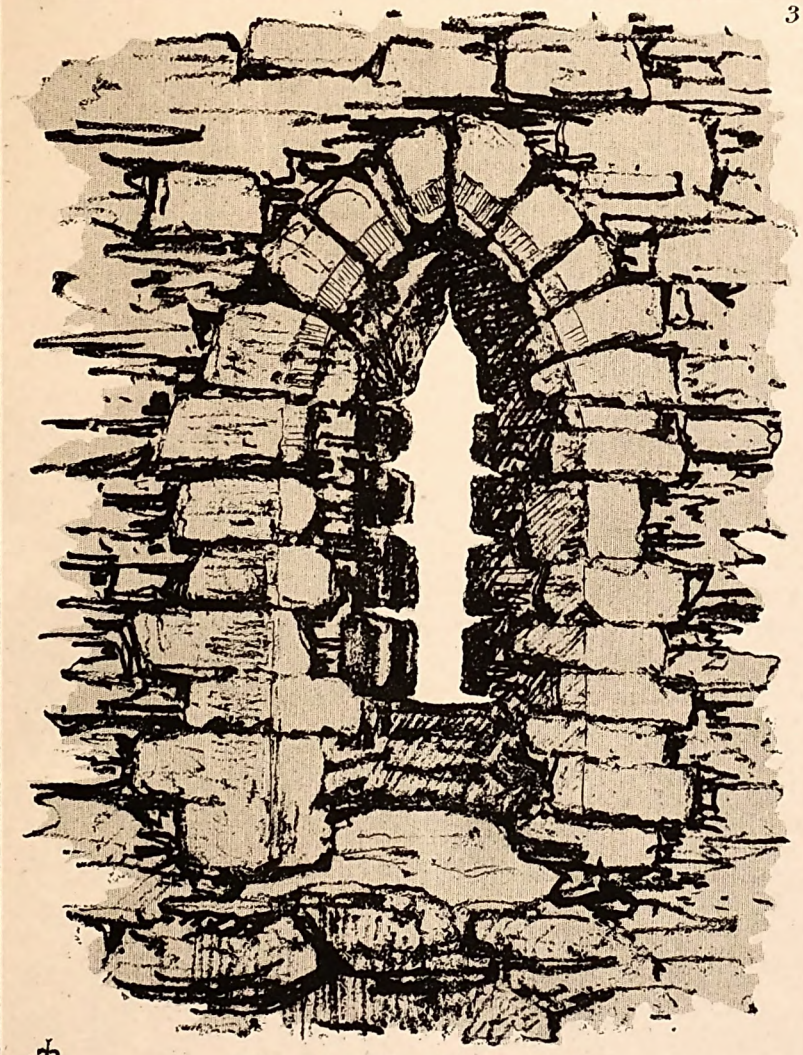


Inside View of S. East doorway

2

Inside View of S. West doorway

3



Window in South Wall

4

Inside View of North doorway

Sketched by Cap.t T.P. White R.E.

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston Edinburgh.

" for the purposes of a free, pure, and perpetual almsgiving, with all pertinents, lands, " liberties, and easements (?) (aysiamentis) which do or shall appertain to the aforesaid " church; together with the chapel of S. Columba which is situated close by my castle of " Schepehinche" (Skipness), "after the decease of Clement, rector of the same church; to " be had and held in perpetuity by the aforesaid monks of Passelet, as freely, quietly, " peacefully, and honourably, and quit of all secular burden, as the foresaid monks hold " and possess other churches by any one's gift throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland. " Moreover, without expectation of changing this my purpose and disposition by any " subsequent testament, I have given and bequeathed my body, wheresoever I may die, " to be buried with the rites of the Church in the monastery of Passelet, there to rest in " time to come; in testimony of which thing I have affixed my seal to this present writing. " These being the witnesses: Lord Walter Steward, Earl of Menteth; the Lords " Thomas Croc and Fynley of Stragrif, soldiers; Master Symon of Bygref, precentor of " Glasgow; Master Ada of Lochmaban; Lord William, chaplain of Passelet; David " Syward, clerk; and many others. Given at Passelet on Palm Sunday (die dominica " in ramis palmarum), in the year of grace one thousand two hundred and sixty-one."[1]

From this ancient document, written two years before Hacon's expedition, we gather that Dufgal must have been a powerful chieftain, and that he was doubtless proprietor of a large territory in the north of Kintyre, ranging at least from Clachan to Skipness, though most likely under the suzerainty of Angus, Lord of the Isles. And there can be little doubt that the chapel alluded to is the actual one now standing, whose quaint architecture coincides so closely with that of the fine old castle where the chief in his twofold married life in all probability resided.

Dedication to S. Brendan.

A word now as to the S. Brendan or Brandon of the dedication, who may, I think, without unreasonable speculation, be assumed to have visited the locality, and in so doing to have perhaps landed at one of the inlets called by his name. There are two SS. Brendan in Scoto-Irish hagiology, associated respectively with Clonfert and Birr in Ireland. They were contemporaries; and both, as the annalists tell us, were frequent visitors to the Western Isles, while both were equally honoured by their friendship and connection with Columba. The Birr saint is credited by Adamnan with having on one occasion, somewhere in the West we may presume, been vouchsafed a vision of the holy angels "peram- " bulating the plain in company with S. Columba the Blest;"[2] and again we are told of angels whom Columba distinctly saw bearing away the soul of the blessed S. Brendan of Birr.[3] Also we learn that on his death in 573, a festival in this Brendan's honour, with a special day for him in the calendar, was instituted at Hy by Columba's order. On the other hand, he of Clonfert was on one occasion the Abbot of Hy's guest in Hinba,[4] and he also receives mention from Adamnan, who styles him "Mocu Alti." He is, besides, associated with S. Cainnech in a very early MS. poem, commonly attributed to Columba

S. Brendan of Birr.

Of Clonfert.

[1] Registr. Monast. Pass., p. 121. [2] Adamnan, Lib. III. cap. 3.
[3] Vita S. Colomb. The Bishop of Brechin only notices Brendan of Clonfert.
[4] Thought to be Oransay.

though, according to Reeves, of somewhat later date. Which of them is commemorated at Skipness it is not easy to say. The existence of other sites in Scotland dedicated to the saint of Clonfert—namely, at Boyndie in Banffshire, Ailech (Alyth) in Perthshire, and the islands of Heth, Tiree, and Seil—may probably be considered a strong argument for adopting him in preference to the other; and if we accept Fordun's statement[1] that this saint had a cell in Bute, the case in his favour becomes still stronger.[2]

Another ancient poem has the following quatrain referring to one of the Brendans :—

> "It is in the West sweet Brendan is,
> And Colum, son of Crinthann,
> And in the West fair Baithin shall be,
> And in the West shall Adamnan be."[3]

Now, as Adamnan was unquestionably located in Western Scotland, we may infer that the author of the poem is alluding to the same part of Britain, and not to Ireland, in speaking of Brendan. Respecting the founder of the monastery of Birr, a curious entry appears in the Book of Tighernac against the date 559: "Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo "in aerem;"[4] though to square this date with the admitted one of his death, the saint must have come down to earth again to die fourteen years later! Then there is the story, gracefully told by Montalembert, of Columba's appearance in early life before the synod of Teilte, which had excommunicated him for stirring up animosity against King Diarmid; and how he met there this same S. Brendan, who beheld round his head a halo of fire, and predicted the future fame of his afterwards illustrious brother. Concerning the saint of Clonfert, the Bishop of Brechin has collected some very interesting matter from the Breviary of Aberdeen, and the earlier of two remarkable biographies of him in the Brussels Library.[5] The last of the incidents given from the latter is the most striking, from its having less of the myth, and more of the human in it. The aged father, in his ninety-sixth year, was come to the close of his earthly voyages. His sister Briga was with him, and after the last rites had been administered, he said to her, "Commend my departure in "your prayers;" and Briga said, "What do you fear?" "I fear," he said, "if I go alone, "if the journey be dark, the unknown region, the presence of the king, and the sentence of "the Judge."[6] This, from one whose name, myths and miracle aside, has come down to

Legends of the SS. Brendan.

[1] I have not as yet succeeded in tracing the reference to Brendan's Bute cell in Mr Skene's edition of Fordun. The passage there beginning "Eo tempore (DXXXII.) Sanctus Brendanus in Scocia floruit," thus proceeds: "A man of great abstinence, renowned for his virtues, and the father of well-nigh three thousand "monks. Likewise, while on a seven years' voyage searching for the Happy Isles (Fortunatas insulas) he "saw many wonderful things. By him was baptised and regularly educated Sanct Machutes, also called "Macloveus, who also distinguished himself in Britain by his miracles and sanctity." This is doubtless the S. Machute we have met with in Sumarlid's biography.

[2] The Martyrology of Aberdeen also assigns Bute as the Scottish scene of the cultus of this saint.—Forbes, Scot. Kalend.

[3] Reeves, I think, gives this.

[4] Ibid.

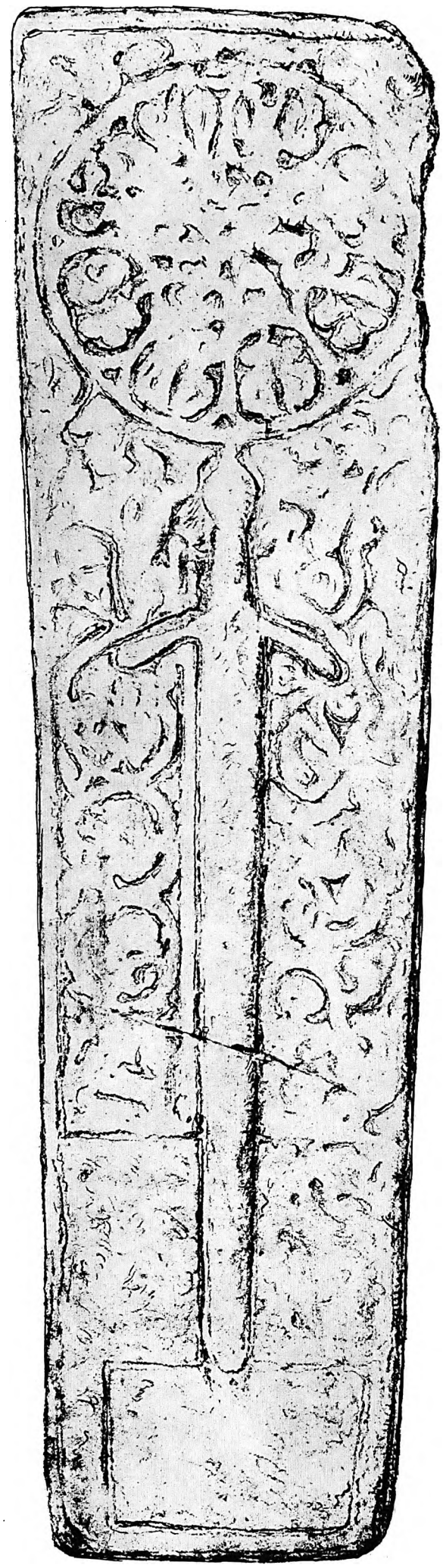
[5] It was from the later and more mythic of these biographies, says Bp. Forbes, that Canon Kingsley appears to have drawn the materials for the sketch of this saint in his "Hermits." Merely to read its enormously lengthy category of miracles, to say nothing of their extravagant character, is enough to take one's breath away.

[6] Scot. Kalend., p. 286.

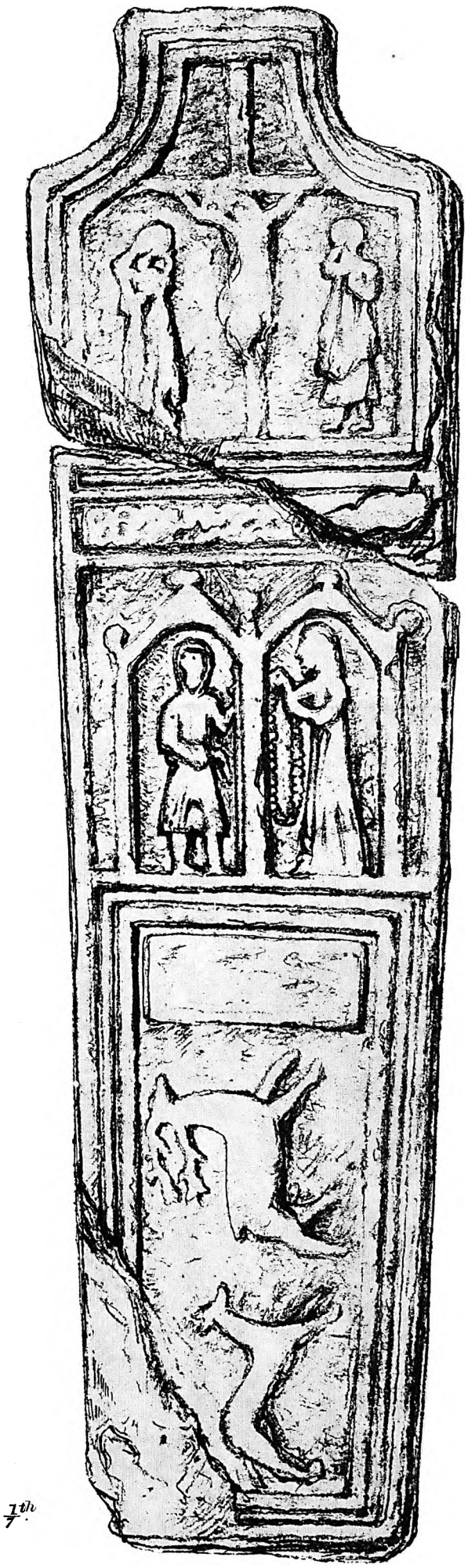
MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILBRANNAN · KINTYRE,- ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE LII.

1



2



Scale $\frac{1}{7}$th.

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

Photolithographed by W.&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

us through thirteen centuries as among the most illustrious representatives of primitive piety, brings strongly to one's mind those grand old lines of the "Dies Iræ":—

"Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus?
Cum vix justus sit securus!"

Adamnan's story of four Kintyre saints.

One more anecdote of S. Brendan of Clonfert. It is from Adamnan, and connects him with SS. Cainnech and Cormac, already noticed in relation to Kintyre. "On another "occasion, four holy saints (monastic founders) crossing from Ireland (Scotia) to visit S. "Columba, found him in the island of Hinba. The names of these illustrious men were "Comgall, descendant of Araidhe; Cainnech, descendant of Dalan; Brendan, great-grand-"son of Alta; and Cormac, of the race of Leathain. These with one consent resolved that "S. Columba should, in their presence and within church, consecrate the holy mysteries of "the Eucharist. Who (Columba) complying with their desire ('jussioni'-command) enters "the church with them on Sunday as usual, and there, during celebration of the solemn rites "of the Mass (sollemnia missarum), Sanct Brendan, as he afterwards made known to Comgal "and Cainnech, saw from the head of S. Columba as he stood before the altar and conse-"crated the sacred offering, a globe of fire, hairy and intensely bright, rise upward like a "pillar, and continue burning until the celebration of these most holy mysteries was accom-"plished."[1] It was at one time a great point with those of a particular theological school to make out that the early Columban Church was untainted by Romish superstitions—that "Presbyter" meant something much more Protestant than priest; and so on in the same strain. But whichever way our sympathies may lie, he would indeed be a model of ingenuity who should succeed in squeezing out of episodes like the above any approximation to the usages of Presbyterian worship as we understand it in the present day.

Sculptured slabs at Kilbrannan.

The mediæval monuments at Kilbrannan have still to be described. There were only four to be drawn, till, on a recent visit, I found and sketched a fifth with a sword on it (Pl. XLIX. 1) which had been lately unearthed inside the chapel from a chaos of rubbish. By the sword-handle on this tombstone are two objects like a human hand and escutcheon. The rest of the slabs which lie outside the building are beautiful (Pls. LII. & LIII.), and three of them rather uncommon specimens of their class. One of these last, which unfortunately is much weather-worn (Pl. LII. 1), exhibits the sword centrally placed, with a rich wheel-pattern ornament at its head, a blank panel at the foot, animals and foliage. Another (Pl. LIII. 1), with one corner broken off, is filled up for about three-quarters of its length by a graceful leaf and stem design, which shapes itself below into a pair of circles occupying the full width of the slab—and immediately above them a square, where can be made out a pair of S. Andrew's crosses intersecting in the centre. The bottom quarter has been left perfectly plain, but divided into three panels, as if meant for an inscription. The third (Pl. LIII. 2), with small figure of warrior, is, with trifling variation, of the same type as we have found at Saddell and other places. It is a very rich example, however, having a double row of dog-tooth ornaments worked along its

The wheel-pattern slab.

Another beautifully-designed carving.

The warrior's slab.

[1] Vita S. Colomb.

edge, and inside that, round the niche of the figure, a gathered-up cable pattern,[1] while within that again is a third fringe of tracery, till the stone is almost heavy with ornamentation. In the long panel below the figure we have a pair of dogs above, and a couple of reversed stags below, their legs and tails connected by intermediate foliage. Underneath the stags, another deer and a dog after it. The two curious loops that run out of the marginal beading at the top corners are another feature of this peculiar type of tombstone.

The "rosary" slab.

The fourth slab (Pl. LII. 2) is unique in Kintyre. It is divided into three compartments, that at the head representing the crucifixion, with two apparently female figures beside the cross in the attitude of weeping, intended, perhaps, for the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. In the middle compartment are two niches, one containing a man spear in hand, the other a long-robed woman like a nun holding up a string of beads, which I presume she is supposed to be telling. The bottom compartment has a noble stag with splendid antlers, and a deer-hound pursuing, both very spiritedly outlined.[2] The top angles of the slab are scooped out into quarter-circle shape, which is, I believe, unique; nor have I ever seen before a representation of a lady telling her beads. Most unluckily, this slab is broken in two, and otherwise disfigured by being deprived of a large piece off one of the bottom corners. The present proprietor of Skipness, however, who is warmly interested in the preservation of everything antique in this interesting locality, is taking every care of these slabs, and may perhaps range them side by side. Indeed, it is only just to his predecessors to bear testimony to the very favourable contrast the state of this chapel presents to that of some other sites of equally sacred character elsewhere. One of the guide-books informs us that "one very beautiful sculptured cross, once upright," still remains here. I made particular inquiries, but could hear or see nothing of it. I suspect it was the rosary slab the writer was referring to.

Names of Lag Kilmichael and Knock Kilmichael.

I have not yet spoken of the names of two farms occurring in the parish which may seem to point to a fourth religious site somewhere in their neighbourhood. These farms are Lag Kilmichael and Knock Kilmichael, lying between Carradale and Sunadale. But nothing has been identified; nor has any tradition of an ancient burial-place been met with hereabouts, though there is one, supposed to be modern, still in use about a mile or so off which would have answered very well as to site. The fact of there being three other Kilmichaels in the district would be a difficulty in the way of our bringing home to this particular one any reference to the name which we might find in the early records.

Name of "Bailean Cleirich."

A probable relic of the days of episcopal rule is the name of an old cot-house at Skipness—"Bailean Cleirich" (the Clerk's hamlet). I do not remember any other names of ecclesiastical interest in the united parish of Saddell and Skipness.

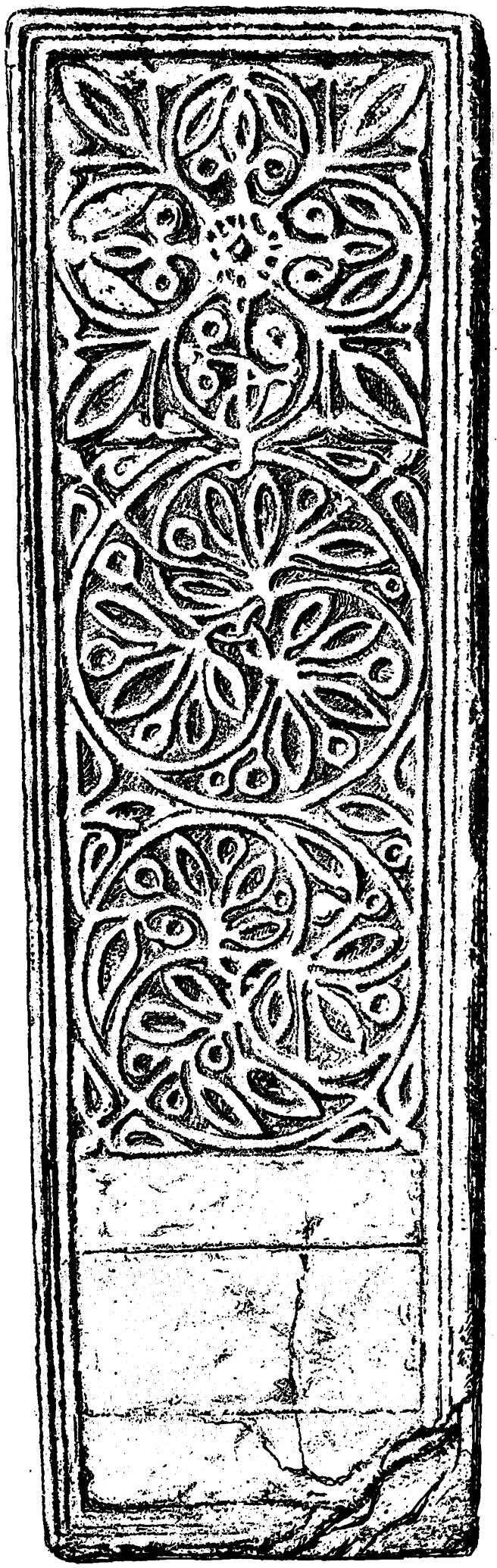
[1] Identical with what is carved round the edge of S. Ciaran's stone (Pl. XII. 1).

[2] If I remember rightly, Mr Campbell (Islay), in his 'Popular Tales of the West Highlands,' has a sketch of this monument.

MONUMENTAL SLABS AT KILBRANNAN - KINTYRE, - ARGYLLSHIRE

PLATE LIII.

1



Scale $\frac{2}{13}$ths.

2

Scale $\frac{1}{7}$th.

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

Photolithographed by W&A.K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concluding remarks.

WHAT has been said brings us to the conclusion of our present subject. And though we may have had nothing grand or extensive, in the way of architecture, brought before us—though the beauties of the little modest structures, where many centuries ago the inhabitants of Kintyre held their worship, are beauties in miniature,—and though the historical and traditional associations of a locality necessarily at all times remote from the great centres of the kingdom may appear of minor interest to the general reader,—I yet venture to hope that that subject has been shown to have roots in it reaching deep and far into the domain of history and art. The clustering of churches so densely through the district, especially towards its southern extremity, seems to speak of a populousness and civilisation more akin to that of the adjoining coasts of the Scottish Lowlands than might have been fancied. Then, too, it is impossible to help noticing how closely in their manners, customs, and general *entourage*, these West Argyll folk were intertwined with the Irish across the water. And thus—in the matter of the crosses and slab-sculptures, church buildings, nomenclature, ethnological peculiarities, and so on—what a wide and interesting field of comparison between the two countries seems to open out, as yet but little explored! The domain is a very extensive one, and surely worthy of attention from Irish as well as Scottish archæologists. And to any one who will visit Kintyre for these or kindred objects, there is much to repay him for the trouble of the journey. The charm of its soft, half-Highland, half-Lowland scenery is ever present throughout its archæological associations; indeed, the character of quietness and solitude in the situation of its various sites and relics of the past combines, so to speak, in a sort of harmony with the landscape beauty of its grassy dells, gorse patches, and breezy sheep-pastures or wilder moorlands, somewhat after the happy manner of the linked patterns on the monuments.

Noteworthy clustering of the ancient religious edifices of Kintyre.

Ancient connection of Kintyre with Ireland.

The landscape scenery of Kintyre harmonises with the situation of its chapels.

A word more with respect to these same monuments. It is perfectly true under certain conditions that

Neglect of mediæval monuments in the West Highlands.

> "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever:
> Its loveliness increases; it can never
> Pass into nothingness;"—

but to realise the poet's words, the object which possesses the beauty must remain in existence. If these exquisitely-chased slabs are to go on being smashed, and in their dismembered condition find their way into stone walls; or be mutilated till their most beautiful features are destroyed; or be turned over and remain like helpless tortoises, wrong side

upwards; or be sunk under ground or buried under an incubus of noxious loads of rubbish, or worse,—it is evident that instead of being things of joy, they will soon, to all intents and purposes, pass into nothingness, and become mere remembrances for lively regret. Up to the present time there can be no doubt whatever that immense numbers of these ancient historical memorials throughout the West Highlands have perished; and it is much to be feared that the spirit of indifference, if not actual hostility, which has led to their wholesale destruction, is not yet quite extinct. In England, things have long ago mended in this respect; and the value of the national monuments is almost everywhere acknowledged and their preservation enforced. For the most part, the mediæval tombstones and effigies have been, where they lay outside in the churchyard, removed to the interior of the church; and every relic connected with our ancestral worship or sepulture has been carefully treasured up and placed with pride where it could be seen to the best advantage. But in Scotland this is far from being always the case. The state of the old Highland burial-grounds in particular, is often wretched in the extreme. No one seems responsible for keeping them neat, or free from cattle, pigs, or any other four-footed beast that chooses to range about in them. Often not a fence is to be seen; or if there ever has been one, it may be in such a state of dilapidation as to be utterly useless. In one case, I remember finding the interior of one of the most venerable and interesting ancient chapels in Scotland converted into an unsavoury cow-byre, simply because it was left unfenced, and without anything to bar the doorway against the ingress of cattle. This chapel, among other precious relics, contains a most exquisitely carved slab, which it was scarcely possible to approach, owing to the state of the surrounding floor. I merely give this as an example—the worst one, it is only fair to say, I have yet met with. But it illustrates how, for want of a little supervision, these treasures of antiquity may be condemned to neglect and ill-usage.

State of matters better in England.

Neglected condition of so many of the old burial-grounds in the West;

At the same time, it is only due to Highland proprietors to say that this state of matters is rarely if ever the result of want of will on their part. The country gentlemen in the West are as anxious as those elsewhere to do justice to the national memorials, wherever their attention has been drawn to them. Indeed, in my own experience, the greatest interest has generally been manifested by those upon whose property these old burial-grounds are situated. Nor are the country clergymen, so far as I have ascertained, a whit behind-hand in veneration for, and desire to pay all respect to, anything of archæological interest within their knowledge and districts. The fact is, there are some difficulties in the way of the conservation of these burial-grounds. In the first place, I believe the churchyard areas in Scotch parishes are in trust under the kirk-session or presbytery—an arrangement which I have always understood came into effect at the Reformation. The parish minister has not, I believe, sole custody of the old burial-grounds in his parish, nor if he had, would it be fair to tax him altogether with the charge of them. Another difficulty is, that so many private families, frequently long after they have left the ancient hereditary seat, still retain the old family burial-place, and nothing in it can be meddled with. Then, again, the minister and laird who is heritor and part-trustee in

but not altogether the fault of the proprierors.

Difficulties in the conservation of these burial-grounds.

the parish church, are both very much hampered in any conservating measures they might be inclined to adopt towards the old tombstones, from the fact that these latter are regarded as the private property of particular families, perhaps of quite humble position, simply because, as I have already explained, some predecessor, father or grandfather it may be, was suffered to appropriate any one of these beautiful carvings he might chance to find lying unclaimed about the churchyard. Besides which, every householder in the parish is allowed what we so often read on the modern gravestones in Scotland, "a burial-place "appointed for his family;" and the mediæval slab once placed over this sacredly private spot, it is no easy matter to get the family to part with it. These are some of the difficulties that have to be allowed for; and when we remember the old saying that "what is every "man's business is no man's business," we can understand that amongst one and another, all partly responsible for the proper oversight and maintenance of these old places, the work is too often neglected. In many cases, however, the most praiseworthy efforts have been made by proprietors to remedy existing defects in this respect, and often with success. It is possible that some simple plan of taking up and ranging the several carved slabs side by side within the ruins of the chapels might be adopted with advantage, and without offence to any one, suitable stones being supplied for the graves from which the older tombstones had been thus abstracted. In addition to this, if the ground covered by these church-sites were kept neat and free of weeds by an occasional day's labour, which hardly a single proprietor would grudge bestowing on them—if the areas within the ruined walls of the churches themselves could be simply levelled and turfed over[1]—if any remnants of the old church-architecture which might turn up, such as fonts, piscinas, moulded stones, and so on, were to be brought inside and neatly arranged side by side, or set up as nearly as might be in their original position—and if, lastly, the burial-ground were fenced round, and any breaches in existing fences, cracks, or dilapidations, visible in the chapel-ruins looked to, and repaired in time,—the expense would be but a trifle, and, in place of the unsightly weed-beds one so often sees, where many an ancient carving lies buried away out of sight, and can only be got at after considerable search and labour, we should then have a series of picturesque ruins full of interest, historical and archæological, maintained in such a state that their relics would be perfectly accessible to all, and a source of pleasure to residents and visitors alike.

Suggestions for carrying out improvement.

But it may be said, why does the Government not step in and perform its functions in contributing to so desirable a result? Such legacies from the past to our national history as the sculptured slabs and ruined ecclesiastical buildings which it is attempted to illustrate in this volume, are in a sense public property, and might very well have been included in the scope of the "Historic Sepulchral Monuments" Inquiry recently instituted. "Three years ago," we are told, "the First Commissioner of Works addressed a letter "to the Society of Antiquaries of London asking them to furnish him with a list of such "regal and other historical tombs or monuments in churches and public buildings and

Government action not to be looked for.

The "Historic Sepulchral Monuments" Inquiry.

[1] This has lately been done at the Skipness chapel, and the place, which was previously an uneven wilderness of loose soil and stinging nettles, with the tombstones lying anyhow, is now a pleasure to look at.

"places, as in their opinion it would be desirable to place under the protection and super-"vision of the Government, with a view to their proper custody and preservation. The "Society forthwith appointed a committee of competent gentlemen, who took steps to collect "the requisite information from all parts of England and Wales; and the result of their "labours is stated in a Report which has recently been presented to Parliament by com-"mand."[1] From the contents of this Report it is evident that the state of matters even in England with regard to the conservation of monuments is not altogether satisfactory, for we read of such memoriáls as the tombs of John Strype, Archbishop Bancroft, and King William Rufus having been tampered with, the second of which was "broken during the "progress of the works at the church in 1851, and no trace of it now remains."[2] Had the committee extended their investigations to Scotland, they might have found numberless instances of the most astonishing neglect of the same kind.[3] The whole subject, however, is very much in the hands of the public themselves. There seems to be a growing interest—and doubtless it must increase as education and culture become more generally diffused—for everything connected with art and refinement, especially for such objects as have over them the glamour of connection with past history, which are steadily diminishing in numbers, and can never be replaced. A few hundred pounds added to the annual expenditure of the nation for the purposes in question might effect a great deal; but, unless Parliament moves in the matter, it seems unlikely that the Executive will feel itself called upon to interfere with the efforts of private enterprise. Lately, the Royal Society of Edinburgh have taken up the consideration of a kindred subject, and voted money for the investigation and conservation of those objects known as glacial and other isolated "boulders" (or *blocs erratiques*) found scattered over the country, which, from being often curiously sculptured with ancient markings, may be said to possess an archæological as well as a geological interest. In France and Switzerland the inquiry had been previously taken up, and in the latter country greatly assisted by the Director of the Federal Topographical Department.[4] Already upon our own Ordnance Survey Maps, the names and positions of all objects of antiquity are marked down, so that it would be comparatively easy to supplement this information by any other steps necessary to secure their being properly taken care of. But meanwhile, both in the West

Question as to preservation of the national antiquities very much in the hands of the public.

Action how taken in France and Switzerland.

[1] From the 'Times' of June 27, 1872. [2] Ibid.

[3] The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland does what it can to rescue from destruction or oblivion such relics as may seem worth purchasing, and to secure them for its National Museum. But it has not the means to do everything, nor has it the space for more than a *selection* of representative specimens from different localities. One of the functions, I believe, of the Science and Art Department at Kensington, is to scour the Continent for interesting works of antiquity and virtu to enrich their London and Edinburgh Museums; and public money is provided for this object. Could not a little more be spared, to be applied, either by the learned Societies or the S. & A. Department, towards the purchase of antique articles in this country? I understand there is an arrangement on the part of the City Improvement Trust of Edinburgh empowering its architect to claim whatever relics may turn up during the demolitions of buildings in the Old Town within the sphere of its jurisdiction;—and that the Antiquarian Society is made heartily welcome to anything procured in this way it may wish to add to its collection. This, as far as it goes, is an excellent arrangement.

[4] See Roy. Soc. of Edin.'s Report of a "Scheme for the conservation of remarkable boulders in Scotland," drawn up by Mr Milne Home (1871).

Highlands and elsewhere, it is, I suppose, chiefly to the landlords that we most look for the preservation of the national antiquities.

A last reminder to the reader.

With the foregoing suggestions, which I have ventured to throw out, these pages may be brought to a close. And in taking leave of the reader for the present, I cannot give stronger point to what has all along been brought prominently before him, as to the great and varied beauty of the Western mediæval monuments, than by quoting some memorable words of an eminent statesman, whose brilliant accomplishments and high culture in all that savours of art, even his keenest political opponents have never sought to deny. The words, in fact, are so singularly applicable, that we might almost have fancied them spoken with special reference to the locality I have attempted to describe. Addressing recently a distinguished audience with respect to the painting, sculpture, and architecture of the present day, the speaker concludes by exhorting such as follow art "to fall back on the "noble, the simple, and the high-spirited exertions of their fathers—to propose to themselves the most exalted aims and ends—to beware of endeavouring to minister only "to the tastes and appetites of the moment—not to allow it to be supposed that the "mere patronage of fashion, the reward offered by high prices, is sufficient to secure true "excellence,—but to remember that it is the intelligent worship of beauty, and the "effort to produce it, which constitute the basis of all excellence in art; and that *ages* "*which have been poor, and which have been in some respects comparatively barbarous, have,* "notwithstanding, provided for us *the models and patterns* to which the most highly "developed civilisation cannot attempt to aspire."[1]

Mr Gladstone's views upon art.

Singularly applicable to the subject and locality treated of in the present volume.

[1] Mr Gladstone's speech at the Royal Academy banquet, May 4, 1872.

THE END.

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ADDENDA.

P. 6, l. 2, note to "Kintyre" :—

Dr Reeves inclines to give "caput regionis" a more extended application to the whole peninsula. It may be noted, however, that the term "Mull" is often locally used to include the tract of country southward of Campbelton, and not merely the headland so named. The primary derivation of the name "Kintyre" may safely be referred to this headland, and on the whole the "Mull of Kintyre" may perhaps be adopted as the nearest equivalent to what Adamnan meant by "Caput Regionis." (See also p. 50.)

P. 82, note 2, add after "Campbelton" :—

I quoted this rendering of Fordun's text from Dr Reeves (note to p. 258, Vit. S. Colomb.) The Wolfenbüttel MS., I find, reads "Insula Aweryne, ubi capella Sancti Sanniani," while the saint's name in the Catholic MS. is rendered "Niniani," and "Anniani" in the MS. of Trin. Coll. Cantab. (See Skene's vol. iii., Histns. of Scot.—Fordun.)

P. 17, note 1. Several small orthographical errors in the stanza, most of them due to Johnston, from whom I quoted, require correction.

1st line, for "a" read "er," and for "förom" "fjörom."
2d " for "fyrie" read "fyrir," and for "gunnorum" "gunnörom."
3d " "Ne" should be "Nè," and "spurd" "spurð."
4th " for "Spioll" read "Spjöll."
6th " for "hródar" read "hróðrar."
7th " "a" should be "á."
8th " "ands" should be "auðs."

ERRATA.

PAGE	
6,	line 1, for "terræ" read "regionis."
9,	" 2, before "the sons" supply "of."
23,	" 16, after "aware of" add "by foreign chroniclers."
37,	" 19, for "Argyleshire" read "Argyllshire."
37,	" 4 from bottom, the comma after "clouds" should follow "Mhor."
39,	" 15, for "their" read "her."
47,	" 2, after "Kintyre" add "with Knapdale."
49,	note 3, last line but one, for "our" read "out."
56,	line 8, for "respect" read "aspect."

PAGE	
82,	Plate VI. 2, in title, for "N. East" read "S. East."
102,	note 3, for "heat" read "heal."
107,	" 1, for "grandson" read "great-grandson."
109,	" 5, after "cause" omit comma.
112,	line 16, for "universal" read "unusual."
134,	" 19, for "these" read "those."
148,	" 14, for "safe keeping" read "acquisition."
157,	note 1, line 8, for "fugilinosam" read "fuliginosum."
174,	line 5 from bottom, for "maller" read "smaller."
188,	" 1, for "loads of rubbish" read "weeds, rubbish."