

HISTORICAL NOTICES
OF
ST FILLAN'S CROZIER,
AND OF
THE DEVOTION OF KING ROBERT BRUCE TO ST FILLAN.

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HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ST FILLAN'S CROZIER.

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BEFORE proceeding to the more immediate object of the present paper, it may be well to say a few words on the history of the Saint, whose relic we are now met to receive and welcome, and the keepership of which, as Dr Wilson has told us, has added so greatly to the responsibilities of the Society.

St Fillan was the son of St Kentigerna, the daughter of a prince of Leinster, who, in the early part of the 8th century, retired to Inch Cail-leach, one of the little islands of Loch Lomond, the church of which was dedicated to her. Her brother was St Congan, the founder of the monastic church of Turriff, in Aberdeenshire, two of whose clerics are mentioned in the Book of Deir, namely, Cormac the Abbot, and Domen-gart, the ferleginn or lecturer.

They were, in short, two of the band of Irish missionaries who came from their own land to carry on the work begun by St Columba, the Christianising of the Pictish tribes.

St Fillan, having been educated under St Ibar, became a member of the monastic community presided over by St Mund, as abbot, on the Holy Loch, and on the death of St Mund he was elected to be his successor. According to his legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen, and according to a custom which we find to have been common to many of the missionary saints of the time, he did not regard the cloister life as sufficiently secluded, and with the view of securing to himself opportunity for uninterrupted devotion he constructed a cell not far from his monastery, to which he could retire and be alone. On one occasion a servant of the monastery who went to the cell to warn St

Fillan that supper was ready, looked through a chink of the wall from the outside, when he saw the Saint engaged in writing by a light which streamed from the unoccupied hand.

After this we are told by the Breviary that he betook himself to his uncle, St Cougan, at a place called Siracht, in the upper parts of Glendochart, in which place he was divinely warned to build a church for himself and his seven serving clerics. This he did, and after a life of piety and miraculous works he departed to Christ on the fifth of the Ides of January (9th), and was honourably buried in his church, which is in Strathfillan.¹

While the labours of the Saint thus secured for him the grateful commemoration of the early Scottish Church, the popular regard which gathered around him in later times may be traced to the aid which he was supposed to have lent to the cause of freedom in the struggles of King Robert Bruce against the power of England.

The reverence entertained by the Celtic people of Scotland for the relics of their early saints is well known.² One form in which it was manifested was a regard for their pastoral staves, and the Legends of the Saints in the Breviary of Aberdeen furnish us with various examples of the miraculous powers attributed to these relics, while elsewhere we can detect the feelings of importance with which they continued to be regarded, in notices of the hereditary keepers on whom the custody of these relics was bestowed with lands and dues of considerable value.

Amongst these may be mentioned the staff of St Fergus, which would seem to have been preserved in the parish of that name in Aberdeenshire. On one occasion we read of its efficacy in allaying the boiling waves of the sea on the rocky coast of Buchan.³ The staff of St Ninian as well as

¹ Brev. Aberd. pars. hyem. f. xxvi.

² The trust in relics associated with our early saints was very prominent, but was not confined to their relics or to very early times. We find that in the fourteenth century the Earls of Ross went to battle in the shirt of St Duthac, which hung in one of the churches within his sanctuary at Tain, and the shirt of St Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, which was kept beside her shrine in Dunfermline, continued to be used by the Queens of Scotland in their hours of travail in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the belief that the wearing of it would mitigate their pains. (Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots, p. xiv.)

³ Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars estiv. fol. clxiii. Life of St Ninian by Joceline, p. 19 (Edu. of Bishop of Brechin).

that of St Serf¹ are spoken of in the lives of these saints as the instruments of various miracles ; and in our early records we have notices of the keepers of the staves of St Moluag of Lismore, and of St Lolan, at Kincardine-on-the-Forth, as well as of the lands attached to these offices.

The reverence for these baculs or staves emanated from the halo of sanctity which surrounded the men who had used them.²

The staff of St Moluag, known as the *Bacul more*, now belonging to the Duke of Argyll, was a plain walking stick of yew, with a slightly curved head, which might have been grasped in the hand. It had originally been covered with plates of copper, probably gilt, which are now only represented by little fragments of copper and the many studs used in fastening the metal to the wood. If the head had ever been surmounted with a cover of silver like that of St Fillan's relic, it has been lost.

We learn from Joceline, a monk of Furness, who in the 12th century composed a life of St Kentigern, that the pastoral staff of that saint resembled that of St Moluag, in being neither gilt nor gemmed, as was the fashion when he wrote, but a plain staff with a curved top.

When St Columba came to visit St Kentigern in his settlement on the Molendinar, the saints exchanged *baculs* in token of their mutual affection ; and we read that in Fordun's time the staff of St Columba was still preserved, and held in great reverence in the church of St Wilfred, at Ripon. It is described as "aureis crustulis inclusus ac margaritarum diversitate circumstellatus."³

The staff of St Fillan was no doubt of the simple character of St Ken-

¹ Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars estiv. fol. xvi.

² St Bernard, in his Life of St Malachy, when describing the struggle which occurred for the primacy of Armagh in the twelfth century between the supporters of Malachy and the Irish family who had for generations occupied the office of Abbots and Bishops of Armagh by hereditary succession, refers to the possession of the Book of Armagh and the staff of St Patrick as conferring more power than the highest canonical sanction. Of the staff he says it was overlaid with gold and adorned with most precious jewels, and that these symbols were regarded by the Irish as objects of the highest dignity and veneration. "For," adds he, "they are universally known, and of the greatest possible celebrity among the various tribes, and held in such reverence by them all that whomsoever they see to be in possession of them, him that brutish and senseless people are wont to receive as their bishop." (S. Bernardi vita S. Malachiæ, cap. xii. ap. opera, tom. i. p. 1089, Migne.)

³ Forduni Scotichronicon, lib. iii. cap 30.

tigern's at first, and the successive crozier heads would be additions made at successive eras in its history.

On the Round Tower of Brechin, one of the abbatial figures holds in his hand a plain staff with curved top, and on the Bressay stone in the Museum the two clerics seem to be in the act of exchanging bacchus of a like character.

I have noticed the staff of St Serf, and I may refer to an incident recorded in his life which is sufficient to illustrate the popular reverence for the staff while in use by the Saint himself ; and of course as independent of any of his bones or relics.

St Serf at one period of his labours was living at Airthrey, near Stirling, when a thief came and stole his sheep, an animal which he loved and fed in the house. After a search in the district the culprit was brought before the Saint, and on being accused of the theft he denied with an oath ; but on commencing to swear on the staff of the Saint, " per baculum sancti viri jurare," the sheep bleated in his stomach,¹ or, as Wyntoun gives it—

Bot sone he worthyd rede for schame
The schepe thare bletyd in his wame.²

It was the oath " super baculum " which led to such results, from which we may infer the popular belief in the greater solemnity of an oath with such a sanction than of an ordinary oath.

Dr Petrie has noticed that in early times the relics of saints in Ireland used to be carried to distant places on solemn occasions, in order that rival chieftains might be sworn upon them, so much that the word *mionna*, which means enshrined relics, came to denote both a relic and an oath, and he adds " this ancient custom of swearing on the relics of the saints of the ancient Irish Church is still continued amongst the peasantry in many parts of Ireland, by whom it is often supposed that thieves would exonerate themselves from the guilt of which they were suspected by a false oath on the Holy Gospels, but would not dare to do so by an oath on one of these ancient reliquaries."³

One of the bells associated with St Patrick, and said to have been

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, Life of St Serf, p. 419.

² Wyntounis Cronykil, vol i., p. 120.

³ Petrie's Round Towers, p. 338.

found in his tomb, was the Clog-an-Uidheachta, or "The Bell of the Will," and a transaction recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1044, shows the high regard in which it was held, by the nature of the penalties which were inflicted for its profanation—that is the breach of treaty or oath made under its sanction :—

"A.D. 1044.—A predatory excursion was made by Niall, son of Mael-eachlainn, lord of Ailech [near Derry, the principal royal residence of the north of Ireland] into Omeath and Cooley [Carlingford parish, county Louth], whence he carried off 1200 cows, and brought away numbers of captives, to revenge the profaning of the Clog-an-Eadhachta. Another predatory excursion was made by Murtogh O'Neill into Mourne, whence he brought away a cattle spoil and prisoners, in vengeance for the profanation of the same bell." ¹

In the Book of Clonmacnoise, we read that in the year 1136 Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, put several persons under arrest, though under the protection of the Coarb of St Jarlath (*i.e.* the Archbishop of Tuam) and of O'Duffy, and of the Bachall Buee, or the Yellow Staff; and three years later the same Turlough took prisoner the King of Meath after he had agreed with him that each of them would be true to one another. These were the oaths and sureties between them :—the altar of St Ciaran's shrine; relics Norannagh; two prelates of every several house, with the Archbishop of Connaught; Primate of Armagh, the staff of Jesus, the Cowarb of St Fechin's bell, and the boban of St Kevin—all of which had been disregarded by Turlough in taking his prisoner.

We must recollect, however, that this feeling of enhanced solemnity to an oath when taken on the relics of saints pervaded all ranks of people in early times. Thus when Edward I. carried off the cross of St Margaret, "The Black Rood of Scotland," he made use of it to give increased sanction to the oaths of fealty which he exacted from the magnates of Scotland; and knowing the veneration of the Scottish people for such relics when he made spoil of the Stone of Destiny at Scone, he carried off at the same time the crozier and the bell of its unknown saint.²

¹ King's Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, p. 41, quoting "Annals of the Four Masters," Proc. R. I. Acad. IV. p. 582.

² Mr Joseph Robertson in "Chambers's Encyclopædia," *voce* The Black Rood of

This entirely corresponds with the description of Giraldus Cambrensis in the 12th century of the use of such objects in Wales as well as in Ireland:—

“The people and clergy of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, are wont to have in great reverence the hand bells, and staves curved in the top and covered with gold, silver, and copper, and other relics of their saints, to such an extent that they are much more afraid of giving an oath or violating one given on such relics than if taken on the gospels.”¹

The system of the early Celtic Church in Scotland having been borrowed from that of Ireland, and the tribal arrangements and ideas of both countries being identical, it is not difficult to understand the origin of a devotion among the people of Breadalbane to the pastoral staff of the great saint who had first carried the Christian light into their wild country, and founded a monastery in their midst. And if we trust to the analogy from Irish institutions we may believe that from a very early period a hereditary keeper had been appointed to it.

The Church founded by St Fillan in the 8th century would seem to have shared the fate of most of our early ecclesiastical foundations, and to have become secularised before the light of record dawned on them in the 12th century. In this respect these primitive monasteries only shared the fate of similar institutions in Ireland, in England, in Wales, and in France, but there were peculiarities in the clan monasteries of the Celtic tribes, which gave a direction to the line of their secularisation. The process may be described in the words of my early friend Mr Joseph

Scotland. The keepership of the celebrated Book of the Gospels, called the *Canoin Patraic*, or Patrick's Canons, became an hereditary office of dignity in a family connected with the Church of Armagh, who derived their name MacMoyre, or son of the Stewart, from this circumstance, and as remuneration for which they held no less than eight townlands in the county still known as the lands of Bally MacMoyre, or MacMoyre's Town. With regard to the Missagh or Miosach a shrine of like character, which covered a MS. of the Gospels or Psalms associated with St Columba, we find that its custody belonged in the beginning of the 17th century to Donogh O'Morreasen, whose ancestors are said in those days to have been servants to St Columkill, and to whom four gortes of land were assigned for the keeping of the relic, the keeper being, as Dr Todd remarks, “the herenach of the bishop and coarb of the abbot, according to the ancient usage of the Irish Church.” (Petrie's “Round Towers,” p. 230. Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. v. p. 465.)

¹ Itin. Camb. Lond. 1804, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14.

Robertson, who did so much to illustrate the antiquities of the Scottish Church.

He was writing of the Scolocs of Ellon, and of the diversion of the lands originally set apart for their maintenance, much in the same way as had happened to the possessions of so many religious foundations in Scotland. Taking as examples the ancient abbeys of Abernethy and Brechin, as they appeared in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, he proceeds: "Their endowments had been divided into two parts. The larger and better portion, together with the name of Abbot, had been usurped by laymen, who transmitted the benefice and title as a heritage to their children. What remained, with the name of Prior, was possessed by ecclesiastics, who discharged perfunctorily enough perhaps, the duties for the performance of which the whole revenues had been originally assigned by the founders. Such was the condition into which most or all of the ancient monasteries of Scotland had fallen before the 12th century."¹

It is thus that when the light of record next falls on St Fillan's monastery, we find his successor represented by a great lay lord, who, although styled "Abbot of Glendochart," had no more of the spiritual character than his neighbour Crinan, known in history as abbot of Dunkeld and Dull, but who was in reality a great chief and warrior, and who, by marriage with the daughter of our second Malcolm, may be said to be the ancestor of the subsequent monarchs of Scotland, including the present occupant of the throne of Great Britain.

The first abbot of Glendochart of the new school, appears in an assize of King William the Lion, where he takes rank with the Earl of Athol. The record is entitled, "Of the law that is callyt Claremathane," and commencing with a narrative "of catal stollyn, and challangyt, the King hes statut, that in qubatsumever cuntre that catal or that thing challangyt be fundin, sall be brocht to that stede in ilke schirefdome quhar the King David statut and stablyst catal challangyt to be brocht," goes on to enact, "gif he that is challangyt callis ony man till his warrande in Argyl quhilk pertenis to Scotlande, than sall he cum to the Erl of Atholl or the Abbot of Glendochir, and thai sall send wyth hym thar men, that sall ber witnes to the forsayd assize."²

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 60.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 372.

It is impossible to say anything certain as to the custody of the crozier of St Fillan or its use during the period of this lay usurpation, but it is plain that in the first years of the fourteenth century the original establishment of St Fillan had come to be represented merely by a chapel, and that while some time after this it entered on a new sphere of spiritual importance, the keeper of the crozier at the same time emerges into light with defined rights and tokens of popular veneration. Both of these events may be traced to the action of the great restorer of Scottish freedom, which renders it necessary to bring into notice a series of records where his influence on both points may be traced.

According to a legend in some of our early historians, a miraculous event occurred in connection with a relic of St Fillan on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn, which contributed greatly to the success of that glorious fight, and in estimating the amount of weight which we are to accord to the story, we have to trace its origin and attend to the shape which it ultimately assumed in the pages of the chronicles.

The earliest of these is the work of Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who wrote his "Book of the Deeds of King Robert the First," within fifty years of the death of that monarch. In it no allusion is made to the miraculous intervention of St Fillan. He states that on the morning of Bannockburn,

The Scottismen, quhen it wes day,
Thar mes devoutly herd tha say,
Syne tuk ane sop.¹

And afterwards,

"The Scottismen all full devoutly
Tha knelit doun to God to pray,
And ane schort prayer thar made tha
To God till help tham in that fight.
And, quhen the Inglis king had sicht
Of tham kneland, he said in hy
'Yhon folk knelis till ask mersy'
Schir Ingeram said 'Yhe say suth now ;
Tha ask mersy, but nocht at yhou ;
For thar trespas to God tha cry,
I tell yhou a thing sekirly,

¹ "The Brus," p. 287. (Spalding Club.)

That yhon men will win all or de,
 For dout of ded tha sall nocht fle.'
 ' Now be it sa,' than said the king
 ' We sall it se.'"¹

Wyntoun, who wrote his Cronykil about fifty years after that of Barbour, was so impressed with the authenticity and full details of his predecessor's work, that he omitted an account of Bruce's exploits, on the ground that they were there

" Mare wyely tretim in-to wryt
 Than I can thynk wyth all my wyt."²

Fordun's Scotichronicon, which seems to have been finished about 1385, was only brought down by the author to the death of David I., but materials for a continuation were left by him, in which is a short account of the battle of Bannockburn,—and here there is no reference to anything of a religious character beyond a statement that the king's trust was not in the multitude of the people, but in the Lord his God.³

Walter Bowmaker or Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm,—who shortly before the year 1449 (in which he died) prepared a continuation of Fordun's Chronicles, based on the materials which Fordun had left, with additions and interpolations of his own,—in his account of the battle of Bannockburn lays the foundation on which the miraculous part of the legend came to be grafted.

From him we learn that having on the night before the battle given orders for making covered pits all over the field of expected conflict, the king exhorted his troops to make confession and devoutly hear masses, and having partaken of the viaticum of the body of Christ, to place all their trust in God.

He introduces also into his own description of the conflict a set of metrical lines, written by Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath, where, after a reference to the celebration of mass in the early morn by the persuasion of the king, is related the address made by that monarch to cheer and animate his troops.

Here the king is made to refer to the saints of Scotland, who will fight

¹ "The Brus," p. 290.

² Wyntounis Cronykil, vol. ii. p. 128.

³ Forduni Chronica Gentis Scotorum, vol. i. p. 347.

for their country's honour; to St John the Baptist, on whose festival the battle took place; to St Andrew and to St Thomas of Canterbury, but there is no mention of St Fillan.

Bower proceeds to tell us that on the conclusion of the king's address, a venerable Father Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, and afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, who had heard the king's confession and celebrated mass to the Scots on a high ground, also addressed the troops in a few words calculated to rouse their courage and fortify their resolution to fight to the last for their liberties. He then, with bare feet and vested in his ecclesiastical robes, with a cross in his hand, went before the soldiers, teaching them that before they entered into the battle they should devoutly kneel and supplicate God in prayer.¹

It will be observed how much the story has here gained in minute description over the account given by Barbour, but when we reach the pages of Boece it will be found that they abound in picturesque details which were unknown even to Bower.

Boece wrote at an interval of about two hundred years after the battle, and it is from him that we for the first time learn that King Robert, after exhorting his soldiers to confess and partake of the body of Christ, as we have it in the earlier narratives, was spending the night before the battle in restless solicitude and earnest devotion, praying for victory to God and St Fillan, whose arm, enclosed in silver, he believed to be in the army, when suddenly its case of silver was seen to open, and in the twinkling of an eye to shut without any one being near it. On seeing this miraculous event, the priest approached the altar, and on inspecting the case he found that it contained the arm-bone of St Fillan. He then confessed to the king that out of fear for the safety of the relic—lest it should be lost amid the tumult of a battlefield—he had only brought the empty case. The king, filled with hope, persevered in prayers and thanksgivings through the rest of the night; and on the morning of the fight he called together his soldiers, ordering them to partake of the body of Christ that they might be the stronger in spirit.

There was in the army Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, who on a high ground celebrated the holy mysteries, administering the Eucharist to the king and his nobles, after which the same was done by other priests to

¹ Scotichronicon, lib. xii. cap. xxi. (Goodal), vol. ii. pp. 249-250.

the rest of the troops. After this the king is made to address his troops with the view of animating their courage, and hatred of foes who had been guilty of so many cruel and odious deeds, exhorting them to put their trust in God, who had shown his favour to them by singular miracles, of which he was sure they had heard.

Maurice is then described as marching before the troops holding a crucifix¹ in his two hands, and exhorting the soldiers to commend themselves to God prostrate on the ground². This they did, and the enemies mistook the act for a token of surrender, but they, immediately arising, threw themselves with impetuosity into the battle.

It will be seen that the miracle and the appearance of a relic of St Fillan are only to be found in the account of Boece, the latest and least trustworthy of all the chroniclers from whom I have quoted. Even if we may be led to think it probable that some relic of St Fillan had been on the field of battle, the legend of Boece would exclude the only one of which we know, and require us to believe in an enshrined arm-bone which was only known to himself, and this seems fatal to any reliance on this author's version of the king's connection with St Fillan.

But this being so, it becomes necessary to consider the probability of the crozier of this Saint having been carried to the battle, because if we are led to the conclusion that it was, we may be able to understand the addition of the story by Boece, of the arm-bone and its miraculous passage from Strathfillan.

This requires us to keep in view two points, viz., first, would such a circumstance have been in keeping with the ideas and feelings of the period in regard to the virtue of such relics in battle, and was there anything in the previous history of Bruce to render it probable that he would have selected for such a purpose the relics of St Fillan?

It will, perhaps, be the best course to consider the last point first. The ordinary accounts of the chronicles give no clue to any circumstances which would tend to account for Bruce's devotion to St Fillan, and the writers of more recent times do not refer to anything in his history in connection with such devotion, previous to the supposed intervention of the Saint at Bannockburn.

¹ *Scotorum Historiæ*. Paris, 1526, fol. cccxiii.

² *Arrepta duabus manibus Cruce in qua Christus crucifixus pendeat.* (*Ibid.*)

Thus Macpherson, in his "Geographical Illustrations,"¹ states with regard to Strathfillan, that it was a priory founded by King Robert I. in gratitude to St Fillan for a miraculous interposition (politically ascribed to him) previous to the splendid and decisive victory at Bannockburn, and this statement is repeated by Spottiswoode in his Account of the Religious Houses;² but it seems obvious that there must have been some antecedent circumstance which would account for the king's reverence for St Fillan, for his selecting the church of that saint as an object of his benefactions, and for the subjects of the gifts being situated in Glendochart.

This, I think, we shall find in the events of one of Bruce's early fights in his passage through Breadalbane, which came to be known as the battle of Dalry, where the monarch, in his conflict with the men of the Lord of Lorn was frequently in great danger, and was barely able to extricate his forces after prodigies of personal valour, as we may read in the glowing page of Barbour, where the description of the struggle is so minute as to justify the belief that the details had been gathered from an actor and eye-witness:—

For the king full chevelrously
 Defendit all his cumpany,
 And was set in full gret danger,
 And yhet eschapit hale and fer.
 For twa brethir war in that land
 That war the hardyast of hand
 That war intill all that cuntre,
 And tha had sworn, gif tha nicht se
 The Brus quhar tha nicht him ourta
 That tha suld de or than him sla.
 Thar surnam was Makyndrosser
 That is all sa mekill to say her
 As the Durwarth sonniss perfay :
 Of thar covyn the thrid had tha
 That was richt stout, ill, and feloun.
 Quhen tha the king of gud renoun
 Saw sa behind his menyhe rid,
 And saw him turn so many tid,

¹ Macpherson voce Strathfillan.

² Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 393.

Tha abed quhill that he was
 Enterit in ane narow plas
 Betuix ane lochside and ane bra
 That was sa strat, I undirta,
 That he nicht nocht wele turn his sted.
 Than with ane will till him tha yhed
 And ane him be the brydill hynt,
 Bot he raucht till him sic ane dint
 That arm and schuldir flaw him fra.
 With that ane othir can him ta
 Be the leg, and his hand can schut
 Betuix the sterap and his fut
 And, quhen the king feld thar his hand,
 In his sterapis stithly can he stand,
 And strak with spuris the sted in hy,
 And he lansit furth deliverly,
 Sa that the tothir falsyheit fet,
 And nocht forthi his hand was yhet
 Undir the sterap magre his.
 The thrid with full gret hy with this
 Richt to the bra-sid he yhed,
 And stert behind him on his sted.
 The king was than in full gret pres ;
 The quethir he thocht, as he that wes
 In all his dedis avise,
 To do ane outrageous bounte.
 He hynt him that behind him was,
 And magre his him can he ras
 Fra behind him, thouch he had sworn
 And laid him evin him befor,
 Syn with the suerd sic dint him gaf
 That he the hed to the harnis claf.
 He ruschit doun of blud all red
 As he that stound feld of ded
 And than the king in full gret hy
 Strak at the tothir vigorously
 That he eftir his sterap drew,
 That at the first strak he him slew,
 On this wis him deliverit he
 Of all tha feloun fais thre.¹

¹ Barbour's "The Brus," pp. 50-52.

This fight occurred in the neighbourhood of St Fillan's church, in a country where the saint's memory was in high veneration. If the king, under a sense of the greatness of the danger which he had escaped, and animated by a corresponding thankfulness for his safety, felt impelled to commemorate his gratitude by some act of devotion, there was a propriety in his selection of this site of early sanctity, so near to the scene of his great peril, for the purpose. If such may be supposed to have been the origin of Bruce's veneration for St Fillan, the mode in which that feeling was expressed will harmonise with it.

It could only be after his final victory over the English, and after his Government had assumed something of shape and stability, that he could carry out the foundation of the religious house ascribed to him.

It was one of the results of Bannockburn that the lands of his great enemy the Lord of Lorn, and of those who fought with him against the king, were forfeited to the Crown.

Among the latter were the Lords of Glendochart¹ and the Macnabs.

In the place of the former, we find that the barony of Glendochart was conferred on Alexander Menzies, who had married Egidia, sister to the High Steward, husband of the Princess Marjory Bruce, and the Macnabs, who would seem to have been a powerful sept, were confined thereafter to the lower part of Glendochart, where they continued for long to be owners of the lands of Bovane and Auchlyne.

While the barony of Glendochart was in the Crown, King Robert granted to the monastery or chapel of St Fillan the five pound land of Auchtertyre, which lies in the neighbourhood of Dalry and of St Fillan's church. The king's charter is not on record, but a charter by King James IV., and dated 2d October 1498, which proceeds on a narrative of his own devotion to St Fillan² and regard for the prior, and confirms the

¹ Malcolm of Glendochred is witness to a Charter of Malise Earl of Strathern, to William de Moravia, and to a Charter by Henry, son of Malise Seneschal of Strathern, to the same (*Liber Insule Missarum*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.). Malcolm and Patrick de Glendochart did homage to Edward I., A. D. 1296 (*The Ragman Rolls*, pp. 125, 128). My predecessor as Secretary of the Society, the learned Mr Donald Gregory, thinks it probable that these Lords of Glendochart were Macgregors. (*Arch. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 132.)

² The devotion of James IV. to St Fillan seems to have been more than formal, for his Bell was brought from Glendochart to grace the King's coronation, on which

charter of King Robert Bruce, is in the Register of the Great Seal. Its only *reddendum* consists of the prayers and devout suffrages specified in the first grant by Bruce. The charter will be found in full in the appendix to this paper.

We cannot be sure of the date of Bruce's charter, and therefore we cannot say whether it preceded or followed another gift by the king for the behoof of St Fillan's church, which he made to the abbot and convent of Inchaffray in the year 1318.

This gift consisted of the patronage of Killin, a church dedicated to St Fillan, and was subject to the condition that the abbot and convent should find a Canon for the performance of divine service in the church of Strathfillan for ever.¹

In this gift there is no reference to the existence of a priory, and the document which succeeds it in the chartulary containing a confirmation of the grant by the bishop and chapter of Dunkeld, and which first indicates the existence of a priory is only partially engrossed, so that but for the discovery in another quarter of the original deed of confirmation, we might never have known the constitution of the restored priory.

In the course of recent investigations among the charters at Panmure House, I, however, discovered the original instrument itself, which is dated on the Thursday before the feast of the apostles St Simon and St Jude, in the year 1318, and is now printed in full in the appendix. By it William, Bishop of Dunkeld, with the consent of his chapter, for the increase of divine service and keeping of hospitality, granted and confirmed to the abbot and convent of Inchaffray and the canons of that monastery, who by disposition of the abbot should be sent to perform service in the chapel of St Fillan in Glendochart, so that a sufficient number of canons should be there ordained and found according to the situation and revenues of the place, the church of Killin, the patronage whereof had been already conferred on the said abbot and con-

occasion (June 1488), there is entered in the Lord Treasurer's accounts a payment of 18s. "til a man that beyris Sanct Fyllanis bell at the kingis commande." When the same king was on pilgrimage to the shrine of St Duthac at Tain, in 1504, "the man that beris Sanct Duthois bell" got three shillings.

¹ Registrum de Inchaffray, p. 79. There are two grants of the Patronage engrossed in the Chartulary, one under the Privy Seal, dated 26th February 1318, and the other under the Great Seal, dated 12th April 1319.

vent by King Robert Bruce, the undoubted patron thereof, with this condition, that the whole fruits and profits of the said church should be used at the sight of the abbot for behoof of the priest and canons abiding at the said chapel for divine worship, and that the bishop should have the right of presenting and instituting the prior so often as a vacancy in his office should occur.

The grant of the lands of Auchtertyre made by King Robert Bruce would seem to have been made *directly* to the church of St Fillan, if we may judge by the terms of his successor's charter of confirmation; while the patronage of Killin was conferred on the monastery of Inchaffray, with a condition in favour of St Fillan's church.

The old establishment of St Fillan would appear in Bruce's time to have been represented by a chapel,—for the service of which he first secured one canon,—and then procured its establishment as a cell of Inchaffray, with a prior and an additional number of canons.

We have notices in records of the names of several priors, but know little beyond the following:—

John Murray, the prior, to whom the charter of King James IV. was granted, appears as a witness to some of the Breadalbane charters. In 1588, Donaldson Makpersone, prior of Strathfillane, appears as a witness in a bond of manrent and calpis, granted to Sir Duncan Campbell by the clan V'illewene, in Breadalbane.

In 1569 John M^cCordakill, who was exhorter at Killin, is said then to be prior of Strafillan.¹

The kirklands and teinds as pertinents of the abbacy of Inchaffray were confirmed to General William Drummond in 1669.²

It may strengthen the probability that we are to regard the king's restoration of St Fillan's church as an expression of *personal* feeling, if I refer to other instances where events of striking import in his career of struggle were commemorated by pious foundations or benefactions.

One of these arose out of his outraged feelings of love and esteem through the violent death of his gallant brother-in-law Sir Christopher of Seton.

This chivalrous and faithful adherent, who had delivered the king

¹ Register of Ministers (Maitland Club), p. 30.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vii. 619.

from a great peril at the battle of Methven, had fallen into the hands of the English, and by the cruel orders of the King of England

“ That gert draw hym and hede and hing
For owtyne pete or mercy ”¹

was hung as a felon near the town of Dumfries.

Sometime afterwards Bruce caused a chapel to be erected on the spot where the foul deed was done, and settled an endowment on it out of the lands of Carlawerock.²

Perhaps a more striking instance of the magnanimous and devout feelings of the warrior king may be traced in his dealings towards the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, in Aberdeenshire, as they are recorded in a charter which I recently discovered among Sir Patrick Keith Murray's Ravelston papers, and which has never been printed.

On two occasions during his struggles for the crown, Bruce had defeated the forces of his northern adversary, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in the years 1307 and 1308. After the last skirmish between the parties, Bruce carried the warfare into the territories of Comyn in the district of Buchan in Aberdeenshire, wasting the land with fire and sword, and with such cruel severity that, in the language of Barbour,

“ Eftre that weile fifty yer
Men menyt the herschip of Bouchane.”

In this raid Bruce had devastated the rich possessions of the Abbey of Deer (a Cistercian house founded by the rival house of Comyns in the early part of the previous century, on the site of St Drostan's monastery, and whose abbot had taken the oath of fealty to Edward I.), and being animated with feelings of compunction and desirous of making amends, he within a year of his great victory at Bannockburn, and while full of the cares of re-establishing the kingdom, granted a charter to the monastery of Deer, for the weal of his own soul and the souls of all his predecessors and successors, Kings of Scotland, “Nec non,” as the charter proceeds, “in recompensacionem dampnorum que monasterium de Dere

¹ Barbour's “Bruce,” p. 66 (Jamieson).

² Charter of the foundation of a chapel near Dumfries, and £5 striveling dotted thereto by the king out of the lands of Carlawerok, where Christopher Seton his good brother was slain in his Majesty's service. (Robertson's “Index of Charters,” p. 13. No. 89.)

in Buchan, *causa guerre nostre sustinuit*," he confirmed to the monastery all the churches, lands, and possessions which had been conferred on it by William, Earl of Buchan, and Margery his wife, as also by Alexander, and John, Earls of Buchan, and other nobles of the realm, to be held in free alms, with as much freedom as any other house of the Cistercians in Scotland, held their property.¹

Another instance of the susceptibility of Bruce to the evils resulting from the national turmoils, occurs in a letter which he addressed to the Bishop of St Andrews on 16th November 1315, wherein, after lamenting the dilapidated condition of the Monastery of Dunfermline, which had resulted from the continual wars of the time, and expressing his compassion therefor, he conveyed to the Monastery, for the increase of its hospitality, the Church of Kynros, with the Chapel of Urwell, in honour of the sepulchres of the kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who are there buried, and of his own place of rest, which he has specially chosen to be there, and requests the intervention of the bishop for carrying out his intentions.²

If, then, we may think that the facts which I have detailed are sufficient to account for King Robert's regard for St Fillan and his church, we may consider whether the presence of his crozier on the battlefield in behalf of the king would have been in harmony with the beliefs and feelings of the times.

It will be borne in mind that the carrying of the croziers and relics of saints in battlefields was a familiar idea in early times.

One of the reliquaries of St Columba is a silver case, enshrining what was believed to be the copy of the Psalms, copied by the saint from St Finian's original, an act which resulted in St Columba's expatriation and mission to Alba. This case, known as the Cathach, Praeliator, or Fighter, was the chief relic of Columcille in the territory of Cinel Conaill Gulbain, and it was believed that if it be sent thrice rightways around the army of the Cinell Conaill, when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory; and it is on the breast of a coward or cleric, who is to the best of his power free from mortal sin.³

¹ Report of Hist. MSS. Commission No. 3, p. 411. The Charter is printed in full in the appendix in this paper.

² Registr. de Dunfermlyn, p. 229.

³ Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," Reeves, pp. 249, note 250.

Another was known as Cath-Bhuaidh, that is battle victory, being the name of a crozier, which in a battle between the men of Pictland and the Norwegians, fought in the year 918, was believed to have procured the victory for the men of Alban, as it often did thereafter when they placed their hope in Columbkille.¹

The black rood of Scotland, the sacred Cross of St Margaret, was carried with him by David II. when he invaded England in 1346, in the belief that it would insure safety to his person, or victory to his arms, and was taken by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross. It formed part of the spoils offered up at the shrine of St Cuthbert in the Cathedral of Durham, where it hung till the Reformation, when all trace of it disappeared.

At the head of the troops of Edward I, on their invasion of Scotland in 1296, another "cathach" was carried, the consecrated banner of St Cuthbert, with that of St John of Beverlay, both being held in such veneration by the soldiers that they regarded their presence in the van as a pledge of victory.

A banner associated with St Columba, called the Brechbennoch, had the barony of Forglen, in Banffshire, annexed to its keepership; and William the Lion, by a charter to the monks of Arbroath, conveyed to them the keeping of the Brechbennoch, with the lands of Forglen dedicated to God and St Columba and the Brechbennoch, on condition of their performing the service in the king's army due from the said lands and banner.² We find that these services continued to be exacted in the end of the fifteenth century, when, on the then owner of the lands (Irvine of Drum), doing homage for them to the abbot, it was declared by the latter that all the tenants of his regality should be bound to follow the said Alexander Irvine in the king's army, under the Brechbennoch.³

It may be thought, therefore, that the presence of such a relic as the pastoral staff of St Fillan, on the field of Bannockburn, would be a circumstance in keeping with the ideas of the time; ⁴ and if we may assume

¹ Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," p. 333. ² Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 10.

³ Collections on the "Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," vol. i. p. 515. (Spalding Club.)

⁴ Dr Jamieson records a tradition of the country to the effect that under the relique of the Quigrich, King Robert and his army received the sacrament before the battle of Bannockburn. ("The Bruce", p. 484.)

the existence of the king's earlier devotion to St Fillan, that it would be also in harmony with his personal feelings and belief.

We may be sure that nothing would be omitted by our great hero in preparing for this final struggle with the English, which could animate the courage of his followers, by leading them to feel that they would not be alone in the fight, but would have associated with them the great saints of their country. It is thus that the presence of the crozier of St Fillan may have been regarded as a pledge of his own presence.¹

If, therefore, we may recognise in the priest of Boece's description, the keeper of St Fillan's crozier in Glendochart, and in the reliquary of his miracle, the crozier itself, the conclusion will not be weakened by the appearance on the field of battle of the Abbot of Inchaffray, whose connection with St Fillan's church, would seem to have been in existence before the date of its formal erection into a priory, as a cell of the house of Inchaffray.

It is the characteristic of Boece, as a historical writer, to add to and disguise the facts which he recorded, to surround his statements with marvels, and to give his authority to fables, while in many cases he had an undoubted foundation to work upon, with access to authorities which have not been preserved. I am therefore prepared to believe that there may have survived to his day some statement regarding the influence of St Fillan and his relic on behalf of the Scottish king at Bannockburn; and if so, the addition of the miracle would harmonise with the writer's idea of emphatic description, while the reliquary of his legend would be more in keeping with the ideas of *his* day than the pastoral staff of an earlier time.

The idea of enshrining such relics had come to be more operative in

¹ Bower, in his additions to Fordun, preserves the notice of a vision which revealed to a certain soldier, John Wemys, the fact that at the battle of Larga, there fought on the part of Scotland, St Margaret, her husband, and children; so in the picturesque translation of Mr Joseph Robertson, "it was believed by the Scots that on the eve of the dreaded day of Larga, the tombs of Dunfermline gave up their dead, and there passed through the northern porch to war against the might of Norway, 'a lofty and blooming matron in royal attire, leading in her right hand a noble knight, refulgent in arms, wearing a crown upon his head, and followed by three heroic warriors, like armed and like crowned,' an illustrious army, in which it was easy to recognise 'the Protectress of Scotland,' her consort, and her sons." (Fordun's *Scoticchronicon*, vol. ii. p. 97. *Scottish Abbeyes and Cathedrals*. *Quart. Review*, June 1849.)

the time of Boece than in the time of Bruce,¹ and the reliance which originally rested on the continued action and presence of the saints themselves seemed now rather to derive its strength from their enshrined bones.

The miraculous circumstances with which the learned and first Principal of the University of Aberdeen has invested the transport of St Fillan's arm-bone from Glendochart, and which may have been suggested by the story of the miraculous light given by the one hand to the other in the early days of the saint, must have been to some extent recognised by Bishop Elphinstone, the munificent founder of that University, under whose auspices the "Legends of the Saints," which abound in similar statements, were collected and digested for the Breviary of Aberdeen; while the reigning monarch, under whose patronage the University was commenced, had various favourite saints, whose aid he invoked, and to whose shrines he made frequent pilgrimages for purposes of devotion.

Thus, in 1516, we find in the treasurer's accounts an entry of disbursements "for ane relique quhilk the King offerit at Quhithern maid of the Kinges awn silver weyand xxvii $\frac{1}{2}$ unce," and "for xi hary nobles and quik siluer to gilt the samyn." Another entry records a payment to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth "for 11 peces of siluer weyand xvi unce quhilk was ane relique quhilk the King offerit to Sanct Dutho in the moneth of October 1504 and nocht payit quhil nou, ilk unce 13s. 4d.;" while the offerings which he made at the relics at Whithorn, at St Andrews, at Dunfermline, and at Tain, are of very frequent occurrence.

The taste which had come to prevail of enshrining such relics as the arm-bone of a saint, may be illustrated by the case of St Giles of Edinburgh. It was about the middle of the fifteenth century when William Preston of Gorton, brought from France an arm-bone of this saint, which, as it is related, he had procured by the aid of the French king, as well as his own diligent labour and expense.

¹ We have, however, early Irish examples of enshrining arms and hands. Such was the shrine which contained the arm of St Lachtin, an Irish Bishop, who died A.D. 622, and of which, through the courtesy of Mr Watson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I am able to show a full-size engraving. It is described as composed of brass and silver, of exquisite workmanship, covered with interlaced tracery and knots. Of a like character is the shrine, known as "the Hand of St Patrick," which is formed of massive silver and antique workmanship, in the shape of a hand and arm. (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. pp. 207-215.)

So greatly was Preston's gift of the relic to the church of St Giles valued, that the magistrates, by a formal deed, undertook to build an aisle and erect a monument with a suitable inscription, commemorative of the donor's services and merits, as also to found a chaplainry where a priest should for ever sing for him; and finally, they granted to Preston and his nearest heir the privilege of carrying the relic in all public processions.

I may add that the arm-bone of St Giles, which was enshrined in a cross of silver, was sold with "the ringe on the finger of the samyn" in the year 1560.

But to return to the history of the crozier and the keepers, after the restored importance of the church of St Fillan by King Robert Bruce.

It is likely that at least for a time the keeper was favourably affected by the change, but it seems apparent from the documents which I am now to describe, that ere long his position required the sanction of law and record, in place of the reverence and consuetude on which it had principally rested.

These records are preserved among the Breadalbane papers, and have been printed by Mr Innes in the Black Book of Taymouth, but will be reprinted in my appendix.

But besides these documents we find in one of the Breadalbane Chartularies, begun in 1587, and which contains copies and descriptions of the family papers, the note of a document (apparently part of the series above referred to), of which the original cannot now be traced.¹

It occurs under the section of the Chartulary headed, "Eyich in Glendochart," and is entitled, "ane letter made be Alexander Lorde of Glendoquhart to Donald M'Sobrell dewar Cogerach off the dait one thousand three hundreht threttie-six yeiris."

The Lord of Glendochart, at this date, was Alexander Menzies, and his letter may have been a confirmation to the Dewar of the lands of Eyich, which I think it probable were the original lands of the keepership, and are in the neighbourhood of the Clachan of St Fillan.

It will be seen from one of the documents now to be quoted, that the

¹ Mr Innes, who has printed the others in the Black Book, does not refer to it, and a pretty minute examination of the papers by myself leads me to think that it has been lost.

tenant of Coreyhenan declined to pay rent for his lands to the Lady of Glenurchy, on the ground that he held them not from her, but from "Deore de Meser." This place of Coreyhenan lies to the north of Auchtertyre, and may have formed part of the lands of Eyich.

These lands, which I have supposed to have been given by the successor of St Fillan, with the keeping of his crozier, in early times to the Dewars, are described in these early records as in their possession; and it appears from charters in the Breadalbane collection that they continued to be the property of the family till nearly the end of the sixteenth century.

By one of these, Queen Mary, on 4th March 1551, confirmed to Malice Dewar and his heirs male the forty shilling lands, of old extent, of Eyeich, Cretindewar, in Aucharne, and half merk land called Craigwokin, in Glendochart. On 2d December 1575 these lands were conveyed by Donald Dewar to Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, and it would seem, that as part of the title, he had delivered up the papers connected with Eyeich and the Cograch, as we find them all entered in the chartulary of writs, begun in 1587, and ending in 1612.

The first of the series of documents bearing on the history of St Fillan's crozier, to which I have just referred, is an instrument recording the proceedings of an inquest, held at Kandrochit on 22d April 1428, before the bailie of Glendochart, on the authority and privileges of a certain relic of St Fillan, commonly called the Coygerach.¹ The jury reported that the bearer of the relic of the Coygerach, who went by the name of Jore, ought to have yearly and heritably from every one in the parish of Glendochart, having or labouring a merk of land, either free or in farm, a half-boll of meal, and of every one having in like manner a half-merk of land, a firLOT of meal; and of every one having a forty penny land, a half-firLOT of meal; but although such persons should have more than a merk land they should pay nothing more. Further, that the office of carrying the relic had been conferred in heritage on a certain ancestor of Finlay Jore, the present bearer, by the successor of St Fillan, and that the said Finlay was his lawful heir in the said office. They farther said that these privileges were enjoyed and in use in the time of King Robert Bruce, and in the times of the kings who had reigned after him. For

¹ Printed in the Appendix to the present paper, No. viii.

which privilege the jury declared, that if it happened that any goods or cattle were stolen or carried off from any one dwelling in Glendochart, and he from whom they were stolen, whether in doubt of the culprit, or from the feud of his enemies, did not dare to follow after his property, then he should send a messenger to the said Jore of the Cogerach, with fourpence, or a pair of shoes, with food for the first night, and then the said Jore, on his own charges, ought to follow the said cattle wherever they were to be found within the kingdom of Scotland.

The second document preserves the record of the court of Glendochart, held at Kandrocht on 9th February 1468, when the Lady of Glenurchy demanded from John M'Molcalum M'Gregour the rents of his lands of Coreheyman, to which the said John replied that he held his lands not from the Lady of Glenurchy, but "a deore de Meeser," and that he was not liable for any past rents, because he had paid them to the said "deore," from whom he held the lands.¹

The third is a letter in favour of Malise Doire, residing at Strathfillane, granted on 6th July 1487 by king James III., setting forth that Malise and his forefathers have had a relic of St Fillan, called the Quigrich, in keeping of the king and his progenitors since the time of King Robert the Bruce and before, and made no obedience nor answer to any person, spiritual or temporal, in anything concerning the said holy relic, otherways than was contained in the old infestments made by the king's said royal progenitors, and therefore his majesty commanded all his subjects "to ansuere intend and obey to the said Malise Doire in the pecciable broiking and joicing of the said reliq," and in noways to "compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience nor ansuere to you, nor till any other, but allenarly to us and our successouris, according to the said infestment and foundation of the said relik," and that none should make impediment to the said Malise "in the passing with the said relik throu the contre as he and his forbearis wes wount to do."²

It will be observed that while the men of Glendochart by their inquest found that the office of carrying the Quigrich had been instituted by a successor of St Fillan (by which term we must understand one of the

¹ Black Book of Taymouth (Bannatyne Club), Preface, p. xxxvi.

² Printed in the Appendix to the present paper, No. ix.

Comharbas or heirs of the saint in the monastery), and had been conferred on an ancestor of Finlay Jora, they do not carry back the exercise of his rights beyond the time of King Robert Bruce. The letter of privilege by King James III. in favour of Malise Doire, in like manner, narrates that he and his forefathers have had the Quigrich in keeping of the king and his forefathers since the time of Robert the Bruce and before.

The prominent reference to this monarch harmonizes with what has been advanced on the subject of his devotion to St Fillan, and of the enhanced importance which resulted to his church and all connected with it, through the several benefactions of the king, which did not terminate with those already noticed, for in the Chamberlain Rolls there is entered a payment in 1329 (in which year the great monarch died), of £20 to the fabric of the Church of St Fillan, so that his devotion to the saint may be said to have retained its fervour to the end of his days.

It seems natural, in conclusion, to say something about the Quigrich itself : and first as to its name, and the names of its keepers. There seems no reason to doubt that the word which appears on record under the various forms of "Coygorach" and "the Quigrich," means "a stranger."¹

¹ See Gaelic Dict. of Highland Society, voce Coigreach, a stranger ; and Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," p. 366. Note by Dr Reeves. Many fanciful guesses have been suggested of the meaning of the word "Coygorach," founded on the shape or supposed use of the relic by persons familiar with modern Gaelic, but forgetful of the historical conditions of the question.

It was long ago pointed out by the sagacious Thomas Innes that the Irish must have derived the use of letters from those using the Latin language, for as the early missionaries to Ireland found no words among the Irish Gaels denoting such things as a letter, a book, to read, to write, and the like, they expressed them in Latin terms, giving them only an Irish inflexion ("Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland," p. 444).

In the same manner all sacred things belonging to Christianity, of which the Irish people first got their knowledge from the early missionaries, such as church, cross, bishop, baptism, and the like, were expressed in Latin words with Irish inflexions. We thus discover that the word invariably applied by the Celtic people of Ireland to the pastoral staff of a bishop or abbot was *bachall*, being the Irish form of the Latin word *baculus*. In this way the Irish annalists speak of the crozier of St Patrick as the *Bachall Isa*—that is, Staff of Jesus, or *Bachall Phadruig*—that is, Patrick's crozier (King's "Primacy of Armagh," quoting the Annals, pp. 33, 77). Dr Petrie states that the word *bachall* is used in the Irish authorities not only to denote the crozier of a bishop, abbot, or abbess, but also the penitential staff of a pilgrim. (Round Towers of Ireland, p. 304.)

That the same Latin word for a crozier was used by the early Scottish Church as

With regard to the term applied to designate its keepers, under the various forms of "Jore," "Deore," and "Doire," there may be more cause for hesitation.

We learn from Dr Reeves that the word Deoraid in Irish signifies an "exile," "outlaw," "pilgrim," while he adds that both in Ireland and Scotland, the word assumed a religious limitation, and from an official became a family name, now known as "Dewar." He then refers to the records which show that the bearer of the relic of the Coygerach was known as "Jore," "Doire," "Deore;" that lands in St Munna's parish of Kilmun held by a certain officer with the staff of St Mund, were called in Gaelic "Deowray;" while Donald Dewar in 1572 had a grant of the lands of Garrindewar (which means "the garden of the pilgrim") dedicated in former times for the ringing of a bell at funerals within the parish of Kilmaluig; adding "that these Deorays" or "Dewars" were probably descended from sons of Irish families, whose proper names merged

by the Irish is plain from Adamnan's reference to St Columba's staff as his *baculus* ("Vita Sancti Columbæ," ed. Reeves, p. 62), and from the Pictish Chronicle, which in relating that Constantine the king in his old age became Abbot of the Culdees at St Andrews, by taking the staff or crozier, uses the term *baculum cepit*. ("Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," p. 9).

It seems a fair inference that the Celtic people of Scotland, in speaking of a crozier, would have converted the *baculus* into *bachall* as was done in Ireland, and indeed we have evidence that they did so, for the term by which they designated the crozier of St Moluag was the *Bachuill more*, while they called its hereditary keepers the *Barons of Bachuill* ("Orig. Paroch. Scot." vol. ii. p. 163). Another Middle Age Latin word for a pastoral staff was *cambuta*. Fordun refers to the staff of St Columba which the saint gave in exchange for that of St Kentigern as his "cambo," and we find the word in the Scotch form of "cabok," applied to the crozier of St Duthac. In 1506, James IV., who was then on pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint at Tain, gave "to ane man that bure Sant Duthois' cabok, iiiis." (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. ii. p. 15).

I am therefore of opinion that the word "Coygerach," which has been of late tortured into so many different meanings, as necessarily expressing the curved shape or pastoral use of the staff, can have no such reference, but has been applied to characterise the crozier as "The Stranger," from whatever circumstances that *strangeness* may have been derived.

I may add, that the last hereditary keeper of the "Quigrich," who was brought up in a district where only Gaelic was used, does not profess to know the meaning of the term "Quigrich." He inclines to think that it is not a Gaelic word, "and the name *cogarach*, if it means 'stranger,' they had a different way of spelling than we have. It is spelt now 'coigreach.'" (Letter, Mr Alex. Dewar to Dr Wilson).

in their official title (as with the MacMoyres in Armagh), and who derived their peculiar name of office, either from the circumstance of being themselves originally aliens, or being representatives of three saints, "Faolan," "Munna," and "Molua," each of whom probably, to use the technical expression, "took the (pilgrim's) staff and died in his pilgrimage."¹

If I am right in supposing that the term Coygerach was originally applied to the crozier of St Fillan, as indicative of its introduction from abroad, it is possible that by the Dewar of the Coygerach may originally have been meant the "pilgrim" who brought it; that is, who brought the metal head which was to add dignity to the staff of St Fillan, and give honour to his memory.

But if so, it would seem that, in Scotland in process of time, the word acquired a much wider meaning. It is plain that in Glendochart, the term Dewar, in relation to the Coggerach, became a family name. The letter of 1336 is addressed to Donald M'Sobrell dewar Coggerach, in which, perhaps, we are rather to recognise the official than the family name. In the inquest of 1428, it is stated that the bearer of the Coggerach is commonly called "Jore," another form of Dewar, while, at the same time, the then bearer of the relic is called Finlay Jore, and his descendant, in 1487, has the name of Malice Doire or Dewar.

A writ in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, dated about 1250, by Robert the Abbot, grants the office of "Dereth," that is, as the title of the deed explains, "the office of Serjeand" to Symon called Dereth, son of the late Thomas Dereth of Kynglassy.²

In 1466 the Abbot of Arbroath granted to Thomas of Lochan the office of Derethy of Tarves, and in 1527 the abbot granted a lease to William Gray and his wife of the office of the deray within the parish of Tarves, and the croft belonging to it, where the duties of the deray are described as the keeping of the oxen and cows of the abbey.³

The hereditary dempsters of Edzell were Durays or Dirrows, and their

¹ Adamnan's "St Columba." Notes, pp. 366-7

² Regist. de Dunferm., p. 149. In a subsequent deed lands are granted by the Abbot, where the vassal has liberty from the abbot's mill and smithy, and is to be free from payment of dereth or slother. *Id.* p. 227.

³ Registr. Nigrum de Aberbrothock, pp. 128, 474.

farm was called the Durayhill, while it would seem to have been part of their office to ring the bell of St Lawrence.¹

A croft near the Church of Fordoun was called Diray Croft, and it was a pertinent of the chapel of St Palladius, in the churchyard of Fordoun.²

The keeping of the bell of St Rowan, in the parish of Strowan, with a croft of land, were vested in a family of Dewars; and it is stated in an account of the parish that the term Dewar in Gaelic signifies a bellman.³ While this limitation cannot be maintained as universal, it would seem that in the parish of Conyeth or Laurencekirk, a like meaning has been attached to the lands of the Diracroft there, which are described otherwise as "Bel-aikers," with the houses of the Kirkton; here again the bell is probably to be recognised as that of St Laurence.⁴

The keeper of St Munna's staff, we have seen was called Deowray, while the keeper of the bell of St Molway had come to assume the term of Dewar as their family name.

In Glendochart, besides a place called Cretindewar, apparently part of the lands of Eyich, we find notices of a croft in Killin, called Dewar-namayne's Croft; a croft in Auchlyne, called Dewarnaferg's Croft; and Dewar's Croft in Sluy, in the same barony.⁵

¹ Land of the Lindsays, by Jervise, p. 51.

² Index of Retours (Kincardine), April 30, 1607 (No. 21).

³ Arch. Scot. vol. ii. p. 75.

⁴ Index of Retours (Kincardine) April 30, 1672 (No. 119).

⁵ Index of Retours, Perth, October 27, 1640, No. 494. On 16th September 1407 John M'Nab got a charter from the Duke of Albany of the lands of Bowane and others, and of the office of ferialship of the lands of Arthalzie, in the barony of Glendochart. Dr Jamieson, in his notes to his edition of "The Bruce," states that he saw the crozier of St Fillan in the possession of one of the name of Dewar in Glenartney, and was told that it had belonged to his ancestors from time immemorial, "one of whom found it in the old burying-ground at Auchlyne, in Glendochart, whence the chapel is still called *Caispal nà Farige* or *farechd*, i.e., the Chapel of the Crozier. From this valuable relique the hereditary possessor has the distinctive designation of Mac in Deora nà Farige, "the son of Dewar of the Crozier." ("The Bruce," notes, p. 484.)

Of another croft of land in Killin, there are several records among the Breadalbane papers, where we discover a notice of an image of St Fillan at Killin. The first, dated 20th November 1488, is a charter of the Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Perth (who, by grants from the Crown, had come to be owners of part of Glendochart) to Donald M'Claude, of an acre or croft of land in the town of Killin, with

As the son of the Abbot of Glendochart was the root from which the tribe of Macnabs derived their origin, so from the Dewar of the Cogerach various families of the name of Dewar were descended, and may be traced as witnesses of charters among the Breadalbane papers. In 1575, Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay granted a charter of the lands of Moyerlonycht to Donald Makindeora vic Cogerach, and among the witnesses is the Constable of Glenurchay, and John Deora, in Sluy.¹

On the whole, I conclude that if the first Dewar of the Cogerach had an ecclesiastical character, there is no reason to think such character long remained, or survived the secularisation of the old foundation, and I infer that the term "Dewar" implied nothing in later times beyond "an officer," who might be the bearer of a crozier, the ringer of a bell, the dempster or sergeant of a barony, the guardian of cattle, or the hereditary performer of some work or duties, to which lands and perquisites were annexed²—the analogous word used in Ireland for such an officer being "mair" or "steward."

With regard to the style of art of the crozier, and consequently of its date, I feel unable to speak with much certainty.

The style common to the shrines, bell cases, and other relics of the early saints of Ireland, is that which is also found in the enrichment of their manuscripts, and in the sculptures of the stone crosses both of Ireland and Scotland. It consists mainly of interlacing patterns wrought into geometrical figures, with the frequent use of serpents and lacertine animals, and seems referred to as "Opus Ibernorum" in the description of a silver gilt cross in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Aberdeen in the year 1549.³

the house and garden and pasturings of four cows and two horses, with power to bake, brew, and sell flesh, and to buy and sell within the lordship of Glendochart, according to the assize of the country, paying yearly to the parish church of Killin three pounds of wax, in honour of the blessed Virgin and St Fillan and all saints, and for the increase of St Fillan's lights before his image, one pound whereof, at the feast of St Fillan in summer, and another at the feast of St Fillan in winter.

¹ Charters at Taymouth.

² The smith of a barony had a croft, and his smiddy was sometimes called his "office hous." (Regist. nig. de. Aberbrothoc, p. 106.)

³ Registr. Aberd., vol. ii. p. 182.

Examples of this style occur in the ancient Irish crozier (fig. 1) which formed part of the Bell collection, and is now in the Museum, as well as in the front part of another Celtic crozier of early date in the Museum (fig. 2), of which the history is not known further than that it formed



Fig. 1. Bronze Crozier in the Museum (Bell Collection).
7½ inches high.

part of the collection of the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and was by him said to have been found in the ruins of Hoddam church.

Representations of croziers of the same character of art will be found in Professor Westwood's great work, "The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts," Plate 53.

It appears to me that the ornamentation of the Quigrich is of an entirely different style, nor can I recognise any distinctively Celtic features in it, except in the triquetra and pellet ornament on the boss or socket (fig. 5), which, in general idea, harmonises in style with two bosses of an ancient Irish crozier belonging to the late Dr Petric (figs. 3 and 4), as represented in his great work on the "Round Towers of



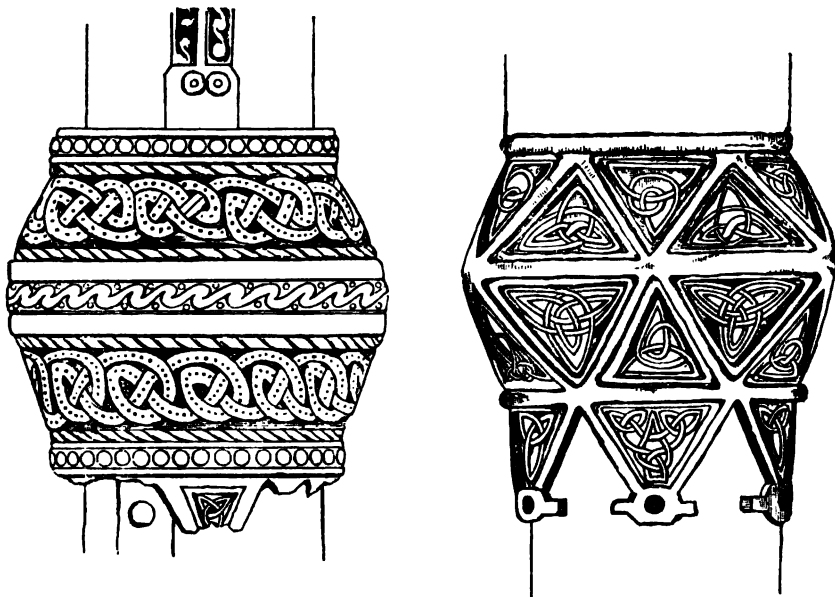
Fig. 2. Front part of Bronze Crozier found at Hoddam Church, Dumfriesshire.
(Actual size.)

Ireland"—where he supposes that from the form, size, and ornaments of the crozier, it indicates an age not later than the tenth century.¹ The occurrence of the triquetra on these bosses, as well as on the boss or socket of St Fillan's crozier (fig. 5), and one of the plaques on its side, may be remarked. The triquetra was an ornament much used by the Celtic artists of Ireland in their illuminated manuscripts and on

¹ "Round Towers of Ireland," pp. 320, 321.

their tombstones up to the tenth century, after which time Dr Petrie did not observe any specimen.¹

The late Lord Dunraven has attributed to the crozier of St Fillan (but without assigning any authority), the date of A.D. 962,² and to that of the shrine of St Lachtan's Arm, in which I can trace some resemblance to the filigree work of the Quigrich, the date of A.D. 1166.



Figs. 3 and 4. Bases of an Irish Crozier of tenth century.

On the other hand, Professor Westwood, while recognising the dissimilarity between the Quigrich and the ordinary Irish style of art, states that there are instances of the filigree work and general treatment of the Quigrich on several relics of metal work evidently of a more recent date than the 12th or 13th century.³

If we should think that the Quigrich was not the product of Celtic art,

¹ "Round Towers of Ireland," p. 322.

² Transactions R. I. Acad. vol. xxiv. p. 451.

³ Arch. Journal, vol. xvi. p. 50.

and consequently was an importation from abroad, it will be well to pause in suggesting a date for the relic until a further comparison of its ornamentation with foreign styles, by those who have studied the subject, may justify a definite conclusion as to its period and school of art.

But in the meantime, viewing the art as not a native one, I am inclined to think that the term "Quigrich" or "Stranger" may have been originally used to mark its foreign origin, as we have seen the terms "Cathach" or "Fighter," and "Cath-Bhuaidh" or "Battle Victory" applied to reliquaries of St Columba.

Since the Coygerach came into possession of the Society, a discovery has been made, which greatly enhances its interest. The great weight of the crozier led to a careful examination of the structure and internal fitting, the result of which was that an earlier crozier of bronze (see Plate VI.) was found enclosed within the present one. It farther appeared that the silver plaques which had formed the ornamental covering of the earlier relic had been removed from it, and had been used for the covering and enrichment of the second one, so as to form the same patterns, and fill like, or almost like spaces as at first. In a few cases where the adjustment of the old plaques to their new position was not an exact fit, as we may say, the ornamental plate which overlapped the edges of the plaques was there made wider. It seems probable, however, that the first crozier had become to some extent dilapidated, and that some of its silver ornamental plates had been lost. Accordingly, in the spaces thus left vacant on the new crozier, additional silver plates have been introduced, but in a style of art sufficiently different from the others as to enable us to recognise them as additions.

When this was done the relic was adorned with an ornamental ridge, terminating in an animal's head, and with an enlarged bulbous socket of a style of art which seems to differ from that used in the ornaments of the silver plaques.¹ (See Plate V.)

¹ "The custom of terminating such ornaments in dragons' heads, and the introduction of the most unnatural forms of animals into the tracery of illuminated manuscripts, shrines of bronze and silver, as well as in the sculptured crosses of Ireland and Scotland, is a very prominent feature of Celtic art.

"The head of the animal on the crest of the crozier is much effaced and worn, but we may, I think, recognise a family resemblance between it and the animals' heads used in a similar way on the handle of the bell of St Fillan, to which my late

The plates covering the front part of the first crozier were in like manner used for the same purpose on the second one,—the exposed side having a large oval piece of rock crystal inserted in its centre, and being surmounted by the figure of a saint.

Like progressive additions and adaptations can be traced in many of the more celebrated of the Irish relics of a like character with the Quigrich. The late Dr Petrie,—whose knowledge of the history and art of such objects was the result of a lifelong study,—on the occasion of the exhibi-



Fig. 5. Socket of St Fillan's Crozier.
(Actual size.)

tion to the Royal Irish Academy of the enshrined arm of St Lachtan, directed attention to the fact that such shrines or reliquaries usually exhibited work of different ages consequent upon repairs or restorations,

greatly regarded friend the Bishop of Brechin was led to ascribe a very different, and as I believe groundless origin. . The bishop's opinion was shared by the Earl of Crawford, to whose good offices, with those of the bishop, we are indebted for the rescue of the bell from its English captivity, and its gift to the Museum."—*Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. viii. p. 265 *et seq.*

or from a desire to increase their beauty by additions according to the prevailing taste of the time, and he added that in such instances the original or more ancient work was invariably of a higher style of art and better execution than that of such subsequent additions. He also observed that the crucifixion, which is now so usually found on such reliquaries, is always obviously an addition of a later date, and is in all the instances which have come under his attention, in a more barbarous taste than that of the original or older work, and is besides of an inferior style of execution.¹

The progressive additions to such shrines generally form landmarks in their history; but in the case of the Coygerach, the art, and even the materials of the earlier relic are reproduced to a great extent on the case of its successor, so that we are unable from the comparison of styles to suggest any date as the period when the work may have been added to. We may, however, safely say that the engraving of the crucifixion in the front of the Quigrich is of comparatively recent date, and that it partakes of the character which Dr Petrie ascribes to like secondary additions to the early reliquaries of Ireland. The charter of King James III., in which he confirms the grant of King Robert of the lands of Auchtertyre to the monastery of Strathfillan, narrates his regard for John Murray, the prior at that date, being A.D. 1498, and I am inclined to recognise in the engraved crucifixion the work of this official, not merely from the rudeness of its execution, but from the appearance on the plate of two stars, which are the cognisance of the house of Murray. (See Plate V. fig. 3.)

If it should ultimately be found that so late a period as the beginning of the fourteenth century can be assigned for the reconstruction of the crozier, it may be an admissible speculation that Boece's story of the miraculous opening and shutting of a reliquary at Bannockburn had emerged from some cloudy account of the enclosure of the old crozier within the new one.

In whatever light we may regard the early history of the Quigrich, it is surrounded by an atmosphere of picturesque interest, and I regard its acquisition for the National Museum as one of the most pleasing incidents which has occurred since I came to be an office-bearer of the Society.

We must all feel that the intervention of Dr Daniel Wilson in bring-

¹ Proc. R. I. Acad. vol. v. pp. 467-8.

ing about this fortunate result has been invaluable, for I am persuaded that but for the concurrence of circumstances detailed in his letter to me, and the happy influences which he was able to exert in its acquisition, we might ere long have seen the Quigrich in other hands, where it would have been less appropriately placed, as it would assuredly have been less highly valued than in ours. Dr Wilson, since his settlement in Canada, has brought the subject of the Quigrich frequently under our notice, and not contented with this, he wrote a careful description of it for the *Canadian Journal*, in the hope of stirring up the Scotsmen of the province to join in acquiring the relic, and sending it home to the National Museum (*Canadian Journal*, October 1859).

The benefits which have accrued from Dr Wilson's labours to the archæology of Scotland and our own institution, have long been thankfully appreciated, and this Society has already conferred on him the highest honour which it has in its power to grant—but it is impossible for me to conclude my paper without venturing to suggest that we should transmit to Professor Wilson a special resolution of thanks for this his crowning benefit, in securing the Quigrich for the Museum, and so for the nation—with the assurance that if the pilgrim whose heart still warms so truly to the land of his early efforts, should be drawn to follow the “relik of Sanct Fillan,” and return to spend among us the evening of his days, he will receive a cordial welcome from all.

It is equally our duty, at the same time, to convey to the late “Doire of the Quigrich” the thanks of the Society for his handsome arrangements in contributing part of the value of the relic, and for his public spirit in resolving that it should be placed in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The original letter of King James III., as I have stated, passed into the possession of the Breadalbane family before the end of the seventeenth century, but on 1st November 1734 it was recorded as a Probativè Writ in the Books of Council and Session (having been presented for registration by John Campbell, cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland), and the certified extract of the document has been carefully preserved by the “Dewars” ever since, and has been surrendered to the Society along with the relic itself.

APPENDIX.

I.

DE CONFLICTU DE BANNOKBURNÆ.

Rex Angliæ Edwardus secundus audiens et illos actus regis Roberti, vidensque innumera damna, et mala infinita, sibi et suis, per eundem regem illata, in vindictam præmissorum congregavit exercitum copiosum valde tam equitum bene armatorum quam peditum, balistariorum et sagittariorum, in arte pugnandi satis peritorum; quorum caterva circumvallatus, et gloria humanæ potentiae confusus, Scociam hostiliter intravit et ipsam circumquaque devastans usque Banokbourne pervenit. Cui rex Robertus cum paucis occurrens, non in multitudine populi sed in Domino Deo spem ponens, cum antedicto rege Angliæ bellum commisit, et ipsum cum suis auxiliante ipso cujus est victoriam dare in fugam convertit, in die natalis beati Johannis Baptistæ, anno Domini MCCCXIII. ubi comes Glovernæ ac alii nobiles quamplures sunt interfecti quamplures aquis dimersi et foveis trucidati, quamplures diversi status sub diverso mortis genere extincti, multi etiam et quamplures nobiles capti quorum redemptione non solum regina et alii captivi de Scocia a carceribus sunt liberati, sed etiam ipsi Scoti omnes et singuli vehementer ditati. Inter quos etiam captus fuit Johannes de Britannia pro quo reddita est regina, et Robertus episcopus Glasguensis. Ab illo enim die et deinceps tota terra Scociæ semper de Anglis non solum ubique gaudebat victoria sed etiam infinitis abundebat divitiis.

Fordun, "Chronica Gentis Scotorum" (Skene's edition), p. 346.

II.

Processit itaque Rex Angliæ cum exercitibus pompose, cum his quæ eis sufficerent copiose boum quoque armenta, gregesque ovium et porcorum quorum non erat numerus, frumentum et hordeum cum molendinis portatilibus ad victum exercitus, et vinum in doliis atque cadiferreis parari constituit: aurum vero et argentum, vasa aurea et argentea, et omnem pretiosam suppellectilem de aerario regis assumpsit. Prefectusque est ipse cum satellitibus suis, curribus et quadrigis carris et equitibus, fundabulariis et sagittariis, albastrariis et valetis, armis, cum omnibus etiam instrumentis ad castrorum obseidiones imaginativis, utpote petrariis et ligonibus, trabuculis et mangonellis, scalis et ingeniis, pavilionibus et canopeis, fundis et bombardis, ceterisque

bellicis machinis, litubus et tubis clangentibus ut omnis regio quo pervenirent terrifico horrore pertimesceret. Sic quasi locustæ operuerunt superficiem universæ terræ quousque ad Bannokburn fit perventum. Quos cum rex Scotiæ explorari fecisset nocte præcedente conflictum forcas fieri, infixis sudibus acutis, et cespitibus viridibus imperceptibiliter cōoperiri fecit; monetque suos ad confessionem, et missas devote audire, et suos omnes de viatico corporis Christi communicari, et solum in Deo spem suam ponere. Et, ut prædictus abbas Bernardus in metro suo innuit sic prosequitur, dicens:—

Tunc summo mane celebrantur in ordine missæ
 Rege movente suo, dicenteque corde benigno;
 A proceres et mi popule, quibus insolet esse
 Libertas magna, pro qua certamina multa
 Passi sunt reges Scotiæ, Domino morientes
 Cernite nunc omnes quot nos patiendos labores
 Annis pro certo jam decertavimus octo,
 Pro regni jure, pro libertatis honore.
 Perdidimus fratres et amicos atque parentes:
 Vestri cognati captivi sunt, et amici;
 Nunc et prælati cum clero carcere clausi
 Mater et ecclesia nullo manet ordine tuta.
 Nobilitas terræ transivit sanguine guerræ:
 Armati proceres, quos coram cernitis omnes
 Nos regnum, gentem delere per impietatem
 Jam decreverunt, nec nos subsistere credunt.
 Curribus est et equis ipsorum gloria; nobis
 Est nomen Domini spes et victoria belli.
 Felix ista dies; natus Baptista Johannes,
 Sanctus et Andreas, ac fuso sanguine Thomas;
 Cum sanctis Scotiæ, patriæ pro gentis honore
 Pugnabunt hodie, Christo Domino præeunte.
 Hoc duce vincetis, finem guerræ facietis;
 Si pro peccatis vestris de corde fleatis
 Omnes offensas regalis nostræ potestas
 In nos commissas pronunciat esse remissas,
 Illis qui patriam defendunt nunc bene regnum.
 Hæc ait; et populus, regis verbis animatus
 Promittit prompte bellum de corde subire.

Heis dictis, tubisque ductilibus perstreptentibus, oppansisque in aurea aurora vexillis bellicis, venerabilis pater dominus Mauritius tunc abbas de Insula Missarum [postea Dumblanensis episcopus] qui confessionem regis illo die audivit, et missam in eminenti loco Scotiæ celebravit, quandum brevem et efficacem de libertate et juris sui defensione protulit præfatianculam; cumque finem dicendi ex abundantia cordis zelanter fecisset, tanto jocundo murrumure

tacito infremuit exercitus ut ipsos subita et incredibili audacia repletos autumnares. Nudipes ergo ecclesiasticus indutus, dictus Abbas cruciferarius, tanquam campiductor præcedit, et ante præinictum belli omnes genua flectere et Deum suppliciter exorare docuit. Quod videntes Anglici, vana lætitia exhilarati, clamare coeperunt; Ecce omnes isti Scoti tremulento corde se nobis dederunt! Ad quos unus senior Miles Angligena Ingeramus Umfraville, saniore intellectu concepto, respondit dicens; verum dicitis quod se reddunt, non nobis, sed Deo. Ne igitur vane, precor, major concipiatur alacritas animi, quam consideratio materiæ fuerit consequenda. Cum hoc alacres Scoti se erigunt, inimicos impetunt, et Scotia, quibus, laboriosiora pro justitia suæ partis existerant certamina gloriose ut assolet cessit victoria. Interfecti sunt ex parte Anglorum præter duces Glovernæ, ducenti milites, et aliorum quasi innumerabilium. Ex parte Scotorum ceciderunt milites duo, viz., Willelmus de Veteri-porte et Walterus de Ross.

Joannus de Fordun "Scot. chronicon," Goodall. Vol. II. p. 249: Edin. 1759, folio.

III.

Cæterum Anglus ratus Scotos victoria ferociores prælium non detrectaturos signum pugnæ in diem crastinum proponit. Idem facit Robertus si qua posset in fossas preparatas per hostem trahere. Interea unum quemque arma expedire jubet, ac sese deo preparare, confitendo sacerdotibus delicta, ac deum veniam orando, ut in posterum diem re sacra audita, ac sumpto Christi corpore idonei prælium conserere ac victoria potiri possint. In castris hostium amplissima sibi quisque sperabat unius diei labore exiguo divitias ingentes ac agros (quæ antea ne per somnium quidem speraverant) amplissimos habituros; nihil vero facilius effecturos sese arbitrabantur quam primo impetu hostes proterere. Nocte autem quum Robertus de rebus suis sollicitus quietem nullam prope corpori daret, precibus vacans, aut omnia animo voluens, intento eo cum quibusdam ac in preces converso orabat autem deum ac sanctum Phillanum cujus Brachium inclusum argento in exercitu se habere credebatur, ut victoriam propitii dare vellent) visum est brachium argenteum, cui inclusum verum fuerat, repente apertum ac rursus in nictu oculi clausum nullo accedente, nec se movente quopiam. Quod quum mirandum videretur, sacerdos ad altare accessit, quid actum esset inspecturus; ubi vidit verum inesse brachium exclamans, vere numen esse divinum, confessus est factum suum regi, quod roganti brachium sancti Phillani capsulam tantum argenteam veritus ne in tumultu perderetur, exempto vero brachio vacuum dederit. Plenus igitur rex spe reliquum noctis in precibus ac gratiis agendis perseverabat. Postero die præparatio omnibus ad rem factam milites convocat, jubetque omnes Christi corpus quo robustiores spiritu essent sumere. Erat in exercitu Abbas Insule

Missarum, nomine Mauricius qui ex editiusculo loco tum rem divinam faciebat, is regi eucharistiam ac nobilibus administrabat deinde a reliquis sacerdotibus idem factum cæteris militibus, hujusmodi apud eos verba Robertus habuisse fertur. Quanta nobis milites pugnandi incumbat necessitas, credo vos me etiam tacente intelligere. Videtis enim non Anglicorum modo exercitum, aut non solum ex subditis Anglicanæ ditionis regionibus conscriptum qui vos illorum potentia subigat; sed ex omnibus vicinis regionibus convocatos cum uxoribus ac liberis adversum nos venire, ut profligatis nobis ipsi nostra occupent agros nostros ipsi colant, ipsi aedes nostras inhabitent, templa ac sacra nostra ipsi frequentent; denique deletis nobis cum ipso etiam nomine ipsi omnia nostra possideant. Consuli etiam licit stolidissime ab hostium ducibus ignoratissimis hominibus audio qua nos poena priusquam in manus eorum venerimus excruciatos quam maxime, crudelissime trucedare debeant. Næ illi profecto sentient (quales vos ego viros cognovi) adversum quos talia consuluerint. Qui enim homines talia adversum nos milites strenuissimos et tantis victoriis induratos cogitare immo minari audent? electi scilicet fortissimi quique ex omnibus regionibus? immo regionum omnium seu impurissima. Arma a pueris ferre assueti ac rei militaris scientia imbuti? immo scorta contrectare soliti ac omnibus libidinibus immersi. Qui ubi in patria non agrum, Quid dico agrum? non villam non larem familiarem ullum habuerint aut si habuerint per luxum absumperint vos illi ignavissimi fortissimos, imbelles bellicosissimos sedibus ac focus ejicere conantur. Difficile erit hos perinde ac pecora conculcatis jugulare? Ut omittam etiam si eximia omnes virtute essent tamen ne tum quidem vobis timendum nec minus audendum esse. Nam quo nobis justior defendendi quam illis invadendi causa est, eo quoque nobis faventiores superos quam illis fore confidimus. Nihil vero ubi deus propitius est hostium potest multitudo. Quem certe nobis propitium singularibus miraculis compertum habemus, quæ nobis nota jam esse et ad omnium aures pervenisse scio. Quamobrem bono (quod facitis) animo confusam eam multitudinem inaudite, ac quo plures eos existimatis eo vobis prædam ac spolia fore majora animis cogitate. His verbis suos adhortatus est Robertus, Edwardus ex altera parte in aciem eduxit mandato cujuslibet nationis ducibus dato ut suos quisque vernacula lingua moneret hortareturque ut memores essent si fortiter unam aut alteram horam operam navassent se ingentes divitias opesque habituros; turpeque esse cum semel patriam exiverint, æque atque prius inopes addita insuper ignavia nota donum reverti. Exeuntes vix avelli ab uxoribus ac liberis potuere, tamen a ducibus castigati tandem inordinem redacti sunt. Sagittarii ex cornibus steteret permixti equitibus, phalanx in medio constituta est. Cæterum parum ad veram pugnam animati putabant aspectum tantorum hominum equorumque hostes non sustentaturos. Quæ opinio forte quadam aucta est. Robertus etenim, quum omnes pariter pedites equitesque relictis equis quo æquato periculo invicem magis fidentes cohererent, pedibus pugnare jussisset, procedens ante signa

Mauricius, quem supra rem sacram fecisse memoravimus, arrepta duabus manibus cruce, in qua Christus crucifixus pendeat, ostentansque eam militibus ut ejus nomine bono animo patriam defenderent, in eo solo confiderent, ad pugnam eduxit, ac ubi aliquantum adhuc acies utrinque abessent, deo sese cunctos in terram prostratos commendare mandat. Quod ubi hostes videre, deditionem eos supplices facere clamant universi. Sed mox ubi consurgentes maximo impetu in sese omnes incurrere vident converso metu sibi quisque timere cœpit.

Bœthii Scotorum Historia, Paris, 1520, p. 314-315.

IV.

King Robert maid hes folkis, thocht they wer in few noumer, reddy for battall in the samin maner : casting him mony wayis to bring his ennimes in the fowseis afore devait. First he commandit the army to mak thair confessionis, and to be reddy, on the morow to resave the blisseit sacrament eftir messe : throw quhilk thay micht haue the better esperance of victory. On the tothir side, the Inglismen, be hie curage, beleivit nocht bot heye pray of landis and guddis to fal to thame for small laubour of ane day.

All the nicht afore the battall, King Robert wes richt wery, havand gret solicitude for the weil of his army, and micht take na rest, bot rolland all jeoperdeis and chance of fortoun in his mind ; and sumtimes he went to his devoit contemplioun, makand his orisoun to God and Sanct Phillane, quhais arme, as he believit, set in silver wes closit in ane cais within his palyeon ; traisting the better fortoun to follow be the samin. In the menetime, the kais chakkit to suddanlie, but ony motion or werk of mortall creaturis. The preist, astonist be this wonder, went to the alter quhare the cais lay ; and quhen he fand the arme in the cais, he cryit, " Heir is ane gret mirakle ;" and incontinent he confesst how he brocht the tume cais in the field, dredand that the rillik suld be tint in the feild quhair sa gret jeoperdeis apperit. The King, rejosing of this mirakill, past the remanent nicht in his prayairs with gud esperance of victorie.

On the morow he gaderit al his army to messe, to resave the body of God, to mak thaim have the more curage aganis thair ennimes. In this army wes ane devoit man namit Mauritius abbot of Inchechaffray, quhilk said messe on ane hie mote, and ministerit the Eucharist to the king and his nobillis ; and causit his preistis to mak ministratioun thairof to the residen of the army. Efter this King Robert callit the pepill to his standart, and said in this maner ; " I beleif maist forcy championis, nane is amang yow nocht knawing how necessar it is to us to fecht this day aganis oure ennimes. Ye se ane army gaderit aganis yow, nocht onlie of Inglismen, but of sindry othir nationis by and about thame, and cuming aganis us with thair wiffis and childrin, nocht

onlie to dwel in our boundis bot als to banis us out of the samin, and tendis to manure our lands, to frequent our houssis and tempillis, and finallie to bring us to sic uter rewine, that our fame and memorie sall peris in Albion. Oure ennimes hes tane lang consultation, howbeit it wes folie, with quhat cruel and horrible torment they sall pine us or ever we be vincust or cum in their handis; not knawing your invincible curage and manheid, sa lang exercit in chevalry, quhilk is richt patent in me be lang experience. . Nochtheless, gif ye wil knaw quhat vailyeant men bene thir now invading yow with sic vane minassing maist forcy and invincible campionis; thay ar the refuse of all realms; but ony practik or experience of chevalry; and continewally sen thair first yeris, drownit in lustis amang effeminat huris. And becaus thir febill and cownt bodyis hes wastit thair patrimony, landis and gudis, in vile and corrupit usis they intend to ding yow fra your native landis, heritage and roumes. . Nochtheles, ye sall haue sone experience, that it sal be na mair difficulte to slay thaim than scheip. Forther, suppois they wer dotat with maist vertew, ye suld nouthar be affrayit nor yit fulehardy; for in so far as we haue ane justar querrell to defend than they haue to persaw in so far suld we beleif that God sal be mare faveourable to us than to thame, God hes now schawne to us his favour be mirakle of Sanct Phillane quhilk is cumin as I beleif to your eris. Therefore I pray yow be of gud comfort as ye ar. Set on yone confusit multitude of peple; and traist weill quhare God is concurrant, na multitude of ennimes may avail; and the more noumer of pepill cumis aganis you the pray and riches sall cum to your more proffet."

On the tother side King Edward prayit his folkis to remember gif they faucht vailyeantlie for ane hour or twa they suld haue infinite riches and the realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour, of whilk he desired nocht but the superiorite. Attour prayit tham to remember quhat irrecoverable schame suld follow, sen they war departit out of thair countreis to returne hame but proffet or victorie.

At last quhen they wer passand forthwart to battal thay nicht skarslie be severit fra embrasing of thair wiffis and childrin; nochtheless be hortation of thair capitanis thay cum to gud array. The archearis stude arrayit amang the horsmen about ilk wing; and the battal evir in the middis of thame; traisting thair ennimes nocht of pissance to sustene thair great ordinance.

King Robert, that his folkis sall have na esperance to fle, commandit thaim to leif thair hors behind thame, and to cum on fute to battall. Mauritius, the abbot foresaid tuke the croce, in quhilk the crucifix wes hingig and ereckit it afore the army in maner of ane baner. Incontinent al the army of Scottis fel on kneis devoitlie commending tham to God. The Inglismen seing the Scottis fall on kneis belevit tham yeldin but straik; but quhen they saw tham rise and cum forthwart they began to be affrayit."—*Bellenden's Boeca*. Edinburgh 1821, 4to, vol. ii. p. 390.

V.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY KING JAMES IV. OF A CHARTER BY KING
ROBERT BRUCE TO THE MONASTERY OF STRATHFILLANE, 2 OCTOBER
1498.

CARTA CONFIRMACIONIS ET NOUË DONACIONIS TERRARUM DE WOTHIRTIRY
MONASTERIO DE STRATHFULANE (REGIST. MAG. SIGILL., LIB. XIII. NO. 399).

Jacobus dei gracia Rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem Sciatis nos pro speciali deuocione quam habemus beato confessori sancto fulano ac pro singulari fauore quem gerimus erga deuotum oratorem nostrum dompnum Johannem Murray priorem monasterii seu capelle nostre de Straithfulane approbasse ratificasse et pro nobis et successoribus nostris admortizasse et ad manum mortuam pro perpetuo confirmasse Illas donacionem cartam et infeodacionem factas per quondam nobilissimum progenitorem et predecessorem nostrum Regem Robertum brois bone memorie cuius anime propicietur deus dicto nostro monasterio seu capelle de Straithfulane ac priori eiusdem qui pro tempore fuerit et suis successoribus de totis et integris quinque libratibus terrarum de Wothirtiry antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis jacentibus in baronia de glendohart infra vicecomitatem nostrum de perth Ac eciam nos de nouo confirmando donamus et donando confirmamus dicto nostro monasterio de Straithfulane et prefato domino Johanni Murray moderno priori eiusdem et suis successoribus totas et integras predictas quinque libratas terrarum antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis Eademque creamus vniuius annexiuius et incorporauimus et hac presenti carta nostra creamus vnium annexamus et incorporamus in vnam meram et liberam baroniam perpetuis futuris temporibus baroniam de Wothirtiry nuncupandam Tenendas et habendas totas et integras predictas quinque libratas terrarum de Wothirtiry antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis dicto domino Johanni Murray et suis successoribus prioribus dicti monasterii siue capelle nostre de Straithfulane creatas unitas annexatas et incorporatas In vnam meram et liberam baroniam perpetuis futuris temporibus baroniam de Wothirtiry nuncupandam de nobis et successoribus nostris In puram et perpetuam elimosinam secundum tenorem carte et infeodacionis prefati quondam Regis Roberti brois eius desuper confecte Imperpetuum Per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas prout iacent in longitudine et latitudine In boscis planis moris marresis viis semitis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupacionibus venacionibus piscacionibus brueriis petariis turbariis carbonariis fabrilibus genestis siluis virgultis aquis stagnis riuolis cum Columbibus et Columbariis cum lapide et calce et lapidibus Cum curiis et earum exitibus bludeuitis herezeldis mulierum merchetis Cum furca fossa sok sak tholl theme Infangthefe outfangthefe pit et gallois Ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus aisia-

mentis ac justis pertinentibus suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram tam procul quam prope ad predictas terras et baroniam cum pertinentiis spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua reuocacione aut contradictione quacunque faciundo et sustentando dicti prior et successores sui pro prefatis terris et baronia cum pertinentiis pro nobis predecessoribus et successoribus nostris diuinum cultum et orationum suffragia deuotarum in carta prefati quondam regis Roberti brois eis desuper confecta specificata et secundum tenorem, ejusdem tantum In cuius Rei testimonium presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precipimus Testibus Reuerendo in Cristo patre Wilermo Episcopo Aberdonensi nostri secreti sigilli custode dilectis consanguineis nostris Gerugio Comite de huntlie domino badzenach cancellario nostro Archibaldo Comite de Ergyle domino cambel et lorne magistro hospicii nostri patricio comite de bothuille domino halis Alexandro domino hume magno camerario nostro Roberto Lundy de balgony milite thesaurario nostro Et dilectis clericis nostris magistris ricardo inurheid decano glasguensi secretario nostro et Waltero Drummond decano Dunblanensi nostrorum rotulorum et registri ac consilii clerico Apud Striueling secundo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octauo et regni nostri vndecimo.

VI.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY KING ROBERT BRUCE TO THE ABBEY OF
DERE, IN BUCHAN, IN RECOMPENSE OF THE INJURIES INFLICTED ON IT
THROUGH HIS WARS, 15TH FEBRUARY 1315.¹

Robertus dei gracia rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem sciatis nos pro salute anime nostre et pro salute animarum omnium nostrorum et successorum nostrorum regum Scocie nec non et in recompensationem dampnorum que monasterium de Dere in Buchan causa guerre nostre sustinuit dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et beate Marie virgini et monasterio de Dere omnes ecclesias terras res redditus et possessiones quascunque quas monachi eiusdem monasterii assecuti sunt ex donis quondam Willelmi Cumyn Comitis de Buchan quondam Mariorie sponse sue quondam Alexandri et Johannis comitum de Buchan nec non et ex donis aliorum nobilium regni nostri Tenendas et habendas dicto Monasterio et monachis ibidem deo seruientibus et imperpetuum seruituris et eorum successoribus in perpetuum in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice cum

¹ From a contemporary copy belonging to Sir Patrick Keith Murray, Bart., of Auchtertyre.

omnibus libertatibus comoditatibus aisyamentis et iustis pertinenciis suis sicut aliqua domus religiosorum cisterciensis ordinis in regno Scocie aliquas ecclesias terras res redditus et possessiones in perpetuam elemosinam liberius quociens plenius et honorificencius tenent seu possident In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum precepimus apponi Testibus Bernardo abbate de Abirbrothoc cancellario nostro Johanne de Menteth Gylberto de Haya constabulario nostro Roberto de Keth Marescallo nostro Nigello Cambel Jacobo de Lyndesay et Hugone de Erth Militibus Apud Abirbrothoc xv^o die Februarii anno regni nostri nono.

VII.

LETTERS BY THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DUNKELD, CONFIRMING A GRANT BY WILLIAM, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, TO THE ABBOT OF INCHAFFRAY AND THE CANONS OF STRATHFILLAN, OF THE CHURCH OF KILLIN, OCTOBER 1318.¹

Vniuersis cristi fidelibus has litteras visuris vel audituris Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesie Dunkeldensis salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos cartam donacionis facte Religiosis viris Abbati et Conuentui de Insula missarum per Reuerendum patrem dominum Willelmum Dei gracia Episcopum Dunkeldensem vidisse et inspexisse non cancellatam non abolitam nec in aliqua parte sui viciatam in forma que sequitur Vniuersis sancte matris Ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes Littere peruererint Willelmus miseratione diuina Ecclesie Dunkeldensis minister humilis salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos de vnanimi consensu et assensu capituli nostri habito super hoc prius inter nos in capitulo nostro diligenti et frequenti ac solempni tractatu caritatis intuitu pro cultu diuino augendo et hospitalitate tenenda concessisse et contulisse imperpetuum Religiosis viris Abbati de Insula missarum et canonicis eiusdem monasterij per dispositionem sui Abbatis Deo inperpetuum seruituris in Capella sancti Felani Glendochred nostre diocesis ibidem per predictum Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit mittendis ponendis et amouendis Ita tamen quod secundum situm loci et facultates eiusdem sufficiens numerus canonicorum inibi ordinetur et inueniatur Ecclesiam de Killyn cuius ius patronatus dominus noster dominus Robertus Dei gracia Rex Scotorum illustris ipsius ecclesie uerus patronus prius concessit dictis Religiosis cum terris et omnibus aliis redditibus obuencionibus et iuribus quibuscunque ad dictam Ecclesiam pertinentibus seu pertinere valentibus in vsus suos proprios Saluis nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum Episcopalibus et Archidiaconalibus Ecclesie Dunkeldensis qui pro tempore fuerint omnibus que de dicta Ecclesia soldant habere seu percipere

¹ From the original at Panmure House.

Ita videlicet quod omnes fructus et prouentus dicte Ecclesie cum pertinenciis conuertantur per ordinacionem predicti Abbatis in vsus Prioris et Canonicorum commorancium ad dictam Capellam pro cultu diuino Et Prior presentandus ad Prioratum dicte capelle per Abbatem et Conuentum dicti Monasterij quocienscumque et quandocumque ipsum Prioratum contigerit vacare nobis et successoribus nostris presentetur et a nobis et successoribus nostris instituatür et curam suscipiat. Et sciendum est quod predicti Religiosi viri Abbas et Conuentus dicti monasterij presentabunt nobis et successoribus nostris qui pro tempore fuerint ad vicariam dicte Ecclesie de Killyn vnum Canonicum vel vnum Capellanum secularem si quem maluerint qui curam dicte Ecclesie serat et respondebit de eadem Cuius porcionem pro sustentacione sua et pro iuribus nostris Episcopalibus et Archidiaconalibus soluendis taxamus decem libras sterlingorum et volumus taxari in futurum In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposimus Et ad huius rei euidentiam pleniorē et confirmacionē maiorem Sigillum commune Capituli nostri presentibus est appensum Datum apud Dunkelden in Capitulo nostro die Jouis proxima ante festum Apostolorum Symonis et Jude Anno Domini millesimo Tricentesimo decimo octauo Quam donacionem collacionem et concessionem approbamus ratificamus et per presentes confirmamus Et si quid per incuriam vel per negligenciam in dicta carta fuerit omissum Id ex certa sciencia supplemus per presentes In cuius rei testimonium commune sigillum capituli nostri presentibus apposimus Datum in Capitulo nostro die Jouis proxima ante festum Apostolorum Sijmonis et Jude Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo decimo octauo.

VIII.

INQUEST HELD AT KANDROCHID CONCERNING THE AUTHORITY AND PRIVILEGES
OF THE COYGERACH, 22D APRIL 1428.¹

Hec Inquisitio facta apud Kandrochid xxii die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo xxviii, coram Johanne de Spens de Perth, balliivo de Glendochirde, de et super autoritate et privilegiis cuiusdam Reliquie Sancti Felani, que vulgariter dicitur *Coygerach*, per istos subscriptos, viz.: Karulum Cambell, Reginaldum Malcolmi, Donaldum M'Arthour, Cristinum Malcolmi, Johannem M'Nab, Patricium M'Nab, Johannem Alexandri M'Nab, Johannem Menzies, Duncanum Gregorii, Dugallum Gregorii, Duncanum Elpine, Alexandrum M'Austillan, Nicolaum Gregorii, Johannem M'Callum, et Felanum Pauli, Qui jurati magno sacramento dicunt, Quod lator ipsius reliquie de Coygerach, qui Jore vulgariter dicitur habere debet annuatim et hereditarie a quolibet inhabitante parochiam de Glendochirde, habente vel laborante mercatam terre,

¹ From the original in the Breadalbane charter-chest, as printed in the Black Book of Taymouth.

sive libere sive pro firma, dimidiam bollam farine, et de quolibet in dicta parochia habente dimidiam mercatam terre ut predicatur, libere vel pro firma, modium farine et de quolibet in ista parochia habente quadraginta denariatas terre, dimidiam modii farine. Et si quisvis alius inhabitans dictam parochiam magis quam mercatam terre haberet, nihil magis solveret quam ordinatum fuit de una mercata terre. Et quod officium gerendi dictam reliquiam dabatur cuidam progenitori Finlai Jore latoris presentium hereditarie, per successorem Sancti Felani, cui officio idem Finlaius est verus et legitimus heres. Et quod ipse privilegia usa fuerunt et habita in tempore Regis Roberti Bruys et in tempore omnium regum a tunc usque in hodiernum diem. Pro quibus commodis et privilegiis prefati jurati dicunt quod si contigerit, aliqua bona vel catalla rapta esse vel furata ab aliquo dictam parochiam de Glendochirde inhabitante, et si a quo ipse bona vel catalla rapta essent vel furata propter dubium sue persone vel inimicitias hostium eadem bona vel catalla prosequi non auderet, tunc unum servum suum vel hominem mitteret ad eundem Jore de le Coygerach cum quatuor denariis vel pare sotularum, cum victu prime noctis, et tunc idem Jore abinde suis propriis expensis prosequetur dicta catalla ubicunque exinde sectum querere poterit infra regnum Scotie. Et hec universa per dictam inquisitionem fuerunt inventa anno, die, loco, et mense prenominiatis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Johannis de Spens ballivi antedicti presentibus est appensum anno die et loco supradictis.

IX.

LETTER OF GIFT BY KING JAMES III. TO MALISE DOIRE, GIVEN UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL AT EDINBURGH, 6TH JULY 1487.¹

LITERA PRO MALISEO DOIRE, COMMORANTI IN STRAFULANE.

JAMES, be the grace of God King of Scottis, to all and sindri our liegis and subditis spirituale and temporale to quhois knaunge thir our lettres sal cum greting: Forsamekle as we haue undirstand that our servitour Malice Doire and his forebearis has had ane Relik of Sanct Fulane callit the QUEGRICH, in keping of us and of oure progenitouris of maist nobill mynde, quham God assolye, sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys and of before, and made nane obedience nor ansuere to na persoun spirituale nor temporale in ony thing concernyng the said haly Relik uthir wayis than is contenit in the suld infestamentis thareof made and grantit be oure said progenitouris. We chairg you therefor strately and commandis that in tyme to cum ye and ilk yane of you redily ansuere,

¹ From the certified extract of the document registered as a probative writ in the Books of Council and Session, 1st November 1734.

intend and obey to the said Malise Doire in the peциable broiking and joising of the said Relik, and that ye, na nain of you, tak upon hand to compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience nor ansuere to you nor till ony uthir but allenarly to us and oure successouris, according to the said infetment and fundatioun of the said Relik, and siclike as wes use and wount in the tyme of oure said progenitouris of maist nobill mynde of before : . And that ye mak him nane impediment, letting nor distroublance in the passing with the said Relik throw the contre, as he and his forebearis wes wount to do ; And that ye and ilk ane of you in oure name and autorite kepe him unthrallit, bot to remane in siclike fredome and liberte of the said Relik, like as is contenit in the said infetment under all the hiest pane and charge that ye and ilk ane of you may amitt, and inrun anent us in that pairt. Gevin undir oure prive sele at Edinburgh this vj day of Julij, the yere of God j^m iiij^c lxxxvij yeris and of oure regne the xxvij yere.

JAMES R.

THE AUTHOR,

JOHN STUART, LL.D.,

DIED 19TH JULY 1877,

WHILE THESE SHEETS WERE PASSING THROUGH THE PRESS.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.



