

ARCHÆOLOG
-ICAL NOTES
ON EARLY
SCOTLAND
—
W.G.DON, MD

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ON

EARLY SCOTLAND.



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ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES
ON
EARLY SCOTLAND,

RELATING MORE PARTICULARLY TO THE
STRACATHRO DISTRICT OF STRATHMORE IN
ANGUS ;

ALSO
SOME ACCOUNT OF LOCAL ANTIQUITIES AND
PLACE NAMES,

WITH
Map, Plan, and Appendix.

BY
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Deputy Surgeon-General Army Medical Staff.



Brechin:
D. H. EDWARDS, ADVERTISER OFFICE.
1896.

ERRATA.

Page 12, line 26 from top—For “pronounciation,” read “pronunciation.”

„	17,	„	32	„	— „	“burrows,” read “barrows.”
„	23,	„	7	„	— „	“leven,” read “leaven.”
„	29,	„	4	„	— „	“sees,” read “Sees.”
„	30,	„	1	„	— „	“people,” read “peoples.”
„	47,	„	24	„	— „	“rank,” read “right.”
„	72,	„	14	„	— „	“Fotherdun,” read “Fothurdun.”
„	72,	„	24	„	— „	“fother,” read “fothen.”
„	79,	„	7	„	— „	“Pitfo r,” read “Pitfoúr.”
„	81,	„	5	„	— „	“Nectan,” read “Nechtan.”

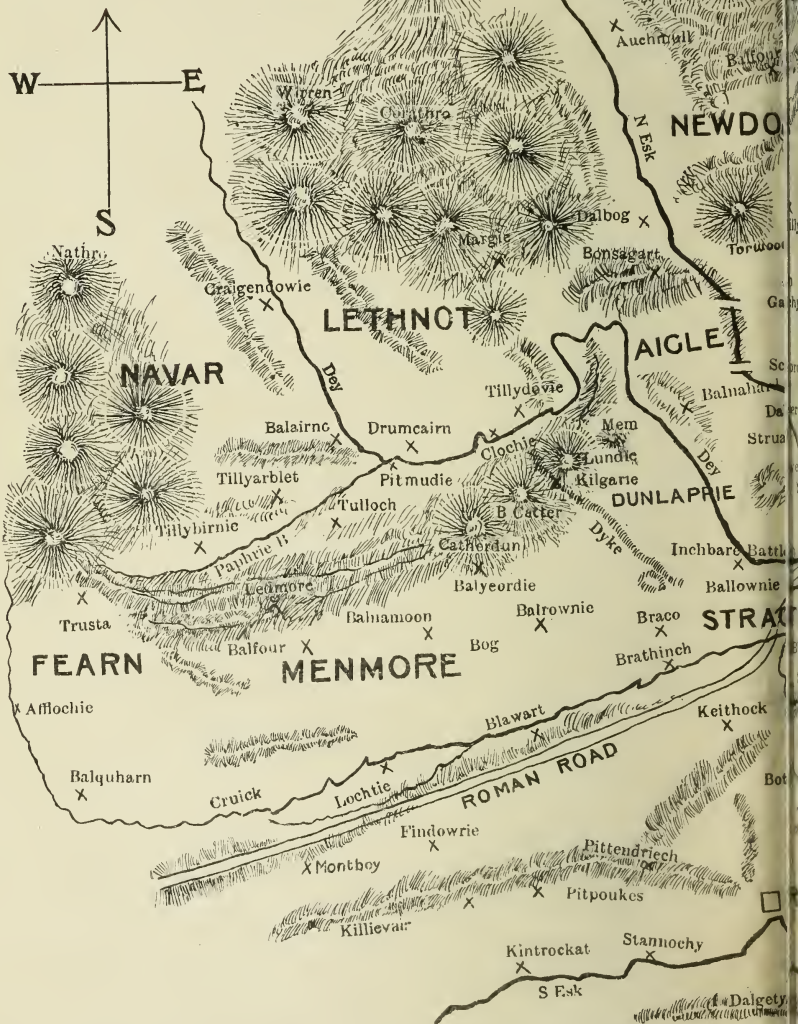


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ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON EARLY SCOTLAND.



INTRODUCTORY.

THE following notes, having their origin in a cursory survey of some points in the Rev. Mr Cruickshank's valued "Historic Footprints in Strathmore," were first written in letter form to a correspondent, and not intended for publication. But, at the suggestion of friends they appeared, somewhat altered and enlarged, in a series of articles in the *Brechin Advertiser*; and now, again, by request, have been much extended and entirely recast into more permanent book form. The original articles were prefaced by the following too flattering editorial comment, which is reproduced because it discloses the author's local interest in, and knowledge of the district discussed in the notes; however much it may over-estimate his wider fitness for a notoriously difficult task:—

"Then Dr Don there is no man better qualified to deal with the many memorials of ancient times which formerly abounded in the eastern part of Strathmore in Angus. His father was farmer of Ballownie, where his forefathers had been for generations. The farmhouse in which he first saw the light, and which continues very much the same as it was then, is built upon the line of the Roman Road, which, from Ardoch in Perthshire, past the north side of the Hill of Kirriemuir, through Fern and Menmore, touched the North Esk at the King's Ford, about a mile from Ballownie, and then held on through the

Mearns to Aberdeen. The ground on which the house stands had often echoed to the tread of the Roman legions, and for many centuries afterwards, down even to the times of authentic Scottish history, had been in use as the most direct and passable way betwixt Perth and Aberdeen. The great roads constructed by that wonderful people were made to last, like every other work which they took in hand.

The associations arising from such an interesting natal ground, and which is moreover at a very short distance from the Roman Camp at Blackdykes, some of the remains of which would probably be visible in Dr Don's early days, would have no doubt an influence upon his mind, an influence which seems rather to have increased than diminished, notwithstanding the many stirring scenes he has witnessed, and the eventful experience passed through in the course of long naval and military services."

It is well to recognise at once that archæological investigations are beset with their own peculiar difficulties and dangers, which demand much patient and careful handling; but if so dealt with, they yield to the devout student results of the deepest human interest. The unwritten, if read aright, perhaps reveals more reliably, even than the written, stages in a past evolution, material, mental, and moral, which have brought civilised man to his present position. This is a worthy study. There was a time, not so long ago, when all antiquarian lore was declared dry-as-dust and unprofitable; but no critic who values his reputation would venture to say so now; for history is no longer viewed as a mere barren chronological record of events, but rather as a mirror reflecting to the thoughtful student the true philosophy of racial and national life.

To obtain, therefore, a glimpse, however dim and distant, of our forbears and their surroundings, of men and women who lived and loved in the very hills and valleys so familiar to them and us, surely cannot but arouse feelings of kindly interest and reverent regard. It has thus become the chief aim of modern archæology to picture in the mind's eye, and clothe with living actuality our predecessors and ancestors, and revivify the scenes in which they were the actors. This can be

done by careful deduction and induction from available records, whether written, or in the form of dumb relics, which, however, tell a tale in speech of their own.

There is some truth in the objection that archæological inferences include a good deal of guess work, which, from the nature of the subject, is inevitable; yet, have not the highest efforts of the human mind—in astronomy for instance—been reached by pure induction, until afterwards verified by actual observation?

But in archæology we can generally see and handle the objects upon which inferences are based, and, therefore, the lessons they teach should, if interpreted with sufficient learning and insight, be almost freed from elements of error. Modern archæology is founded on several branches of study—written history; etymology, or the origin of words; onomatology, or the science of names; topography, or the description of places; antiquities, including tangible remains of all kinds, whether monumental or fragmentary relics. It is the last four which give clues to the elucidation of problems upon which the first, or written history, is silent.

The analytic and critical study of place names is comparatively a new branch of archæology; and is so fundamental and far reaching that not even the ancient name of a farm field, or humble hamlet, should escape attention and analysis.

What has been called “etymological ethnology,” or the study of races and peoples through place names and patronymics, had, like most other analytic and critical methods, its origin in Germany, and the great Von Humbolt was one of its pioneers.

Through onomatology alone, we can now reach conclusions regarding the racial affinities, sociology, and physical surroundings of our early predecessors and ancestors with a degree of probability, if not certainty, quite unattainable even a quarter of a century ago. This has followed from the critical examination, chiefly of the early Irish and Saxon Annals, in such monumen-

tal labours as those of Isaac Taylor in his "Words and Places;" Skene in "Celtic Scotland;" and Sir Herbert Maxwell's recent and delightful "Scottish Land Names," of the Rhind series of lectures in archæology.

It is indeed impossible to overestimate the importance of place names in archæology, a truth to which all its students are now keenly alive.

Taylor is positively axiomatic in the following pregnant sentences, which are, indeed, finger posts to the student of place names:—

"Local names are never mere arbitrary sounds devoid of meaning. . . . They may always be regarded as records of the past, inviting and rewarding a careful historic investigation. . . . They are conserved in places where little or nothing else that is human has endured. . . . They often preserve the memory of historic sites, and even enable us to assign approximate dates to certain memorable events. Many branches of scientific, historical, and archæological research are capable of being elucidated by the study of names."

Maxwell says:—

"Every place name has a real meaning, however darkly it may have been obscured by linguistic changes, or phonetic expression, in the lips of people speaking another language."

But he conveys a caution against special perils in the study of Scottish place names—whether as regards orthography or pronunciation—in the fact that "most of these names were conferred by people speaking a language which has long ceased to be heard in the districts where the names remain; a language, moreover, which was practically unwritten."

Scotland, which for its size is undoubtedly now the most literary of nations, was in ancient times the very reverse; our Pictish predecessors were apparently absolutely, and our Gaelic almost wholly illiterate; for such Scottish Celtic annals as we possess were chiefly written in Ireland. In proof of this national illiteracy it has been often asserted, and generally accepted, that our great half-way king, Malcolm III., A.D. 1057-1093,

(surnamed Caenmore, 'big-head') could neither read nor write until taught by his Saxon Consort; the saintly Margaret, whose beautiful name has descended through countless multitudes of our country-women; as has also that of her sister Christina, in innumerable 'Kirsties.' But the assertion, like so many others connected with Celtic times, has probably small basis in truth; for, after his father Duncan's murder by Macbeth, Malcolm spent his youth at the Northumbrian Court, and could doubtless speak if not write both the Saxon and Celtic languages.

As Caenmore's reign marked a turning point, and formed the link between Celtic and Saxon Scotland, it may not be inappropriate here to vindicate his personality. Historians have long repeated each other in representing him as an ignorant, semi-savage Celtic boor; probably an entirely over-coloured picture; by blood he was actually half Saxon; and, if himself rough, and if in the eyes of his polished Consort, Margaret, and her sleek Confessor, Turgot, his court was rude, it is quite certain that all the same everyone respected the brains which the big head represented. They recognised him as a remarkably astute and politic ruler, with a happy knack of conciliating doubtful friends and of disarming open foes. Being the legitimate heir to the Scottish throne, he, with the aid of his uncle Siward of Northumbria, recovered, in 1054, the portion of his kingdom south of the Forth, from the usurper and murderer of his father, Macbeth; whom he entirely overthrew at Dunsinane (*vide* Shakespeare) in 1057, chased over the Cairn o' Mounth, and finally slew at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire. This brought him face to face with Thorfinn, the Norwegian Jarl, to whom Macbeth had confided the rule of the northern half of the kingdom. Thorfinn, however, opportunely died; and, equal to the occasion, Caenmore promptly married his widow, Ingibioric, by which stroke of policy he gained over the north without serious opposition, and consolidated the

kingdom of Scotland—almost as we now know it—under one ruler.

Most of our historians have hitherto made this consolidation the starting point of Scottish history, worth recording; but, with the recent recovery and unravelling of the preceding dark Pictish-Scottish centuries, we now consider such a beginning impossible and impotent, as I shall afterwards show.

On Ingibioric's early death, leaving an only son, Duncan, Malcolm married Margaret; who, with her mother Agatha, sister Christina, and brother Edgar, (the Atheling or 'child' as he was affectionately called by the Saxons) of the Royal House of England, had fled to Scotland before the ruthless Norman Conqueror. By this marriage the Saxons, who poured over the border in great numbers, became also firmly attached to the Scottish throne.

Malcolm's welcome to the royal refugees, as well as his general Saxon proclivities, aroused the anger of the Conqueror, who resolved to give him a taste of his power; and with this view personally invaded Scotland, a fact little known and seldom alluded to. He certainly might have crushed Malcolm; but at Abernethy, instead of fighting, the latter so palavered the haughty Norman, that they made friends, and Big Head 'became his man,' according to the expression in the chronicle; in token whereof Ingibioric's little son Duncan was given as a hostage. Notwithstanding this filial pledge, shortly after the Conqueror's death, Malcolm quarrelled over Northumbrian affairs with his successor, William Rufus, who also invaded Scotland; but again, instead of fighting, there was a renewal of friendship. Caenmore, however, could not keep out of Northumbria, and was killed in a miserable foray at Alnwick in 1093. We cannot but recognise in this curious career that Malcolm displayed remarkable talents both in the higher policy and meaner finesse of statesmanship.

I have here given this sketch of his reign, because, as

will afterwards appear, his career and epoch bore important relations both to what had gone before and what came after in our national evolution.

The limited space to which these notes are necessarily confined, entirely preclude the possibility of quoting authority for statements made ; such must be taken for what they are worth on my own responsibility. I can give the reader an assurance that my conclusions have not been arrived at without much and long study, of the works of both old and recent recognised authors on Scottish history and archæology.





EARLY HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY OF SCOTLAND.



THAT, according to some standard Scottish historians, our so-called authentic annals, worth the relating, should only begin broadside with the reign of Malcolm Caenmore, was a confession of ignorant indifference that could not now be pleaded or excused.

It is, of course, evident, our nation could not have attained even the measure of political and social development it had in the eleventh century, without long and eventful evolution; it is just such evolution we believe can now be traced by a critical study of our early annalists;—the Irish especially, who, through their kinship with the Dalriadic Scots, fortunately for us considered Pictish history almost a part of their own.

But we should not judge our conventional historians too severely; for indeed, until quite recently, Pictish history had not passed through the critical sieve, and the grain been separated from the chaff; now, however, we can state on the great authority of Skene, that, from the period of the evacuation of the Romans in the fourth, to Malcolm Caenmore in the eleventh century, there are not fifty consecutive years wholly unaccounted for. It is true, that during these seven centuries a dark cloud at times descended on our annals, leaving only the faintest twilight in which we may discern events in their continuity; yet we have sufficient light to pick out the true, and eliminate the improbable. The gallery of portraits of Scottish kings in Holyrood

has long given rise to much scoffing and banter; the pictures, as likenesses, are, of course, absolutely fantastic; yet, if we view them as allegorical, merely, of a long list of monarchs, who, at all events in the post-Roman period, had some veritable existence, they are not so absurd and mythical after all.

In the following sketch I will briefly attempt to trace the history of those races and tribes, from whose amalgamation our modern Scottish people are sprung. The task is somewhat intricate, for it is necessary to begin at an indefinitely early period, and follow the course of events to the twelfth century, when final racial consolidation fairly commenced.

Greek and Phœnician traders of the 6th century, B.C., although they knew of the existence of Britain and Ireland, had only the faintest knowledge of their inhabitants; who, about that time were apparently akin or identical with the people on the Continent known as Basques, or Iberians, of whom a living remnant still survives in southern France and northern Spain. In the Irish annals the same race are called "Firbolg," literally sackmen, from their curious habit of carrying about leathern sacks; they were rude, nomadic, short, dark, curly-haired, and utterly despised by the Celts, who endeavoured to enslave or exterminate them. But, nevertheless, they survived to the Roman period, even as a whole tribe, called "Silures," on the borders of Wales; and in that region, as well as in the West of Ireland, their peculiar physical type may still be occasionally traced among the people; but it has entirely disappeared in Scotland. Their skulls, recovered from burial burrows, are identified as long or oval, whereas those of the Celts are round. All they seem to have left us are a few otherwise unaccounted names, such as Britain, Erne, Banff, Athol, Elgin, etc.

When the Romans reached Britain in the first century of our era, the country as far as the Forth, and probably the Tay, was peopled by Gaulish Celts, of which a very

large tribe, called the "Brigantes," with a number of its sub-tribes, occupied northern England and southern Scotland. Beyond the Forth was a mountainous, wooded country, called in the Roman annals Caledonia; but, while its inhabitants were easily distinguished, physically, from the south Britons, there is not a hint that their language presented any noticeable difference. The "Caledonians" were described by Tacitus as tall, stout-limbed, with fair or reddish hair; and thus formed a contrast to the shorter and swarthy Gauls. He gives them credit for superlative bravery, in that they opposed the great Agricola himself, in A.D. 86, with the utmost resolution; and indeed, under Galgacus nearly defeated him at the famous battle of "Mons Grampius," the site of which has been keenly disputed, but placed by Skene with much probability near Cupar Angus; although other sites at Comrie, Catterthun, and Fetteresso have also been ably supported. The Romans never had any intimate knowledge of Caledonia and its people; for they had but a slender hold on the country, even after Severus, in A.D. 210, made the great road through Strathmore.

About A.D. 306, while the Roman records still called the people of the hilly parts Caledonians, they gave the name "Picts" to those of the lowland districts; fifty years later the former name entirely disappears, and the whole inhabitants are called generically Picts, a title which stuck to them through five centuries. Both names were applied to one and the same people, who formed a confederacy of allied, but, as will be seen, not wholly homogeneous tribes; for neither name expressed any racial eponymous, or father name; but was rather a mere nick-name. The term Caledonians has been interpreted to mean "men of the woods;" and that of Picts "painted men;" but the latter is supposed to have entirely arisen through a phonetic misapprehension of a native name, which sounded in Roman ears like their own word "pictus," painted. The probability of this

is maintained by Taylor ; who observes, that, as all the Celtic tribes stained their bodies in war time, there would have been nothing distinctive in the term "painted ;" but if, as he supposes, the name came from the old Celtic roots, *Pehta* or *Piecta*, "the fighters," it was just a title such as a warlike people would proudly assume.

The racial affinities of the Picts have been keenly disputed ; but we believe are now finally solved through a study of the Irish annals. No archæologist could still hold with Pinkerton that the race was Teutonic ; for it was undoubtedly Celtic, of a stock almost wholly derived from Ireland, and to that country we must turn for a solution of the ethnological riddle.

The legendary accounts of Ireland, in various ancient and undoubtedly genuine works, disclose two distinct races in that country at a very remote period, one which we identify as the "Firbolg," and the other as "Gadhelic Celts ;" the latter being infinitely the superior of the former in every human attribute. These Celts consisted of two sections, which, although differing somewhat physically and historically, were closely allied in blood and speech.

The first section was called "Tuatha (tribe) de Danaan ;" and afterwards from Cruidne, an eponymous or father name, "Cruithnigh ;" the second "Milesians," from Miledh, a father name ; and afterwards "Scots," from a reputed ancestress *Scota*. Both had origin in a very fair people, called "Albani," in a region on the Danube (vaguely called *Scythia*), and should therefore, so to speak, be considered cousins.

The Danaan first started on a westward migration, and, passing through France, ultimately landed—some hundreds of souls—at Wexford. What motive impelled the migration, how they learned of Ireland beyond the sea, where they found means of transport, must ever remain a mystery. The date, also, of the migration can only be conjectured, but must have fallen several centuries before the Christian era. Two hundred years

after the Danaan reached Ireland the Milesians also landed at Wexford, but they came from Spain, and, therefore, had a longer voyage. The two tribes settled down side by side without recorded difficulty, good evidence, as Skene points out, of their near relationship in blood and speech; a fact which had also most important confirmation in the easy Celtic settlement of Scotland many centuries afterwards.

But although originally identical, they presented in Ireland some acquired difference in physical type. The Danaan remained tall, fleshy, white-skinned, with fair or reddish hair—a Germanic appearance, exactly that which Tacitus gives the Caledonians. The Milesians, or Scots, on the other hand, had, in their migration, got a darker strain, which made them less fair, shorter, and more wiry. This intermixture perhaps gave rise to the legend of descent from “Scota,” a “daughter of Pharaoh,” or, in less figurative language, an Egyptian. The poetic origin of the eponym Scot from that ancestress is very mythical. Some philologists derive it, instead, from a very common-place and suggestive Celtic root, “*scuit*,” a wanderer or vagabond; which is allied to the word “scout,” and our own opprobrious epithet, “scoot,” applied to an ill-conditioned woman. Indeed, the restless and lawless habits of the Scots of old give some colour to this vulgar derivation of the name.

As the result of intertribal difficulties a large body of the men of the Danaan, or Cruithnigh, passed over from Ireland to “Alban;” for by that name our Scotland of to-day is known in the Irish annals. They conquered the country from the “Firbolg,” from “Cath to Forchu,” which some have interpreted, Caithness to Forth.

The colonists, it is said, finding themselves without women, and despising consort with the wretched Firbolg, had to return and beg wives from the Scots of Antrim. Such tradition points not only to kinship, but close marriage alliance; and if the Caledonians or Picts were, as we believe, the descendents of such alliance, then

they were really a mixture of the two Celtic Irish races. The colonization of Alban cannot be fixed chronologically; but, making due allowance for subsequent development, it must have been at least two or three centuries before our era; because, in A.D. 86, Agricola found the Caledonians able to oppose him with 30,000 men, having advanced military organisation, including charioteers—the cavalry of the period.

We have no historical evidence that the Cruithnigh found other inhabitants in Alban than the Firbolg; but are warranted in the belief that some scattered tribes of Britons—coming through England—had already settled in the southern and eastern lowlands; for, only on some such hypothesis can we account for the large number of place names in these districts holding Cymric—that is Welsh or British—roots. For instance, the prefix *aber*, of which the Gaelic equivalent is *inver*, both signifying about, by, or between, could not have been brought by the Cruithnigh from Ireland, because there are no abers in that country; but they abound in Wales.

The pioneer Cruithnigh colonists in Alban were no doubt from time to time reinforced from Ireland. Indeed, we know of one such considerable body of the tribe who settled in Galloway as late as the commencement of our era, and were apparently known, at first, as the “Atticotti,” and afterwards as the “Picts of Galloway.” The Atticotti were exceedingly warlike, and on that account were enrolled by the Romans as mercenaries—just as in the present day we enlist large numbers of the north-west frontier tribes into our Indian army. The Picts of Galloway maintained a semi-independence for a long period; and, let it be carefully noted, spoke Gaelic down to the twelfth century.

Towards the end of the fourth century a people called “Scoti” appeared from Ireland on the western coasts, and joined the Picts in raiding the south Britons. Immediately after the departure of the Romans, that same people, coming from Dalriada, which was the

northern part of Antrim, effected a settlement in Cantire and the peninsulas of Argyle under a famous chief called Fergus-Mor, which invasion was not contested by the Picts.

At about the same time another and very different people called "Saxons," from North Germany, obtained a footing along the east coast, and soon gave proof of those remarkable qualities of body and mind, which have since made them the leading race in the history of the world. The term Saxon is not truly ethnic any more than Pict or Scot; but was assumed by a number of Teutonic tribes, who formed a German military confederacy, named, according to some philologists, from the word *seax*, a sword, or axe, used in battle.

From this confederacy have arisen the most masculine nations the world has ever seen, and among them the tribe called "Angles"—who gave name to England—were perhaps the greatest of all. It is from the Angles that the bulk of the existing lowland population of Scotland has sprung; and, from their strong and solid natures, fired and warmed by a Celtic strain, that all the best qualities of our people have arisen. From them, also, we derive that flexible and forcible dear mother tongue which is for ever enshrined in the songs of Burns and novels of Scott.

The removal of the controlling rule of Rome was the signal in Britain for an outburst of the fiercest inter-tribal struggles between these various peoples; which lasted almost throughout the dark fifth and sixth centuries. We have little recorded account, but can easily picture the terrible scenes of battle, murder, and wholesale expropriation which, in England especially, then took place. The fairly civilized but enfeebled Britons of the Roman provinces were assailed by hordes of Picts from the north, and Scots from Ireland—attacking through Wales. In their extremity they implored the help of the Saxons of "the shore," and thereby fell from the frying pan into the fire; for, if the northern

Celts smote them with whips, the Saxons scourged them with scorpions, dispossessing and driving them from their homes with the utmost ruthlessness.

During these dark and dreadful times, we learn from the writings of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and others that in Scotland all, however, was not war and conquest. It was then that Christianity was introduced, and its leven already begun to work. Its first apostle "St Ninian," a Briton by blood and a Roman Bishop, began his mission by the conversion of the Picts of Galloway; and afterwards so extended it that his honoured name still lives in the title of churches (including Brechin) dedicated to him in no less than twenty-five of our modern counties. He died in 432. Among his disciples, the great "St Patrick" became the apostle of Ireland, while "St Palladius" preached to the Picts. The name of the latter is still preserved in the market called "Paldy Fair," and a notable follower named "St Ternan" is commemorated in Banchory-Ternan both in the Mearns. About a century after Ninian, "Kentigern," or "St Mungo," spread Christianity among the Britons of Strathclyde. He was born in Culross in 514, and died in 601, the first Bishop of Glasgow, where his name is commemorated in the beautiful Cathedral, and his fame still familiarly reflected on that great city.

Meanwhile, through St Patrick and others, a simple and primitive church, owning little allegiance to Rome, had arisen in Ulster. Its most famous representative, "St Columba," was sent to Alban, in 565, for the conversion of the Picts. But his mission at first was also partly political—to plead on behalf of his kinsmen, the Dalriadic Scots, who had been threatened by the Picts with expulsion from Argyle. His visit ended in founding the ever memorable "Iona," from which, as from a sun, the light of the gospel spread all over the country; and even also among the Angles, through the monastery of "Lindisfarne," which was formed on Holy Island on the Northumbrian coast.

Here and there in these dark centuries we also obtain little glimpses into semi-secular occurrences, of which the following are examples. The King of the Picts, in the latter half of the fifth century, was named "Nechtan Morbet," from whom we have "Dunnichen" parish (Dun Nechtan, or Nechtan's hill), and after whom the lochs of Rescobie and Forfar are called in the Saxon Chronicle, "Nechtansmere"—or Nechtan's lakes.

There is a legend that this king was raised from the dead (perhaps revived from some serious illness) through the ministrations of an Irish saint called "Buitte," on whom Nechtan in gratitude bestowed Dunnichen, and to whom he also dedicated a church, which we still identify in the name "Kirkbuddo." Such a story is full of interest to the archæologist who strives to trace history through place names.

About a century after Nechtan, another king called "Bruide" reigned at Inverness, but as there were several of the same name, he is identified as "the son of Mailchu." He it was to whom Columba preached, and finally (with the aid of miracles as reported) converted and baptised. There is little doubt but that Columba could talk to Bruide, and the better classes about his court, in the Gaelic tongue, without an interpreter; although he failed to make himself understood to the peasants who apparently spoke a dialect of that speech.

By the end of the seventh century four kingdoms had evolved out of the confusion following the departure of the Romans, namely: Picts, Scots, Britons, Saxons.

The Picts were of two sections, northern and southern, divided by the Grampians, generally under one king but sometimes having two. The royal seats in the north were Inverness and Elgin, and in the south chiefly Abernethy, and Kincardine in the Mearns. The western boundary was the line of hills running north from Dumbarton called "Drumalban," or the backbone of Alban; the southern limit the Firth of Forth.

The "Scots" occupied the country west of Drumalban, in Argyle and the Isles.

The Cymric, or Welsh, kingdom of the "Britons of Strathclyde" lay between Clyde and Solway, but also at times extended across the border into "Cumbria." Its eastern boundary were the hills of south Scotland.

The "Anglo Saxon" kingdom of "Bernicia or Northumbria" extended to the Firth of Forth, and embraced the Lothians and south-eastern counties.

It is curious that so little historic interest centres in the Strathclyde kingdom, although embracing such an important part of the country.

But a more thorough and appreciative study in recent years of Pictish archæology has yielded results of the deepest interest. The "Pictish Chronicle," for instance (a work compiled in Brechin in the tenth century), read in the light of other records, is no longer regarded as wholly mythical and untrustworthy. The reign of a king named "Talorgan" (650-85) is of great interest. According to the Pictish law of succession, he came to the throne through the female line, his mother being a Pictish princess, and his father a Saxon. That law under Talorgan nearly led, as two centuries afterwards it did lead, to the entire undoing of the kingdom. Through his influence, or intrigues, the Picts south of the Grampians, the Scots of Argyle, and the Britons of Strathclyde all fell under the rule of the Saxons, to whom they actually paid tribute for thirty years. It was then that "Breidi," King of the northern Picts, marched south to free his compatriots, while "Eigfridd," the Saxon king of Bernicia, marched north to fight and maintain his own superiority. The opposing forces met at Dunnichen, in Angus, where, on June 20th, 685, a great battle was fought, which, in momentous consequences on our subsequent history, can only be regarded as second to Bannockburn itself.

By masterly strategy Breidi contrived to entangle the

Saxon host among the hills and lochs near Forfar, and utterly destroyed it—including Eigfridd himself. So complete and terrible was the defeat that the Saxons never again tried directly to subjugate the Picts, and even for a time lost their hold upon Lothian.

So little has the true significance of this battle been recognised hitherto, that there are multitudes of even our better educated countrymen who know nothing whatever about it; but the archæologist sees in it one of the chiefest factors in our national evolution, and is surprised that so obvious an inference should have so long escaped critical notice. Had the Saxons triumphed on that fateful day they would assuredly have then and there begun to drive away and dispossess the Celts in our lowlands, just as they served the Britons in England.

Now, in the seventh century the country was practically unreclaimed, and but very few of the Celtic names of our hamlets and homesteads yet been conferred. Had the Saxons then got possession the vast majority of our present familiar place names would never have been conferred at all. We should have then been thoroughly Saxonized as England was. Even the name Scotland would have been unknown, for the Scots of the west could never have wrested supremacy from the Saxons. When the Saxons did finally obtain superiority, under David I., in the twelfth century, Celtic place nomenclature had, by that time, been permanently fixed by long usage.

After the battle the Picts and Scots no doubt drew closer to each other; but they differed, especially on church matters. The Scots favoured the Columban clergy, and their resistance to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; while the Picts inclined to Romanism, to which they had been led through the previous teaching of an able, if Jesuitical, emissary named St Bonifacius. This curious character was said to be an

Israelite (otherwise a converted Jew) who could work miracles through the possession of the stone which formed Jacob's pillow, which some have identified in the "stone of destiny," now in Westminster Abbey.

The kingdoms of the Picts and Scots had between them a good many ups and downs, and about A.D. 761 the latter had no king, but were a mere Pictish province.

Towards the end of the eighth century the attacks of the Norwegians and Danes upon Alban were incessant and serious. Among other depredations they plundered and burnt Iona, which led to the centre of the Columban church being changed from the exposed island to Dunkeld, while at the same time the political capital of the Picts was moved to Scone.

The frightful ravages of these northern pirates ultimately led to the political ending of the Pictish kingdom in the middle of the ninth century. The Picts experienced a terrible defeat from the Danes, invading from Dublin, in 839; and in the prostration which followed, Kenneth MacAlpine, a royal Scot by a Pictish mother, seized the throne in 844, in virtue of succession through the female line, and was the first Gael who occupied it; but, although a Scot, the Irish annalists still called him "King of the Picts."

The century, or at any rate the eighty years preceding MacAlpine's accession to the throne is the most obscure portion of our annals; for the constant attacks of the Vikings on all parts of the coast had thrown everything, including the historians, into confusion. It is consequently impossible to relate the exact steps which led to a Scot ascending the Pictish throne; but one thing is clear, the change of dynasty was neither preceded nor accompanied by violent revolution, and must have been more or less acquiesced in by both peoples. Any theory of the Picts being overpowered and exterminated must be at once and wholly set aside, having no warrant in fact.

The last sovereign who was called king of the Picts

was a youth named "Eocha," son of a Briton of Strathclyde, who ascended the throne under the guardianship of his uncle and tutor, a very wily old man, variously named "Circus, Girig, and Grig." This astute politician was for some years the real ruler, and was stigmatised by his opponents as an usurper; but by the clerical party, on whom he conferred many privileges, was ridiculously dubbed Gregory the Great, and even half canonized; in token whereof churches were dedicated to him, as that of "Ecclesgrig" (Ecclescraig), while his saintship was embodied in "St Circus" (St Cyrus) in the Mearns.

As an illustration how uncertain chronology can be absolutely fixed by unerring astronomical procession, it may be mentioned that a phenomenal eclipse of the sun recorded in Eocha's, or Grig's reign, is found by calculation to have happened on June 16th, 885.

The Pictish kingdom nominally disappeared from history during the tenth century, and became known as the "kingdom of Alban." The Pictish succession through the female line was then abolished, and the law of Tanistry, or male inheritance substituted. Among the kings of Alban was "Constantine III." (900-42), who carried on vigorous warfare with the Saxon, "Athelstane of Wessex," in the south, and with the Norwegians in the north, who then not only ruled the Western Isles, but dominated the mainland as far as the Beaully Firth. During the reign of "Malcolm I." (942-54) the Danes from Ireland attacked England through Cumbria so persistently that the English king, "Edmund," made an agreement to hand over Cumbria to Malcolm, provided he checked the raids and did fealty. This arrangement gave rise to no little trouble afterwards, and formed one of Edward I. pretexts for superiority over Scotland. Malcolm was killed in domestic strife with the "Men of the Mearns." His son, "Kenneth II." (970-95), appears to have been a zealous churchman, and founded the Church of Brechin in 970. The amalgamation of the

Picts and Scots was then in progress, but there was still antagonism in religious matters. He therefore divided the old Celtic churches in Angus and Mearns between the sees of Brechin and St Andrews, the latter being then the head of the Scots church; but, wherever the Pictish population was numerous, they were attached to St Andrews, so as to bring them strictly under Scots influence. It was partly, perhaps, opposition to such schemes that led to his assassination by Lady Finella, near Fettercairn, in 995. To him King Edgar of England ceded Lothian, on condition of his doing homage for the same; which compact formed a further pretext when Edward I. tried to subvert Scottish independence.

The century was wound up by "Kenneth III." (997-1004), whom St Berchan called "The Donn, or brown, from strong Duneath," the latter being a Scots stronghold in Knapdale on Loch Fyne. It was a custom of the Gaels to distinguish men by adjectives descriptive of personal appearance; thus, Kenneth Donn—the brown Kenneth; Rhoderick Dhu—the black Rhoderick; Donald Bane—the fair Donald; Rob Roy—the red Rob. Kenneth was killed by the "Men of the Meorne," or Mearns, who in those days seem to have been very turbulent and truculent, for the violent deaths of not a few of our princes lie at their door. With him the tenth century, and the Kingdom of Alban, came to an end. Both, however, must ever remain deeply interesting to the archæologist, inasmuch as being the period of the amalgamation of Picts and Scots. A vast amount of fictitious mystery has been thrown around that event, based upon a theory of violence and extermination. That the Picts were wiped out, leaving not a trace of themselves or their language, has been so often confidently repeated as to have become a matter of faith; but there is no warrant whatever for any such conclusion, which has been finally exploded by the masterly researches of Skene. The amalgamation took place

with a minimum of opposition; for, as the two people were nearly related, there was no barrier to it either in race or speech. There was probably a certain amount of friction and strife among the ruling class, who were affected by the change of dynasty, but hardly anything at all to affect the common people.

This sketch has hitherto dealt chiefly with the dynastic history of our Celtic predecessors, but we may here cast a glance at their political and civil organisation. It was no doubt very similar to that of the Irish Celts, which was as follows, from below upwards:—

- 1st—The “Finé,” clan, or sub-tribe, under a captain or chief called “Toisech.”
- 2nd—The “Tuath,” or cluster of Finés, under an upper chief called “Ri-tuath.”
- 3rd—The “Mortuath,” or aggregation of Tuaths, under a chief, sometimes called the “Mormaer.”
- 4th—The “Coisidh,” or civil Province, under a Governor, who was a sort of Kinglet.
- 5th—The “Ardrigh,” or supreme king, head of all.

From this it will be seen that the Celtic tribal organisation was not territorial, but based on a community of individuals, a system which, however good in the primitive condition of the tribes, did not and could not adapt itself to the formation of a big kingdom with a strong central government. The substitution of the feudal for the tribal organisation therefore became an absolute necessity in the development of the nation.

At the beginning of the eleventh century the Kingdom of Alban nominally disappeared, and became known under “Malcolm II.” (1005-34) as “Scotia,” after the then dominant race. The course of events now rapidly foreshadowed a consolidation of the entire kingdom under a central rule. Malcolm’s defeat of the Angles at “Carham” led to the surrender of the entire Saxon territory north of the Tweed. The death of “Eugenius the Bald,” the last of the Strathclyde kings, determined the final absorption of that territory into Scotia. It is curious to note, that, although Strathclyde

territory is now the most important part of Scotland, it played a very secondary role in our early history. With the exception of the northern province, which remained under Norwegian rule, Malcolm thus came to reign over the whole of Scotland. He was the last in the direct male line of Kenneth Mac Alpine, but had two daughters, one of whom married "Sigurd" the Orkney Jarl, by whom she had a son called "Thorfinn," and the other "Crinan," the rich Abbot of Dunkeld, by whom she had a son called "Duncan." The latter as "Duncan I" (1034-40) succeeded his grandfather, and having a mind to bring his cousin Thorfinn into subjection, advanced north against him; but at Inverness was treacherously murdered by "Macbeth," the governor of the province of Moray; who through marriage connection, laid claim to and seized the throne. Duncan had married a sister of Siward, the Saxon King of Northumbria, by whom he left a son called "Malcolm" — afterwards known as the famous "Caenmore." This lad was brought up at the Northumbrian court, and regained the kingdom as I have already described. Caenmore's successor would naturally have been his son Duncan by Ingibioric, but he had been killed in a fight, in the Mearns, as usual. Malcolm's brother, "Donald Bane," for a short time occupied the throne, but with Anglican help was evicted by "Edgar," Margaret's eldest son, who made Dunfermline the royal residence. On Edgar's death (1107) the kingdom passed to his brothers, "Alexander I.," who reigned over Scotland north of the Forth, and "David I." who reigned south of it. Alexander was an enlightened and cultured man; he tried to make the Bishop of St Andrews Primate of Scotland, which was resented by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who would not acknowledge any divided spiritual jurisdiction in the island. Alexander resigned, and David succeeded to the entire kingdom, excepting the northern portion, on which he had as yet a doubtful

hold. David's single reign extended between 1124 and 1153. Having been brought up chiefly in England, as a Norman Baron, under the title of the Earl of Huntingdon, and being largely Saxon in blood, his sympathies were very much with the Saxons and Normans. His great object was to assimilate the rude life of his Scottish subjects to the higher civilization of England, and with this view he endeavoured to introduce diocesan episcopacy to its fullest extent, into the religious; and Norman feudalism, with Saxon colonization into the secular system of our country. He succeeded. After he had finally asserted Saxon superiority at the battle of Stracathro in 1130, over the northern Celts, the Saxons rapidly spread from the coast towns, from Norman castles and Diocesan centres all over the lowlands, displacing the Celts, who were pushed up the glens and over the hills. The Gaelic as a spoken language became completely displaced by the Anglic, which developed into our lowland broad Scotch. We have reason to suppose, however, that a large Celtic remnant remained in the lowlands as retainers and labourers to their Saxon and Norman masters, whose language and names they adopted. It was probably from this remnant we derive the Celtic idioms which mingle in our Scottish speech; and also the peculiar type of face, so often seen among our peasantry, which is different from that of the ordinary Englishman. David inherited from his mother Margaret those deep religious tendencies, which made him the great founder and builder of our Cathedrals and Abbeys, the endowment of which impoverished the Crown. It was this lavishness that, when spoken of as "saint" David before James VI., made our Solomon remark "aye, a sair sanct for the Croon."

I have thus traced the racial elements which in their fusion produced the Scottish people as we know them; how the Celtic clan communities were displaced by Saxons and Normans under a territorial system; and

how the lowland speech became entirely changed. This sketch of our early history must here close ; my object in writing it has been to arouse some interest in our early annals ; and to make more intelligible to the general reader certain observations I propose to make on some of our local antiquities and place names.





SOME LOCAL ANTIQUITIES.



THE CATTERTHUNS.

THE many speculative researches heretofore into the origin, name, and uses of this famous stronghold, appear to us needlessly recondite, because, to the ordinary antiquarian all these points now seem fairly apparent; nor does the silence of written history in any way obscure to archæological eyes the manifest place of the "Catters" in our early annals. They embrace a line of three hills, including "Lundie," in front of and separated from the main range by the Lethnot valley. The "grey" Catter, so named from the huge circle of light coloured stones atop, is 976 feet; the "brown," crowned with dark earth-works, 943 feet; and unfortified Lundie, 800 feet above sea level.

The "grey," in some form, was probably occupied by our very earliest aborigines; but the stone rampart, which corresponds to similar fortifications in Ireland, called *duns* and *raths*, was no doubt the work of Celts, whether Cymri or Cruithnigh. Its construction must have been wholly manual, and involved enormous labour: for although the bulk of the stones were gathered on the hillside, a large quantity had also been carried from Lethnot. It is doubtful whether the shallow well inside the stone circle ever held much water, but a supply may have been drawn from a spring, discovered by Mr Cruickshank, on the northwest face of the hill. The earthworks on "brown" Catter, were probably of a date considerably later than the stone

rampart, and thrown up for supplemental defence, after the natives became possessed of entrenching tools. The two hills clearly formed "one system of defence" only, and, as we learn from Irish sources, constituted as such a tribal stronghold, and the residence of a Ri-tuath, or tribal king. These facts give a clue to the meaning and derivation of the name. It will be gathered from the preceding ethnic sketch, that a Cymric or Welsh element mingled with our early Angus Gaelic Celts, consequently, an examination of both languages is necessary in searching for roots of doubtful place names. The first syllable, "Catter," is clearly either the Welsh *cader*, or Gaelic *cathair* (pronounced *caher*) both as close in meaning as in sound, and variously signifying a chair, city, throne, or circular stone fort; the second is *dun*, a hill, or fortified hill. Whichever of these meanings we select, or club them together, they severally and collectively fully describe the place, both as a tribal stronghold and royal seat. The existing spelling and pronunciation oppose no barrier to such derivation; for the substitution of *t* or *th* for *d* or *h* would not be unlikely in the mouths of alien Saxons especially. Indeed, we still have examples of this in our eastern counties, as in the word laddie—pronounced "lathie."

We must not, however, overlook Taylor's suggestion that the first syllable in Catterthun may be *cath*, battle, and the whole simply battle hill; but as all such forts had a fighting record, more or less, there would be nothing distinctive in such a name, unless some notable battle was commemorated. Some have supposed the specific battle to be that of "Mons Grampius," between Agricola and Galgacus in A.D. 86, but it is nearly as certain as can be that the stronghold existed, and its name was conferred, long before that battle was fought.

Around the Catters, as a tribal centre, a large colony gathered on the adjacent hillsides, of which abundant evidence remains in the marks of extensive upland cultivation. For the grinding of the staple cereals raised—oats

and bere—querns or handmills were used, which have been found on the hills in great numbers. Indeed, there is scarcely a farmhouse or “rockery” in the neighbourhood without a specimen. The nether stone has seldom been collected, because it is large and heavy, but the upper or lighter grinding stone readily attracts attention. Those I have examined have all been rounded slabs of mica schist, fifteen or twenty inches in diameter, with a central hole for a wooden pivot, and to feed the mill, and often a smaller hole near the circumference for the insertion of a handle. They are identical with mills still in use in the East, and worked by women. I have often, when passing through a village in India before dawn, noticed a light in a hut, from which emanated the shrill song of a couple of women, squatted on either side of a quern, grinding grain for next day’s family bread. The upper stone was revolved by the right hand, while the grain was fed into the central hole by the left, and the flour escaped at the circumference. These women were thus up and at their work long before their lazy lords were awake, and their weird and monotonous midnight work was relieved by the singing of ballads; just as our grandmothers did at their spinning wheels.

Could our own weather-worn querns speak, they could no doubt tell of exactly similar scenes, as those in India, on the slopes of Catter or Wirren 2000 years ago. They could show the primitive racial affinity of East and West, and verify the scriptural allusion, “Two women shall be grinding at the mill,” as true to the life.

Our querns are the only relics of the Catter colony. Not another specimen of contemporary furniture or implement is preserved. The male hands that fashioned the stones, and the female hands that worked them, have been dust for ages, with not a trace even of their place of burial. The turf, or clay wattle huts, thatched with broom and rushes, in which the mills were used, have utterly disappeared. Yet, upon these ancient

solid querns the modern archæologist could build a mighty edifice of probabilities.

THE DUNLAPPIE DYKE.

In these days of rapid obliteration of ancient land marks, future generations will be deeply in the debt of the author of the "Footprints" for having so successfully traced this dyke from between Brown Catter and Lundie, through Chapeltou and Cairndrum to Auchinreoch. The rampart is the more interesting, because its object is obscure; we must not hastily assume it was solely for military defence. I am inclined to think that, while the upper portion in the hill gap was primarily for defence of the water road, the lowland part may have had a secondary object; because it was altogether too extended for successful military defence. The fighting strength of an ancient Celtic Tuath is set down at 700 men; which, with supports and reserves, was inadequate to man a rampart nearly two miles in length. Jervise may not, therefore, have been far amiss when he considered it partly a military protecting boundary of the Royal forest of Kilgarie, together with the considerable population in and about the Catters, as the King's residence.

The boundary view derives some countenance from a recent curious but apposite conclusion regarding the famous Forth and Clyde Wall of Antoninus. In 1893 certain German military savants were sent to examine our Roman Walls, for the purpose of comparison with similar structures on the Continent. In the *Scotsman* for July of that year, it was stated these experts considered that the wall in question could not have been solely for defence, except by an impossible host of men; a military argument which none more than its Roman constructors would have appreciated; they therefore viewed it as partly defensive, but more a demarcating boundary; at all events, the northern tribes by re-

peatedly breaking through proved it was neither impassable nor invulnerable.

The dyke apparently consisted of an outer ditch and an inner earth wall, palisaded on the top with stout stakes. If this barrier was for the protection of the Catters, it has been pertinently asked, why did it exist on the east only, leaving the other side of the quadrilateral exposed? Now, the north side was practically unassailable, and the west side, with its steep gradient ("Ledmore"—the great slope) difficult of attack, the south remained, and that was covered by the huge bog which lay in the hollow of Strathmore. Between Auchinreoch and Balnamoon, very deep ramifications of the bog existed in early times, and can still be traced in the steep gullies; while opposite grey Catter was "Menmore," or the "great moss," with its centre at "Balnamoon," or the "town of the moss" all pointing to a practically impassable morass.

At the east end of the dyke, on Auchinreoch, there are remains of small oval or circular detached entrenchments, which have been dignified with the name "camp," and, entirely erroneously as I believe and will endeavour to demonstrate, are supposed by some to mark the site of the memorable battle of Stracathro, in 1130. The shape of these earthworks exclude a Roman origin, and their small size and capacity for holding only a mere handful of fighting men, preclude their having been used as field works by the Mormaer's, or any other considerable force. They indeed, seem less military than civil; and I would suggest were picket-house enclosures, in which a small civic guard was maintained, at the south east extremity of the Catter Colony; and probably also shelters into which shepherds, and perhaps some of their flocks, could retreat at night, secure from the depredations of wolves, which were then numerous and destructive.

The construction and upkeep of the dyke must have involved great labour, which would not have been

expended unless for a definite and important object ; and yet, at this day, we cannot see clearly what was the actual useful end it subserved.

THE ROMAN ROAD.

The famous road, which ran through Strathmore and Aberdeen, from the Forth to the Moray Firth, was by far the greatest work of the Romans north of the wall of Antoninus. The political events which led to its construction may be summarised as follows:—

Although South Britain was a late acquisition, its fertility and salubrity soon made it an important province of the Roman empire ; the valour of its men, and the beauty of its women were proverbial in Rome itself ; it also exported grain for Roman needs.

It was thus intolerable that such a valuable province should be periodically plundered by fierce hordes from the bleak and less fertile northern parts of the island.

The insurrections of the Caledonians, and their devastating incursions into England in A.D. 162, 182, and especially 201, were so serious that the Emperor Severus determined to go against them himself, in 208. It was a great undertaking for a man up in years, and in very feeble health ; nevertheless he started, taking with him his sons Geta and Antoninus, and landed in Yorkshire with a very strong force, but was so ill that he had to be carried on shore in a litter. Around his Roman legionaries he collected a huge army of Gauls, Belgæ, and Britons, with which he advanced to the Forth and Clyde Wall ; accompanied by his son Antoninus, but leaving Geta in England. The Caledonians, recognising their inability to cope with such a force, sued for peace, but he rejected their overtures, and at once began the formation of a road straight through the north-eastern lowlands. The Roman Empire was bound together by roads ; and we have in

that respect followed its excellent example in our occupation of India. It is probable that Agricola, Lollius Urbicus, Marcellus, and others had already made some sort of road between the Forth and Earn, or even Tay; but we may assume Severus began his new road at Ardoch in Perthshire; from thence it stretched northward, as partly traced by Mr Cruickshank of Lethnot, past the north side of the Hill of Kirriemuir, through Fern, across the South Esk, and into Menmuir, where I propose to take it up.

It is hard for us to fully realise the enormous difficulties of the enterprise: they were such as would have then been deterrent and insurmountable to any but the great imperial Romans. Severus had before him an unknown country, variously covered with indigenous forests of oak, hazel, and birch, wide moors of whins and broom; deep quaking bogs, intersected with swift streams; a climate cold and rigorous for many months in the year, and ill suited for southern soldiers; above all the relentless hostility of brave, hardy tribes, which his predecessors had declared were the fiercest fighters at close quarters the Roman legions had met in their world wide experience.

He knew that every mile from his base on the Forth would increase the difficulties of transport and commissariat; that his army would melt away through disease and battle; that to garrison each entrenched camp on the line of communication would more and more weaken his force the further he advanced.

It was true he could calculate on the Roman fleet co-operating as he neared the east coast, at such points as Montrose, Stonehaven, and Aberdeen. But the sum total of dangers and difficulties were such as might have deterred the strongest and boldest, much more a man who must have felt he was already in the grip of fatal disease.

The road was about 150 miles in length, and took two years to construct, during which the suffering and

admitted losses of the army were appalling ; the road might almost have been measured by a continuous line of human skeletons.

The medical officers of Severus' army must have had their hands full ; exposure, want of sanitation, faulty hygiene had caused an immense amount of ague, dysentery, and lung disease ; while the constant guerilla attacks of the Caledonians yielded a full complement of wounded men.

Every working party had required an armed guard, and any straggler straying from its protection would speedily have met with certain death.

But all these difficulties were faced and overcome ; and when the survivors of the host reached the Moray Firth at mid-summer, they were so unaccustomed to the long days and short nights of a high northern latitude, that they imagined something had gone wrong with the sun ! Nor was their spirit broken, for, Skene says, there are indications at Pitmain, on Speyside, that a part of the army boldly returned south through the central Highlands to the camp at Fortingall near Aberfeldy. Severus only just completed his great task, for he returned to York to die in 211.

The appearance of the finished road may be easily pictured. It was no mere track, but a substantial *via*, 20 feet wide, and bounded by *fossæ* or ditches. It was a broad clearance through virgin forests and jungles, keeping to the drier ridges as much as possible, and having unavoidable boggy patches paved with flat stones.

The entrenched camps on it were a day's march apart, situated on dry rising ground, but commanding a full supply of water. That of the "Blackdykes," in Stracathro, occupied part of the farm of Syde, on the south bank of the Cruick, with the Keithock burn on the left, and a ravine on its right flank. There were still traces of it when I was a boy ; but I have heard that when the farm was tenanted by my great-grandfather,

about 150 years ago, the dykes were nearly all visible; since then the plough, drainage, and squaring of fields have probably totally obliterated them.

The run of the road north and south of Stracathro district (see Sketch Map) is well known. We have even bits of it still, as in the Menmuir "Cattle Raik," the preservation of which is owing to its being Brechin municipal property. This unique track, which averages a hundred feet in width, stretches for over a mile, between Findowrie and Little Brechin, and for centuries was part of the great drove road for Highland cattle coming over the Cairn o' Mounth. The once famous Trinity Tryst, on the Muir of Brechin, was the first lowland market for the distribution of these cattle, which were driven south annually in immense herds. Fifty years ago, I have seen the entire roadway of ten miles, between Fettercairn and Brechin, literally blocked for some days before the Tryst with thousands of black horned cattle, which were driven by unkempt Celts, who shouted and swore in Gaelic.

The transformation in this traffic within half a century has indeed been marvellous; the Highlands no longer yield store cattle, which now come chiefly from Ireland; the quiet weekly auction mart has taken the place of the stirring annual muster at the Tryst; instead of a horde of wild Highland drovers, we have only a few oily tongued Irishmen in the streets of Brechin.

Continuing northward from the "Raik" the road entered Stracathro between Keithock and Newtonmill; it crossed the Cruick at a spot locally known as "the ford" a few yards east of the bridge, and immediately west of the Blackdykes camp. It then coursed north-east, over the exact site of the present house of Ballownie, where remains of it were found when the foundations were dug in 1825. As that house was my birthplace, I can say with some pride, and literal accuracy, I was actually born on the Roman Road!

From Ballownie it followed the north bank of the

Cruick, past the Kirk, to the Kingsford on the North Esk; beyond the river it extended south of the Mearns' bog through Marykirk, Fordoun, and Stonehaven to Aberdeen. At Marykirk (Aberluthnot) a short branch diverged on the left, to the royal palace at Kincardine, and from thence to the pass of the Cairn o' Mounth; but it was probably not Roman.

As the road for centuries was the only passable way between north and south, it naturally became the scene of many historic meetings and hostile encounters, full of much archæological interest. Some of these unnamed fights, are only known through traditionary couplets, such as the Menmuir one:—

“Between Blawart Gap, and Killievar Stane,
There lies mony a bluidy bane.”

The “Stane” still stands south of the road, on a height near Barrelwell; the “Gap” on the north side, and to the east of Langhaugh, is a deep ravine running down to the Cruick, and from thence probably led, by a stepping stone footpath over the great moss, to the foot of the grey Catter.

As the road approached Kingsford, it followed a strip of ground, bounded on the north by the Dey, or West Water, and south by the Cruick, which narrow convergence made the ford a true strategic key of the highway between Tay and Dee; and the limited area of Stracathro parish the scene of many historic events; among which are, the Battle of 1130; Baliol's homage to Edward I. in 1296; and the Battle of Huntly Hill in 1452.

The strategic value of the position will be better understood by glancing at the fords on the North Esk; and by keeping in mind that that river, as well as all the streams in the district were undoubtedly of far greater volume in ancient times than now. Reclamation and drainage of great mossy reservoirs, which, like huge sponges, held a perennial supply of water, have

caused all our streams to shrink, even within my own recollection.

There were three fords on the North Esk in its eastward bisection of Strathmore. The upper "Sclateford" at Edzell, was little used, as it was off the road, and flanked by an impassable bog on the north. The lower "Pertford," at North Water Bridge, was also off the road, and deep, on account of the river having received the tributary waters of the Dey and the Cruick. The middle, "Kingsford" at Stracathro, therefore alone remained really practicable, from its moderate depth, and being actually on the road, of which it thus formed the very key.

Surprise has naturally been expressed that these fords, although in use for centuries by a Celtic people, do not have Celtic names; but it is more curious than singular that, with many Saxon "fords" in Scotland, we have comparatively few in the Celtic equivalents *á* or *áan*. The Celts used fords just as much as the Saxons, but did not seem to have been at the same pains to name them.

THE BATTLE OF 1130.

According to Fordoun in his *Scotichronicon*, and the statement has not and cannot well be called in question, Stracathro was the scene of the important battle of 1130. But its exact site in the parish is less well known, and usually placed, apparently on the dubious archæological authority of the Ordnance Survey, on Auchinreoch; a locality wrongly assumed, as I apprehend, from a misunderstanding of the real character of the earth works, or so called "camp," at the end of the Dunlappie Dyke. I have already given reasons against these remains being considered fieldworks proper; nor could they have had any primary connection with the battle, for they probably existed a thousand years before it was fought.

The Ordnance Maps, in truth, while absolutely correct in measurements and delineation, are often most untrustworthy on doubtful archæological matters, whether as to sites, places, or names; for, in such questions, their framers had no special claim to antiquarian insight; and in the particular instance of this battle probably far less knowledge than those who could bring special local information to bear. The Surveyors usually worked in districts to which they were strangers personally—Englishmen mostly in Scotland; and if, as understood, they were in the habit of referring archæological problems to local proprietors, how many, or rather how few, of the latter had any special competency to solve doubtful points! Faith is shaken in the antiquarian competency of the Surveyors from their sorry meddling with Scottish place names. Maxwell ridicules what he calls “the exasperating ingenuity of English Surveyors” in their haphazard attempts to interpret, translate, or, worst of all, “polish up” our fine old land names; and gives some melancholy, if otherwise comical, examples—“Such good Saxon names as Brighton and Langton appear figged out as Bridgetown and Longtown,” just as if mere creations of yesterday. “Craigower, on the Tweed, in Celtic the grey or goats craig,” becomes, under the puerile misapprehension that the “ower” is broad Scotch, disguised into Ordnance “Craigover!” So, too, “Staneykirk”—thus locally pronounced in the Stewardy—is polished up into Stoneykirk; whereas, unfortunately for the would be polisher, neither stanes nor stones enter into the word, which is nothing else than “Steeniekirk,” or the church of St Stephen!

We may therefore view the locating of the site on Auchinreoch as a bad guess, unsupported by any evidence historical, topographical, or antiquarian in our possession; but it is only a misplacement by a mile or so, for every evidence of it, required by the most exacting antiquary, is to be found on the adjoining farm of Ballownie.

The historical antecedents of the battle were these : Angus, the powerful Mormaer or Maermor of Moray (Ri-mor-tuath in Irish), considering himself by descent and marriage Macbeth's successor to the throne ; and as leader of the Celts, who were naturally alarmed at the steady Saxon advance in the lowlands, rose against David, while absent at the Court of Henry in England, and engaged at the trial of Geoffery de Clinton for treason. The rising did not, as sometimes represented, have the character of a mere sudden muster and raid across the mountains, but was deliberate and organised ; and was, indeed, a serious effort of the northern Celts, working through the personal ambition of the Mormaer, to stem the tide of Saxo-Norman advance, to which David lent every encouragement.

The Mormaer collected a force of 5000 men, probably nearly the full fighting strength of the province, and marched south. It has been suggested that the muster may have been either at Ballater, and the descent by Mount Keen, or at Banchory crossing by the Cairn o' Mounth ; but both routes are very improbable, because, it would have been next to impossible to muster or maintain such a large force in the then inhospitable wilds of Deeside. Without doubt, therefore, he was compelled to march by Aberdeen, and stick to the Roman Road, as was easily foreseen by the King's men.

The King during his absence had confided the care of the state to his cousin, Edward of Mercia, who promptly collected an army of 5000 men to oppose the Mormaer, and put down the rebellion. It is at this point that a study of the local topography of the Roman Road, and of the Kingsford, its strategic key, explains at once how Brechin became the place of assembly of David's army ; how Stracathro was necessarily the scene, and Ballownie the natural site of the memorable battle. For, let it be noted, the Roman Road, although then nine centuries old, had yet lost none of its early importance ; whilst its

great utility and constant traffic had kept it free from overgrowth, and probably in most respects much the same as in the fourth century. But the only marked change in these centuries was that many hamlets and homesteads had been formed near it ; and of such was Ballownie farm.

Having thus broadly grasped the historical and topographical reasons which determined the site of the battle, there is little difficulty in framing an imaginary account of the fight itself, all, however, in strict consonance with antiquarian evidences.

Both armies were doubtless equally brave, but the advantage in superior arms and higher organisation, derived from Norman sources, rested with the royal forces.

The King's army encamped on the Muir of Brechin, from which it marched with the intention of disputing the passage of the Kingsford ; in that it was baffled, and therefore, as an alternative determined to bar the road ; with this view, it massed on a cleared rising ground upon Ballownie farm, in a field which to this day bears the name of Ri-hill (*ri*gh—king) ; the position in a military sense was well chosen ; it entirely commanded the road ; its rank flank was protected by the steep banks of the Cruick ; its left and left rear, extending towards Inchbare and Auchinreoch, by marshy ground, which remained wet until finally drained about forty years ago.

The Mormaer having succeeded in fording the Esk, found his progress southward blocked ; he could not well retreat with the river in his rear, nor was the out-flanking of the royal army possible ; there only remained a direct but hazardous front attack ; this he made with true Highland ardour, in loose order ; but did not reckon on the new solidarity which Saxon and Norman elements had imparted to the royal troops. His assault on the massed phalanx was consequently unavailing ; and in the fierce fighting which ensued he lost 4000

men, and was himself slain. Of the king's men 1000 were killed.

The rout was complete, and the broken remnants of the rebels were pursued into Moray, which was finally incorporated into the kingdom of Scotland.

After the battle the dead were collected in two huge separate piles, and burned or buried on the spot; for cremation was sometimes practised on ancient battlefields, when fuel was plentiful and handy; just as the Japanese disposed of the killed in the late China war. The evidences of such burial brings in the antiquarian argument, which clenches the site on Ballownie.

For seven centuries after the battle, until 1830, the dust of the gallant slain remained undisturbed on the Ri-hill in two tumuli, about 100 yards apart, of which Jervise evidently knew the existence, but apparently failed to grasp the significance. The eastmost tumulus was called the "Law-hillock," (a pleonasm—Saxon *hlaw*—a hill), and still remains intact, crowned with trees and overlooking the Cruick. From its size and position, it probably covers the Mormaer and his 4000 dead, and its exploration would possibly afford conclusive evidence of that.

The westmost tumulus, much the smaller, probably held David's 1000 dead; it was called the "Lucy-hillock" from the lucy-ar-nuts, or pignuts, which grew plentifully thereon. It was levelled by my father in the thirties, and the rich black earth, removed from under a layer of boulder stones, carted away as valuable top dressing. A stone coffin containing human remains was found; likewise, human teeth scattered about plentifully, and bits of metal weapons and armour; the whole clearly showing it to be a battle-field tumulus. The best of the relics were sent to Mr Speid of Ardovie, the then proprietor, and I think some of them found their way to the Montrose Museum.

I have thus endeavoured, on the strongest evidence, to fix the site of the battle on Ballownie; if it was not

there, then it was not in Stracathro at all, for there is no other possible place for it in the parish.

THE CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER OF BRECHIN.

Few Scottish cities equal Brechin in archæological interest; inasmuch as its history affords a complete epitome of our religious evolution, and because it happily possesses an ecclesiastical Round Tower, perhaps the most perfect in existence.

Some form of Druidical worship in pagan times no doubt took place on the present site of church and tower; for it was the custom of the early Christians, when their triumph was assured, to mark it by planting the cross on the very spot where heathen rites had previously been performed. We believe a Columban monastery thus came to be planted here, early in the seventh century, immediately after the introduction of Christianity from Iona, among the Picts, and that it continued for a century in full organisation, until its monks were expelled the kingdom for refusing to conform to Roman canonical rule, or acknowledge papal supremacy in its entirety. But around, and in affiliation with the monastery, there gathered an abbey or order of hermits, or holy men, called "Keledei" (Culdees—children or servants of God), who were suffered to remain in the hope of their ultimately conforming to papal authority. They never did so, but gradually died out; and were finally extinguished in Brechin, when a Scoto-Irish diocesan church was founded by Kenneth II. in 970. David I., after 1124, supplanted that church by the erection of a Bishop's See, with full territorial jurisdiction, which in turn gave way to Presbytery at the Reformation. It was with full warrant, therefore, that Mr Black, the historian of Brechin, stated, with epigrammatic force, that its church had rung the changes from Paganism to Presbytery!

Brechin thus formed an oasis of early Christian civilization, in a heathen wilderness; for the

Columban monasteries were less preaching centres than Christian Colonies—the prototypes of our Nyassa African mission stations, in which the truths of religion were taught, together with the practice of agriculture and the mechanical arts. The monastic head in these colonies was a lay abbot, under whom were a bishop, presbyters, monks, and servitors ; the office of an Iona bishop was purely personal, without diocesan or territorial dignity, or functions ; in fact, he was a sort of superior, or superintending, presbyter ; so that there was nothing derogatory in his being under a layman.

The existing Cathedral Church of Brechin could have had no earlier origin than the founding of David's See in the twelfth century ; for there were few if any stone churches in Scotland before that date. We esteem it, as archæologists, a handsome structure, though disfigured by incongruous additions, executed in the infamous taste of eighteenth century architects, under whom, indeed, house building in general sunk to its lowest depths. But the original solid walls are there, waiting for the wealthy and public spirited citizen who will remove the excrescences of 1806, and restore the structure in its pristine beauty and dignity.

We may confidently believe the Round Tower to be contemporaneous with Kenneth's Scoto-Irish church of the tenth century. It is often spoken of as Pictish, which it never was ; for all such towers are characteristically Irish in conception and origin, dating from the period of the Danish invasions ; this is evident from the fact that, whereas we have only three in Scotland—Brechin, Abernethy, and Egilshay, in Orkney—there are no less than 118 in Ireland. They vary in height between 40 and 100 feet ; the latter being the full height of the Brechin tower, which classes it among the highest, while it is surpassed by none in perfect symmetry and preservation.

Our three Scottish towers are the more precious archæologically, because few in number, and affording,

probably the only true examples of ashlar or rubble masonry in Scotland, between the Roman and Saxon periods; for among the Picts and Scots the mason's craft was practically dead. And yet, in the face of such considerations, a story is told, almost incredible in its Vandal infamy, that when the Church was to be repaired in 1806, a miserable Edinburgh architect coolly proposed to obtain stones for the purpose by demolishing the tower. Fortunately, the chief heritor, Lord Panmure, was so outraged by the disgraceful proposal that he threatened to hang the miscreant from its very top who dared to touch a stone of it. It would indeed have been humiliating had we now to record that the noble tower, which stood solid and erect amid the strife of centuries, which even awed and stayed the vindictive hands of Edward I. when, under its very shadow, he besieged the Castle, and which long defied the very elements, nevertheless perished at last, at the instigation of a smug and contemptible Philistine, misnamed an architect!

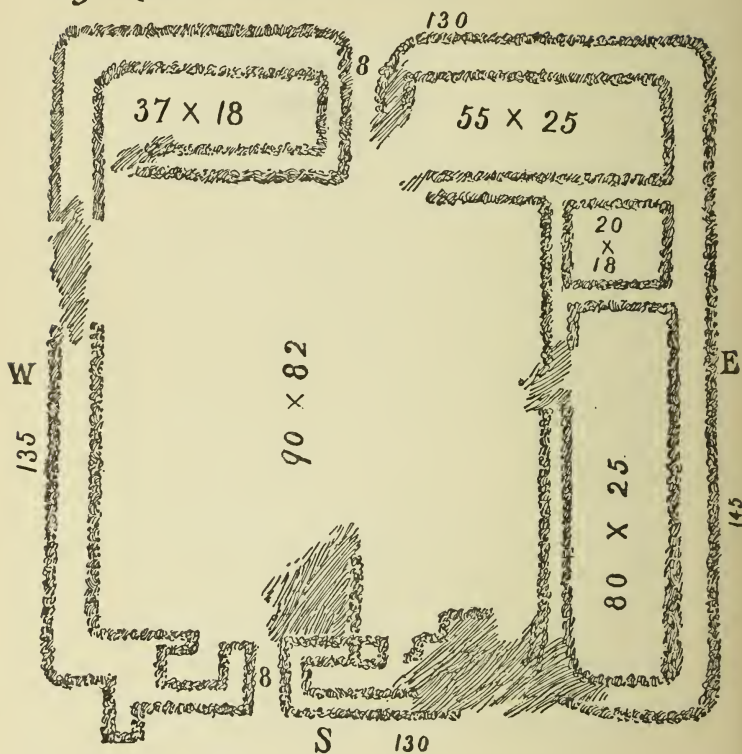
The exact meaning and object of these church towers were long the subject of far-fetched speculation, until Dr Petrie, the Irish antiquary, demonstrated their true origin and use. The piratical incursions of pagan Danes and Norsemen, into these kingdoms, in the ninth and tenth centuries, were marked by wanton ferocity and destructiveness, scarcely paralleled in any age. What they could not carry away they set fire to; and, as churches and monasteries, especially in Ireland, held the chief wealth of the country, it was their particular delight to plunder and burn them. But when we speak of the burning of such establishments, we must not think of stately stone structures, but merely of thatched sheds or shanties, of wood and wattle, possessing little intrinsic and no architectural value. It was just because the churches were so perishable, and such an easy prey to the incendiary, that the solid stone round towers were built near them as muniments for the protection

of ecclesiastic persons and property. That they were well adapted for this purpose—especially under sudden raids, appears clear as follows: the narrow door, ten or twelve feet above the ground, could be defended by one man against fifty; a small supply of food and water would enable the besieged to hold out for days; the besiegers could not fire, nor without explosives demolish them, and they were too strong to be toppled over. And so, the towers built in close proximity to churches situated on the coast, bays, creeks, and rivers, formed a suitable and ready protection against sudden descent of pirates.

It is hard to say who were the manual builders of our Scottish Towers, because it is next to certain there were at the time no skilled native masons equal to the job. Workmen were probably imported from England or Ireland, but were clearly no prentice hands, or men who scamped their work, for it has withstood our northern climate for nine hundred years, and, with reasonable upkeep, and no Vandal architects, may yet gloriously stand unscathed for nine centuries more!

I never view the Round Tower, as it looms on approaching Brechin from any direction, without a “flood of memories coming o’er me.” There it still stands in quiet majesty, although it was already hoary with the lichen of three centuries when “Wallace wight” and “well skilled Bruce” passed beneath it; and when it frowned down on the long-legged Edward, as he vainly strove to storm the Castle defended by the brave Sir Thomas Maule. In three centuries more it saw the beautiful and ill-starred Mary worship in the church; and it heard, fearfully, the thunders of Knox, who, had it stood in the way of the Reformation, would have ruthlessly overthrown it. And during the last three centuries of its long life what a vast company of our revered forefathers have worshipped under its shadow, and now sleep quietly around it in their hallowed graves!

Plan of the Ruins of the
Castle, or Palace of
Kincardine,
Sep^r 1888.
By, Robert Milne, Architect.



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ROYAL KINCARDINE.



FROM time immemorial certain of the ancient Pictish Provinces were somehow familiarly linked together in a manner not wholly explained by mere territorial propinquity. Of such are "Angus and Mearns," still joined as an Ecclesiastical Synod. These names were derived from the chiefs to whom the districts were originally allotted ; but that affords no explanation why one is simply "Angus," and the other specifically "the Mearns." However, the definite article is similarly used in several districts—as, in "the Merse," Berwickshire ; "the Manaan" (now Clackmannan), or "plain" at the foot of the Ochills ; and "the Lothians," which latter, however, are spoken of in a plural or collective sense.

Kincardine, now a small county, was probably larger in ancient times, from its boundary, as supposed, having been the South and not the North Esk, by which it embraced in its area a slice of north Forfarshire, including Brechin and Montrose. In early times it formed the territory of a large tribe called "Circinn ;" and, lying between North and South Pictland, was so important, politically, that it soon became a royal Pictish seat, with a residence at the foot of the Grampians, in the "Howe," or north end of the Strathmore valley.

Although the "Men of the Meorne," as they were anciently called, thus had royalty resident among them for centuries, they continued long notorious for political

lawlessness; and during the kingdoms of Alban and Scotia, in the ninth and tenth centuries, had the violent deaths of several kings and princes recorded against them—notably, Malcolm I., Kenneths II. and III., and Prince Duncan (the Conqueror's hostage), son of Caenmore and Ingibioric. The persistency of this taint of regicide is not explained; unless, being intensely Pictish, they resented the social and dynastic ascendancy of the Scots: a surmise which, if correct, would make the Mearns the only district in Scotland where the amalgamation of the two Celtic races did not run smoothly.

The very ancient town of Kincardine, from which the modern county takes its name, was, by reason of its strategic importance in commanding the pass of the Cairn o' Mounth and the Roman Road to the eastward, probably one of the earliest residences of the Pictish monarchs. It was displaced as the county capital by Stonehaven early in the seventeenth century, and shortly afterwards its chartered market was transferred to Fettercairn, whither, also, its cross, a chaste freestone monolith, was removed, where it still stands in the centre of the village. Thus, after an existence of perhaps a thousand years, it rapidly decayed on being shorn of its privileges, and is now little more than a mere archæological tradition.

Its exact site, as I have often explored it forty years ago, is, however, easily traced on the farm of Castle-town, about a mile north-east of Fettercairn. At the time I mention the only structural remains left were the ruins of the palace and a disused burying ground; but the church—dedicated to St Catherine—had disappeared. Not a vestige remained of any domestic building, and nothing of the "clay biggin's" which formed the town, except the boulder corner stones, which had been dragged to the margins of the fields and built into the dykes. But all over the well tilled fields were sure indications of the sites of these dwellings and their

kailyards, in the bright green patches, and scattered old gnarled ash trees; which seem, on attaining a certain size and age, to live unchanged for centuries.

The centre of antiquarian interest in the locality lies, of course, in the ruins of the palace, which are situated on a slight eminence surrounded by trees; but from being formed of the friable local sandstone, only the foundations and some of the lower walls remain. The castle, surrounded by a rampart and ditch, was not large, and cannot be of earlier date than the time of William the Lion, in the twelfth century; but it no doubt occupies the site of several previous royal palaces of wood and wattle, where Pictish and Scottish kings lived and held state. It was from such a residence, exactly nine centuries ago, that Kenneth II. in 995, set out on a journey to Brechin which he never accomplished.

The existing ruin sheltered many of our sovereigns, from the "Lion" to "Mary," and was also occupied by our arch enemy, Edward I., in the summer of 1296, when he invaded Scotland with a great and destroying army. It may seem small to us, but, as a building, must have bulked immensely in the estimation of the original "Men of the Meorne" who themselves then lived in the humblest tenements of wood or clay. We are so accustomed to think only of the present stately mansions, fine farm houses, and commodious cottages of the county, as to forget that less than two centuries ago stone and slate dwelling-houses were few and far between in our rural districts. I can illustrate this by the local story of Randal Courtney, as I have heard it related by old people of a past generation; he was an Irish soldier, who settled in Luthermuir, but was led to perpetrate a burglary, described as "breaking into the stane hoose o' Caddam," for which he was hanged in 1734, on a knoll near Fettercairn, still called "Randal's Knap." The description of the house of Caldham thus given shows at least that a stone house was exceptional and rare in the district; for nearly all the dwelling-houses, even of

the small lairds and larger farmers were built simply of clay and boulders, and invariably thatched. I have heard old people describe a well to do person as living in a "slate hoose."

Such reflections lead me to remark that it is next to impossible for the present younger generation to realise the marvellous change that has come over rural Scotland and its people, partly even within the memory of men still living, and entirely within about a century and a half. At that time the great bulk of the people lived in clay houses, almost windowless and destitute of flooring; they ate the coarsest food, and wore the roughest clothes; they had fewer shillings than we have pounds; manufactures were primitive and domestic; locomotion by wheeled carriage hardly existed; agriculture was rude and altogether unscientific. In place of our large, square, highly tilled fields, there were only irregular cultivated patches, undrained, unfenced, unsquared, surrounded and broken up by bog and muir, and worked on the wasteful fallow system of "out-rig" and "in-rig"; there were neither roots nor rye grass to make cropping rotation possible; farm implements were of the rudest kind; cattle, sheep, and horses, gaunt and destitute of breeding.

Yet, amid such untoward surroundings, men and women developed, who, as freely admitted, were alike admirable for high mental, moral, and physical qualities. Under such primitive conditions, as Burns says in the "Twa Dogs:"

"An' buirdly chieils and clever hizzies
Are bred in sic a way as this is."

Let us be thankful for such ancestors of stamina and worth!

LADY FINELLA'S CRIME.

On Thornyhill, close to the margin of the great bog, on the south side of the road, upwards of a mile west of

Fettercairn, there is a symmetrical hillock, about 50 feet high, with a flat top, which is the traditional site of Lady Finella's castle. There seems no reason to doubt it actually was so, for the foundations of an old building, surrounded by an outer ditch, can still be traced on the top. Nine centuries ago, exactly, that spot was the scene of a great crime, in which the chief actor was a woman known as Lady Finella—the latinised form of an original Celtic name, of which we should never have heard but for its association with a regicide. Who she was, wife or widow, is doubtful; but although there is no mention of her husband, there is of a son; from which we may conclude she was probably the widow of a Toisech, or chief of a "fine," or clan, and by courtesy styled "lady."

Kenneth II. often resided at Kincardine; and, as I have already stated, was a zealous churchman, founder of the Scots Church at Brechin, and probably builder of the Round Tower. He had apparently been in the habit of making pilgrimages from Kincardine to Brechin, and with that object started one day in 995. He might have travelled by the direct route of the Roman Road and Kingsford; but on this occasion took the path north of the bog, along the foot of the hills, to Sclateford; which brought him past the residence of Lady Finella, who, doubtless on the look-out, enticed him into her dwelling, where he was treacherously murdered.

The popular story of the method of his undoing is absurd; for the sufficient reason that the elaborate piece of mechanism, reputed to have caused his death, could not then have possibly been made. The story goes that he was introduced to a beautiful lady, who received him in an embrace; but being only an automaton, studded with knives, stabbed him to death in many places. The beautiful automaton could have been none other than Lady Finella herself, (fit and near prototype of a Lady Macbeth) who probably dispatched him with her own

hand. Private revenge for a supposed wrong to her son was said to be the motive of the crime; but it probably had also a political origin, in the king's zealous churchism arousing the resentment of the fierce folk of "the Meorne." The lady fled to the deep gorge by the sea, now called "Den Finella," with the view of escape by boat, but was probably overtaken and killed. I have heard old people gravely relate that such was the denseness of the forest between her castle and the "Den"—a distance of eight or ten miles—that she escaped by "walking on the tops of the trees." This is possibly the amplification of another legend that she "hid in the tree tops;" but either version assumes a lady of surely unheard of and unwomanly activity!

The points in archæological topography to be noted in this story are: that, nine centuries ago the drier uncultivated spots in the low country of the Mearns were apparently heavily wooded; and that some sort of road—probably merely a bridle path, existed along the foot of the hills between Fettercairn and Sclateford.





FLINTS.



SPLINTERS of flints of various colours are found in many parts of eastern Scotland, scattered over the surface; and even in little heaps, as Mr Cruickshank records, on Lundie; the difficulty in accounting for their presence may well rank them among our local antiquities.

I have often when a boy picked up thin fragments of yellowish flint on the Ri-hill at Ballownie, which were confidently ascribed to arrows shot in the battle of Stracathro; but they were unsuited for arrow heads, and therefore unfit for use either in battle or the chase. The Lundie heaps had doubtless been collected by the primitive inhabitants of the Catters, for cutting and scraping purposes. But the scattered flints over lowland Scotland, generally, have, in the entire absence of flint bearing deposits, long puzzled both the antiquary and the geologist. From whence did they come? Popular fancy has long given them a supernatural origin, discovered in the spiteful archery of malignant elfs against man and beast; from which they are called "elf-arrows." Geologically, Scotland has been graphically described as a solid mass of primary rocks, with a few carboniferous patches, in a setting of old red sand-stone; which is broadly true; for, with the exception of faint traces of the Oolite at Ythan, Aberdeenshire, and on the Caithness and Sutherland

shore, the secondary cretaceous formations are absolutely unrepresented in the country. We have no chalk beds bearing flints; nor are there any "conglomerates," as has been suggested, from which flints could have been washed out; for our surface sedimentary rocks all belong to the old red sandstone series; save where superimposed patches of mountain or carboniferous limestone have here and there escaped denudation, as at Limefield, Brechin, and Hedderwick, Montrose. But some geologists assert that flint bearing chalks exist in the shallow bed of the North Sea, at no great distance from our shores, from which source our field flints may have come; in which case we ought to find them (but do not) first cast up on our sea beaches.

We can at present only say, that, as our surface flints are not derived from local strata, they must have been ice borne from a distance during the drift period; and that, after splintering on the bottom of ice floes, were deposited at random over the surface of the country.





LOCAL AND OTHER PLACE NAMES.



ONOMATOLOGY, or the science of names, is a late development in archæology, and perhaps its most fascinating branch ; as well for the splendid results it gives and promises, as, because, it presents just those elements of interesting speculative doubt and difficulty which attract rather than repel the student.

The field for speculation in the investigation of place names being wide, naturally permits considerable divergence of opinion among philological experts ; but let not such uncertainty daunt the ordinary student, who thinks he can contribute in any way towards local onomatology ; or deter him from stating his views, merely because he may have to run the gauntlet of divergent criticism. As Sir Herbert Maxwell pleads, in his “Scottish Land Names,” it is just fearless and honest local effort that is needed, on the following lines :—

“ If there could be found someone in every county in Scotland to prepare lists of all the land names therein, giving the earliest spellings, and the exact local pronunciation, and *carefully marking the stressed syllables*, we should soon arrive at a degree of knowledge in the matter which it is beyond the power of any single man to accomplish.”

Acting partly on that suggestion, I have made, chiefly from the valuation rolls of the parishes around Strathro, a list (see Appendix) of existing, and a few obsolete, Celtic place names, which, without doubt, were

conferred on homesteads in the district, before the Saxon period in the twelfth century; and should therefore be marked on my projected Sketch Map, for A. D. 1130.

In an analysis of the list I have been fortunate in securing the aid of Dr Cameron, LL.D., late of Fettercairn; who is not only a thoroughly competent Gaelic scholar, but also possesses a qualification essential for such a task—full acquaintance with the history and topography of the district.

As pointed out by Maxwell, there is a main difficulty, in the interpretation of Scottish Celtic land names, in that they belong to a language which has long ceased to be spoken in the districts where the names survive; a language moreover practically unwritten in early times; so that, unlike the Irish, we have almost no literary remains wherein we may compare the ancient with modern spelling and pronunciation. We feel the want of such records, in the knowledge that, from age to age, or even within a generation, words in every language are apt to undergo change in speech, spelling, and sometimes in meaning. Modern spelling, if based on recognised rules, is often arbitrary and artificial; yet it is infinitely better than that, common less than two centuries ago, which rested on nothing higher than the sound of words in the ears of individual writers. No more characteristic example of such uncertain orthography could be given than Maxwell's list of five and twenty old variations in the spelling of "Galloway."

Our ancient names have probably been preserved better in speech than spelling; but even there we must not overlook the phonetic decay, inevitable in all spoken language, whereby, in proper nouns especially, the gradual elision of vowels, consonants, and even syllables takes place, to make words more easy of utterance.

A special difficulty connected with Celtic names, particularly in our eastern lowlands, lies in the fact, that they hold three sets of roots, or, at all events,

variations of original primary roots, from the intermixture of three Celtic peoples; and that the names themselves have come down to us chiefly through a Saxon speech alien alike to all three.

Yet, notwithstanding such drawbacks, we believe that, given the key, as Skene and Taylor have given it, we may not only distinguish but assign to each group of names a proper meaning, origin, and approximate period. Maxwell says: "Every place name, in whatever language, is a business-like definition derived from some peculiarity or leading feature," in a locality; and this generalization holds good in Celtic names especially, which are usually so characteristic and descriptive as to be self interpreting; and generally disclose so clearly the primitive conditions and features of localities, as to help in fixing, chronologically, steps and stages in the settlement and reclamation of the land.

The key to Celtic names is found in the first syllable; as, for example, in those beginning with such prefixes as *aber*, *pit*, and *bal*.

There are, of course, two great divisions in our land names—the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon; the former having almost all originated before the twelfth century, and the latter after that date, so there is consequently little or no overlapping of the two. But the purely Celtic groups overlap, intertwine, and to some extent overlie each other in chronological order; so that we may consider Welsh the oldest, Gaelic youngest, and Pictish between the two; for, under these names, it is not only convenient, but onomatologically and historically correct to review the groups. It is unnecessary to determine exactly whether the Welsh preceded or was contemporaneous with the Pictish, so long as we recognise that both were older and anterior to the Gaelic; into which, however, as spoken dialects they ultimately merged; for, when, in the time of David I., Saxon speech began to prevail in the lowlands, Gaelic was the only vernacular Celtic language in Scotland.

There are no districts in which Scottish land names may be better studied than in the ancient and still linked provinces of Angus and Mearns; for they formed the very centre of South Pictland, and their comparatively level and fertile tracts naturally were the scene of both our earliest Celtic, and first Saxon settlements; they hold almost every type of Celtic and Saxon place name found in the country.

There are those who still dispute our ability to distinguish clearly between Welsh, Pictish, and Gaelic place names; but I believe, with due insight, we may and can do that without insurmountable difficulty, as I shall endeavour to demonstrate in the order indicated.

WELSH PLACE NAMES.

The existence of a variously called Cymric, Welsh, or British element, in many place names of eastern Scotland between Forth and Moray, is a very notable, although not easily explained fact. We have no historic record of when, how, or whence it came, but as it certainly exists are bound to try and elucidate it.

Skene suggests Cymric names may have originated among the Picts from contact with a British tribe called "Damnonü," which, in early Roman times, extended as far north as the Tay, and spoke, he thinks, a dialect akin to Cornish; but in this suggestion he does not display his usual grasp, because, while such contact probably had mutual dialectic influence within a limited area, it could hardly have had much effect upon tribes living in regions far away into and beyond the Grampians. Moreover, if the Damnonü reached the Tay in remote times what would have hindered other small colonies of Welsh speaking Britons from likewise forming settlements over even the entire eastern lowlands, at a time before the Irish Danaan or Cruithnigh landed in West Alban, and spread eastward? Although we have no historic record of such Cymric diffusion,

yet we must assume it, as a rational hypothesis to account for the very wide spread of Welsh roots in our place names. We may thus reasonably formulate a theory as follows:—That the poor Firbolg, the only people said to have been found by the Danaan in Alban, were really on the west coasts only, whither they had been pushed from the eastward; that, as the Danaan, under the name of Caledonians or Picts, spread eastward, they came in contact with Cymric settlers, with whom they coalesced in a confederacy; and that ultimately, the Welsh were absorbed, leaving no other trace but certain place names, indelibly stamped on the face of the country.

The existence of Cymric place names throughout old Pictland so impressed able archaeologists, like Taylor, that they have not hesitated to account the Picts, Cymric not Gadhelic, British and not Irish Celts. But it seems impossible to maintain such a conclusion in the face of proofs to the contrary, gathered by Skene, from the Irish Annalists, and logically inferred from racial, linguistic, and dynastic considerations.

I will glance at three recognised Cymric roots which characteristically enter, as prefixes, into many of our place names; they are *aber*, *car*, and *llan*.

Aber has been considered a sure Cymric test root, particularly in relation to *inver*, its Gaelic equivalent; both being interchangeable and having exactly the same meaning, namely, a place about, by, or near the confluence of rivers with each other, or with a lake or the sea. Wherever *aber* or *inver* is found, it is certain we are near running water. While the former chiefly occurs in east south-east, and the latter in north-west Scotland, yet both prefixes are much mixed up in many districts; thus, in Fife, Aberdour and Inverkeithing; in Angus, Aberlemno and Inverkeilor; in Aberdeen, Abergeldie and Invercauld; in Inverness, Aberchalder and Inverlochy.

It must also be noted that *aber* occurs in many but not all Cymric districts; thus, in Brittany, Abervrack and

A(ber)vanches ; in Wales, Aberdare and Aberystwith ; in north England, Aberford and (A)berwick ; but in Cornwall, Strathclyde, and Cumbria it scarcely exists, and is totally absent in Gadhelic Ireland. It is fairly abundant within the old Pictish area ; thus, in Fife, Aberdour and Abercrombie ; in Perth, Abernethy and Aberfeldy ; in Angus, Aberbrothock (Arbroath) and Aberlemno ; in Mearns, Aberluthnot (Marykirk) and A(be)ruthnot ; in Aberdeen, Abergeldie and Aberdeen ; in Bauff, Aberchirder and Aberlour ; in Inverness, Aberchalder and Abertarff.

Its distribution is also remarkable ; it is scarce in the Highlands, and south of the Forth, although we find Aberlady in east and Abercorn in west Lothian ; but in the west and south-west, especially in the Strathclyde kingdom, of which Skene's Damnonii formed part, where, if anywhere, it might have been predicated, it is practically non-existent ; there is Abermilk in Dumfries ; but I cannot find an example in Ayrshire or in the ancient Pictish kingdom of Galloway. Indeed, although Gaelic was spoken in Galloway up to the twelfth century, even *inver* is very scarce there, and, where found, assumes the phonetic variation of *inner* ; as Innermessan, Innerwell, in Wigton.

From all of which we may draw certain curious conclusions. First, that *aber* was used by some but not all the Cymric tribes ; secondly, that *inver* belonged to the Scots Gaels only ; thirdly, that neither prefix originally belonged to the Picts, because they could not have brought *aber* with them from Ireland, where it never existed ; and because, even when they came to speak pure Gaelic in Galloway, they scarcely used *inver*, and then only with a phonetic variation.

The prefix *car*, frequent in our local place names, is very ancient, and more wide spread than *aber*. Taylor traces it in most European languages ; and finds the root in the Welsh and Cornish *caer* or *cader* ; the Brittany Armoric *ker* ; and the Erse *cathair* or *caher* ;

all signifying primarily a fort or stronghold; and in a secondary sense an inclosure, or simple stockade, which allies it to the Latin *castra* a camp; he further compares it with the Semetic Hebrew and Phœnician root *Kārtha* from which he derives *Kirjath*, *Kerioth*, *Kir*, and *Carthage*—names of renown.

Our Scottish *car* may be either Welsh or Gaelic, but is the former almost for certain; and unlike *aber* is found abundantly in the south and west; as Carberry Carfrae, Carlee, Carstairs, Carluke, Cardross, Caerlaverock, Cargen, Carsphairn, Carsluith, Cargo, Carlisle; also immediately north of the Tay, as Cargill, Carnoustie, Carmyllie; and on the Moray Firth, as Carnousie, Cardow, &c. Applied to hamlets and homesteads it no doubt meant a stockaded inclosure; for the first thing our ancient colonists did after they made a clearance was to fence it round, as a protection, especially against wolves. There are not many *cars* north of the South Esk in Angus, but the three farms named “Carcary,” on the face of the hill south-west of Montrose, were doubtless among the earliest settlements in the district; the name implies the stockade on the hill, from *car* and the Welsh *craig*, or Gaelic *carrig*, a rock or crag. In Irish place names the latter often becomes “carrick,” as Carrickfergus; also in Cornwall, as in a hill called Carcarrick Tor; which latter sounds so like our Carcary, that, although far apart, there can be little doubt both are identical in origin and meaning.

The root *llan*, pronounced *hlan*, has been interpreted as, first a plain, next a clearance, then an inclosure, and lastly a church inclosure in particular. It enters into a very large number of names in Wales, Cornwall, West England, and Brittany; and less frequently in the Cymric districts of Scotland, as Lanark, Lanrick, &c. But it has a peculiar interest in Fife and Angus; for Skene infers it forms the prefix *pan*, in such curious names, as Pananich Panmure, Panbride; in which the *hl*, being obnoxious to Pictish speech was changed into *p*. If this was the case

which is likely, it affords yet another instance of Cymric diffusion in the Pictish kingdom, and also gives a clue to the meaning of these names. Panmure, or, Panmore, becomes 'the big church inclosure;' Panbride, 'the church inclosure of St Bride,' or Bridget, the famous Irish female saint, of the fifth century; whose name, indeed, in the form of "Biddy," occupies the same popular position among the women of Ireland, as "Maggie" in Scotland.

PICTISH PLACE NAMES.

Researches connected with place names believed to be of Pictish origin are surrounded by many difficulties; the chief of which is, that the Picts, being utterly illiterate, left no specimens of a written language; while but little can be learned of it from outside sources.

Such phenomenal literary silence fitted only too well into the impotent theory, so long and even now maintained, that the Pictish people having been exterminated—root and branch—left no traces; and, therefore, must need be consigned historically to impenetrable oblivion.

But we now reason that the disappearance of them and their language, if remarkable, was but the result of natural causes, and more nominal than real; for when we reflect that, between the third and ninth centuries, they were dominant over more than half Scotland for at least five hundred years, and that they possessed all the then elements of national life, the antecedent improbability of annihilation, through a mere change of dynasty, is very great indeed.

But there was a political reason for historically ignoring the kingdom of the Picts, which originated in the barbarous attempt of Edward I. to obliterate the historic continuity of our nation. To his implacable design the Scots of the time responded by producing a dynastic chronicle running back into fabulous antiquity;

the sheer extravagance of which gave their opponents an opportunity of denying the existence of monarchy in Scotland at all antecedent to the tenth century ; at about which date Edward thought he could scrape up pretexts upon which to ground his claim of feudal superiority. The mythical uncertainty and confusion thus, once introduced, long remained ; and afforded after historians a ready excuse for complacently slurring over all our dynastic antecedents before Caenmore !

The disappearance of the Picts, moreover, by extermination at the hands of the Scots, was next to an impossibility, because the former were, up to the union of the crowns in A.D. 844, always the more numerous and powerful, and frequently held the Scots in absolute subjection ; nor is any sufficient reason forthcoming why the two peoples, with so much common in blood, speech, and tribal organisation, should contemplate or aim at mutual destruction. We therefore reject the assumption of Pictish disappearance through extermination ; and explain it by quiet amalgamation with the Scots, whose name and language they adopted, although still leaving unmistakable traces of themselves.

Prior to the union of the crowns the Scots probably kept mostly to their own territory of Argyle and the Isles, but after that rapidly spread over the Pictish lowlands—not supplanting but settling down with the inhabitants. But such friendly contact and coalescence soon bore fruit ; for the apparently more enterprising Scots quickly acquired moral and material ascendancy ; while their more cultured literary language so entirely prevailed, that the Picts—whatever their previous dialect—soon spoke pure Gaelic ; which, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, became the only vernacular speech of the whole country. Local dialects, no doubt, then as now remained ; but stereotyped examples of a former Cymric and Pictish speech were only conserved in place names, the identification of which is now the aim of the archæologist.

What was the Pictish tongue which the Gaelic superseded? Skene, who stands forth as a master, believed that "Pictish speech was a low Gaelic," something between the Welsh and Erse; a theory which not only fitted, but naturally followed his researches into the racial origin and affinities of the people. We cannot, indeed, define the exact difference between high and low Gaelic, but it would be mainly dialectic; and more in sound than substance, just as our lowland Scotch differs from modern English.

The divergence between the two Celtic dialects could not originally have been great in Ireland; for, as Adamnan records, although the Cruithnigh settlers had been in Alban at least seven centuries when St Columba visited and interviewed the Pictish king Bruide, at Inverness, in A.D. 565, the great missionary could make himself understood at Court in Irish Gaelic; but partially failed in conversation with the peasantry, who had no doubt developed a distinct dialect.

The names we now identify as Pictish are in form and meaning counterparts of the Gaelic. Their synonymity is complete, and the only difference is in certain prefixes. Sir Herbert Maxwell, the ablest and latest exponent of this intricate subject, says:—"Examination of the place names in the territory of the Northern Picts, north of the Forth and Clyde, reveals certain vocables, used as generic terms, which are not to be found elsewhere in Scotland. It is not unreasonable to look upon these as Pictish." This admirably expresses a view I had independently arrived at through a study of Skene's "Celtic Scotland." Maxwell here distinguishes between the northern and the Galloway Picts, which latter did not use the vocables in question; for the reason that before their ancestors left Ireland they had ceased to use a Cruithnigh dialect, and adopted the high Gaelic of the Ulster Scots; from which they did not depart until it was supplanted by Anglo Saxon in the twelfth century.

Skene enumerated, as Pictish, four vocables or prefixes; namely, *Pit*, *Pet*, *Pette*; *For*; *F'in*, and *Auchter*.

Auchter is now eliminated from the list, because it is only an amplification of *auch*—field, as it exists in the Gaelic *uachdar*—upper land; and because it is found both in Ireland and in Galloway. The following are, however, examples of it in Old Pictland:—Auchtermuchty (Fife); Auchterarder (Perth); Auchterhouse (Forfar); Auchterless (Aberdeen); also Ochtertyre (Perth); and Ochterlony (Forfar). It assumes the form of Oughterahgh and Oughterard in Ireland; of Oughterby in Cumberland; and of Auchtrievane, and Ochtralure in Galloway.

But *Pit*, *For*, *F'in* remain distinctive of original Pictish territory; while absent in Strathclyde, Galloway, Wales, and Ireland; we therefore conclude these vocables had their origin in dialectic peculiarity of the Northern Picts—possibly through contact and coalescence with Cymric tribes in Eastern Scotland.

There may lurk shades of meaning, with which we are unacquainted, in these three prefixes; but they are synonymously identical, and probably, as Maxwell holds, mere phonetic variations of the old Celtic root, *both*, *bod*; Welsh *bwth*—dwelling, croft, or homestead; which can be traced in many languages back to the primitive Aryan, *bhu*—to be, to grow, to dwell, to build; from which Sanskrit *bhavana*—a house, a place to be in, from *bhu* to be. He also points out that *both* underwent several transformations among our Scottish Celts; becoming in the Island of Bute, *butt*; as Buttduh—black croft; Buttanloun—marsh croft; in Lanark *buth*, as Buthlornoc, which in an old manuscript was most suggestively written *Pathelenerke*—‘house of the clearance;’ old names for Barlannar, now Provanhall, near Glasgow.

But still nearer to the point is the remarkable interchangeability of *pit* and *both*; in such instances as Pitgownie, formerly Bothgounan, near Elgin; Pit-

foddles, once Badfodullis, near Aberdeen; also in Perth, Pitcastle and Bocastle. Further, a study of the full forms of *För* and *Fîn* leads to the belief that, like *Pit*, they also are transformations of *both*. Maxwell suggests they may be only Scots retranslations of *Pit*, to whom *p*, being obnoxious in speaking, was changed to *f*; but this explanation, if ingenious, is partial and incomplete; inasmuch as *Pit* ought to have been practically extinguished when high Gaelic became the spoken language; yet, as he states, there are still no less than 140 place names with that prefix, to be found in the County Directories within the old Pictish area.

The full form of *For* was *fothur*, as Fotherdun, now Fordoun; of *Fin*, *fothen*, as Fothenavon, now Findhaven, the *thu* and *the* in both cases dropping out by elision. Local examples of both vocables or prefixes are common; as Fotheringham, Forfar, Fettercairn, Findowrie, &c.

Whatever, therefore, may be the true explanation of the interchange of *p* and *f* for *b* in the root *both*, we must recognise that the divergence is phonetic only; or as Maxwell expresses it, the three prefixes are but "different stages of the same word;" and *fothur* and *fother* only *pit*, or *pet*, with an article added.

The primitive *both* is preserved unchanged in *Bothwell*; and, strange to say, with an attached diminutive in our well known word "bothy"—little dwelling, now limited to the farm lodging of unmarried men servants.

The broad conclusions which may reasonably be drawn from the foregoing considerations are as follows:—Place names beginning in such prefixes, or vocables, as *Pit*, *Pet*, *For*, *Fin*, *Fett*, *Feth*, *Fith*, *Foth*, originally belonged to Pictish homesteads and hamlets, dating before the tenth and eleventh centuries; and are identical, synonymous, and perhaps contemporaneous with those in *Both*, *Butt*, *Buth*, *Bad*, *Bod*, *Bo*. That, as the first series are Pictish, the last may be more closely

and directly Cymric, descending from the same tribes that conferred the prefixes *aber*, *car* and *llan*.

GAELIC PLACE NAMES.

The Scots Gaels conferred a very large number of our existing place and land names, between the ninth and eleventh centuries. We are on firmer ground in investigating this class of names, as they have come down through a written and still spoken language; but, while there is little difficulty in indentifying and interpreting their prefixes, it is very different with their suffixes, or qualifying adjectives; which are often obscure, and permit of wide divergence among philologists.

As these notes are intended for general readers, I make little attempt to present Gaelic words in their own fearful and wonderful spelling; it is enough to convey their sound through ordinary English orthography. The following, in rough alphabetical order, are the more common Gaelic prefixes in our eastern place names.

Ach, or *Auch*—field, has already been alluded to in the expanded form of *auchter*. It is less common in east than in west and north Scotland; yet occurs locally in such names as, Auchnithie, Auchnacree, Auchmull, Auchcairnie, Auchinblae &c. Some scholars think it enters as a suffix into such names as Keithock, Garvock; but others think the *ock*, in such names means ‘little or narrow,’ and is in fact a diminutive.

Ard—high or height, is the prefix in such names as, Ardovie, Airlie, Ardler, Ardo, Ardoch.

Bal—abode, townland, farm, inclosure, is one of the commonest prefixes in Scotland and Ireland, but less so in Wales and Cornwall. As a Saxon compound in England (as Balham) it is supposed to relate to a fortification wall, from *ballium*—a form of vallum. Locally, the prefix is found in a large number of estates, farms, and hamlets; as, Balhamoon, Baldovie, Ballownie,

Balyeordie (there is no *z* in Gaelic.) But it seldom occurs in Scotland as *balli*, or *bally*, which is its commonest form in Ireland. The vernacular pronunciation is *bà* (short) with *l* mute; and when followed by the preposition *na* (of) “bonny,” as Bonnymoon, Bonnybreich. This must not be thought, as often superficially imagined, a mere vulgarism; it is really the natural phonetic result of the mute *l*; thus, Ba-na-moon.

Dal—portion of land, is very common in Scotland, but has died out in Ireland in a very inexplicable manner. It is represented in Wales, Cornwall, and South Cymric Scotland, by *dol*; as Dolgelly, Dolcoath, Dolphinton, &c. Primarily, it meant merely a piece of land, but, according to Maxwell, was applied, more definitely, to a portion specially marked off naturally, or set apart for specific purposes or persons; as Dalrymple “land of the curving pool;” Dalnaspidal “land of the hospital;” Dalry “King’s land.” It was also originally applied in Ireland to tribal land; as in the historic name “Dalriada,” “land of the long-armed or tall king;” from which the Ulster and our own Scots were known as “Dalriads.” Further, the Gaelic, or rather Celtic root, is cognate to Saxon *dæl*—portion or share; from which “deal board,” part of a board; “deal at cards”—dividing or apportioning; also to the Norse *dalr*—portion of land apart, between heights; from which comes our pleasing word dale, with its diminutive dell; terms equivalent to glen and den. Dal is found in such local names as Dalgety, Dalladies, Dalbog, &c. The vernacular tendency is to drop the *l*, as in *bal*; thus, Da-ge-ty.

Dun—hill, or fortified hill, is a very frequent prefix of names in Scotland and Ireland, and not uncommon in England. We have it in such historic names as Dunedin, Dunfermline, Dundee; and more locally in Dun, Dunichen, Dunlappie.

Drum—ridge or hill, is common in Ireland and Scotland, and plentiful locally, as The Drums, Drumachlie, Drumcairn, Drumlithie.

Eaglais—church, was imported into Celtic by the early missionaries from the Latin *ecclesia*; and occurs locally in Ecclescraig, or Ecclesgrig, (St Cyrus.)

Gar—(*garbh*, garriv) rough, found in the Mearns as Garvock—the small rough hill—than which nothing could better describe it.

Glas—green or grey—the first syllable in Glasgow, occurs locally with *tir*, land, and Saxon *hlaw*, hill, added, forming the very mongrel name Glasterlaw.

Innis—island or meadow, is found as ‘inch’ in such local names as Inchbare, Inchgrundle, Brathinch.

Inver—mouth or meeting of waters, is exemplified locally in Inverarity, Invereskandy, Invermark.

Cill—cell or chapel, and *coille*—wood, yield many easily confounded names in Kil; thus Kilbride (Panbride), church of St Bride; Kilbrock—badger wood; the prefix is not common in eastern Scotland, but is found in such, almost obsolete, names as Killievair, Kilgarie.

Àin or *cinn*—head, is very common in Ireland and Scotland, but rare in England and Wales. There are local examples in Kinnaird, Kintrockat, Kinnaber, Kincardine.

Lagach—low lying place, as Logie-Pert.

Lef or *leth*—half, as Letham, Lethnot.

Led—slope, as Ledmore, Ledenhendry.

Monadh—moorland, giving “The Mounth” and “Cairn o’ Mounth.” The name “Grampian” is probably Roman, and was revived by Hector Boece from Roman records.

Moin—moor or moss, allied to *monadh*, is found in Menmuir (Moinmor) and Balnamoon, Pitnamoon. With *ross*—promontory, it forms Montrose, mossy or moorish headland; always called to within recent times “Monross;” by which name it was known in the thirteenth century to “Sweet Thomas,” the Rhymer of Ercildoune, the reputed author of the prophecy regarding Angus

burghs, of which the first two lines are still (and long may they be) unfulfilled :

“ Monross sall be a moss,
Dundee sall be dung doon,
Farfar will be Farfar still,
An Brechin—a braw burgh toon !”

Names in “ mony,” as Monymusk, are either from *moin* or *monadh*.

Pert—port, pass or ford of water, as Pert, Perth.

Stan or *stang*—ditch, as Stannochy, Stankey.

Shan or *sean*—old, common in Ireland, less frequent in Scotland, and almost unrepresented locally. It is notable from being placed first instead of last in Celtic names, as “ Shanbally ” (old town) in Tipperary; and “ Sanquhar ” (old fort) in Dumfries.

Tulach—hillock or knowe, is the root of Tullo, Tulloch, and certain Tilly's. The latter form is very characteristic of Pictland north of the Forth, and arose, according to Maxwell, from the ancient and still existing tendency of the peasantry of north-east Scotland to shorten vowel sounds. Thus, in Aberdeen, boot, spoon, moon is pronounced beet, speen, meen. Tullo, therefore, becomes Tilly.

Tuleagh—family, when a patronymic is attached, also accounts for some of our Tilly's; which may thus be either the hillock of this or that, or the family homestead of so and so. Among local examples may be cited Tillygloom, Tillydovie, Tillyarblet, Tillytoghills.

The foregoing include the commoner name prefixes in old Pictland, but many others are found in north and west Scotland and in Galloway; among which are:—*bar*, hill; *ben*, mountain; *blair*, plain; *bon*, *bun*, foot of; *clach*, *clock*, stone; *cuil*, corner; *craig*, rock; *gart*, inclosure; *knock*, hill; *lag*, hallow; *larg*, hillside; *meal*, *mull*, hill face; *mam*, waste; *tiobar*, well, &c. The last root, *tiobar*, enters into names commencing in Chipper, Tibber, Tober.

ANALOGY IN CELTIC NAMES.

Celtic place names may nearly always be distinguished from Saxon by their formation. The substantive or generic root almost invariably forms the prefix, and the qualifying adjective the suffix. Thus — *Aberlemno* (Cymric), *Pitandreich* (Pictish), *Balrownie* (Gaelic). But there are exceptions to this rule, as I have mentioned, in such names as *Sanquhar*, *Brathinch*, in which the substantive is placed last, and the adjective first, as in the Saxon.

The remarkable and complete analogy between certain place names in Angus and Mearns beginning in *Pit* and *Bal* was pointed out by Dr John Stuart, as in the following absolutely synonymous instances :—

Pitmachie.	Balmachie.
Pitskelly.	Balskelly.
Pitargus.	Balargus.
Pitglasso.	Balglasso.
Pitnamoon.	Balnamoon, &c.

It is worthy of remark that, although we now speak of the Highland language as Gaelic, to within a hundred years ago it was always called by the Lowlander, Erse; which fashion of speech came down from our early Saxon forefathers, who regarded their Celtic fellow countrymen, and their tongue, as identical with the Irish. Burns, in his “Address to the Deil,” says :—

“ But a’ your doings to rehearse,
 Down to this time;
 Wad ding a *Lallan* tongue or *Erse*,
 In prose or rhyme.”

ANGLIC OR SAXON PLACE NAMES.

It is not easy to say whether Celtic or Saxon names are the more numerous in lowland Scotland; but the latter, as the younger, probably predominate.

I have already stated the great bulk of our Celtic

place names must have been conferred before the Battle of Stracathro in 1130; while, with rare exceptions, the Saxon came after that date; for, it was only then that the Saxon and Norman tide set strongly northward—pushing the Celtic people, institutions, and speech before it.

The Saxons have ever shown themselves the best of colonists; but their strong, self-reliant, and somewhat unsympathetic natures have always made them prone to rudely elbow out races coming into competition with them. It was such qualities, seven centuries ago, which led them to appropriate, without scruple, the lowland homesteads of dispossessed Celts; but, fortunately, they respected and preserved the Celtic place names already conferred. Indeed, it has ever been a happy characteristic of conquerors and colonists, from early times to the present day, to respect native or aboriginal place names. Of course there have been exceptions, as in the Norse extirpation of Celtic in Orkney and Shetland.

A very few Saxon names, especially on our coast districts, may be older than the twelfth century, through the advent of Frisians (speaking an Anglo-Saxon dialect) even before the Angles settled in Northumbria. These people planted colonies on the Firth of Forth, which is spoken of by Nennius, in the fifth century, as *Mare Fresicum*—the Frisian Sea. It is further related roving parties of them sailed from thence right round the coasts of Pictland till they came to the Firths of Clyde and Solway, where they formed settlements. From the latter estuary they pushed inland, and made a fort, called by the natives Dun-Fresius—Dumfries. From that stronghold they established ascendancy over the neighbouring Celts, which, it is believed, formed the origin of the name Galloway; in Welsh “Galwyddel,” in Gaelic “Galgaidhel;” translated by Maxwell as “the foreign Gael, or Gaels under foreign rule”—from the root *gal*—stranger. Skene identifies these Frisians with the people called by the Celts “Comgall”—red

strangers; just as afterwards the Norse rovers were called "Fingall"—fair strangers; and the Danes "Dubhgall"—dark strangers.

Saxon place names are easily distinguished as the reverse in form of the Celtic; that is, the adjective comes first and the substantive last. The following concrete examples illustrate this: Pitfo r (Pictish), Balfour (Gaelic), Cãldhame (Saxon), synonymous for "the cold townland, or homestead of the cold spring." As accent or stress falls on the adjective, it is thrown on the last syllable in Celtic, and the first in Saxon names; which explains the well known ineptitude of Englishmen in the pronunciation of Celtic names; they naturally follow the Saxon rule, and say Bãlfour for Balfour, Cãthcart for Cathcart, Dũndee for Dundee, &c. There is a valid excuse for them, but none for the Scotsmen who deliberately imitate them.

There is less variety in Saxon than Celtic place name substantives; while the specific or adjective terms employed are also not so descriptive. The intensely individual and domestic side of Saxon character and temperament is reflected in their place names; as shown in the extraordinary number ending in *ton* and *ham*; while the imaginative and communistic Celt is inclined to be more topographical than personal.

The following are the commoner Saxon suffixes in our local place names.

Tun or *ton*—strictly inclosure, or "ring fence," but more widely townland or homestead—is the true equivalent of our *Pit* and *Bal* in Celtic. It is very common in England and Scotland, but, being a late importation into Ireland, usually exists there in modern spelling—"town." Local examples are practically endless; as Careston (formerly Caraldston), Maryton, Dubton, Easterton, Westerton. The Saxons were fond of indicating position from a given centre by the "airths," or points of the compass; as Easterton or Westerton of Dunlappie; from which habit no doubt our

vernacular idioms, "gaen east," "comin' wast," &c., are derived.

The *ton*, or homestead, was the master's centre, around which dependent cottages were grouped; hence the still existing idiom of going to, or inbye to "the toun." A pendicle, or small holding, was called the cote-ton (*cote*—a mud cottage), which exists in such names as Cotton of Balmamoon, Mathers.

The chief *ton*, or home farm of a Thanage or Barony, was often called "The Mains," as Mains of Edzell.

Ham, hame—home, the centre of family and domestic affection, has been well called the sweetest word in our language. It is characteristic of Teutonic peoples; as neither Celts nor Latins have a word exactly equivalent. It is perhaps the commonest generic term of all in England, but less so in Scotland. In the former country it is sometimes a prefix, as Hampton, and sometimes a suffix, as Farnham. Locally we have a few examples, as Caldhame, Glenca(l)d(h)am, Letham; and a very remarkable one in Friockheim, which holds, and has always held, the German form—*heim*.

Hall—stone house, exceedingly common in England, applied to manorial and baronial seats, as being early stone buildings. Locally we have Blackhall, Arnhall, (?) Boghall. The *l* is usually mute.

Haugh—alluvial tract by a river, equivalent to *holm*, is both Norse and old northern English. It is sometimes a prefix and sometimes a suffix; as Haughhead, Langhaugh.

Hill is also common in both forms, as Burghill, Bearehill, Hillside, Hilton.

Hlaw—knowe or small hill, as Oathlaw.

Ford—in Sclateford, Staneyford.

Field—in Broomfield, Limefield, Grossfield.

Den is both Celtic and Saxon; as in Den Finella, Denstrath, Maulesden, Murlingden, Ferryden.

Kirk-circ—church, in Marykirk, Laurencekirk. Like *Eaglais*, this root was borrowed by the Celts from the

Angles, and used as a prefix in such names as Kirkden, Kirkbuddo. A curious interest attaches to Kirkbuddo, as already mentioned. The suffix is supposed to be the name of a very early Irish saint, "Buitte," who miraculously succoured the Pictish king, "Nectan Morbet," in the fifth century. Now, the early spelling of the place was *Carbuddo*, that is, the stockade, not the church, of Buitte; nevertheless, he being a holy man, the early Cymric prefix *car* was, in a later ecclesiastical age dropped, and *kirk* by a natural process substituted.

INTRUSIVE PLACE NAMES.

Under this head may be included such scarce place names, which, being neither Celtic nor Saxon, are scattered in districts, where one or other or both of these languages predominate. It is obvious that names sparse and rare in one district may be relatively so abundant in another as to pass from an intrusive category. Of such, for instance, are the Norse in parts of north Scotland and the Isles.

The very few pre-Celtic names ascribed to the Inverians (Firbolg) are, of course, not intrusive but aboriginal. Among these are the famous names of our two islands—Britain and Ireland. The first syllable in the latter is supposed to be "Iver" or "Eire," changed in Gaelic to "Eirinn;" that is, of or belonging to the Inverians; a root embodied in Hibernia, and believed to exist in our Strathearn, "vale of the Earun or Inverians." Other curious words found in ancient Irish poetry, as *Banda*, *Fodla*, *Elga*, are considered by Professor Rhys reflected in our existing Scottish place names, *Banff*, *Atholl*, *Elgin*, and *Glenelg*. Skene also thinks the Basque roots *Il* and *Ur* remain in some of our river names; as *Isla*, *Ulie*, *Ale*, *Elwan*, *Allan*, and *Urr*, *Oure*, *Ourin*, *Ore*.

But as Maxwell observes, such identification of names, in our uncertain knowledge of the language of a long-past aboriginal race, are only at best "bare speculations."

Of far greater moment are the traces left by Norsemen (including Danes and Norwegians) in our nomenclature and ethnology. The importance of the part played by Scandinavian Vikings, during the ninth and tenth centuries, in moulding the subsequent history of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is sometimes overlooked, and generally underestimated. The disorganisation and weakness of the native governments, following their persistent attacks, paved the way for the Norman Conquest of England, the supplanting of the Pictish kingdom in Scotland, and the early English occupation of Ireland. The "Dubhgall," Danes, never had the same foothold in Scotland as in England and Ireland; but the "Fingall" Norwegians were masters, for many generations, of the Shetlands, Orkneys, Hebrides, and Western Isles, as well as a large tract of the mainland north of the Beaully Firth. They also formed settlements on the east coast, from Moray to Berwick, from which, as supposed, our hardy fisher folk have largely descended.

The pagan Norsemen were rude and ruthless, and disposed to ride roughshod over such races as they had mastery of; thus, they practically obliterated every trace of the original Celtic speech and nomenclature of Orkney and Shetland, which they called "Nodreyar"—northern islands; while they also very largely modified place names in the western isles, which they called "Sudreyar"—southern islands; a name still preserved in the diocesan title of "Sodor" and Man.

Maxwell points out that place names in the Nodreyar, when not modern English, are entirely old Norse (as in Iceland); and have never been affected, as in the Sudreyar, by a "regurgitation" of Gaelic.

In the western isles and on the mainland Norse rule and occupation was less complete; yet, has, nevertheless, left deep traces, not only in the names but on the ethnic type of the people. Indeed, in many Gaelic speaking districts of those parts, the present population are racially visibly more Norse than Celtic; as is apparent in the big,

fair, light-eyed men and women, with long faces and high foreheads.

As Norse names are of the same form as the Anglo-Saxon—adjective first, substantive last—they were, of course, foreign to old Gaelic ears and tongues; and the consequence was, that, when Norwegian rule ceased, and Gaelic once more “regurgitated” over the western isles, the most curious misapprehensions arose, and the Norse names were strangely metamorphosed in the attempt to bring them “under the rules of Gaelic orthography.” Maxwell gives, among others, the following examples of such transformation: the Norse “Helsovagr” is written in Gaelic “Thàlasbhaidh;” and “Hàmnavoe” (haven bay) “Thamnabhaidh”—surely perfect disguises to the ordinary English reader.

There are few intrusive Norse names inland in east Scotland, but several on the coast in combinations of the root *Nes*—promontory. Thus, between Forth and Moray Firths, are Fife Ness, Buddon Ness, Rum Ness, Milton Ness, Doolie Ness, Girdle Ness, Buchan Ness, &c.

Vik—creek, or small bay, is considered a Norse test word; inasmuch as from it the sea rovers themselves were called “Vikings” (creekers), from their habit of making such inlets a base for piratical incursions. Had our east coasts, like the west, been studded with islands and inlets, the Vikings would no doubt have got a better hold on them than they did. The Montrose basin, however, was a very likely *Vik* to harbour them; and I think they left a trace there in the place name “Hedderwick,” which has a very strong Norse sound and flavour. It is not improbable our Lunans and Lundies are also Norse, as I shall afterwards mention.

By or *Bær*—townland or dwelling, existing in our word “byre,” is a Danish test root, which I cannot find among our east country place names. But there is another root, *gata*—gate or passage, which in its

abbreviated forms *gal* or *gut*, may form part of our local names, Addicat, Arrat, and Guthrie.

There are some intrusive Latin and French names in and near Brechin, connected with chaplainries and preceptories of the Cathedral, in pre reformation times. That of St Mary Magdalene, as Black described it in 1839, was situated "between Brechin and Montrose close by the present turnpike road, where a burying ground still exists known as "Maidlen Chapel."

Another, "Maisondieu," spelt in 1587 "Mazendeu," was within the burgh itself; and its land (the farm of Maisondieu) on the outskirts of the town.

Other similar examples of intrusive ecclesiastical names may be cited in "Trinity," near Brechin; "St Vigeans," Arbroath; "St Cyrus" and "Maryton," near Montrose; "Laurencekirk" (anciently "Conveth") and "Marykirk" (or "Aberluthnott") in the Mearns.

All such rare intrusive names, however, only the more accentuate the complete preponderance of those of Celtic and Saxon origin throughout eastern Scotland.

RE-NAMING.

The remarkable preservation of major place names, in every age and country, throughout racial, linguistic, and dynastic changes, is perhaps the most important and far reaching factor with which archæologists have to deal. Had it been otherwise, had obliteration and not conservation been the rule, we should, of course, not have had the wonderful variety of names we possess; but, worse still, would have lost the widest fitting key for unlocking many closed recesses of history.

Through the ramifying of primary roots in place names we learn the essential unity of mankind, and can trace remote kinship even among races apparently radically apart; as Celt and Teuton, Angle and Hindoo; who, through their speech, must be descended from a common parent Aryan stock.

Indeed, when we consider the gradual but constant wear and tear which names undergo in the course of many centuries, the vitality of the primary roots composing them is amazing; syllables and letters may disappear, until, perhaps, only a single character is left as a clue and indication of the original root; but something always remains.

This is well illustrated by Taylor in connection with the very old roots for water—*don* and *dan*, which enter so largely into European river names; and which gave title to the mythological water nymphs called “*Danaides*.”

The roots are unaltered in the Caucasian rivers, *Aredon* and *Adonis*; in the *Don* (Tanais) and *Danube* (Danastris); but are defective, through elision, in *Dniester* (Danapris), *Dnieper* (Danasper), *Rhone* (Rhodanus), and still more changed in our own *Dean*, *Eden*, *Devon*, *Dee*, *Deveron*, &c.

But although such phonetic and orthographic variations show wide change, yet they are quite different from re-naming; which properly consists in the substitution of names radically different from the supplanted ones, by which historic origin and continuity is usually completely broken.

Re-naming of this kind did no doubt occur in ancient times, when one race violently and completely drove another from a territory, and so practically began fresh history; but I am now considering modern re-naming merely, which has only assumed unhappy proportions within a century or so back; for new modern names are usually as devoid of topographic as of historic significance. The motives for modern re-naming can seldom be commended. Often they are merely fantastic; sometimes but ignorant attempts at removing what is wrongly and weakly deemed vulgar or corrupted. The latter idea has no doubt occasionally operated in the street re-naming of our ancient towns, through which the interesting story of their evolution has become

obscured or altogether lost. Take instances in Brechin.

The city fortifications of our old towns are nearly all gone, and their former existence only preserved in street names; such as those with the Saxon suffix "gate" (entrance or exit), as Cannongate, Edinburgh; Overgate, Dundee; or, with the Celtic "port," as in the North, South, and West Ports of Brechin. There was no East Port, as the city was protected on that side by the "den." From Brechin West Port, two narrow streets "wound" into the city, characteristically called the Upper and Lower "Wynds"; which, comparatively recently, were rechristened St David and Church Streets; also from the North Port a street called the "Timber Market," so named originally because peats and firewood brought from Menmuir were there sold to the citizens, had the supposed vulgar "Timmer" eliminated, and was curtailed to Market Street. These new names are in themselves unobjectionable, except in being commonplace; and equally well suited for any mushroom American or Colonial "Ville;" but the fault lies in that, unlike the old, they destroy the clue, and bear no record of the historic evolution of the venerable city.

Street re-naming, however, being mostly arbitrary, commands far less archæological interest than that attaching to change in land names. Streets may be created, land cannot. It is our only imperishable real estate; and its ancient names form primitive landmarks, which may not be lightly removed without incurring, at least, archæological anathemas.

To illustrate this point I will give three local examples of land re-naming, each severally destructive of the historic continuity of the homesteads affected, and all calculated to mislead the onomatologist who is not careful to investigate collateral evidences. Among the best of these latter, especially as regards the spelling and pronunciation of old names, are rent-rolls of estates.

The modern estate of "Cairnbank" (Celtic, *cairn*;

Saxon, *bank*) Brechin parish, was once called "Bothers"; in which we easily recognise the primitive Celtic root, *both*—dwelling, or its Pictish modification *fother*, showing the homestead to be one of great antiquity—a point entirely lost in its present hybrid name. But the original name has been curiously preserved in an alley running between the High Street and City Road, in Brechin, called "Bother's Close"; which probably was the property or town residence of an old Bothers or Cairnbank family.

The farm of "Broomfield," Brechin parish, was colloquially known a century ago as "Pitpoukes," often spelt—"Pitpollux," a name of obscure meaning, but of great antiquity, and belonging to a locality holding high archæological interest. Pitpoukes was the centre one of three sites, or habitations, which in early Pictish times existed on the ridge which forms the watershed between the Esk and Cruick; the eastmost was Pittendreich, signifying "the habitation" (not the grave as has been erroneously stated) "of the Druids"; the westmost—"Killievair"—"the wood of fire worship." These three place names—less than a mile apart—afford the archæologist the outline and setting of a curious ancient local picture, the details of which it is not difficult to fill in. Here, on a dry and fertile ridge, was a Druidical settlement; the priests of which were constantly passing to and fro between Pittendreich and the sacrificial altar at Killievair; while Pitpoukes, as a half-way house, had probably some unknown relation to such peregrinations and ceremonies. But the record of this primitive colony, drawn from place names, had nearly faded out; Killievair is obsolete, and now only marked by its interesting Druidical stones; Pitpoukes has been entirely supplanted by Broomfield; Pittendreich alone, fortunately, remains, and can hardly now be lost.

The foregoing are examples of early Celtic supplanted by later Saxon names; the following is exactly the reverse.

The estate of Auchinreoch, Stracathro parish, was known for centuries as "Muirton," until about sixty years ago, when it passed from the Turnbulls (pronounced Trumble), who had held it for many generations, to Archibald Gibson. He re-named it Auchinreoch, literally, "field of heather"; not from any recondite paraphrase of the old name Muirton; or, as has been suggested, on account of supposed historic associations, but simply, as I have heard, after a family place near Inverness. I can remember Mr Gibson, who, as a pure lowland native of Montrose, was, I am certain, ignorant of Gaelic.

These instances of re-naming, which can no doubt be paralleled in most districts, are sufficient to show the pitfalls which beset the onomatologist and antiquary who is not careful to penetrate locally deep enough below the surface of existing place names.

PLACE NAMES IN STRACATHRO PARISH.

Following the system of local antiquarian effort, so wisely advocated by Maxwell, and as an example to those who may be disposed to investigate land names in other parishes, I propose, on the principle, *ex uno disce omnes*—from one learn all—to give a short analysis of the early settlements and nomenclature of my native parish, with which I am naturally well acquainted, and, through the fondest early associations, deeply attached; a spot, moreover, to me doubly hallowed as the old family home and grave of my ancestors through many generations.

Land names should not be viewed only, or even chiefly, as mere etymological curiosities; but rather, when read aright, valued for what they teach and suggest of the steps and stages in rural evolution. It is from such a point of view I desire to survey Stracathro.

I will suppose an antiquarian having a kind of birds-eye view of the parish and surrounding districts.

Taking his stand, on a summer day, on the pleasant

low hill of Stracathro, facing north, he will see in front, and right and left, a broad beautiful valley lying at the foot of the huge round Grampians; a landscape of its kind unsurpassed in Scotland; a diversified scene of wood and water; highly cultivated farms; fine mansions; substantial homesteads, and trim hamlets. Through this fair, fertile, and now peaceful valley the Romans drew their great highway between south and north, as a means of overawing the brave but ruthless tribes which then inhabited it; which wonderful road, combined with the wider strategic situation of the district, made it the scene of events memorable and important in our national history. Its prominent natural features are doubtless unaltered since Caledonian or Roman times; but how changed its surface! The question is, can such changes be traced by the archæologist in approximately exact chronological order? The answer is, they can.

Suppose a spectator, from the point of vantage already indicated, surveying the Stracathro valley about the time of the battle, A.D. 1130, what would he have seen? He would have broadly beheld a landscape, with the exception of some small patches of cultivation, entirely in a state of nature; wide moors of heath, whins, and broom; tracts covered with scrubby indigenous trees of oak, birch, ash, rowan, alder, thorn, and fir, (*pinus sylvestris*); here and there giant forest specimens, which had escaped periodic autumnal fires; streams; much standing water; green morasses and peat bogs; in a straight course through this natural jungle the Roman Road would have seemed as if cut by the sweep of a gigantic scythe.

What warrant is there for such a picture? Simply the evidence afforded by land and place names. The parish of Stracathro in 1130, unlike its neighbours, had no Pictish and few Gaelic names; but among the latter were probably Addicat, Ardo, and Syde, on the hill; and Ballownie, Inchbare,

and Portsoy, near the kirk, in the valley. Around these sites were small areas of cultivation; but all the rest of the surface, now bearing such Saxon homestead names as Dubton, Hillside, Westerton, Smiddyhill, Muirton, and Newton, was as yet unreclaimed and unnamed.

The next question is, what conditions determined the earlier reclamation of homesteads bearing Celtic names? They were three; that the land was naturally good, was easily cleared, and had fair drainage; bad drainage was the greatest obstruction of all to reclamation; one which the Celt always avoided and left to the Saxon. The drainage difficulty, indeed, affords explanation why, throughout the Strathmore valley, almost without exception, the names of farms on the ridges, braes, and mountain slopes are Celtic, and in the adjacent lower levels Saxon.

The prevailing characteristic of the primitive Stracathro valley seems to have been wetness; a condition, which, according to Dr Cameron, (*vide* Appendix) is expressed in the original name "Stracatherach." "mossy valley of bogs and marshes." This interpretation is confirmed by that of the oldest homestead, "Ballownie"—"the town of the meadowy land"—no doubt meaning the haughs on the Cruick; and by the oldest hamlet "Inchbare"—"the island-like eminence," in the midst of marshy ground.

Such having been the stages in the settlement of early Stracathro, as expressed in the land names, I will now bring a similar analysis to bear on the homestead names connected with Ballownie farm itself. Some of these are, I fear, practically obsolete, and perhaps now unknown to local residents; but were in constant and familiar use in my younger days; they go to show our ancestors never named even a field without trying to express some appropriate feature belonging to it.

About a hundred yards north of Cruick bridge, near the old ford connected with the Roman Road, stood a

hamlet called "Clochmashiels"—"stone or clachan on the watery plain," (Cameron). It must have existed upwards of nine centuries, and even last century was still a considerable place; boasting, as I have colloquially heard, a shop, soutar, tailyour, and watchmaker. Within my own recollection it had still four "clay biggin's" when finally swept away in 1846. It cannot be even a name to the present generation; but its former existence is worth recording. The "clochs" or "stanes," after which it was called, may still be seen, built into a dry dyke, (by an ancient "dyker" named Charlie Burnett) near its site, on the east side of the public roadway north of the bridge.

The field, or rather slight eminence, called the Ri-hill, (a hybrid, Celtic *righ*—king, and Saxon *hill*) behind the house of Ballownie, I have already identified as the site of the battle of 1130, and derived its name probably from David I. Another field with a Celtic name lying east of the present house, was the site of the old homestead. It is the best land, and no doubt the original nucleus of the farm; it was called "Lednabo," from *led*, slope; *na*, of; *bo*, cow or kye; or, as Dr Cameron elegantly defines it, "the cattle pasture slope." This field name taken in connection with that of Ballownie itself points to the early farm having been more pastoral than arable.

It is legitimate to infer the above two fields were brought under tillage about a thousand years ago; while others bearing Saxon names are not nearly so old. Among these were several ending in "shed," as Cottarshed; and "fauld," as West Faulds; shed, is identical with "shade," a sun protection, but applied to lands, something protected or enclosed; fauld, is a place enclosed or fenced. These old farm names may seem of little importance in themselves, but to the archæologist every place name is of interest, and very few not fraught with instruction.

The neighbouring farm of "Smiddyhill" derives its Saxon name from a smiddy, which stood on the height

over the Cruick near the present schoolhouse; on a small triangle of land that cannot easily be ploughed; which, therefore, used to be called the "Smiddybutts;" a name containing an Anglo-French root, *butt*—heavy end.

The bridge over the Cruick, near the Manse, bore the Saxon name "Chanter's Brig," being the spot where the singers from Brechin Cathedral passed to the Collegiate Church of Stracathro; the road leading from the bridge to the church was the "bauk" or "baulk," Saxon for an "unploughed head-rig;" indicating that originally it was merely a footpath.

The high ground on the Roman Road overlooking the Kingsford used to be called "Portsoy;" Gaelic for "the seat above the ford;" being, in fact, the place where travellers took off their nether garments preparatory to a wade.

It has often struck me as remarkable that, although the camps along the Roman Road must for centuries have been places of importance, we have neither Latin nor Celtic names for them preserved; they are all "dykes," which, of course, is Saxon. Thus, between the Tay and the Dee are "Grassydykes," "Battledykes," "Blackdykes or Wardykes," (in Stracathro) "Raedykes" (red) and "Normandykes"—the latter no doubt a misnomer.

The northern part of Stracathro was formerly a distinct parish, called "Dunlappie"—"hill of the mire or moss;" its autonomy is still revealed in an ancient kirk and graveyard near the bridge over the West Water. Like Stracathro, it had few Celtic names; and was therefore mostly reclaimed by Saxon hands. Its original Anglic homesteads have lately undergone re-naming to a very unusual extent; the old Easterton has become Dunlappie; the Westerton, Cairndrum; and the Mill, Reidhall.

Chapelton, although in Menmuir, belongs to the Dunlappie group of farms; its name preserves the existence of

a "chapel," which was dedicated to the Virgin, in connection with the Royal domain of Kilgarie; but not a vestige of it remains, although mentioned in historic records down to the end of the fifteenth century.

The small hill over Easterton was formerly known as "Mem;" which is merely Gaelic for a "waste hill top."

The place names, Lundie and Kilgarie, are indissolubly united; and in antiquarian interest second only to the "Catters" themselves.

The name Kilgarie may come either from *cill*—cell; or *coille*—wood, with *garie*—rough burn; for both prefixes are probable; but I favour that which makes it the Church on the Garie; because, there is little doubt the Culdees had a religious settlement in Lundie; with which the chapel of the adjacent Chapelton had some distant connection. At the same time a fine forest (*coille*) of great oaks anciently flourished on Lundie, from which rafters for Kenneth's Brechin Church were hewn; and charcoal made, as still indicated by charred surface patches here and there. The name Kilgarie was long in abeyance, until happily revived about forty years ago, by the proprietor, Mr Carnegie Arbuthnott of Balnamoon; and given to a new farm, reclaimed from the slopes of Brown Catter, by Messrs David Webster and David Fairweather.

Lundie is the third hill in the Catter group; and its name, if Celtic, according to Dr Cameron, is from *lun*—meadow, and *die* or *duie*—black, probably connected with the loch or bog on its north flank. But Taylor maintains such names in the British Isles are derived from the Norse, *lundr*—sacred grove; and quotes as instances Lundy, island in the Bristol Channel; Lund, Yorkshire, &c; and mentions there are similar names in Norway and Iceland having a distinct sacred significance. There are several places in Scotland which may hold the Norse root; as Lundin, Fife; Luncarty, Perth; Lundie and Lunan, Forfar; Lunga, Argyle; Lungard,

Ross; and most suggestive of all Lunna and Lanasting in Shetland.

Lundie hill, archæologically as physically, is undoubtedly bound up with the Catters. Although unfortified, and even separated from them by a dyke or rampart, its economic connection with them is clear.

My own theory is, while the Catters were the military stronghold, it was the civic centre of the tribe or colony around; probably the spot where regal justice was dispensed, and priestly worship and sacrifices made. A great oak wood was a fitting and usual site for Druidical ceremonies; which consisted largely in exorcising the supposed malignant demons holding sway in earth, wind, fire and water; bogies which held our poor Cymro Pictish forerunners in miserable thrall. If Lundie was the scene of such functions, that alone would have been a sufficient incentive for the Culdees, when they converted the people, to plant a church there; according to their usual custom.

In this way we arrive at the conclusion, that Lundie was probably the civil and religious centre of the district in ancient pagan times; and may also thus account for the *Lundr* or "Sacred Grove" becoming the Celtic Christian Kilgarie, and ultimately the site of the Saxon Chapel of the Virgin, commemorated in Chapelton.





CONCLUSION.



I HAVE endeavoured in the foregoing sketch to indicate, to the general reader, the method in which it seems to me our national and local archæology may best be worked out.

The subject is very wide, and one of which an exhaustive digest, with due citation of authorities, would fill volumes. It embraces also important points still more or less in dispute, such as the true ethnic affinities of the Picts. Taylor, for instance, considered them Cymric and not Gaelic Celts; Rhys declared them no Celts at all, but an aboriginal race; while Skene, whom I have largely followed, demonstrated with much clearness they were Irish Gadhelic Celts, nearly allied to the Scots. So, too, the etymology of our land and place names affords room for considerable divergence among philologists, and demands much research and elucidation. It is evident, therefore, our archæological mines are far from exhausted; but rather, in the jargon of the day, still in the prospecting or developing stages.

My chief aim in these notes is to arouse interest in our remarkable past; and stimulate the prosecution of archæological research bearing on our early history. It is not an easy task, but if undertaken in a right spirit and method will prove the more fascinating the further it is followed.

All cognate archæological studies can now be handled in a manner beyond the reach of our predecessors; and, therefore, not only have a present freshness, but a big

promise of future possibilities. It should not be supposed because such studies are old they must therefore be unconnected with the present; rather, indeed, they are often the key to modern political and social problems besetting us.

Archæological research, moreover, is an admirable mental corrective against the all too prevalent pursuit of the mere present; which results from the tremendous activities developed through facility of intercommunication with the immense daily supply of "news," the reading of which takes up nearly all our time. We live in a swirl hostile to the contemplative or philosophic spirit. But studies of the past give the present a truer place and proportion in contemplating the grand evolution of men and things. They take us, as it were, out of our immediate surroundings; give a deeper insight into our civilization; and foster a spirit of thoughtful reverence for those who have gone before, which, it is to be feared, is sadly wanting in the present day.

I do not mean by the cultivation of such a spirit mere blind Chinese "worship of ancestors;" but rather due recognition of the far-reaching "fifth" precept in the decalogue; which is the very root of true patriotism, and obedience to which secures to a people the promise of "days long upon the land" of their forefathers.

We, and all nations, are what we are, not in spite of, but because of our past history and environment; for none can escape from those biological antecedents expressed in the term heredity. Therefore, if we want truthful introspection of ourselves, we ought to begin by study of the character and actions, strength and weaknesses of our ancestors.

If we succeed in extracting from archæological studies the highest philosophy which history teaches, it will broaden and sweeten our lives in every direction. It will give wider and juster views in political and social economy; foster reverence; beget tolerance; soften prejudices; forbid harsh condemnations; condemn hasty

conclusions; explain seeming anomalies, and advance and cement our ideas of the great brotherhood of men. But it is essential to bring to such study an open mind; bounded only by a firm belief in an ever present controlling Beneficence. All preconceived theories of past history being but a record of evil; of the struggle in survival of the fittest, only showing unkindly Nature "red in tooth and claw;" of racial evolution being but a long drawn tale of wickedness and cruelty, must be tentatively held, if entertained at all. Such pessimist theories have, indeed, been supported by great and good men; but are the result of a merely one-sided view of the history of progress, and quite antagonistic to the true philosophic spirit. We must regard the evolution revealed in archæology, even if often apparently inconsistent with pure beneficence, as a force always advancing and tending to something higher and better; and recognise that our own happier lot has been evolved, perhaps painfully, but still legitimately, through the struggle and suffering of our ancestors;—they were to put to the test, we are the result of their patience and endurance.

I have already stated that through general archæology we may yet hope to fill in gaps in our national history. These blanks originated partly in the phenomenal illiteracy of our early Celts, and, perhaps in a lesser degree, through the destruction of records during the War of Independence. But, while Edward I. of England (the ruthless "hammer of Scotland," who welded us into one of the most compact and cohesive nationalities the world has seen) thought he was obliterating our history, by destroying its records, he was not aware that duplicates of the documents he made away with apparently existed in the Irish Annals. At all events, the able but cruel Norman never anticipated that, centuries after his stormy day, a race of scholars would arise, who, from every written scrap, place name, and relic, would piece together the history which he vainly imagined could

only exist in and perish with formal written records.

Let it be no deterrent or hindrance to a student of local archæology that his efforts are but limited and circumscribed. It is just numerous small local endeavours that are needed to supply material ; for the learned few can cut and piece together all such fragmentary contributions into a compacted whole.

Materials exist everywhere. There is not a town, village, hamlet, farm, or field even, which cannot be made to yield something of antiquarian interest.

Let such materials be collected and analysed without delay ; for, in these busy and stirring times, when the present is apt to engross all our energies, the traditions, memories, and even relics of our wonderful past, are liable to slip from us, and ultimately be obliterated, forgotten, and lost beyond recovery.





APPENDIX.

ETYMOLOGY OF EXISTING CELTIC PLACE NAMES

IN

STRACATHRO AND ADJOINING PARISHES,

BY A. C. CAMERON, M.A., LL.D., AND THE AUTHOR.

STRACATHRO—PARISH AND ESTATE.

Strath, broad valley ; *cathro* or *catherach*, mossy place ; or *Strath* and *cath*, battle—valley of warriors
Ancient spelling Stracatherach and Strukatherach.

ADDICAT (farm)—*Addi*, face ; *cat*, rough or shaggy ?

ARDO (farm)—*Ardoch*, high lying field or habitation.

AUCHINREOCH (estate)—*Auch*, field ; *in*, of ; *reoch*, heather. Formerly Muirton.

BALLOWNIE, or Ballunie, (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *lownie*, or *lonie*, meadowy place.

BALRENNIE (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *rennie*, point of land, or from the surname Rennie. The latter correct. Formerly Balhall.

CAIRNDRUM (farm)—*Cairn*, stony height ; *drum*, ridge. Compare Drumcairn. Formerly Westerton of Dunlappie.

CAPO (farm)—*Ceap*, projecting ; *o* or *och* (auch), field. Compare Keppoch, Inverness.

CRUICK (river)—Either (Celtic) stony or hard bottomed, or (Saxon) crooked stream.

DUNLAPPIE (old parish and estate)—*Dun*, hill or fort ; *lappie*, miry surroundings. Compare Stracathro.

INCHBARE (hamlet)—*Inch*, island ; *bar*, eminence ; or *beir*, conflict ; or Saxon, bare.

LUNDIE (hill and estate)—*Lun*, meadow ; *die* or *duie*, black. Compare Norse *lundr*, sacred grove.

PORTSOY (height at Kingsford)—*Port* or *peart*, passage ; *soy*, seat, or resting place, of the ford. Compare Portsoy, Banff ; Pert ; Perth.

BRECHIN—CITY AND PARISH.

Breich or *bruach*, steep brae ; *in*, of (genitive). Town of the braes or steep slopes. This fully describes its situation. Compare Breich, station on Caledonian Railway west of Edinburgh ; and Brecknock, or Brecon, in Wales.

ALDBAR (estate)—*Ald*, good ; *bar*, height or upper land.

ARDOVIE (estate)—*Ard*, height ; *dorie*, of the marsh.

ARRAT (farm)—*Ar*, ploughed field ; *foidl*, glebe ground ? *Ar* also means slaughter ; *gat* or *gut* (Danish), the ford or passage of slaughter ; site of a battle with the Danes ?

BALBIRNIE (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *birnie*, prominent ridges.

BALNABREICH (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *na*, of ; *breich* or *bruach*, steep brae. (Bonnybreich, from the *l* being mute.)

BROOMFIELD (farm)—Modern English. Formerly Pitpoukes or Pitpollux—*Pit*, habitation ; Pictish form of *Both* ; *Boygais*, boggy ? Pit is also slang Gaelic for a hollow.

CAIRNBANK (estate)—*Cairn*, stony height ; Saxon bank. Formerly Bothers ;—*Both* (Pictish form Fother), dwelling ; old Celtic. Compare Bothwell, Lanark.

DALGETY (farm)—*Dal*, level ground ; *gety* or *geadach*, tufty ground. (Da-ge-ty.)

DRUMACHLIE (farm)—*Drum*, ridge ; *och*, *ach*, *auch*, field ; *lie*, ?

DRUMS (farm)—Ridges.

FINDOWRIE (farm)—*Fionn*, fair ? *dowrie*, running water. Fin, form of Pictish *fothen*. Compare Finhaven formerly Fothernavon.

INCHOCK (farm)—*Inch*, island ; *ock*, small or narrow—a diminutive.

KEITHOCK (estate)—*Keith*, ? *ock*, narrow.

KILLIEVAIR (ancient place name)—*Coille*, wood ; *rair*, fire. Wood in which the Druids sacrificed. Large standing stone or stones still mark the spot.

KINNAIRD (estate)—*Kin*, end ; *aird*, high. End of the high land.

KINCRAIG (farm)—*Kin*, end ; *carrig*, rock.

KINTROCKAT (farm)—*Kin*, end ; *trockat*, bridge.

LEUCHLAND (farm)—*Leuch* or *Luachar*, rushes ; Saxon, land.

MONTBOY (farm)—*Mont*, hill ; *boy* or *buie*, yellow.

MONTREATHMONT (hill and moor)—*Mont*, hill, or *moin*, moss ; *reath*, smooth, or *ree*, king ; with hill or moss repeated. (Mon-rummon.)

PANMURE (estate)—*Pan* or *bun*, base or resting ; *mure*, ? Probably Pan, modification of *llan*, church inclosure ; and *mor*, great. Compare Panbride, church of St Bride.

PITTENDREICH (farm)—*Pit*, habitation ; *en*, of ; *dreich*, Druid.

PITFORTHY (farm)—*Pit*, habitation ; *forthy*, watery ?

POWSODDIE (farm)—*Pow*, slow water ; *soddie*, ? Compare Powburn in the Mearns.

STANNOCHY (farm)—*Stan* or *Stang*, ditch ; *ochy*, qualitative affix expressing kind of (allusion to deep pools in South Esk.)

TILLYGLOOM (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock : *gluaim*, sadness ; or *glomay*, puddle of water.

MENMUIR—PARISH.

Moin, moss ; *mor*, big. Anciently Menmore. The great moss at the Catter foot. Compare Balnamoon.

AUCHFERZIE (farm)—*Auch*, field ; *ferrie*, grassy. Z is y in Gaelic. Compare Menzies, Balzeordie.

BALCONNEL (estate)—*Bal*, town ; *connel*, pleasant ?

BALHALL (estate)—*Bal*, town ; *alluidh*, good ; or Saxon hall.

BALFOUR (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *fuair*, cold soil or spring.

BALNAMOON (estate)—*Bal*, town ; *na*, of ; *moin*, moss or peats. (Bonnymoon.)

BALROWNIE (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *rownie*, promontory on the water.

BALZEORDIE (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *yeordie*, windy height. (Ba-yeordie.)

BLAWART (old ford on Cruick)—*Bla*, smooth ; *art* or *peart*, river passage or ford. Compare Pert and Perth, &c. Another ford lower down on Cruick was called ‘Threiphaughford,’ Saxon or perhaps Norse. Compare Threapland, Cumberland.

BRACO (farm)—*Breac*, spotted ; variegated place of spots or patches, hence “brocket.” Also *bréach*, wolf ; old Gaelic, as “Breagho,” wolffield, in the Irish Annals.

BRATHINCH (farm)—*Brath*, brow ; *inch*, island (perhaps fire-island ?)

GUNGEON (croft)—Perhaps the narrow land ?

KILGARIE (farm and old forest)—*Cill*, cell or church ; or *coille*, wood ; *garie*, rough burn. Compare Killievair.

LEDMORE (farm)—*Led*, slope ; *mor*, big or great.

LOCHTY (farm)—Black loch or marsh. Compare Latch, Edzell.

LUNDIE (estate)—See Stracathro.

PITMUDIE (farm)—*Pit*, habitation ; *mudie*, dark misty hollow.

TULLO (farm)—*Tulach*, hillock.

EDZELL—PARISH AND VILLAGE.

EDZELL—An impossible Gaelic name ; metonymic of Aigle, the old name.

AIGLE—*Aigeal*, deep river gully ; compounded *Eig* or *Nig* bay ; *gholl*, pass or hill gorge. Compare Glenogle. The name probably from the river gorge, or “loup” of the West Water, leading to Lethnot.

AUCHMULL (farm and old castle)—*Auch*, field ; *mull* or *maol*, bare brow.

BALNAHARD (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *na*, of ; *hard* (*ard*), high ground. (Bonnyhard.)

BONSAGART (farm)—*Bun*, base, or dwelling at foot ; *sagart*, priest.

COLMEALLIE (farm)—*Col* or *cuil*, corner ; *meallie*, lumpy hill.

CRAIGOSHINNA (farm)—*Craig*, rock ; *shinna*, or *shinnock*, fox.

DALBOG (farm)—*Dal*, level ground or field ; *bog*, soft.

DALFORTH (watery field ?) Compare Pitforthly, Brechin.

DALFOUPER (farm)—*Dal*, field or land ; *obair* or *aber*, river confluence ; foupper is very corrupted.

DALHESTNIE (farm)—*Dal*, field ; *h*, particle ; *estnie*, waterfall or linn.

DURIEHILL (farm)—*Durie*, hangman ; *hill* (Saxon.)

DOULIE (wood on Esk)—The black or dark place.

GANNOCHY (gorge on Esk)—The dark place of the noisy water.

INVERESKANDYE (farm)—*Inrer*, confluence ; *esk*, water ; *dye*, black water ; that is the Dey or West Water,

KEENIE (farm)—Narrow part ; being the narrowest part of Glenesk.

LATCH (farm)—Mire, bog, or watery meadow “Bogindolo” (Fettercairn) was called Black-Latch in charters of the Ramsays of Balmain. Compare Latch, Brechin ; Lochty, Menmuir.

MOORAN (stream)—Impetuous stream.

SHIERSTRIPES (farm)—*Shier*, continuous or straight ; *stripes*, strips of land ; hybrid name.

STRUAN (farm)—*Struthan*, streams ; diminutive or plural of *struth*, a stream. Compare names in Perth and Inverness.

TULLO (farm)—*Tulach*, knowe or hillock.

WAGGLES (croft)—*Ogleathais*, elevated dwelling beside the gully ; a Saxon corruption.

LETHNOT AND NAVAR—UNITED PARISHES.

LETHNOT—*Leth*, half ; or *led*, slope ; *noth*, pertaining to water.

NAVAR—*Na* or *ni*, watery ; *rar*, tops or heights.

ACHOWRIE (farm)—*Ach* (auch), field ; *ourrie* or *dourrie*, streams.

BALAIRNO (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *airno*, promontory on the water ; or Blairno—*Blair*, high field ; *no* or *noth*, water side.

BALFIELD (farm)—*Bal*, town, with Saxon field ; but more probably, Bâfield—*Bâ*, cows or cattle, and field.

CLOCHIE (farm)—*Cloch*, stone ; the stony place.

CORATHRO (hill)—*Cor*, or *coire*, mountain dell ; *athro*, ?

CRAIGENDOWIE (farm)—*Craig*, rock ; *en*, of ; *dowie*, black ; that is, water.

DRUMCAIRN (farm)—*Drum*, ridge ; *cairn*, heap of stones.

DRUMFOURIES (farm)—*Drum*, ridge ; *fouries*, wet cold place.

GLASCORY (farm)—*Glas*, grey or green ; *cory*, hollow of hill.

LEDBAIKIE (farm)—*Led*, slope ; *baikie*, ?

LEIGHTNIE (farm)—Much the same as Lethnot ; changed in sound and spelling.

MARGIE (farm)—The mirkland ?

NATHRO (farm)—*Na*, water ; *athro*, ? *Vide* Corathro.

TILLYARBLET (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *ar*, cultivated field ; *blet*, or *plad*, plot or portion.

TILLYBARDINE (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *bard* (*ard*), high ; *ine* or *fuinn*, land.

TILLYBIRNIE (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *birnie*, prominent ridges.

TILLYDOVIE (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *dovie*, of the marsh or gutter.

TRAFFAT (farm)—*Tra*, shore ; or *Trafait*, rough spot.

LOGIE PERT—CONJOINED PARISH.

LOGIE—*Lagach*, a hollow, probably the level tracts near the North Esk. Compare Logie Almond, Logierait, &c.

PERT—*Peart* or *port*, river pass or ford on North Esk. Compare Blawart ; Perth ; Portsoy ; and Pesth in Austria-Hungary,

ARDOCH (farm)—*Ardoch*, high field or place.

BALLOCHY (farm)—*Balloch*, gap or pass in height ; *y*, small, diminutive.

COMROY (farm)—Meeting of streams. Compare Comrie, Perth.

CRAIGO (estate)—*Craig*, rock ; *go*, or *ghoba*, bend of the land along the water. Compare Glasgow, Linlithgow, &c. ; cognate to above *go*. Gow or Gowain, a smith, so named from bend or form of his body when at work.

GALLERY (estate)—*Goll*, hollow ; *raie*, running water.

GLENDOWAN (fishing station)—*Glen*, narrow valley ; *dowan*, black, diminutively. Dowran would mean black running water.

DUN—PARISH AND ESTATE.

Dun, hill or fort. Compare Duns Berwick, ; and many combinations in Dun.

BALNILLO (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *nillo*, soft sounding water ?

BALWYLLO (farm)--*Bal*, town ; *buaille*, folds for cattle ?

GILRIVIE (farm)—*Geal*, white ; *irie*, beautiful ? Compare Norse *gil*, boundary ; as gill, plentiful in Cumberland, &c.

GLENSKENNO (estate)—*Glen*, narrow valley ; *skinno* or *sgionn*, uneven or crooked.

ROSSIE (estate)—*Ross*, point ; *ie*, diminutive, frequent in Scotland.

TAYOCK (farm)—*Teodhing*, warm or sunny place, or field ; or *Twebhing*, waterside abode ? Compare also Inchock.

MARYKIRK PARISH—FORMERLY ABERLUTHNOT.

Kirk or church of the Virgin (Saxon.)

ABERLUTHNOT—*Aber*, confluence ; *luth*, with *not* or *noth*, water ; name of small stream (Luther) flowing into North Esk.

BALMAKEWAN (estate)—*Bal*, town ; *ma*, of ; *kewan* or *cuthann*, narrow place ; that is, between the Luther and the North Esk. (Bumakewan).

BALMALEDIE (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *ma*, of ; *leddie*, small slope. (Bumaleedie.)

BALMANNO (farm)—*Bal*, town ; *main*, or *meadow*, middle, or mid.

BARNS (farm)—*Bar*, high-lying land.

CANTERLAND (farm)—*Ceantire*, headland ; meaning, end of Garvock hill, with *land* (Saxon) added.

DRUMNAGAIR (farm)—*Drum*, ridge ; *na*, of ; *gair*, wind, or *garbh*, rough ?

INGLISMALDIE (estate)—*Ion* good ; *lis*, rich ground ; *maldie*, ?

PITGARVIE (farm)—*Pit*, town ; *garbk* or *garvie*, rough land.

FETTERCAIRN—PARISH AND ESTATE.

Fetter or *fother*, jutting ridges or moraines ; *cairn*, hill ; more probably from *fett*, *fother*, or *fothur*, Pictish forms of *both*, dwelling. Ancient spellings, Fotherkern, Fettercarden. The vernacular pronunciation still Fethercairn ; old site was probably Greencairn, a mile west of present village ; where was Lady Finella's Castle, in which Kenneth II. was murdered in 995.

ARNHALL (estate and farm)—*Ar*, tilled land ; *alla*, high, or *alluidh*, pleasant ? It may also be from *arn*, a river side tree, and *hall* Saxon.

BALBEGNO (estate and farm)—*Bal*, town ; *beg*, little ; *no*, or *noth*, watery place (anciently, Balbegnoth.) The size (*beg*) probably in comparison with the bigger Greencairn, the site of a neighbouring village and castle.

BALMAIN (estate and farm)—*Bal*, town ; *main* or *meadow*, middle. The mid-town between the Castles of Balbegno and Esslie.

BALNAKETTLE—*Bal*, town ; *na*, of ; *kettle*, den ; or *ceit*, sunny, with *gholl*, gorge. (Bonnykettle.)

BARNA (hill above Babegno)—*Bar*, top or eminence.

BILBO (roadside house)—*Bil*, border ; *bo* or *both*, dwelling ; roadside bothy.

CAUSEWAYEND (croft)—Saxon ; archæologically very important, vernacularly “Casiend,” meaning near the end of the Roman Road or Causeway, where it passed through a portion of the great Mearns bog.

DALLADIES (farm)—*Dal*, field ; *ladus* or *leithid aighis*, terraces ; the land on terraces over the North Esk,

DENSTRATH (farm)—*Den* (dun), hill ; *strath*, valley ; hill in the strath.

DISCLUNE (croft)—*Dis*, or *deis*, facing south ; *clune*, green or grassy. Clunie is the name of several places in Scotland.

DRUMHENDRY (farm)—*Drum*, ridge ; *h*, particle ; *endry*, run of outlet water, from the ancient loch or bog of the Mearns.

ESSLIE (old castle on a hill)—*Es* or *ais*, elevated site ; *lee*, watery or low-lying ; meaning, height overlooking the bog.

FASQUE (estate)—*Fasq*, shelter ; *dhuibh*, black or dark ; (formerly Faskê.)

GURDON (farm)—*Garadh*, garden ; *dun*, eminence.

INCH (farm)—*Innes*, island ; rising ground in great bog.

KINCARDINE (ancient palace and town)—*Ceann*, head ; *ard*, high ; *dun*, hill fort. Compare, however, “Circinn,” the ancient tribe inhabiting the Mearns.

LEITH (part of Fettercairn village)—*Leith*, watery place. Compare Leith, Drumlithie, &c.

NEUDOSK (ancient church and thanage)—*Naomp*, holy ; *dos*, thicket or shelter. Church founded by the Bruce as a thank offering for his victory over Comyn, near entrance to Glenesk.

SKERHUGHES (old croft)—*Sker*, rocky hill ; *ginbhas*, fir wood,

STANKEY (old croft)—*Stan*, ditch ; *dhuibh*, black or dark.

STEELSTRATH (farm)—*Steel*, stream ; *strath*, valley ; the same outlet drainage as at Drumhendry.

STRANSEN (old croft)—*Strath*, valley ; *nosen*, corner.

TARRYWINNOX (old croft)—*Tor*, hill ; *winnox*, windows, (Saxon) or *mino* (Celtic) hollows in the hills, through which the sun shone when low in the winter.

THORNYHILL (farm)—Not Saxon, but *Tor an alluidh* ; *Tor*, hill ; *alluidh*, beautiful.

TILLYFOUNTAIN (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *fountain*, corruption of poinding, (now Caldcotes) where cattle straying from Fasque were poinded until relieved by their owners.

TILLYTOGHILLS (farm)—*Tilly*, hillock ; *aoth*, side ; *goll* or *gil* (hard), gully. The homestead, now in the valley, was originally on the hill at "Bilbo."

TORWOOD (hill and residence)—*Tor*, hill, wood (Saxon) added. *Tor*, a Cornish root found in south, but rare in east Scotland.





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