

III.

EDZELL CASTLE. BY W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A.,
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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

In my paper on "The Early Castles of Mar," contributed to our *Proceedings* a couple of years ago,¹ I pointed out how the castles in the Dee Valley which date from the period of Anglo-Norman penetration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries occupy positions which obviously must have been selected to command the debouchures of the various passes over the Mounth, and the relative fords or bridges on the river. What would nowadays be called considerations of strategy have clearly exercised a dominant influence on the choice of sites for these early strongholds. In the same paper I further demonstrated how in the interior of Mar the remains of Norman castles are found strung along the great trunk roads leading into Buchan and into Moray; and how again and again these castles are associated with early parochial churches or church sites, in the way so characteristic of Norman penetration throughout the British area. I also pointed out that ample evidence exists to show how the Norman infiltration of Mar involved no violent breach of continuity with past conditions: for the Norman castle and its associated church repeatedly occupy sites known to have been primitive centres of population, and the churches often bear the names of Celtic missionary founders, or are accompanied by the crosses and symbol stones characteristic of Pictish Christianity.²

In all the foregoing particulars an exactly parallel state of affairs may be discovered by an inspection of the traces which the Anglo-Norman penetration has left on the sunward side of the Mounth.

Thus (see map, fig. 1) the Cairnamounth Pass, the most important crossing in the eastern section of the great barrier,³ is controlled, just at the point where the road leaves the Howe of the Mearns and commences the ascent of the Mounth, by the royal castle of Kincardine. About ten miles south of Kincardine Castle lies the ancient city of

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. lxiii. pp. 102-38.

² See on this subject my *The Historical Saint Columba*, 2nd ed., pp. 73-8.

³ To the *résumé* which I have previously given (see *Proceedings*, vol. lxiii. pp. 119-22) of the part played by the Cairnamounth Pass in Scottish military history from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, it may here be added that this Pass was used by the Earl of Huntly on his march south against the rebel barons that culminated in the battle of Brechin, 18th May 1452. See Sir Robert Gordon, *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 72.

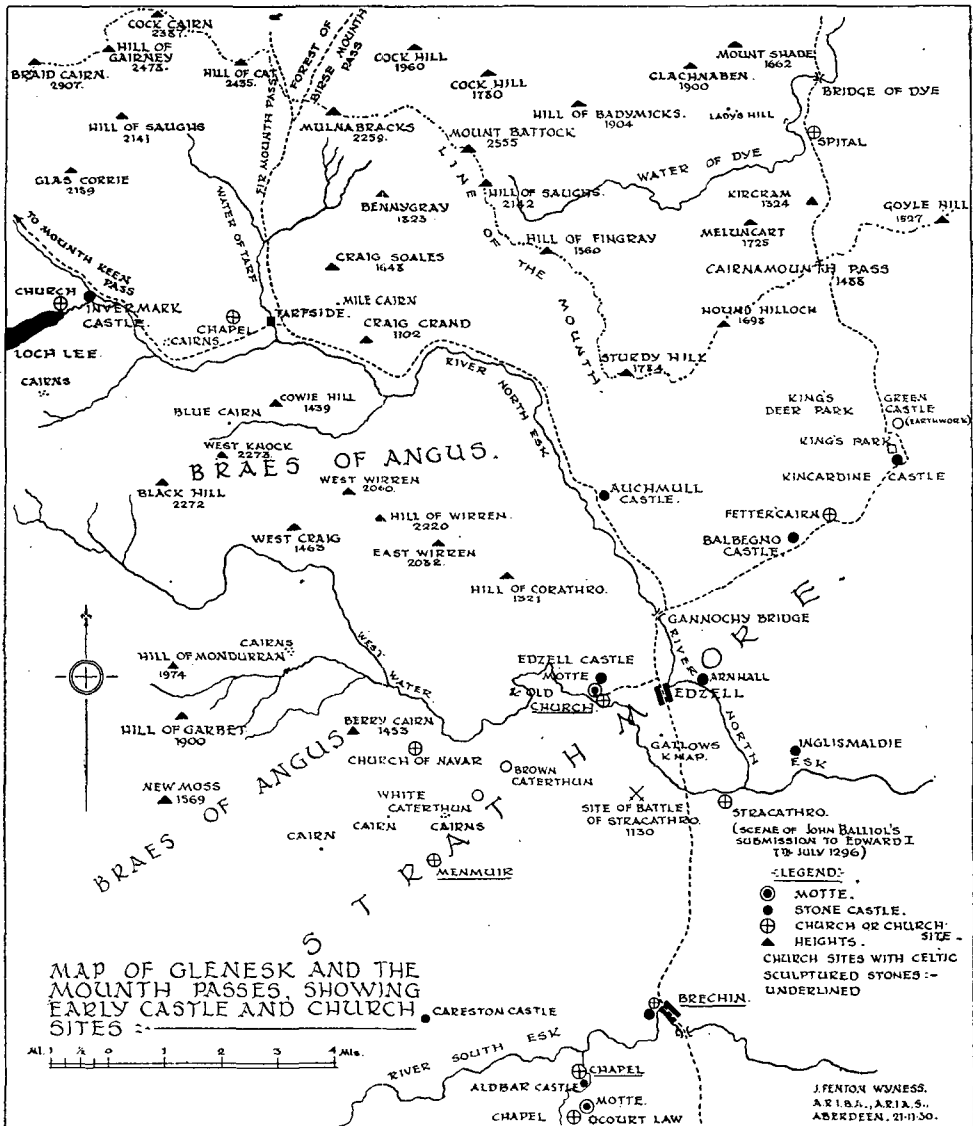


Fig. 1. Map to illustrate the strategic position of Edzell Castle.

Brechin, with its castle, its cathedral, and its Round Tower, and its memories of Scotie and of still earlier Pictish greatness.¹ Midway between these two is Edzell, a point of great strategic consequence, for

¹ *The Historical Saint Columba*, pp. 32, 74.

here the Cairnamounth route gives off to the left a very important branch road, which ascends Glenesk, from whose upper regions the Forest of Birse Mounth, Fir Mounth, and Mounth Keen crossings are reached. It is therefore no coincidence that at Edzell we should find the remains of a Norman mount and bailey castle and an associated parochial church; and it is in full accordance with the evidences of continuity in the Norman penetration, discoverable at so many other Scottish sites, that here at Edzell also the mediæval church should be associated with a far older monument of Celtic Christianity. At Edzell also, as so often in Scotland, the early parochial centre has been disrupted both by the civil and by the ecclesiastical authorities. In the sixteenth century its now powerful Lindsay lords deserted the ancient *motte* of their predecessors, the Stirlings of Glenesk, and rehoused themselves in sumptuous fashion on a sweeter and more sheltered spot about a quarter of a mile further north. And in 1818 the old church also was abandoned, and a new one was built to serve the needs of the expanding community of Slateford, which was the germ-cell of the pleasant modern village of Edzell.

As the castle at Edzell commanded the lower entry of the Glenesk road, so from the sixteenth century onwards the tall tower of Innermark sentinelled its upper reaches and controlled the Fir Mounth, Forest of Birse Mounth, and Mounth Keen¹ crossings. A writer of *circa* 1683-1722 concisely states the position. "In Lochlie is the great and strong castle of Innermark upon the water of Northesk. It is very well peopled and upon any incursions [of] the Highland Katranes (for so those highland robbers are called) the Laird can, upon very short advertisement, raise a good number of weell-armed prattie men, who seldom suffer any prey to goe out of ther bounds unrecovered."²

Who the early Norman or Normanised lords of Glenesk may have been, and whence they came, are questions to which no certain answer can be given. In the most ancient records, from about 1260 onwards, they appear simply under the territorial designation of de Glenesk. That they were a Normanised native family, rather than immigrants, is suggested by the fact that one of them, Morgund de Glenesk, who swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, 28th August 1296,³ has a Celtic name. It is not proved, but is exceedingly likely, that these de Glenesks

¹ The Mounth Keen Pass "layes from Innermarkie to Canakyle [Kandychyle, now known as Dee Castle], on Dee side, and containes ten myles of monthe."—Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (1600-37), quoted in *Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 77, note 1.

² Ouchterlony of Guinde's description in *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, ed. Sir A. Mitchell, vol. ii. p. 39.

³ *Ragman Rolls* (Bannatyne Club), p. 126. Johan de Glennysk, probably merely a variant of the same surname, also gave in his submission on that date.

were the descendants of a family named Abbe, of whom Malise, John, *Morgund*, and Michael are successively on record as disposing of lands in Glenesk early in the thirteenth century. This family almost certainly took its origin from the lay *abs* or abbots of a Celtic monastic foundation, probably established by St Drostan, with whose name the primitive Christianity of the district is associated. At a later period in the thirteenth century we have records of a family of Stirling or Strivelyn de Glenesk: but whether these were of the same stock as the earlier lords who are styled simply "of Glenesk" it does not seem possible now to say. In or about 1357, Catherine Stirling, heiress of Glenesk, married Sir Alexander, third son of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford, and thereby acquired the barony of Glenesk. The "lightsome Lindsays," a gallant, turbulent, gay, and tragic race, remained in possession until 1715, in which year—the family affairs having fallen, through various causes, into a state of hopeless embarrassment—the estates were sold for the sum of £192,502 Scots, or £16,042 sterling (a huge amount for those days), to the Earl of Panmure.¹ Edzell Castle itself has had a comparatively uneventful history. On 25th August 1562, Queen Mary, on her northward march against the Gordons, held a Privy Council within its walls;² and on 28th June 1580 it received a visit from her son, King James VI.³ During the Civil War, David Lindsay of Edzell was a staunch supporter of the Covenant, and in consequence Glenesk was soundly harried by Montrose during the April of 1645; but the castle does not appear to have suffered in the course of the Royalist leader's depredations, and we may presume that he forbore to tempt its guarded walls. At the end of September 1651 it was occupied by a detachment of Cromwell's soldiers, who remained in garrison for a month, inflicting distressful losses on the countryfolk around. The natives of Glenesk were warmly disposed towards Episcopacy, and led by their laird they strongly resisted the introduction of the Presbyterian settlement of 1690. In the "great hall of Edzell" Episcopal services were held when the use of the parish church was denied to the recusants and their minister by a decree of the Lords of Justiciary.⁴ Lord Panmure having joined the rising of 1715, the lands which he had so recently purchased were forfeited, and Edzell Castle, like so many other mansions of the time, thus passed into the hands of the York Buildings Company, whose agents began the long-continued process of despoiling the stately building and its surrounding policies. In 1746, during the second

¹ See D. Murray, *The York Buildings Company*, pp. 25-6.

² *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 218.

³ Walter Cullen, "Chronicle of Aberdeen," 1491-1595, in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 53.

⁴ A. Jervise, *The Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., p. 10.

Jacobite rising, a detachment of Argyll Highlanders, acting in the Hanoverian interest, occupied the partly dismantled castle, and "contributed greatly, by all manner of extravagance and outrage, to pollute its time-honoured walls, and despoil it of its princely grandeur."¹ Its final ruin came in 1764, when the roofs and floors were stripped out and sold on behalf of the creditors of the now bankrupt York Buildings Company. The fine avenue of beeches that led up to the castle from the church was cut down, and what remained of the policies was heartlessly laid waste. In that same year the forfeited Panmure estates were purchased back again by William Maule, Earl Panmure of Forth, on whose death in 1782 they passed to his nephew, the eighth Earl of Dalhousie, ancestor of the present noble owner. A fair amount of conservation work was done on the ruins during the last century, but they are now unfortunately in a very bad state of repair, and it is urgently desirable that their custody should be handed over to the Ancient Monuments Department of His Majesty's Office of Works.²

THE MOTTE.

The site of the early manorial centre, still known as Castlehillock (see map, fig. 2), lies close to the left or north bank of the West Water, about three miles above its junction with the North Esk, and a little more than a mile due west of the modern village of Edzell. The ancient churchyard lies about 80 yards south-west of the *motte*, the road to Bridgend and the upper glen of the West Water now running between them.

The quaint old churchyard, with its Pictish sculptured slab, its burial aisle of the Lindsays (built by the ninth Earl of Crawford, 1542-58),³ and its numerous interesting tombstones, has already been described and illustrated in our *Proceedings* by the late Mr Alan Reid, F.S.A.Scot.⁴

The *motte* (see plan in fig. 2, and view, fig. 3) is of an elongated trapezoid form, with its long axis lying west-north-west and east-south-east. Its summit area measures about 125 feet in length by 52 feet across the eastern or broader end. On the north the *motte* overlooks a deep ravine, about 100 feet in average breadth and 40 feet in depth below the summit of the *motte*. Round the *motte* are distinct traces of an entrenched bailey, measuring about 300 feet in length

¹ *The Land of the Lindsays*, p. 67.

² I have not thought it necessary to burden the text with detailed references to the sources for the foregoing historical *résumé*, as the facts and authorities are fully set forth in Jervise, *op. cit.*, and in Lord Lindsay's *The Lives of the Lindsays*. See also Dr John Stuart's Introduction to the *Registrum de Panmure*, vol. i. pp. cii-civ.

³ Lord Lindsay, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 327.

⁴ Vol. xlix. pp. 294-9.

and 200 feet in greatest breadth: on the north side this bailey finds a natural boundary in the ravine, but on the east and south the boundary is formed by a ditch, now almost filled up, but apparently about 30 feet in average breadth. No trace of foundations of any kind appears either on the *motte* or within the area of the bailey; but there is a record of vaulted chambers having formerly been visible.¹

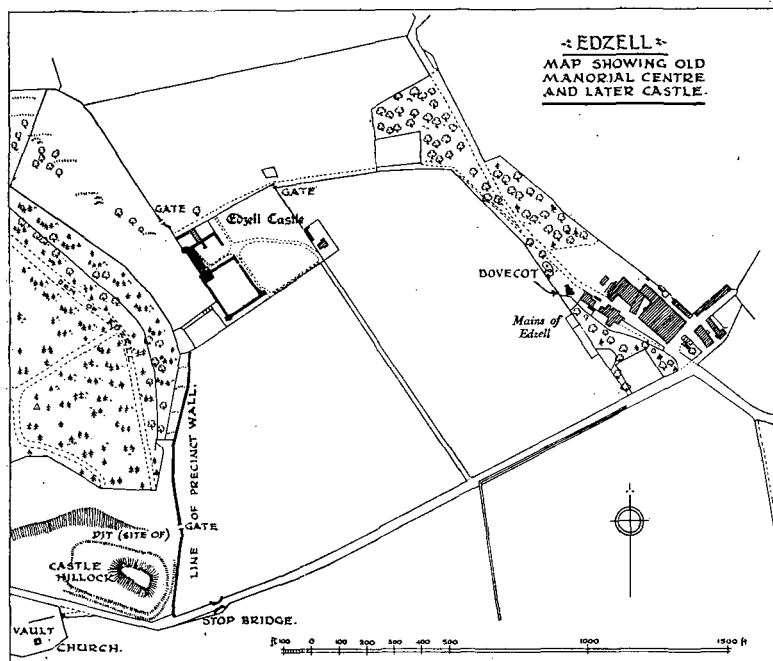
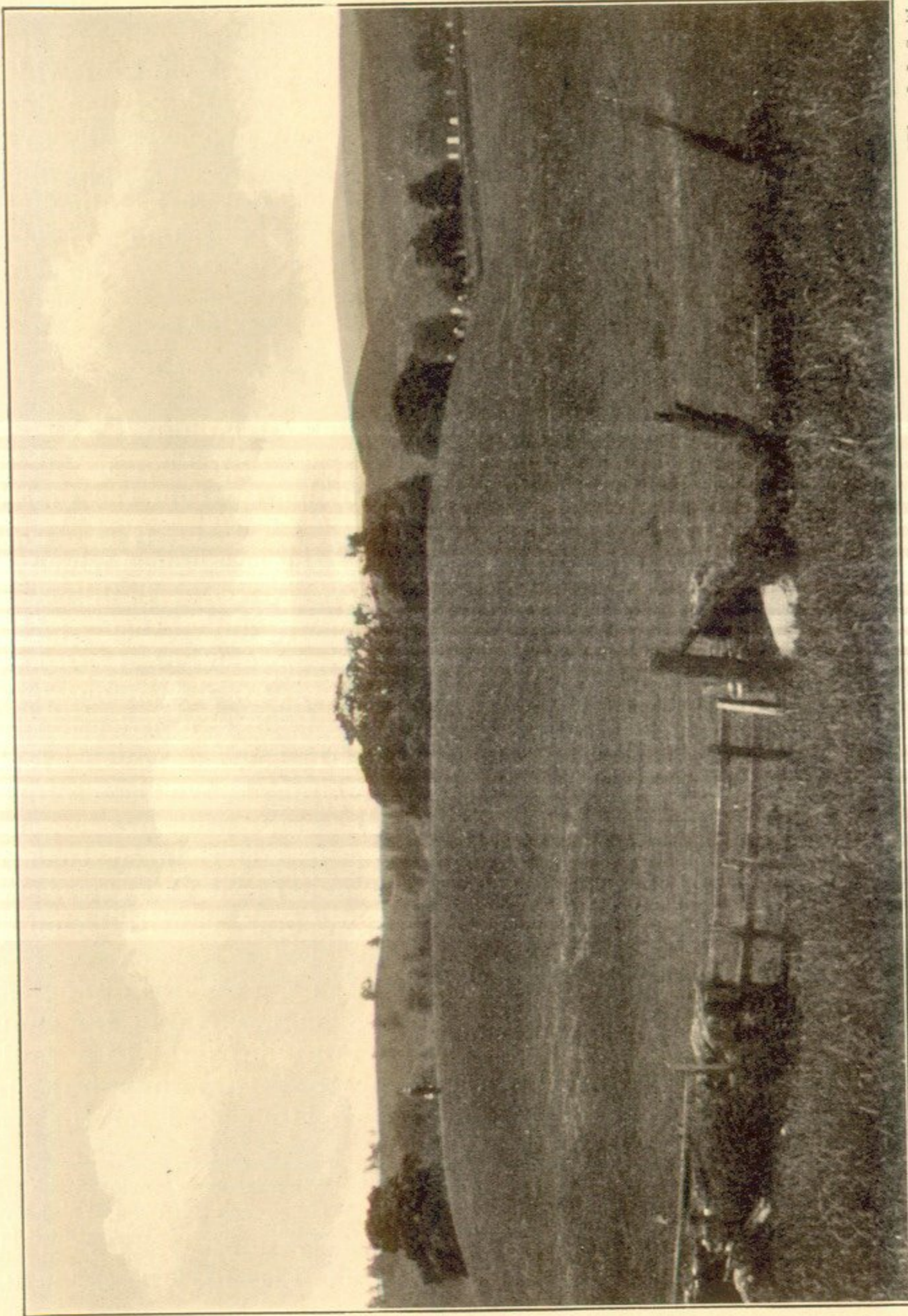


Fig. 2. Edzell Castle: Map of precincts (based on O.S., with additions).

THE LATER CASTLE.

The position chosen for the later castle (see map, fig. 2) is a level stretch of ground about 330 yards north-north-east of the *motte*. On the west side the area is bounded, at a distance of 67 yards from the castle front, by the deep and picturesquely wooded Den of Edzell; to the east and south is even ground, sloping very gently towards the West Water; but to the north the ground immediately behind the castle rises abruptly and irregularly. On this side the castle buildings are thus completely overlooked at close range, and it is clear that shelter and an unimpeded sunward outlook were the influences governing

¹ Jervise, *op. cit.*, p. 7.



[Photo I. L. Smith.

Fig. 3. Edzell Castle: View of *motte* from east, with old churchyard behind. In front are the remains of a precinct gate.

the selection of the site, to the almost entire exclusion of considerations of defence.¹ The castle also faces, though more remotely, higher ground on the opposite side of the Den of Edzell, the west bank of which is considerably steeper and more lofty than the east bank. Some fine old trees, the last remnant of the once magnificent policies, still lovingly enclose the ruins; and the contrast between their green foliage and the deep red freestone out of which the castle is built forms an effect of colour which is as pleasing to the eye as are the proportion and grouping of the mass of buildings and the picturesque outline of the broken turrets, crow-stepped gables, and chimney vents.

THE TOWER-HOUSE.

The oldest portion of the very extensive mass of buildings which now comprise the castle (see plans, figs. 4 and 5) is a "tower-house and jam" of considerable size on the L-plan, dating evidently from the first half of the sixteenth century. This tower-house (figs. 6 and 7) is a comely structure, four storeys in height, exclusive of the cap-house, which rises from within a parapet carried continuously all round the building. The tower-house is set with its length east and west,² and measures 44 feet by 34 feet, the "jam," or limb of the L-plan, forming a projection appended to the east end of the north front, and measuring 15 feet 9 inches in breadth along the front, by 6 feet 7 inches in projection from the main structure. To the parapet walk it measures about 54 feet in height; within this, the garret gables and chimneys have risen a further 18 feet, or thereabouts. In the basement the outer walls are in general 7 feet thick; on the first floor their thickness is reduced to 5 feet 10 inches: but in the upper levels it is to be noted that this tower shows less of the battered profile or entasis so usually and beautifully found in our old Scottish buildings.

The doorway occupies the normal position in the re-entrant angle, yet it is not placed close up against the wing, as commonly, but far enough away from it to allow room for a loophole giving light to a vaulted corridor carried eastward from the door to the main spiral stair, which is contained in the wing. The portal is checked for the usual

¹ Lord Lindsay, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 347, speaks of a moat having formerly enclosed the whole area of the castle, and says that this "no longer exists, in consequence of the West Water having formed for itself a new channel during a flood above a century ago"—*i.e. ante 1749*. But it is not apparent how any change in the bed of the West Water could affect a moat at Edzell Castle, nearly half a mile away. If there is truth in the story, I suspect it refers to the ancient site at Castlehillock.

² For convenience in description it is assumed that the castle is set to the cardinal points of the compass. The correct orientation is shown on the plans.

double defence, an outer wooden door and an inner iron "yett,"¹ the latter secured by a drawbar: there is the customary aumbry for the porter's use. At the other end of the corridor space is contrived under the ascending steps of the stair for a small vaulted guardroom, measuring

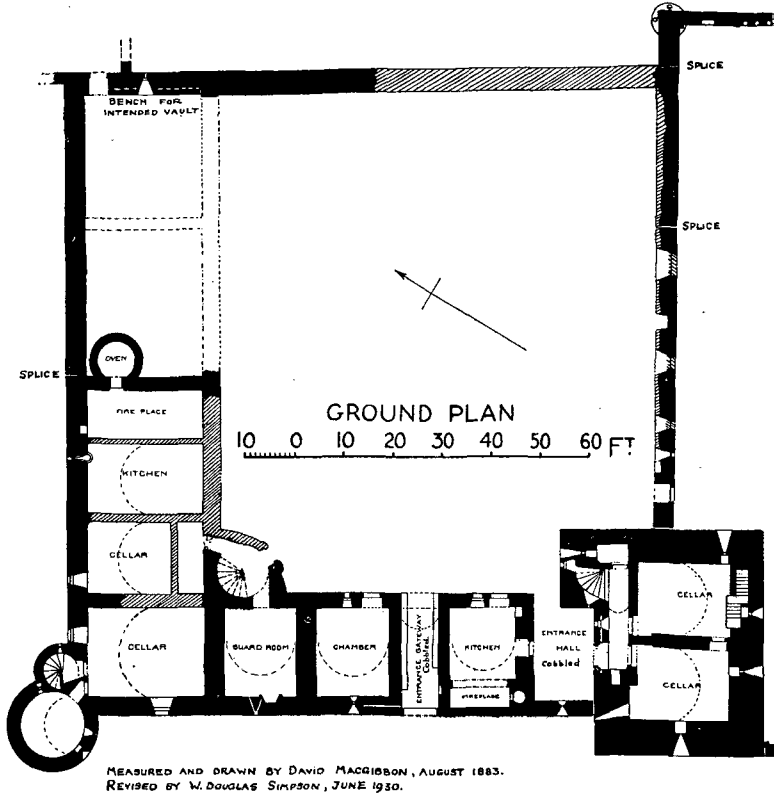


Fig. 4. Edzell Castle: Ground Plan. (Parts destroyed are hatched: parts never completed are in outline.)

6 feet 6 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth, having a gun-port in its semicircular northern end.

From the corridor access is obtained to two cellars of equal size, about 19 feet by 14 feet, both vaulted, which occupy the basement of the main building. The door to the eastern cellar, however, has been blocked, and access to this cellar is now obtained only through its neighbour, or by means of the usual service stair, which descends in two flights at the south-east corner from the hall above. The sole light to these cellars,

¹ For the removal of this "yett," post 1764, see *Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., p. 69.

save for a single loophole on the north side of the inward one,¹ is afforded through the large gun-ports by which their outer walls are pierced on all fronts. Communication between the cellars is obtained by a door at the south end of the partition wall.

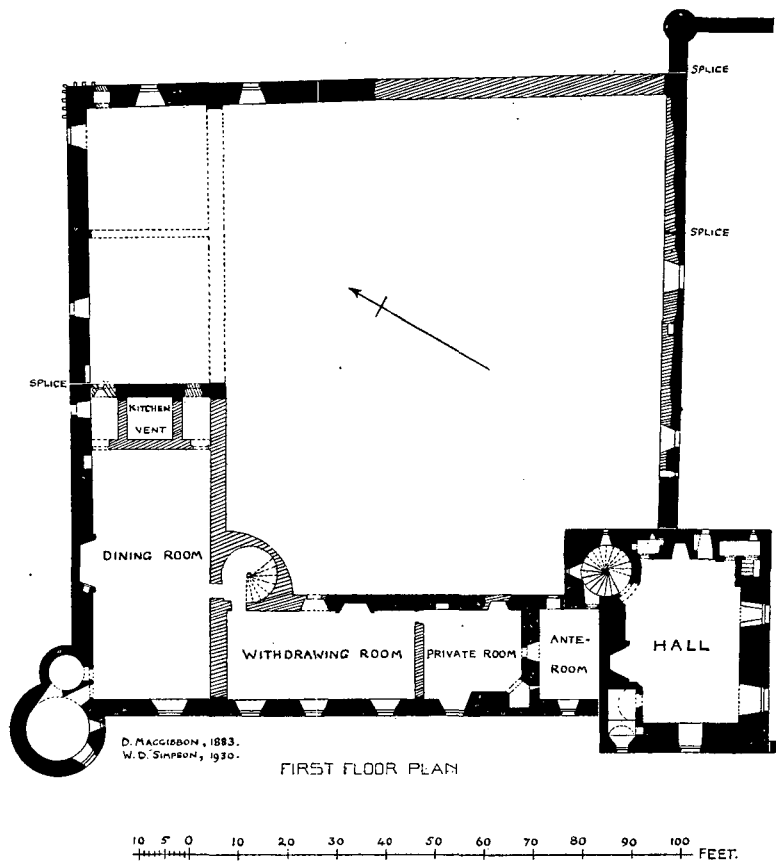


Fig. 5. Edzell Castle: Plan of Main Floor. (Parts destroyed are hatched: parts never completed are in outline.)

The spiral stair in the limb of the building (fig. 8) is designed on an ample scale, the steps being 5 feet long. It circles up without break to the battlements, forming a segmental interior projection from the first floor upwards. Over the entrance corridor the stair is carried on a handsomely wrought diagonal arch. Up to the first floor the steps have a rise of 4 inches, thereafter the rise is increased to 8½ inches. In

¹ In its present form this loophole is subsequent in date to the building afterwards erected against this front of the Tower-House.

all there have been seventy-two steps, but the upper ones are broken down,¹ and the wall-walk thereby rendered inaccessible. The stair is lit by a series of loopholes on all three fronts.

The first floor of the tower is wholly taken up with the hall—a handsome apartment measuring 33 feet in length by 23 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 15 feet 6 inches in height, as indicated by the joist-holes in the walls. To the south it is lit by two large windows, of which the eastern one is provided with side benches; to the west is another large window, while in the north wall is the fireplace, measuring 7 feet in

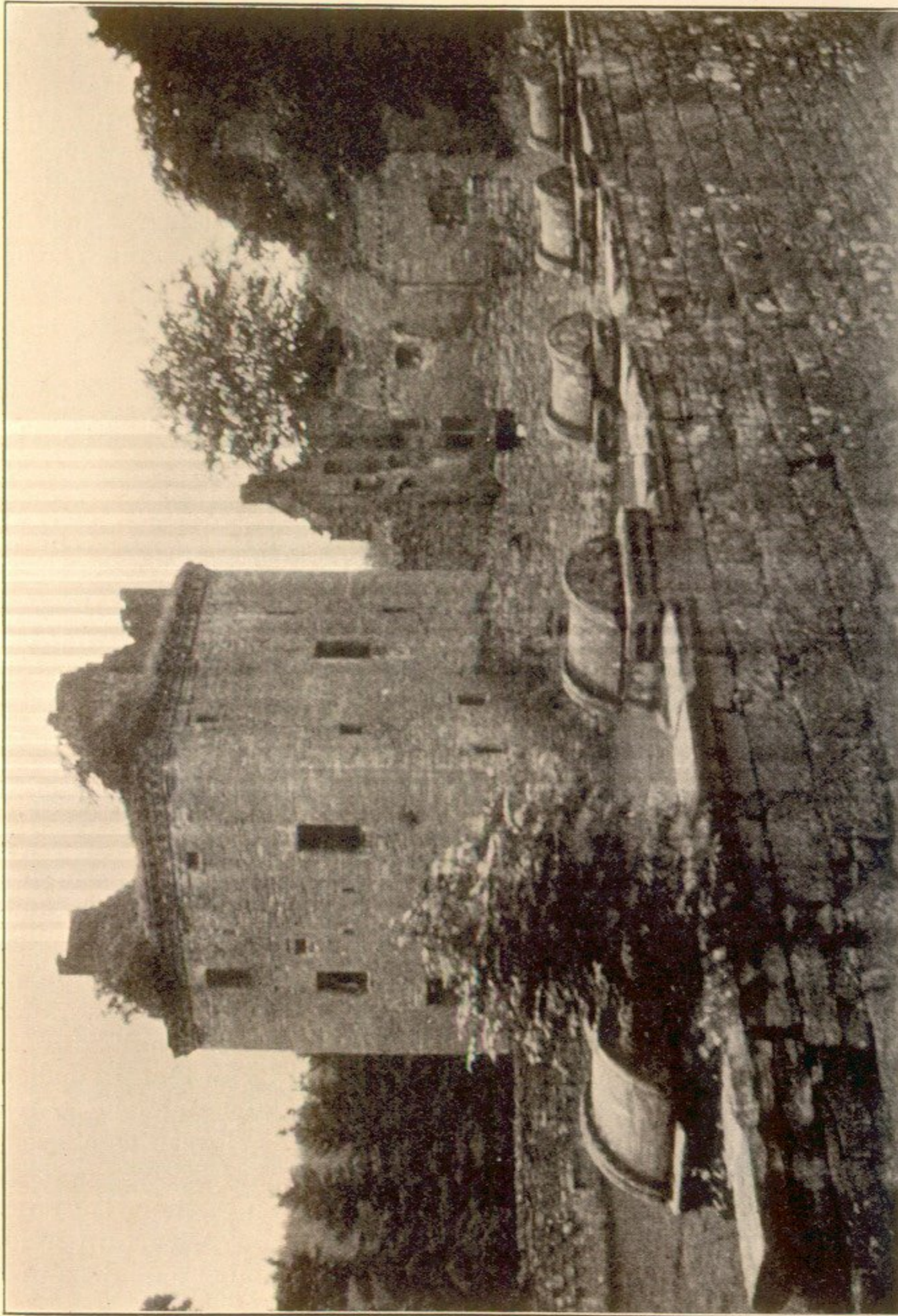


Fig. 6. Edzell Castle: General view from west. (From a photo *circa* 1890.)

breadth. In the east end wall is another, smaller fireplace—a fact which indicates that this end of the hall had been screened off: joist-holes on the north side and in the end wall show that the screen reached a height of 6 feet 9 inches. The screens are lit by a small window, facing east, and are provided with a garderobe at the north end. At the opposite end is a mural closet, forming a servery into which opens the stair from the cellarage below. At the north-west corner of the hall is a large vaulted chamber, measuring 11 feet in length by 5 feet 6 inches in breadth, lit by an ample window in the west wall, and having a tall aumbry adjoining this window to the south. This closet has chases for inserted shelving.

It is curious that in a tower of good size and otherwise so well appointed no kitchen should have been provided. A certain amount of cooking could of course be done in the screens; but no doubt a proper

¹ They were damaged thus by a great storm on the night of 11th October 1838.—*Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., p. 62.



[Photo I. L. Smith.

Fig. 7. Edzell Castle: The Tower-House and later buildings, seen from a window of the Summer-House; Pleasaunce wall in foreground.

kitchen would be included in the barmkin outbuildings which preceded the mansion now attached to the tower. That such outbuildings existed is proved not only by universal custom but also because, although the west outer wall of the mansion butts as a whole without bond against

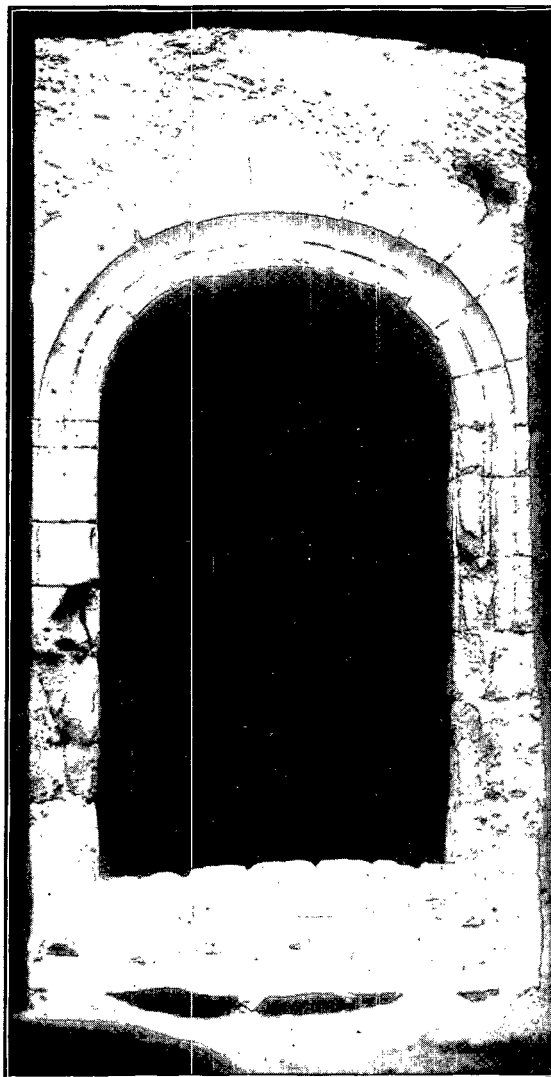


[Photo N. S. Cowan.]

Fig. 8. Edzell Castle: Newel Stair in Tower-House.

the tower, in the latter sundry bonding tusks exist which are clearly an integral part of the building, and must have been designed to engage the original barmkin walls. A similar bonding tusk on the east side, within the present garden area, perhaps indicates where the barmkin wall returned on this front.

The upper floors of the tower-house are now inaccessible, and cannot therefore be particularly described: but the arrangements have evidently been similar to those on the hall level, although doubtless these upper



[Photo N. S. Cowan.]

Fig. 9. Edzell Castle: Main Door to Tower-House.

storeys were subdivided by wooden partitions—as, indeed, the position and frequency of the fireplaces, garderobes, and windows clearly indicate.

Externally and internally the architectural features of the tower are fully characteristic of its age. The masonry is good coursed rubble,

the quoins and the dressed stones at the various openings being all very carefully wrought. The wide-mouthed horizontal gun-ports in the basement measure 3 feet or more in breadth. The main door (fig. 9) is elliptically arched, measuring 7 feet in height by 4 feet 2 inches in breadth: it is wrought with the usual quirked and filleted roll and hollow moulding of the period. In the hall fireplace (fig. 10) the same mouldings are repeated, continuous on jambs and lintel, while over the latter is a cavetto hood-mould. Generally the windows show a



[Photo G. A. Clarke.]

Fig. 10. Edzell Castle: Fireplace in Tower-House.

3½-inch chamfer, but those in the west wall have a filleted edge-roll within a hollow, the roll being cut flush on the jamb; and in the breasts of these windows are pierced gunloops, in all except one case arranged in pairs. The gunloops have an outer redented splay of 12 inches. These windows are of identical pattern with those found in the newer mansion, and were evidently altered to their present form when it was built: the disturbance involved in the surrounding masonry is clearly visible. The door into the mural chamber at the north-west corner of the hall (seen in fig. 10) has a sunk flattish ogee roll, of a type later than the other architectural detail in the tower, and doubtless the result of some alteration. A good deal of the old hard grey plaster still adheres to the interior walls throughout the tower.

The bartisan (see figs. 6 and 7) is very interesting. It boldly oversails, and is carried out above two rows of corbels, each of two courses, the upper row being placed above the intervals between the lower corbels, which thus are purely decorative in character. At each angle are projecting rounds, the extra relief of these being gained by a third and lowest triple corbel course, continuous but divided by the quoin, which mitres into the uppermost member. In the middle of each front of the building is a projecting half-round of similar design. This whole composition is strikingly graceful and effective. It closely recalls the bartisan of the tower-house which forms the central and apparently the oldest part of Craignethan Castle, Lanark, which is said to have been erected by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, Master of Works to James V. The plain dished runnels still remain, but the parapet has disappeared, and the entire wall-walk is now densely overgrown with vegetation. Within it rose the pack-saddled roof between corbie-stepped gables, east and west, each having a chimney breast protruding upon the wall-walk, which also was partly interrupted by the hall chimney-stack on the north front. From within the wall-walk also a square upper storey rose above the stairhead; in what way this was terminated does not appear, but probably there was an upper parapet, as on the tower at Dunnottar Castle.¹ The door from the cap-house to the wall-walk is on the east side; there are, of course, also the necessary small windows lighting the garret.

THE QUADRANGLE.

To the east and north of the tower-house, at a later period in the sixteenth century, has been appended a quadrangular mansion-house of the quasi-symmetrical design prevalent about that time (see plans, figs. 4 and 5). The tower-house is at its south-west angle, projecting 7 feet 3 inches westward: from this point the west wall of the quadrangle runs northward for 99 feet, being terminated at the north-west corner by a round tower, 19 feet in diameter, and of unusually bold projection, being less than one-fifth engaged with the adjoining walls. In the re-entrant angle between this tower and the north front of the quadrangle is placed a small segmental stair-tower or turret rising from the ground. This turret was an afterthought, as shown by the fact that it blocks a gunloop in the basement of the tower (see plan, fig. 4): but the uniform bond all through the external masonry clearly shows that the turret was added during the construction of the tower. From this turret the north front extends eastward for a distance of about

¹ There is record of a gilded vane on the summit of the tower.—*Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., p. 69.

115 feet. Along the west and part of the north sides of the enclosure thus described apartments are arranged, but the eastern portion of the north wall and the east and south walls are merely curtains, no buildings apparently having ever been erected against them. It should be noted, however, that built-up windows and at least one fireplace void exist in the western part of the south wall, showing that rooms were at all events contemplated here.

The entrance into the courtyard (see view, fig. 6) is placed in the west front, at a distance of 31 feet 6 inches north from the tower-house. It is a plain arched portal, 6 feet 9½ inches in breadth and 10 feet 6 inches in height, with a 4-inch chamfer on the well-wrought jambs and voussoirs. Above it is a symmetrical composition formed by four panels with projecting mouldings, now empty but intended for coats of arms, two below, one in the middle, and a bigger one above, while on each side are large windows. No doubt the big uppermost panel would contain the royal arms. The portal was defended by a single gate with sliding bar: the present iron-studded wooden door, with wicket, seems to be of considerable age, but is unlikely to be original. Within is a vaulted trance, 23 feet in length, 7 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 12 feet 9 inches high, the floor being cobbled. Along either side is a stone bench, and in the south wall, near the portal, is the usual aumbry. The inner arch of the trance had no door.

On the ground level the west range of the quadrangle contains a series of four vaulted rooms, one being to the south of the trance. This room was a kitchen, and has a large arched fireplace, 12 feet in internal breadth and 5 feet 4½ inches deep, the chimney of which forms a conspicuous feature in the elevation of the west range (fig. 6).¹ On the south side is an oven. The kitchen has a door and a service window opening on to the courtyard: in its south wall are an aumbry and also another door, giving access to a small cobbled close or entrance hall, about 18 feet by 11 feet 8 inches, which has been left between the new mansion and the tower-house. The three rooms north of the trance present few features calling for notice: in the middle one is a fireplace, indicating that this apartment was probably a guard- or waiting-room in connection with the main stair beside it. From the end room access is obtained to a vaulted store, 12 feet 4 inches in diameter, in the round tower, and also by a separate door to the newel stair in its north re-entrant. The circular room in the tower is not domed, as might have been expected, but barrel-vaulted on a north and south axis.

The rooms on the north side are entirely ruined, but there is still

¹ In the plan of the first floor (fig. 5) the vent of this fireplace should have been indicated as a void in the thick portion of the west wall of the private room.

clearly identifiable another kitchen on a large scale, having at its east end a great fireplace, which seems to have been about 23 feet broad, being the full breadth of the north wing, and about 10 feet deep, with an aumbry in its north wall and on the east side a circular oven, 7 feet 6 inches in diameter. In the north wall of the kitchen is provided the usual slop-drain.

On the first floor the western half of the north range was occupied by the dining-room, a handsomely proportioned hall measuring 50 feet by 24 feet 4 inches, with two closets or "speak-a-word" rooms at the east end, one on either side of the kitchen chimney. In the north wall are an arched dresser and a fireplace 9 feet 2 inches broad, with a gible-checked aumbry in the west cheek. The jambs are plain: the lintel is gone. The only window in the two outer walls of the hall is on the west side: otherwise it must have been lit entirely from the courtyard. No doubt there would be a desire to avoid windows on the front, which is commanded at close range from higher ground. Adjoining the hall was the withdrawing-room in the west wing: this apartment is 38 feet in length and 18 feet in breadth, and has three windows in the west wall, with a fireplace and one window on the side towards the courtyard. Beyond the withdrawing-room is a private room, 20 feet by 17, with a window in the west wall, a mural closet at the south-west angle, and a fireplace and aumbry on the courtyard side. To the south of the withdrawing-room a small vestibule or ante-room was provided, resting on a wooden floor over the close formed between the new mansion and the tower-house. The secondary joist-holes and roof raggles are seen in the walls of the latter, and a loop in its staircase was enlarged into a door. This ante-room has a window on both sides.

The west range, as thus described, was only of two storeys; but the north range was carried up a storey higher, with a tall corbie-stepped gable on the west front. Above its vaulted basement the north-western angle tower provided three storeys of bedrooms. The main stair in the inner or courtyard angle has been a handsome structure, 5 feet wide.

Beyond the end wall of the kitchen and dining-room the north or outer wall of the quadrangle is built only up to the first-floor level, and in the loftier portion to the west tusks are left which clearly show that the further buildings designed in continuation to the eastward have never been completed. Precisely the same history is revealed by the tusing on the opposite or courtyard side. It should also be noted that from the northern closet at the east end of the hall a gunloop opens eastward in a way that could not have been possible had further buildings existed in this direction. The gunloop is contained in a blocked-up doorway provided to give access to the contemplated extension. Lastly,

the north part of the west outer wall is benched for the insertion, never carried out, of a vault in continuation of the northern range. At the north-east corner of the quadrangle a door is provided to give access eastward to some additional contemplated building or enclosure, of which the sole clues now available are tusks in the walls: above this door is a mural closet on the first floor, and over all there has been a parapet projected on plain single corbels.

The architectural detail of this quadrangular mansion presents not a few points of interest. On its west front the tendency towards a symmetrical grouping of the window openings is strongly manifest. These windows are all of a uniform pattern, moulded with a filleted edge-roll and hollow identical with that found on the windows evidently inserted at the same time in the corresponding wall of the tower-house. The same form of window is also found in the north-west angle tower. The gunloops provided in the basement have wide-mouthed horizontal splays, but are smaller than those in the tower-house: those in the upper levels are smaller still, and in some cases are redented. The north-west tower (see fig. 6) has had a projecting parapet carried out on small corbels of two filleted courses; this parapet was continued also across the small stair turret. The doorway to the main stair has been of elaborate design, with a massive cable-moulding and other small and thin, strip-like mouldings of a late type. Generally speaking, the masonry of the new building is very similar to that of the tower-house: in both, a peculiar mode of stugging the surface stones is noticeable.

As to the date of the quadrangle, it has been stated that the arms of David Lindsay, ninth Earl of Crawford, with those of his wife, Dame Catherine Campbell, and their initials and the date 1553, were formerly to be seen over the principal entrance.¹ In spite of this statement, however, I am persuaded that the quadrangle as a whole is a work of much nearer the end of the sixteenth century. In many points of its design it closely recalls that of Tolquhon Castle, built between 1584 and 1589.² The entrance front in particular, flanked by the old tower at one end and at the other end by the tall crow-stepped gable with its large window and round angle tower adjoining, and having in the centre the gateway with its coats of arms above, has a very strong resemblance to the entrance front at Tolquhon—except that at Edzell gatehouse towers are lacking. In other respects it resembles the mansion erected by the fifth Earl Marischal at Dunnottar Castle, even later in the

¹ Lord Lindsay, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 346. It is to be noted that no mention is made of this coat of arms in the "Views of Edzel Castle," published in 1833, with descriptive and historical notes by J. H. (the Rev. John Hutcheon, Episcopal clergyman at Stonehaven), nor does it seem to be *in situ* in his view of the west front.

² See my paper on this castle in *Aberdeen University Review*, March 1925.

century: for example, the hall, with its two closets on either side of the kitchen vent at the screens end, is closely paralleled at Dunnottar.¹ Again, the way in which the stair turret of the north-west tower is carried up from the ground, instead of being corbelled out, is decidedly a late feature: it is found at Tolquhon, and also at Boyne Castle, a structure of about the same date. The mouldings of the western windows are of a late type, while the redented form of gunloop used here is paralleled at Drochil Castle, left unfinished by the Regent Morton on his execution in 1581. As far as can be judged from the very fragmentary remains, the numerous and small mouldings of the main entrance must have resembled those of the great door at Huntly Castle, dated 1602.² And the hankering after symmetry in architectural elevations, so clearly revealed on the west front, is a manifestation of Renaissance influence, which in Scotland almost always bespeaks an advanced date. Taking all these facts into consideration, I am disposed to believe that no part of the quadrangle, which is clearly a work of one design, is likely to have been built much before *circa* 1580.

THE PLESAUNCE.

The latest addition to the castle, made in the opening years of the next century, constitutes its most notable feature. This addition is the large garden enclosure or plesaunce formed on the south side of the old tower-house and the adjoining wall of the quadrangle.³ Its builder was Sir David Lindsay, son of the ninth Earl of Crawford, and himself created a Lord of Session as Lord Edzell in 1597. In his youth he had travelled much abroad, and he grew up a man of wide interests, artistic sympathies, and enlightened taste, as evidenced by the extensive arboricultural undertakings which he carried out, and by the remarkable schemes which he set afoot for mining copper, lead, and alabaster in Glenesk—for which purpose he fetched over skilled German mineralogists—to wit, one Bernard Fechtenburg and one Hans Ziegler, “citiner of Nuremberg”⁴—to supervise the operations and to train his local workmen. We shall see that it was from Germany also, and at least

¹ See my *Dunnottar Castle*, 2nd ed., p. 44.

² *Proceedings*, vol. lvi. p. 142, fig. 5.

³ It is to be noted that there was a previous *viridarium* or pleasure garden at Edzell Castle which is on record in 1552.—Lindsay, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 346.

⁴ Lord Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 344. Hans Ziegler was evidently a personage of high standing in his profession, as appears from the wide powers—amounting to rights of barony—which were conferred upon him by Lord Edzell, including “the power to big and erect towns and burghs beside the said mines, to create baillies, officers, and other members within the samyn, to hold courts and do justice thereintill . . . for the space of twenty-five years.”—(Contract dated 12th October, 1602).

in part from Nuremberg, that he got the idea of the singular series of sculptured representations with which he enriched his pleasure.

The garden enclosure (see plan, fig. 11) is a rectangular area measuring

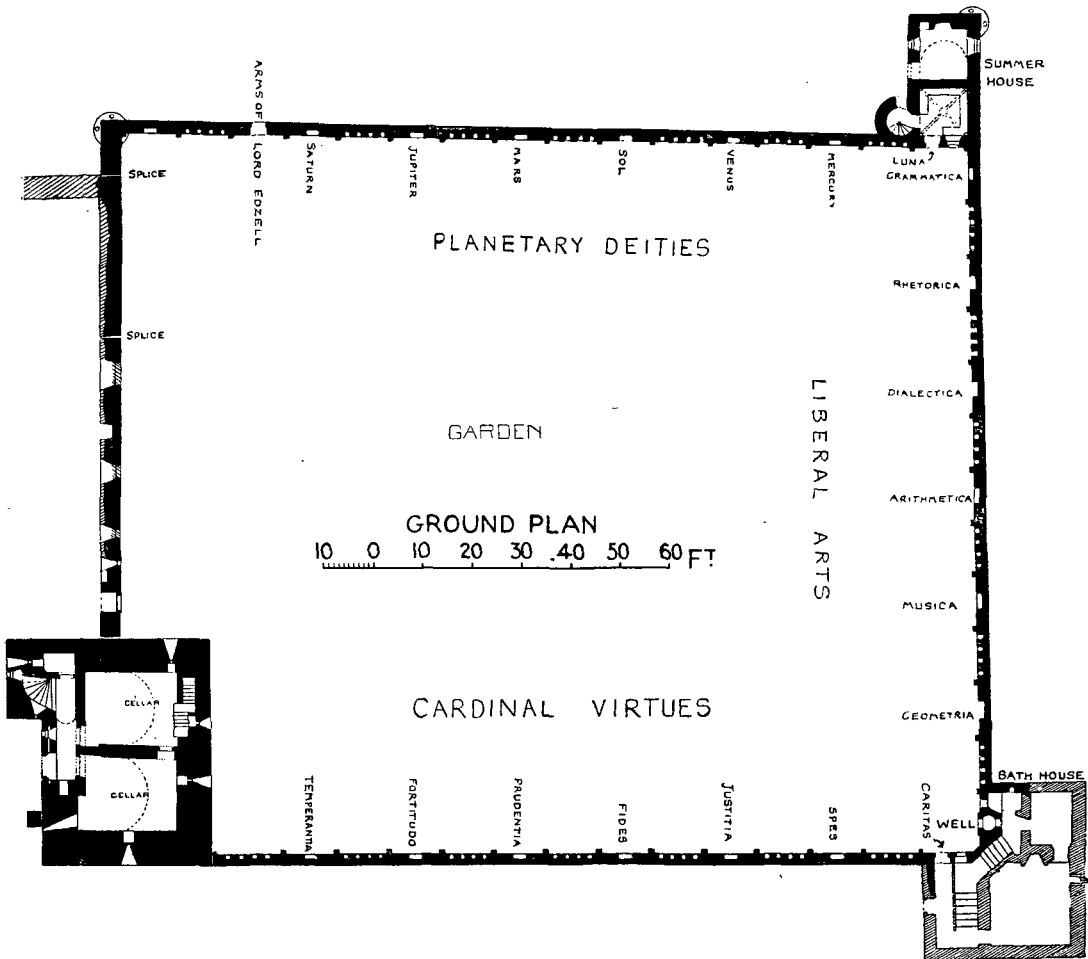


Fig. 11. Edzell Castle: Plan of Pleasaunce.

172 feet long (north and south) and 143 feet broad. It is entered from the quadrangle by a door in the north wall, close beside the tower-house, and there is also an exterior door near the north end of the east wall. It should be stated that the western portion of the north wall is of older construction, forming part of the quadrangular mansion; eastward of this follows a length of 32 feet of masonry which has been

spliced; the remainder of the garden wall is of homogeneous construction throughout. At the south-east corner is a summer-house, and at the south-west corner are a bath-house and a well. In its conception the entire lay-out is highly remarkable, considering the locality and the period; and in the details of its execution it is wholly without parallel in Scotland.

The enclosing wall measures 2 feet 6 inches in average thickness and is about 12 feet high to the coping. It is in the decorative treatment of this wall that the master-mason, and the noble owner who commissioned and probably inspired him, have achieved their triumph. The wall (see measured drawing, fig. 12, and view, fig. 13) has been divided

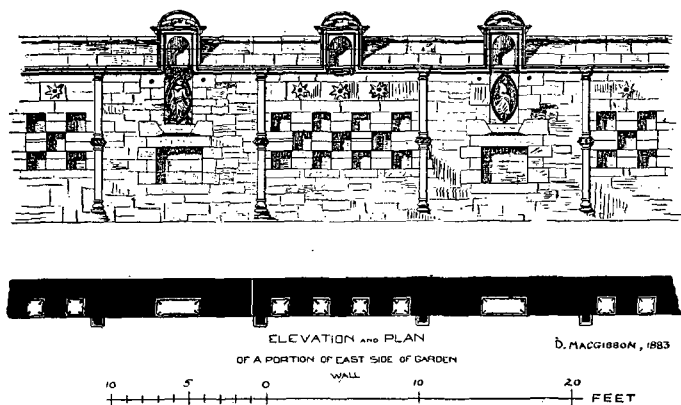
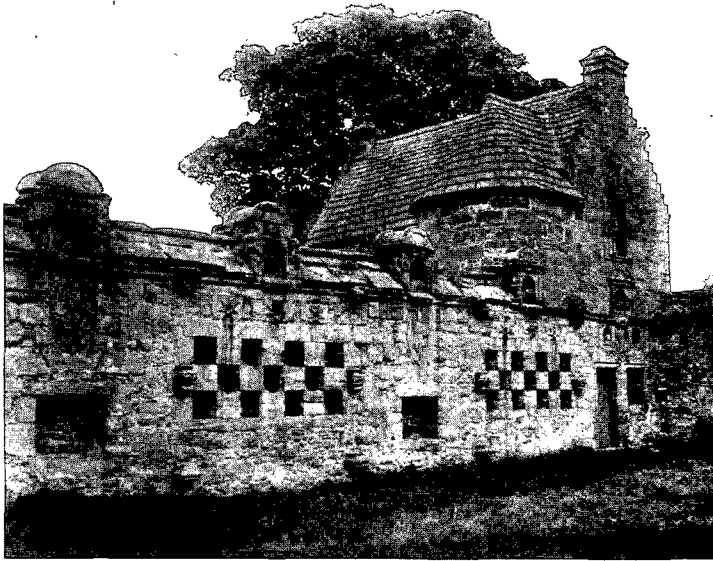


Fig. 12. Edzell Castle: Measured drawing of Pleasance Wall.

all round into compartments, each 10 feet in width, by a series of pilaster strips, 6 inches broad, and of about an equal projection. These pilasters, now at all events, do not rise from the ground, but spring from moulded bases, the under surface of which is about 9 inches above the present ground-level. The pilasters are finished above with caps of similar design, and each pilaster is divided midway by a moulded band, on which a version of the revived dog-tooth ornament, so commonly found in late Scottish work, is very boldly carved. It should be understood that without exception these pilasters, which have been wrought in two stones, each 3 feet 5 inches long, and united by the central band, are removed, and only the bases, caps, and bands remain. Their over-all height may be given as about 9 feet 5 inches. The caps range with a cornice showing corresponding mouldings, and above this the wall is finished with a sloped coping in two ashlar courses and a heavy roll-moulding over all. In the centre of each compartment framed by these pilasters the

cornice is returned round a semicircular headed niche, elliptical in plan, and measuring 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in greatest depth, 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The base of each niche is formed by a projecting cushion, moulded in various ways. Presumably these niches were designed to contain busts. Above the cornice over each niche is a semicircular pediment carved with a scroll, but all these scrolls appear to be left blank. In the south wall all the pediments are



[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

Fig. 13. Edzell Castle: Pleasaunce Wall and Summer House.

missing. On the west side there are no niches and the wall is finished with a plain cornice (see fig. 7). This may be the result of a repair, or perhaps the design here was never completed. The north door into the garden is perfectly plain. That on the east bears on both sides a heavy edge-roll on jambs and lintel, the latter being constructed as a straight arch, with joggled voussoirs. Over this door, also on both sides, is a large shield of a Renaissance type bearing the Lindsay of Glenesk and Forbes arms impaled, thus: dexter, quarterly, first and fourth, a fess chequy, for Lindsay; second and third, a lion rampant debruised of a bendlet, for Abernethy:¹ sinister, three bears' heads muzzled couped, for Forbes. On the dexter side are the initials $\begin{matrix} S \\ D \\ L \end{matrix}$

¹ Sir David Lindsay of Crawford married Mary, heiress of Abernethy, in 1324.

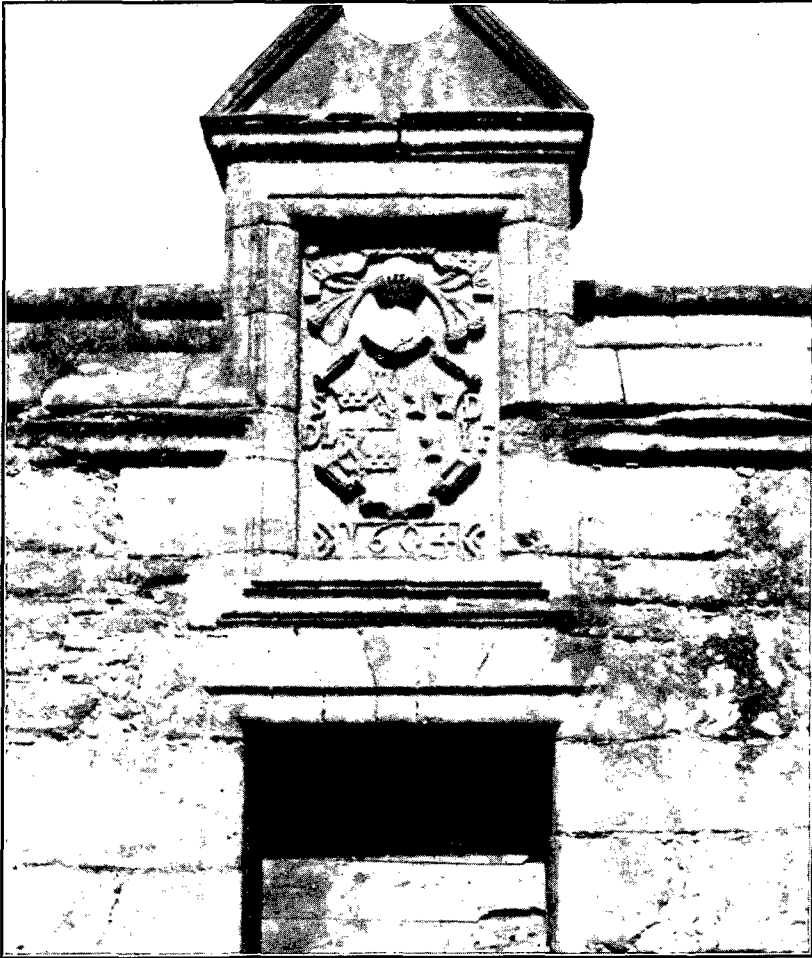
for Sir David Lindsay (Lord Edzell), and on the sinister side those of his second wife, $\begin{smallmatrix} D \\ I \\ F \end{smallmatrix}$ for Dame Isabel Forbes. Above is a plumed helmet, and the proud motto DUM SPIRO SPERO; below is the date 1604. Of the two panels thus identically carved, that on the inside (shown in fig. 14) is in much the better preservation, and is a most beautiful piece of sculpture. Over these coats of arms is a broken pediment. At the north-east corner of the garden is the base of a boldly overhanging angle turret, consisting of seven courses of heavy continuous corbels. The turret has been 7 feet in diameter, and in its base two gunloops are pierced downwards, one on each side of the outer angle of the wall.

On the east side of the garden sixteen compartments are defined by the pilasters: the end one to the south is occupied by the door and window of the summer-house; while the third one from the north contains the door just described. Along the south wall are thirteen compartments, of which the west one is taken up by the well-head. Along the west wall the compartments number fourteen, the south-most here containing a door and window of the bath-house. The north wall, as already explained, does not form part of the garden design.

These compartments are treated in two alternating ways. In the first design the central part of the wall-space is taken up by a gigantic representation of the fess chequy of the Lindsays, consisting of three rows of recesses arranged chequerwise, four, three, and four. These recesses are 1 foot 3 inches in breadth, the same in height, and a foot in depth. The lowest row have now their soles at a height of about 3 feet 6 inches above the present level of the ground. Above them in the upper part of the wall-spaces the seven-rayed mullets which the Edzell Lindsays adopted from their predecessors, the Stirlings of Glenesk, are carved in relief—the centre of each mullet being pierced through or into the wall.

The design which alternates with these contains in its lower part one large oblong recess, 3 feet broad, 2 feet 5 inches high, and 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. Above the lintel of this is a straight relieving arch, neatly wrought in three stones; and over the centre one of these stones is set a moulded panel. These panels are carved in bas-relief with symbolical representations which form a subject of the very highest artistic and historic interest. On the east side the panels are vesica-shaped, measuring 3 feet 3 inches in height and 2 feet in greatest breadth: the northmost panel here is left blank. On the south side they are rectangular, set underneath semicircular arches resting on pilasters of various patterns, the over-all dimensions being about 2 feet 4 inches in breadth by 3 feet 4 inches in height. On the west side the sculptures form plain rectangular

panels, 3 feet 3 inches in height and 2 feet 6 inches in breadth. The vesica panels have various floriated and scroll-like ornaments, while the



[Photo I. L. Smith.

Fig. 14. Edzell Castle: Coat of Arms over north-east Door to Pleasaunce, inner side.

square panels on the west side have foliaceous upper borders and a baluster on each side with an escaping spiral ornament midway in its height.

On either side at the head of each panel a round hole is pierced in the wall; the holes similarly pierced through the mullets have previously been mentioned; and perforations of the same type are found also in some of the chequer pattern recesses. It has been seriously suggested that

these various apertures were provided "for the extrusion, if needed, of arrow, arquebuss, or pistol";¹ but they are utterly unsuited for any such warlike purpose, and would seem to have been purely decorative in character. At present they afford ideal building places for the swallows: doubtless such was their original function. The mullets are in general not pierced through but open into mural pockets which seem clearly designed for nests.

All the mural recesses thus described—both those forming the fess chequy, and the larger single ones in the alternative design—have their soles hollowed out as if to contain flower-beds, which was probably their purpose.²

The exterior aspect of the garden wall (see fig. 7) is perfectly plain, save for the cornice moulding and the pediments, which on this side are filled with scrolls and sundry forms of foliage.

The sculptures on the panels consist on the east side of portraits of the Planetary Deities; on the south side the Liberal Arts are shown, and on the west side the Cardinal Virtues. More than forty years ago these deeply interesting sculptures were described in detail by the late Dr James Gammack,³ to whose careful account I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness.

I.—SCULPTURES ON E. SIDE, FROM N.: THE PLANETARY DEITIES.

1. SATURN (fig. 15) is a bearded figure clad in a tunic with short sleeves and finished below in a zig-zag border on the points of which are beads. What has been thought to be a necklace is merely an illusion conveyed by the short crisp curls of his beard. He wears a belt with a long straight sword. The figure is represented as moving to the left, with face turned towards the spectator: in his left hand he grasps a male baby by the leg, while in his right hand he carries a scythe. His left foot is shown as amputated, and the stump is supported on a wooden limb. Behind him a goat springs to the left. Over his head is the astronomical sign. The child which he clutches is an allusion to the myth of Saturn slaying his own children: the scythe implies that he is the patron of agriculture; the goat represents the constellation *Capricorn*. The amputated limb is not

¹ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 347.

² Similar recesses, but not hollowed out, are found on the west side of the forecourt wall at Tolquhon Castle, Aberdeenshire.

³ *Scottish Notes and Queries*, vol. i. pp. 150-1; vol. ii. pp. 17-18. The sculptures are also described in Jervise, *Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., pp. 419-21. Very good lithograph drawings of all the sculptures were published in vol. i. p. clx, of the *Registrum de Pannure*, edited by Dr John Stuart in 1874.

uncommon in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits of Saturn, and is probably due to the fact that this God was regarded as the patron of cripples and diseased folk.

2. JUPITER (fig. 17), also identified by his astronomical sign, is shown as a full-length figure, facing the spectator, and clad in quasi-classical armour. He is draped in the *paludamentum*, and carries a long sword over his right shoulder, while his left hand rests on a heater-shaped shield with volutes, on which is a spirited representation of a kneeling archer, below whom, in the apex of the shield, were formerly seen two fishes, now lost by reason of a flaking in the stone. The archer is *Sagittarius*, and the fishes represent *Pisces*.

3. MARS (fig. 19), likewise recognisable by his astronomical sign, wears a short beard on his chin only, and is clad in a quaint combination of mediæval and classical armour, of which more anon. He is shown as advancing to the left, and holds in his right hand a halberd, while to the left arm is a circular shield secured by two bands. From an enriched baldric slung over his shoulder is hung a curved one-edged sword of oriental pattern. At his feet is a springing ram, representing *Aries*. On the blade of his halberd are carved the initials, now almost weathered away, I.B. These have hitherto been regarded as being probably those of the sculptor; but the real explanation, as we shall see, is vastly more interesting.

4. SOL (fig. 21), again with the astronomical sign, is a grave and bearded figure with his back to the spectator and receding to the left, with his head turned back over his right shoulder. In his right hand he carries a flambeau, while his left rests on an oval shield, on which is displayed the sun in glory. The shield rests on the head of a lion crouching behind. Dr Gammack suggested that "the retreating figure may symbolise the shortening day when the sun has entered into *Leo*." *Sol* is clad in a Roman cuirass, below which escape the skirts of a long flowing tunic. He wears a helmet or skull-cap encircled by a crown.

5. VENUS (fig. 23) is shown as a figure with long and agitated tresses, clad in a loose flowing robe having ample sleeves. She is advancing to the left, the sculptured figure exhibiting a certain sense of rapid energetic movement. In her right hand she holds a heart on fire (now defaced), and in the left a fletched dart with barb reaching over her shoulder. At her feet crouches a bull, representing *Taurus*, while above the burning heart is the astronomical sign.

6. MERCURY (fig. 25), a frontal figure with head turned to the left, is recognisable at once, both by the astronomical sign and also by the usual attributes of the winged helmet, sandals, and *caduceus*. He wears a cuirass and a *paludamentum* gracefully draped round his left arm, and



Figs. 15 and 16. Saturn, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
[Photo of sculpture by *C. R. Marshall.*]



Figs. 17 and 18. Jupiter, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
[Photo of sculpture by *C. R. Marshall.*]



Figs. 19 and 20. Mars, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
 [Photo of sculpture by C. R. Marshall.]



Figs. 21 and 22. Sol, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
 [Photo of sculpture by C. R. Marshall.]



Figs. 23 and 24. Venus, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
[Photo of sculpture by *C. R. Marshall.*]



Figs. 25 and 26. Mercury, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
[Photo of sculpture by *C. R. Marshall.*]

carries a sword at his right side, slung by a plain baldric over the left shoulder. On the right background below is *Virgo*, shown as a tiny draped female figure holding up a blossom, while on the opposite side are two equally miniature nude figures dancing, representing the *Gemini*. Scotch thistles form the floriated appendages to this panel.



Figs. 27 and 28. Luna, at Edzell and by *Meister I. B.*
[Photo of sculpture by C. R. Marshall.]

7. LUNA (fig. 27), a fully draped figure with long hair, facing the front, carries the crescent in her left hand and in her right hand a spear, probably in her aspect as *Diana the Huntress*. The feet rest on a much weathered object now scarcely recognisable, but shown in older drawings as a lobster, representing *Cancer*.

II.—SCULPTURES ON S. SIDE, FROM E.: THE LIBERAL ARTS.

1. GRAMMATICA (fig. 29). This figure now lies on the ground below the panel which it once occupied, and into which the figure of *Caritas* from the west wall has been inserted.¹ It is the partly mutilated representation of a fully draped female with long sleeves, teaching a

¹ From Hutcheon's description (*op. cit.*, p. 10), and from one of his plates, it appears that the alteration was made prior to 1838.

boy who sits at her knee and reads out of a manuscript. A birch rod appears to be tucked into her girdle. At her feet is a book: in the right background is another.

2. RHETORICA (fig. 30), a fully draped and cloaked female figure seated in a pompous attitude on a carved bench, facing the spectator. On each side of her head her hair hangs down over her breasts in a long plait. Her left hand is raised, and holds a scroll, while in her right hand is the *caduceus*. At her feet lies an open book.

3. DIALECTICA (fig. 31) is also a female figure fully draped and clad in a rich cloak. She is seated on a couch, and emphasises her argument by smiting her right fist against her left palm. On her head perches a dove, round her right forearm twines a serpent (probably in allusion to the wiles of dialectic), and in the left background at her feet crouch two frogs. Above her left shoulder is a small bearded figure clad in a philosopher's mantle, which has been thought to represent Socrates. There has been some carving, not now identifiable, on the other side of the panel, beside *Dialectica's* right shoulder. This figure is marked by much refinement and dignity.

4. ARITHMETICA (fig. 32), also a dignified figure, sits fully robed on a couch, holding in her left hand a book which rests on her knee and upon which she is writing, apparently with a quill pen. Evidently the sum which she is doing perplexes her, for her lower lip pouts: the expression on her face is exceedingly well rendered. In front of her is a table on which a book lies open. Her right upper arm is enclashed by a triple armlet. She has close-cropped and apparently curly hair. According to Dr Gammack, there were two figures in the background, with staves and satchels, but none of these details are now really distinguishable.

5. MUSICA (fig. 33) is an exceedingly graceful seated figure, robed like the others, and playing on a guitar. Beside her are shown a violin, a horn, another guitar, a harp, and what seems to be a music notebook, while her feet rest on two books. Unfortunately the head of this beautiful figure has been broken off.

6. GEOMETRIA (fig. 34) is a finely posed figure with full breasts, measuring with a pair of calipers a globe entwined by a serpent (the symbol of endlessness). Below her lie a pair of compasses, a set-square, and a bevel-stock, while her right foot rests on a couple of books. The background is an architectural one, and the figure wears a turreted or "mural" crown, doubtless meant to indicate the close connection between Geometry and Architecture.

In the panels of this series the name of the science portrayed is carved in bold relief on the arches of the canopies. That of *Grammatica*

Fig. 29. Edzell Castle: *Grammatica*.Fig. 30. Edzell Castle: *Rhetorica*.Fig. 31. Edzell Castle: *Dialectica*.Fig. 32. Edzell Castle: *Arithmetica*.

[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

has been almost entirely broken away, and the word EDUCATOR has been added in modern incised lettering on the right border: but the first three letters of the original name, now wellnigh weathered away, may still be made out on the small fragment of the arch that remains.



Fig. 33. Edzell Castle: *Musica*.



Fig. 34. Edzell Castle: *Geometria*.

[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

III.—SCULPTURES ON W. SIDE, FROM S.: THE CARDINAL VIRTUES.

1. CARITAS (fig. 35). This panel is now built into *Grammatica's* niche on the south wall. It is a well-designed group of a benignly smiling female figure draped in flowing robes, having two naked children in her arms, while two others cling to her skirts.

2. SPES (fig. 36), a squat, heavy, and fully draped figure with a coif, facing to the right, with her left hand across her breast and the right hand extended. At her feet are an anchor and a "flaucher" spade.

3. IUSTITIA (fig. 37), a figure robed but with bare arms, and having short hair, carrying in her left hand the scales and in her right the sword. She is not shown as blindfolded.



Fig. 35. Edzell Castle: *Caritas*.



Fig. 36. Edzell Castle: *Spes*.



Fig. 37. Edzell Castle: *Iustitia*.



Fig. 38. Edzell Castle: *Fides*.

[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

4. *FIDES* (fig. 38), Christian faith, a robed figure with close-cropped hair, carrying in her right hand the chalice and in her left arm the cross, the head of which is now broken away. She stands beside a broken column on her left hand, and her feet rest on a writhing serpent, indicating the trampling under of evil disbelief.

5. *PRUDENTIA* (fig. 39), a robed figure with hair bound up, facing to



Fig. 39. Edzell Castle: *Prudentia*.



Fig. 40. Edzell Castle: *Fortitudo*.

[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

her right, holds in her hand a mirror in which her face is reflected. The idea suggested is that of self-knowledge. Round her left arm, in token of wisdom, a serpent is coiled, whose neck she holds in her hand.

6. *FORTITUDO* (in the sense of moral strength or hardihood of character), a figure (fig. 40), robed like the others, stands in a dramatic attitude with her hands outstretched, before a column with moulded base, the cap of which she has broken off, so that it lies upturned on the ground beside her.

7. *TEMPERANTIA* (fig. 41), a rather clumsy robed figure with her back to the spectator, holds a wine-cup in her left hand, into which she pours water from a pitcher on her right shoulder, while the wine-jar stands on the ground in front, and behind her is another tall pitcher.

In all these western panels the names are carved in relief at the foot of each subject, except in *Fides*, where the lettering is incised. *Spes* is ligatured in a curious way, and a later hand has incised the name again in the upper left corner.



Fig. 41. Edzell Castle: *Temperantia*.
[Photo C. R. Marshall.]

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCULPTURES AND THEIR *PROVENANCE*.

Taken as a whole, these sculptures form one of the most remarkable artistic monuments that Scotland can show. The interest and the value of such a work are never rightly understood or fully grasped unless it is considered in relation to the times which gave it birth. From this standpoint the garden wall at Edzell Castle gains an additional and indeed an altogether unique importance, because it is the enshrinement in stone and lime of a fleeting mood, a momentary frame of mind, never repeated, in Scottish history. The first struggle of the Reformation now was over: as regards the main problem that it had bequeathed, an equilibrium of sorts—brief and precarious it might be—had been achieved, since the Perth Assembly of 1597, in the uneasy relations between Church and State, between theocratic Presbyterianism and the Divine Right of Kings. Such an equilibrium in its political

implications meant stability and internal peace; a peace and stability confirmed and vastly strengthened, at the very moment when this Edzell pleasaunce was being built, by the Union of the Crowns in 1603. In the wake of peace followed two things of prime importance. The first of these was the rapid spread of the Renaissance, which up till now had gained but a tardy and a halting foothold in Scotland. The second thing was the expression, with an *élan* and a flamboyant exuberance hitherto unknown, of pride of wealth and *joie de vivre* on the part of an aristocracy enriched by the plunder of the ancient Church. Also in the wake of peace, among the ruling classes at all events, followed leisure—leisure to cultivate the ampler life that now displayed its exotic allurements so temptingly before them. From all these causes it came to pass that the opening years of the seventeenth century were a period of stately equipoise and dignified calm—a moment and a mood which have left their memorial to us in this wonderful pleasaunce at Edzell. Prior to the Union of the Crowns, we may say that such a work of art could scarcely have been conceived, let alone carried out, by a subject of the comparatively subordinate rank held by the laird of Glenesk: with the outbreak of the great wars of religion in 1637 an abrupt stop was put, for many a long day to come, to all such ambitious architectural efforts, however powerful the baronial patron might be.

It is evident on a study of the sculptured panels that the carvings on each of the three sides of the garden have been entrusted to a different mason. The weakest in design and execution are those on the west side: the figures are lumpish and the poses on the whole ungainly, except in the case of *Caritas*, where the grouping does not lack a certain grace and dramatic sense. The sculptures on the east side are done with much more spirit, and seem to have distinctly more of a grotesque or mediæval flavour about them than those on the other two walls, which partake rather of a classic dignity and repose. The relief of these eastern sculptures is lower than that of the others. By far the best of the series are the Sciences on the south wall: these are carved with a fine sense of classic elegance, and the figure of *Musica* in particular is beautifully posed. Clearly the mason who executed these subjects must have wrought from good designs. They remind one of the better examples of Roman provincial sculpture found in Britain, and like the latter are obviously the work of vernacular craftsmen interpreting good imported models.

Those who are well acquainted with the baronial and ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland in the early seventeenth century are aware that the district north of the Mounth and east of the Deveron was the

home of a peculiar kind of revived or—shall we say rather?—continued mediæval culture which seems to have been connected with the slow progress made by the Reformation and by Puritanism in these conservative parts, and with the adherence of the mass of the people here to an Episcopalian system that implied a less radical breach with the old tradition. The corbel-masks, bosses, gargoyles, heraldic supporters, and figure sculpture, so frequently found in the north-eastern castles of the period, thus partake of a peculiar vigour and grotesqueness which is thoroughly mediæval in character,¹ and which does not seem to be generally found in other parts of Scotland, unless perhaps in certain localities in the Western Highlands. In fact we have really to do with a distinct and highly individualistic regional school of art. Now those who are familiar with the Aberdeenshire figure sculpture of the period will, I think, agree with me that the panels on the east side of the Edzell pleasaunce seem to partake as strongly of this peculiar north-eastern flavour as it is lacking in the subjects on the other two sides. Bearing in mind that Lord Edzell chose his second wife from the great Aberdeenshire house of Forbes, it is by no means improbable that the craftsman of these eastern sculptures may have come from the same shire.

Anyone who has closely studied these carvings at Edzell will have become convinced, I imagine, that the designs from which their carvers worked were not the conceptions of a sculptor but were drawings in a book. Again and again one feels how the local craftsman is struggling to give glyptic expression to a model that was pictorial. The question therefore at once arises: Whence came the models? Now it will be noted that the armour of Mars, in its bizarre combination of Roman and mediæval elements, is quite unlike that in which the other panoplied figures on this wall are arrayed. It bears, however, a close general resemblance to the armour worn by the famous bronze statue (fig. 42) of Theodoric the Ostrogoth which the great Nuremberg master Peter Vischer executed in 1513 for the magnificent tomb erected for himself by the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbrück. The style of armour is characteristic of the German Renaissance. This resemblance seemed too strong to be accidental; and when taken along with the connections which Lord Edzell is known to have had with Germany (and indeed with Nuremberg itself) it appeared to me to point to that country as the source from which the designs for the sculptures were likely obtained. And this clue when followed up led to a remarkable solution of this most interesting problem.

The famous Augsburg painter and wood-engraver, Hans Burgkmair, who died in 1531, executed a series of very beautiful cuts of the Cardinal

¹ Cf. *Proceedings*, vol. lxiv. p. 93.

Virtues and Vices, and of the Planetary Deities.¹ In those of the



Fig. 42. Statue of Theodoric at Innsbruck.

Virtues and the Deities, the close correspondence in attributes, and even to some extent in posture, with the Edzell sculptures is manifest, and it is clear that the latter stand in the direct line of descent, though at several removes. Among the Virtues (reproduced in fig. 43) the pose and style of *Fides*, *Spes*, and *Prudentia* in the two series have much in common, when due allowance is made for the incomparable superiority of the German master's design and technique. The pilasters on each side of the arched niches in which Burgkmair's figures in this series stand are recalled by the corresponding features in the same series at Edzell. The attributes in the Planetary Deities correspond very closely, but the poses for the most part are different. Of the Liberal Arts Hans Burgkmair is not known to have executed any woodcuts.

During the last half of the sixteenth century, and well into the seventeenth, there flourished throughout Germany a remarkable vogue of the *Album Amicorum*, *Stammbuch*, or *Gesellenbuch*, as it was variously called. The *Album Amicorum* is nothing else than a glorified autograph album. In its simplest form it was a book made up of blank leaves, into which the owner got his friends to inscribe their signatures, coats of arms, mottoes and the like, with quotations from the Bible or

the classics, or rhymes, etc., as the inscriber's fancy might suggest. The idea originated among university students, and spread rapidly through

¹ Reproductions on a reduced scale will be found in *Bilder-Katalog zu Max Geisberg, Der Deutsche Einblatt-Holzchnitt in der ersten Hälfte des XVI Jahrhunderts*, Nos. 476-82, 490-6. The series of the Virtues are figured here from blocks supplied by the publishers of the above work, Messrs Hugo Schmidt, Munich.

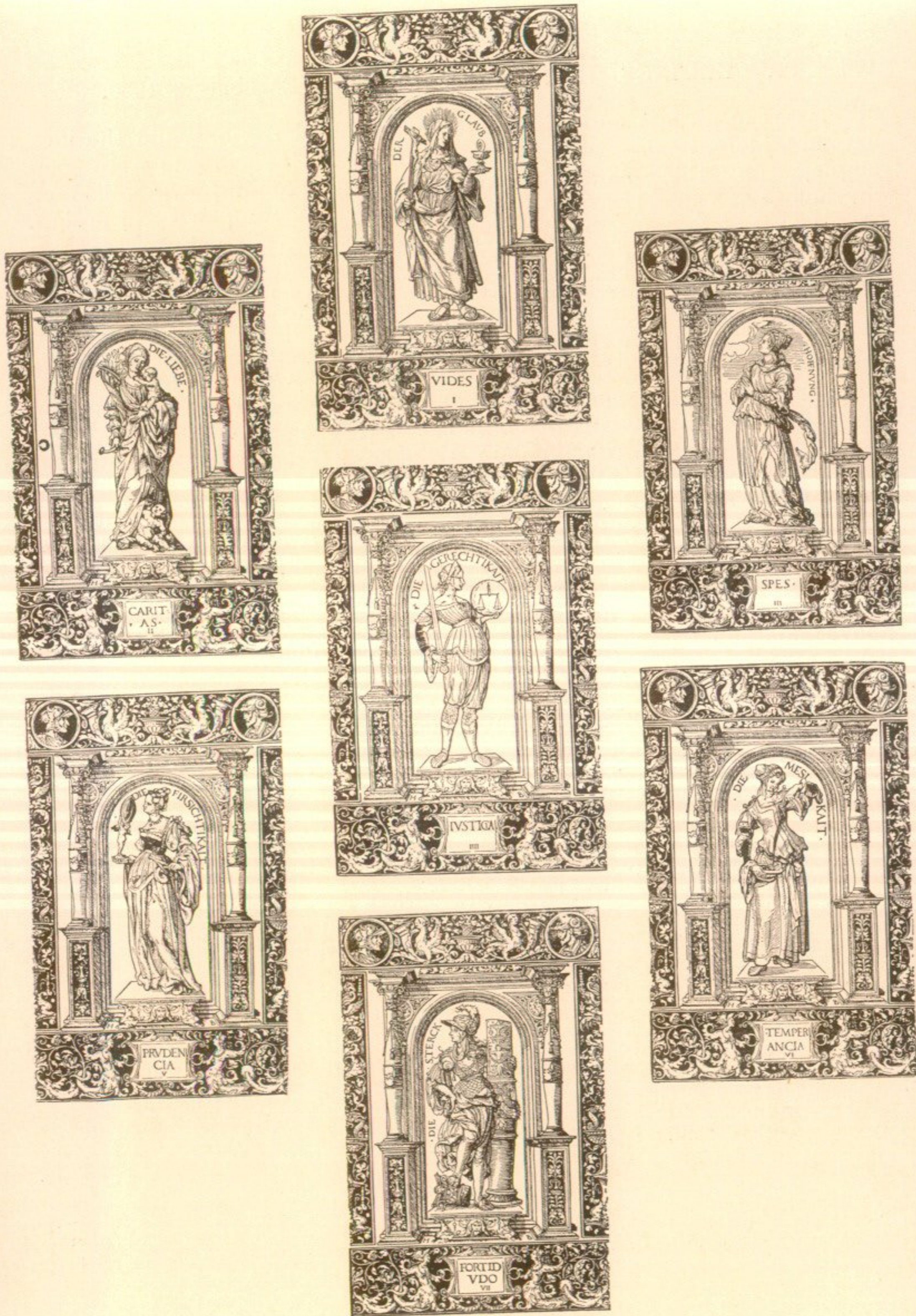


Fig. 43. The Seven Cardinal Virtues, by Hans Burgkmair. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.)

all classes in an age much given to travel. And not only did the idea extend widely, it also grew in elaboration. Trained artists were soon employed by the wealthy to draw into such albums symbolical or mythological subjects often of much beauty and complexity in design. To meet the growing demand for such albums, the printing presses of those times began to turn out very elaborate volumes, in which woodcut borders sometimes of the most delicate beauty were printed round the blank pages on which the owner's friends were to inscribe their entries. Nay more, pattern books soon began to be published, containing woodcuts of biblical, mythological, or moralising subjects, with appropriate rhymes, to serve as copy for those who were invited to make contributions to such albums. From first to last the vogue of the *Album Amicorum* remained a characteristically German one. It scarcely spread at all into the Mediterranean countries or to the west of the Rhine: English examples seem to be unknown, but one or two Scottish albums have been recorded. It is also to be noted that within the bounds of Germany the greatest centre of dispersion of these *Stammbücher* was Nuremberg.¹

One of the rarest and the most charming of the pattern-books above mentioned is a quarto volume of 104 unnumbered leaves, published at Vienna in 1579, with the following quaintly curious title:—

Ain Newes

U n n d K u n s t l i c h S c h ö n e s

Stam̄ oder Gesellen Büchlein, mit dreyzehen
Historien, darinnen Hundert Wolgestelter, Gerissener
U n d G e s c h n i t t e n e r F i g u r e n, sampt ihren darzugehörigen
Rechtmessigen Wolscandierten Reimen erkleret: Welches
Büchlein allen Kunstliebenden sehr dienstlich und annem-
lich berhoffent sein wirdet, auch zu vielen sachen
zugebrauchen nutzlich, wie dann in der
Vorred und Register zuuer-
nehmen ist.

Hab ich David de Necker Formschneider von Augspurg,
nach bestem meinem fleiss und vermügen zugericht, geordnet in For-
men und Druck gebracht unnd verfertigt, in der Kayserli-
chen Hauptstadt Wienn in Osterreich, nach der Geburt
Ihesu Christi unsers einigen Erlösers und
Heylands im 1579 Jahr.

¹ See "The *Album Amicorum*," by Max Rosenheim, in *Archæologia*, vol. lxii. pp. 251-308, where one specimen from Scotland is described: and for other Scottish examples, J. F. Kellas Johnstone,

The book contains pictures of the following subjects, with delightful rhymes in the quaintest old German, "darinnen sich der Mensch zuerlustigen hat":—the Four Elements; the Five Senses; the Seven Planets; the Four Complexions; the Seven Cardinal Virtues; the Seven Liberal Arts; the Nine Muses; the Four Seasons; the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost; the Seven Deadly Sins; Christ, Theology, Patience, and Death; the Ten Ages of Man and of Woman; the Twelve Apostles. The printer Necker, be it noted, came from Augsburg, the city of Hans Burgkmair, by whom the earliest series of the Deities and the Virtues, as found at Edzell, were designed. In his Preface Necker states that the designs of the pictures were drawn for his book by an otherwise unknown Antwerp painter, Dionysius Manhallart, and that from Manhallart's cartoons the woodcut blocks were made by Nicolaus Solis, a well-known Nuremberg engraver of the time, who died *circa* 1580.¹ (Again we note the sign-post pointing us to Nuremberg in our hunt for the *provenance* of the Edzell sculptures.) The purpose of the volume, as a pattern-book for contributors to an *Album Amicorum*, is clearly explained in the subjoined verses from a rhyming Introduction addressed "to the art-loving reader":—

"Diss Büechl ist gemacht darumb,
Dass es zu nutz und gutem kumb.
Und die zeit werdt mit nutz vertrieben,
Manich gut freundt darein geschriben.
Sampt seinem Wappen zugedencken,
Einer dem anderen zuschencken.
Zu gutter freundschaftt wie geschicht,
Kunst bleibt noch ungelobet nicht.
Also David de Becker spricht."

In this delightful book,² then, we have amongst other things a complete series of the Seven Planets, the Seven Liberal Arts, and the Seven Cardinal Virtues, just as they are shown on our garden wall at Edzell. The postures of the various figures do not always correspond very closely, but the attributes are the same, and the engravings with their rhyming explanations help to clear up much that is doubtful in the sculptures. They are certainly not the designs from which the

Alba Amicorum (Aberdeen University Studies, No. 95). The standard German work is *Die Deutschen Stammbücher*, by Robert and Richard Keil. See also E. Kelter, *Das Stammbuch des Andreas Chemnitius, 1597-1626* (*Sexte Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten*, vol. xxvii (1909)); and the same writer's *Jenäer Studentenleben*, forming the *Fünfte Beiheft* in the same series.

¹ See G. K. Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. xix. pp. 101-4.

² My copy of this *rarissimum* is from the Rosenheim collection, bound by Rivière. See *Gilhofer und Randschburg* (Vienna), Catalogue 226 (June 1930), No. 207. I hope to discuss this *Stammbuch* more fully in the June 1931 issue of the *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*.

Edzell craftsmen worked, but the connection between the two series is clearly no remote one. Some such pattern-book may well have come to Lord Edzell's notice, perhaps in the hands of one of his two German mining engineers, Bernard Fechtenburg and Hans Ziegler "citiner of Nuremberg"—the special home of the *Stammbuch*. Such an idea is by no means improbable, as by this time the habit of keeping an *Album Amicorum* had spread widely among what we may call the skilled artificer class.¹

One or two points of detail in comparison between Necker's engravings and the Edzell sculptures may briefly be noted. That the goat alongside Saturn represents Capricorn, and not (as was suggested by Dr Gammack) the animal which gave suck to Saturn's only surviving son, Jupiter, is proved by the German rhyme:—

"In meim lauff han ich wenig rhu.
Bis in den Steinbock Wasserman,
Ihre Heuser durchlauffen kan."

In the sculpture of Mercury the small female figure on the opposite side from the Gemini is identified by Necker's rhyme as *Virgo*:—

"Mein lauff ist schnell geschwindt und leicht,
Im Zwilling und der Jungfrau reicht."

Necker also confirms that the lobster on which the feet of *Luna* rests is meant to signify *Cancer*:—

"Die Crdt ist mir gantz underthan,
Dess ich den Krebs zum zäichen han."

When we turn to the series of the Liberal Arts we observe that at Edzell *Astronomia* is omitted. Above the well-head (see fig. 48) there is a recess in the wall which looks as if it might have been intended for a sculptured panel, but no record of such a thing exists, and it is unlikely that an *Astronomia* would have disappeared before Hutcheon made his drawings in 1838. Moreover, the figure of *Geometria* at Edzell, in addition to the instruments proper to her profession, which are shown also by Necker, is depicted as measuring a globe, upon which special task *Astronomia* is engaged in the woodcut. It therefore appears that the Edzell *Geometria* is held to include

¹ See Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. At my request, Mr R. Flower, the Deputy Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly looked through the *Stammbücher* there, and has discovered in Egerton 1216 illustrations of the Liberal Arts, and in Add. MS. 27579 an illustration of *Musica*. I have obtained photostatic reproductions of these drawings, but they show little or no resemblance to the corresponding subjects at Edzell.

Astronomy, as her mural crown makes no less probable that she includes also Architecture. Thus *Geometria* at Edzell seems to embody all the applied mathematical sciences as understood at the time. This series of the seven Liberal Arts of course forms the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the mediæval academic course, and the order in which the subjects are depicted is that in which they were taken by the student.

My identification of the long, thin, now greatly weathered object tucked into *Grammatica's* girdle in the sculpture is confirmed by



Fig. 44. *Grammatica*, from Necker's *Stammbuch*. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.)



Fig. 45. *Caritas*, from Necker's *Stammbuch*. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.)

Necker's woodcut (fig. 44), in which a grim-looking birch-rod, as well as a *ferula* of the spatular type seen in action in Jan Steen's well-known painting of the village school,¹ figure with sinister prominence. It seems a formidable array of apparatus for the disciplining of one small and entirely unprotected child! The long and ample sleeves, with turned-back cuffs, which *Grammatica* wears in the woodcut, are closely paralleled in the sculpture; and it is interesting to note that in neither series is such a feature found in the other Liberal Arts. Probably it is meant to represent the garb of learning. Generally speaking, the subjects of this group show a less close correspondence between the woodcuts and the sculptures: but in both

¹ *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Dutch Art*, Burlington House, 1929, p. 117, No. 241. Dr Albert Ilg, in his paper on Necker's *Stammbuch*, printed in *Blätter des Vereines für Landeskunde für Niederösterreich*, 1874, p. 208, took this *ferule* for a cook's ladle!

versions of *Musica* the note-book, the guitar, and the horn appear; and *Arithmetica* in both series is doing a sum on a tablet. It is interesting that in the Liberal Arts the symbolism at Edzell is generally richer than in Necker's plates: for example, there is nothing to correspond with the frogs, the serpent, the dove, and the small cloaked figure in the carving of *Dialectica*. I can meantime offer no explanation of the sources and significance of these additions.

Turning now to the Cardinal Virtues, we may say that of the whole series of sculptures the figure of *Caritas* exhibits the nearest approximation to the corresponding subject in Necker (fig. 45). The resemblance between the two portraits of *Justitia* is also very close. It is noteworthy that none of the three versions of this subject—in Burgkmair, in Necker, and at Edzell—depict Justice with her eyes bound. In the *Stammbuch* of Andreas Chemnitius¹ is illustrated a figure of *Justitia*, dated Christmas Day, 1602, which is likewise unblindfold. It would be interesting to know at what period it became customary to show Justice with her eyes blind. The earliest instance which I have come across is on the title-page of Thomas Geminus, *Compendiosa Totius Anatomie Delineatio*, printed by John Herford at London in 1545. As to *Fides*, both Burgkmair and Necker show that Dr Gammack was right in surmising that the broken staff held in her right hand is the shaft of the Cross, corresponding to the Chalice in her left. It is Christian faith that is here portrayed: in the words of a great modern hymn—

“For lo, between our sins and their reward
We set the Passion of Thy SON our LORD.”

Or, as old David de Necker puts it in the Latin couplet that is set over each of his engravings:—

“*Voce Dei formata Fides, firmataque sancto
Numine, promissam re fore credit opem.*”

His German rhyme makes just the same point:—

“Fides hie der Leczmaister heist,
Studiert auss dem heiligen Geist.
Lehrt seine Kinder tugentsam,
Den Glauben recht auff Christi nam.”

The Edzell sculpture, it may be noted, agrees with Necker in giving *Fides* the cross in her left hand and the chalice in her right: in Burgkmair's engraving this is reversed.

¹Ed. Kelter, *ut supra*, p. 37.

The *Spes* of the *Stammbuch* is a very different figure from that of the sculpture, but like the latter she has her anchor; this is not found in Burgkmair's picture, with which the bas-relief seems otherwise to stand in closer relationship. In all three versions *Spes* is depicted in an attitude of prayer, which is explained by the Latin couplet over Necker's plate:—

“*Quo Deus auxilium dubiis ferat ordine rebus
Spes silet, inque fide (dum ferat) orat opem.*”

As to the spade which accompanies Hope's anchor at Edzell, it is possible that a clue to its meaning may be found in the fact that in Necker's German rhyme the hope of the husbandman is placed next after that of the mariner:—

“*Hoffnung haben sie auff dem Meer,
Das glück bring in ein widerkeer.
Hoffnung hat der Bauer und Rebman,
Sie bringen Traydt und Wein darvon.*”¹

In the figure of *Prudentia* a considerable resemblance is noticeable between Necker's woodcut and the carving, both in the poise of the head and the braiding of the hair, and also in the way in which the serpent coils round the arm; but the pose of the lower limbs is different. An allusion to the significance of the figure contemplating her own features in a mirror is evidently contained in the following verses:—

“*Der wird mit schaden werden klug,
Ein Christ sey fürsichtig gnug.
Das lehrt in auch eygne natur,
Und Gottes Geist lautter und pur.*”

Necker's *Fortitude*, *Die Stercke*, is a powerful figure in casque and cuirass, who carries one-half of the shattered column on her shoulder, whereas in Burgkmair's plate the cap only is broken off and lies on the ground, as in the bas-relief: on the prostrate cap Burgkmair's figure has proudly placed her foot. It is curious to note that the Edzell *Temperantia*, with two vessels standing beside her in addition to the two in her hands, is the most elaborate of the three compositions.

After David de Necker's book had come into my hands I became so convinced, from my study of its contents, that my search for the prototypes of the Edzell sculptures was proceeding along the right lines, that I resolved now to tap the fountain-head of knowledge in regard to

¹ Cf. also the elaborate symbolism and rhyming in Heinrich Vogthen's woodcut of *Spes* (Geisberg, *ut supra*, No. 1429).

the early woodcut and copper-plate art of Germany. I accordingly wrote to Professor Elfried Bock, Director of the Department of Engravings in the Prussian State Museum at Berlin,¹ fully setting forth the nature of the problem and the length to which my own researches had carried me towards its solution. Professor Bock at once replied, expressing the liveliest interest in the question, and most readily promised to conduct a search through the treasures in his custody. In the correspondence which followed he was at first not very hopeful, from his impression of the views of the sculptures which I had sent him, that exact prototypes would be discoverable, as the style of the figures seemed to him so highly provincial and "barbarised."² The result of his search, however, was the gratifying discovery, not only of a series of engravings of the Planetary Deities which are beyond doubt those that the Edzell mason has copied, but also *that the provenance of these engravings was Nuremberg*—a most satisfactory confirmation of all the evidence I had previously assembled seeming to link up the idea of the sculptures with the presence at Edzell of a Nuremberg technician of high status at the very time when Sir David Lindsay was engaged in building his pleasure wall.

The engravings in question are those numbered B 11-17 of the Nuremberg miniaturist who is referred to by his initialled signature as "*Meister I. B.*" He is generally now identified with the famous engraver Georg Pencz, the companion and student of Dürer; who is known on occasion to have signed his name dialectically as *Jörg Bentz*. This identification, however, is not entirely free from stylistic and other difficulties, and is not universally accepted by German students of the Nuremberg school: but with the problem thus raised we are not here concerned.³ The engravings are dated 1528 and 1529, and are quite small, measuring on the average about $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The reproductions (to the same size as the originals) given herewith (figs. 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28) show clearly that these very lovely copperplates are the actual prototypes of the Edzell sculptures, and no detailed comment seems necessary. Only in the case of Saturn does the closeness of resemblance break down: and as it seems *a priori* unlikely

¹ *Direktor des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin.*

² "*Die Figuren mit ihrer Einfassung sind ja merkwürdig verschiedenartig. Die Planeten in den Mandorlen sehen fast so aus als hätten mittelalterliche Elfenbein-Skulpturen als Vorbilder gedient, die anderen mit ihren barbarisierten antiken Einfassungen scheinen aus einer anderen Stilwelt und doch aus derselben Zeit zu stammen.*"

³ Consult and compare E. Waldmann, *Die Nürnberger Kleinmeister*, who does not accept the equation of "*Meister I. B.*" with Georg Pencz, and H. Röttinger, *Die Holzschnitte des Georg Pencz*, who does. The identification of the two artists was first proposed in 1897 by M. J. Friedländer, in his brilliant essay, "*Georg Pencz, Jörg Bentz, der Meister I. B.*," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. xx.

that the Edzell mason copied six of *Meister I. B.*'s series and took his prototype of Saturn from another set by a different artist, a question arises whether the Nuremberg etcher may not have produced another version of Saturn, now lost. A very interesting point is the remarkable solution now available of the initials I.B. on the halberd carried by Mars in the bas-relief. The Edzell craftsman has executed his commission with such scrupulous fidelity that he has reproduced in stone the initials of the Nuremberg miniaturist who engraved them on the halberd of his figure.¹

Another interesting point to note is that the very curious form of helmet (in which a dragon reversed forms with its tail the visor-bar), borne by *Meister I. B.*'s Mars, and faithfully reproduced by the Edzell sculptor, is found also in the figure of Joshua among the great series of the Twelve Victorious Heroes of the Old Testament, formerly ascribed to Peter Flettner, another Nuremberg master, but now believed to be the work of Georg Pencz.²

It may seem a far cry from the Braes of Angus to the city of Albrecht Dürer and Anthoni Koberger, and a wide gulf may appear to be fixed between the crude efforts of the Edzell mason and the mastery of form and fastidious delicacy in technique revealed in the engravings of *Meister I. B.* But far though the distance and wide the gulf, they have been bridged; and the connecting link is furnished by Hans Ziegler, "citiner of Nuremberg," the mining engineer whom Lord Edzell was employing to dig brass out of the hills of Glenesk at the very time in which his stately pleasaunce with its wealth of sculpture was being wrought. Possibly a further series of engravings may some day turn up, showing groups of the Sciences and the Virtues which have served as prototypes of those on the garden wall, in the same way in which prototypes of the Deities have now been found. Meantime enough has been discovered to set forth unmistakably the source from which these unique and fascinating bas-reliefs were derived, and to suggest a deeply interesting line of research which others, in this country or in Germany, may be able to follow up. For the present we shall conclude by saying that the opening lines of honest David de Necker's rhymed address "to the art-loving reader" not inaptly interpret

¹ Dr von Einem, Director of the Museum of Art and Industry at Hanover, has been good enough to draw my attention to a German case in which the engravings of Georg Pencz or *Meister I. B.* have served as the prototypes of bas-reliefs in a castle. His museum contains a number of reliefs in stucco which came from the castle formerly belonging to the Dukes of Brunswick-Luneburg at Celle, near Hanover. The subjects which have been copied from *Meister I. B.* are Justice and Temperance; those copied from Georg Pencz are certain figures from his series of the Old Testament Heroes. The date of these stuccos is *circa* 1555-60.

² Röttinger, *ut supra*, p. 2 and plate 8. A portion with the figure of Joshua is illustrated in Geisberg, *ut supra*, p. 177, No. 998.

the pious feelings which Sir David Lindsay, Lord Edzell, doubtless wished the exotic pomp of his *viridarium* to awaken in the minds of those who beheld with astonishment "all this oriental imagery and refinement under the shadow of the Grampian hills in the beginning of the seventeenth century"¹:—

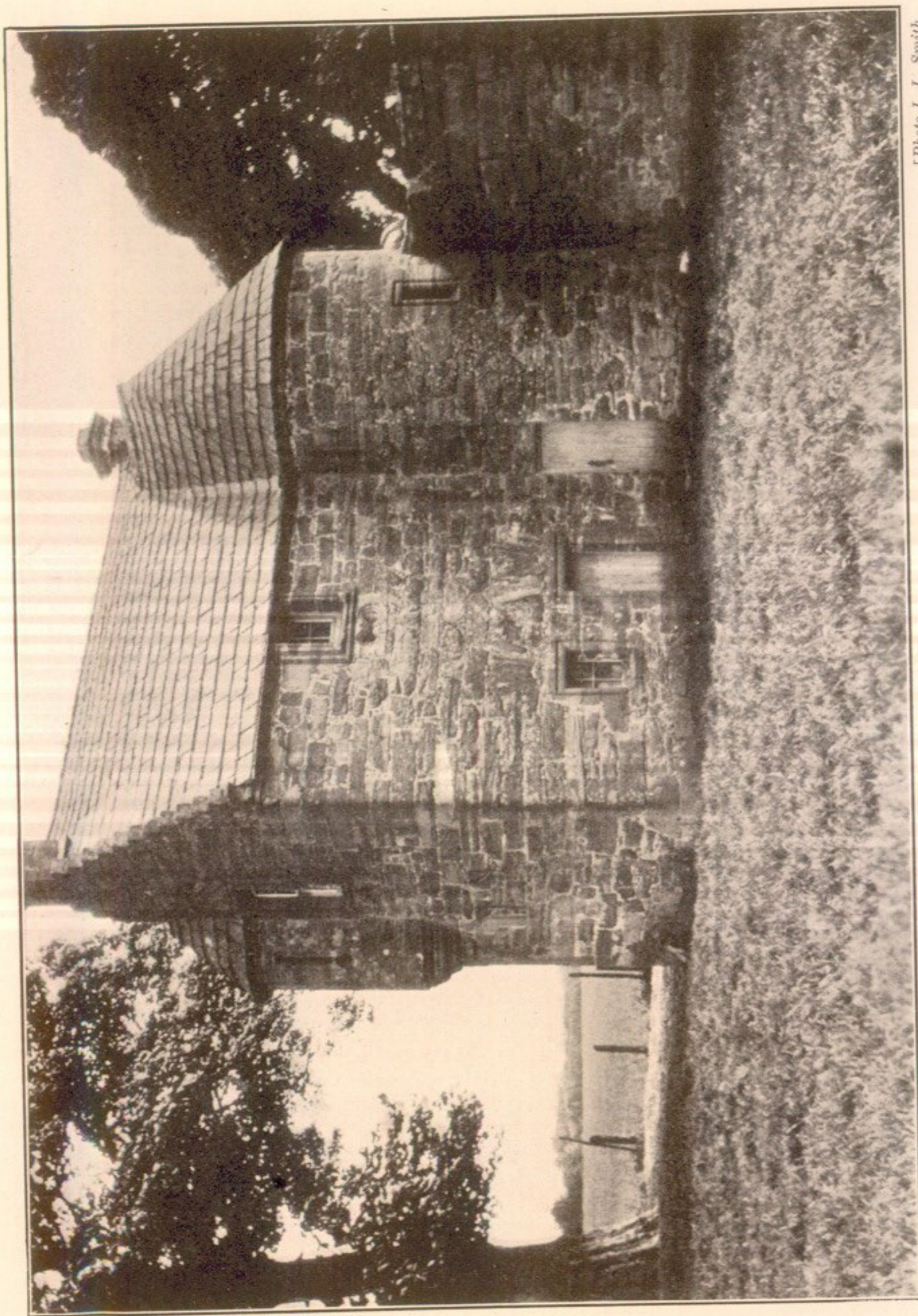
“Dir wirdt weisen diese Figur,
Der Menschen art, und die Natur,
Gottes Geschöpff und Wunderwerck,
Insonderheit darbey bermerck.
Wie Gott den Menschen mit verstandt
Begabt, und mit kunstreicher handt.
Das er Gottes Geschöpff und Sachen,
Kan ein Abconterfegung machen.”

THE SUMMER-HOUSE AND THE BATH-HOUSE.

There remain to be described the charming summer-house at the south-east corner of the garden, and the bath-house at its south-west corner. The summer-house (figs. 13 and 46) forms an oblong block measuring 26 feet 9 inches by 14 feet 6 inches, its long front lying in continuation of the south front of the garden. In the eastern re-entrant angle is set a round stair-tower. The main building finishes with corbie-stepped gables and handsomely coped chimneys, while the roof of the stair-tower dies into that of the main house. At the south-east angle a bulky round turret is corbelled out, the turret being deeply set into the building, and its pointed roof depressed below the skew-putt of the gable, all as commonly in late work. Instead of slates the heavy freestone slabs usual in Angus are employed. The upper windows have projecting mouldings and their breasts are pierced with triplet gunloops of varied design. In the turret and the stair-tower single gunloops are found. Among all these gunloops the redented splay, found on the west front of the castle, is prevalent. In each gable end, east and west (see fig. 13), is a large window having a quasi-classical tympanum with the initials of Sir David Lindsay, entwined in foliage.

There are two rooms on the ground floor (see plan, fig. 11), an outer one reached by a door in the north wall and an inner one entered from the garden. The latter room measures 9 feet 7 inches square, and has a groined vault with diagonal ribs meeting in a central boss. These ribs spring from corbels variously enriched, and meet in an ornate boss, now much damaged. The ribs are very massive, about 10 inches in breadth, and are designed in two orders, the outer order bearing quirked half-

¹ J. Carrie, *Ancient Things in Angus*, p. 40.



[Photo I. L. Smith.]

Fig. 46. Edzell Castle: Summer-House from N.E.

engaged lateral rolls, while the inner one has a frontal roll, broadly filleted. Round the sides of the room, except where interrupted by the door from the garden and that into the tower-stair, runs a modern stone bench. This room is lit by a single window opening from the garden. Window and door voids show inwardly a bold, half-



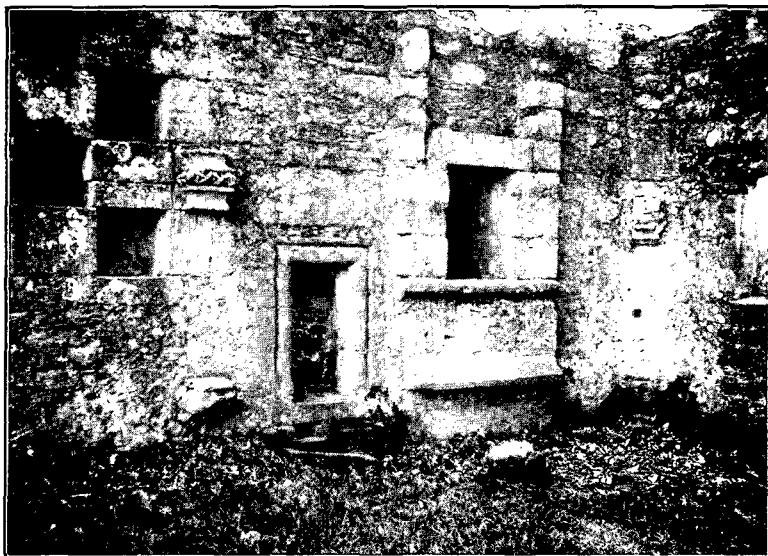
[I. L. Smith del.]

Fig. 47. Edzell Castle: Newel Stair in Summer-House.

engaged roll, stop-chamfered below. The masonry is excellent ashlar in two kinds of freestone—red and yellow. The outer room has a plain barrel vault, and is furnished with two windows, a fireplace, and an aumbry. Over all is a garret storey reached by the newel stair in the angle tower, which has an outer door of access on the east side. The newel stair (fig. 47) is 5 feet broad and is handsomely designed, the risers being hollowed out, and uniting with the newel by a short diagonal incurved face: the under edges of the steps are turned off in a broad curve.¹

¹ The difference in design between this stair and that in the tower-house (shown in fig. 8) should be noted.

The upper floor has been cut up by light partitions, and is otherwise modernised, but retains an old fireplace at the north-east corner, with an aumbry adjoining. The jambs of the fireplace consist of a heavy roll with a broad frontal fillet, carrying plain corbels on which is set the lintel. The door into the turret chamber, which is 7 feet in diameter, has the usual massive stop-chamfered edge-roll. This turret chamber



[Photo G. A. Clarke.]

Fig. 48. Edzell Castle: Well-head in Garden.

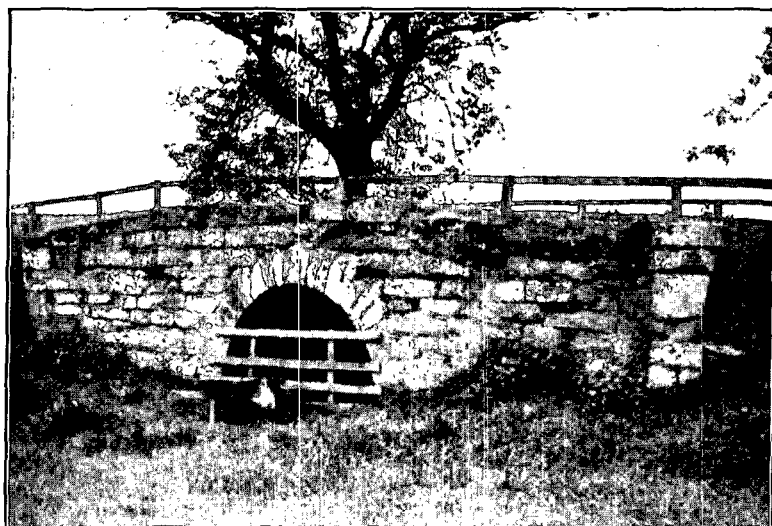
has had two gunloops pierced downward like those in the north-east turret of the garden.

In not a few of its details this summer-house recalls the castle of Muchalls in the Mearns, built in 1619-27.

The bath-house is now reduced to the merest fragments. It was excavated in 1855, on which occasion an account was communicated to our *Proceedings*.¹ Since that date the foundations then exposed have in great part disappeared; but from the not very satisfactory plan published at the time the arrangement of the structure has been restored, as well as possible, in fig. 11. It may be described as a rectangular building capping the south-west angle of the garden, the west wall of which here contains an ashlar-cradled well, 3 feet in diameter, and at present 15 feet deep from the sole of the bath-house opening to the top

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 226-9. In the same volume, at p. 70, are described eight panels of carved oak, including representations of the Annunciation and the Crucifixion, which were formerly "in the windows of the great room or hall of Edzell Castle."

of the rubbish by which its lower part is choked. In 1855 it is described as being 25 feet deep and containing about 3 feet of water: on its being cleared out at that time the old bucket was discovered. At the top on either side the sockets in which the windlass framing was fixed may still be seen. There are openings from the well-head both into the bath-house and into the garden (fig. 48). The bath-house had measured about 35 feet by 33 feet, and contained one large and two smaller chambers, the large one having a fireplace with moulded jambs. On



[Photo I. L. Smith.]

Fig. 49. Edzell: Bridge near old Churchyard (view of north front).

the north side were stairs of access, with a door from the garden and another leading out to the park. Slop-drains were provided in the north and east walls.

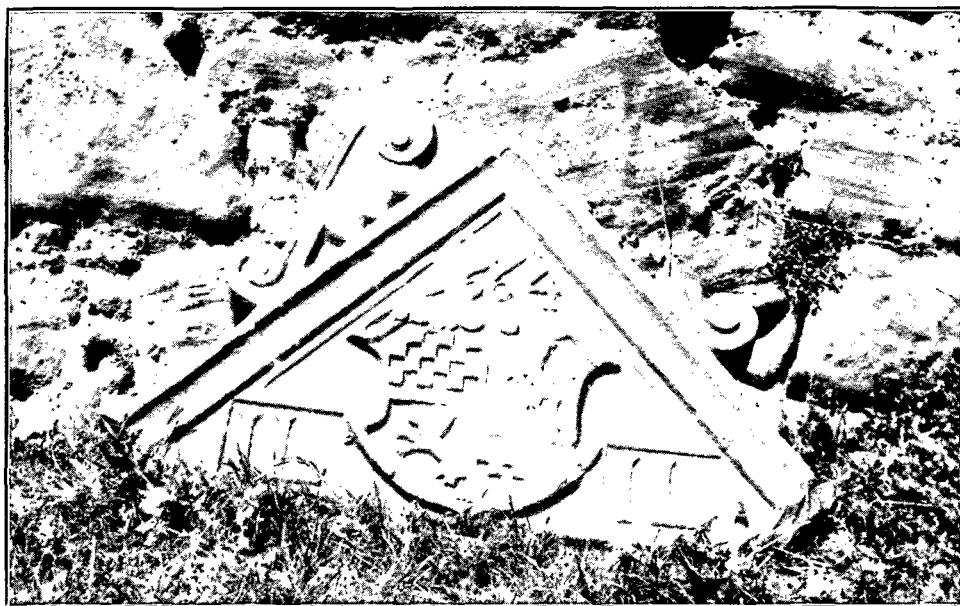
The total destruction of this bath-house, down to its foundations, is to be explained only on the assumption that it has been deliberately pulled down for the sake of its materials. In this connection it is interesting to note that the quaint little old bridge which carries the road to the churchyard over a dry ditch, south of the castle, is almost entirely built of stones clearly plundered from the ruins, including a number of moulded fragments.¹ I shrewdly suspect that the bath-house has largely or wholly contributed to the building of this bridge.

¹ This bridge (fig. 49) is a structure of simple but very good design, with curved wing walls, and carefully wrought voussoirs, the outer portions of which are fluted. The dimensions are as follows:—Total length, 34 feet; breadth, 16 feet 1 inch; height of arch, 5 feet 4 inches; breadth of arch, 8 feet 3 inches; height to parapet, 8 feet 6 inches.

CARVED FRAGMENTS.

The following carved heraldic fragments are at present lying at the north end of the pleasaunce.

1. Portion of a shield with the Lindsay coat of arms.
2. One-half of a semicircular tympanum showing the plumes of a helmet, the letters I.L., and a scroll with the letters ENDV—evidently



[Photo I. L. Smith.]

Fig. 50. Edzell Castle: Heraldic Pediment.

a portion of the Crawford motto "Endure Fort." The initials are those of Sir John Lindsay of Edzell (1648-71).

3. Fragment of a stone with a shield blazoned thus: dexter, the Lindsay arms, impaled with, sinister, quarterly, first and fourth, gyronny of four, and second and third, the lymphad of Lorn, for Campbell. These are the arms of David Lindsay, ninth Earl of Crawford, and his Countess, Catherine Campbell, whom he married in 1549. This stone may therefore be part of the coat of arms, said to have been dated 1553, which is described as having formerly existed over the main entrance gateway.

4. Triangular pediment (fig. 50) with the date 1664 and a shield showing the Lindsay arms, on either side of which are the initials of Sir

John Lindsay. Formerly this pediment had a fleur-de-lys on its apex and foliaceous scrolls on either side: but these features have been almost entirely battered away in recent times, and the pediment itself during the past summer has been broken in two, as this stone now serves as a convenient resting-place for lemonade or beer-bottles to be smashed by throwing stones at them—a favourite form of amusement among the crowds who now come in charabancs to visit the ruins during the holiday season. Such things are part of the price that must be paid for our twentieth-century's achievement of a mobile *demos*.

5. A much weathered stone bearing two shields, the upper of which



[Photo I. L. Smith.]

Fig. 51. Edzell Castle: Carved Caps.

shows the Lindsay arms, while the lower has those of Wishart, three piles in point: there are also the initials D.L. and M.W. and the date 1601. This stone came from the castle of Auchmull in Glenesk.¹

In addition to these heraldic fragments, there are lying against the east wall of the garden two caps (fig. 51) of large size and elaborate design, not corresponding to anything in the scheme of the wall. One is a cylindrical shaft with double necking, the upper cabled, and a broad cap rising into a square abacus: on each face of the cap is a fleur-de-lys. This cap probably came from the main door into the quadrangle staircase, where a base of similar dimensions and style is still *in situ*. The other cap is of quasi-classical form, and has surmounted a square shaft, fluted frontally.

¹ *Land of the Lindsays*, 2nd ed., p. 70. The position of Auchmull Castle is shown on the map, fig. 1. Nos. 3-5 in the above list of carved fragments are illustrated in the *Registrum de Panmure*, vol. i. p. clix.

THE PRECINCTS OF THE CASTLE.

In Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*¹ is included an interesting description of Edzell Castle, written by Ouchterlony of Guinde, *circa* 1683-1722.

"It is ane excellent dwelling, a great hous, delicat gardine with walls sumptuously built of hewen stone polisht, with pictures and coats of armes in the walls, with a fyne summer hous with a hous for a bath on the south corners thereof, far exceeding any new work of thir times. Excellent kitchine gardine and orchard with diverse kynds of most excellent fruits and most delicat. New park with felow deer built by the present Laird. It lyes close to the hills betwixt the water called the West Water and the water of Northesk, which joyning together make as it were a demi-island thereof. It hath an excellent outter court so large and levell that of old when they used that sport they used to play at the football there, and there are still four great growing trees which were the dopts. It is ane extraordinare warme and ear place, so that the fruits will be readie there a fourthnight sooner than in any place of the shyre, and hath a greater increase of bean and other graine than can be expected elsewhere."

In a "Description of the Castle of Edzell," published in the *Scots Magazine* for July 1804,² it is stated that besides the flower-garden

"there are other considerable gardens, on the outside of the works of the castle, and within the outer walls. There is a deer-park too, surrounded with a high wall, of great extent, on the opposite side of the castle."

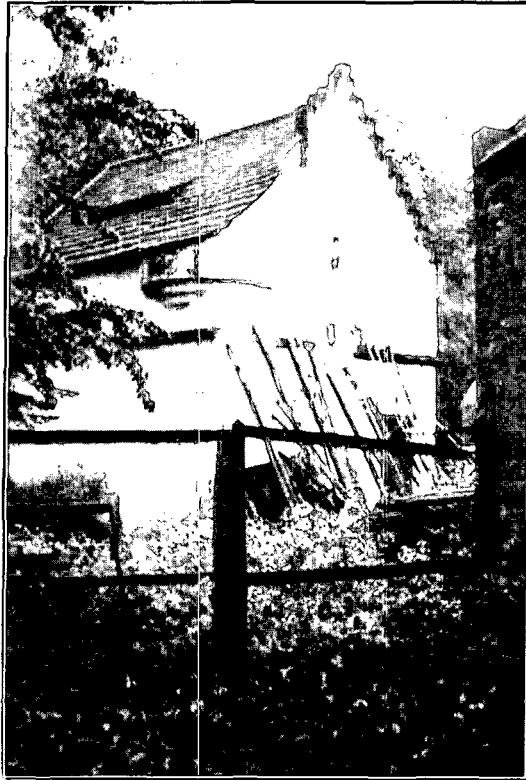
What appears to be the remnant of one entrance to the deer-park still remains on the west side at a distance of 108 feet north-west from the round tower. The remains consist of the lower parts of two massive gateposts, 2 feet 9 inches thick, turned off on both sides with a 7-inch chamfer. The gate is 10 feet 10 inches wide. An exactly similar gate (seen in the foreground in fig. 3) occurs at a distance of about 1000 feet south-south-west of the bath-house; and from this gate northwards the foundations of the precinct wall (as shown in fig. 2) are clearly traceable northwards along the edge of the Den of Edzell to a point nearly opposite the bath-house. Southward also from this gate the old foundations are observed to underlie a modern dyke. At the north-east angle of the castle park is a third gate, 8 feet 6 inches wide, with plain gateposts, which also seems to be ancient. In Hutcheon's view of the north front a massive wall is seen in the forefront: this also may be part of the precinct boundary.

¹ Ed. Sir Arthur Mitchell, vol. ii. p. 39.

² Vol. lxvi. p. 483.

THE DOVECOT.

At the large and fine farm-steading of Mains of Edzell, east of the Castle, is a dovecot (fig. 52) still in good preservation. It measures 21 feet 6 inches square, and is covered with a high-pitched packsaddle roof on an east-to-west axis, between corbie-stepped gables. At each



[Photo I. L. Smith.

Fig. 52. Dovecot at Mains of Edzell (view from north-west).

of two diagonally opposite corners, north-west and south-east, are large round turrets, resting on continuous corbelling in three filleted courses. These turrets doubtless once had the usual conical caps, but have later been cut down and covered with sloping roofs in continuation of that on the main structure. The fissile slabs of the district are employed instead of slates. At the eaves is a boldly projected cavetto moulding which is continued round the crowsteps in an unusual and very effective manner. About half-way up the structure is another projecting

cavetto stringcourse, stepped up over a large shallow rectangular recess midway in each front: on the west front this recess is of extra large size and is enclosed in thin projecting mouldings of a late type. The original doorway, giblet checked, is on this front: on the opposite side another doorway has been slapped out at a later date. There are two apertures for the birds in the west gable and one in the east gable, and below them projecting stone slabs are inserted to serve as perches. The interior contains the usual numerous, massively built stone recesses. Externally the masonry is of good, well-coursed freestone rubble, with dressed quoins. The dovecot has been harled and whitewashed, which gives an excellent effect. A lean-to annexe, apparently of considerable age, has been built against the east side.

Among those who have contributed photographs illustrating this paper, special thanks are due to my former colleague, Emeritus-Professor C. R. Marshall, M.D., LL.D., for the great amount of time and trouble which he gladly took in making the excellent series of photographs of the bas-reliefs. They will provide a permanent record of these unique sculptures, which are now rapidly wasting away. The photographs of the Sciences and the Virtues, where the originals are more weathered and obscured to a greater degree by lichen than are the Deities, were prepared on the spot for the blockmakers by Mr J. S. Richardson, F.S.A.Scot. I have also to acknowledge the assistance, in surveying the ruins, of Messrs N. S. Cowan and I. L. Smith, Aberdeen: permission to make the survey was readily granted by the Dalhousie Estates Office, Brechin. For the loan of books not available in this country I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr Christoph Weber, Chief Librarian of the Christian Albrecht University of Kiel.

MONDAY, 12th January 1931.

JAMES CURLE, LL.D., in the Chair.

On the recommendation of the Council, there were elected Honorary Fellows of the Society:—

Mrs M. E. CUNNINGTON, 33 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire.
Monsieur ADRIEN DE MORTILLET, 154 Rue de Tolbiac, Paris, 13^e.
Professor Dr ROBERT ZAHN, Director bei den Staatlichen Museen,
Honorar-professor an der Universität, Am Lustgarten, Berlin, C.2.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

Rev. WILLIAM BARCLAY, M.A., Minister of St Magnus Cathedral, The
Manse, Kirkwall, Orkney.
Mrs J. C. CAMPBELL, Auchinellan, Balerno, Midlothian.
Sir JOHN T. CARGILL, Bart., D.L., LL.D., 10 Lowther Terrace, Glasgow.
WILLIAM COWE, Tweedville, Thorburn Road, Colinton.
WILLIAM FORDYCE, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 17 Walker Street, Edinburgh.
WALTER OLIPHANT, S.S.C., 2 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
J. MILLER THOMSON, W.S., 5 St Colme Street, Edinburgh.

The following Donations to the Museum were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By JOHN R. FORTUNE, Corresponding Member.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head of white Flint, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ inch by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch, abnormally thick; lop-sided Arrow-head of dark grey Flint, measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch; sub-triangular Implement of grey Flint, measuring $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch, and part of another; triangular Knife of grey Flint, one side flaked and the other serrated, measuring $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch; two broken Implements of grey Flint, and a fragment of a Jet or Shale Armlet, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length; found by the donor on Airhouse, Channelkirk, Berwickshire.

(2) By Mrs M. E. INVERARITY, Clermiston, Corstorphine, Midlothian.

Harp which belonged to Lady John Scott and hung in the Hall at Spottiswoode for fifty-one years. The sounding-box, which has two S-shaped openings on the front, measures 22 inches in length, exclusive of the head and foot, and 7 inches in breadth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth at the bottom. It has seventeen strings.

It was announced that the following objects had been purchased for the Museum:—

Rude hand-made Jug of reddish Pottery wanting the handle, and measuring $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height. The body is decorated with lozenge designs and the neck and shoulder by vertical lines, all incised; found under 4 feet of peat beside the Lady's Drive, 4 miles from Lerwick, Shetland.

Purse embroidered with silver gilt and silver thread. On the front is a crown with a crossed sword and sceptre below, and a wreath with the words GOD SAVE THE KING above; on the back a dove with a twig in its bill, perched on a rectangular object of indeterminate character, with a wreath above showing the scanty traces of a legend. The inside, which is lined with green silk, is divided into two sections. The front of the silver clasp is decorated with hanging hatched triangles, and on the top of it are the initials R.F. It belongs to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. From Aldbar Castle, Angus.

Quaich made of wooden staves, feathered, and bound by a silver hoop, with three lugs, each decorated with an engraved plate of silver; on the inside is a silver print bearing the initials E.G.; measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in height. The silver hoop which once encircled the foot is wanting. From Cairnfield, Enzie, Banffshire.

Steel Seal, bearing the arms of a family of Buchan, three garbs, and a crest, a galley, from Aberdeen.

Large Snuff-mull of Horn, with a hinged lid, a conical capsule at the foot and a thistle in front, all of silver. On the lid is the inscription PARLIAMENT HOUSE / FRIENDLY SOCIETY / INSTITUTED / 11th FEBRUARY 1797.

Waterworn Stone of irregular shape, with shallow indentations on opposite faces, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Curved Saw of grey Flint, flaked on both edges, measuring $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches along the outer curve. Knife of brown Flint, measuring 2 inches in length. Two Knives and a Blade of grey and white Flint, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and 2 inches in length. Part of a Borer of grey Flint, measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length. Ten Scrapers of grey and brown Flint, measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, $\frac{11}{16}$ inch by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $\frac{13}{16}$ inch, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, $\frac{13}{16}$ inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, $\frac{9}{16}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch, $\frac{9}{16}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; all found on Crichton House Farm, Ford, Midlothian.

Stone Adze, of rather irregular shape, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 3 inches broad, and $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch thick, the perforation, which is near the butt end, being countersunk from both faces; found in Rodil Kirk-yard, Harris.

Bone Needle, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and a thin square plate of Jasper ground on the faces and edges and measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch; found near an earth-house on Bernera, Sound of Harris.

Edinburgh Special Constable's Baton of Ebony, with a silver capsule at each end, measuring $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches in length and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter. On one end is engraved a crown and the Royal monogram G.R.; on the other end POL CIV, and round the edge 19 Ward No 2.

The following Donations to the Library were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By Major JOHN ROSS, F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

The Land of the Gael: Its Story, Its Clans, and Its Tartans Glasgow, 1930.

(2) By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, D.Litt., F.S.A.Scot.

The Deeside Field. Fifth Number, 1931.

(3) By THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

A Season's Work at Ur Al-'Ubaid, Abu Shahrain (Eridu), and elsewhere. By H. R. Hall, D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A. London, 1930.

(4) By RICHARD QUICK, F.S.A.Scot.

Bulletin of the Russell Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth. Vol. ix., No. 4.

(5) By Sir GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Forschungen im Römischen Britannien 1914-1928. Sonderabdruck aus dem XIX. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 1929.

(6) By J. MALCOLM BULLOCH, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Author.

Inverness-shire Forts: The Neglect of Fort-Augustus. Reprinted from *The Inverness Courier* of 18th and 25th November 1930.

(7) By A. D. LACAILLE, F.S.A.Scot.

Newgrange, Co. Meath. By R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D. Dublin, 1929.

The following Communications were read:—