Account of the Assassination of Sir George Lockhart.

St Kilda, and who afterwards died a solitary and wretched captive in one of the Western Isles, was a daughter of this Chiesley of Dairy. She inherited, it is said, the fierce spirit of her Father, and previous to her captivity, during an occasional quarrel with Grange, had thrown out some threatening hints bidding him remember "that she was Chiesly's Daughter;" insinuating that she might be provoked to imitate the lesson of paternal vengeance.

The following Letter to the Secretary, from Sir Walter Scott, Baronet, in reference to Mr Tytler's communication, was read to the Society, 26th January 1829.

Dear Sir,

I return the curious and particular account of Sir George Lockhart's murder by Chiesley of Dairy. It is worthy of antiquarian annotation, that Chiesley was appointed to be gibbetted, not far from his own house, somewhere about Drumsheugh. As he was a man of family, the gibbet was privately cut down and the body carried off. A good many years since some alterations were in the course of being made in the house of Dairy, when, on enlarging a closet or cellar in the lower story, a discovery was made of a skeleton, and some fragments of iron, which were generally supposed to be the bones of the murderer Chiesley. His friends had probably concealed them there when they were taken down from the gibbet, and no opportunity had occurred for removing them before their existence was forgotten. I was told of the circumstance by Mr James Walker, then my brother in office, and proprietor of Dairy: I do not however recollect the exact circumstance, but I dare say Francis Walker Drummond can supply my deficiency of memory.

Yours truly,

WALTER SCOTT.

Shandwick Place, 15th January 1829.

To E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq.

III.—An Inquiry respecting the Site of the Battle of Mons Grampius.


[Read 27th April, 14th December, 1829, and 11th and 25th January, 1830.]

The Battle of Mons Grampius, fought between the Caledonians on one side, and the Romans under Agricola on the other, has long been an interesting subject of inquiry. Yet notwithstanding all that has been said and written upon the subject, few seem satisfied that the Site of it has been ascertained with that accuracy which modern history requires. Nor is this at all to be wondered at; for Tacitus, to whom we are indebted for the account of the battle, in writing the Life of Agricola, has gone but little into detail, in the geographical description of the country. He has merely laid down particular headlands, as it were, and left us to steer our course the best way we can between them. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, there are still several sources of information open to us, from which we may draw pretty accurate conclusions.

In reading the Life of Agricola we become acquainted with the character of the General, and are thus enabled to form an estimate of the style of his operations; for the Historian has represented him to us as consistent in all his plans; cautious, though enterprising; leaving as little as possible to chance; and not likely to overrun a country, unless with a view of making a permanent conquest of it. Much may also be gathered from the Roman camps and stations still in existence, or of which, though now obliterated, we have authentic accounts. But in tracing the march of Agricola, one of our surest guides, I conceive, will be the topography of the country; for, however much the art of war may change from age to age, mountains, rivers, and other natural obstacles must always continue in a great measure to regulate the march of armies. As to tradition, I am not inclined to give more credit to it than it.

1 I have called them Caledonians, to distinguish them from the more Southern Inhabitants of the Island, although Tacitus designates them by the general name of Britanni.
An Inquiry respecting the Site of the Battle of Mons Graupius.

Aberdeenshire to fight the battle of Mons Graupius. A glance at the map will at once demonstrate the absurdity of such marching and countermarching, and a view of the country itself, the utter improbability of it. It would be a libel on the memory of Agricola to suppose him capable of executing such a movement.

I am aware how hazardous it is to attempt to alter the text to suit one's own views; but if at the same time we find it impossible to reconcile an Author with himself, we may naturally suppose that some mistake has occurred. In the present instance, Camden, Sir Henry Savile, Greenway, Brietius, and other commentators, have foreseen this difficulty, and supposed that the River in question is the Tweed. But the Tweed is not an estuary, and therefore does not answer the Historian's description. I am inclined to think, then, that the Tine is the River here alluded to, which is a very remarkable estuary, extending from Newcastle to the sea; and the change of a single word, Tanaum for Tainam, will solve the difficulty; and from their similarity, the latter may easily have been substituted, in transcribing, by the former. The Vatican manuscripts of Tacitus, consulted by Brotier, are described as having Tanaum, except one, which in the margin had Tainam. I am aware that Horsley endeavours to prove that the Tine is the Vedra of Ptolemy, but seems neither to have satisfied himself nor any one else. It is called the Tine in the Saxon Chronicle of 875, and we have no proof of its having gone by any other name. The first thing that strikes us in this Campaign is the Historian's expression, vastatis nationibus, which seems directly at variance with Agricola's courtesy towards the inhabitants the preceding winter; so that we may reasonably suppose there must have been some cause for this change of conduct on his part; and upon referring to the preceding events, we may perhaps be able to find some clue to it.

1 "MSS. Vatic. ad Tanaum. Sed in margine MS. Vatic. 3429, Tainam." Tacitus Brotiert, vol. iv. p. 390, 4to edit. A later editor of the Life of Agricola (Dronke, in 1824) says, "Ad Tannam. Ina Cod. Vat. 3429, in textu; in margine Taaum; Cod. alter 4498, Tanaum." A still later editor (Brocke, in 1826) quotes the rendering of the last MS. as Tainam. It appears that some of the Vatican MSS. consulted by Brother cannot now be found.

2 Ptolemy has omitted the Tine in its proper place, and designates the Tay by that name. It may therefore have occurred, that those who were zealous of rectifying this mistake in the geographer, and restoring its proper appellation to the Tay, may have substituted Tanaum for Tainam in the text of our Historian, although the latter was the river described by him.

deserves; at the same time I am not disposed to reject it altogether. We oftentimes, I think, find it correct as to leading facts, although it is seldom to be depended on when it descends into particulars.

In presenting the present inquiry, then, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the operations of Agricola, from the time of his assuming the command in Britain as Legate. This occurred, according to the calculation of some, in the year 78, and to that of others, in the year 79. He arrived late in the season; and, although the summer was far gone, he immediately commenced operations, and subdued the island of Anglesey. The second Campaign he assembled his army in the beginning of summer, and directed his march towards the north. He kept near the sea-coast, and seems to have met with little resistance. The Historian eulogises his skill and personal activity in chusing his camp-ground, in examining the woods, and arms of the sea, through which he had to pass, and his address in managing the natives, and in establishing strongholds among them without opposition.

The following winter he is represented to have pursued the same line of policy, and to have rivetted the chains of slavery upon the inhabitants, more by the blandishments of civilisation than by the sword. He induced them to erect public edifices, as well as private houses, and gave them a taste for the luxuries of life. Where this occurred is not exactly known, but it was most probably about Carlisle, or between that and the Solway Firth.

The plan of the next Campaign has excited so much diversity of opinion, and is of so much importance in tracing the march of Agricola, that I shall insert the Historian's own words. Terrae expeditionum annus annas gentes aperuit, vastatissique ad Tanaum (estuario_nomem est) nationibus: quid formidavit territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum servis temptatis exercitum, lacessere non ausi; ponendisque castitis spatium fuit. Adnotatis peritis, non aliun diem opportune lectorus supinitos legisser; sic iam ab Agricola position, castellum ant hostium expugnatum, aut pactio locorum sapientius legisse; nullo lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnota-3

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An Inquiry respecting the Site of the Battle of Mons Grampius.

The Brigantes were at this time the most powerful tribe in Britain. Their territory is generally supposed to have extended from sea to sea; but the principal part of it seems to have comprised Yorkshire and Durham, and to have been bounded by the Tine. A few years before, they revolted under the famous Boadicea, and having destroyed the Ninth legion, they gained great advantages over the Romans, and advanced as far as London, where they were ultimately defeated. When Petullus Cerialis was appointed Legate in Britain, he marched against them in person, into their own country. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Fespnsanus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregiì exercitus, minuta hostium expe. Et terreorum statum intulit Petullus Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perambulavit, odgres-sus; multa prælia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplectus, aut bello.

Now this account is any thing but conclusive as to their complete subjugation, the more so as the historian does not revert to it afterwards. Agricola served under Petullus Cerialis in that expedition, and must therefore have known the state of things; and, as far as we are able to judge, it would not have been prudent in him to have left them behind him in that condition. The Ninth legion was by this time re-organized, and composed part of his army; so that the meeting between that portion of it and the Brigantes, we cannot suppose, would be very cordial. I am therefore disposed to construe the passage as follows: Vastatis nationibus, usque ad Tinam, (nomen cstatio est) tertius annus expeditionum aperuit novas gentes. These new gentes, I conceive, lay between the Tine and the Firth of Forth. Great difference of age as follows: Vastatis nationibus, usque ad Tinam, (nomen extatio est) tertius annus expeditionum aperuit novas gentes.

The Fourth Summer, then, was employed in securing the country which he had overrun. If, therefore, in the preceding Campaign he had overrun the country between the Firth and Tay, he must have secured that also; but the historian distinctly states that it was shut out, as if into another island.

The Fifth Campaign was employed in securing his left flank, in the same manner as he had done his right the preceding one. He took shipping in the Clyde, and coasting the western shore, subdued Ayrshire and Galloway. Quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempest gente crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniae, qua Hiberniam adspexit, cognitum instruxit.

It is probable that Agricola did not employ the whole of his army on that expedition, but only a portion of it, as he might find it difficult to procure shipping for so large a body. It is also evident that he had not passed near that part of the country on his way north, otherwise he could not style them gentes ad id tempus ignotas.

In the Sixth Campaign Agricola made great preparations to carry on the war both by sea and land. Every thing here indicates that he was breaking fresh ground, and that he expected great opposition. Ceterum estate, qua Sextum officii annum incoebat, amplectu civitates trans Boddriam sitas, qua motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostilis exercitus itineris timebatur, portus clausæ exploravit et, ob Agricola primum aversam in parte virtum, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelletur; ac sepe iisdem castris pedes, equosque, et navibus miles.

*Richard of Cirencester, in speaking of this people, says, "Gentem hanc, ab imperatore Clau
dius primum infestatam, debere ab Ostrio legato directam, potest a Ceriali fractam, et magnam partem dedisset, ceea vice sponse ex Agricola deducta, potest ilia dat
tem esse percepsisse.
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

Many opinions have been offered as to the point where Agricola crossed the Forth; and, in the absence of better information, perhaps a view of the country itself will be our safest guide in forming a conjecture as to what his plan of operations may have been. We may reasonably suppose, that before he crossed that river, he reconnoitred the country from the high ground on which Stirling Castle stands. He would from thence perceive that between him and the Firth of Forth, except in his immediate neighbourhood, there lay a vast swamp, ground ill adapted for the march of an army. The most favourable point for his crossing appears to me to have been where the ruins of Cambuskenneth Abbey now stand. The river there is only about 50 yards broad: it appears not to have altered its course, and forms an isthmus extremely favourable for his purpose. A little more than a mile north from this, and about half way to the Ochil Hills, a huge rock rises in the plain, called the Abbey Craig. This rock rises to a great height. It extends about half a mile from north to south; is convex and precipitous on the west, and slopes gradually down to the plain on the east side; thus forming a naturally fortified and remarkably strong position. I think it then probable that this was the first position occupied by Agricola after crossing the Forth; and had the Caledonians attempted to defend it, he might have intercepted their retreat, by marching round its base. From the summit of this rock he would perceive the Ochil Hills, rising very high and abruptly on his left, and extending away to the eastward; the swampy banks of the Forth on his right, and the plain between them the only way open for his march. In following this line Mr Ramsay of Tillicoultry showed me a bronze battle-axe lately dug up at a Druid's temple near his house, where there is said to have been a camp and a road at the base of the Ochil Hills, which still go by the name of the Roman road, and which he has converted into a walk for the purpose of preserving it. A little to the eastward some urns were found containing bones, on the lands of Harviston; and I was informed that some were also found to the westward, on the lands of Alva. From Tillicoultry Agricola probably advanced to Alva, where the army would be in communication with the fleet. Proceeding eastward, tradition says that the fleet attempted a landing at Terryburn, and that the Caledonians advanced into the water to oppose it. About three miles north-east from this, and immediately on the south side of Carnock, there are two farms, called East and West Camp, still pointed out as Roman encampments. They are both on the same ridge, and probably formed only one camp, as they are not far distant from each other. One of them may have been for the infantry, and the other for the cavalry. West Camp is a most commanding position, and could hardly fail to be occupied by an army passing through that country. Immediately on the west of this is a flat-topped hill called Carniel. This hill is very steep on the north side, with a rivulet running past it. It is about 400 yards long; a large caen stood upon it; and many urns and bones were found there five years ago. Caer is the old British word for fortress; Carniel, then, may have been a Caledonian fort, and the Romans may have occupied the adjoining camp whilst they were besieging it. No traces of any works are to be found either at East or West Camp; and if this conjecture be correct, they may have been levelled by the Romans themselves, after the capture of Carniel, to prevent the enemy from occupying them, as is done in our times. Many works have no doubt disappeared in this manner. Carniel and Carnock are so close together, that I am inclined to think they are but different names for the same place. A small hill in Scotland is often called a knob; thus Caer-knock would signify the Hill Fort. About a mile and a half north from this, at the base of Saline Hill, there is a small circular work surrounded by a double ditch, which is also called The Roman Camp, but of little importance. That Agricola did not go far from the coast, is evident from the soldiers and sailors often meeting in the same camp, and talking over their adventures militari jactantiam. And although it requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that the soldiers of Agricola could tell long stories, as well as those of the Duke of Wellington, yet the coast of Fife is an

See Owen's Welsh Dictionary.
exceedingly strong country; and, intersected as it must have been at that time with bogs and woods, it no doubt presented very considerable obstacles to the march of an army.

In this campaign Agricola sent on his fleet to explore the coast, which greatly alarmed the natives, tamquam, aperio maris sui secreto, ultimum per-

This clearly shows that it must have entered the Firth of Tay, as there is no other part of the coast to which this observation is at all applicable. By that manoeuvre he got in their rear, placed them between two fires, as we would say in modern language, and intercepted their communication with the north-eastern provinces. In the mean time the Caledonians had assembled in great force; and some of Agricola's friends, not much liking the appearance of things, proposed a retreat beyond the Firth of Forth; but he did not follow their advice. It is difficult to trace his line of march from Carnock, but it is probable that he inclined more inland, keeping the Cleish Hills on his left. He seems to have been greatly harassed by the natives on this march, and could hardly fail to have passed by West Blair (now Blair-Adam). Blair signifies locus pugneae; but there are so many places of that name in this country, that we cannot attribute them all to him, although he may have a fair claim to the nomenclature of those that lay in his route. Following this line, we come to East Blair, and then to Loch Ore, an undoubted Roman station. As the camp there has generally been reckoned that in which the Ninth legion was attacked, it may be necessary to say something of it, although it was unfortunately levelled about twelve years ago, and a turret on the side next the lake. The situation of this camp seems admirably adapted for a surprise, as the Caledonians might have assembled their forces behind the hill immediately above it; but upon levelling the trenches, although the burnt ends of the pallisades were found, no bones, or arms, or any trace whatever of a battle, were discovered.

About a mile and a half nearly east from it, however, there is a hill called the Harlaw, on the west side of which, tradition says, there was a great battle. This name is not uncommon in Scotland, and wherever it occurs a battle is said to have taken place. The one in question is a very advantageous position, and two ancient coins were found on the west side of it about twenty years ago; but although the man who found them is still alive, they were disposed of by his mother to a pedlar, and are now lost. The old road to Edinburgh passes by it; and a friend of mine who lives near it informed me, that in his younger days, when the country people were more superstitious than they now are, they were very unwilling to pass it before day-break. A large cairn stands upon the summit of it, about twenty feet high, and an hundred yards in cir-

eminence, where some traces of fortification, and great quantities of stones, were

have been originally covered with timber. Gordon says that the circumference of the camp was two thousand and twenty feet, that there were three rows of ditches on the west side, with corresponding ramparts of stone and earth, and a turret on the side next the lake. The situation of this camp seems admirably adapted for a surprise, as the Caledonians might have assembled their forces behind the hill immediately above it; but upon levelling the trenches, although the burnt ends of the pallisades were found, no bones, or arms, or any trace whatever of a battle, were discovered.

About a mile north-east from the camp, on the north side of the Lake, and not so far from Harlaw, near to Lochore House, there is another hill, or rather eminence, where some traces of fortification, and great quantities of stones, were

6 See Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, in voce Blair or Blair.

7 Conjectures concerning the Roman Ports, Colonies, and Forts, &c. Edinb. 1711, folio.
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

to be seen not many years ago. Before clearing the ground, a stone coffin, some urns, and many bones were found. I think it then exceedingly probable that these were the three stations occupied by Agricola when he formed his army into three divisions, to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy. His position would thus form a triangle, with the Lake on one side—a disposition well adapted for his purpose; and the topography of the ground suits that arrangement. The distances also favour that opinion; for had they been greater, his divisions could not have supported each other. And if the Caledonians occupied Benartie Hill, which it is probable they did, as far the most commanding ground in the neighbourhood, they would thus overlook his position; and if this was the position of their main body, it is not likely that Agricola would place his weakest division next to it, but on the contrary, the most remote from it. I am therefore inclined to place the Ninth legion at Harelaw, or between that and the Loch. Sir Robert Sibbald also seems to have done so, and he had a better opportunity of judging than we have, when the cairns which he mentions existed there. The line of flight would thus be open to the Caledonians through Portmoak Moss, where, he says, the bronze heads of lances and javelins have been found. A bronze battle-axe and a flint spear-head, eleven inches long, was found there two years ago, which I have sent to the Antiquarian Society.

The account of the battle is as follows: "Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato

...the Battle of Mons Grampius...

Cujus constantia ac fama feror exercitus, nihil virtuti sua inscum: penetrandam Caledioniam, inueniendumque tandem Britannicum terminum, continuo prelirorum cursu, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientia, prompti post eventum ac magnifici quae: iniquissima haec bellorum conditione est: prospera omnes sibi vindicat, adversae uni impetum. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte duci ratit, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quominus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, caelibus ac sacrificis conspiracy, civitatum sanctum: atque ita iritatis utrinque animis discesserunt.

It appears, then, that in their night march to attack the Ninth legion, the Caledonians must have passed near another division of the Roman army, otherwise they could not have been observed by the scouts. Agricola followed them, and attacked them in the rear. And this is exactly what may have occurred if they descended from Benartie Hill, as I imagine them to have done; and tradition seems to coincide with that opinion, in placing the brunt of the action on the west side of Harelaw. From the Ninth legion being stated to be the weakest, I think we may infer that there were three legions in the Roman army; for had there been only two, we can hardly suppose that each of the halves of the other would be stronger than the Ninth. After the battle, both parties seem to have retired quite satisfied with themselves,—an event which rarely occurs in war; and as the Caledonians went off with unbroken spirits, it is by no means probable that they retired to a great distance, still less so that they went as far as the Grampian Mountains, and thus evacuated so large a portion of their territory, all in fact that was worth conquering, without a farther struggle. The Roman soldiers, on the other hand, talked of nothing but victory and conquest, and of marching to the extremity of Britain. Their General, however, seems not to have shared their enthusiasm, for here the Campaign suddenly closed,—rather a lamentable conclusion to so great a victory; and the Historian, as if with the view of diverting the attention of the reader, and of keeping the subsequent inactivity of the Roman army out of sight, introduces a story of a detachment of the Usipii sailing round Britain, and of the family distresses of Agricola.
facilities he had to contend with, and that he had to fight every inch of the way. I have not found that this camp is called Agricola's by the country people, as stated by Chalmers, but simply the Roman Camp. That he wintered in Fifes, is evident from the text; and I know of no other place we can fix upon for his winter quarters. It rises above Burntisland, which it commands, and the harbour of which would form an excellent station for his fleet. The hill itself is also one of the finest positions that is to be found anywhere. On the north side it is precipitous, very steep on the west and south, and slopes down in a ridge towards the east. It commands a most extensive view of the Firth of Forth, and all round. A hollow extends along the summit from east to west, in the centre of which there is a lake of about an acre and a half in extent, from which a rivulet descends on the south side. On the south-western summit there has been a stone fort, 158 yards in circumference. In digging the foundation for a flag-staff there, five years ago, the handle of a sword was found, with a small portion of the blade attached to it; but one of the workmen who found it informed me that the whole was so corroded, they could just discover what it had been. A more extensive work, also of stone, has joined this on the east side; and a third has extended along the north side of the last mentioned one, communicating with the lake; and as this work must have been unnecessary, when the whole hill was occupied, I am inclined to think that a garrison must have been left in these works when the camp was abandoned. Great piles of stones still remain on the spot, that had been used in their construction. On the north side of the first mentioned one there has been a large ditch, and a rampart extends across the west end of the hollow. On the east side two stone walls have extended across the ridge, about sixty yards apart, the foundations of which only remain. On the south side a rampart has run along the edge of the hill; and at the bottom of it, on the south-east side, there has been a ditch. Further west there is a platform of earth, forty yards long, and about twenty feet high. On the west side of this the defence has been a stone wall, the foundation of which is still very distinct. Inside of this, on the face of the hill, the foundations of several houses are very perceptible. They have been sunk in the earth a certain depth, and appear to have been faced with stones, which still appear through the ground. Outside of the wall there is a rocky hillock, in the back of which has been excavated. It has also been faced with stones, which still remain, and has every appearance of having been a guardhouse, while the summit of the knoll would form an excellent post for a sentinel. On the south-west side a small rocky hill comes very near the camp, and may have been included in it, although a deep ditch has been cut between them. About a mile south-west from this there is another Harelaw, between which and the camp, tradition says, there was a great deal of fighting. A cairn formerly stood upon the top of it, and upon removing it a stone coffin and a bronze spear-head were found. The camp has been about six hundred yards long, and perhaps more, as many works may have existed at the foot of the hill, which the plough has now obliterated. It has been fortified with much labour, and more skill, perhaps, than can fairly be attributed to our Caledonian ancestors. It appears also to have been occupied a long time; and I am inclined to think that Agricola may have remained in it six or eight months. I am led to this conclusion from the preceding and subsequent events. The historian does not say at what time of the year the preceding Campaign terminated; but as it suddenly closed in the midst of the operations, we may fairly presume that the season was not over; and as the battle of Mons Grampius was fought in the very end of the following year, a considerable period of inaction must have elapsed between those events, if I am right in my calculation, considering the short distance he had to march. In the preceding Campaign the Caledonians had carefully avoided a general action, and pursued a system of partisan warfare; and the skill with which they conducted it is well illustrated in that admirable attack on the Ninth Legion. That attack, indeed, did not succeed to the full extent, not from want of skill in the plan, but from the fortune of war; and Agricola seems to have been aware, that in that system of warfare his army would at last be exhausted; for although he repulsed them, he could not give them a signal defeat. I am strongly impressed with the idea, that he remained so long in the camp at Dunearn Hill for the purpose of making up his losses, and that of increasing his cavalry; for in the
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

following Campaign we find him so superior in that description of force to what was usually attached to a Roman army, that he must have had some specific object in view in that arrangement. That object, I conceive, must have been to bring the enemy to a general action, and in a country where his cavalry could act with full effect; and the subsequent movements appear to coincide with this opinion.

In this state of things, then, the Seventh and last Campaign opens. *Igitur præmissis classe, quæ pluribus locis praedita, magnum et incertum terrorem excipsum, legationibus et Jnferibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant.*

But it may now be necessary to describe more particularly the position of the Caledonian army, the Mons Grampius of Tacitus, if our calculation is not erroneous. *Gran-pen* signifies in the ancient British language the precipitous or shelvy summit. *Gran-pen* was thus Romanized into Grampius, and hence Grampian. The term therefore is not confined exclusively to the chain of that name. Its being mentioned in the singular also, shows that it must have been a detached mountain, as I am not aware of the Romans ever having designated a chain of mountains by the singular number in Britain. The Lomond Hill extends about nine miles from north-east to south-west, in a semicircular form, the convex side being towards the north-west. Towards the eastern extremity rises the East Law, in a conical form, 1466 feet above the level of the sea, at the northern base of which lies the town of Falkland. This hill has been fortified with great labour, and very considerable skill, although the works are rather irregular. On the summit there are two works originally surrounded with water; and a swamp, although an excellent defence for a camp, is not much adapted for a playfield. General Balfour of Balbirnie informed me that it was a bog until it was lately drained by him, and that it had every appearance of having always been so. Any one who has ever had the fortune to be encamped on the side of a hill, will see no great mystery in these terraces, well knowing that the first thing a soldier does before he pitches his tent, is to level the ground if it requires it; and that otherwise he cannot sleep with comfort. They would also afford firm footing in case of an attack, and the soldiers could discharge their missiles from several of them at the same time. It is then possible that this ground may have been occupied by Agricola, as it forms an excellent position, and would be in a great measure fortified to his hand by the surrounding bog.

*The Vatican MS. 3429, according to Brotier, reads Montem Grampium.*

Unfortunately for this supposition, the name *Inch* implies that the hill was originally surrounded with water; and a swamp, although an excellent defence for a camp, is not much adapted for a playfield. *Owen's Welsh Dictionary.*
of earth are perhaps the most permanent of man's works, and, unless destroyed
up in the inside to form a rampart, which is in excellent preservation. Mounds
of earth are perhaps the most permanent of man's works, and, unless destroyed
by violence, the lapse of ages has little effect upon them. The greatest cir-
cumference of the works is 560 yards, and a great quantity .of stones lies on
by violence, the lapse of ages has little effect upon them. The greatest cir-
summit, the ground presents the appearance of a plain, sloping gently
towards the east, although very much broken. This I conceive to have been
the position of the Caledonians. This plain slopes gently down towards the
neighbouring country on the south side, which is still very swampy, and must
then have been a bog, and impassable for an army. Along the edge of this bog
there still exist what appear to me to be very distinct traces of fortification,
particularly at the farms of the Glasslies, where there are the remains of three
circular forts, surrounded by ditches, although much obliterated by the plough.
On the north side of the plain a ledge of rocks extends almost the whole way,
which makes the position very strong on that side, except on the north side of
the West Law, where there has been a slide of the mountain called the Hoglayers,
by which I conceive the Caledonians descended to the battle. A mile west from
Falkland also, there is a part of the mountain called the Greenhill, which pro-
jects from the main ridge; and between that and the East Law the ground slopes
gradually down to Falkland, which renders the ascent on that side comparatively
easy. On the west side of the Greenhill there is also a narrow pass
called the Arrities, on the west side of which there is a chain of small circular
forts, amounting to eight or nine, one of which is filled with earth to the height
of four or five feet; and in the gorge between these two passes there is an old
fort in excellent preservation, called the Maiden Castle. It occupies an oval
hill, and is 400 yards in circumference. The ditch runs round the base of it,
and the earth is thrown outwards, owing to the steepness of the ground, the

* Upon the summit there is a vast cairn, 112 yards in circumference. The depth of it is
not known, but bones have been found at the depth of six or seven feet. And as the stones
of which it is composed have all been brought from the base of the Law, the labour must have
been immense, and may perhaps be attributed to this period.

The Battle of Mona Grampius.

35
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

organised. His army, therefore, probably moved by proclamation; and when the distant clans marched to war, it is very likely that a conspicuous landmark was given them, as a point of rendezvous. Such might be the Lomond Hill, commanding one of the finest views in the country, and to be seen at the distance of 70 miles.

There can be no doubt that Agricola would reconnoitre the position of the Caledonians when he came near it; and, as if finding it strong, and totally impossible to bring his cavalry into action against it, it appears to me that he conceived the bold project of turning it, so as to put himself in communication with his fleet—to place himself between the enemy and his resources, and thus compel him to come to a general action. Leaving Markinch, then, I am of opinion that he marched by his right, due north along the plain, until he passed the East end of the Lomond Hill; and then, turning sharply to his left, posted himself at the base of the Greenhill, opposite Falkland Pass, where he constructed those extensive Lines which existed quite entire until about 40 years ago. The only part of them now remaining is six ditches, an hundred yards distant from the base of the Hill. The greatest length of them is about two hundred and fifty yards, but they formerly extended fifty yards farther east. They lie upon the west end of a low ridge, which comes to a point, and do not run parallel to each other, but follow the nature of the ground, and approximate towards the west, and some of them join. Several of them are cut partly through rock, and are still about twenty feet deep, but were formerly much more. At their western extremity a narrow valley cuts the position obliquely, through which a brook runs; and only two ramparts have been carried across this valley, apparently for the purpose of forming an inundation. On the north side of this, three immense ramparts, with corresponding ditches, extended in a north-west direction about eight hundred yards. These were levelled about 22 years ago, but can still be traced in many parts. In front of the existing ditches, which formed the centre of the position, but a little to the right, and resting apparently upon the inundation, two parallel ditches and ramparts commenced, and extending due east about eleven hundred yards, terminated opposite the East Law, near to Falkland; but these works were not so large as the others, as the ground is more favourable. These Lines thus formed an obtuse angle, with the right thrown back from the mountain, and they appear to have been quite open to the rear. The centre is the weakest point, and the nearest to the mountain; hence the extraordinary manner in which it has been fortified. It is evident that they must have been occupied with reference to an enemy on the mountain above them. This, I think, clearly appears from their proximity to it, from the defences being all on that side, and from its being altogether a forced position, and possessing no natural advantages. Hence the skill and extraordinary labour that have been requisite to make them defensible. As far as I am able to judge, it must have required the labour of as many hands as could be employed on them, at least a fortnight, to construct them. There are reports of pieces of gold having been found in levelling them, but I have not been able to trace them to any authentic source. These Lines are generally attributed to the Danes, but they appear to me to bear the stamp of a more skilful artificer; and I doubt much if ever the Danes had an army in this country sufficiently large to occupy them. There is a Danish camp two miles north-east from this, from which the neighbouring village is named. It is a circular work,—that primitive sort of fortification adopted by all rude people, the circle being the figure which contains the greatest number of men, with the least possible labour to construct it.

We have no reason to suppose that Agricola made any attack on the position of the Caledonians, as the Historian is silent on the subject; nor, as I have already stated, do I conceive that to have been his object, but to draw them into the plain, that he might then act against them with greater facility; and these Lines being open to the rear, seen to favour that opinion. But whether it was from having failed in that object, or from want of provisions, and the necessity of putting himself in more immediate communication with his fleet, and drawing supplies from it, he appears to me to have moved from thence four miles in a north-west direction along the plain, to the camp at Pitloch, which is still called the Roman Camp, although very little of it remains. The Hill upon which it lies stands on the south side, and forms part of the Ochil range, to which it is joined on the north-east. The other sides are steep, and it rises about four hundred feet from its base, thus forming a very strong position; and I think it could hardly have been occupied had the enemy been in any other direction than that of the Lomond Hill. The summit is surrounded by a chain of rocks, upwards of three hundred yards in circumference, which forms a sort of citadel, and is still called The Fort. It has also been well fortified; and many of the stones used for that purpose have been brought from a

Dunskeil or Dunskeileir.
distance. Upon clearing the ground for planting it this year (1828), the road leading up to it was discovered by Mr Skene, the proprietor, laid with stone, and the entrance on the east side cut through the rock, and the pavement inside of that quite entire. Upon digging, many human bones were found, both within and without the circumference of it; also the bones and teeth of horses. Perhaps an hospital may have been established there after the battle, for the wounded, as the nearest station; and these may be the remains of troopers who died there. A little below the summit, and on the side facing the Lomond Hill, the slope was cut into terraces, similar to those at Markinch, with this difference, that these seem to have been faced with stone. They are now all levelled but one, which is used as a farm road. Most probably the Roman fleet had by this time ascended the Tay as far as Caerpow, at the confluence of the Tay and the Earn, so as to command both these rivers; and it would thus be at the distance of only four miles and a half from the camp. As and as the Caledonians capable of bearing arms had all marched to join the army, the fleet could ravage the fertile coast of Fife, the Carse of Gowrie, and Strathern, at discretion. There appears also to have been a communication between the fleet and the army; for on the high ground a mile from the camp, and in a direct line between it and Caerpow, there is an eminence which has some appearance of having been fortified; and on digging near it a few years ago, the top of a hand mill, and what appears to have been a sword, were found. Both these have been presented to the Antiquarian Society, by Mr Skene.

In the camp at Pitbour, Agricola would thus occupy the ridge of the Ochil Hills, and the Caledonians that of the Lomonds, four miles distant, with the plain of the Edens between them; and the Roman General seems to have waited patiently until the advanced season of the year, and the want of provisions, compelled his opponents to quit their position. He says, in his speech to his commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii army, Octavus anmis est t and as the Caledonians capable of bearing arms had all marched to join the army, the fleet could ravage the fertile coast of Fife, the Carse of Gowrie, and Strathern, at discretion. There appears also to have been a communication between the fleet and the army; for on the high ground a mile from the camp, and in a direct line between it and Caerpow, there is an eminence which has some appearance of having been fortified; and on digging near it a few years ago, the top of a hand mill, and what appears to have been a sword, were found. Both these have been presented to the Antiquarian Society, by Mr Skene.

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11 Galgacus seems to have had it in view when he says, "inimicis miliis claren Romana."
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

cereri per acciue jugum conners velut insurgent: media campi covinaris et

eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium

multitudine, veritus, ne simul in frontem, simul et latera suorum pugnaret-
tur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam prorectior acies futura erat, et arcussen-
das plerique legiones admodum, promptior in spem, et firmus adversis,
dimisso equo pedes ante vecilla constitit.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Bri-
tanni, ingentibus gladiis, et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel
excidere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres
Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est; ut rem ad mu-
cronics, ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum,
et hostibus inhabile parua scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Bri-
tannorum gladii sine mucrone, complexum armorum, et in arco pugnam
non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferre unbonibus, ora
fediare, et stratis, qui in aquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coperere;
cetera cohortes, amulatione et impetu commissa, proximos quosque cedere:
ac plerique semineces, aut integri, festinatione victoriae relinquabantur. In-
terim equitum turmæ fugere, covinaris peditum se praelio miscuere; et,
quamquam recentem terrem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus,
et inaequalibus locis herebant: minimeque equestri ea facies erat,
cum agræ diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus impellerentur: ac sepe
vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoibus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat,
transversos aut obovis incursabant.

Et Britannii, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant, et
paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredit paulatim, etcircumire terga
vincentium operant: ni idipsam veritus, Agricola quatuor equitum alas,
ad subita beli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accur-
verant, tanto acrius pulsus in fugam dieceisset. Ita consilium Britannorum
in ipsos versum: transvectaque precepto ducis a fronte pugnamentum alæ,
aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentiis locis grande et atro-
xpectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare.
Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, carentes armatorum paucioribus
terga praestare, quidam inermes ullo ruere, ac se morti offere. Passim
arma, et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus: et aliquando etiam vic-
tis ira virtusque: postquam sylois appropinquarunt collecti, primos sequen-
A Battle which lays a Nation prostrate becomes an interesting object in History, and lives in the memory of Posterity when minor events are forgotten. And however circumstantial the Historian may be in his description of it, we generally wish that he had been more so. Unfortunately, in the present instance he has been very concise: but, if I mistake not, the progress of the Battle may be very distinctly traced, from the wrecks of it which have come down to our own times, although most of them have been removed within a recent period. All that Tradition says of it is, that a great Battle was fought there, and that the Eden ran with blood for twenty-four hours after. It is called the battle of Merlsford, which is a ford of the Eden about half way between the two armies. Above that ford the River runs in a narrow valley, the sides of which are steep, and present considerable obstacles to the passage of an army; but below that it can be passed with ease. The River itself there is an inconsiderable stream except in floods, and is accordingly not mentioned by the Historian. (See the annexed Plan.)

The Caledonians appear to me to have descended from their position, as I have already stated, by the Hoglayers, and through the fields of Urquhart, towards Merlsford. The ground there answers the description very exactly, descending in three successive ridges, between the Lomond Hill and the Eden, although the lower one is not continuous as the others, but is broken into several eminences. Agricola, if we may judge from the shortness of his speech, seems to have lost no time in descending from his camp at Pitlour to meet the enemy. The right of his first line, eleven thousand strong, appears to me to have been posted a little to the eastward of the house of Wellfield, with the...
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

...left extending towards the Eden. It would thus be on a level with the Caledonians on the lower ridge; and, from the nature of the ground, and the subsequent movement, I am inclined to think that he must have had more of his cavalry on his left wing than on his right. His second line, composed of the legionary soldiers, was probably posted on the ridge below Kinracragie, about half a mile from the first; and he may have left a small garrison in the fort at the camp. That the second line was at a considerable distance from the first, is evident; and although this disposition of Agricola would have been destruction to him against a well-disciplined army, it was perhaps the best he could have made under the existing circumstances. He seems to have been well aware that his adversaries would endeavour to outflank him, and he deployed his first line accordingly. Had that been defeated, the enemy would most likely have arrived in confusion at the second; and had that in its turn been obliged to give way, it could have retired upon the strong camp in its rear, where there was hardly a possibility of its being forced.

The Caledonians, I conceive, crossed the Eden at Merlsford, and attacked the first line in its position, where the carnage seems to have been considerable; for at (A), close by Mr Chespe's house of Wellfield, a large cairn stood until twenty-six years ago, about one hundred and thirty yards in circumference. Upon being removed, it was found to contain urns, bones, stone coffins, many remain of arms completely oxidized, and a deer's horn. About one hundred and fifty yards south-east from that a good many bones were dug up this season (1828), and a stone coffin containing a skeleton, four feet under ground; and farther on towards the left of the line urns were dug up a good many years ago. When that part of the Caledonian army was repulsed which had crossed the River, it seems to have retired to the westward, along the northern bank; and there, I take it, we find the locis inaequalibus mentioned by the Historian. A person of distinction seems to have fallen there, as a large stone formerly stood on the spot; and upon removing it a stone coffin was found under it. That part of the Caledonian army which had remained on the eminences on the south side of the River then appears to have descended, and, crossing the Eden also at Merlsford, circumnivere terga vincitentiam opperant, when Agricola advanced four alae, or cohorts of auxiliary cavalry, from his left, probably about two thousand men, which crossing the river between Merlsford and the east side of Corston Mill, and bringing forward their left shoulder, thus charged their adversaries in front and in flank, when the slaugh...

...ter seems to have been great. The handle of a sword, with a small portion of the blade attached to it, was turned up by the plough near Corston Mill about twenty years ago; and at (x), where a barrow formerly stood, bones were found; and some distance east from it a bronze battle-axe was also found a few years ago. At (a) there is a tumulus, which I have dug into, but found nothing, although, from its position, it seems to have been connected with the Battle. At (c) a labourer employed by my Father about forty-two years ago, in digging a ditch to fence a piece of planting, found so many souls and human bones that he went away and left the work. These men, I conceive, must have been killed by an attack from the south, as the bank of the River there is steep and rocky, so that they could not have been attacked from the other side.

Farther west, at (p), a very large cairn stood, containing upwards of two thousand cart-loads of stones. Upon removing it about thirty years ago, a pit six feet long, two broad, and of the same depth, was found, quite full of burnt bones; and near it another, two feet square and two deep, full of the finest sand. An urn was also found, near the surface of the cairn, full of bones. A very fine Druid's temple stood on the south side of it, consisting of seven very large stones. All these were blasted with powder and removed, except the half of one of them, which still marks the spot. The Battle in the mean time seems to have raged with great fury along the northern bank of the River; for a little west of Wellfield, at (q), another cairn stood about forty years ago. It was not so large as the others; but, from the care with which it was erected, some persons of note were supposed to have been buried there. It was sunk in the ground, and rose about four or five feet above it, and was surmounted by a Druid's temple of seven stones. It was found to contain urns and bones.

Farther west, at (c), a vast cairn stood until about forty-two years ago, and there the last stand of the Caledonians in a body seems to have been made. Upon removing this cairn many bones were found, and great quantities of iron. Many of the pieces were very small, so as to be called knifes and forks by the workmen. Others again were very large; too much so, one might almost suppose, from the account I have had of them, even for the enormes gladius of the Caledonians. None of them have unfortunately been preserved, as they were probably completely oxidized, and reckoned of no value. Great numbers of beads were also found in the cairn, and distributed about the country at the time as curiosities. A few of these are still preserved, and serve to...
convey rather a favourable idea of the state of the arts at the time. Some of them were of a long elliptical form, and made of jet; others were made of a bluish glass, and shaded with spiral or circular lines; while others were white, enamelled with red and blue spots, the colours of which are as vivid as ever. The custom of burying their weapons, and also trinkets, with the dead, we know to be a very ancient one, and it seems to have come originally from the East. Several stone coffins have also been found between this cairn and the Eden.

Still farther west, at (n), a very fine cairn stood. It was sunk five or six feet under ground, and raised about four feet above it. Many burnt bones were found in it, and some urns of superior workmanship, which were wantonly destroyed by the workmen, to the great regret of the proprietor, the late Mr Arnott of Arlarg. Another cairn stood opposite to this, at (t), on the south side of the river, one hundred yards in circumference; but I have not been able to find that any thing was discovered in it when it was removed.

On the high ridge north and west from (n) I conceive the woods to have been where the Caledonians made their last stand, and where they killed some of their pursuers. Some urns were found at (t) seven or eight years ago, full of bones; one of which I saw. It was preserved several years, and broken by accident, after which not only the bones, but also the urn itself, crumbled into dust. At (s) six or seven vessels were found a few years ago, consisting of culinary pots, and a kind of small tripods, all of bronze. Advancing westward from (s) there is a fine spring of water called Romandy Well, where the wearied Legions may have slaked their thirst; and farther on is a farm called Blairhead, which is said to signify the end of the Battle.

This Battle, then, seems to have rolled from east to west, over a tract of three miles, and to have formed as it were two distinct actions; and the line of flight of the fugitives appears to have been to the west and north-west, which was probably the only one open to them.

About a mile north-west from Wellfield a silver coin of Domitian, and a handmill, were found a few years ago, both of them in excellent preservation, and the latter of very good workmanship. At (k) also, about seven years ago, eighteen or twenty battle-axes and spear heads or javelins were found together in a bog, on the lands of Gospartrie, all of bronze. The spears or javelins, whichever they may have been, are small, with a socket for the handle. Several stone battle-hammers have also been found on the field. We have seen that the dead were interred in four different ways. Some were merely placed in the ground; others were deposited in stone coffins formed of flat stones; many were burnt, and cairns erected over them; while others were burnt, and their ashes deposited in urns.

We know that the Caledonians frequently burned their dead. The Romans also appear in many instances to have erected cairns over their dead in this country; and in so doing they may have conformed to the custom of the natives, to protect their remains from insult. The Caledonians seem to have been as scrupulous in the performance of the funeral rites as the Romans. The erection of these cairns must have cost much labour; but as it was the custom for each passenger to add a stone, many of them no doubt increased in size from age to age, in proportion to the fame of the deceased. It is still a proverbial expression when one commits an action not creditable to him, to say, It will not add a stone to his cairn.

This Inquiry ought perhaps to close here; but, for the sake of connecting the subsequent movements with what has been already stated, I shall pursue the narrative a little farther.


After the Battle, Agricola, I conceive, followed the fugitive Army through the Ochil Hills, and crossing the Forth at the fords below Duplin, to have advanced to Perth, where his fleet had probably preceded him, and which I imagine to have been the limit of his conquests.
The station of Bertha is generally supposed to have been at the junction of the Tay and the Almond, and Orcca must have been near it. General Roy supposes them to have been the same. Subsequent inquiries, however, seem to favour the opinion that there were two stations there, one at the confluence of the Tay and the Almond, and another where the town of Perth now stands.

The situation of the latter is well adapted for a station, as the tide does not flow, and the river is not navigable above it. The Roman road from Ardoch divided into two branches at Tippermuir, one of which led to the junction of the Tay and the Almond, and the other direct to Perth. The latter was only taken up about twelve years ago. Sibbald says, "It is observed by Burton, in his Commentarie upon Antoninus his Iter, that the Saxon Kings had their seats where the Roman colonies and forts stood; and the same is to be observed as to the seats of the Kings of the Scots and the Picts, that when they took themselves to fixed abodes, they lodged with their family and their attendants where the Romans had colonies or garrisons. So to keep by the tract of land which is the subject of this discourse, the Scots Kings had one of their seats where Bertha stood of old, which being inundated by a spate of water, King William the Lyon transferred his seat from thence to the Roman station upon Tay, which he called Perth.—And after the Scots had made themselves masters of the country the Picts possessed, they took for their royal seats the same mansions the Pictish Kings had, which were the colonies and forts of the Romans. Thus we find the prime seat of the Pictish Kings was at Abernethie, where some ruins of ancient buildings may yet be seen; and that it was a Roman colony or garrison, the medals found at Patics, in the neighbourhood of it, put it beyond all doubt." I am therefore inclined to place Orcca at Perth. Strageth, upon the Ern, must have been a considerable station; and General Roy, with much reason, I conceive, supposes it to have been that of ad Hiernum. It lay half way between Perth and Ardoch, and

13 Confessures concerning Roman Forts, Forts, and Colonies, &c. 1711, folio, p. 10.

the Battle of Mons Grampius.
An Inquiry respecting the Site of

Its situation was favourable for commerce, and it possessed the rare advantage of being both a naval and military station at the same time.

Caerpow and Abernethy probably joined. Tradition says that the latter was a great city, and that it filled the plain. The foundations of houses have been dug up there. Sibbald also says that ruins existed there in his time, and that a Roman road led from thence to Ardoch, and another to Perth. The fortress stood in the lawn at Caerpow, about a quarter of a mile from the Tay; and a considerable portion of it remained until a few years ago. It was built in the usual substantial manner of the Romans. The extent of it cannot now be ascertained, but it was probably considerable, as the wall was five feet in thickness. When it was demolished, which was no easy matter, a bath with its appendages was discovered, of very beautiful workmanship. The floor of it, cleaning it, was informed, still remains entire, either of mosaic or tessellated work, but it is covered up with earth. Many bones were also found there, and what appears to have been an enamelled bronze bracelet; but the enamel came off in cleaning it. A wall also appears to have extended from thence to the Tay, which can be traced from the grass withering over its foundation in dry seasons.

A few years ago five very large urns were dug up between Caerpow and Abernethy, full of honest They were all brokeu but one, which is still preserved intact.

From Victoria, then, the dubious celebrity of Abernethy may have arisen, the capital of the Pictish kings, as it has been called, and the seat of learning in the middle ages.

A chain of Fortresses has extended from Caerpow to The Wall, the erection of which I am inclined to ascribe to Agricola, for reasons to be hereafter stated, and of which I shall now give some account.

Advancing westward from Caerpow, the next station is the Castle Law of Abernethy. It stands on the west side of the glen of that name, on the northern edge of the Ochil range, in a high and commanding situation, overlooking Strathern and the Tay. It has been only about 150 yards in circumference, but very strong and well fortified. There is a lake or rather pool of water in the basin of the adjoining rock, which has been protected by a stone rampart. There is also an embankment to raise the water, and a work to defend the embankment.

The next station is the Castle Law of Colteucher, which has been a first-rate fortress in its time. It is naturally very strong, except on the south-west, where it has been defended by a double and perhaps a triple ditch and rampart. It stands in a very commanding situation; and, taking a bird's-eye view of the country from thence, one might almost suppose that Agricola stood there when he fixed the neighbouring stations, as they are almost all within view of it. From the top of the rampart to the bottom of the first ditch is still about 100 feet. The circumference of the citadel is about 200 yards, but there appears to have been more extensive works on the north side of the hill, and the circumference of the whole may have been 700 or 800 yards. Great piles of stones remain on the summit of the hill, which have been used in the construction of the works. This corresponds with the situation of Lindum in Richard's Itinerary, 9 miles from Victoria. It belongs to Lord Ruthven, who, much to his credit, preserves it untouched.

About two miles south-west from Colteucher stands the fort of Ardergrie, guarding a pass through the Ochil Hills. It is square, each side being about eighty yards in length. A ravine, through which a brook runs, forms the defence on the south-east. The other three sides are defended by a ditch about thirty feet wide. About half a mile north from this a small work formerly stood on an eminence, and which is still called the Fort. It appears to have been a look-out post to the former, which commands no view towards Strathern.

The next station is the Garrison Law, nearly three miles south-west from Dunning. It is very steep, and has been surrounded by a single ditch and rampart some distance below the summit, about five hundred yards in circumference, which must have made it almost impregnable. Not far from the base of the Garrison Law, in a north-west direction, there is a very remarkable and well-known mound of earth, resembling the bottom of a ship reversed, which has retained its Roman name, with little variation, Ternavic (Terrae Navis). West from Ternavic lies the strong little fort of Castle Craig. It stands upon a small rocky hill, detached from the Ochil range by a deep ravine. It is one hundred and fifty yards in circumference, and the ditch has been cut through the rock.

The next station is Benauithris, in a very elevated and commanding situation. It is two hundred and fifty yards in circumference, and has had a triple rampart of stones and earth on the south side, which is by much the weakest.

To the westward of this the northern slope of the Ochil range becomes VOL. IV.
An Inquiry respecting the Site of the Battle of Mons Graupius.

Such is the line of Fortresses, the erection of which, as I have already said, I am inclined to attribute to Agricola. I am led to this conclusion as they appear to me distinctly to mark what I conceive to have been the limit of his conquests. They all look towards the north, and seem to have been placed with a view of preventing the irruption of an enemy from that quarter. The stations at the Tay and the Almond, Perth, Stracheth, Cawpon, Ardoch, Auchterarder, and Ardoch, I consider as decidedly Roman, and, with the others that have been mentioned, form a well-connected line throughout. The probability therefore is that they were erected at the same time and for the same purpose. They all appear to me to have been chosen and executed with consummate skill, and to bear the stamp of that Master-hand which, we are informed, never placed a stronghold in a position where it was surprised.

The camp at Dealgan Ross, where Gordon has placed the Battle, indicates nothing of the prudence of Agricola. It stands, or rather stood, in the centre of the little plain of Comrie, surrounded by lofty hills on all sides, thus forming as complete a cul de sac as can well be imagined. The general who led his troops thither probably paid the forfeit of his temerity; and the monumental stones standing between that and Ardoch, in the glen of Blairgowrie, and an urn found there, look rather ominous. I think we may exonerate Agricola from having had any share in that ill-chosen position.

Much stress has also been laid upon a passage in the Speech of Galgacus, for placing it farther north, "Sed nullas jam ultra gens,—nihil nisi fluctus et eaux;" but I can see no difficulty in understanding it. There had been a general gathering of the Clans, and some of them may have come from the northern extremities of the island; and a native of Caithness, in addressing himself to his countrymen, would express himself in similar terms if he happened to be in Edinburgh or London at the time. We are the last of the Island; beyond us there is nothing but rocks and waves.

Before putting his army in motion for its winter cantonments, Agricola took hostages of the Heratti. We are not informed where this ceremony took place, but there is a large mound of stones and earth near the Field of Battle, called the Courtknow, which may have been erected to commemorate that event; and the situation of it seems favourable for making a lasting impression upon the vanquished people. He then dispatched his fleet from the newly founded city of Victoria, as I conceive, to circumnavigate Britain, and commenced his retreat. His order of march is not mentioned, but as his ob-
An Inquiry respecting the Site, &c.

ject was to strike terror into the conquered people by a display of his force, and no doubt also for the greater facility of getting provisions, we may reasonably suppose that he retired in more columns than one. The natural order of march appears to me to have been in two columns; one passing through the glen of Abernethy over the field of battle, and so on by Kinross and Dunfermline to Alloa, where it may have passed the Forth in boats; while the other went west through Strathern, along the northern base of the Ochil Hills. And as they retired by slow marches, the troops might assist in the construction of the fortresses, leaving garrisons as they passed. From Ardoch the route would naturally be by Stirling, and so on behind The Wall to their cantonments. Thus terminating the last campaign of Agricola, and his military career in Britain.

December 1828.

P. S.—Since writing the preceding pages, I find that a considerable cairn stood a little to the south-west of (a). Many sepulchral remains have also been found at Hardraw, near the Crook of Devon; and tradition says that there was much fighting there. Urns have also been found at the base of the Cleish Hills, about two miles south-west from Loch Leven, placed with the top upwards, according to the Roman method of burial.

[Note.—It may be proper to notice, that a paper on the subject of the Battle of Mons Graupius, by the Rev. Andrew Small of Edenshead, was also read at a Meeting of the Society, 26th January 1829. It is well known that in 1823 Mr. Small published a volume in 8vo, under the title of "Interesting Roman Antiquities recently discovered in Fife, ascertaining the Site of the great Battle fought between Agricola and Caligula," &c. In this work he was the first in recent times to suggest that the site of the battle of Mons Graupius was to be looked for near the foot of the West Leamont Hill; and he pointed out various sepulchral and other remains discovered in that district, as correlative of a supposed battle between the Romans and Caledonians having there taken place, and which he has described, but evidently with an eye wholly unaccustomed to trace military operations. With regard to Mr. Small’s wholly unaccustomed to trace military operations. With regard to Mr. Small’s wholly unaccustomed to trace military operations. With regard to Mr. Small’s wholly unaccustomed to trace military operations.

IV.—An Account of certain Bronze Instruments, supposed to be Druidical Remains, found beneath a large Rock on the South Side of the Top of Roseberry in Cleveland.

By G. S. Faber, B.D. Rector of Long-Newton.

[Read to the Society 31st March 1828.]

In the district of Cleveland, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, is a lofty hill of a very remarkable appearance, which bears the name of Roseberry. Its form is that of an almost regular conical pyramid; and its flat rocky summit, which is of singularly small dimensions, presents the aspect of a natural stone altar. In its immediate vicinity flows the small river Leven; and the peak itself boldly and prominently stands out from a beautiful range of other ordinary hills, by which this part of England is characterized.

A favourite line of Antiquarian study, which I once pursued with no small measure of deep interest, has long induced me to believe that Roseberry was in old times a high place of the Celtic Druids, whose theology, originally brought out of Asia, was the same in substance as that of the Hindoos, the Persians, the Indo-Scythians, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians; or indeed, as I may rather say, the same as primeval paganism in every part of the world.

Agreeably to such an origin, the name of Roseberry, or Rhos-Barri, is the very same as that of the mountain in Armenia, where the ark, astronomically venerated by the pagan world as the lunar ship or the navicular crescent, was thought to have come to land: for, according to Nicholas, of Damascus, it still, in his days, bore the name of Mount Baris, or the Mount of the Ship; a name which is precisely equivalent to that of our Celtic Rhos-Barri.

The ship Baris, when personified, was the goddess of the Moon, who, under the character of the Universal Mother, and the Mother of the World, was thought to have once floated over a boundless expanse of water, having received into her womb Osiris, or Bacchus, or Siva, or Hu, or by what-