

ARTHUR'S O'ON : A LOST SHRINE OF ROMAN BRITAIN

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[Note. Numbers printed in clarendon type within square brackets refer to the bibliographical list on pp. 109-110].

Until the year 1743, when it was demolished and the materials used for the repair of a mill-dam, there stood on the northern slopes of the Carron Valley, 2 miles north of Falkirk, a small, circular, domed building of squared stone, locally known as 'Arthur's O'on'¹. Although the O'on was one of the most celebrated ancient monuments in Scotland from the Early Middle Ages until the time of its destruction, and a favourite subject for antiquarian speculation, no detailed study has been made of it in recent years and it has remained something of an enigma. On the whole, the view of the earliest commentators that the building was of Roman origin has been endorsed by later writers, but widely different opinions have been entertained regarding its purpose. Fordun's [4] alternative explanations, namely that it was either a boundary-mark defining the north-west limit of Roman territory, or the sleeping-chamber which accompanied Julius Caesar on his campaigns 'with each stone separate, and built up again from day to day wherever they halted, that he might rest therein more safely than in a tent', now merely provoke an indulgent smile; but even when these and similar fantasies have been eliminated, a number of other suggested interpretations—a mausoleum, a victory-monument, a bath-building, and a temple or shrine—remain for more serious consideration. The aim of the present paper is therefore twofold: firstly, to put on record all the significant facts about the O'on that can be extracted from the extensive literature; and secondly, to see whether reconsideration of these facts sheds any fresh light on the problems of the date and purpose of the structure².

THE SITE

The site of the O'on is marked on the O.S. map³ on the north side of the road from Carron to Stenhousemuir, opposite the north-west corner of Carron Iron Works and just inside the grounds of Stenhouse. The position indicated is the centre of a small, roughly rectangular enclosure, bounded on three sides by trees and on the fourth side by the park wall, which was used as a drying-green by the tenants of some neighbouring cottages in the 19th century. Immediately to the west there is a deep ditch-like hollow which has been plausibly explained as the remains of an old road

¹ I.e. '(King) Arthur's Oven'. The name is at least as old as the 12th century, the building being described as *furnus Arturi* in the anonymous tract on the *Marvels of Britain* formerly attributed to Ralph de Diceto [2]. In a charter of Newbattle Abbey of 1293 [3] it is likewise referred to as *furnus Arthuri*, but in the 15th and 16th centuries it was also called 'Arthur's Hove', or (from its supposed association with another eponymous hero, Julius Caesar) 'Julius's Huif' or 'Julius's Hoff'. 'Hove', 'huif' and 'hoff'

are all variants of the same word meaning a 'hall': *pace* Crawford [25] they have nothing to do with a 'cap' or 'night-cap'. For the Arthurian Legend in Scotland, see *P.S.A. Scot.*, lxxxix (1955-6), 1-21.

² I am indebted to Professor Ian Richmond, Professor Stuart Piggott, and Mr. Michael Gough for information about certain of the sources used in the preparation of this paper.

³ 6-inch map Stirlingshire (Provisional Edition) sheet xxiv S.W.; Nat. Grid Ref. NS 879827.

running from a crossing on the River Carron, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Carron Bridge, to Alloa and Airth [23] or, less probably, to Stirling [25]¹. The enclosure shows signs of having been levelled artificially, and no trace of the O'on could be detected in trenches cut across it by the writer and two of his colleagues, Messrs. R. W. Feachem and A. MacLaren, in 1950, the subsoil being encountered in every case only a few inches below the surface. It would seem, therefore, that Clerk [17] was not exaggerating when he informed Gale that, at the time of demolition, 'even the very foundation-stones were raised'; and it must be concluded that the whole area has subsequently been levelled off.

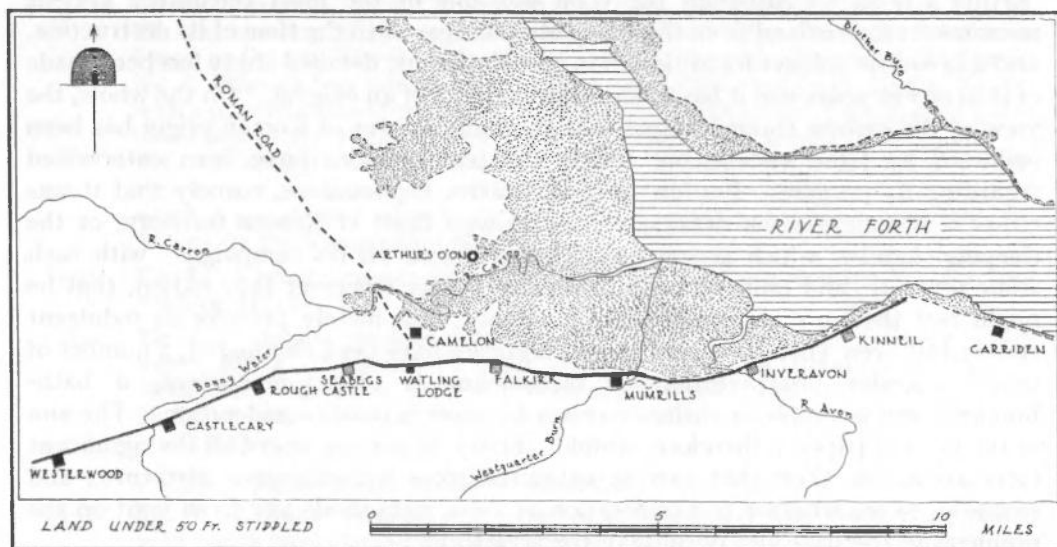


Fig. 1. Site plan of Arthur's O'on

This later disturbance of the ground, and the industrial development that has taken place in the immediate neighbourhood, makes it difficult to visualize the former appearance of the site, but there can be no doubt that both the flat landscape depicted by Stukeley [13] (fig. 2), and the steep declivity on which the O'on perches like an eagle's aerie in Roy's drawing [20], are equally fanciful and misleading. The position is, in fact, a gentle slope at the southern end of a flat-topped spur, only 70 feet in height, which projects southwards into the Carron valley. Lying a short distance below the crest of the slope, the O'on can have had only a very limited outlook to the north and north-west, but in other directions the vista must have been a remarkable one. Eastwards, as the map shows (fig. 1), there was an uninterrupted view across the Forth, while to the south and south-east the whole of the eastern sector of the Antonine Wall, from Kinneil at least as far west as Falkirk, lay under surveillance.

¹ R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire* (forthcoming).

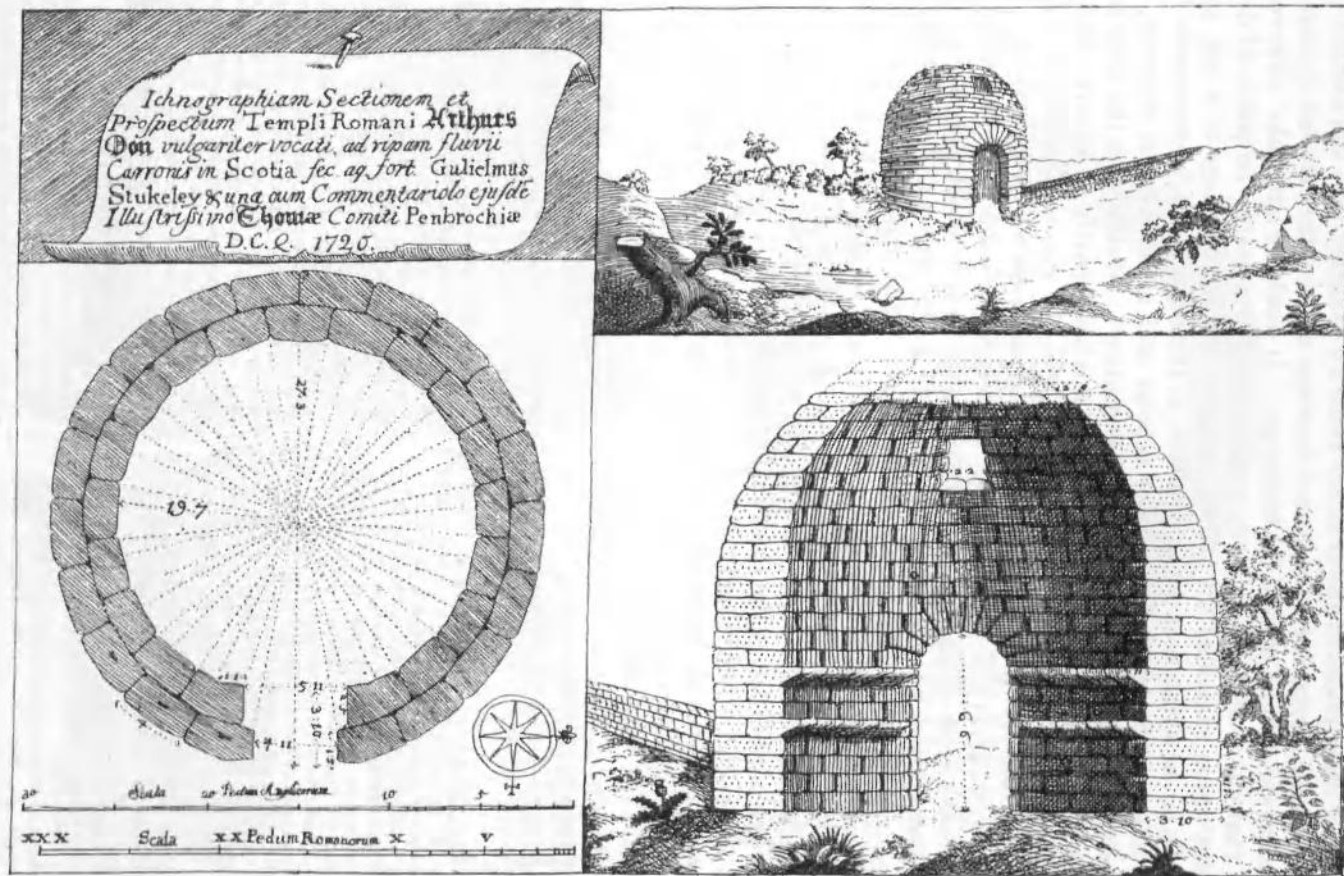


Fig. 2. Stukeley's drawings of Arthur's O'on

THE STRUCTURE

The best descriptions of the O'on are those by Stukeley [13] and Gordon [16], both of which are illustrated by measured drawings showing the external appearance, cross-section and ground plan of the buildings¹. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that either of these accounts is necessarily trustworthy on points of detail. Although Gordon examined the O'on personally, and his drawings of it (fig. 3) are technically far in advance of the other plates in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, he is not a reliable authority, being a poor scholar and an indifferent observer, and notoriously slipshod in such matters as proof-reading². Stukeley, on the other hand, never saw the O'on himself, and his account of it is based partly on a survey made for him by a friend, the architect Andrews Jelfe³, when he visited Scotland in 1719 on behalf of the Board of Ordnance, and partly on some notes which formerly belonged to the Welsh antiquary, Edward Lhwyd. Unfortunately neither Jelfe's sketches nor Lhwyd's notes have survived⁴, and the possibility that Stukeley may occasionally have misinterpreted his sources, or even added a few embellishments of his own devising, cannot therefore be entirely discounted. His drawings certainly fail to give any impression of the weather-beaten condition of the O'on, which is graphically described by the Anonymous Traveller of 1697 [9] and also by Maitland [19], and it is significant that when he made several further studies of the same subject in later life, after the publication of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, he took Gordon's illustrations as his model⁵. Accordingly, in collating the accounts of Stukeley and Gordon the uncorroborated statements of either party must be treated with considerable reserve, while serious differences of opinion must be referred to the arbitration of independent eye-witnesses.

As it appeared about 1720, then, the O'on was a circular, domed structure standing on a foundation-raft 4 ft. 6 ins. in depth⁶. The wall was built of dressed freestone, two stones in thickness, each stone being about 4 ft. in length, 1 ft. in

¹ Other illustrations are of little value. The woodcuts in Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries* [10] and in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* [14], and the drawing in Anstis's notebook [12], are all extremely crude and are not to scale. Later illustrations, including those of Roy [20] and Nimmo [21], and the full-size replica of the O'on which was erected as a dovecot by Sir James Clerk [18] as part of the stable-block at Penicuik in 1763 (Pl. XIII), are based directly on Gordon. The drawings by James Gray which are said to have been presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1783 (*Arch. Scotica*, i, part 2, 79), cannot now be traced.

² On the latter point, see Gale's strictures in his letter to Clerk, reprinted in *P.S.A. Scot.*, x, 379-80.

³ For a summary of Jelfe's career, see H. M. Colvin, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840*.

⁴ The sheet of drawings of the O'on in Bodleian Gough Maps 40, fol. 7v, which Piggott [26] considered to be Jelfe's original drawings with Stukeley's annotations, seem rather to represent preliminary drafts made by Stukeley, and

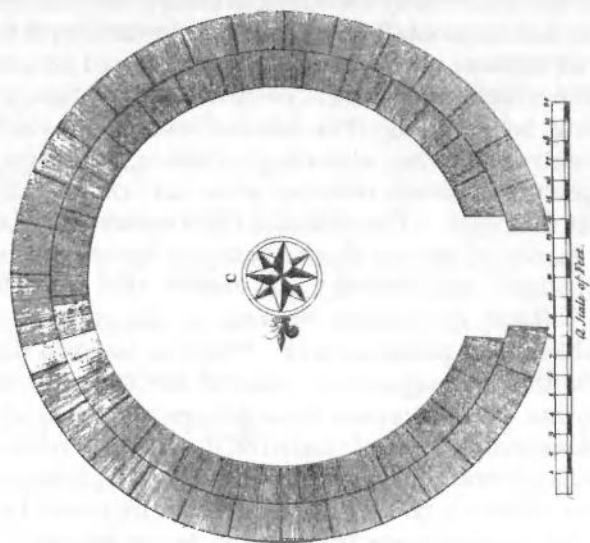
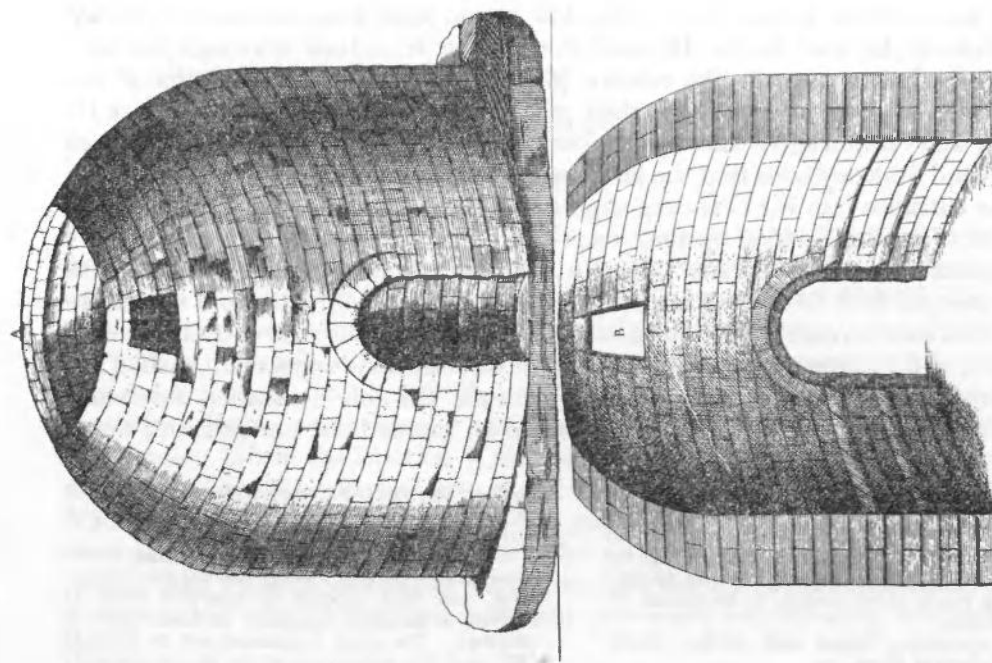
subsequently amended and annotated by him in a different ink from that initially employed. The same two inks are used in the holograph description of the O'on on the back of the sheet in question, which is all in Stukeley's hand.

⁵ See the engraving dated 1756 in Bodleian Gough Maps 40, fol. 7v.

⁶ Gordon seems to have assumed that this foundation, which he terms the 'basement', was an architectural feature designed to project above ground in the form of a plinth; and he also refers to 'the marks of three or four steps like stairs' leading up to the doorway from what was ground level at the time of his visit. It is much more likely, however, that the 'four rows of rough field stones' which composed the foundations in question [19] were originally laid beneath the surface, and that Gordon was misled by the fact that erosion had exposed them to their full depth on the south-west side, where the ground is said to have fallen away rapidly [19]. No other observer mentions any traces of steps in front of the door and they were probably made by visitors climbing up the foundation.

Plate 4.
The Roman Sacellum of Mars Signifer *of the 6th Legion*

Vulgarly called
ARTHURS - OON.



A. The outside or landscape view.
B. The section or typical view.
C. The ichnography or ground plan.

To the Rt. Honourable
Algernon Earl of Hertford Lord Herry.
This Plate is most humbly forwarded.

Fig. 3. Gordon's drawings of Arthur's O'on

width and 1 ft. 10 ins. in breadth, and having a lewis-hole in the centre of the upper surface¹. No sign of mortar was visible, but the masonry was neatly coursed and straight joints were avoided. As the wall rose it narrowed in thickness, and the domical form of the roof was achieved by corbelling in beehive fashion, each successive course of the dome being laid horizontally but projecting inwards over the one below. Both the inner and outer surfaces of the dome had been dressed to a smooth curve, presumably after the stones had been placed in position. At the time when Stukeley and Gordon were writing, however, the O'on was not completely vaulted over but had an aperture in the centre measuring, according to Gordon, 11 ft. 6 ins. in diameter. The existence of this aperture is already recorded in the 12th century [2], although it was evidently smaller at that date. Thus Sibbald [11] remarks that 'it is said that of old the oven was so narrow in the top that an ordinary Girdell (for baking bread) would have covered the same', and Stukeley, too, reports that the hole had clearly been enlarged by the collapse or removal of some of the stones. Whether the aperture was an original feature is problematical. Stukeley assumed that it was, and states that 'there was within Memory an Iron Kirb at the Top . . . and a Grate'. On the other hand, no other writer mentions these fittings, and Stukeley's conclusion that the O'on was a Roman temple is largely based on its supposed resemblance to the Pantheon which was lit by a central hypaethral opening 30 ft. in diameter². The question is therefore one to which no definite answer can be given, but two points may be noted here. In the first place there would be no technical difficulty in completing the roof of a false dome of this circumference. And secondly a central aperture would not be required to light the interior of the O'on, since illumination was already provided by a nearly square window placed some 8 ft. above the doorway. Both Sibbald [11] and Anstis [12] omit this window from their drawings, but as it had previously been recorded by Sinclair [6] there is no reason to think that it was not an original feature. Although their measurements differ by as much as 1 ft., Stukeley and Gordon agree that the window was slightly wider at the bottom than at the top, and Stukeley adds that the jambs were splayed internally.

The entrance into the O'on was situated on the east side of the building³, and consisted of a round-arched opening some 9 ft. in height by 5 ft. in width, with a pronounced rebate on the inner side. In Stukeley's drawings the extrados of the arch is stepped both inside and out, but this is probably an architectural embellishment of his own invention since Gordon shows a plain semi-circular extrados in each case, and, so far as the exterior is concerned, he can claim the support of Anstis [12]. Apart from the doubtful carvings referred to below, the only decoration observable in 1720 consisted of two string-courses, sloping on top and flat underneath⁴, which

¹ Stukeley's reference to this feature is corroborated by Clerk [17], Aikman [7], and Maitland [19]. Gordon has nothing to say about lewis-holes, although he satisfied himself that the stones had not been locked together by mortice and tenon joints or by cramps, as Buchanan [7] had supposed.

² See Anderson, Spiers and Ashby, *Architecture of Ancient Rome*, 79.

³ Gordon is undoubtedly at fault in placing the entrance in the west side. Fordun [4],

Sinclair [6], the Anonymous Traveller of 1697 [9], Sibbald [11], Maitland [19], and Stukeley all agree that the O'on faced east.

⁴ Stukeley, and some others before him, invert these string-courses, making the flat side uppermost, and then proceed to interpret them as shelves or benches designed to hold idols or offerings. The error is pointed out by Sibbald [10], and the string-courses are shown correctly in Gordon's drawing.

ran round the interior of the building at distances of 4 ft. and 6 ft. respectively above the floor : each of them was 11 ins. in height, and projected 11 ins. from the wall face.

The measurements of the O'on, according to Stukeley and Gordon, may be tabulated as follows¹.

					Stukeley		Gordon	
					Feet	Inches	Feet	Inches
Height	...	...	...	...	c. 22	0	22	0
Internal diameter	...	...	...	...	19	7	19	6
Thickness of wall at base	...	...	...	...	3	10	4	3
Thickness of wall at top	...	...	...	...	2	9	2	6
Height of doorway	...	...	...	...	9	9	9	0
Width of doorway on outside	...	...	...	...	4	11	5	0
Width of doorway on inside	...	...	...	...	5	11	6	4
Distance between doorway and window	...	...	...	...	8	0	8	0
Height of window	...	...	...	...	2	2	3	2
Width of window at bottom	...	...	...	...	2	2	3	2
Width of window at top	...	...	...	...	1	10	2	6
Diameter of central aperture	...	...	...	...	11	0	11	6
Height of lower string-course above floor...	...	...	...	...	4	0	4	0
Height of upper string-course above floor	...	...	...	...	6	6	6	0

Of the furnishings and fittings of the O'on scarcely anything is known. The Anonymous Traveller of 1697 [9] relates that the doorway 'had an iron gate upon it within the memory of man', and the same story is repeated by Sibbald [11] and by Stukeley, the former adding the circumstantial detail that the gate was carried off by a neighbouring family, the Monteiths of Cars, and noting approvingly that retribution was duly exacted, for 'it was observed the Estate went from them soon after'. That the entrance was originally equipped with a door is implied by the presence of the window, but in anticipation of the conclusions regarding the date of the O'on it may be said that the original door is not likely to have survived long enough to be remembered in the 17th century : the gate referred to is therefore probably a secondary fixture, and sounds in fact like a typical medieval yett. Sinclair [6] reports that the floor was paved with stone, and Boece's [5] counter-statement that it was covered with a tessellated pavement (*pavimenta eius tessellata, olim sectiliaque*)

¹ Measurements in italics are not stated in the account in question and have been calculated from the drawings.

can be disregarded since it obviously derives not only its inspiration but also its idiom from Suetonius's remark that Julius Caesar *in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse*¹. On the other hand there is no particular reason to think that Boece [5] invented the story that inside the O'on, on the south side, there was a huge stone which, he says, 'it is believed the infidels used for an altar' (*ingens in ea saxum ad meridiem fuit, eo pro ara usi putantur*); and the subsequent disappearance of this stone is plausibly accounted for by Sibbald's statement [10] that it was removed by the local people because of its supposed infamous associations.

Lastly there remains the question of the carvings on the O'on. A number of observers claim to have seen traces of sculptures or inscriptions on various parts of the building, but no representations of these have survived and the evidence is confused. Boece [5] says that eagles were engraved on certain stones, but that they were almost entirely worn away by time. Somewhat later Sinclair [6] noted 'certain letters' above the door, while David Buchanan [8] thought he saw 'an eagle with outstretched wings' and 'the Roman Insignia or Vexilla' on a stone above the inside of the doorway. The Anonymous Traveller of 1697 [9] wrote: 'There is no inscription, nor carving, save upon one stone above the door there seems to be a man's head, a tree, and a victory upon the end of one of the stones. But this is but my fancy. Another that sees it may fancy it is something else; for really it is not anything determinately'. Characteristically, the most thorough search for carvings was that made by Sibbald [10], who inspected the O'on 'narrowly with a lighted link', and his report is worth quoting verbatim. 'I remarked with the Light', he says, 'some strocks [strokes] Graven, which look like the razing and deleting of some Letters, this is to the North-east of the Door high up within a Yard and a half of the top of the Building; upon the south of the Door, high up I discerned the Figure of an *Eagles* Head, somewhat worn out by time, and upon the same side I saw a Figure much worn out, or partly deleted, which resembled Wings, and seems to have been the Figure of *Victory*; near to it was a Figure like to the head of a Spear or Javeline, with a piece of the Handle of it, below were these Letters I.A.M.P.M.P.T. these I cannot understand; . . . towards the North upon the In-side, there was Graven the Figure of a Cross, resembling that of St. *George*, which appeared to have been done long after the first building of the Monument, and this is within a Shield as Arms are done'. Gordon claimed that he could still see traces of the eagle referred to by Buchanan, and also a stone over the inside of the door with what looked like letters on it, deliberately erased; but Maitland [19] vowed that he could see neither these, nor any other carvings, and Stukeley is silent on the whole question.

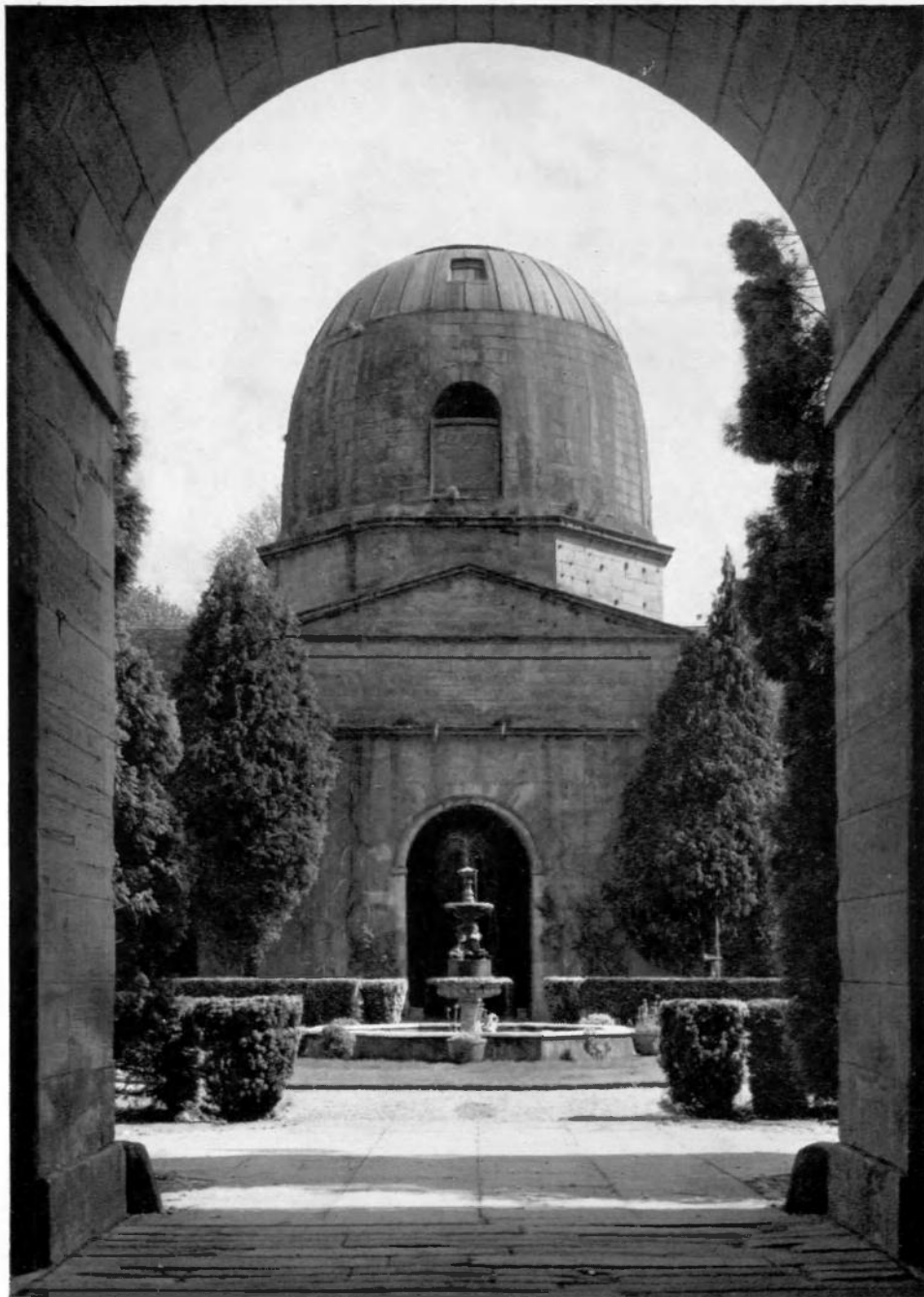
THE DATE AND PURPOSE OF THE O'ON

What is probably the earliest reference to the O'on occurs as a gloss in two 13th-century MSS. of Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*², and runs as follows: 'Later the Emperor Carausius rebuilt [the Scottish Wall] and strengthened it by constructing seven forts between either estuary. And he built a round house of polished stone

¹ *Divus Julius*, 46.

² Cap. xix. The MSS. in question are Cambridge University Library F.i.i. 27, and

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge cxxxix. For the dates, see F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum*, 4.



Replica of Arthur's O'on mounted on the stable-block at Penicuik House, Midlothian.
(Copper sheeting has been laid over the dome to protect the masonry)

(*politis lapidibus*) on the bank of the River Carron (*Carun*) which takes its name from him, erecting it as a triumphal arch in memory of victory'. Here the 'round house' obviously refers to Arthur's O'on, while the fact that the writer completely failed to understand the nature of the hewn masonry indicates that the passage is in origin older than the 13th century, when dressed stonework would not have evoked any comment. It has indeed been plausibly suggested that the gloss may have been based on information obtained from Strathclyde, probably in written form, about the beginning of the 9th century¹. However that may be, there can be no shadow of doubt that the O'on was of Roman construction. The massive foundations, the dressed masonry with its lewis-holes, the string-courses, and the round-arched doorway all bear the stamp of Roman workmanship, and are completely foreign to the native architecture of Scotland before the 12th century, by which time the O'on was already venerated as an ancient monument.

Having arrived at this conclusion, it might be thought that the purpose of the O'on could be immediately determined by reference to comparable Roman buildings elsewhere, but as far as is known the design of the O'on is unique. Its singularity lies not in its circular plan, which is common to a number of Roman structures on the northern frontier of Britain², but in the corbelled dome whose closest analogies are to be found not in Roman architecture, but in the tholoi, or vaulted tombs, of Mycenae, and especially the more sophisticated examples such as the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus'³, where the wall has been given a smooth surface by cutting away the projecting corners of the stonework after it has been laid. In Rome itself corbelled vaulting was only employed for a few early subterranean structures such as the lower chamber of the Tullianum and some cisterns on the Palatine, and both in Italy and the Provinces the circular buildings of Imperial times were normally covered with conical tiled roofs or with concrete domes⁴. Granted, however, that the O'on is a bizarre compound of contemporary and archaic elements, and architecturally *sui generis*, the case for identifying it as a shrine or temple is unassailable. The most pertinent piece of evidence, and one which has been curiously neglected by later commentators, is the report in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* [15] that about the year 1700 Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse found, in a crevice of the O'on, 'a finger . . . which at the first appeared to be gold but upon a stricter scrutiny was found to be fine polished brass'. This finger has since been lost, but there can be no doubt that it was a fragment from the cult statue which the O'on was built to house, and whose pedestal may well have been the large stone referred to by Boece [5].

¹ H.M. and N.K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i, 156-7. A similar gloss in a lost copy of Nennius, connecting the O'on not with Carausius but with Arthur, may have been the source of the passage in the *Liber Floridus* which relates that 'there is in Britain in the land of the Picts, a palace belonging to the warrior Arthur, built with marvellous art and skill, in which all his exploits and wars are seen sculptured'. (See R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Mediaeval Art*, 15).

² E.g. the prefect's shrine to Vinotonus on Scargill Moor, North Yorkshire (*Yorks. Arch. J.*, xxxvii, 107 ff.), and the *sudatoria* of the military

bath-houses at the forts of Hardknot (*Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, N.S., xxviii, 335), Binchester (R. E. Hooppell, *Vinovia*, Pl. 7), and Castlecary (W. Roy, *Military Antiquities*, Pl. xxxix).

³ Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, 74.

⁴ A dome built entirely of masonry may have been projected for the unfinished round temple at Baalbek, but the upper surfaces of the surviving stones are not flat, as in the case of the O'on, but inclined radially as in the manner of a true vault (See T. Wiegand, *Baalbek*, ii, 104).

Other considerations point in the same direction. The detached situation of the building, two miles from the nearest Roman fort or main road, precludes it from being interpreted as a mausoleum or as the *sudatorium* of a bath-house, but is perfectly in keeping with a rural sanctuary; while it conforms to the majority of Romano-Celtic temples in having the doorway in the east side¹. Ritual practices are also implied by Sibbald's statement [10] that the 'horns of great cows' had been found in the ground round about the building, many similar discoveries of the remains of animal sacrifices having been made within the precincts of Romano-Celtic temples [24]. Lastly, although the O'on bears no resemblance to the standard temple-types current in the Roman Empire, Richmond [26] has pointed out that a representation of a building which is superficially not unlike the O'on does occur on a carved Roman slab from Rose Hill, between Birdoswald and Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall. The stone in question (fig. 4) portrays in high relief a flying Victory, an eagle with wings extended, and, in the background, a domed structure embowered in trees which was once thought to be a circular native hut², but which in the context in which it is placed can hardly have been intended for anything else but a shrine.



Fig. 4. Fragment of Roman sculptured stone from Rose Hill, Gilsland

There remains the problem of the god or goddess to whom the O'on was dedicated. The fact that there was once a spring in the neighbourhood of the site has suggested to Richmond [26] that the deity in question was a local water-goddess, and this may well be the correct explanation. On the other hand, despite its outlandish design, the O'on is architecturally of a much higher order than the generality of local shrines found in the military zone of Roman Britain³. Legionary workmanship is implicit in the high degree of technical skill shown in the dressing of the masonry, and may have been overtly declared, since many reports speak of the eagle, the legions'

¹ See Koethe [24], who was, however, unfortunately misled by Gordon into believing that Arthur's O'on faced west.

² *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 210.

³ The pair of shrines on Scargill Moor, near Bowes, provide an instructive comparison (*Yorks. Arch. J.*, xxxvii, 107 ff.).

stamp, being carved upon the fabric¹. Moreover, it is a curious coincidence that the goddess Victory, who is associated with the O'on-like shrine on the Rose Hill stone, is also included by both the Anonymous Traveller of 1697 [9] and by Sibbald [10] amongst the possible carvings on Arthur's O'on. It therefore seems at least arguable that we have to deal not with some private sanctuary of a local god or godling, but with an official monument built by legionary craftsmen and dedicated to Victory, one of the principal State deities whose worship was at the same time an affirmation of loyalty to the Emperor². Such an interpretation, however, raises another difficulty. As befitted her official status, the worship of Victory was normally conducted inside the military compounds, and the foundation of a temple in her honour in a remote situation like that of the O'on would call for special explanation. Here it is perhaps worth recalling that the only noteworthy feature of the site is the wide view that it must have enjoyed in Roman times, particularly of the eastern sector of the Antonine Wall. Can it be, therefore, that Nennius was right, and that the O'on was not simply a shrine, but primarily a war-memorial, or *tropaeum*, erected to commemorate a victory—and presumably the victory that was crowned by the completion of the Wall? The parallel from Hadrian's Wall, where a war-memorial was also apparently set up a short distance in advance of the barrier³, immediately springs to mind, but it seems unlikely that the question can ever be satisfactorily answered. For not even the mill-dam into which the stones of the O'on were built in 1743 has survived. To the delight of Stukeley and his fellow antiquaries the wretched owner derived no profit from the demolition of the building, since the dam was washed away shortly afterwards and its site is now covered by Carron Company's works.

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3. Newbattle Charter (*Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1849), No. 219. 1293 A.D.
4. John de Fordun (d. 1385), *Scotichronicon*, ii, ch. 16.
5. Hector Boece (Boethius), *Scotorum Historiae* (1527), iii, fol. xxxv.
6. Henry Sinclair. Sibbald (*Historical Inquiries*, 43-4) quotes from a description of the O'on written by Sinclair in 1569 which was at that time kept in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh. It has not been possible to trace this description.
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8. David Buchanan. Gordon refers to MS. notes and drawings by David Buchanan which were also formerly in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh. These, too, are now lost.
9. Letter of 1697 by an unknown hand, printed in *Historical MSS. Commission xiii Report*, App. pt. ii, 56.
10. Sir Robert Sibbald, *Historical Inquiries* (1707), 42-6 and pl. facing p. 1.
11. Sir Robert Sibbald. Letter to Edward Lhwyd (or Lhuyd). Bodleian Carte MS. 269, fol. 129d-135, reprinted in *P.S.A. Scot.*, xlv, 326.
12. Drawing of the O'on in a notebook of John Anstis the Elder (1669-1744). British Museum Stowe MS. 1024.
13. W. Stukeley, *An Account of a Roman Temple and other Antiquities near Graham's Dike in Scotland* (1720). (A set of proofs with Stukeley's notes is in the Haverfield Library, Oxford, 533, I.G. 12. Fol).

¹ For an eagle carved on a legionary stone as a builder's fancy, see South Shields *principia*, *Arch. Aeliana*, 1st series, x, 248.

² See *J. R. S.*, xvi, 9-11; *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th series, xxi, 158-60.

³ *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th series, xxi, 93-120.

14. Drawing of the O'on in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1722), ii, 1223. This drawing is similar to the one in Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries* except that the window has been added.
15. W. Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, i, 330. (Description by a Mr. Johnstoun of Kirkland dated 1723).
16. A. Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), 24-32.
17. Letters of 22 June and 5 August, 1743 from Sir John Clerk to Roger Gale, printed in Nichols, *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, iii (1790), 385-6.
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