

## SOME EARLY GRAVESTONES IN THE HOLY RUDE KIRKYARD, STIRLING

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### SUMMARY

During the 16th and 17th centuries inscribed graveyard monuments became increasingly popular in Scotland, but they were still the prerogative of the few. The earliest were similar to the stones the elite set over burials in the kirks but later the headstone appeared; it was cheaper, more versatile and brought new groups into the market.

This paper looks at the emergence of graveyard stones, comparing the local documentary evidence with the stones themselves. I suggest that, since many of the stones in the Stirling area were put up before their owners' deaths, they should not be seen as memorials but as fashionable .interacts indicating ownership of the site and a new attitude to personality •ind family. The owners of these stones could visit them; the symbolism of life and death which they carry is not a message addressed by the dead to the living but an assertion by the owner of his own wealth and orthodoxy.

### INTRODUCTION (1)

For a thousand years or so from late Roman times even the burials of the most wealthy and prestigious had been anonymous. It was better to be buried inside the church, close to the relics of the saints and near the High Altar, than to be buried outside; but the exact site did not matter iind for centuries it was not marked, even for kings. From about the 12th century this began to change, at first only for the highest of the elites, later for a wider but still narrow spectrum of people who identified an area within the church as that where they would be buried, beside their ancestors. This site was marked, perhaps with an ornate tomb, increasingly often with a simple, inscribed slab.

By the 16th century Stirling's elite, together with the rural gentry of the locality, had marked burial sites within the kirk (2); but for the majority, who were probably buried in un-marked graves in the kirkyard, we have no information, either documentary or archaeological. During the 16th century inscribed outdoor stones began to appear with some regularity. The oldest surviving in Stirling is dated 1579. In 1628 the Stirling Kirk Session (3) decided that old kirkyard stones which had sunk into the ground should be raised, so that it could be known to whom they belonged; so clearly there were a number of inscribed stones by this time, some older than reliable memory.

These early stones closely resemble those which had covered graves in the kirk floor and like them were called throughstones. They are either flat slabs or have four sloping sides, rising to a central tablet (Plates 1 and 3 and Figure 1). The two types are usually now known as slabs and coped stones respectively.

The Session Minutes beginning in 1597 give an almost continuous record of policy and stone ownership till control of the graveyard was handed over to the municipal authorities in the 19th century. Minutes can be compared with the stones to identify initials, the only identification on many stones in the Stirling area. They tell not just the names of the applicants but their occupations and whether this is a traditional family plot or vacant ground. The bounds of the lair are given and the entry may tell us about adjacent stones. The Logie minutes for the late 17th and early 18th centuries indicate that in that parish it was common practice to set up two identical headstones at the same time and on the same lair; and many of these pairs can still be seen and identified (4). Minutes confirm that many early stones have been lost, probably removed by later generations who wanted something more in keeping with newer fashions. It is probably for this reason that long abandoned churchyards like Logie and Kilmadock are such superb places for gravestone hunters (See 1, particularly Christison and RCAHMS). Minutes also give invaluable information about official policy and attitudes and about the concerns of the gravestone owners. When we find the Session arbitrating in disputes and developing well ordered procedures for avoiding them, we can be sure that it is because the disputes were bitter and involved deep feelings. Gravestones were important to people.

Officially, from the late 16th century, the kirk condemned burial in the kirk as 'desecration'; but it was prestigious, some families had particular rights to burial in private aisles and others were prepared to pay. On 25th February 1623 the Stirling Session expressed its ambiguous position. To avoid the 'great abuse and profanation of God, his house, in burying of dead corpses within the saids' they forbade all such burials for the future — unless a suitably large fee was paid. The cost of kirk burial varied. Under the tower (at the West end) it was quite cheap. But at the East end — where the old High Altar had once stood — it cost a massive 100 merks (£5.55 Sterling). The removal of the altar and relics had not diminished the prestige of this site. However, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the practice of church burial faded away, even for the elite. Those who wanted to set up stones in the kirkyard were not grand enough to meet the cost of kirk burial — and were perhaps too orthodox to face the disapproval of their neighbours.

In 1615 the Session noted that they received frequent petitions to set up stones in the kirkyard and expressed concern that too many stones would encroach on the limited space available; they agreed that anyone wishing to set up a stone could do so — but like kirk burial the practice was to be

discouraged by charging a licence fee for the benefit of the poor. This Act has the air of attempting to formulate rules for a newish problem, something it had not been necessary to regulate before as it had been so infrequent. During the 17th century, as stones became more widespread, other Sessions in the locality also introduced licensing systems. In 1623 the executors of the late Robert Robertson were given permission to set up a stone over his corpse in the kirkyard, paying 20 merks in addition to the 40 he had already left in legacy. This is the first written record of a specific graveyard stone in Stirling. The total fee of 60 merks or £40 Scots is the same as the charge for burial at the West end of the kirk. In 1625, Andro Zoing and Andro Downy were given permission to set up stones 'bearing letters for their names', surely a reference to the use of initials for identification.

Probably all those old stones which the Session decided to raise in 1628 were either slabs or coped stones. But by 1640 they had been joined by a new type of stone, a radical departure in design. The Session noted that 'certain people, of their own hand, without licence' had set up

'little stones, one at the head and another at the foot of the graves,  
some with their names engraven thereon.'

Very few footstones now survive anywhere; but the headstone was soon to become — and remain — the most popular type of gravestone in Scotland. The earliest recorded inscribed headstones in Scotland date from the 1620s (rather earlier than they appear in England) and are at Dunning, so Stirling was well up with the fashion. However, few 17th century examples now remain in the Holy Rude kirkyard; there are far more at Logie, where 'over 100' stones, mainly headstones, bear dates before 1707 (le).

Headstones were less prestigious than throughstones; smaller size made them cheaper and the licence fee was about half that for a throughstone. But the new style presented two — or more — surfaces for the mason to work on and the upright position helped to preserve them from wet and frost. Whilst throughstones continued to be set up by well established families, headstones belonged to less substantial people. But all stones were expensive and though headstones widened the market they were still confined to the few, in town to well known public figures such as magistrates and deacons of trades; in the country to the most prosperous artisans, substantial tenants and feuars who were increasing in both numbers and prosperity. Many of these people, whether rural or urban, whether or not they were organised into guilds and incorporations, had the symbols of their occupation cut on their stones in place of the shield or Coat of Arms so often found on throughstones.

Some stones were set up on traditional family burial plots, previously unmarked or with impermanent markers; or a family could buy a plot, a licence and a stone for it. Stone and plot were heritable family property; they

could even be sold — along with the contents of the grave! In 1648 the Session closed a dispute between two branches of the Blackburn family with a judgement of Solomon; if they continued to argue about ownership the Session would have the stone removed altogether! But in the Stirling area the applicant for the licence was rarely a grieving relative; more often it was a prosperous man, in the fullness of life (6). Stones were set up immediately the licence was granted — if not before. The main dates on the early stones are those of the licences. And in Logic, in November 1693, the Session supervised the setting up of some stones whilst their owners looked on.

## THE STONES

### The Sconce Monument

The largest monument in the Holy Rude kirkyard is this so-called Sconce Monument, close to the Back Walk on the South side (Mitchell No. 150). Other mural monuments in Stirling were demolished in 1857 (7) but a splendid and accurate painting by Mitchell in the Smith Art Gallery and Museum dated 1833 and a view of the kirkyard published in 1830 (8) show nothing else of comparable size.

Its architectural form is described in RCAHMS and I have written elsewhere about John McCulloch, founder of the Sconce dynasty, through the marriage of one of his daughters to John Sconce (9). However strange the sentiments of the text may be to modern taste, in their day they were as orthodox as skull, bones and sexton's spade. Its main inscription reads -

HERE LIES THE CORPSE OF JOHN MCCULLOCH LEAT (sic)  
PROVOST OF STIRLING WHO DIED THE 5 OF OCTOBER 1689  
YEARS OF AGE 54. REVELATIONS 14 VERSE 13. BLESED (sic) ARE  
THE DEAD WHO DIE IN THE LORD THAT THEY MAY REST  
FROM THEIR LABOURS AND THEIR WORKS DO FOLLOW  
THEM.

ULTIMA SEMPER EXPECTANDA DIES HOMINI DICIQUE BEATUS  
ANTE OBITUM NEMO SUPREMAQUE FUNERA DEBET.

(We must always await life's last day, and no one should be called happy until he is dead and buried.)

This is the most elaborate stone in the kirkyard; but extra cash was not used to extend the range of symbolism beyond the conventional or to tell us about John McCulloch — or about his wife, Agnes Turnbull who is not

mentioned. The stone is entirely impersonal.

### Throughstones

No coped stone in Stirling now bears any legible inscription (10). The few which survive almost all have skull, bones, hourglasses (the so-called Emblems of Mortality) and robed Angels blowing trumpets, the Angels nl (lie Resurrection. All give the impression of antiquity and some may wt'll be 16th century. Early 17th century slabs are narrow, sometimes 1.1pored, and if there is an inscription it is often written round the margins cii the stone. Later ones are wider and cut square, with the inscription running across the width.

The earliest slab in Stirling is dated 1579 (Plate 2, Mitchell No. 182).

It has a raised, central panel and the incised date may be a later addition or have been recut. Raised above the surface is a shield charged for Gibb, 'In chief a broken spear, chevronwise, held by a hand issuing from the sinister; in base a spur' (RCAHMS). There is a hammer or mallet, ? a chisel and a pick and the initials MG }G and ET. This is one of four stones, .ill for members of the Gibb family, enclosed by a low, stone parapet or crib, also incised with the name Gibb and dated 1880. The late 16th century records mention a number of Gibbs who were quarriers, including a James, employed 'winning stones' in 1575/6 (11) and a John, who married his servant, Jonet Brand in 1592 (12).

Close by is a much wider slab (Plate 3, Mitchell No. 153) enclosed by another crib. It is un-dated, has a shield containing an elaborate reversed 4, indicating that the original owner was a merchant, and the initials RG and MT. Below are later inscriptions for Elizabeth Gibb, her husband a Chisholm and other 19th century Chisholms. Almost certainly this stone was originally placed for Robert Gibb, a prominent Stirling merchant of the later 17th century, and his wife Margaret Thomson. Gibb was closely associated with the resurgent Presbyterians of Stirling in 1689, petitioning the Privy Council on their behalf. The Gibbs lived in the former house of the Earl of Linlithgow, on what is now St. John Street. Robert died in late 1689 or early 1690. His widow was 'host' to the political prisoner Stirling of Auchyle in 1690 (13). The inscriptions on the other stones within these cribs are eloquent of the continuing local prestige of this family for 400 years. Nearby is another slab with a shield but with a fuller inscription

(Mitchell No. 172); HERE LIES THE CORPSE OF ANDREW BAIRD  
 BAILLIE IN STIRLING WHO DIED 24 JUNE 1692 AGED 77.  
 MARGARAT SWORD HIS SPOUSE DIED 28 MARCH 1677. Baird's right  
 to the throughstone recently erected in the kirkyard was ratified on 5th  
 September 1676.

### Headstones

It has previously been thought that the earliest surviving dated

headstones in Stirling were two identical and damaged specimens, dated 1674 (Plate 4, Mitchell Nos. 198 and 199). However, I think it probable that the Service stone (Mitchell No. 136) previously dated to 1697 by the RCAHMS, is the earliest. It is certainly by far the largest and most impressive (Plate 5 and Figures 2 and 3). It is mounted on a masonry base and consists of two parts, the upper of which has been removed and replaced the wrong way round. On the western side, encircled by a serpent, symbol of eternity, are three figures; 'speech balloons' issue from the mouths of the outer two, though the words are largely illegible; an upright feature, perhaps a tree, divides the circle and the 'angel' on the right may not be directly connected with the scene on the left. The scene was identified by Willsher and Hunter (14) and was published by Francis Quarles in 1635 (15).

Only the foreground of Quarles' engraving appears on the stone. The figure on the left covers its face in horror whilst pointing to a sun dial. The other, winged and enhaloed, has its left arm at the first's waist, brooking no delay. On the ground is an hour-glass. Quarles accompanies the engraving by a quotation from Job and a long verse, a lament for untimely, approaching death; but he ends with the true moral —

Fear'st thou to go, when such an Arme invites thee?  
Dread'st thou thy load of sin? or what affrights thee?  
If thou begin to feare, they fear begins;  
Foole, can he beare thee hence, and not thy sins?

The angel blowing a trumpet, which now appears at the top of the eastern face would originally have crowned this scene.

The eastern face is now eroded and largely unintelligible; top left is a skull, top right a hand holding what may be the 'Thread of Life'; down the sides are a mason's tools. The long inscription is largely illegible but it refers to a John Service, who died in 16(?) and who was married to a woman called Bessie, whose surname is also illegible, though readings have included Buine and Ewine. Both sides are marked by pits, several centimetres across, said to be the result of musket shot. Who was John Service, when did he die and why should a gravestone be shot at — on both sides? Of the three John Services in Stirling during the 17th century only the first can have been buried beside a wife called Bessie. He was a mason, admitted burgess in 1604 and dead by 1636 . . . when his son also John, also a mason, was given a licence by the Kirk Session, to set up a stone over his grave, a decision ratified a year later. I would read his age as 54 rather than the 74 suggested by RCAHMS. A contract of marriage for the younger John (16) shows that his mother was Bessie Ewing, one of the readings previously suggested for the spouse of the older John.

If the true date of the stone is 1637, then it is easy to believe that the pits were made during Monk's siege of the Castle from the Holy Rude kirk tower in 1651; both those buildings bear very similar pits, generally accepted as the result of musket fire. The stone, on a direct line between the two, would have provided excellent cover during sniping forays. The new, early date also suggests that perhaps John Service, the fashionable young mason who was soon to be employed drawing the draft for the portrait statue of John Cowane which stands over Cowane's Hospital doorway, made this stone as a demonstration of his skill, of how practical the new headstones were. If so, his lead was not followed; certainly no imitations survive. John Service died in 1645, a plague year - but there are no surviving headstones from 1637 to 1676, the date of an identical pair of stones, reminiscent of the many such pairs found at Logie (Plate 4). On their eastern faces are the skull and bones and the mis-spelt motto; on the West, identical lists of unidentified initials. These are less sophisticated than the generality of surviving Stirling headstones.

The next surviving headstone, however (Plate 6, Mitchell No. 145) (or a missing predecessor) did set a fashion. It is dated 1696 in raised relief and though it is incised 'John Foreman Margaret Lakie 1779', this is obvious, later addition. Also in raised relief are a skull and crossed bones, standard Emblems of Mortality, and an hour-glass, with some eroded greenery above; on the other side is a reversed 4 and a wreath-like ring of greenery, with a malt shovel and three rather stylised sheaves of corn. Evidently the original owner was one of the numerous merchant malt-men. Several of these symbols appear on later stones in the series, but it is the 'shoulders' of these stones which are so characteristic. In each case they form a distinctive double S scroll, unique to the 15 similar stones in Stirling. Those dated prior to 1707 are noted by RCAHMS as 'large, ornate headstones', though otherwise their similarity is not remarked on. They carry primary dates from 1696 to 1737. The details of design, the standard of workmanship and the quality of the stone all vary but probably all were made by one mason or by a master and his successor. On all the early members of the series the central motif, between the 'shoulders' is an ornamental rosette; but on our next example (Plate 7, Mitchell No. 179) this has become a winged face, the Winged Soul, leaving the body at the moment of death. On the western side is an even more bizarre face (Plate 8), horned and with ribbon-like streamers flowing from its mouth and forming 'knots' which support a central tablet with the dividers and set square of a wright. Also on this face is an incised inscription; HERE LYES THE CORPS OF ROBERT FERGUSSON LATE BAILLIE IN STIRLING WHO DIED 3 MARCH 1695 AGED 41. Robert Fergusson was admitted burgess and guildbrother of Stirling on 22nd February 1692, the son of John Fergusson, the town's first tobacco pipe maker (17). Robert's brother David (whose initials appear in raised relief on the eastern side) was admitted burgess in

1694. On 20th April 1678 Robert had appeared before the Burgh Court accused of leading a riot or insurrection of the town's apprentices. The causes of this riot are obscure but probably it had political overtones, forcing Robert to lie low till he emerged as a magistrate under the new presbyterian regime of the 1690s.

On one stone in the series dated 1724 (Plate 9, Mitchell No. 135) the S scrolls have been modified to form birds' heads — probably pelicans which mythically and heraldically feed their young on blood from their own breast and so are emblematic of the self-sacrifice of Christ. On another (Mitchell No. 160 not illustrated) the central rosette has become a well cut flower, perhaps a poppy, another popular image of sleep and death. The finest of the double S Series (Plate 10 unnumbered in Mitchell but adjacent to Nos. 158 and 169) is dated 1728 and probably belonged to James Stevenson, merchant of Stirling, who was given permission to set up a stone in May of that year. Like other fashionable inhabitants of the town, James (IS) and his wife (1C, full name unknown) could visit their own gravestone, already inscribed. People who set up their gravestones before their death would not have them inscribed 'Here lies . . .' or 'In memory of . . .'; and in that age of precise religious orthodoxy 'Sacred to the memory of . . .' would have been condemned as idolatry. Nor were claims of personal virtue admissible; modesty apart, virtue was irrelevant to salvation, which flowed from God's Grace alone; virtue could not save. The lack of words is symptomatic of a terse and conventional age.

If Stevenson and his family did come to look at their stone then what they saw was a parable, a summary of the orthodox meaning of life and death. Death, the one certain fact of life, still lies in the future, only its time and consequences open to doubt. MEMENTO MORI (Remember you will die) the stone tells them. Above the words a winged hour-glass wordlessly reminds them that Time Flies; Time is a feature of current, human life, not of the eternity which will follow death and it is in this Time that IS and 1C live, their relationship not expressed in words but by the conventional juxtaposition of their initials. Perhaps they will overcome death; for above the hour-glass is a spray of leaves, palm fronds, symbolic of victory over death. And on all these stones are swags of greenery, indicative of Heaven. Stevenson's stone is topped by a rosette but on others, such as the Fergusson stone already mentioned, the top is occupied by a Winged Soul.

Whilst MEMENTO MORI indicates a future certainty, the Winged Soul is only one possible sequel of death, for it was only the souls of the Elect, those chosen by God, even before birth for an eternity of bliss, which would make the heaven-ward journey. Another hopeful symbol seen on many graves, though not in this series, are Angels of the Resurrection, blowing their trumpets. But hope was only for the Elect. Death, with



its concomitant decay, is symbolised below by the skull and bones and on some graves (though again not on the Double S series), by the sexton's tools or the figure of Death himself. But death and decay are of little consequence for the Elect; at the last day even their bodies would rise again, whole and perfectly restored. But for the damned — the vast majority of human kind — death and decay were but a prefiguring of the eternal torments of Hell. Death is not the end. It is a nodal point, a crux at which Time is divided from Eternity, the saved from the damned.

This is the point made almost explicit by the inscription on the Simson stone (Mitchell No. 177), a stone which re-illustrates several points already made. It has some features in common with the Double S stones and falls well within the period but the S scrolls are lacking. On the eastern face, in raised relief, are the initials IS and IL together with a pruning hook encircled by a serpent; below this the ribbon once said MEMENTO MORI, and if the stone were raised, we would find skull and bones below. On the western face (Plate 11) are a gardener's spade, shears and what is probably a rake; a faint incised inscription tells us that it is the grave of John Simson, who died aged 55 on the 27th March 1724. There is also the following couplet:

AS SEEDS WHEN SOWN DO DIE BEFORE THEY LIVE I DIED IN  
HOPES THIS BODY WOULD REVIVE

John Simson, gardener in Cambuskenneth, had applied for a licence for a stone before his death, though permission had been delayed till 20th April 1726; this is the date of the primary raised inscription on the eastern face. (In a few cases, particularly where a licence was granted late in the year, the date may be that of the following year; so presumably the date is strictly that when the stone was set up.) Although the tools and the couplet are obviously related to Simson's prestigious calling of gardener, they are not in any way personal to him; the sentiments are entirely conventional. Simson's simple stone, in fact, tells us as much and as little about its owner as did McCulloch's grand one.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STONES

We have seen some important ways in which these stones differ from modern ones. Firstly, they convey their message rather through symbols than words; secondly, even the most elaborate are surprisingly impersonal; and thirdly, the stones anticipate death, rather than recording it. One reason for purchasing and setting up a stone prior to death was simple practicality; people made the arrangements at a time when they were feeling fairly well off. A gravestone was bound to come in handy one day . . . MEMENTO MORI; neither the poverty of old age nor the parsimony of the survivors could thwart the owner's wish for a stone. Another was that the stone affirmed ownership of the plot, so often the

subject of bitter dispute. Particularly in the Hillfoots area, inscriptions often state that the stone marks the intended burial place of a named couple and their children! What is still unclear is why this type of stone, marking ownership, is confined to a narrow belt across central Scotland. (6) But I think we can now begin to explain the wider issue of the increasing popularity of gravestones in the 17th and 18th centuries. Of course, it was partly a reflection of increased wealth and of new designs bringing cheaper stones within the means of a wider public. But that would only partly explain why the extra cash was expended in this particular way.

Ownership, it will be recalled, was not merely personal; it was familial. And the heads of families who were setting up stones in the 17th and early 18th centuries were the sort of people who were purchasing private pews in the kirk at the same time. The position of these private pews closely mirrored the social standing of their owners; prestigious families had the pews closest to the pulpit, or even a private loft. And there is an obvious comparison between the bitterness of disputes about gravestones and those about pew ownership. The connection is graphically underlined by a dispute in Logie in 1593, when two men crept into the church at night and destroyed the pew recently set up by David Balfour of Powhouse, 'because the same stood on their forbears bones', that is, over the family burial plot in the kirk (18). These, then, were men (I have encountered only one application from a woman) who no longer wished to mix with their fellows in the body of the kirk for the sermon, but to sit apart with their families and peers, men who no longer traded as a group but as increasingly competitive individuals and men who did not want to be huddled into an anonymous pit when they died but to remain distinct and individual, part of their family but not of the crowd.

Those who had previously had marked burial plots in the kirk were the landed elite; their stones bore heraldic devices, which sometimes also appear on slabs and coped stones in the kirkyard. In setting up gravestones, the rising middle ranks of society were consciously aping their social superiors, claiming that they too had property, family, and the right to assert a carefully orthodox view of the meaning of life and death. Death, ubiquitous death, was the nodal point between Time and Eternity and would divide the Elect from the damned. It was the focus of elaborate ceremony; 17th century Scottish funerals were often ruinously expensive displays of conspicuous consumption. (19) It was a natural concentration of attention on the time which, according to contemporary ideology, so critically divides society into the saved and the damned, the ultimate winners and the losers in the race of life. As the owner contemplated his gravestone, a status symbol formerly confined to the elite, he surely did so with a certain self-satisfaction, perhaps in the hope that he would one day be seen as the founder of a dynasty, and in the hope or even the belief that worldly success would be followed by that heavenward flight to eternal bliss. All around each distinguished stone were un-marked graves; to the

North side of every church was an area devoid of stones, reserved for the poor, the outcast and the stranger. And the message which is not inscribed or incised but is implicit in the fact of each stone, is that the owner has the wealth and the power to distinguish himself and his family from that anonymous mass and to assert his new view of individuality, even from the grave.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge, once again, my debt to George Dixon of Central Region Archives and to other staff there and at the Scottish Record Office, Glasgow University, and Stirling District Libraries. I am particularly indebted to Betty Willsher for invaluable comments on an early draft of this paper, which have saved me from several blunders; her knowledge of Scottish gravestones is, of course, unrivalled. The editor, Lindsay Corbett, has been as helpful as ever, in particular in that detailed checking of the manuscript which saves the reader from confusions and uncertainties. Errors remain inalienably my own!

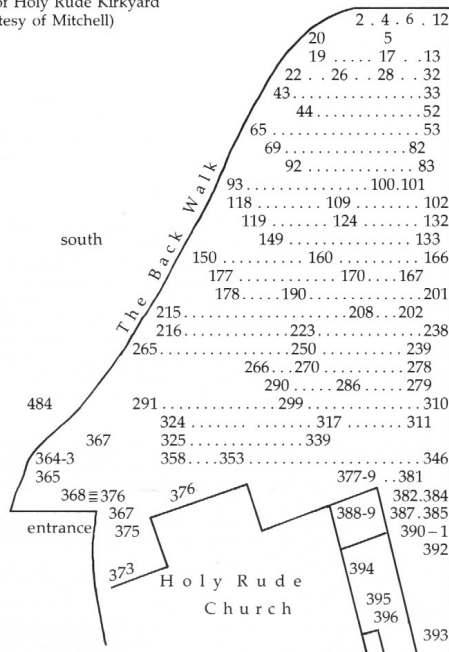
#### REFERENCES ANDNOTES

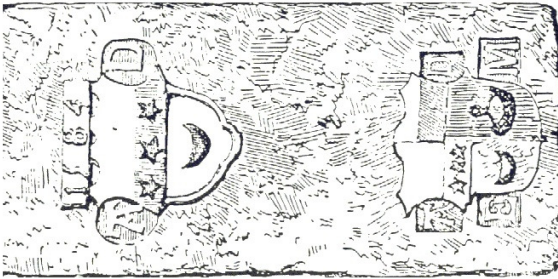
1. The main published sources used in the Introduction are:
  - a ARIES, P. *Western Attitudes to Death; from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Marion Boyars, London. 1976.
  - b BURGESS, F. *English Churchyard Memorials*. Lutterworth Press. 1963.
  - c CHRISTISON, D. The carvings and inscriptions on the kirkyard monuments of the Scottish Lowlands; particularly in Perth, Fife, Angus, Mearns and Lothian. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Vol XXXVI, 1901-02, pp 280-457.
  - d WILLISHER, B. *Understanding Scottish Graveyards*. Chambers, Edinburgh. 1985.
  - e Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland; Stirlingshire. HMSO. 1963. Cited as RCAHMS.
2. The inscriptions of most of the stones in the kirk and the kirkyard are recorded in MITCHELL, J. F. and S. *Monumental Inscriptions (pre-1855)*. East Stirlingshire - Scottish Genealogy Society, 1972. I indicate the number assigned by the Mitchells on first mentioning each stone. Cited as Mitchell.
3. Central Region Archives (CRA). Stirling Kirk Session Minutes CH2/1026/Series, quoted by date. Where information about date of death has been used it has usually been based on the Registers of Testaments, Scottish Record Office (SRO), Commissariat of Stirling, CC21/5 Series.
4. CRA. Logie Kirk Session Minutes CH2/1001/1 and CH2/1001/7.
5. RCAHMS.
6. I am particularly indebted to Betty Willsher for the information that this practice of setting up stones during the owner's life is confined to the former counties of Stirling, Clackmannan, Renfrew and Dunbarton; elsewhere in Scotland stones were commemorative.
7. *Stirling Observer* 6th August 1857 page 3. Letter from Charles Rogers. His assurance that mural monuments would be preserved when the

- old kirkyard dyke was demolished was ignored.
8. Engraving of East and West Churches, Stirling, in Light Views of Stirling with Notices by Robert Chambers. 1830.
  9. *Stirling Observer* 4th October 1989 page 11.
  10. I here ignore Mitchell No. 131 which is a 19th century reconstruction.
  11. CRA/SRO, Stirling Common Good Accounts 1575 6, E82/55/9.
  12. Stirling Parochial Registers; Marriages. *Northern Notes and Queries or The Scottish Antiquary* Vol VI, p 167.
  13. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1689 Third Series, Vol XIV, Edinburgh, 1933. Passim.
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  16. CRA. Burgh Register of Deeds, B66/9/3 Contract of Marriage registered 1st September 1634 and dated 21st July 1634.
  17. CRA.

Council  
Record,

Plan of Holy Rude Kirkyard  
(Courtesy of Mitchell)





B66/20/5. 1st October 1664 and 9th January

Figure 1. Drawing of the tomb of Alexander Durham of Mollet and wife Elizabeth Murray (Mitchell No. 462), Holy Rude, dated 1584 — has initials and Coats of Arms, (from Fleming, J. S. The Old Castle Vennel and its



Figure 2. Service Stone; drawing of central motif, on western face, from Christison. The serpent, twined on itself, a symbol of eternal life, appears on two other stones of gardeners (including the Simson) - may have some other significance.



*Are not my days few? Grief them, and let me alone that I may bewaite me a hilt.*  
1635. *W. J. J. J.*

Figure 3. Illustration from Quarles, 1635 — the inspiration for the left half of the Servicestone central motif; there are few other examples recorded in Scotland: the use of patterns from Emblem Books. (Courtesy of Glasgow University Lifaanri

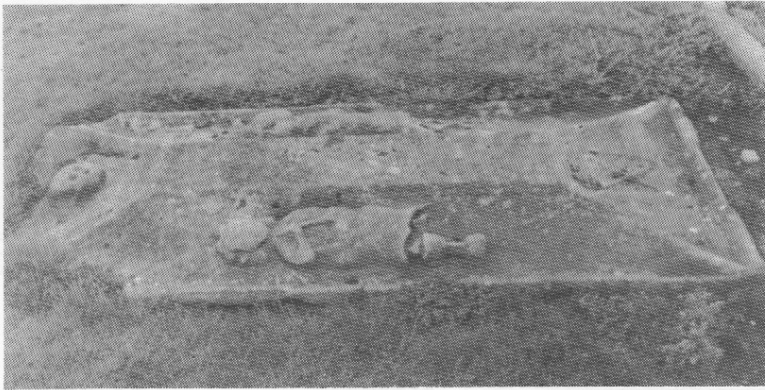


Plate 1. A coped stone, near the kirk tower.

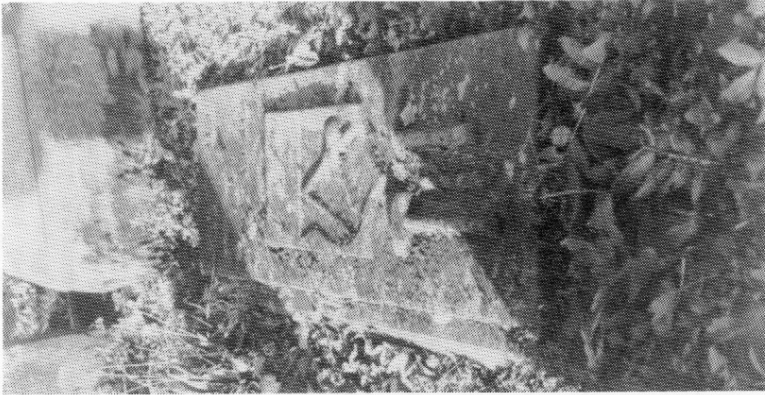


Plate 2. Stirling's oldest dated stone, a narrow slab 1579, unusually combines heraldic and occupational symbols. The heraldry shows it belonged to the Gibb family (see p 83).



Plate 3. Typical late 17th century slab is wider. The initials, added names and later adjacent stones imply it was set up for Robert Gibb and his wife Margaret Thomson (see p 83).

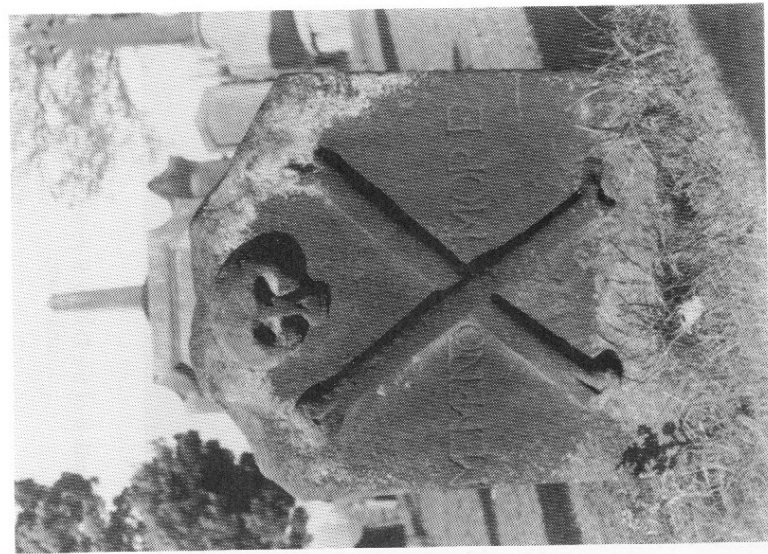


Plate 4. One of two identical stones, dated 1674. Paired stones are particularly common at Loggie.



Plate 5. The Service Stone, eastern face. The extensive inscription was both above and below the central motif.



Plate 6. Earliest of the Double S series, original owner unknown.



Plate 7. The Fergusson stone, eastern face.





Plate 9. Unusual – for 'Pelicans' whose mythical self sacrifice mirrors that of Christ, and for having only one set of initials instead of a pair.

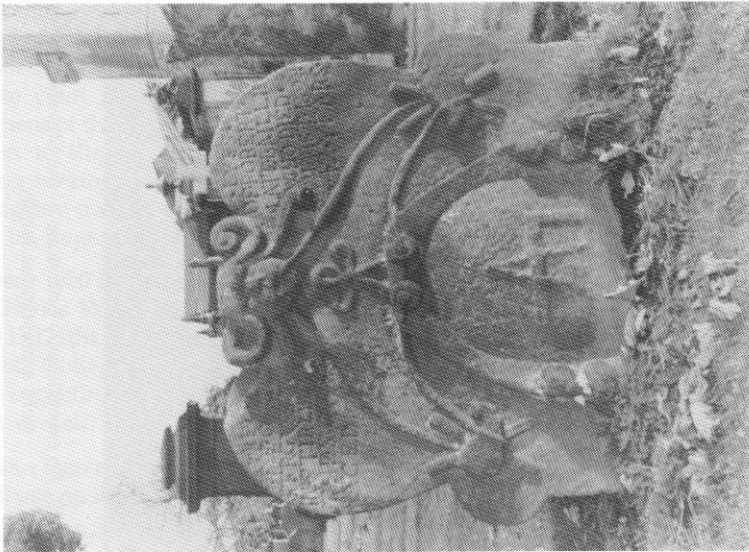


Plate 8. The Fergusson stone, western face, with inscription and bizarre face.

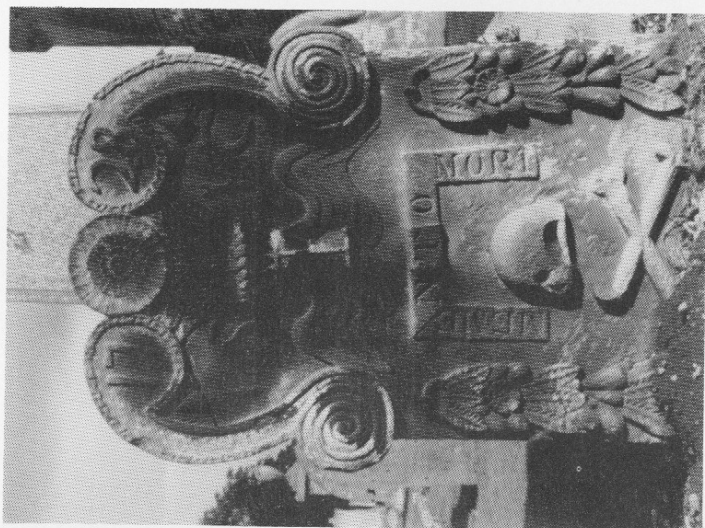


Plate 10. An exceptionally fine stone — the Stevensons were a prestigious family.



Plate 11. Eastern face of Simson stone — a pruning hook! encircled by a serpent plus Emblems of Mortality. The inscription can now only be read in direct evening sunshine.