

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland The First Eighty Years

by

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1908-16 A TIME OF PROMISE

The foundation of the three Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments in 1908 marked a significant step towards the establishment of an effective system of state protection of antiquities in Great Britain and one in which Scotland played a leading role. Britain had been a late and hesitant entrant to the protection movement. While many European countries had introduced state systems of monument protection by the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1869 that the question of a national monuments bill was first aired in the House of Commons and not until 1873 that a bill was introduced by Sir John Lubbock. Even then it was bitterly contested, being seen on the government side as a blank cheque and by many M.P.s as an invasion of the rights of private property.

As eventually ratified by Parliament in 1882, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act was a shadow of the bill as first introduced. In fact, it did little more than make provision for the Commissioners of Works, subject to the owners' agreement, to assume responsibility for the guardianship of a select number of prehistoric monuments, of which twenty-one—about one third of the total—were in Scotland. A year later an official Inspector of Ancient Monuments was appointed, this post being ably filled by General Augustus Pitt-Rivers who carried out its duties (latterly at his own expense) until his death in 1900 when the appointment lapsed. In the same year a second Ancient Monuments Act extended to local authorities powers comparable to those possessed by the Commissioners of Works, and at the same time broadened the scope of the legislation to include structures of medieval date.¹

Most of the European systems of legislation contained some provision for the listing or mapping of monuments as an essential prerequisite for their protection. In Denmark the establishment of a Royal Commission for the care of antiquities in 1807 paved the way for the listing of field monuments, while in France a start was made on the compilation of a national inventory of archaeological and historical monuments in 1837. Initially, Britain took the view that such activities were best

confined to the colonies and it was left to the Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, to launch the pioneering Archaeological Survey of India in 1862. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, there was mounting pressure for a systematic archaeological survey to be undertaken within Great Britain itself, and it was this concern for the 'inventorization' of monuments that led directly to the establishment of the Royal Commissions.²

One of the best-informed and most persuasive advocates of inventorization was the distinguished Glasgow lawyer and scholar, David Murray (1842-1928). Having adopted the subject as the topic of a presidential address to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Murray re-issued his lecture in book form in 1896 under the title *An Archaeological Survey of the United Kingdom*. In this seminal work Murray urged that the government should carry out an archaeological survey along lines similar to those charted by the Ordnance Survey (O.S.) and the Geological Survey. He wrote:

What is wanted is a survey of all monuments of antiquity of every kind, e.g., pillar stones and cromlechs, circles and alignments, cairns and barrows, camps, forts, and other earthworks, crosses, churches and graveyards, crannogs, peels, castles, and other buildings, and their sites where the buildings are gone, caves, cup and ring-marked rocks, British and Celtic trackways, and Roman roads . . . Of certain objects photographs or rubbings would be taken; in other cases drawings would be made, in some cases casts, and, where necessary, measured plans, sections and elevations. All illustrations should be made on a determined system, and the same scale should be adopted, as far as possible, as regards each class of objects, and marked upon the photograph, drawing, or plan'.

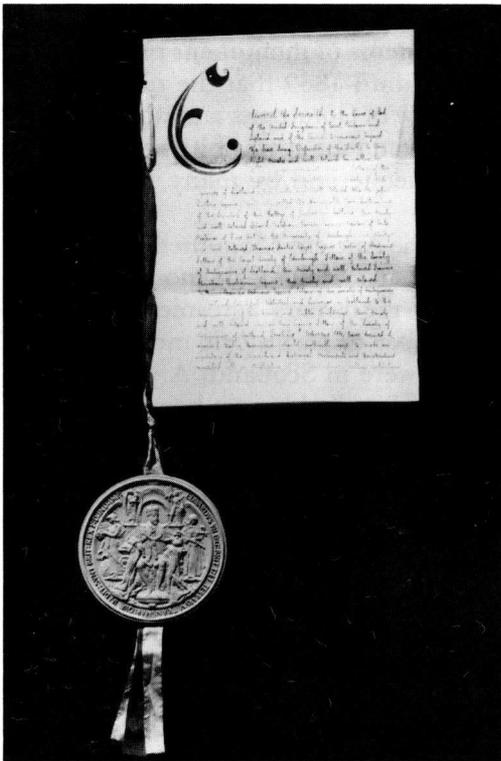


Fig. 1

Letters Patent of Edward VII, dated 7 February 1908, inaugurating the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. The Welsh Commission was established in August of the same year and the English Commission in October

Information obtained from the survey would be transferred to O.S. maps and published along with a memoir of each district 'containing a concise description of each object and exact details of its size, position, and the like, and a scale-plan or section in the case of the more important, and, where necessary, a photograph and measured drawing'.³

So closely was Murray's blueprint followed when the Royal Commissions came to be established a decade later, that he should perhaps be regarded as their principal founder. That honour must be shared, however, with Gerard Baldwin Brown, Professor of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh, who in 1905 published another, and no less influential, book on the subject entitled *The Care of Ancient Monuments*. In reinforcing Murray's case for the compilation of a national inventory of monuments, Baldwin Brown drew attention to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Great Britain in comparison with that prevailing in many continental countries. He went on to propose the establishment of a Royal Commission on the model of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (founded in 1869), but with wider powers. The primary task of such a Commission would be inventorization and its report would provide a firm basis for an enhanced Ancient Monuments Protection Act. Baldwin Brown pointed out that a start had already been made in the listing of Scottish antiquities and argued that 'if ever a national work of inventorization were set on foot, it is in Scotland that it might be started with the best promise of a satisfactory result'.⁴

In truth the picture in Scotland was by no means as rosy as Baldwin Brown painted it, for although individual scholars such as Christison and MacGibbon and Ross had compiled inventories of certain classes of monument,⁵ there were no on-going corporate projects to set alongside the Survey of London (founded by Charles Ashbee in 1894) and the Victoria History of the Counties of England (1899). Only the National Art Survey, established by R. Rowand Anderson in 1892 to prepare measured drawings of the best examples of Scottish architecture, might be said to fall into this category, and there the work of survey was undertaken by students primarily for educational purposes.⁶

Baldwin Brown's proposals were realized sooner than he could have anticipated. A copy of his book came, or was put, into the hands of the recently appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir John Sinclair (later Lord Pentland), whose strong personal interest in all aspects of Scottish culture was to make his period of administration an era of enlightenment and reform in this area. Sinclair discussed the question with a number of leading figures in the world of Scottish art and archaeology, including Sir Arthur Mitchell and Baldwin Brown himself, and in or about February 1907 decided to appoint a Royal Commission.⁷

During the twelve months that elapsed before the Royal Commission was formally inaugurated by Letters Patent on 7 February 1908 (Fig. 1), Sinclair took great care to select suitable Commissioners. Sir Herbert Maxwell, a Galloway landowner and man of letters with considerable political experience, was an obvious choice as Chairman (Fig. 24a) and went on to fill that office with charm and distinction until 1934. Maxwell had been the first landowner in Britain to come forward to offer his own monuments for guardianship after the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act

PARISH OF KILDONAN.

CASTELLATED AND DOMESTIC STRUCTURES.

306. *Helmsdale Castle*.—The ruins of Helmsdale Castle occupy a most commanding position on the end of a steep bank at the S. side of the mouth of the Helmsdale River, opposite the harbour of Helmsdale. The structure was evidently of the L form, with a circular staircase in the angle, but is now a mere shell. The ruin stands to a height of some 24'. The castle is said to have been erected in 1488 by the seventh Countess of Sutherland, and to have been rebuilt and repaired by Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale in 1616. A lintel from the castle, preserved in the Dunrobin Museum, bears the following inscription:—

“Si sapiens fore vis, sex serva que tibi mando
Quid dices, et de quo, ubi, cui, quomodo, quando.”

See *Cast. and Dom. Arch.*, v. pp. 294 (plan); Gordon, pp. 8, 79; *Sutherland and the Reay Country*, pp. 45 (illus.) and 113.

O.S.M., SUTH., xc.

Visited, 10th August 1909.

DEFENSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

307. *Broch, Kilphedir*.—About $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Salscraggie Lodge, situated on a hillock which rises on the slope of the hill, and at an elevation of about 450' above sea level, is the broch of Kilphedir.



FIG. 35.—Broch, Kilphedir (No. 307).

The top of the hillock measures some 220' x 132' (O.S.), and the broch stands near the centre of it, towards the N. end. The broch has an interior diameter of 32' from NW. to SE. and 33' from SW. to NE. The entrance is from the NW. through a passage 15' 6" long, 3' wide at the exterior, and 4' 10" on the interior. At 10' inwards is a rebate of 6" on either side, forming door checks.

Fig. 2 (B/20933)

Specimen page from *Inventory of Sutherland* (1911), illustrating the original octavo format of the county *Inventories*. The monuments, grouped by parishes, were succinctly described, and the line-drawings were bold if rudimentary

of 1882 and was currently President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.⁸ Among his six colleagues were Thomas Ross, the distinguished scholar and architect, W. T. Oldrieve, principal architect in Scotland to the Commissioners of Works, and Professor Baldwin Brown himself.

In retrospect, however, it can be seen that the key appointment was that of the Secretary, Alexander Curle (Fig. 25a, who was to exercise a profound influence upon the early development of the Commission. Although it would have been normal practice to appoint a civil servant to such a post—as was subsequently done in Wales—

Curle, then aged forty-one, was by profession a solicitor. Useful as this background may have been in equipping him for the administrative aspects of the post, Curle's selection must have owed more to the fact that he was recognized as one of the rising stars in the Scottish antiquarian firmament. He had already published several well-researched papers on historical and archaeological topics in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* and in 1905 had been elected one of the Society's two Secretaries, an office that would have brought him into frequent contact with Sir Herbert Maxwell and other prospective Commissioners.⁹

When the Commissioners assembled at 29 St Andrews Square, Edinburgh (Fig. 20), for their first meeting on the afternoon of 26 February 1908, they found that little guidance had been given them as to how to set about their task other than that contained in their Royal Warrant of Appointment. Nor was there any obvious precedent to follow, for it was not until several months later that sister Commissions were established in Wales (10 August) and England (27 October).

PENCAITLAND.] INVENTORY OF MONUMENTS IN EAST LOTHIAN. [PENCAITLAND.

moulded horizontal and raking cornices enclosing triangular pediments, which are surmounted by sadly decayed finials trefoiled or crescented. One only of the pediments is inscribed, that of the dormer on the east wing. It bears the date 1638 above initials in monogram I. P. M. D. for John Pringle, son of Robert and his wife, Margaret Dickson.¹ The date is repeated on the south-east skewput of the same wing; beneath this date are the initials R.P. for Robert Pringle. The north-east skewput bears the same initials. On the north-east

hangs on an exposed and moulded continuous corbelling of two members, which returns at the level of the upper member of the turret corbelling. The lower member of the continuous corbelling returns for but a short distance along the west wall, as the lower portion of the



FIG. 128.—Fountainhall, Entrance (No. 137).

skewput of the main building is a worn monogram which may be read R.P.V.C. R and C being certain, and so may stand for Robert Pringle and Violet Cant, his wife. The north-east angle of the east wing is chamfered off below a corbelling, under which is a shield inscribed 1638 I.V.L.I.E 21, probably the date at which this part was constructed. In the south-east re-entering angle there is a circled turret (fig. 128) now curtailed in height, borne on the usual moulded conoidal corbelling. The upper portion of the south wall of the west wing over-

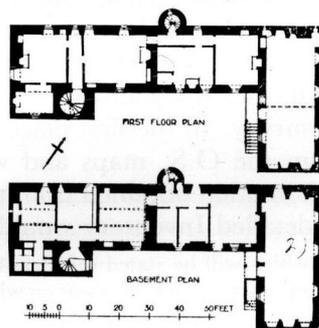


FIG. 129.—Fountainhall (No. 137).

wall is angled. The south-west angle bears a projecting sundial¹ set about the level of the attic floor.

The entrance doorway is at the re-entering angle; it has, on jambs and lintel, a quirked edge-roll of the three-quarter round section common in early 17th century work. The roof is of timber and is slated.

Adjoining the house on north-west and east are extensive walled gardens. In the garden wall south-east of the house is an early 17th century gateway, with moulded jambs and lintel (fig. 43). Above the moulded horizontal cornice there is a quadrangular pediment, flanked by pyramidal finials terminating in little spheres and enriched on the front with



FIG. 130.—Fountainhall (No. 137).

Fig. 3 (B/20930)
Specimen page from *Inventory of East Lothian* (1924), illustrating the move to a quarto format. This encouraged a more flexible use of line-drawings and a correspondingly more detailed text

The Royal Warrant required the Commission

'to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilisation, and conditions of life of the people in Scotland from the earliest times to the year 1707, such as:

1. Sepulchral cairns and other burial places.
2. Forts, camps, earthworks, brochs, crannogs, and other defensive works, either overground or underground.
3. Stone circles and standing stones, and rock surfaces with incised or other sculpturings.
4. Architectural structures, ecclesiastical and secular, whether ruinous or in use, including sculptured or inscribed memorials.

And to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation'.¹⁰

Plainly a comprehensive list of monuments was to be produced, but it was by no means clear how detailed this should be or how long the task was expected to take. Nor was there any indication as to whether the Inventory was to be compiled solely from existing information or whether additional investigation in the field was envisaged. The reception subsequently accorded by the Secretary of State to the Commission's *First Report*¹¹ suggests, however, that what the Government had in mind was a bald list of known monuments, while the fact that the office in St Andrews Square was initially leased for three years may indicate that it was expected that the Commission's work would be completed within that period.¹²

Be that as it may, the Commissioners, finding themselves with virtually a free hand to draw up their own method of working, took a wide view of their responsibilities, and the decisions reached at their first meeting shaped the course of all three Royal Commissions for half a century or more. It was decided that the Inventory would be framed upon a topographical basis, with the county and parish as the main units of survey. In the first place skeleton lists of known monuments would be compiled from the O.S. maps and works of reference. These would be supplemented by information obtained from parish ministers, schoolmasters and other local sources. A detailed Inventory would then be compiled county by county

'in which will be stated the class to which the monument belongs, the parish in which it is situated, the number of the O.S. sheet on which it has been noted (if such is the case), its local name, its situation, a general description drawing attention to its characteristic features and noting any peculiarities observable, stating also whether excavation at any time has been undertaken in connection with it, and if so what relics were discovered and where they are now preserved. It will also contain a list of references to printed descriptions etc'.

Of fundamental importance was the decision, apparently arrived at under the influence of Curle himself, that it was 'essential that the Secretary should visit each county in turn, with the object of personally inspecting each monument so as to satisfy your Commissioners as to its true character and condition'. Finally, the Commissioners would consider which monuments were worthy of preservation—a further inspection seems initially to have been envisaged at this stage—and issue their recommendations in periodic reports.¹³

During the summer of 1908 Curle undertook an intensive survey of the monuments of Berwickshire, which had been chosen as the first county for investigation. He gave a verbal report on progress at the second meeting of the Commission, held in October, when it was decided that the much less familiar counties

No. 130

FORTS

No. 130

THE FORT (Fig. 122) occupies the flat top of a small boulder-clay knoll lying on the S. side of the minor road from Oakwood Mill to Inner Huntly. The N. and E. flanks of the knoll fall sharply to a nameless

seen in a depression in the ridge that otherwise blocks the view from the fort on this side. Direct communication between the forts at Oakwood and Newstead would thus be possible by means of the signal-post

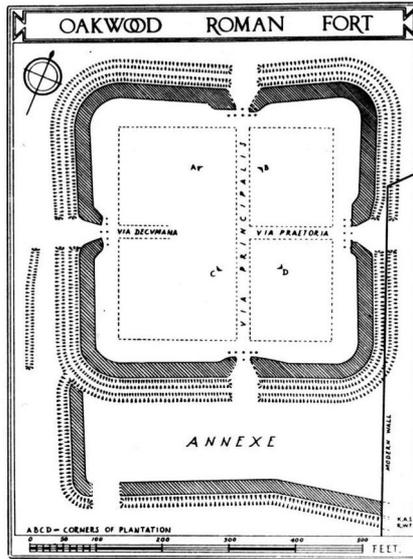


Fig. 122. Roman fort, Oakwood (No. 130).
By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

burn which threads its way, in a marshy gully, between the two works, while the W. and S. slopes, though more gently inclined, are sufficient to ensure immediate dominance of the situation. To N. and W. the outlook is good, and it is significant that to the E. the tops of the Eildon Hills, 9 miles distant, can be

recently identified on the summit of Eildon Hill North.¹

Apart from a small plantation of conifers, approximately in the centre of the fort, the site is at present in rough pasture; and, although the defences have been severely mutilated by former cultivation, they

¹ P.S.A.S., lxxxvi (1951-2), 202-5; *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, No. 597.

Fig. 4 (B/20928)

Specimen page from *Inventory of Selkirkshire* (1957), in which, for the first time, monuments were grouped by type instead of by parish. The investigation of selected monuments by archaeological investigation from 1949 onwards enabled more informative reports to be published on key sites, such as the Roman fort at Oakwood

of Sutherland and Caithness would be tackled next. Curle's draft of the Commission's *First Report and Inventory of Berwickshire* was approved by Commissioners in the spring of 1909 and the volume was published later in the same year. This contained accounts of 260 monuments, of which fifty-one were listed as being most worthy of preservation. One of them, Dryburgh Abbey, was considered to be of such importance that a detailed report on its condition, compiled by Dr Ross and Mr Oldrieve, was included as an appendix. The octavo volume of fifty-nine pages contained no illustrations other than a map—it was felt that the monuments were adequately illustrated in the works of reference cited in the bibliography—and it sold for sixpence. For the *Inventory of Sutherland*, however, where a large number of hitherto unrecorded monuments were discovered, the inclusion of measured plans, together with a number of photographs and drawings, was considered essential and the volume, published with the Commission's *Second Report* early in 1911, ran to 195 pages and was priced at six shillings (Fig. 2).¹⁴

The pattern of work established by Curle at the outset was maintained without interruption until his resignation on 23 June 1913 on his appointment as Director of the National Museum of Antiquities. He spent more than half of each year in the field, basing himself either in a rented house where his family could join him, or in a comfortable but unpretentious hotel. Blessed with a robust constitution and

abundant energy, Curle travelled constantly, covering long distances on foot and bicycle, occasionally supplemented by train, motor car or horse-trap, and assiduously recording a wide range of monuments, few of which had previously been inspected by an experienced archaeologist. His pocket compass and bicycle satchel, together with a number of the one-inch O.S. maps on which he used to record his daily journeys in red-ink dots, are preserved in the Commission's office as a tangible memorial of those heroic days, which marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of Scottish field archaeology.

Curle's duties as Secretary also included the organization of twice-yearly, or more frequent, Commission meetings, the conduct of all correspondence, including the annual tussle with Scottish Office and the Treasury over financial estimates, and the preparation of the Commission's *Reports and Inventories* for publication. Small wonder that the Commissioners went out of their way to applaud Curle's exertions, noting in their *Third Report* that 'our Secretary . . . has conducted the survey of the county of Caithness (whereof the greater part is desolate moorland, involving prolonged physical exertion) with indefatigable zeal, besides transacting the clerical work of the Commission with thorough efficiency'.¹⁵

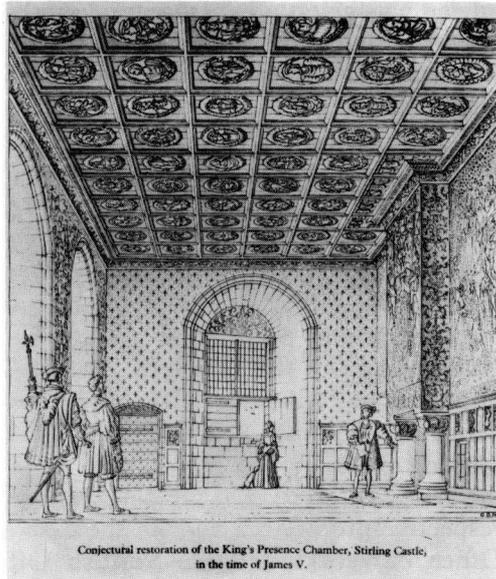
On his resignation as Secretary, Curle was at once appointed a Commissioner, in which capacity he continued to offer much sound advice until his retirement in 1951. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of W. Mackay Mackenzie (Fig. 25b), a Glasgow schoolmaster aged forty-one, who was beginning to acquire a considerable reputation as a scholar and writer on Scottish historical and literary topics. The appointment coincided with an accommodation move and Mackenzie's first meeting as Secretary was held at newly-acquired premises at 15 Queen Street, just round the corner from the original office.¹⁶

For the first three years Curle had worked virtually single-handed, sometimes managing to obtain a little help in the field through the temporary employment of a draughtsman or other assistant; office staff comprised a clerk and a typist. In 1911 a plea for additional staff to speed up the survey of architectural monuments led to the appointment of A.L. MacGibbon as architect and G.P.H. Watson as draughtsman. MacGibbon had followed his father into the MacGibbon and Ross partnership some years previously and retained a part-time interest in the firm until his tragically early death in 1915. His position was filled on a full-time basis by Watson, while C.S.T. Calder was appointed as junior architect. Further assistance was forthcoming in 1913 in the shape of J. Graham Callendar (later to succeed Curle as Director of the National Museum of Antiquities), who was appointed archaeological expert, while in the same year the help of the distinguished ecclesiologist Francis C. Eeles was enlisted, although without payment of salary. Thus, on the eve of the First World War the Royal Commission mustered a total salaried staff of six (excluding the office caretaker), while the approved budget for 1914-15 amounted to £1693 (as against £900 for 1909-10), of which about a quarter was allocated for travelling and other expenses.¹⁷

Much was achieved in these early years. Following the completion of work in Sutherland and Caithness, attention was directed towards Galloway, an area particularly rich in medieval architectural remains. A volume on Wigtownshire appeared in 1912 (Fig. 10) and another, copiously illustrated and running to nearly

Fig. 5 (B/20925)

Frontispiece of *The Stirling Heads* (1959), the first publication to appear outside the county *Inventory* series. During the late 1950s and 1960s standards of illustration were greatly improved, e.g., by the introduction of reconstruction drawings



Conjectural restoration of the King's Presence Chamber, Stirling Castle, in the time of James V.

300 pages, on Kirkcudbrightshire two years later. The completion of the survey of Dumfriesshire in the spring of 1913 brought an end to an outstandingly fruitful period of fieldwork in south-west Scotland, and by the summer of the same year East Lothian, too, had been surveyed. Before operations were suspended in March 1916 for the duration of the First World War, considerable progress had also been made on the surveys of Midlothian and the Outer Hebrides and preliminary investigations had been undertaken in Edinburgh. In addition, a revised and fully-illustrated edition of the *Inventory of Berwickshire* (Fig. 11), three times the length of the original, had appeared in 1915. Thus, the first eight years of the Commission's existence saw the completion of seven county *Inventories* and the publication of five of these, a rate of progress which, had it been maintained, would have achieved complete coverage of Scotland by about the middle of the century.¹⁸

Although it is clear that the chief value of the Commission's work at this period lay in the production of county *Inventories* and associated lists of monuments recommended for preservation, the records show that Commissioners spent much of their time dealing with a wide variety of other matters relating to the protection of monuments. During the course of the year 1909, for example, a despatch was received from the British Minister in Mexico relative to the preservation of monuments in that country; the Scottish Patriotic Association expressed concern about the possibility of damage to the Bannockburn Borestone; while the Scottish Ecclesiological Society drew the attention of Commissioners to the condition of Restenneth Priory, Angus, 'with its very ancient and interesting tower', and several other monuments. In the same year correspondence was undertaken with the Ordnance Survey with a view to avoiding disturbance to the fort of Bennachie, Aberdeenshire, during the construction of an observation station and, at the request of the Office of Works,

advice was given about proposed works of restoration at Dunfermline Abbey and Glasgow Cathedral. Not infrequently a substantial portion of Commission meetings was occupied by the consideration of advisory matters of this nature for, as they pointed out in their *Fifth Report*:

'From time to time your Commissioners continue to have their attention drawn to threatened interference with ancient structures; or their advice is sought in regard to contemplated alterations; and though such work does not actually fall within the scope of the Commission, they have felt it desirable in the public interest to render assistance where possible'.

Since Commissioners had no powers to act in such cases, they usually confined themselves to offering advice, making visits of inspection and, where appropriate, recommending proprietors to consider placing their monuments under the guardianship of the Office of Works. Occasionally, Commissioners took a wider initiative, as in August 1910, when the Chairman, accompanied by Dr Ross and Mr Oldrieve, visited eight major medieval monuments in Morayshire, afterwards sending copies of their reports on Spynie Palace (one of the monuments about which the Scottish Ecclesiological Society had expressed concern) and Duffus Castle to their respective proprietors and, in the case of Spynie, also to the County Council, the Office of Works and the Scottish Office. Following this tour, a committee of Commissioners, under the chairmanship of Professor Baldwin Brown, was appointed to supervise reports on architectural structures.¹⁹

Looking at the development of the Commission in these formative years, it can be seen that most of the problems encountered resulted from the fact that insufficient

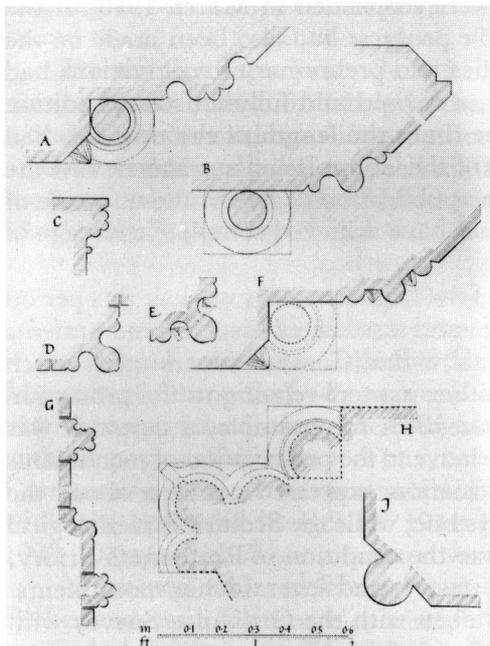


Fig. 116. Dunstaffnage Chapel (No. 243): profile mouldings: A, B, G, north and south chancel windows; C, capital of south chancel window; D, hood-mould of south nave doorway; E, label-mould of south chancel windows; F, east chancel windows; H, base of north doorway; J, angle-shaft

Fig. 6 (B/20929)

Specimen page from *Inventory of Argyll*, ii (1975). From the early 1960s onwards illustrations of architectural monuments were enhanced by the inclusion of moulding profiles

thought had been given at the outset to the practicalities of the task laid upon it. Perhaps this was inevitable, given the pioneering nature of the work, but it left the Commission—and its two sister Commissions—with a legacy of confusion and misunderstanding whose influence is still discernible today.

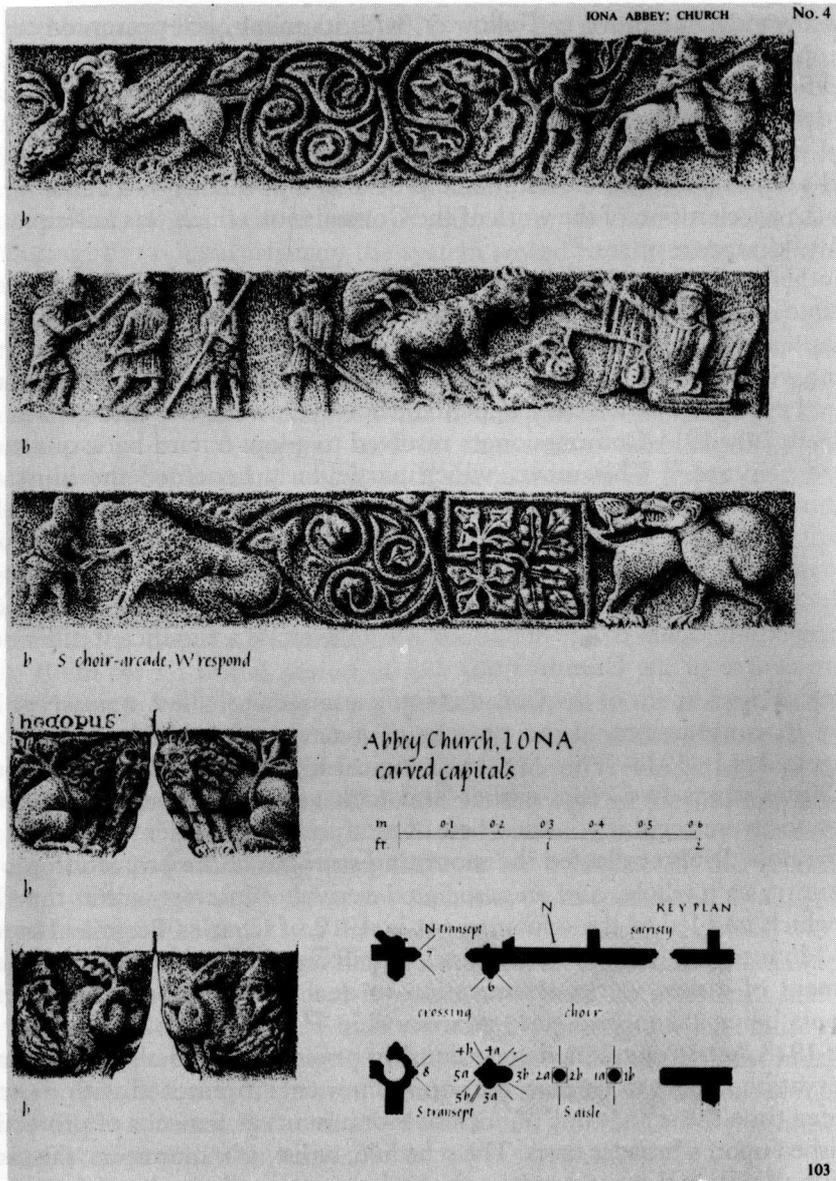


Fig. 7 (B/20931)

Specimen page from *Inventory of Argyll*, iv (1982). Increased use was also made of free-hand drawings to illustrate prehistoric and medieval monuments

Thus, in the absence of a fixed target-date, the timescale for completion was bound to lengthen as soon as Curle's fieldwork in the northern counties began to reveal a rich crop of previously unrecorded sites. The monuments of Sutherland 'were found greatly to exceed in number and importance those previously known to exist', while in Caithness numerous cairns and hut-circles, and no less than sixty-six brochs, were discovered. The move to Galloway, with its many well-preserved castles and abbeys, only accentuated the problem, for it was apparent that specialized skills were required for the recording of architectural monuments. The Government's response to these developments was by no means unsympathetic for, as already noted, additional staff and resources were allocated to the Commission in 1911 and 1913. But Lord Pentland's hopes 'that with the additional provision now made it will be found possible to affect the acceleration of the work of the Commission which was anticipated' were doomed to disappointment.²⁰

Another and related problem that had to be faced was that of determining the appropriate level of publication. Here the Commission made a false start by initially issuing an exiguous *Inventory of Berwickshire*, which then had to be revised to bring it into line with the more ample format adopted for subsequent volumes. Even before the revised edition of *Berwickshire* appeared, however, a further change was decided upon, for in July 1914 Commissioners resolved to adopt a hard-back quarto format for future volumes.²¹ This move, which particularly benefited the illustration of architectural monuments (Fig. 3), was made largely in imitation of the English Royal Commission, which had adopted this format from the outset. But it also signalled a change in Commissioners' perception of their task, with more emphasis now being placed upon providing a permanent record of the monuments and less upon securing their preservation. This change of outlook was to exercise a significant influence upon the future course of the Commission.

Some re-assessment of the Commission's advisory role had in any case become necessary in consequence of the passing of a new and much improved Ancient Monuments Act in 1913. This Act was a logical follow-up to the foundation of the Royal Commissions five years earlier and took account of the fact that all three Commissions were regularly issuing lists of monuments considered specially worthy of preservation. It also reflected the mounting strength of the protection movement in the country as a whole, and an associated revival of interest within the Office of Works, which had led to the appointment in 1910 of Charles Peers as Inspector of Ancient Monuments (a post vacant since Pitt-Rivers's death) and the subsequent development of a new works organization to deal with the increasing number of monuments being taken into state guardianship.²²

The 1913 Act strengthened guardianship procedures and also made provision for preservation orders to be placed upon monuments threatened with destruction. At the same time the scheduling of ancient monuments as a means of protection was re-established upon a broader basis. The schedule, or list, of monuments 'the protection of which is of national importance', was to be periodically updated and published by the Commissioners of Works, and the definition of 'ancient monument' was considerably widened, although not to the extent of including churches or other buildings in use. Owners of scheduled monuments were required to give prior notice

of operations affecting them, under penalty of fine or imprisonment for contravention. The Act also provided for the setting up of Ancient Monuments Boards in England, Scotland and Wales, with a particular responsibility to recommend additions to the list of scheduled monuments.²³

Admirable as these provisions were—and the 1913 Act remained the foundation of ancient monuments legislation until 1979—they did nothing to clarify, and a good deal to confuse, the role of the Royal Commissions. In particular, the Act created an apparent duplication of responsibility between the function of the Ancient Monuments Boards in recommending monuments for scheduling and the function of the Royal Commissions in recommending monuments worthy of preservation. Eventually, this anomaly was resolved by using the Commissions' *Inventories* and preservation lists, where these existed, as sources for the Boards' recommendations for scheduling, but not surprisingly the system sowed considerable confusion in the public mind.

The 1913 Act also empowered the Ancient Monuments Boards to give advice on the treatment of monuments at the request of their owners, a task which had hitherto occupied much of the Royal Commissioners' time and energy. In general, the Commissions seem to have welcomed this development—the English Commission had gone out of its way to suggest, in 1910, that such matters should be dealt with by a government department acting with the assistance of a permanent advisory board—but it did little to stem the flow of requests, for many owners were uncertain which body to approach. Liaison between the Royal Commissions and the Ancient Monuments Boards was assisted, however, by a provision in the 1913 Act for the appointment to the Boards of representatives of other organisations, including the Commissions. In Scotland Commissioners nominated Sir Herbert Maxwell to represent them for an initial period of five years.²⁴

Since the new Act implicitly recognized the existence of a good deal of common ground between the activities of the Royal Commissions and the newly expanded role of the Ancient Monuments Section of the Office of Works, it may be asked why the opportunity was not taken in 1913 to absorb the work of the Commissions within the Department, and establish a single advisory body in each country. No clear answer to this question is forthcoming and there is no evidence in the records of the Parliamentary debates to suggest that any such move was considered. Plainly, however, the general feeling of the times was that more state intervention, not less, was required to secure the protection of monuments, so it was not an opportune moment to embark on pruning operations. In any case it would have been both difficult and costly to absorb the Royal Commissions, which were highly prestigious and quite expensive organizations, but were not designed to form part of the permanent machinery of government. Better, it may have been thought, to let the Commissions complete their *Inventories* (still seen in most quarters as a feasible task), publish their recommendations and thereafter pass into oblivion.

Following the wartime suspension of the Scottish Commission's activities in 1916, Mackenzie joined the editorial staff of the War Trade Intelligence Department, while his colleagues likewise undertook war-work or served with H.M. Forces. The most noteworthy event in the wartime annals of the Commission was the arrest of one

of its most distinguished members, Dr Ross (then in his mid seventies), as a suspected spy in 1915. Ross, who had been found making sketches for the Commission at Rossend Castle, overlooking the Firth of Forth, was fined five shillings at Cupar Sheriff Court, the Sheriff observing that 'one never knew when sketches might be of value—he had seen that the German aviators flying over the Gulf of Finland had been much aided by sketches which the Kaiser had made on a visit to the Czar'.²⁵

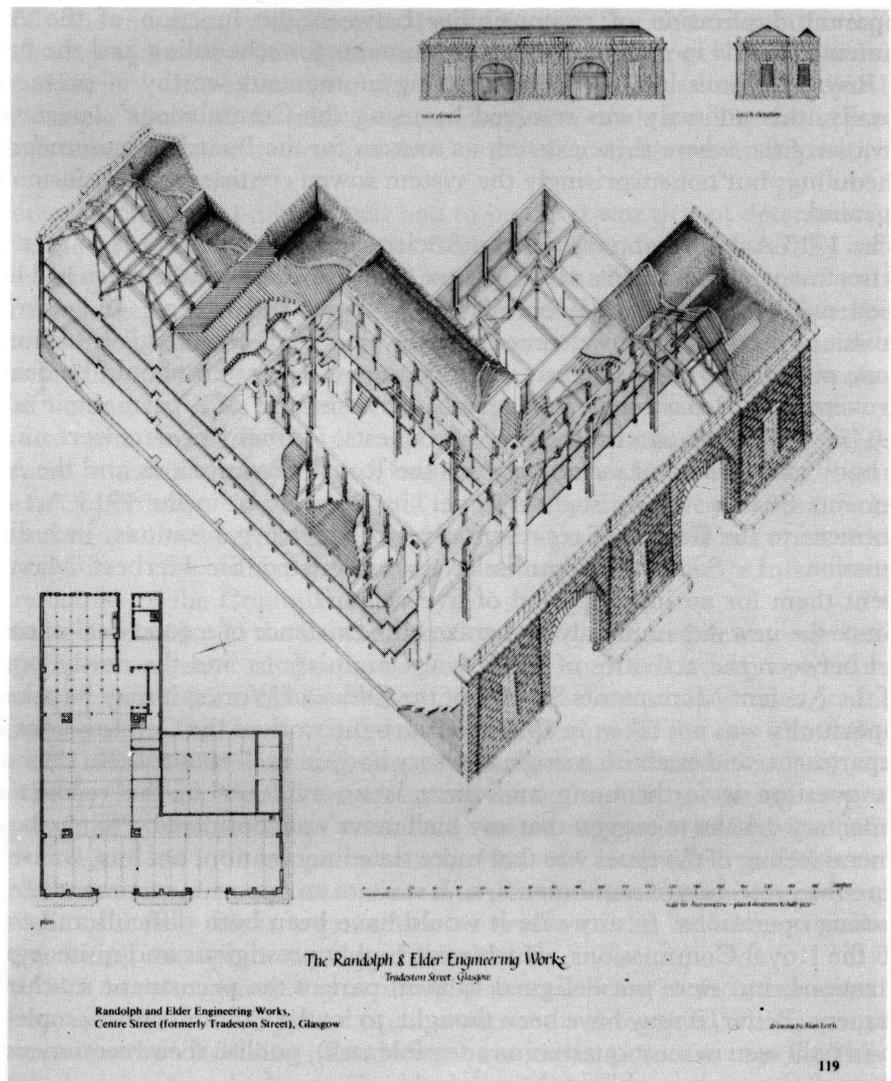


Fig. 8 (B/20927)

Specimen page from *Monuments of Industry* (1986). This volume, one of a series of occasional publications, approached the recording of industrial monuments primarily through the medium of illustrations, the descriptive text deliberately being reduced to a minimum

1919-45 HOPES DEFERRED

By comparison with the opening decade of the Commission's history, the period between the end of the First World War and the close of the Second was an unrewarding and at times an unhappy one. One factor that clearly contributed to this state of affairs was the policy of unrelieved financial stringency that the Government adopted towards public expenditure in general and the Royal Commissions in particular. When activity began to pick up again in 1919-20, the Scottish Commission found itself with a staff of five (excluding the caretaker) and no immediate prospect of filling the post of archaeologist, left vacant by Callendar's translation to the National Museum. The following year a further reduction of expenditure was enforced and in 1922 the Treasury called for an additional cut of twenty per cent, suggesting that a larger reduction might be achieved by postponing the work of the Commission 'to a more favourable opportunity'. No new scheme of work was to be undertaken and the publication of *Reports* and *Inventories* was to be deferred. In response Commissioners decided to combine the posts of clerk and typist, thus reducing the total number of staff to four.²⁶

Following high-level representations to Scottish Office and the Treasury, prospects brightened a little in 1925, when the salaries of senior staff were improved and the post of archaeologist was filled by the appointment of John Corrie, an experienced amateur (he had a bread-and-butter job with the Post Office) with an interest in prehistoric artefacts. Further economies were called for in 1931, however, and there were constant altercations about the costs of travel, which the Treasury tended to regard as licensed joy-riding. Salary scales for junior investigating staff remained decidedly ungenerous and throughout the 1920s and 1930s Commissioners spent a good deal of their time considering representations made to them on this topic.²⁷

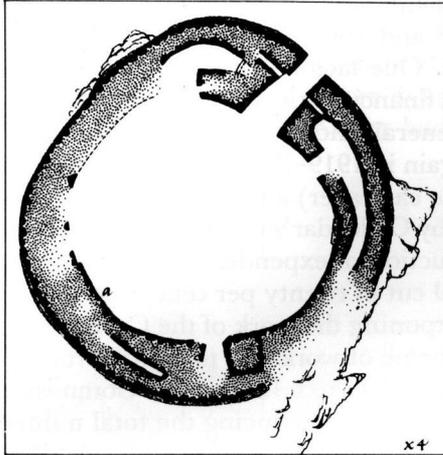
All this was bound to have an adverse effect on morale and work was also disrupted by frequent accommodation moves. In 1922 the Commission's offices were transferred to 4 Drumsheugh Gardens, in Edinburgh's West End, while three years later a further move to 122 George Street brought staff for a time under the same roof as the Office of Works. Yet another move was made about the end of 1931, this time to 27 York Place, where happily the Commission was able to remain until 1946.²⁸

A further blow fell in 1934, when Corrie's health began to deteriorate. Following two or three extended spells in hospital, Corrie resigned in May 1938, dying not long afterwards. During his last illness, arrangements had been made to ease the load on other members of staff by the introduction of a new post of assistant archaeologist and this was filled by the appointment of Kenneth Steer, a Durham University graduate with special skills in Roman studies and the first of a new breed of young, professionally qualified, investigators. This brought the complement up to six for the first time since 1916 but, since the senior archaeologist post remained unfilled, the Commission actually entered the Second World War with fewer staff than it had during the First. Apart from the lean years of the early 1920s, the overall expenditure of the Commission during the period between the two World Wars remained fairly constant at about £2500 per annum.²⁹

Given the financial and staffing problems outlined above, it is not surprising that there was some slowing in the production rate of the county *Inventories*. The

No. 315

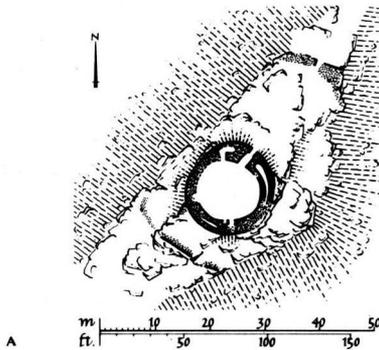
DUNS



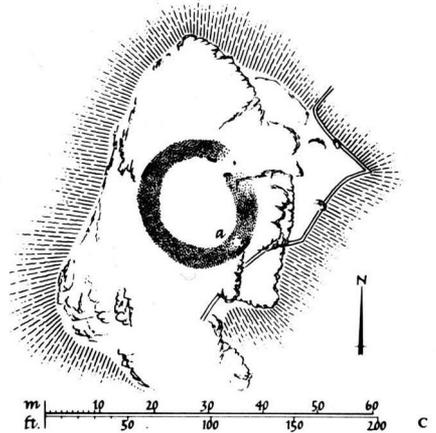
of original multi-partite wall-construction, as at dun No. 285, or possibly the later blocking of a primary mural cell; the second break, on the sw (a on the plan), is now choked with debris, but may formerly have given access to a mural gallery or cell.

The south-westward extension of the summit and the shelves that lie below it on the s and n have been defended by outworks consisting of drystone walls now reduced to low banks of rubble, in which several stretches of the outer face survive *in situ*; the best-preserved portion of the latter stands 1.3 m high in eight courses. No inner facing-stones can now be seen, but the original wall-thickness was probably about 1.75 m.

Another outer wall has been drawn across the ridge from cliff to cliff some 18 m NE of the dun. It is composed of large boulders and incorporates natural rock outcrops in its course. A long stretch of the outer face remains, but only one possible inner facing-stone can be identified. The entrance lies near the mid-point of the outwork, in line with that of the dun; it measures 0.9 m in width with the passage-wall on the nw surviving to a height of 0.55 m in four courses.



A



C

C. Dun, Dún Toiseach (No.316); plan



B

Dun, Dún Rostan (No.315); A. plan B. view from Nt.

Fig. 9 (B/20932)

Specimen page from *Inventory of Argyll*, vi (1988). A Change from letterpress to lithography in the mid 1980s enabled page layout to be modified to achieve a closer integration of illustrations and text

post-1918 volumes also required a higher degree of preparation, because the new format encouraged the use of more elaborate illustrations (Fig. 3), while the descriptive text became correspondingly more detailed. Much of the 1920s was spent in completing work begun before activity had been suspended in 1916. In the spring of that year all the material assembled for the *Inventory of Dumfriesshire* was destroyed by fire at the printers' works and the volume did not appear until 1920. *East Lothian* followed four years later and in 1928 the long-awaited volume on Skye and the Outer Hebrides eventually struggled into print. The post-war backlog (with the notable exception of Edinburgh) was finally cleared in 1929 with the publication of the *Inventory of Midlothian and West Lothian*. Meanwhile, in accordance with the Commission's long-standing policy of alternate shifts between north and south, work was begun in Fife in 1925, in Orkney and Shetland in 1928, in Roxburghshire in 1931 and in the adjacent county of Selkirk in 1933. Of these, only the *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* appeared before Mackenzie's retirement from the Secretaryship in 1935 and there is no doubt that Commissioners' dissatisfaction at the leisurely pace of publication, which contrasted sharply with that achieved by the English Royal Commission at this period, was one of the main factors that precipitated his departure.³⁰

For the malaise that affected the Commission during the 1920s and early 1930s was the result not only of lack of resources, but also of poor management. Responsibility for this state of affairs must in part be laid at the door of the Commissioners themselves. All the original appointments to the Commission were for life and by the late 1920s the old guard, comprising the Chairman, Dr Ross and Professor Baldwin Brown, were clearly running out of steam. Among more recent recruits only Alexander Curle and George MacDonald had much to contribute, and it was the appointment of the latter, in 1923, that set in train the events that eventually led to Mackenzie's resignation.

MacDonald (Fig. 24b), a formidable figure who combined academic brilliance with high administrative ability and unlimited energy and determination, took a prominent part in the Commission's affairs from the outset. It was MacDonald's close familiarity with the machinery of government—he was currently Secretary of the Scottish Education Department—that was largely instrumental in securing a successful outcome to the case for improved salary and staffing levels presented to the Secretary of State in 1923-4.³¹

But MacDonald soon became impatient with what he regarded as Mackenzie's lack of method in the administration of the Commission's affairs. In particular, he criticized the developing time-lag between the commencement of survey in a given area and the preparation of the resulting material for publication. As early as 1926 he urged that the publication of *Inventories* should be accelerated and that priority should be given to processing material already in hand. MacDonald was also critical of Mackenzie's editorial methods and of the style and content of the long historical introductions that constituted his chief personal contribution to the post-war *Inventories*.³²

In retrospect a good deal of MacDonald's criticism seems justified. Whatever Mackenzie's merits as a scholar—and his work has stood the test of time better than most—he was clearly not cut out to manage even a small office. His reluctance to

undertake fieldwork distanced him from staff, while Commissioners complained that he offered them insufficient guidance on policy matters. The time-lag problem in *Inventory* production was not entirely of Mackenzie's making, but his failure to adopt a more systematic approach compounded the problem, with the result that none of the volumes on Orkney and Shetland, Edinburgh, Roxburghshire or Selkirkshire had been published when the outbreak of the Second World War brought all such activities to a halt.³³



Fig. 10 (WG/77)

Castle of Park, photographed for the *Inventory of Wigtownshire*, c. 1911. Contemporary photographs taken for the early county *Inventories*, although not always of the highest quality, have themselves now become part of the historic record. Since 1911 this castle has lost all its outbuildings, as well as the family motor-car

In April 1934 Sir Herbert Maxwell, then in his ninetieth year, resigned the Chairmanship and was succeeded by Sir George MacDonald. Sir George lost no time in implementing the changes that he felt were required and at his second meeting as Chairman pushed through a series of decisions dealing with the future programme of work. The survey of the Border counties was to be discontinued forthwith and resources concentrated on Orkney and Shetland with a view to completing fieldwork there in 1935. At the same time the survey of Edinburgh and Leith, dormant since 1927, was to be resumed and completed. Consideration was to be given to the possibility of extending the terminal date of the Edinburgh volume so as to include

the architecture of the Georgian New Town. What passed between the Chairman and Secretary during the next few months is not recorded, but it would seem that Mackenzie, finding himself exposed to the full blast of Sir George's reforming zeal, soon began to savour the attractions of scholarly retirement. His resignation was announced at the next meeting of the Commission and MacDonal, for one, would have been surprised to know that his departure was to be only a temporary one.³⁴

The vacancy in the Secretaryship was filled, in August 1935, by the appointment of Angus Graham (Fig. 25c), a man of very different stamp from his predecessor and one well-equipped to meet the challenge that the post then presented. Graham, the younger son of an Argyll laird of antiquarian bent, had read Classics at Oxford, followed by a Diploma in Forestry. He then worked as a forester for fourteen years, at first in Scotland and then in Canada. His reputation as an archaeologist was founded on a series of papers dealing with the antiquities of his native Skipness, including a prescient analysis of Skipness Castle. Like Mackenzie, he also pursued wider literary interests, which in Graham's case helped him to develop a lucid prose style and high editorial proficiency—skills that were to prove invaluable to him in his work for the Commission. Graham got on well with MacDonal and, while accepting the need for a 'new broom' approach, was a good deal more sensitive than the Chairman in his dealings with Commissioners and staff.³⁵

During the four years that remained before the outbreak of the Second World War, Graham pressed the work forward along the lines already laid down by the Chairman. There was more fieldwork to do in Orkney and Shetland than Mackenzie had indicated and new discoveries were constantly being reported but, with the personal assistance of two or three of the Commissioners—Sir George insisted on redrafting much of the introduction and a good deal of the Orkney and Shetland text himself—material was finally dispatched to the printers in 1937. Printing of all three volumes was completed before the outbreak of war, but binding and publication were then forbidden by higher authority, with the result that the *Inventory* did not actually appear until 1946. At the same time work continued on the *Inventory of Edinburgh* at the hands of G.P.H. Watson, expert advice also being obtained from the eminent Scottish architect Reginald Fairlie, following his appointment to the Commission in 1938. Scottish Office was not enthusiastic about the proposal to extend the terms of reference to include buildings of the Georgian period, but Graham persisted and in December 1938 a special Royal Warrant was issued extending the limiting date of the *Edinburgh Inventory* to 1815. Similar, but more far-reaching, proposals then under discussion in England were interrupted by the outbreak of war, but in 1946 the English Royal Commission received a new Warrant giving it open terms of reference, similar to those that had for long governed the Welsh Commission.³⁶

Activities were not entirely suspended during the Second World War, but the departure of Calder for the Royal Engineers and of Steer, at first to the Scottish Office, and then also to the army, left only Graham and Watson to carry on the professional work of the Commission. In August 1940 Sir George MacDonal died, to be succeeded as Chairman by Sir John Stirling Maxwell (Fig. 24c) (a Commissioner since 1934), an eminent figure in Scottish public life who also replaced MacDonal as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Unfortunately, Sir John was severely



Fig. 11 (BW/63)

Fort, Habchester, photographed for the revised *Inventory of Berwickshire*, c. 1915. The identity of the scale figure, less than suitability clad for Borders fieldwork, is uncertain

incapacitated by a stroke soon after his appointment and for this reason, among others, meetings of the Commission were held only infrequently during the war years, leaving Graham almost entirely responsible for the conduct of affairs. Such meetings as did take place were usually held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which afforded comparatively easy access for Sir John's wheelchair.³⁷

Watson continued work on the *Edinburgh Inventory*, with Graham acting as editor and photographer, and by 1943 everything was ready for press, apart from the general introduction. Here considerable difficulties presented themselves, for no Commissioner or member of staff was capable of producing a sufficiently authoritative essay upon such a well-rehearsed and controversial topic, while the distinguished Edinburgh historian upon whom Sir George had fathered the task failed to produce the relevant material. The obvious person to do the job was, in fact, Mackenzie, but the circumstances of his departure from the Secretaryship made the task of approaching him an exceptionally delicate one. Thanks to some smart footwork by the Chairman and Secretary (although the idea is said to have originated with Miss Helen MacLaren,

the Commission's clerk), and Mackenzie's willingness to let bygones be bygones, matters were satisfactorily resolved by the appointment of Mackenzie as a Commissioner.³⁸

As well as keeping a watchful eye on the *Edinburgh Inventory* and doing some editorial work on the Roxburghshire material, Graham embarked on a programme of emergency photography in areas not so far covered in the Commission's *Inventories*. This was aimed primarily at historic buildings thought to be at risk from enemy action, and by the autumn of 1942 some 2300 photographs had been acquired for the archive. The work was akin to that undertaken from 1941 onwards by the Scottish National Buildings Record (S.N.B.R.) but, curiously, no formal links seem to have been established between the two bodies at this period. In England, however, the Royal Commission and the National Buildings Record operated in tandem and it was to assist the English Buildings Record that Graham was seconded in 1943-4 to carry out a similar programme of photography in Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham. Graham's account of the many adventures that befell him during these wartime trips is highly entertaining and none more so than the episode in which he



Fig. 12 (F/351)

Maiden Castle Fort, West Lomond. R.A.F. photograph reproduced in the *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (1933). Although an aerial view of Linlithgow Palace had appeared in the *Inventory of Midlothian and West Lothian* (1929), this was the first occasion on which an aerial photograph was included in a county *Inventory* specifically to assist the archaeological interpretation of a monument

was arrested as a spy whilst photographing Bridge of Don, on the outskirts of Aberdeen. Found in possession of a German camera and with what were at first taken to be forged identity papers, he had the misfortune to be incarcerated for several hours in a police cell before his *bona fides* was established.³⁹

Another pioneering task undertaken by the Commission during the Second World War was a survey of monuments in military training areas. The necessity for such a survey had been amply demonstrated by a series of incidents culminating in the action of a Polish artillery company in shelling a prominently placed, but entirely inoffensive, chambered cairn. Fortunately, Gordon Childe, Professor of Archaeology at Edinburgh University, who had recently been appointed a Commissioner, volunteered his services for this assignment. With Graham acting as chauffeur and assistant, Childe undertook numerous forays throughout Scotland in 1942-3, making many important discoveries and recording more than 600 prehistoric and later monuments. The more significant findings were promptly published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.⁴⁰

One topic that requires some comment during the period under review is that of relations between the Royal Commission and the Office of Works and, in particular, with the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. Until the early 1930s the two organizations seem to have been content to go their separate ways, but there was invariably sufficient commonality of membership between the Commission and the Ancient Monuments Board to ensure that lines of communication remained open. In 1931 the Commission specifically welcomed the introduction of a Bill to strengthen the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act. Trouble blew up in the following year, however, when Mackenzie claimed that staff of the Office of Works had deliberately neglected to inform him of a fresh discovery concerning a mural inscription at Inchcolm Abbey in time for him to include the information in the *Fife Inventory* before it went to press. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the matter—and Mackenzie appears to have had the last word on this occasion—it could no doubt have been dealt with at local level; the Chairman's formal letter of complaint to the Permanent Secretary of the Office of Works, while it brought an apology, must have been viewed as a declaration of war by J. Wilson Paterson and James S. Richardson, respectively Chief Architect and Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the Works establishment in Scotland.⁴¹

Minor skirmishing continued during 1933, with Richardson generally getting the best of the argument, but in the autumn of that year a request from the Inspectorate for access to information on Shetland brochs for scheduling purposes revived the whole question of the Commission's role in recommending monuments for preservation, a matter left in abeyance by the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act, *supra*. Mackenzie was instructed to write to the Secretary of State for Scotland pointing out that, although the Commission had in its successive volumes furnished lists of monuments specially in need of protection, no steps had been taken by the Office of Works to consider whether any or all of these monuments should be scheduled. In reply Scottish Office was able to report that, following discussion with the Office of Works and in accordance with procedures already operating satisfactorily in England, arrangements had been made for the regular examination of the Commission's *Reports* with a view to selecting monuments for scheduling. This was certainly a sensible step to take and one that



Fig. 13 (LA/1475)

Enclosures, Hillend, photographed for the *Inventory of Prehistoric and Roman Lanarkshire* in 1976. The establishment of an in-house aerial photography team in that year greatly increased the rate of new discoveries of archaeological sites both in *Inventory* areas and elsewhere in Scotland

helped to accelerate the protection of Scotland's ancient monuments, but it is a measure of the unsatisfactory relations between the Commission and the Office of Works at that time that such arrangements had not been introduced at a much earlier date. All this left a legacy of mistrust between officials of the two organizations.⁴²

The value of the Commission's work between the two World Wars has to be judged primarily on the basis of the published *Inventories*. Given that the emphasis was now upon detailed recording rather than simple listing, the new quarto format was a distinct improvement upon the original, although some of the earlier volumes of this kind, notably *East Lothian* (1924), suffered from poor standards of presentation and production. It was only with the *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (1933) that a satisfactory balance of text and illustration was achieved, and not until *Orkney and Shetland* (1946) that a proper index was provided. The *Fife* volume was also the first in which aerial photographs were used to illustrate prehistoric earthworks, the photographs themselves being supplied by the R.A.F. (Fig. 12). Most of the terrestrial photography had to be undertaken by the architectural and archaeological investigators, whereas in England the Royal Commission had been able to appoint a professional photographer as early as 1928.



Fig. 14 (O/166)

Typical Orkney kiln at Kirkabist, Egilsay, photographed for the *Inventory of Orkney and Shetland*, c. 1937. Although the traditional vernacular buildings of the Northern Isles could not be described in the Inventory, because of the restricted terminal date then in force, a few specimen illustrations were slipped in. A fixed terminal date was finally abandoned under the new Royal Warrant of 1948

While the English volumes tended to score more highly in terms of photography, however, a major strength of the Scottish Commission's *Inventories* at this period was Calder's clear and informative line-drawings, which retained much of their value even when the accompanying texts became outdated. Although neither Calder nor Corrie had professional archaeological training, they were both highly competent fieldworkers and their records of the prehistoric monuments of the Northern Isles (not always improved by Sir George MacDonald's liberal application of blue pencil) laid an essential foundation for all subsequent work in the area. A notably progressive feature of the *Orkney and Shetland Inventory*, and one probably attributable to Graham, was the decision to make some mention of vernacular buildings, such as corn-drying kilns, in the introductory volume (Fig. 14), although none could be included in the detailed *Inventory* because of the restrictive terminal date. Watson's principal contribution was made in the field of ecclesiastical architecture, where his accounts of Kirkwall Cathedral and the Border abbeys (not published until 1956), were informed by first-hand knowledge of Continental parallels.⁴³

The record of the inter-war years suggests, however, that in certain respects the Commission's professional work, like that of the Scottish archaeological establishment

in general, was narrowly based. Gordon Childe's appointment in 1942 came too late to bring the Commission much benefit from the new ideas in European prehistory that he had been developing since his arrival in Edinburgh in 1927. Likewise Dr W. Douglas Simpson, another scholar with wide-ranging interests in British and European studies, whose knowledge would have been particularly valuable in the field of medieval architecture, did not become a Commissioner until 1946, by which time the most fruitful and innovative phase of his career was already drawing to its close. The Commission also distanced itself from the architectural conservation movement that was beginning to make an impact upon Scottish urban planning, particularly in the small burghs, under the influence of newly-founded voluntary bodies such as the National Trust for Scotland (1931) and the Saltire Society (1936). This somewhat isolationist approach, while no doubt justified by the necessity of concentrating meagre resources upon what was now perceived to be the primary task of producing authoritative works of reference, left the Commission with a small and predominantly academic audience for its work.

1946-65 EYES FRONT

The two decades after the Second World War were a time of solid progress following the lines mapped out during the 1930s. The financial climate was, in general, more favourable than during the previous period and modest increases in staff were sanctioned from time to time. Both Angus Graham and his successor as Secretary, Kenneth Steer (Fig. 25d), took advantage of this dispensation to broaden the range of skills available to the Commission, with the specific aim of raising standards of recording and publication. In 1947 R.W. Feachem, an archaeologist with special knowledge of prehistoric monuments, was recruited and, following Watson's retirement in 1952, separate appointments were made of an historian and an architect. In 1957 the Commission acquired its first professionally-qualified photographer and a professional illustrator followed two years later. The overall ceiling of six posts (plus a cleaner), which had remained in place since before the First World War, was finally lifted in 1954 and by 1965 the Commission could boast a total complement of fourteen, including five investigators and the makings of a photographic section and a drawing office. By the same year the annual budget showed a corresponding increase to £22,700. In 1946 the Commission moved back to Queen Street, this time to number 13, and from there a further move to 3 South Bridge was made about the end of 1947. Ten years later the increase in staff numbers made it necessary to seek larger premises, and these were eventually found within a terraced villa at 7 Coates Gardens, just beyond the western limits of the New Town.⁴⁴

Staff salaries also showed some improvement during the post-war period. Time-consuming battles still had to be fought on this issue, but the outcome was mainly favourable to staff and this fact, coupled with the general expansion of activity, made for a happier office.

A good deal of the credit for improved staff conditions belongs to Commissioners, who were closely involved in administrative and financial affairs during the first part of this period. The post-war generation of Commissioners was also well-placed to give a lead to the professional work of the office. Now drawn mainly from the academic



Fig. 15a (PB/287)
Principal Staircase, Stobo Castle,
photographed for the *Inventory of Peeblesshire* in
1959

world, they included such distinguished figures as Vivian Galbraith, Ian Richmond, Stuart Piggott and Ian Lindsay. In 1949 Sir John Stirling Maxwell was succeeded as Chairman by the Earl of Wemyss and March (Fig. 24d) who, as well as exercising a benign oversight over the Commission's domestic affairs, ensured that communications were maintained with other heritage bodies, such as the National Trust for Scotland, and with the Government of the day. Until the mid-1950s Commissioners and executive staff were roughly equal in numbers and relations between the two groups tended to be fairly close. As staff numbers grew and an internal management system began to evolve, however, Commissioners became more remote from the majority of staff.

Like Mackenzie after the First World War, Graham found himself faced with a backlog of uncompleted *Inventories*. Graham adopted a more methodical approach than his predecessor, however, and despite being hampered by numerous unforeseen difficulties, achieved a highly creditable rate of publication. With *Orkney and Shetland* at last published in 1946, all efforts were concentrated on finishing the ill-fated *Inventory of Edinburgh*, upon which work had been commenced as early as 1915. The introduction eventually having been completed to Commissioners' satisfaction, the volume went to press in 1947 only to run into serious delays at the printers. These in turn provoked a furious dispute with His Majesty's Stationery Office (H.M.S.O.) and matters were not helped by the unrealistic expectations of Commissioners as to the likely extent of sales. An initial request for an edition of 20,000 copies was modified to one of

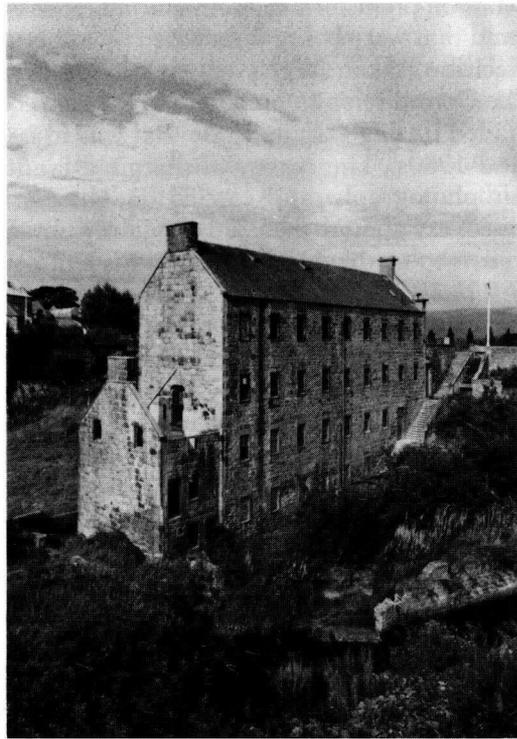


Fig. 15b (ST/927)

Royal George Mill, Bannockburn, photographed for the *Inventory of Stirlingshire* in 1960. The appointment of professional photographic staff to the Royal Commission from 1957 onwards brought dramatic improvements in the range and quality of photographic illustrations

5000, but the volume was not well received and a year after publication in 1951, fewer than 900 copies had been sold.⁴⁵

The completion of the *Roxburghshire* and *Selkirkshire Inventories* also presented problems, but the final results were altogether more satisfactory. When work on these volumes was resumed after the war, it soon became evident that the draft accounts of prehistoric monuments were quite inadequate. In particular, Steer began to discover large numbers of new sites through the interpretation of R.A.F. aerial photographs, using techniques with which he had become familiar during his service in the army. A fresh approach was also required towards architecture, because in 1948 a new Royal Warrant was issued giving the Commission discretion to include in the *Inventories* structures of a date later than 1707. No terminal date was specified and the new powers of discretion, if widely exercised, would have faced the Commission with an impossible task. In fact, Commissioners adopted a pragmatic approach, including buildings only of a date earlier than about 1850 and then on a progressively selective basis. Even so, this opened the way for records to be made, not only of Georgian and Early Victorian churches and country houses (Fig. 15a), but also of industrial (Fig. 15b) and vernacular buildings, all subjects that were becoming of increasing interest and concern to architectural historians and conservationists during the 1950s.⁴⁶

In the event, the two volumes of the *Roxburghshire Inventory* were published in 1956 and a third, on *Selkirkshire*, during the following year. They would have appeared sooner had it not been decided, at the end of 1950, to suspend routine Inventory

work on prehistoric monuments in favour of a country-wide survey of sites on marginal land that were being threatened by afforestation and agricultural development. This decision, taken largely on Steer's initiative, demonstrated the occasional ability of the Commission to break out of the rigid county-by-county approach to which it had nailed its flag—an aptitude that was to be tested more thoroughly during the 1970s and 1980s. The survey of marginal lands, based on the study of National Survey air photographs and carried out mainly between 1951 and 1955, resulted in the discovery of more than 300 previously unrecorded monuments ranging from prehistoric cairns to medieval earthworks. Lists of newly-discovered sites were published in the *Selkirkshire* (1957) and *Stirlingshire* (1963) inventories and the survey material was made available for reference.⁴⁷

In 1951 Graham had prepared a ten-year programme designed to maintain the momentum of the county *Inventories* and to strike an appropriate balance between archaeological and architectural survey. With the archaeological investigators largely occupied with the survey of marginal land, it was decided to begin work on the architecturally-rich county of Stirlingshire, the first new area to be selected for survey since the mid-1930s. In addition, Peeblesshire still had to be completed and here, as in the other two Border counties, it was found that much of the work done before the Second World War required revision and amplification. Although the time-scale had to be extended beyond the limits envisaged, the two-volume *Inventory of Stirlingshire* duly appeared in 1963, while *Peebleshire*, also encompassing two volumes, went to



Fig. 16 (AG/601)

Effigy of Bricius Mackinnon, Iona, photographed for *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture of the West Highlands* in 1965. Special techniques of night photography by flash were developed to bring out the fine detail of these often much worn and remotely-situated monuments

press the following year. Meanwhile, Kenneth Steer had succeeded Angus Graham as Secretary in 1957 and the Inventory programme had taken a new turn, with a start being made on the vast, remote and little known county of Argyll (Figs 28, 29 and 30) in 1959, and on a survey of the prehistoric and Roman monuments of Lanarkshire, which formed a logical extension of the work in Peeblesshire, in 1964.⁴⁸

As well as maintaining a fairly rapid rate of publication—and one that considerably outpaced that of the English and Welsh Royal Commissions at this period—the post-war county *Inventories* achieved much higher standards of comprehensiveness and presentation than earlier volumes. Improved methods of fieldwork devised by Steer and Feachem, including the use of cross-country vehicles (Fig. 27) and the routine examination of high-level aerial photographs, made the *Roxburghshire Inventory* as much of a landmark in archaeological recording in the 1950s as *Sutherland and Caithness* had been half a century earlier.

Standards of historical and architectural recording also advanced following the appointment of investigators specializing in these disciplines. The *Inventories of Selkirkshire* (1957) and *Stirlingshire* (1963) benefited from the more systematic use of historical source-material by J.G. Dunbar, while G.D. Hay's sensitive elevational and three-dimensional line-drawings (Fig. 5) heralded a new and enlightened approach to the illustration of historic buildings. One of the most obvious improvements, clearly discernible in the *Inventories of Stirlingshire* and *Peeblesshire* (Figs 15a, 15b, 32 and frontispiece), was in the quality of the photographic illustrations, which from 1957 onwards were provided by G.B. Quick. More attention was also paid to the layout of the volumes. In the *Selkirkshire Inventory* the traditional grouping of monuments by parishes was abandoned in favour of an arrangement by types (Fig. 4), while from 1959 onwards the application of I.G. Scott's skills in free-hand drawing and typography steadily raised standards of book production.

Graham, and subsequently Steer, provided effective managerial and editorial oversight of these undertakings, as well as making their own contributions to the volumes. Graham enlarged the scope of the early post-war *Inventories* by introducing accounts of roads, including drove-roads, while for the *Stirlingshire* volumes he also investigated early canals, railways, mines and quarries. He also encouraged the younger architectural investigators to record selected mills and engineering works, with the result that the *Inventory of Stirlingshire* (1963) became one of the earliest British record publications to contain accounts of representative examples of the architecture of the Industrial Revolution (Fig. 15b).

It may be of interest to describe the working methods employed in the compilation of the *Inventories* during the early 1950s, when the present writer joined the staff as a junior investigator. When embarking on a new county, investigators first spent time examining existing sources of information, such as Ordnance Survey maps and record cards, local histories, archaeological periodicals, collections of photographs and drawings (including aerial photographs), and the relevant contents of national and local museums. The fieldwork season extended from early spring—with the archaeologists always keen to cover as much ground as possible before visibility was impaired by bracken growth—to about the middle of October. Investigators usually spent a full working week in the field, staying at local hotels or boarding-houses and

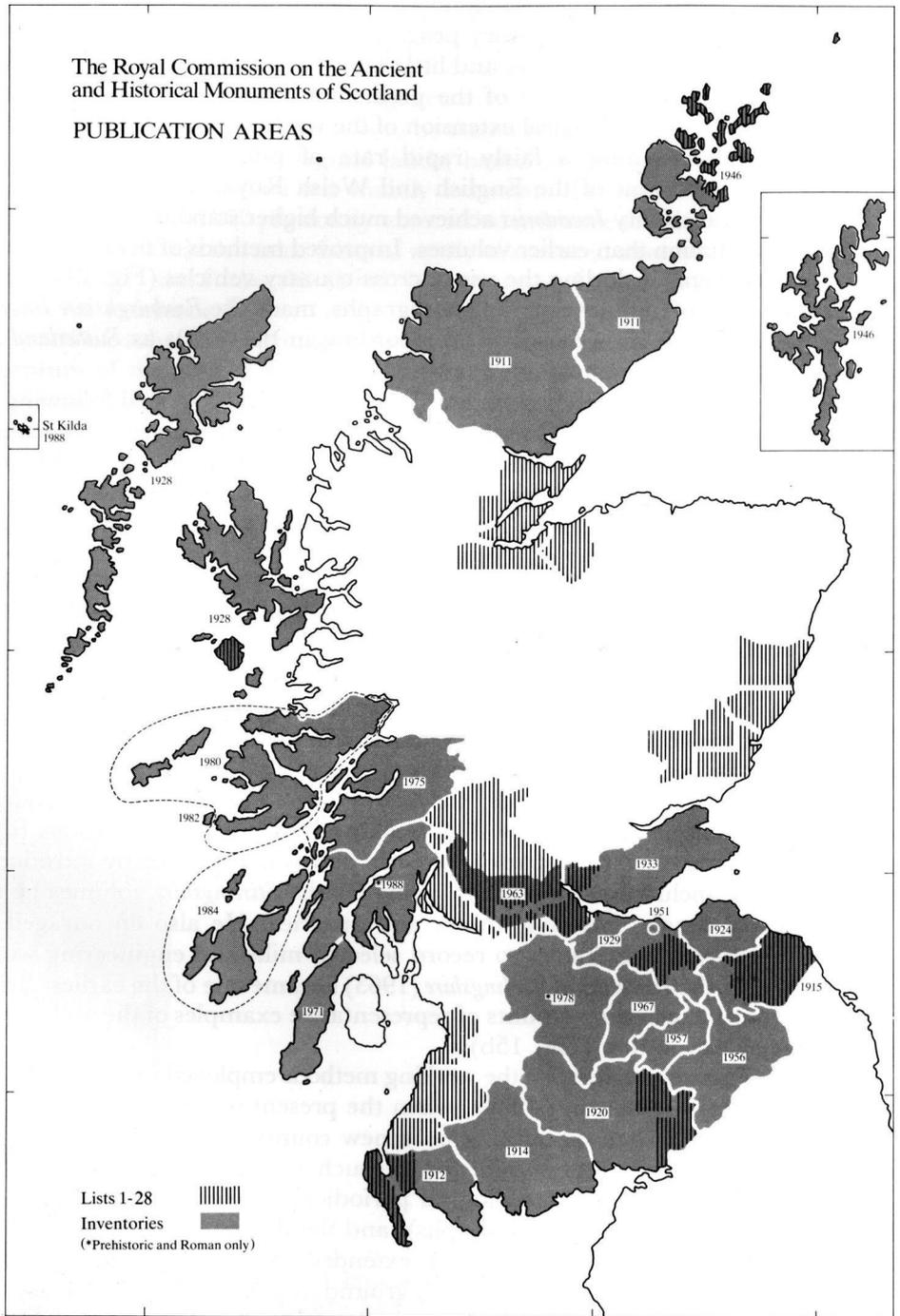


Fig. 17

Map of R.C.A.H.M.S. publication areas 1908-88

returning to Edinburgh only weekly or fortnightly. The Secretary also undertook an extensive programme of fieldwork, recording numerous monuments on his own account.

The survey was intended to be comprehensive and great importance was attached to the detection of previously unrecorded monuments, including minor items such as carved stones whose existence and whereabouts would often be discovered only after much patient interrogation of local residents. So far as practicable, all likely areas of early occupation were quartered on foot by the archaeologists, while the architectural historians made a point of examining at least the exteriors of all buildings marked on the Second Edition of the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

Since public transport in Scotland was no better in the 1950s than it is today, the Commission was provided with its own vehicles, comprising an ex-World War II jeep and a primitive estate-car; the Secretary also made use of his private motor-car. Almost the only other items of equipment in general use were plane-tables (Fig. 37), linen tapes (Imperial measure) and measuring-rods, and all site-surveys, whether of earthworks or buildings, were carried out by the investigators themselves. If photographs were required, recourse was had to an ancient Sanderson plate-camera, supplemented by a 35mm. Leica camera and the Secretary's Rolleiflex. Flash photography, as practised by Graham, entailed the employment of generous quantities of magnesium powder, poured into old tobacco-tin lids and distributed at strategic points about the premises. Since the process of ignition was apt to produce effects reminiscent of an arson attack, this technique was not popular with householders.

During the winter months the investigators wrote up their field notes and prepared *Inventory* articles and the accompanying line-drawings. Further research, e.g., in family muniments, was often required before material reached final draft and was submitted to the Secretary for editing. Photographic negatives were processed by Watsons, an old-established firm of Edinburgh photographers, who also produced the half-tone illustrations. Finally, the introductory sections of the *Inventory* were compiled with the assistance of Commissioners, who also vetted the remainder of the text at galley-proof stage. By today's standards, book production was a fairly leisurely process usually extending over two years or more and involving the correction of several successive sets of proofs.

A new dimension was given to the recording process at this time by the carrying out of selected archaeological excavations. Utilized mainly to corroborate discoveries initially made by aerial or terrestrial survey, or to throw light on types of monuments whose date or function was uncertain, these excavations also helped to put flesh on the dry bones of the *Inventory* articles. As in the development of new methods of field survey, the initiative to undertake excavation came largely from the investigators themselves. Beginning in 1949 with the investigation of a hitherto unrecorded class of monument—the palisaded settlement—at Hayhope Knowe, Roxburghshire, and later at Harehope, Peeblesshire, a series of small-scale excavations was carried out annually during the 1950s and 1960s, either in co-operation with other bodies such as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Scottish Field School of Archaeology, or independently. Thus, Steer and Feachem's excavations at the recently-discovered Roman fort and temporary camp at Oakwood, Selkirkshire, in 1951–2 established

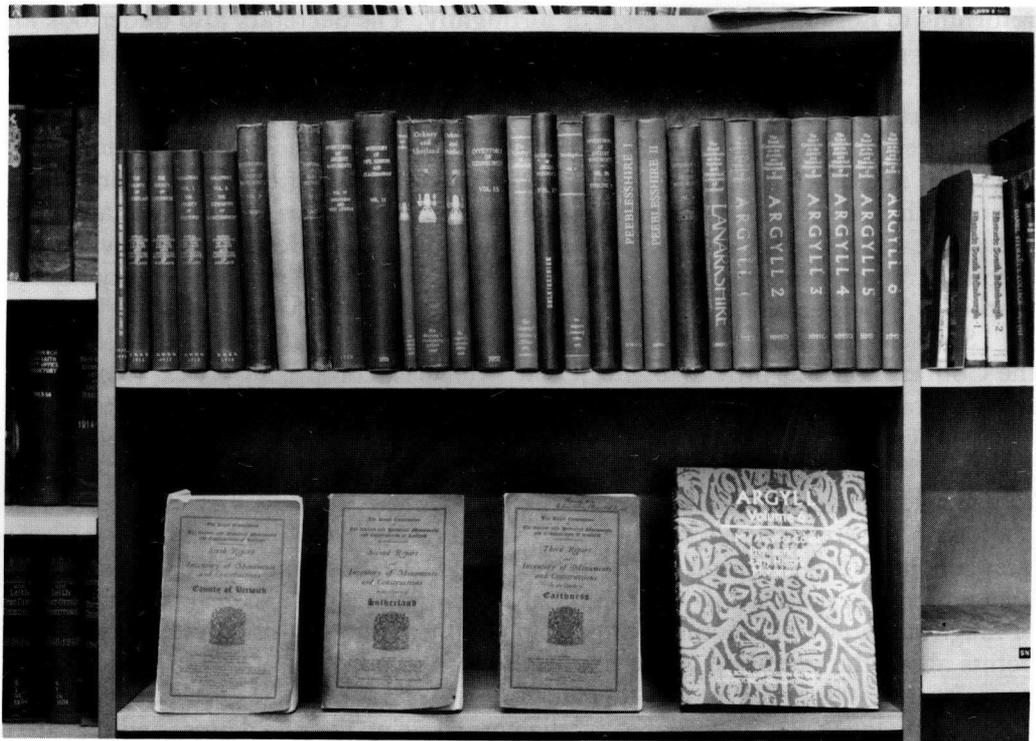


Fig. 18

Between 1908 and 1988, twenty-nine volumes were published in the county *Inventory* series, covering about half of Scotland. Since 1978 further areas have been covered by summary *Lists*

that the fort was of Agricolan date and produced useful information about the evolution of the defences (Fig. 4), while the investigation of a supposed Roman signal-station in Stirlingshire in 1953–5 revealed that the structure in question was in fact a native homestead of Early Iron Age date. In Shetland, Calder was encouraged to continue his excavations of Neolithic house-sites in a semi-official capacity, while in Peeblesshire two of the architectural investigators examined selected medieval sites during the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁴⁹

While summary accounts of these excavations were included in the *Inventories*, the detailed reports were published separately, mainly in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. This marked a new departure for the Commission, and a further step towards the development of a more diversified programme of publications was taken in 1960, with the issue of a booklet on the *Stirling Heads* (Fig. 5), an important group of Renaissance wood-carvings to which adequate justice could not be done within the limits of the *Stirlingshire Inventory*.

Although relations with H.M.S.O. continued to have their ups and downs,⁵⁰ a more cordial atmosphere prevailed between the Commission and the Ministry of Works at this period. The Commission continued to issue periodic lists of monuments specially worthy of preservation, and in 1962 this practice was endorsed by a Ministerial

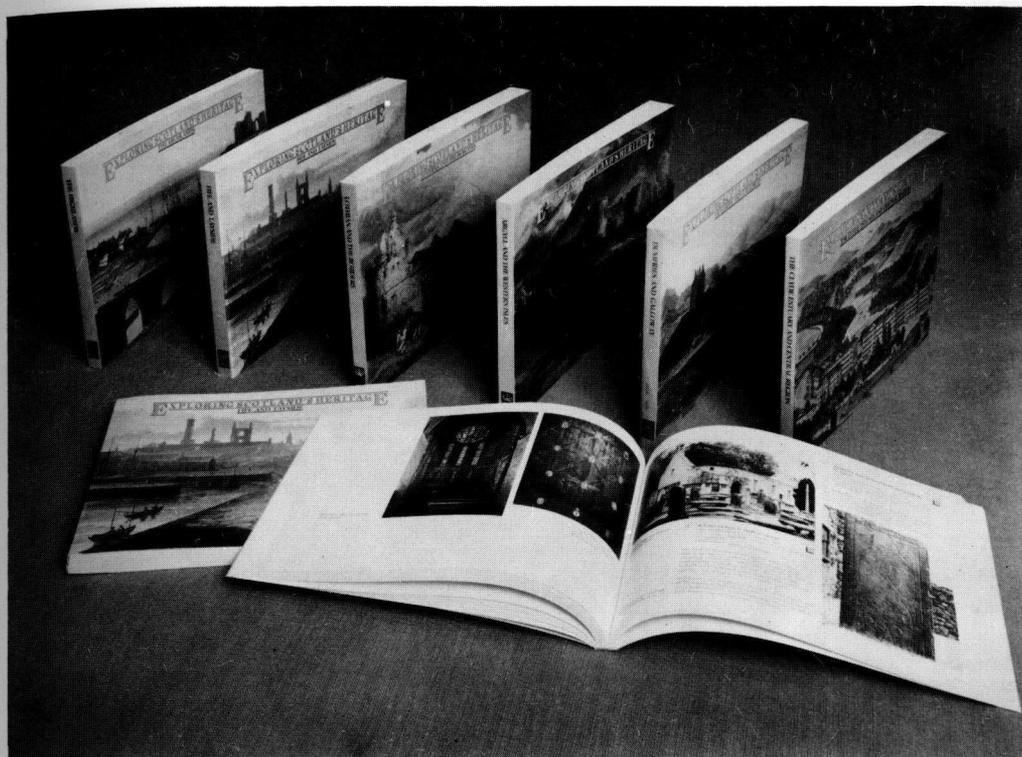


Fig. 19

A series of Regional Guides, under the title *Exploring Scotland's Heritage*, was published in 1985-7. These volumes, containing short accounts of selected monuments, were conspicuously successful in attracting a wider audience than the county *Inventories*

working-group that had been set up to investigate arrangements for recording ancient monuments in Great Britain. In addition, an informal system of communication was maintained with the Ministry of Works, whereby information about threatened monuments could be rapidly passed to the Inspectorate for scheduling purposes. During the early phases of the development of 'rescue archaeology' in Scotland, the Royal Commission occasionally undertook excavations on behalf of the Ministry of Works, as in A. MacLaren's examination of a Viking house in South Uist in 1956, while the following year excavations were carried out concurrently with the Inspectorate as a prelude to the consolidation and display of one of the Roman forts on the Antonine Wall.⁵¹

One noticeable feature of the period was the increasing emphasis placed by the Commission on the research element of its work. The adoption of a programme of selective archaeological excavation was one manifestation of this and another was the co-operation offered, from about 1956 onwards, to Dr (later Professor) J.K.S. St Joseph, of Cambridge University, in checking the results of annual expeditions of aerial reconnaissance throughout southern and eastern Scotland. The appointment



Fig. 20

For the first five years of its existence the Royal Commission was based at 29 St Andrews Square, Edinburgh, just round the corner from the National Museum of Antiquities and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

of staff with specialized professional skills inevitably deepened the level of the Commission's investigations in all branches of enquiry, and Commissioners and staff alike consistently sought to enhance the academic quality of the *Inventory* publications. During the course of salary negotiations with the Treasury in 1949, when comparisons were being made between the salaries of Royal Commission staff and those of equivalent staff in the universities, the Secretary was instructed to remind the Treasury 'that the Commission's work was essentially research'—a view that may have been received with some misgiving by the notoriously hard-headed officials of that Department.⁵²

The Commission now began to take a greater interest in the activities of the wider archaeological world, which entered upon a period of rapid expansion during the years following the Second World War. Links with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, where Graham held office as Joint-Secretary from 1937 to 1966, remained close, while Steer and Feachem, in particular, played an important part in the development of the Scottish Regional Group of the Council for British Archaeology (C.B.A.). Staff were also encouraged to attend national and international conferences and to forge working relationships with their counterparts in other countries. Efforts were made to secure closer co-operation between the Commission and the Archaeology Branch of the Ordnance Survey and in 1957 the Chairman wrote to support the establishment of the post of Assistant Archaeology Officer in Scotland. Two years



Fig. 21 (B/20548)

Following no fewer than eight changes of accommodation since 1913, the Royal Commission moved in 1966 to 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh, a former residence of the distinguished Scottish architect, Sir Robert Lorimer

earlier the Commission had joined a protest to prevent further damage being done by quarrying to Traprain Law, East Lothian, and had provided a survey report to support the objectors' case.⁵³

While all this helped to broaden the Royal Commission's horizons, it does not seem to have prompted any desire to expand the scope of its work. When a comprehensive system for the protection of historic buildings was set up under a succession of Town and Country Planning Acts from 1945 onwards, it was founded upon a process of inventorization, or listing, differing little from that originally undertaken by the Commission, except that it was concerned primarily with occupied buildings and was not restricted by a fixed terminal date. That the Commission was not invited to undertake this task—which fell to the Department of Health—is a measure of the extent to which its own and others' perception of its role had changed since 1908. Indeed, the Commission's reaction, when it heard in 1945 of the proposal to appoint Ian Lindsay, the architect, as part-time chief investigator of historic buildings, was to inform the Department of Health 'that the Commission had heard

of this proposal with great satisfaction and believed that no better choice could be made'. Subsequently, Lindsay was appointed a Commissioner, but by then the opportunity for the Commission to participate in the formative stages of the new system of historic buildings protection had been lost.⁵⁴

A similar outlook initially governed the Commission's attitude to the Scottish National Buildings Record. There had been some talk, at about the end of the Second World War, of an amalgamation of the National Buildings Records with the Royal Commissions, but nothing came of this, apart from the insertion, in the 1948 Royal Warrant, of a cryptic phrase advocating a measure of co-operation between the two bodies, and in 1954 the S.N.B.R. was taken over by the Ministry of Works. Four years later the Trustees of the Scottish National Galleries offered to transfer to the Commission the important collections of the Scottish National Art Survey (p. 15, *supra*). Commissioners accepted the offer only on the understanding that it might be necessary in future 'to consider whether or not the survey would be more appropriately housed in the National Buildings Record'. But in 1962, following a recommendation of the Ministerial working-group mentioned above that the English and Welsh National Buildings Records should be incorporated within their respective Royal Commissions, the Scottish Commission accepted the logic of making a similar move north of the Border. Owing to delays in obtaining additional staff and accommodation, however, the transfer of the S.N.B.R. from the Ministry of Works did not take place until 1966, three years later than in England and Wales.⁵⁵

In conclusion, it can be seen that during the two post-war decades the Commission made a sustained endeavour to raise standards of archaeological and architectural recording and, by the end of this period, had achieved levels of survey and publication



Fig. 22 (ED/1412)

When first amalgamated with the Royal Commission in 1966, the National Monuments Record of Scotland was accommodated at 54 Melville Street, the library occupying the Lorimers' former dining-room



Fig. 23

By 1983 the N.M.R.S. had outgrown its accommodation at Melville Street and a move was made to more spacious premises at 6-7 Coates Place, a short distance away

as high as, and in some areas higher than, those attained at that time by comparable bodies in Britain and the Continent. These efforts were channelled almost exclusively into the production of county *Inventories*, and new developments or proposals were viewed largely in terms of their impact upon the *Inventory* series. Little thought was given to the possibility of major changes being required in the direction of the Commission's work, and the growing rumbles of discontent emanating from south of the Border at the underfunded and fragmented structure of state archaeology, and its manifest inability to cope with the increased threat posed to archaeological sites and historic buildings by industrial and urban development, aroused only faint echoes in Scotland. Any complacency induced by this state of affairs was, however, short-lived, for the ensuing two decades were to bring a radical transformation of the Commission's role and attitudes.

1966-88 NEW HORIZONS

This period saw the Royal Commissions, for the first time since their foundation, subjected to strong external pressures that forced them to make a fundamental reappraisal of their aims and objectives. Pressure for change came about largely as a result of a great upsurge of archaeological activity induced by increasing public interest in, and concern for, the historic environment. Ideas of what constituted an 'ancient and historical monument' widened to a point where the concept came to embrace virtually all man-made structures more than fifty years old, while the needs and standards of planners, academics and the general public became steadily more demanding. At the same time successive governments, particularly those of the 1980s, did not show themselves ready to implement environmentally-friendly policies unless this could be done without significant increases in public expenditure. Thus, the Royal Commissions, like other government-funded bodies in the heritage field, found themselves with a rapidly expanding role but only a sparsely augmented budget.



Fig. 24a (PG/1451)
 Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith (Chairman, 1908-34);
 portrait by William Strang
Scottish National Portrait Gallery

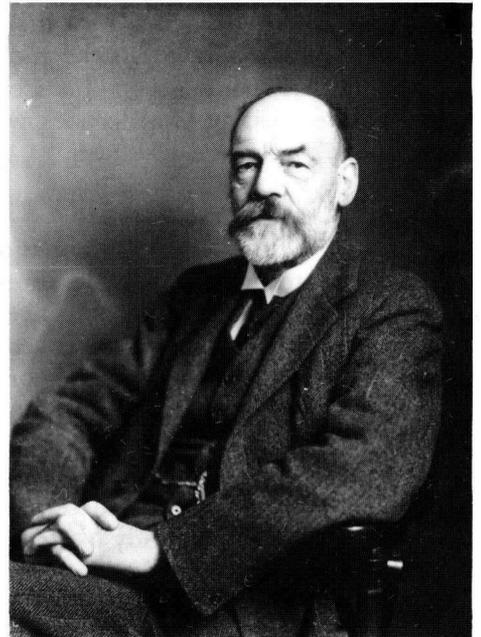


Fig. 24b (No reference)
 Sir George MacDonald (Chairman, 1934-40);
 photograph by Drummond Young
Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Of all the tasks that fell upon the Scottish Commission during this period, the one that ultimately exerted the greatest influence upon its work and outlook was the administration of the National Monuments Record of Scotland (N.M.R.S.), which it undertook from 1966 onwards. In assuming responsibility for the maintenance and development of a major historic archive the Commission for the first time acquired a function that was clearly permanent rather than temporary in nature. The inventory, whose compilation provided the *raison d'être* for the Commission's continued existence, increasingly came to be construed not as a finite series of published volumes, but as a body of information comprising visual and documentary records of various kinds and having an almost unlimited capacity for expansion and refinement. In due course this change of perception gave a new focus to the Commission's work, with records-management being seen as a task no less important than publication. At the same time the Commission's responsibility for the administration of the N.M.R.S. brought it more directly into touch with the public than ever before and required it to develop a role as a service organization, responsive to users' needs rather than to self-set aims.

All this took time to accomplish and the early years of the Commission's management of the N.M.R.S. were devoted to the pursuit of more limited objectives. The parent body of the N.M.R.S., the S.N.B.R., had been set up to make and preserve records of historically important buildings (pp. 33, 48 *supra*) and its collections consisted mainly of architectural material. The organization that replaced it in 1966 was designed to incorporate records of all types of monument—hence the change of name—and much effort was thenceforward devoted to the collection of archaeological material. Important deposits of records were received from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and, as annual programmes of rescue excavation began to get under way in Scotland during the 1970s, the N.M.R.S. became the official repository for the records of government-funded excavations.⁵⁶

But the distinctive characteristics of the S.N.B.R. were retained, and further continuity was provided by the transfer to the Commission of the curator, Catherine Cruft, who continued to head the new organization. Unlike its English counterpart, the S.N.B.R. possessed an extensive collection of historic drawings, including items of national importance, and this was now augmented by the National Art Survey drawings (p. 15 *supra*), as well as by material accumulated by the Commission itself since 1908. The collection soon attracted further deposits, including a large body of drawings from the office of Sir Robert Lorimer in 1968. The core of the photographic collection was made up of photographs taken for the Royal Commission and the S.N.B.R. before their amalgamation, but the Record also contained—and continued to collect—important historic negatives and prints. A particular effort was made during the late 1960s and 1970s to build up a library of printed books as an essential element of the collections. Increasingly, too, the N.M.R.S. came to be seen as the public face of the Royal Commission and in 1975 a major exhibition of the collections was presented to mark European Architectural Heritage Year.⁵⁷

Another important task allotted to the Commission at this time was the recording of historic buildings threatened by destruction. The Scottish Commission had been carrying out a certain amount of emergency work of this kind on its own initiative since about 1959, when one of the architectural investigators, Geoffrey Hay, had

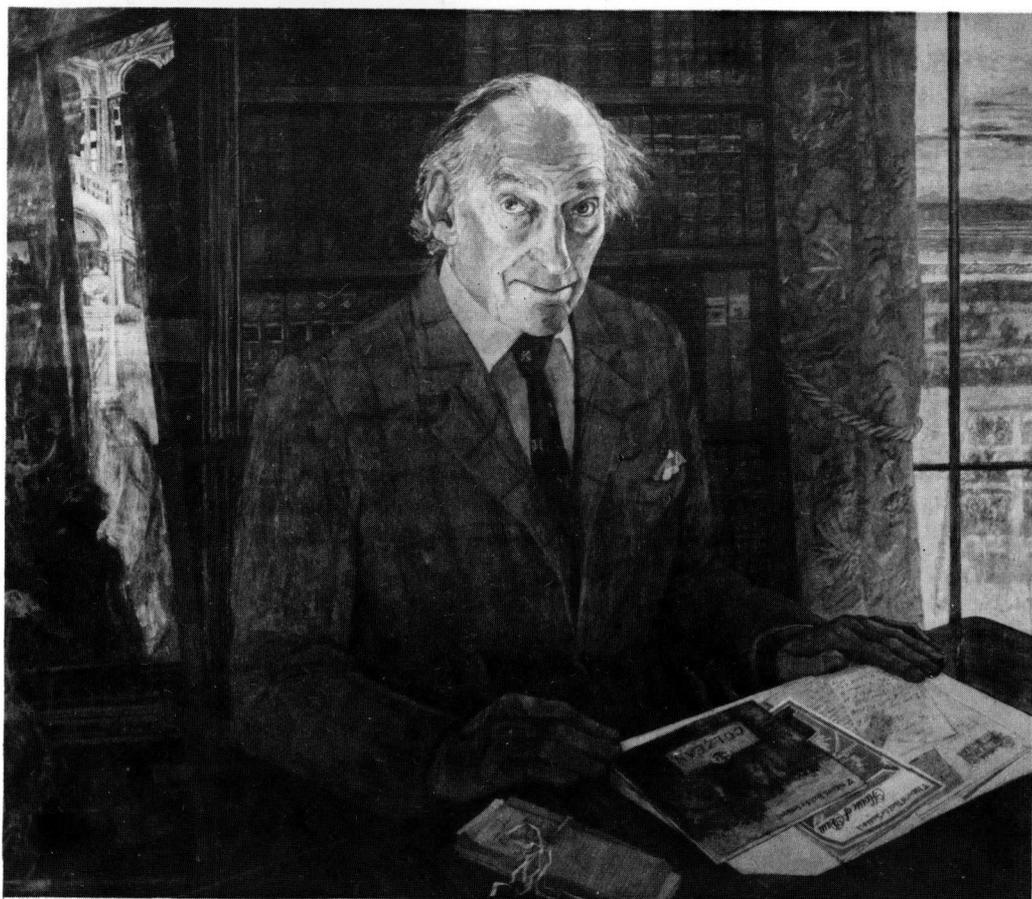
Fig. 24c

Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollock (Chairman, 1940-9)
City of Glasgow Museums



Fig. 24d

The Earl of Wemyss and March (Chairman, 1949-85)
Detail of portrait by Victoria Crowe,
photographed by John Dewar
Victoria Crowe



drawn the attention of Commissioners to the large number of major buildings that were disappearing without record in areas not yet covered by county *Inventories*, or which fell outside the normal dating-limits of the *Inventories*. The S.N.B.R. was engaged in similar recording activities, mainly through the medium of photographic survey and, following the amalgamation of the two bodies in 1966, the work was re-organized and pressed forward at an increased pace.⁵⁸

The real breakthrough did not come, however, until the 1969 and 1972 Town and Country Planning Acts at last put some teeth into the state system for the protection of historic buildings (p. 13 *supra*). Following the passing of the 1969 Act, Lists of historic buildings compiled since 1945, at first by the Department of Health and from 1962 by the Scottish Development Department (S.D.D.), were given statutory effect, thus forcing the planning authorities to take listing seriously. The Act also made provision for the Royal Commission to have the opportunity to record those listed buildings for which consent to demolition had been granted. Thus, the Commission for the first time acquired a remit to carry out a country-wide survey of historic buildings threatened with demolition, and this responsibility was later extended, as and when resources allowed, to take in important buildings at risk from vandalism,



Fig. 24e
The Earl of Crawford and
Balcarres (Chairman, 1985-)

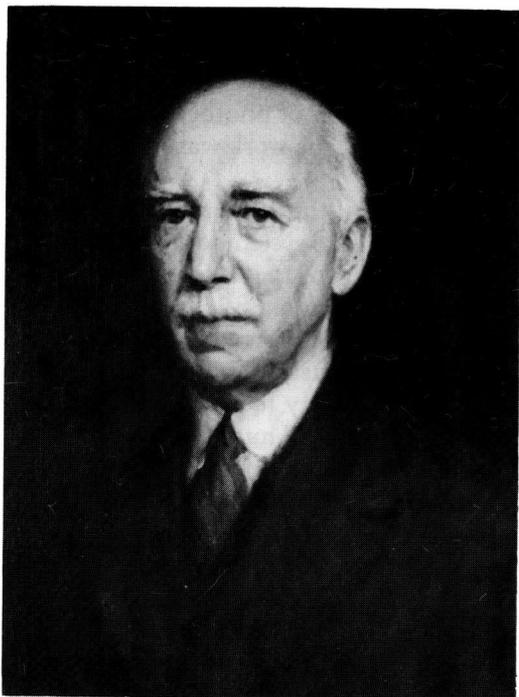


Fig. 25a (B/19273)
Dr A.O. Curle (Secretary, 1908-13)



Fig. 25b (B/19277)
Dr W. Mackay Mackenzie
(Secretary, 1913-35)

decay or alteration (Fig. 35). By the late 1970s more than 200 surveys of this kind were being carried out annually, involving buildings of all periods up to about the time of the Second World War. Selected examples of survey material were published, but the bulk of it went to swell the information resources of the N.M.R.S.⁵⁹

The move into 'rescue recording' was not confined to historic buildings, however, for in 1976 the Royal Commission took the important step of establishing an annual programme of aerial survey (Fig. 31). As already noted (p. 45 *supra*), there had been close and fruitful co-operation between the Commission and the Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography since the mid 1950s, but there was now a growing recognition that a permanent Scottish-based operation was required. In this case the initiative was taken by the Commission itself, at the prompting of one of the senior archaeological investigators, Gordon Maxwell, whose proposals won the support of the Rescue Committee of the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland. Helped in the early years by a grant from the Department of the Environment (D.O.E.), (which had replaced the Ministry of Works in 1970), the new programme set out primarily to record archaeological sites that no longer survived above ground and which were therefore particularly vulnerable to destruction during the course of land development (Fig. 13). Flying took place mainly during the summer months, when cropmark sites were most likely to be identifiable, but winter and spring sorties were undertaken to capture snow-effect, shadow-sites and soil-markings.

During the first flying-season alone more than 600 sites were recorded, and succeeding programmes, while varying widely in their results in accordance with climatic conditions, have continued to reveal a rich harvest of previously unknown monuments, including some of great importance for the understanding of the Iron Age and Roman periods in Scotland. During the 1980s the programme was expanded to take in architectural subjects, including monuments of the Industrial Revolution and historic gardens, while in 1982 the Commission assumed responsibility for the co-ordination of archaeological aerial reconnaissance throughout Scotland. Photographs taken during the survey have been added to the collections of the N.M.R.S. year by year, while the publication of annual catalogues of sites has made new information available to planners with the least possible delay (Fig. 39).⁶⁰

The growing demand for archaeological information from organizations involved in planning and development activities led also, in 1977, to the establishment of a new field-survey project under the aegis of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The initiative for this came primarily from the Rescue Committee of the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, with funding initially provided by D.O.E. (by S.D.D. from 1978), but the three archaeologists who made up the field team were supervised and accommodated by the Royal Commission. Their brief was to carry out rapid surveys of archaeological sites and monuments in rural areas, operating in those parts of Scotland not covered by recent Commission *Inventories*, and to make the resulting information readily available to users. The overall organization of the survey was entrusted to a management committee representing the principal organizations involved, together with selected individuals possessing specialized archaeological skills.⁶¹

Despite its somewhat unwieldy administrative structure (designed to satisfy certain



Fig. 25c (B/19281)
Angus Graham (Secretary, 1935-57)



Fig. 25d (B/19287)
Dr Kenneth A. Steer (Secretary, 1957-78)

conditions then applying to government-funded projects), the survey soon achieved considerable success and in 1981 financial and managerial responsibility for the work was transferred to the Royal Commission. Methods of recording and publication were based on those developed by the Commission for the production of county *Inventories* (Fig. 38), but by selecting smaller blocks of territory and concentrating on the dissemination of the results at summary level, more rapid progress was achieved, and the survey quickly began to fill some of the more conspicuous archaeological gaps in those areas most affected by land development. Of particular importance was the high proportion of new discoveries—up to fifty per cent of sites in some localities—as well as the identification of types of monument hitherto unrecognized in the area concerned. Between 1978 and 1988, twenty-eight *Lists of Archaeological Sites and Monuments* recorded during the survey were published by the Commission (including some prepared by regional archaeologists working to a similar brief), providing valuable data for official bodies such as S.D.D., Regional and District Councils and the Forestry Commission, as well as private and commercial landowners (Fig. 17).⁶²

The Royal Commission's assumption of responsibility for the archaeological field-survey was a result of a review of the respective survey roles of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Division of the S.D.D. and the Commission undertaken by both bodies in and after 1980. This review also opened the way for the transfer to the Commission in 1982 of funds to support the work of the Orkney Archaeologist, one of the first officially-recognized archaeological posts at regional level to be instituted in Scotland. Although no further funds were forthcoming for this purpose, the Commission thereafter continued with some success to support the establishment of similar posts in other regions, seeking particularly to ensure compatibility of systems between the N.M.R.S. and emerging local sites and monuments records (S.M.R.s).⁶³

Not all government-funded archaeological agencies expanded during the 1970s and 1980s, and one that suffered a progressive reduction of activity was the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey. First established during the 1920s to improve the quality of archaeological information appearing on O.S. maps, the Division (initially Branch) considerably broadened the scope of its work after the Second World War, establishing an office in Scotland in 1958. During the 1970s, however, the growing demand for a rationalization of the state archaeological services, coupled with the Government's decision to develop the work of the O.S. on a more commercial basis, put a question mark against the future of the Archaeology Division. The most obvious candidates to continue its work were the Royal Commissions, whose survey and recording activities were similar in kind, although more intensive and (at that time) more circumscribed geographically. As early as 1974 the English and Scottish Commissions declined a suggestion that they should take over the work of the Division for their respective countries, recommending instead that the Division should be strengthened to resume its task of countrywide non-intensive recording.⁶⁴

However, when in 1978 it became evident that archaeological recording within the O.S. was being run down, the Commissions offered to undertake the task and this suggestion was endorsed by the O.S. Review Committee (the Serpell Committee) in the following year. There followed a long delay, while the Government leisurely

pondered the appropriate level of funding, and in 1983 seven posts (out of eleven originally operating in Scotland) were transferred to the Scottish Commission. Since these were insufficient to maintain a separate field programme for mapping, efforts were concentrated on the collation of information derived from other Commission programmes, and its onward transmission to the O.S. for mapping purposes. This activity was centred on the Recording Section of the N.M.R.S. and was assisted, from 1984 onwards, by the development of a computer-assisted information system designed ultimately to embrace virtually all aspects of the Commission's work.⁶⁵

Yet another task assumed by the Royal Commission at this time was that of maintaining the work of the Scottish Industrial Archaeology Survey (S.I.A.S.). This body had been established in 1977 to carry out systematic surveys of significant industrial monuments throughout Scotland. Funds had been made available on an annual basis by D.O.E. (by S.D.D. from 1978), and the direction of the survey had been placed in the capable hands of John Hume, of the University of Strathclyde, which also provided accommodation and administrative support for the two members of the survey unit. Responsibility for funding the work was transferred from S.D.D. to the Royal Commission in 1982, following the inter-departmental review already mentioned (p. 57 *supra*), and three years later, with the agreement of the University of Strathclyde, the S.I.A.S., together with its invaluable collection of some 1500 records, became an integral part of the Commission.⁶⁶

This had the great advantage of placing the work of the Survey on a permanent footing, while at the same time significantly strengthening the Royal Commission's capacity for recording industrial monuments, a high proportion of which were vulnerable to demolition or redevelopment. Working in tandem with the threatened buildings team, investigators have undertaken about a hundred surveys of this kind annually since 1985, while thematic surveys, e.g., of watermills, have likewise been

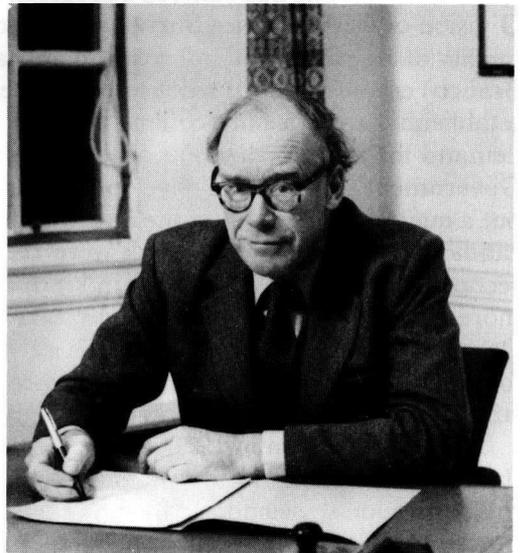


Fig. 25e (B/19295)
John G. Dunbar (Secretary, 1978-90)

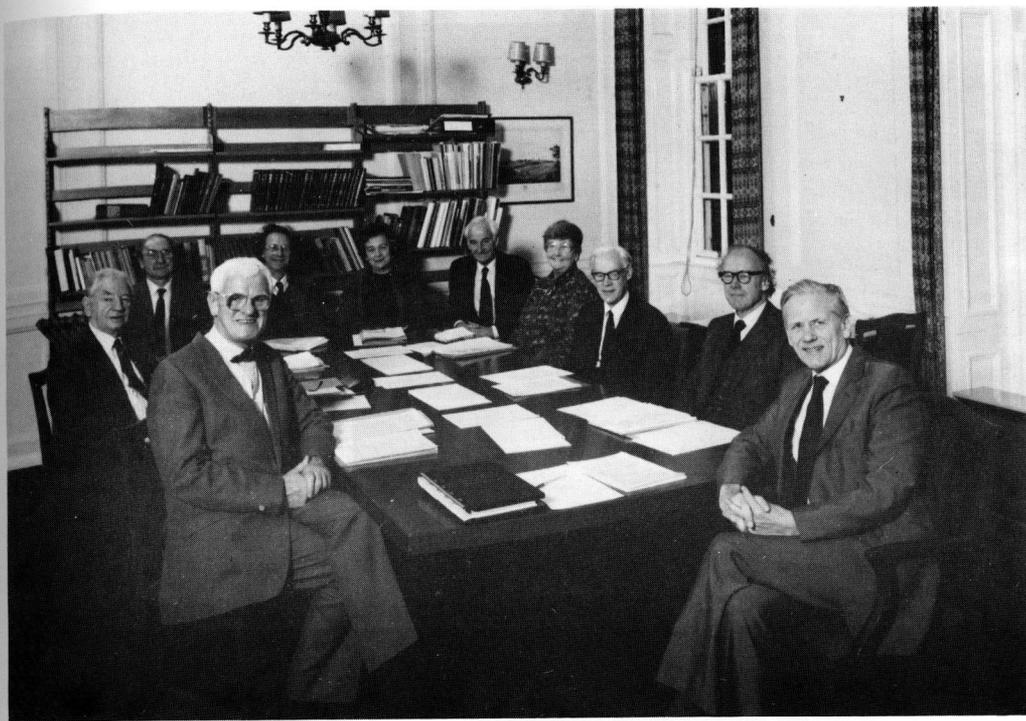


Fig. 26

Commissioners' Meeting, November 1989. (From right to left: Lord Crawford (Chairman), Mr John Dunbar (Secretary), Dr Howard Colvin, Mrs Jane Durham, Professor James Dunbar-Nasmith, Professor Rosemary Cramp, Professor Christopher Smout, Professor George Jobey, Professor Leslie Alcock, Professor Archie Duncan. (Absent: Lord Cullen)

pressed forwards as resources have permitted. Prior to the transfer, the Commission had assisted the S.I.A.S. to publish surveys of *Scottish Brickworks* and *Scottish Windmills*, and a number of further publications have since been put in train. As already noted (p. 41 *supra*), the Royal Commission had itself been carrying out surveys of industrial monuments since the early 1950s, and in 1986 a selection of these, presented by Geoffrey Hay and Geoffrey Stell, was published under the title *Monuments of Industry* (Fig. 8).

One further extension of the Commission's role needs to be mentioned here, although it did not become fully effective until after the end of the period covered by this paper. During the 1980s archaeologists began to express increasing concern about the threat posed to field monuments by forestry planting. The threat was hardly a new one, for a great deal of damage had been done to archaeological sites during the three decades of intensive afforestation upon which the Forestry Commission had embarked in 1946. Some limited attempts had been made by the principal archaeological agencies, including the Royal Commission (p. 40 *supra*), to deal with the problem at that time, and the more favourable climate of environmental awareness



Fig. 27 (B/52813/CS)
Geoffrey Hay, investigator,
carrying out fieldwork in
Upper Tweeddale,
Peeblesshire, c. 1960. The
introduction of four-wheel-
drive vehicles following the
Second World War greatly
facilitated field investigation
in terrain such as this

that began to prevail after 1980 encouraged them to renew their efforts with greater vigour. Following a national conference called by C.B.A. Scotland to publicize the issue, the Royal Commission and the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland made a joint approach to the Secretary of State for Scotland seeking, among other things, for additional resources to be allocated for the recording and conservation of archaeological sites. Late in 1988 it was announced that funding would be made available to the Royal Commission to enable it to engage an additional team to carry out strategic survey in areas attractive to new planting.⁶⁷

The progressive expansion of the Commission's role at first made little impact upon the course of the county *Inventories*, which continued to appear at approximately three-year intervals. Following the publication of the two-volume *Inventory of Peeblesshire* in 1966, work on the county of Argyll was intensified and the first of what was eventually to become a seven-volume series appeared in 1971. Five more volumes were published between then and 1988, together with an *Inventory of Prehistoric and Roman Lanarkshire* (1978). In addition, a volume on the medieval sculpture of the West Highlands, treating the subject in more depth than was possible in the *Inventory* itself, was compiled by Kenneth Steer and John Bannerman (Fig. 16), while John Dunbar and Ian Fisher produced a popular guidebook to the antiquities of Iona, complementing the latter's corresponding volume in the *Inventory* series. These moves to broaden the range of the Commission's publications in order to reach a wider audience were taken a step further in 1985-7 by the issue of a highly successful series of regional guides, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage* (Fig. 19), under the editorship of Anna Ritchie.

The county *Inventories* of this period achieved higher standards than ever before (Figs 6, 7, and 9). More intensive methods of research, improved survey techniques (Figs 33, 34 and 36), such as electronic distance-measurement and computer-assisted plotting, more meticulous editing and continued advances in typography and layout all helped the volumes to attain a universally acknowledged level of excellence.

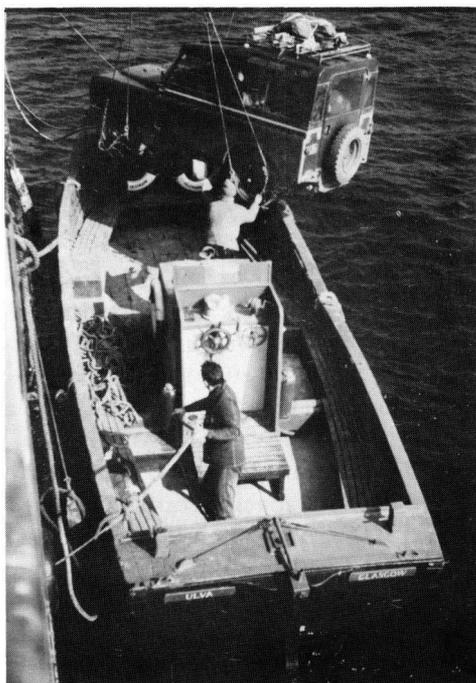


Fig. 28 (B/52812/CS)

The Road to the Isles, 1967. Before the introduction of roll-on-roll-off ferries, vehicles landing on some of the smaller Scottish islands, such as Coll, had to be brought ashore in small boats

But not all was gain, for these improvements, and particularly the increased depth of recording and research, made the *Inventories* ever more time-consuming and costly to produce. *Argyll* was to take more than thirty years to complete, with the price of its seven bulky volumes putting it beyond the reach of all but the deepest pockets. Moreover, it was apparent that after nearly eighty years of endeavour, the Scottish *Inventories* had achieved geographical coverage of only about half the country (Figs 17 and 18) while, even with the more flexible chronological limits applied since 1948, their omission of much Georgian, and nearly all Victorian and later, architecture seriously reduced their value to a new and more eclectic generation of users.

During the 1980s problems and perceptions of this kind prompted all three Royal Commissions to re-appraise their county *Inventory* programmes in the light of the new and wider responsibilities that had been placed upon them during the past twenty years. Following a general review of priorities, the Scottish Commissioners decided in 1985-6 that *Argyll* would be the last of the traditional county *Inventories* to be produced, and that in future archaeological and architectural recording would be carried forward as two distinct field programmes which between them would encompass all the various tasks that the Commission was required to undertake. Both programmes would concentrate on important areas and subjects not adequately recorded in the N.M.R.S., and both would aim to produce summary publications at frequent intervals and in accessible form. The implementation of these decisions, and the consequent changes in the main programmes of work, were to engage much of the Commission's time and energies during the late 1980s.⁶⁸

The increased scale of the Royal Commission's operations also brought major administrative and managerial changes. Between 1966 and 1988 staff numbers rose from seventeen to forty-nine (and to fifty-seven in 1989) and the annual budget from £30,800 to £1,173,000. Substantial as these increases were, they were by no means commensurate with the additional volume of work taken on. Financial and staffing constraints made an adverse impact from the early 1980s onwards, particularly affecting the operations of the N.M.R.S., aerial photography and field survey for O.S. mapping. As the Commission grew in numbers, a more structured system of management was developed, while during the 1980s Commissioner-staff committees were introduced to oversee the principal programmes of work and promote closer communication between Commissioners and staff. Changes in senior personnel also occurred, with Dunbar (Fig. 25e) succeeding Steer as Secretary in 1978, and the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Fig. 24e) becoming Chairman on the retirement of Lord Wemyss in 1985.⁶⁹

On assuming responsibility for the N.M.R.S. in 1966, the Commission had moved to more spacious and better-equipped premises at 52–54 Melville Street (Figs 21 and 22), from which it spilled over into the adjacent property at number 56 six years later. Even so, the continued increase in staff numbers, coupled with the rapid growth of the archival collections of the N.M.R.S., necessitated the acquisition of additional accommodation at 6–7 Coates Place (Fig. 23)—just round the corner from Melville Street—in 1983.

During the late 1970s and 1980s increasing public pressure to preserve and enhance the quality of the nation's environment prompted the Government to develop a more active heritage policy. New methods of protection, such as the Ancient Monuments Act of 1979, were introduced, new methods of departmental organization were adopted, and new attitudes towards the heritage were promulgated. Against this background it is not surprising that the Government decided to take a more interventionist stance towards the Royal Commissions, whose role and functions, in common with those of other state-funded heritage organizations, both departmental and non-departmental, were subjected to an almost continuous series of organizational and policy reviews.

In Scotland a reorganization of departmental functions was carried through in 1978, when the whole government ancient monuments organization north of the Border was transferred from D.O.E. to S.D.D., thus bringing ancient monuments and historic buildings functions under one command. Two years later Scottish Office reviewed the activities of the newly-formed Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Division of S.D.D. alongside those of the Royal Commission to clarify their respective responsibilities and ensure that state funding was being used to best advantage. The review recommended that the Commission's operations should be co-ordinated more closely with those of the Department and this opened the way for some rationalisation of activities between the two bodies. As already noted (p. 58 *supra*), a number of survey functions were transferred to the Commission from S.D.D., while at the same time the Commission withdrew from any direct involvement in archaeological excavation.⁷⁰

Another important change which took place at this time was the devolution of



Fig. 29 (B/52814/CS)

Fieldwork on Mull, 1973. Visits to small offshore islands were made possible by the acquisition of a fibreglass dinghy equipped with an outboard motor



Fig. 30 (B/19390)

Sea King helicopter delivering staff to Skerryvore Lighthouse, Argyll, 1974. When all else failed, the Royal Navy could be relied on to help out



Fig. 31 (XS/877)

Cessna aircraft at Edinburgh Airport, 1981. From 1976 onwards, aerial photographic sorties became a regular feature of the Royal Commission's field programme

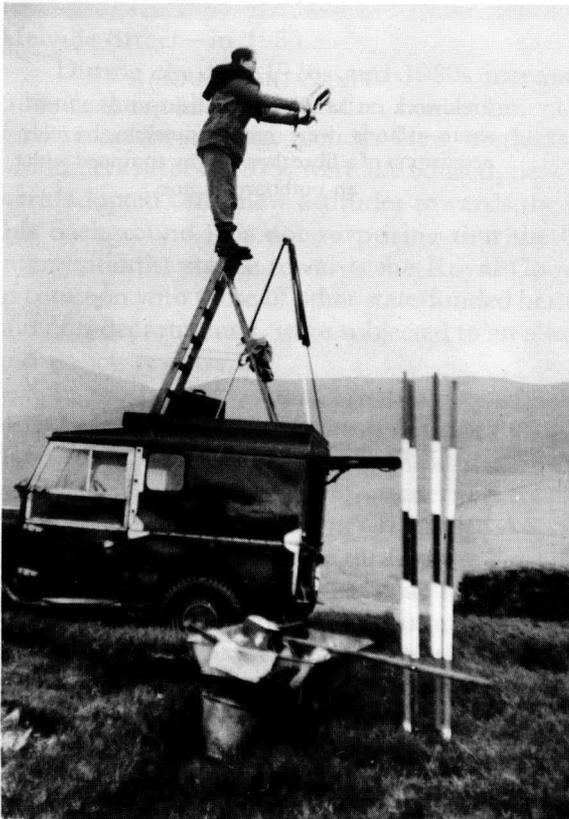


Fig. 32

Geoffrey Quick, photographer, recording excavations at Stanhope Dun, Peeblesshire, c.1959. Early attempts at vertical photography demanded a flair for improvisation as well as a good sense of balance

financial responsibility for the Royal Commissions from the centre to separate national departments. Prior to 1981 all three Commissions had been funded from the same Parliamentary vote, under a system administered initially by the Treasury, and from 1970 onwards by the Civil Service Department. While this arrangement may not have conferred any positive financial benefits upon the Commissions, it had the great advantage of giving them direct and joint access to Whitehall, while at the same time enabling them to maintain appropriate linkages in matters relating to pay and staffing. The new arrangements were generally felt to be divisive, and in Scotland a move to fund the Commission directly from the S.D.D. vote was resisted, since it appeared to constitute a threat to the Commission's identity.⁷¹

But the Commission did not seek to assert its independence for its own sake, nor was it unwilling to contemplate major organizational changes if these were of demonstrable benefit to the recording and conservation of the heritage. When, in 1982, consideration was given to the possibility of setting up a new agency in Scotland, along lines similar to those being proposed for English Heritage, the Scottish Commissioners, while critical of the proposals as drafted, took the view that the Royal Commission should become an integral part of such an agency were it to be established. In the event, however, the proposals won little support in Scotland and were taken no further.⁷²

In 1987-8 the Government undertook a major policy review of the three Royal Commissions in order to assess their effectiveness in fulfilling their current functions and objectives, and to determine whether their activities were still relevant to Government heritage policy. Among the most controversial of the issues to be addressed was the future relationship of the Commissions—if it was decided that they had a future—to other government bodies. Particular attention was to be given to the desirability or otherwise of merging the English Royal Commission with English Heritage and the Scottish Royal Commission with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate (formed in 1984 by the amalgamation of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Divisions) of the Scottish Development Department.

The cornerstone of the review was a Report commissioned jointly by the Department of the Environment, Scottish Office and Welsh Office from the management consultants K.P.M.G. Peat Marwick McClintock. By and large, the Commissions emerged from this Report with credit, winning high marks for the quality of their work and their responsiveness to users. The strengths and weaknesses of each Commission were perceptively analysed and appropriate recommendations made. The Report endorsed the phasing out of the traditional county *Inventories*, its most important general recommendation being that the Commissions should be kept in being to carry out a wide range of functions centring on the provision of a national database for the historic environment. This would lead the Commissions to put more emphasis upon the work of the N.M.R.s and less on certain other tasks, such as the compilation of academic publications. The Report pointed out that all three N.M.R.s were currently underfunded and that there was also serious underfunding of archaeological survey work in Scotland. The consultants felt that the Commissions would operate more effectively as single-purpose institutions and recommended that

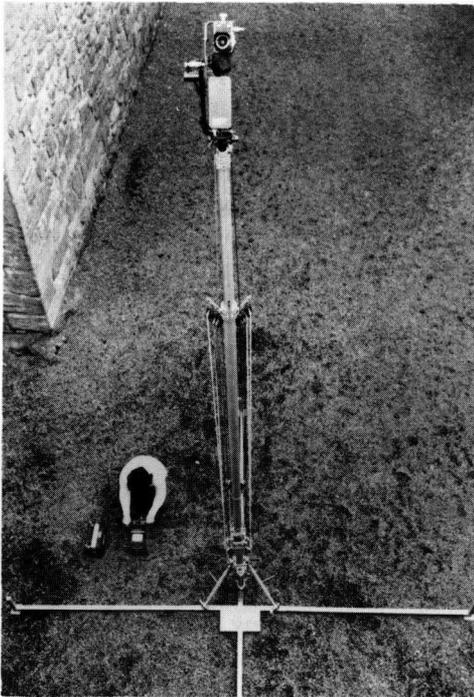


Fig. 33 (B/19400)
Mast-mounted Hi-Spy camera with television monitor in use for vertical photography, c.1985



Fig. 34 (B/19384)
Jim Mackie, photographer, recording
Ackergill Tower, Caithness, 1986

they should be retained as separate bodies and not merged with other organizations. In order to play their part in government heritage policy, however, it was recommended that the Commissions should relate more systematically to their sponsor Departments, and to other relevant bodies. These recommendations were for the most part welcomed by the Royal Commissions and subsequently largely endorsed by Government.⁷³

Thus, the Royal Commissions approached the 1990s with refocused aims, renewed commitment and a clearer definition of their future role in national heritage policy (Fig. 26).

CONCLUSIONS

The Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments were established in 1908 to provide essential data for monument protection. They made a promising start, but soon became immersed in the rather different task of preparing a definitive record of the nation's monuments. This they did well, and the county *Inventories* achieved standards of survey and publication which put Britain in the forefront of archaeological and historic buildings recording.

Following the Second World War, the Commissions continued to concentrate their energies on the refinement of the *Inventories*, achieving high levels of excellence in this area, but initially showing little inclination to respond to the changes in environmental thinking that began to take place at that time. These included the development of an all-inclusive approach to historical monuments and a widespread public acceptance of the philosophy of the conservation movement. It was now apparent that data was required not only to assist the selection process for protection, but also for the management of the built heritage, for the wider understanding of that heritage through scholarship, education and tourism, and for archival preservation in those cases where physical preservation was not feasible.

At first hesitantly, and then with increasing enthusiasm, the Royal Commissions were gradually drawn into the upsurge of archaeological activity that gathered pace from the 1960s onwards. Over the course of two decades or so they took on a variety of important new data-gathering functions that eventually subsumed or superseded the county *Inventories* that for so long had been their chief stock-in-trade. The focus of these new recording programmes was the National Monuments Record, and the inventory that the Royal Commissions had been set up to compile was now identified with this Record and with the archive of visual and documentary material that underpinned it. Publication continued to be an important means of disseminating data, but the rapid development of information technology opened the way to more flexible methods of communication with a wider audience.

It had been assumed in 1908 that the work of compiling a register of Scotland's monuments would be speedily accomplished by one man on a bicycle. Eighty years later it had become clear that the task upon which the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland was engaged was neither finite nor quantifiable, taking the form, rather, of a continuous process of assessment driven by society's ever-changing perception of its past.



Fig. 35 (B/19389)
Sam Scott, draughtsman, recording the belfry of
Cromarty East Church, Ross and Cromarty,
c.1968



Fig. 36 (B/19385)
Ian Scott, illustrator,
and Kenneth Steer,
Secretary, making a
rubbing of rock
carvings at Dunadd,
Argyll, 1978



Fig. 37 (B/19387)

Sam Scott and Douglas Boyd, draughtsmen, recording the Early Christian monastery of Eileach an Naoimh, Argyll, 1974. The plane table and simple alidade remained in general use for site surveys up to the early 1970s



Fig. 38 (A/55407)

Alan Leith, draughtsman, and John Sherriff, investigator, recording pre-enclosure farmsteads at Lair, Perthshire, 1987. The introduction of electronic distance measurement equipment in the 1980s greatly increased the speed and scope of site surveys

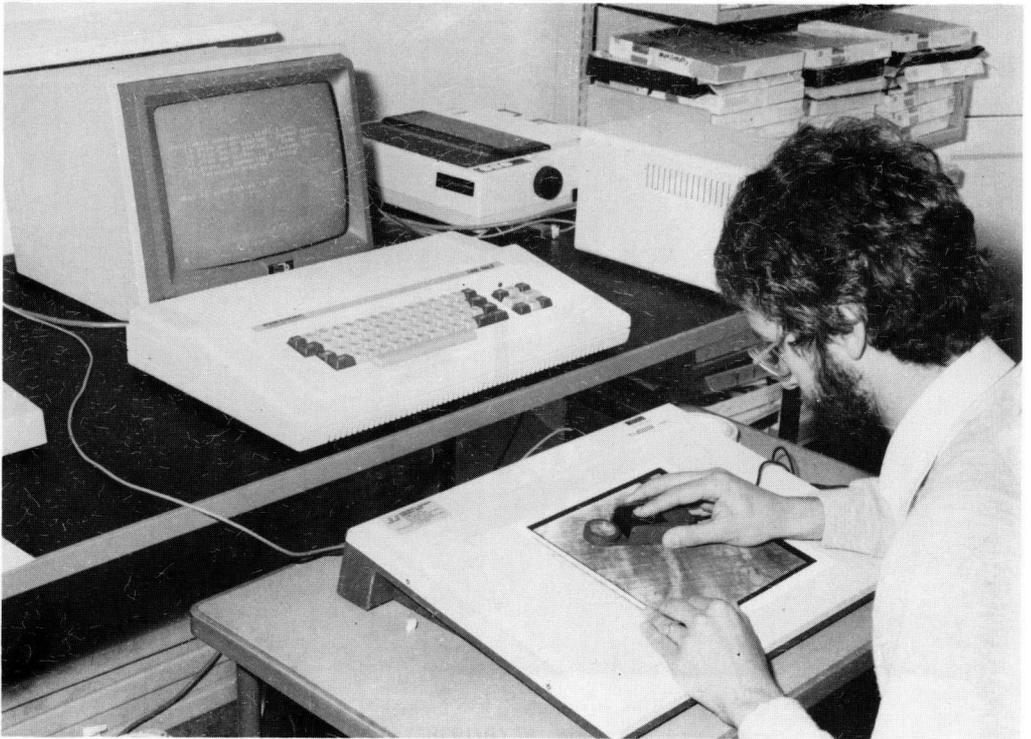


Fig. 39 (B/19394)

Ian Parker, draughtsman, using a micro-computer-based plotting system to transcribe aerial photographs, c.1987. This system has proved invaluable for the production of scale drawings from oblique aerial photographs

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for allowing me ready access to their records for the purpose of preparing this paper. I should also like to acknowledge the encouragement of the Chairman, Secretary and staff and their kindness and co-operation in smoothing my path in numerous ways. The opinions expressed are, however, my own. Except where otherwise stated, all the illustrations are drawn from the Royal Commission's archives and are published with its consent; they are subject to Crown Copyright.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.B.A.	Council for British Archaeology
D.O.E.	Department of the Environment
Minutes	Minutes of meetings of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
N.M.R.S.	National Monuments Record of Scotland
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
<i>P.S.A.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
R.C.A.H.M.S.	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
S.D.D.	Scottish Development Department
S.I.A.S.	Scottish Industrial Archaeology Survey
S.N.B.R.	Scottish National Buildings Record

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Appendix I:

List of Commissioners and Secretaries 1908-88

COMMISSIONERS

Sir Herbert Maxwell	Chairman 1908-34
The Hon. Lord Guthrie	1908-20
Professor G. Baldwin Brown	1908-32
Professor T.H. Bryce	1908-46
F.C. Buchanan	1908-20
W.T. Oldrieve	1908-22
Dr Thomas Ross	1908-30
Dr A.O. Curle	1913-51
Sir George MacDonald	1923-40 Chairman 1934-40
Dr James Curle	1925-44
Viscount Novar	1925-34
James A. Morris	1930-42
Sir John Stirling Maxwell	1934-49 Chairman 1940-9
Dr J. Graham Callendar	1934-8
Sir Iain Colquhoun	1934-42
Dr Reginald Fairlie	1938-52
Professor V. Gordon Childe	1942-6
Dr W. Mackay Mackenzie	1943-52
Professor V.H. Galbraith	1943-55
Professor Sir Ian A. Richmond	1944-65
Professor Stuart Piggott	1946-76
Dr W. Douglas Simpson	1946-68
The Earl of Wemyss and March	Chairman 1949-85
Ian G. Lindsay	1951-66
Professor W. Croft Dickinson	1952-63
G.P.H. Watson	1952-9
Dr Annie I. Dunlop	1955-71
Angus Graham	1960-74
Professor Kenneth H. Jackson	1963-85
Professor Gordon Donaldson	1964-82
Professor Patrick Nuttgens	1967-76
Professor A.A.M. Duncan	1969-
Professor James Dunbar-Nasmith	1971-
Professor Rosemary Cramp	1974-
Dr Howard M. Colvin	1976-89
Professor Leslie Alcock	1977-90
Professor George Jobey	1979-89
Professor John Butt	1982-87
Mrs P.E. Durham	1984-
The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres	Chairman 1985-
Professor T.C. Smout	1986-
The Hon. Lord Cullen	1987-

SECRETARIES

Dr A.O. Curle	1908-13
Dr W. Mackay Mackenzie	1913-35
Angus Graham	1935-57
Dr Kenneth A. Steer	1957-78
John G. Dunbar	1978-90

Appendix II:

List of Principal Publications 1908-88

(published by H.M.S.O. unless otherwise stated)

COUNTY INVENTORIES

- 1909 *First Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick*
- 1911 *Second Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Sutherland*
- 1911 *Third Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Caithness*
- 1912 *Fourth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol. I, County of Wigtown*
- 1914 *Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol. II, County of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*
- 1915 *Sixth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick (Revised Issue)*
- 1920 *Seventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries*
- 1924 *Eighth Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of East Lothian*
- 1928 *Ninth Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles*
- 1929 *Tenth Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian*
- 1933 *Eleventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*
- 1946 *Twelfth Report with an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney & Shetland, Volume I Report & Introduction, Volume II, Inventory of Orkney, Volume III, Inventory of Shetland*
- 1951 *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh (with the Thirteenth Report of the Commission)*
- 1956 *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire (with the Fourteenth Report of the Commission) (2 Volumes)*
- 1957 *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Selkirkshire (with the Fifteenth Report of the Commission)*
- 1963 *Stirlingshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments (with the Sixteenth Report of the Commission) (2 Volumes)*
- 1967 *Peeblesshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments (with the Seventeenth Report of the Commission) (2 Volumes)*
- 1971 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Volume I, Kintyre (with the Eighteenth Report of the Commission)*

- 1975 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Volume 2, Lorn* (with the Nineteenth report of the Commission)
- 1978 *Lanarkshire. An Inventory of the Prehistoric and Roman Monuments* (with the Twentieth Report of the Commission)
- 1980 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Monuments, Volume 3, Mull, Tiree, Coll & Northern Argyll (excluding the Early Medieval & later monuments of Iona)* (with the Twenty-first Report of the Commission)
- 1982 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Monuments, Volume 4, Iona* (with the Twenty-second Report of the Commission)
- 1984 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Monuments, Volume 5, Islay, Jura, Colonsay & Oronsay* (with the Twenty-third Report of the Commission)
- 1988 *Argyll. An Inventory of the Monuments, Volume 6, Mid Argyll & Cowal Prehistoric and Early Medieval Monuments* (with the Twenty-fourth Report of the Commission)

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

- 1960 *The Stirling Heads. An Account of the Renaissance Wood-carvings from the King's Presence Chamber at Stirling Castle* (Revised edition 1975)
- 1972 *National Monuments Record of Scotland, Report 1966-71*
- 1975 *National Monuments Record of Scotland, Report 1972-74*
- 1975 *Recording Scotland's Heritage. The Work of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*
- 1977 Steer, K.A. and Bannerman, J.W.M., *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*
- 1983 Dunbar, John G. and Fisher, Ian, *Iona*
- 1985 Baldwin, John R., *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Lothian and the Borders*
- 1985 Ritchie, Graham and Harman, Mary, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Argyll and The Western Isles*
- 1985 Ritchie, Anna, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Orkney and Shetland*
- 1985 Stevenson, J.B., *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. The Clyde Estuary and Central Region*
- 1986 Hay, Geoffrey D. and Stell, Geoffrey P., *Monuments of Industry: an illustrated historical record*
- 1986 Stell, Geoffrey, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Dumfries and Galloway*
- 1986 Shepherd, Ian A.G., *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Grampian*
- 1986 Brooks, Joanna Close, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. The Highlands*
- 1987 Walker, Bruce and Ritchie, Graham, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Fife and Tayside*
- 1988 Stell, Geoffrey P. and Harman, Mary, *Buildings of St. Kilda*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND MONUMENTS SERIES (ISSUED BY R.C.A.H.M.S.)

- 1978 1. *Clackmannan District and Falkirk District, Central Region*
- 1978 2. *Cumbernauld & Kilsyth District and Strathkelvin District, Strathclyde Region* (Revised Edition, 1982)

- 1978 3. *Dumbarton District, Clydebank District, Bearsden and Milngavie District, Strathclyde Region*
- 1978 4. *Lunan Valley and the Montrose Basin, Angus District, Tayside Region*
- 1978 5. *Nairn District, Highland Region*
- 1979 6. *Easter Ross, Ross & Cromarty District, Highland Region*
- 1979 7. *Stirling District, Central Region*
- 1979 8. *North-east Inverness, Inverness District, Highland Region*
- 1979 9. *The Black Isle, Ross and Cromarty District, Highland Region*
- 1980 10. *Berwickshire District, Borders Region*
- 1980 11. *Sanday and North Ronaldsay, Orkney Islands Area (compiled by R.G. Lamb)*
- 1980 12. *Upper Eskdale, Annandale & Eskdale District, Dumfries & Galloway Region*
- 1981 13. *Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale, Annandale & Eskdale District, Dumfries & Galloway Region*
- 1981 14. *South Carrick, Kyle & Carrick District, Strathclyde Region*
- 1982 15. *South Kincardine, Kincardine & Deeside District, Grampian Region*
- 1982 16. *Rousay, Egilsay and Wyre, Orkney Islands Area (compiled by R.G. Lamb)*
- 1983 17. *North Carrick, Kyle & Carrick District, Strathclyde Region*
- 1983 18. *Central Angus, 1 (Prehistoric & Roman), Angus District, Tayside Region (compiled by J.R. Sherriff)*
- 1983 19. *Papa Westray and Westray, Orkney Islands Area (compiled by R.G. Lamb)*
- 1983 20. *Rhum, Lochaber District, Highland Region*
- 1984 21. *North Kincardine, Kincardine & Deeside District, Grampian Region*
- 1984 22. *Central Angus, 2 (Medieval & Later), Angus District, Tayside Region (compiled by J.R. Sherriff)*
- 1984 23. *Eday and Stronsay, Orkney Islands Area (compiled by R.G. Lamb)*
- 1985 24. *West Rhins, Wigtown District, Dumfries & Galloway Region*
- 1985 25. *North Kyle, Kyle & Carrick District, Strathclyde Region*
- 1987 26. *East Rhins, Wigtown District, Dumfries & Galloway Region*
- 1987 27. *Shapinsay, St Andrews and Deerness (with adjacent small islands), Orkney Islands Area (compiled by R.G. Lamb)*
- 1988 28. *Midlothian (Prehistoric to Early Historic), Midlothian District, Lothian Region*

CATALOGUES OF AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS (ISSUED BY R.C.A.H.M.S.)

1976-88 *Catalogue of Aerial Photographs* [annual]

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