



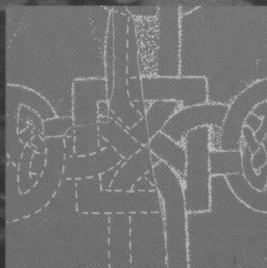
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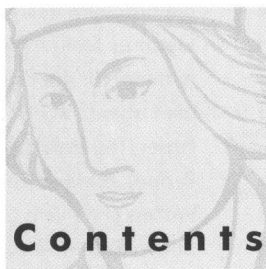
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An exhibition to celebrate the Millennium in Scotland



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Preface

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), supported by the **Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF)**, is celebrating the Millennium with an exhibition of photographs and drawings selected from the **National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS)** which reflect, through the nation's buildings, monuments and sculpture, the history of religious worship - Christian and non-Christian alike - in Scotland since the advent of Christianity.

Scotland has a rich and extensive heritage of religious monuments, and any exhibition on this subject cannot avoid being selective and representative. Whilst it would be desirable to celebrate and illustrate the wide diversity of religions in modern Scottish society, there is space only to devote to the 'people of the Book' - Judaism, Christianity and Islam - the three monotheistic religions of Middle Eastern origin. Even this restricted theme is very large indeed and has had to be broken down into five main periods: **Early Christian Era; The Middle Ages; Post-Reformation Period; Nineteenth Century; and Twentieth Century**. The treatment of each of these periods has been given a regional emphasis, partly to achieve a balance in geographical coverage, partly to demonstrate the special contribution made to the subject by RCAHMS, and partly to highlight some less well-known buildings and monuments among the holdings of the NMRS. Thus, the section on the Early Christian Era makes particular reference to Iona, that on the Middle Ages focuses on the medieval diocese of Aberdeen, the Post-Reformation period concentrates on south-eastern Scotland, the Nineteenth Century on Tayside and the Highlands, and the Twentieth Century on Glasgow and west central Scotland. Places in Scotland mentioned in this brochure are listed on the map and are generally identified in relation to the pre-1975 historic counties.

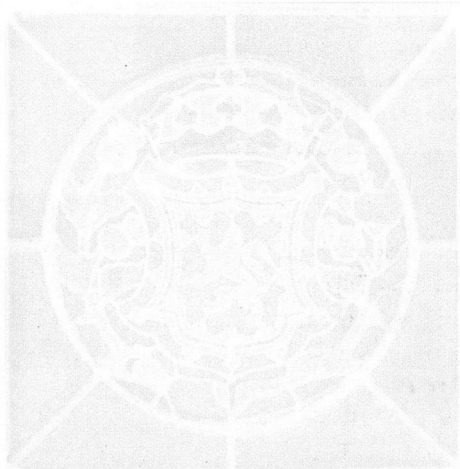
This 60-panel exhibition for which this brochure has been prepared is being held in John Sinclair House, the home of RCAHMS, from December 1999 until February 2000. During March and April 2000 it will be on display in the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art, Glasgow. Thereafter, in association with the Scotland's Churches Scheme, it goes on tour through Scotland, via Stirling, Dundee, Restenneth, Aberdeen, Inverness, Oban, Ayr, Dumfries and Peebles.

The exhibition has been designed by John Stevenson, the brochure designed by Kate George and edited by Geoffrey Stell, the commentaries and compilations of material for the five sections having been prepared by Ian Fisher (Early Christian Era), Neil Cameron and Iain Fraser (The Middle Ages), Geoffrey Stell (Post-Reformation Period), Simon Green (Nineteenth Century) and Diane Watters (Twentieth Century). Acknowledgements are also due to Robert Adam, John Borland, Georgina Brown, Marilyn Brown, Tahra Duncan, Lesley Ferguson, Philip Graham, Yvonne Hillyard, John Keggie, Angus Lamb, James Mackie, Roger Mercer, Clare Sorensen, Heather Stoddart, Steve Wallace and other members of RCAHMS staff for help and advice in the preparation of the exhibition and the brochure.

For support in the preparation and organisation of the exhibition RCAHMS also wishes to thank the following individuals, agencies and institutions: Brian Fraser and the Scotland's Churches Scheme; Harry Dunlop and the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art, Glasgow; Bruce Hunter and the Restenneth Library Conference Centre; the Scottish Tourist Board; the British Tourist Authority; the Scottish Millennium Festival; and, above all, the Heritage Lottery Fund, whose financial assistance turned a proposal into a reality.

Map

Places in Scotland mentioned in the text



Early Christian Era

Christianity in that part of North Britain that was to become Scotland arose in the twilight of the Roman Empire, and Christian artefacts were acquired, by raiding or trade, in hoards such as that excavated at Traprain Law (East Lothian). Medieval legend portrayed the mother of the 6th-century St Kentigern (or Mungo) as the Christian daughter of the pagan king of the British stronghold at Traprain, and a round-ended building excavated there may have been an early church.

In Southern Scotland between the Solway and the Forth, several stone pillars inscribed in Roman capitals commemorate individuals with Latinised names and use Christian formulae such as TE DOMINUM LAUDAMUS ('We praise thee as Lord') and HIC IACET ('Here lies'). The Cat Stane near Edinburgh proclaims 'In this mound lies Vetta son [or daughter] of Victr[?]icius' and overlooks the excavated site of a group of stone-lined graves. Such long-cist cemeteries are the most widespread indications of early Christianity in eastern Scotland, and extend into the Pictish areas of Fife and Angus.

'We praise thee as Lord'

➔ Right

Whithorn (Wigtownshire)

Memorial-stone erected by Latinus, 'aged 35 years', and his daughter. The earliest Christian monument in Scotland, supporting later traditions of Ninian's activities at Whithorn in the 5th century.

⬅ Left

Cat Stane cemetery (Edinburgh)

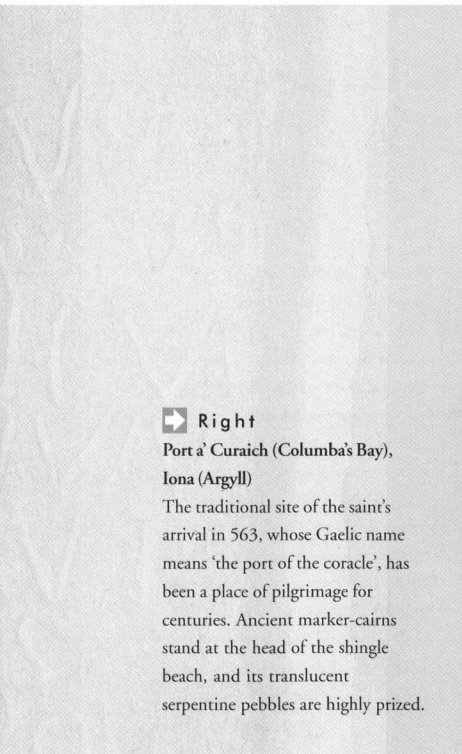
Early Christian 'long cist' burials excavated in advance of runway extension at Turnhouse airport. The massive memorial-stone to Vetta stands a few metres to the north.





In western Galloway, a 5th-century inscription at Whithorn (Wigtownshire) which names one Latinus is followed - chronologically - by a stone at Kirkmadrine (Wigtownshire) commemorating two 'eminent sacerdots' ('bishops' or 'priests'). Like two other pillars there it bears the *Chi-rho* symbol (combining the cross with a Greek abbreviation of Christ's name) and a version of the Alpha and Omega. The crosses resemble those found in Gaul in the early 6th century, a Gaulish connection which is also reflected in the dedication to St Martin of Tours of the church established at Whithorn by Bishop Nynia, better known as St Ninian.

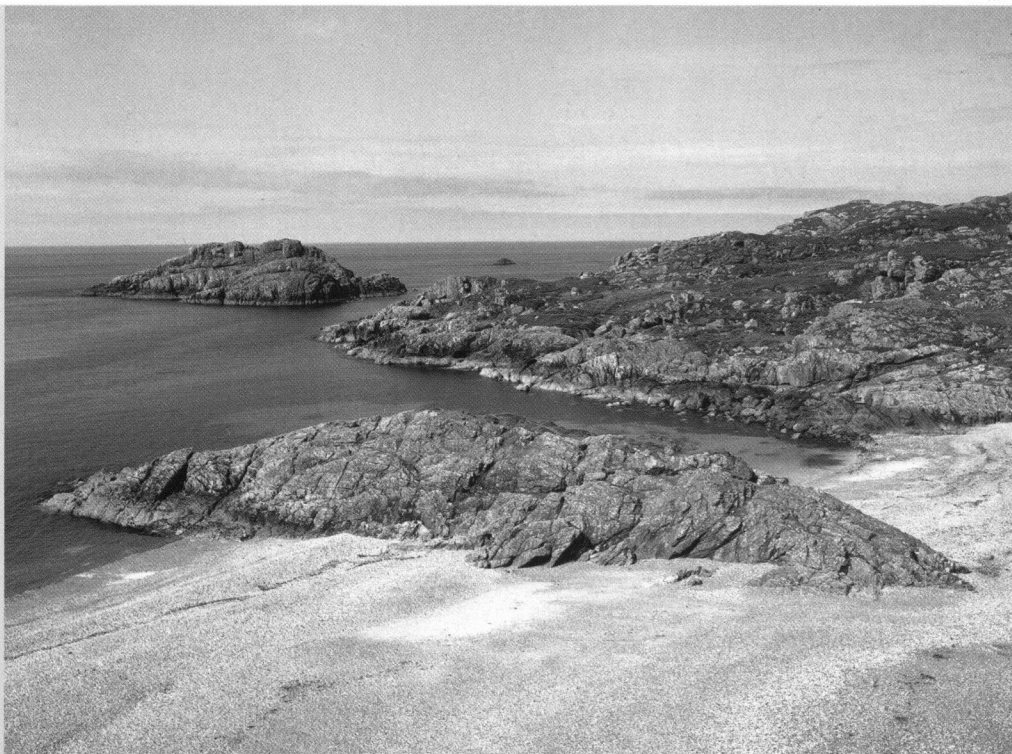
The church established in the Irish colony of Dál Riata (Argyll) in the 6th century by Columba and other monastic founders was strongly influenced by the monastic tradition as developed in Egypt and Syria, both in its communal form and in the ascetic life of the hermit. Iona became one of the greatest monasteries of the Irish church, controlling daughter houses in Ireland, Dál Riata, Pictland and, for a period in the 7th century, Northumbria. On Iona (Argyll), archaeology supports the historical evidence of Abbot Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (c.690-700) in showing a group of timber buildings within the enclosing *vallum* (rampart), the spiritual boundary of the



Right

Port a' Curaich (Columba's Bay),
Iona (Argyll)

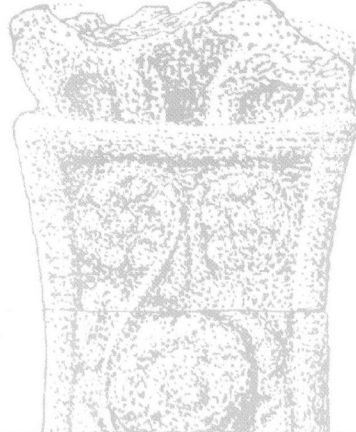
The traditional site of the saint's arrival in 563, whose Gaelic name means 'the port of the coracle', has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries. Ancient marker-cairns stand at the head of the shingle beach, and its translucent serpentine pebbles are highly prized.



monastery. This *vallum* is represented both by standing earthworks and by buried ditches known from geophysical survey and excavation, which have produced leather shoes, wooden bowls and other objects of daily life. The complexity of these earthworks reflects different functions within the enclosure, and also the process of monastic expansion by which:

*'The cells that have been taken by
pairs and by trios,
They are Romes with multitudes,
with hundreds, thousands'.*

(Martyrology of Oengus, c.800)



Left

**Early Christian Monastery
and Medieval Abbey, Iona**

The Benedictine abbey, founded c.1200 and restored during the 20th century, stands at the centre of the early monastic enclosure. The vallum earthworks are visible to the west and north-west. An inner ditch and timber buildings have been excavated north of St Oran's Chapel. St Martin's Cross stands between the abbey and Torr an Aba ('the Abbot's Mound'). Many early and late medieval graveslabs have been removed to shelter from the burial-ground, Reilig Odhráin.

The monks cultivated arable fields on the machair or 'little western plain', and the saint's supposed landing-place at Port a' Curaich (Columba's Bay) was a place of pilgrimage marked by cairns.

Yet Columba, though a powerful ecclesiastical statesman, led an ascetic life, 'having for bed the bare rock and for pillow a stone which stands beside his burial-place'. In the Hebrides there are several small enclosed sites which illustrate the monastic quest for 'a desert in the ocean'. That at Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha ('Cliff of the Holy Women') is dramatically situated below



Far Right

Lapis Echoidi, Iona

The Latin inscription on the top edge of this 7th-century gravemarker means 'the stone of Echoid'. The elegant curving cross and attached loop form the *Chi-rho*, a symbol of Christ based on the first two Greek letters of His name.

cliffs on the south shore of Canna (Inverness-shire), while North Rona (Ross and Cromarty), with its tiny oratory of Irish type, lies 70km north of the Butt of Lewis, and two early stones remain on the isolated archipelago of St Kilda. A larger monastic settlement, on Eileach an Naoimh ('Rock of the Saint') in the Garvellach Isles (Argyll), includes a double-beehive cell of a type found in Irish hermitages, and an early cross-marked stone on a circular 'special grave'.

Right

Kildalton Cross, Islay (Argyll)

One of the best-preserved of the 8th-century Iona group of high crosses, with the same double-curved arms and rich spiral-ornament as St John's Cross. The west face is dominated by four high-relief lions in the cross-arms, perhaps symbolising Christ as the Lion of Judah. The east face includes the Virgin and Child with angels, and Old Testament scenes.



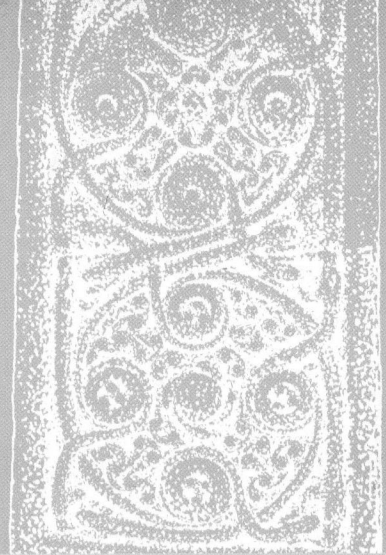
The carved stones found in western Scotland, along with place-name elements such as *Cill* ('church' or 'burial-ground'), provide the most widespread evidence of Christian activity, much of it probably at sites used by the laity. Columba's stone pillow served as his grave-marker, and many of the slabs and pillars at Iona and elsewhere are of great simplicity, with plain incised or outline crosses. Even these, however, include symbols of Christ such as the *Chi-rho*, or features derived from the art of the eastern Mediterranean. A remarkable slab from Riasg

Buidhe on Colonsay (Argyll) combines the image of Christ's face appearing above the cross, as seen on pilgrims' flasks from Jerusalem, with a fish-like body recalling the ancient *ichthus* symbol. Wooden crosses were used on Iona in Columba's time, and the first large stone crosses were created there in the 8th century when the monastery had become an important artistic centre and the likely home of the celebrated *Book of Kells*. Perhaps in response to Northumbrian crosses such as that at Ruthwell (Dumfriesshire),

the Iona carvers created monuments of comparable height and much greater span, symbolising the extent of Christ's protection:

*'Cross of Christ up to broad heaven.
Cross of Christ down to the earth.
Let no evil or hurt come
to my body or my soul'.*

(Mugrón, abbot of Iona and Kells, d.981)



↑ Above

St John's Cross, Iona

Detail of east face. The rich spiral ornament resembles that of the famous *Book of Kells*. (see pp.6-7, background)

← Left

Old Melrose (Roxburghshire)

The monastic site in 'the winding of the Tweed', where the youthful Cuthbert became a monk in 651 under the holy prior Boisil ('St Boswell'). A vallum bank survives at the neck of the promontory.

→ Right

Ruthwell Cross (Dumfriesshire)

Two scenes set in the desert: wild beasts acknowledge Christ as Saviour, and the hermits Paul and Antony break bread, symbolising the eucharist.

→ Right top

St Andrews Sarcophagus (Fife)

This Pictish masterpiece of c.750, with slotted corner-posts holding the panels, was perhaps a royal tomb. The main panel shows a lion-hunt, and David killing a lion to save his lamb.





In St John's Cross the jointing techniques of carpentry were used to form the first ringed cross-head. These crosses combined rich spiralwork and 'snake-and-boss' ornament, derived from the metalwork of shrines and book-covers, with Biblical images including the Virgin and Child, Who were the subject of a Latin hymn by an Iona monk.

The pagan Angles of Northumbria were converted to Christianity by Irish monks led by Aidan and sent from Iona to Lindisfarne in about 635, a period when the Northumbrian kingdom was extending its control northwards to the Firth of Forth. The monasteries founded during the three decades of Irish dominance included Old Melrose (Roxburghshire), 'almost enclosed by the winding of the River Tweed' as Bede (in his *Ecclesiastical History*, completed in 731) described it, where St Cuthbert first took monastic vows. Near St Abb's Head on the Berwickshire coast a joint monastery of monks and nuns, under the royal abbess Ebba, was founded within an earlier fortification above high sea-cliffs.

Following the Anglian royal decision about 664 to adopt Roman rather than Columban practice in disputed matters of church discipline, Northumbrian bishops and abbots introduced stonemasons from Gaul and works of art from that province and Italy. The resulting Classical types of figure-carving and vine-scroll ornament are seen in the 8th-century Ruthwell Cross, where Latin inscriptions describing theological scenes are combined with the runic text of an Old English poem on the Crucifixion. In contrast to this almost intact masterpiece, the carvings of the monastery of Hoddum (Dumfriesshire) are represented by a few accomplished fragments, one found recently in a nearby rockery. Crosses with geometrical and vine-scroll ornament of later 8th-century type are found at Abercorn (West Lothian), a monastery and seat of a short-lived bishopric with jurisdiction in Pictland before the Northumbrian defeat of 685. Another bishopric was established before 730 at Whithorn, where a church of that period, surrounded by a complex of buildings, has been excavated.



'Make a joyful noise to God, all ye lands' (Ps.66)

Bede's description of Ninian as the apostle to the Southern Picts may symbolise a more gradual process of conversion which is attested by the spread of the long-cist cemeteries referred to above. Both Bede and Adomnán testify to the existence of Columban monasteries in Pictland, and these perhaps included Fortingall (Perthshire), where the parish church stands within a double-ditched enclosure, and Portmahomack (Ross and Cromarty) with its rich collection of both simple and elaborate sculpture. Simple cross-incised stones of western type, widely distributed from Perthshire to Caithness, may also indicate Columban missionary activity in eastern Scotland.

The Pictish appeal to the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow (Co. Durham, England) for stonemasons, in the first quarter of the 8th century, is reflected in Northumbrian features in the earliest cross-slabs, which owed as much to manuscript design as to existing carvings. The fine sandstones of eastern Scotland, especially in Angus and round the shores of the Moray Firth, were allied with the accomplished technique of Pictish craftsmen to produce carvings of unique character. The enigmatic motifs of earlier symbol-stones were preserved on the cross-slabs, and Pictish carvers

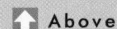


Left

Tower of Lethendy (Perthshire)
Detail of 10th-century cross-slab:
David and his musicians
represented by a harper and a man
playing a triple pipe similar to the
launeddas of Sardinia.

particularly favoured naturalistic and fantastic animals, but the cross, enriched with interlace or spirals, always dominated at least one face. The repeated hunting-scenes and processions of riders suggest a mainly secular patronage which contrasts with the monastic art of Dál Riata and Northumbria. But many themes were shared by the various cultures of North Britain, including examples of divine salvation: David saving the lamb from the lion's mouth; Daniel in the lions' den; David as psalmist and musician, or as warrior king (representing the close link between church and state); the desert saints Paul and Antony, whose sharing of bread symbolised the eucharist (at Ruthwell, Nigg (Ross and Cromarty) and Fowls Wester (Perthshire)); and 'snake-and-boss' ornament (of Iona, Nigg and St Andrews (Fife)).

The union of the Pictish and Dalriadic dynasties in the middle of the 9th century coincided with a period when Iona had been weakened by Viking raids. Although a community survived there, the relics of Columba, symbolising the authority of the abbot, were divided between new monasteries at Kells (Co. Meath, Ireland)



Above

Meigle (Perthshire)
The numerous bosses in the head of
this 9th-century cross-slab are
derived from metalwork. The back
shows Daniel surrounded by lions.

↓ Below

Brechin Round Tower (Angus)

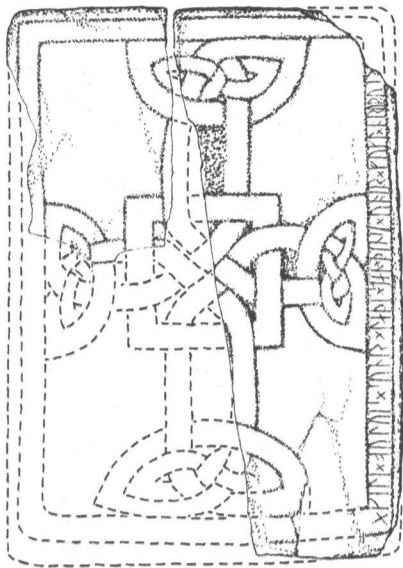
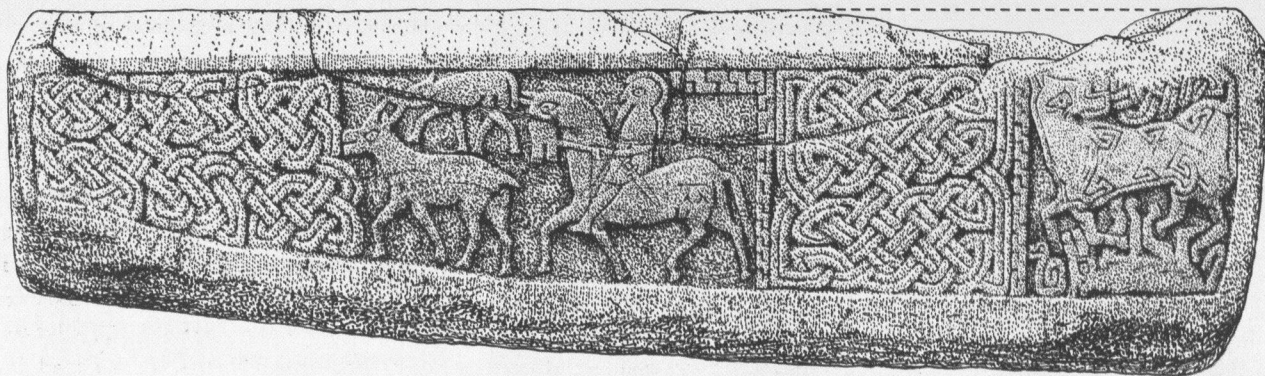
The 11th-century tower of Irish type, with its sculptured doorway and later conical roof, stands beside the 13th-century west front of the cathedral.



and Dunkeld (Perthshire). A cross-slab at Dunkeld shows rows of apostles in a repetitive style similar to that of Irish crosses of the 9th and 10th centuries, and other small cross-slabs without symbols in eastern Scotland are probably of the same period. On one of these at Lethendy (Perthshire), a David scene combines a triangular harp of Pictish type with a triple pipe of Irish origin, first seen on St Martin's Cross, Iona. St Andrews, which became the principal bishop's seat of eastern Scotland, remained an important centre of carving. Another monastery of possible Columban origin, at Brechin (Angus), was endowed by King Kenneth II (971-995), and a fine round tower of Irish type adjoins the medieval cathedral.

The dreaded Vikings became settlers and, in time, enthusiastic Christians, with a particular devotion to St Columba, and Hebridean Norsemen were among the first to bring the new religion to Iceland. Many landowners established chapels on their farms in the Northern Isles and the Hebrides. Although most of these were in rural settings, churches were also a feature of aristocratic residences such as Birsay and Orphir in Orkney. On Barra and Iona runic inscriptions in Old Norse appear on cross-slabs in the Irish tradition, but the Norsemen also introduced some carvings in Scandinavian style. These include a group of small cross-shaped gravemarkers on Barra (Inverness-shire) and on Unst and Yell (Shetland), descended from early Irish models but with their closest parallels in south-west Norway.

The great output of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in northern England influenced 10th-



century local schools in Galloway and Strathclyde, areas which for centuries had had no native tradition of carving. In each region there was one high-status burial-centre with a large collection of memorials, and a number of other sites with single crosses providing focuses for open-air worship. In the area centred on Whithorn these monuments took the form of cross-slabs with solid disc-heads, whereas in Strathclyde the freestanding cross was favoured. At Govan (Glasgow), however, there is a remarkable range of monuments: crosses; hogback gravecovers of Cumbrian style; recumbent graveslabs; and a unique sarcophagus reminiscent of earlier royal burials in western Europe.

▲ Above

Govan Old Parish Church, Glasgow
This monolithic sarcophagus was probably, like the composite shrine at St Andrews, intended for a royal burial. (drawing by Ian G Scott)

◀ Left

Iona
Fragment of graveslab with interlaced cross in Irish style and Norse runic inscription: 'Kali son of Ólvir laid this stone over Fugl his brother'.

The Middle Ages

For ecclesiastical monuments of the High and Later Middle Ages, North-eastern Scotland represents an effective microcosm of the country as a whole. The region possesses a range of survivals which illustrate many of the fundamental aspects of the history and development of Scottish medieval church architecture. From the beginnings of the greater formalisation of ecclesiastical organisation in the 12th century - that is, with the creation of parishes and dioceses and the advance of the international religious orders - to the diminution of traditional areas of church power and control with the Reformation in the 16th century, the monuments of this area - centred on the great cathedral of St Machar in Old Aberdeen - tell an eloquent version of this fascinating story.

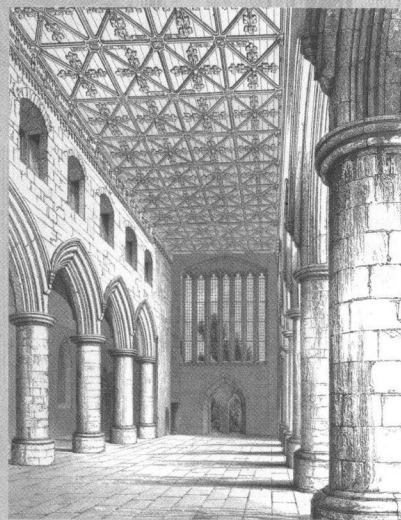
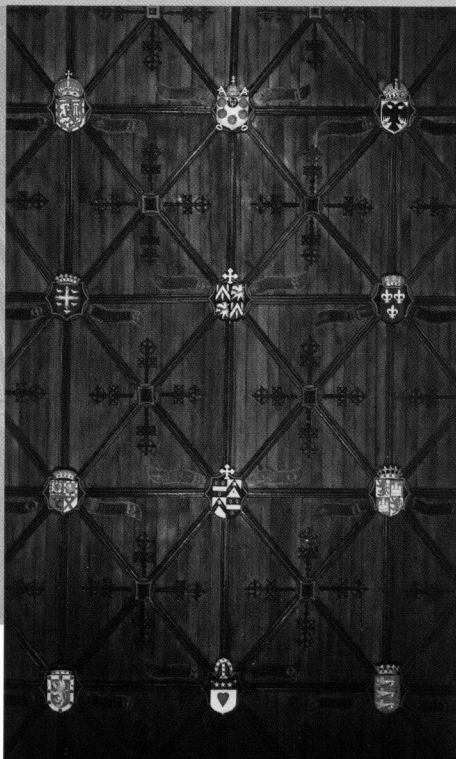
The church at Monymusk (Aberdeenshire), for example, is a typical mid-12th-century parish church. In its architectural style the building is Romanesque, a term that is used to describe buildings of the 11th and 12th centuries across Europe which are characterised by the use of round arches and a mural structural system. Simply stated, that system means that the buildings stand up by virtue of having thick walls carrying the weight of roofs and vaults. In its plan-form, Monymusk shares the layout of hundreds of parish churches of this period in many countries, having a western tower leading through an arch into a rectangular main space - the nave - which has an arch leading into a smaller space at the east end of the church - the chancel - where the high altar was situated.

Far Right St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen

This 19th-century view by R W Billings, shows the nave with its sturdy arcade of round columns (inspiring its description as '*an elephant on stilts*'), the timber ceiling, and the striking seven lancets of the west window.

Right St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen

One of the cathedral's most striking features is the heraldic timber ceiling, constructed by James Winter between 1519 and 1521. Three rows of shields display the arms of the political hierarchy of Europe, as viewed from Scotland. In the southern row (left) the royal armorial of James V precedes the greater nobles of Scotland. The central row contains the arms of the prelates of Scotland, preceded by Pope Leo X. In the northern row (right) the arms of Emperor Charles V precede those of the sovereigns of Europe.



In the character of its details, Monymusk is also typical of its period in having an east arch supported by capitals of 'cushion' form with rounded shafts below. Often some of these features were enlivened with decorative carving - which added to the expense of building - but in the case of Monymusk they are plain, which may have been a way of reducing costs. Nevertheless, the east arch is more elaborate than the west arch - between the nave and tower - which has neither capitals nor shafts. This illustrates another aspect typical of many medieval churches - namely, that more visual emphasis was given to the area around the altar, where the liturgy was carried out, than to other parts of the interior.

Elaborate decoration was also often used as part of the external treatment of a medieval church to draw the eye to areas of functional importance such as doorways. A rectangular church in the late Romanesque style known as 'Transitional', St Mary's Church at Auchindoir (Aberdeenshire), which probably dates to around 1200, has a main entrance-doorway in the south wall which is composed of a variety of decorative elements. These include more refined mouldings around the arch than at Monymusk, the use of an ornament aptly described as 'dogtooth', and capitals which incorporate stylised foliage motifs.

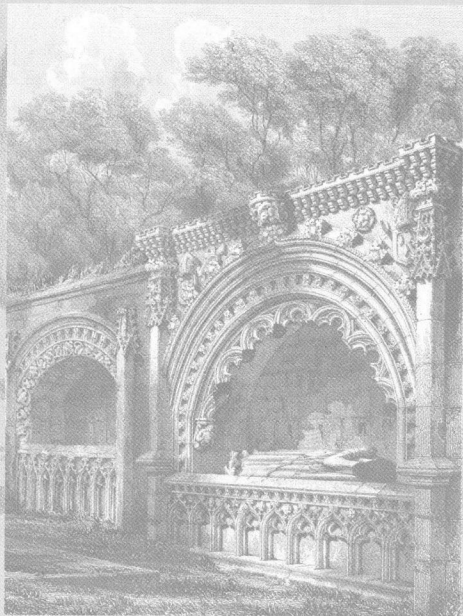
↓ Below

St Congan's Old Parish Church,
Turriff (Aberdeenshire)

During demolition of part of the ruined church in 1860, workmen discovered this wall-painting of St Ninian, a rare example of the

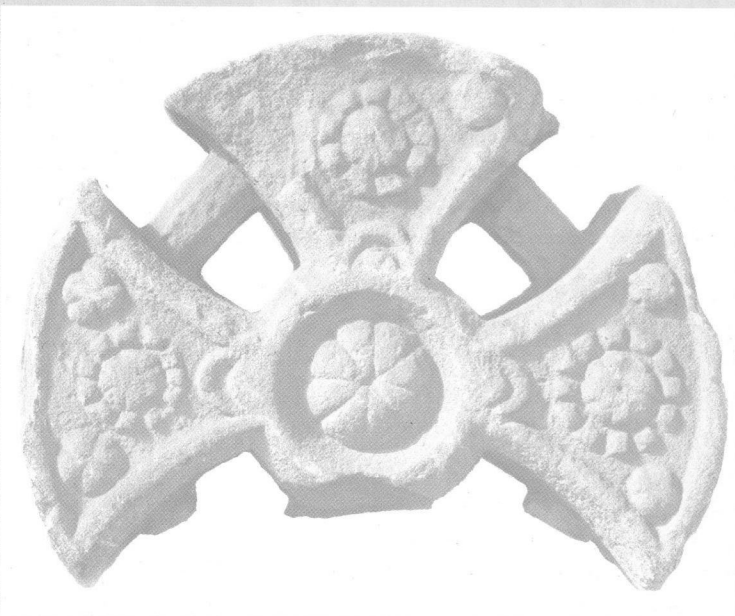
decoration that once enlivened the interiors of medieval churches. Although the painting could not be saved, during the few days it survived a detailed record was made, including this watercolour by the Aberdeen lithographer, James Gibb.





↑ Above
St Machar's Cathedral,
Aberdeen

Although largely reserved to the higher ranks of society, burial within the church was accepted medieval practice, but was discouraged after the Reformation. This 19th-century view shows the tomb of Bishop Dunbar (d.1532) in the ruins of the south transept.

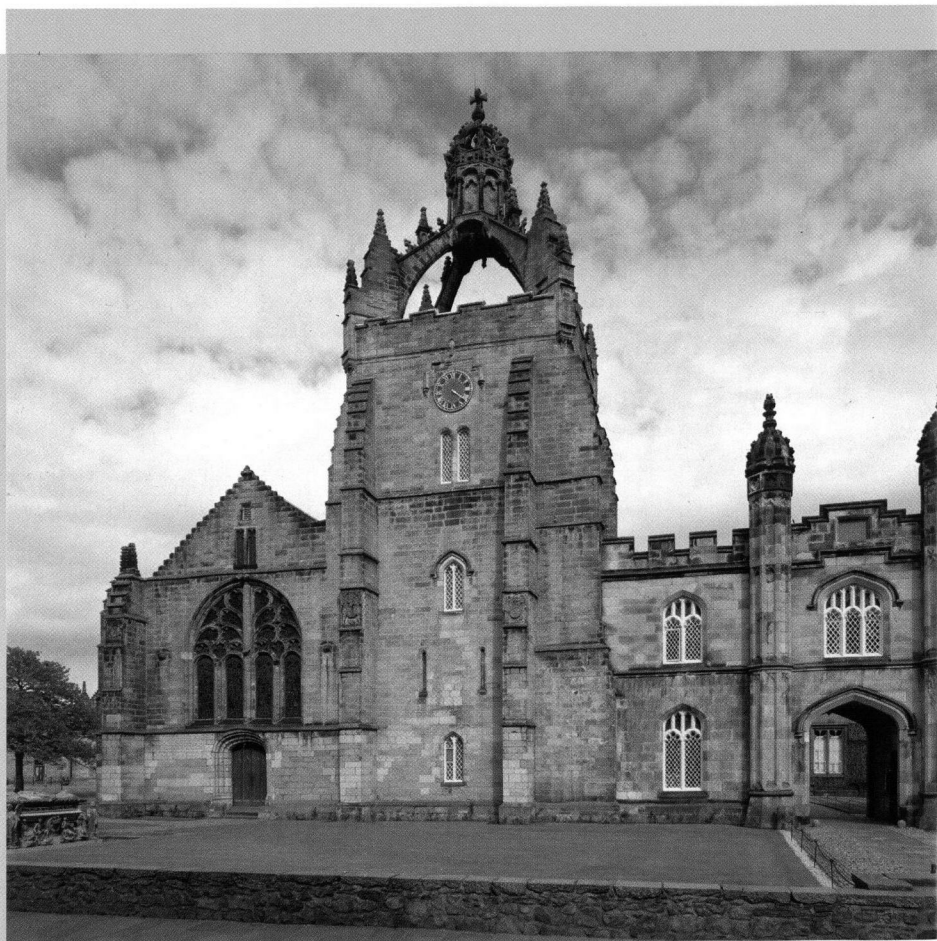
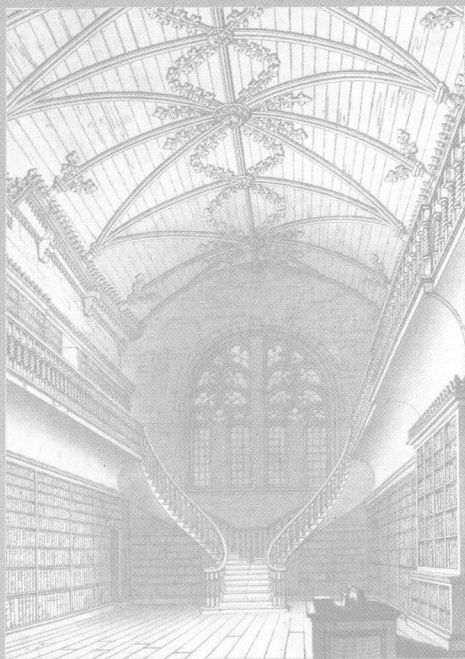


↑ Above
St Machar's Cathedral,
Aberdeen

This splendid Romanesque cross-head probably once surmounted a girth cross which marked the boundary of sanctuary around the cathedral and bishop's palace.

Representing a more complex type of plan than Monymusk or Auchindoir is the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen. Here, an aisled nave and a crossing, formed by transepts - an arm of the building which runs at right angles to the main space - allowed a greater area for the larger congregation to be found in such a major medieval town. St Nicholas uses Transitional features such as attenuated shafts and 'crocket' capitals, and, although far more elaborate than Auchindoir, possesses many very similar details. Such similarities are quite common in medieval churches within the same geographical area and are usually taken to mean that the same group of masons may have been involved in working on a 'school' of churches.

Occasionally, however, there is evidence to suggest that very skilled masons travelled extensively across the country in pursuit of work - a point that is well demonstrated by the magnificent late Romanesque cross-head from St Machar's Cathedral. It is so similar in size and details of its carving to a cross of the same date in Co. Durham, England, that it is almost certain that the same specialist mason made both objects. The St Machar's cross-head - which was probably broken from its shaft during the



➔ **Right**

King's College Chapel,
Aberdeen

The Royal Coat of Arms on the western buttress of the tower.



◀ **Far left**

King's College Chapel,
Aberdeen

In the aftermath of the Reformation, surplus churches were converted to a variety of uses. Billings' view of the interior shows the chapel serving as the college library.

◀ **Left**

King's College Chapel,
Aberdeen

Bishop Elphinstone's chapel served as the focus of collegiate life in the new University of Aberdeen. Its dominant feature, the crown steeple, is one of only two now surviving in Scotland, the other being St Giles', Edinburgh. One used to surmount the church tower of Linlithgow, and others are believed to have been intended to be built at Dundee and Haddington.

Reformation in the later 16th century when many religious images and artefacts were destroyed - may have been used to mark out an area of sanctuary in the grounds of the Bishop's Palace, Old Aberdeen.

The Transitional style was superseded by the 'Gothic' in the early 13th century. Typified by the use of pointed arches, an example in North-eastern Scotland is Arbuthnott Church (Kincardineshire). The east end of this church, including the chancel arch, represents a simple survival of this style which in Scotland persisted in various permutations up to the Reformation in 1560 - and in some cases beyond.

Arbuthnott also provides a superb example of late Gothic architecture in the shape of an 'aisle' which was built by the local landowner on to the south wall of the church in around 1500. This two-storeyed structure served as a burial-vault and a private chapel for the Arbuthnott family. Its pinnacled buttresses are decorated with some of the most skilled late Gothic carving to survive in Scotland. One of the niches is carved

with details of the *arma Christi* - the representation of devotional symbols of Christ's Passion as quasi-heraldic motifs. The statues which stood in the niches would have been figures of saints. They were destroyed, along with so many other monuments associated with medieval Catholicism, in the religious disturbances of the later 16th and 17th centuries.

Much of the mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of North-eastern Scotland in fact dates from the late 15th and 16th centuries when the Arbuthnott Aisle was built and when the diocese of Aberdeen experienced a period of cultural flowering, particularly under William Elphinstone (Bishop of Aberdeen, 1483-1514) and Gavin Dunbar (Bishop of Aberdeen, 1518-1532). At St Machar's Cathedral itself, which had been the subject of successive building campaigns, a great central tower and spire was built over the crossing by Bishop Elphinstone, and work was commenced on an enlarged choir. Unfortunately, none of this survives, the choir having been quarried to provide building materials for the Cromwellian fort in Aberdeen, and the central tower having

later collapsed. The stone spires which crown the massive western towers, and which are such a distinctive feature of the city's skyline today, were added a few years later by Bishop Dunbar, whose tomb also survives in the ruins of the south transept of the cathedral.

As elsewhere in Scotland and beyond, later mediaeval religious devotion developed new forms of expression. Whereas early mediaeval piety saw its ideal in the monastic life, by the later 14th century wealthy patrons had increasingly begun to channel their religious donations away from the religious orders and

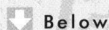
into the secular church, and specifically into the foundation of chantry chapels and altars. Each chantry foundation was served by one or more priest whose duties were to pray for the souls of the founder and his family. In cathedrals, burgh churches and monasteries the aisles and transepts housed, or came to house, numerous altars dedicated to different saints which in the towns were endowed by the townspeople themselves, some by local groups of craftsmen who formed 'guilds' according to their specialisation. In St Nicholas, Aberdeen, where traces of altar fittings can still be seen in the Drum Aisle, over 50 chantries are documented,



Left

**Cullen Parish Church,
(Banffshire)**

A row of mourning figures or 'weepers' lines the front of the tomb of the church's main benefactor, Alexander Ogilvie (d.1554). Despite its sombre purpose, the tomb is an exuberant blend of late Gothic and Renaissance motifs.



Below

**Arbuthnott Parish Church
(Kincardineshire)**

The tower-like, two-storeyed south aisle was constructed by the Arbuthnott family about 1500 as a private chantry chapel. Added to the south side of the 13th-century parish church, it has a chamber, or 'Priest's Room', on the first floor.



➔ **Right**

**Monymusk Parish Church
(Aberdeenshire)**

Although the body of the church has been rebuilt in later centuries, Monymusk preserves the basic layout of many 12th-century churches, comprising (from left to right) a western tower, nave and chancel.

➔ **Below**

**Cullen Parish Church
(Banffshire)**

A detail from the Ogilvie tomb representing the founder's wife, Elizabeth Gordon, her hands clasped in prayer.

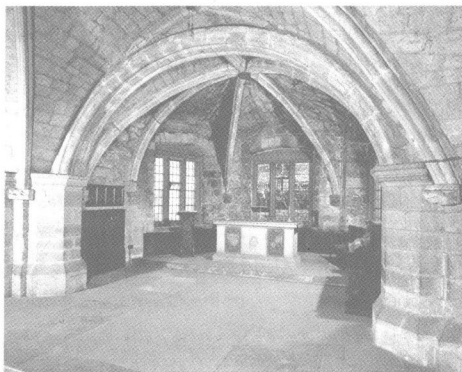
at some 30 altars. In the smaller, rural parish churches too, chantries were endowed, one of the most dramatic being the Arbuthnott Aisle described above.

The pride of the burgh councils in their parish churches led to campaigns of structural expansion and enrichment, and from the outset St Nicholas at Aberdeen appears to have been among the largest medieval burgh churches in Scotland. Naves were lengthened and aisles added in order to house private altars. The emergence of a secular community of clergy in these greater parish churches also facilitated the

development of choral and polyphonic music, previously largely restricted to monasteries and friaries. In response to these new liturgical requirements structural 'choirs' were consequently enlarged.

Such domestic developments, together with a consciousness of continental religious trends, drew attention to the need to reform liturgical practice itself, a movement which culminated in the compilation and publication, sponsored by Bishop Elphinstone, of the *Aberdeen Breviary*, the first distinctively Scottish liturgy. It incorporated recently introduced religious feasts





◀ **Left**
St Nicholas Parish Church,
Aberdeen

In the mid-15th century the choir of the church was extended eastwards over sloping ground. The low rib-vaulted chapel of Our Lady of Pity, shown here, was built to support the apse and eastern bays of this extension.

▼ **Below**
St Mary's Parish Church,
Auchindoir (Aberdeenshire)

The Blessed Sacrament or Eucharist which formed an increasingly important rôle in later medieval religious devotion, was displayed to the faithful in sacrament houses, elaborately decorated wall-cupboards positioned close to the altar as here at Auchindoir.

and afforded native saints a place of equal prominence alongside saints of the universal church.

The most exuberant expression of all this pious investment in the afterlife was the collegiate church, in which the wealthy patron, or burgh council, formally established a community or 'college' of secular priests and choristers to celebrate masses for his (or their) spiritual wellbeing. By the late 15th century St Nicholas, Aberdeen, had achieved this status, and in 1543 the smaller burgh church of Cullen (Banffshire) was also formally constituted as a collegiate church, with a provost, six prebendaries and two boy choristers. Cullen is particularly notable for the richness of the tomb of its benefactor - Alexander Ogilvie of that ilk - which combines late Gothic and Renaissance motifs.

Old Aberdeen also possesses one of the country's few late medieval academic colleges. In 1500, following the foundation of a university in Aberdeen in 1495 - the third in Scotland after St Andrews (1411) and Glasgow (1451) - construction of King's College Chapel began. The constitution of 1505 made allowance for a college of 36 persons, comprising a master, five tutors, five students of theology, 21 students, eight of whom were to be priests, and four choristers; teaching and study were interwoven with the spiritual duties of a collegiate church. King's College still possesses its original, Flemish-style choir screen and stalls, a rare survival in Scotland of the mediaeval furnishings in which the college would have met for services. It also retains a portrait of Bishop Elphinstone which probably formed a panel of an altarpiece.



▣ Below

St Mary's Parish Church,
Auchindoir (Aberdeenshire)

The most striking original feature of this small parish church, is the main south doorway which is decorated and moulded in typical 'Transitional' style dating to around 1200.



Otherwise, the altars, carved timber screens, altar-pieces, effigies, metal-work and fabrics which would have enriched these churches, have virtually all perished, either as a result of 16th- and 17th-century iconoclasm, or of simple time and tide, leaving only bare structural shells. A tantalising glimpse of what has been lost in the North-east is provided by the record made of a late medieval wall-painting in St Congan's Parish Church at Turriff (Aberdeenshire). Discovered during demolition work in 1860, copies of this depiction of St Ninian were fortunately made before the plasterwork and the mural itself were destroyed.

Even the bare walls, however, may reveal other vestiges of their medieval past, North-eastern Scotland being notable for a group of particularly elaborate carved stone sacrament houses of 16th-century date. Such sacrament houses were essentially wall-cupboards, generally positioned to the north of the altar, in which the Eucharist was displayed as a focus for devotion, while kept secure behind a grille. That at Auchindoir, donated by the parson of the church, takes the form of a monstrance, the vessel in which the Eucharist was carried during religious processions. However simple or elaborate, there could be no more telling symbol of medieval Catholicism than the sacrament house and its contents, given that belief in the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements of the Holy Eucharist formed one of the basic doctrines of the medieval church - and one of those put to the greatest challenge at the Reformation.

Post-Reformation Period

The Scottish Reformation is popularly characterised as a series of cataclysmic and destructive events which took place in 1559-60 and which remain indelibly associated with the name of John Knox. Whilst those dramatic events - and those of 1567 - undoubtedly shifted the balance and organisation of religious worship in Scotland for ever, the Protestant Reformation in this country was in fact a long-drawn-out and tortuous process, oscillating - often uneasily and incompatibly - between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy for almost a century and a half.

As developed by Andrew Melville after 1575, Presbyterianism came to acquire a structure of independent 'courts' - kirk session, presbytery, synod and general assembly - all based on a parity between ministers and ideologically driven by what has been described as 'a powerful vision of a new godly, educated society'. Episcopacy, on the other hand, was founded on the maintenance of a diocesan system and a hierarchy of bishops through which, in a parliamentary capacity, the later Stewart monarchs might exercise royal control over the Church. Remarkably, the two systems, which could scarcely have been more organisationally polarised, managed to co-exist for about half a century. Liturgically, however, co-existence proved less easy. Against a background of earlier changes attempted by James VI, the introduction of a new Prayer Book by Charles I in 1637 provoked what was in effect a second Reformation - in 1638 - when opposition manifested itself in the signing of the National Covenant and more than a decade of warfare.

The re-introduction of bishops in 1662, shortly after the Restoration, continued to sustain Covenanting opposition in some parts of the country, but it was the overt Catholicism later displayed by James VII which finally, in 1690, led to the abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of a moderate form of Presbyterianism as The Church of Scotland. However, this event itself - partly assisted by problems in relation to lay patronage - triggered a whole series of secessionist movements, some of which were of Covenanting origin. One result

Below

St Columba's Parish Church, Burntisland (Fife)

The first centrally-planned church in Scotland to be designed and built specifically for Presbyterian worship, 1589-1600, this building is almost square on plan and rises to a central tower, viewed here from the south-west.



▣ **Below**

**St Columba's Parish Church,
Burntisland (Fife)**

Painted panel showing a sailing ship in flames, part of a nautical theme of decoration on the Sailors' Guild gallery fronts.

▣ **Right**

**Abercorn Parish Church (West
Lothian)**

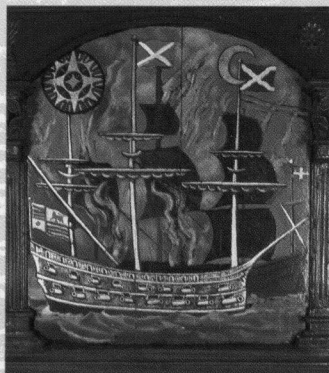
Armorial achievement of the Earl of Hopetoun painted on the coved ceiling of the Hopetoun loft by Richard Waitt. The Hopetoun aisle, designed by Sir William Bruce, 1708, is the grandest in a series of post-Reformation additions to the church.

was a long period of Presbyterian dissent of bewildering complexity. Another was that for much of the 18th century - until the repeal of restrictions against them in 1792 - Episcopalians and Catholics remained outside the fold, residually strong in some regions such as the North-east but for a while tarnished by their association with Jacobitism. Only the 'jurors' who subscribed to the 1712 Act of Toleration were granted limited rights to set up what were described as 'qualified' chapels. At this distance in time, the architecture of the decent and comely kirks of the period between 1560 and 1800 seems to belie the religious, political and financial turbulence that frequently lay just beneath the surface of contemporary religious and social life, occasionally erupting into bouts of cruel warfare.

As described in the *First Book of Discipline* (1560) reformed worship required 'a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptising, and tables for ministration of the

Lord's Supper', a form of Holy Communion interpreted through the Scriptures. In architectural terms, this meant the creation of a single, un-compartmented space within the body of the kirk for congregational worship, in which all could clearly see and hear the minister preaching the Word and where long communion tables might be set out. Adapting medieval churches to these needs principally involved the removal of altars and screens, the relocation of the all-important pulpit towards the centre of the church and often the addition of a belfry. Despite the reformers' best intentions, some wealthy patrons were still able to purchase the right to burial within churches, but most of them created family burial-places (sometimes combined with private pews or galleries known as lairds' lofts) within 'aisles' or projecting wings attached to a church, a practice encouraged by the Kirk itself.

The themes of continuity and adaptation are displayed to good effect in the charming rural



parish church at Abercorn (West Lothian), a building sympathetically restored and enlarged by the architect Peter MacGregor Chalmers in 1893. Reconstructed in 1579, the two-chambered 12th-century parish church received the addition of no fewer than three aisles at the hands of the local nobility and gentry - in 1603, 1618 and 1707-8 - which together almost doubled its overall size. The latest of these additions, the richly-appointed Hopetoun Aisle - a product of the distinguished architect Sir William Bruce - occupied the area of the former chancel and enjoyed the luxury of a retiring room on the first floor of the adjacent wing.

Such lofts and aisles introduced social, rather than liturgical, divisions into the reorganised interiors which were otherwise filled to capacity with seating around the pulpit. In external appearance, however, and even sometimes in their east-west orientation, some country kirks newly built in the post-Reformation period were scarcely distinguishable from their medieval predecessors. Lyne Church (Peeblesshire, 1640-5), for example, which still retains an original canopied pew and oak pulpit, is of simple rectangular plan and is lit by traceried windows of an old-fashioned Gothic style, while the more ambitious Dirleton Parish Church (East Lothian,

Left

Dunbar Parish Church (East Lothian)

Monument to George Home, Earl of Dunbar (d.1611), restored in 1897 and again recently after a fire. Almost eight metres in height, this richly decorated marble and alabaster heraldic composition commemorates the High Treasurer of Scotland who also became Chancellor of the Exchequer in England under James VI and I.

Below

Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh

In 1718 the church tower of Greyfriars, which had been used as a munition store, blew up, damaging much of the fabric of the original church. By 1721 the western end, shown here, had been reconstructed and extended, and the original interior screened off to form two separate churches.



Right

Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh

An outstanding collection of funerary monuments, this churchyard was described in 1753 as being 'so enriched with a number of stately sepulchral monuments that it probably not only excels every thing of its kind in the open air, but it vies with many royal sepulchral repositories....'

c.1612-15) follows a distinctly traditional medieval outline with its western tower and 1664 aisle built for the Archerfield family.

In the towns, immediate practical demands also meant the adaptation of medieval buildings and sometimes of medieval precedent in their design. As reconstructed between 1602 and 1620, for example, Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh's first purpose-designed post-Reformation church and the setting for the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, was an aisled and arcaded structure with a western tower, reminiscent of the hall-churches of the preaching friars but with

an interior to suit reformed practice. An eventful later history involved sub-division of the church into two places of worship, the reconstruction of the western half following an explosion in 1718 in the tower (which had been used as a munition store and was not rebuilt), further repair after a serious fire in 1845, and eventual reunification into one church in 1938.

The building history of the much less conspicuous Magdalen Chapel, tucked away in Edinburgh's Cowgate, reveals a similar theme of continuity and adaptation. This almshouse chapel, completed in 1544, was inherited in



1553 by the Incorporation of the Hammermen by whom it was converted into a meeting-hall in the first quarter of the 17th century. The interior is filled with two semi-circular tiers of seats dating from about 1725 and, most precious of all, one of its windows retains four heraldic roundels of mid-16th-century date, probably the earliest intact stained glass to survive in Scotland.

In the years after 1560, those large burgh churches which had served single medieval urban parishes were also sub-divided for reformed worship. Split into three congregations, the 'high kirk' of St Giles, Edinburgh, briefly became a single space again between 1633 and 1639, when it acquired short-lived status as a cathedral, before again being sub-divided. Another of the large medieval burgh churches, St Nicholas, Aberdeen, to this day remains sub-divided into 'East' and 'West' churches. In 1755, the nave of the medieval parish church, which had become St Nicholas West, was turned into a galleried 'hall-church' to a design of James Gibbs, the famous architect and native Aberdonian. As its name implies, this type of church comprised a rectangular hall with a gallery, supported by columns or piers, running around the side and end walls. The design had been developed by Gibbs at St Martin-in-the-Fields (London), and, both in its general composition and detailing, the Gibbsian influence is particularly clear in the case of St Andrew's, Glasgow (Allan Dreghorn, architect, 1756). Simpler and less grandiose hall-churches are to be seen throughout Scotland, but at Inveraray (Argyll, c.1794), there is an



◀ Far Left

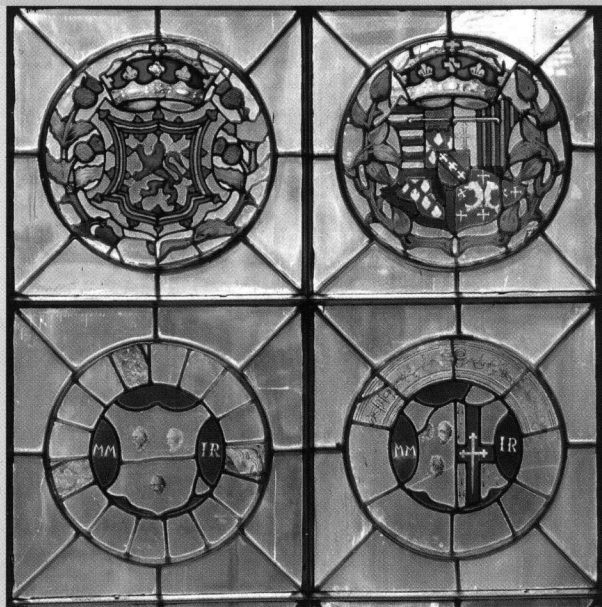
St Mary's Church, Lauder
(Berwickshire)

Aerial view from north-west showing the setting of the Greek (or equal-armed) cross plan church in its churchyard, with the 18th-century Lauder town-house in the background. St Mary's (1673-4) was designed by the distinguished architect, Sir William Bruce, who was responsible also for the Hopetoun Aisle at Abercorn (p.23).

◀ Left

Magdalen Chapel, Cowgate,
Edinburgh

Window with four heraldic roundels of mid-16th-century date which bear (top row) the Royal Arms of Scotland and the arms of Queen Mary of Guise above those (bottom row) of MacQueen, and MacQueen impaling Kerr. These are rare, if not unique, surviving intact specimens of Pre-Reformation stained glass in Scotland.



unusual variant, a double-ended kirk divided equally into two halves for the celebration of services in Gaelic and English respectively.

Some of the earlier post-Reformation churches clearly departed, sometimes radically, from medieval architectural traditions, and for them continental designs - and particularly Low Countries styles - may have provided the general

inspiration, if not the precise models. The first - and the most revolutionary of its age - was St Columba's Parish Church, Burntisland (Fife, 1589-1600), which is almost square on plan and rises to a central tower; its furnishings include a series of panelled and painted trade galleries and a magistrates' pew. Most such centrally-planned designs were of cruciform or 'cross-kirk' form, St Mary's Church, Lauder (Berwickshire, Sir William Bruce, architect, 1673-4), being a particularly good representative of the Greek (or equal-armed) cross type. In the original arrangement, two of the four arms contained lofts while the eastern one, deliberately oriented, probably served as a communion aisle. The pulpit, a replacement of 1820, still occupies a central position at one angle of the crossing.

Other variations were worked on the centralised plan which provided an auditorium ideally suited to reformed worship. In the later 18th century, the octagon came to acquire some popularity, and Kelso Old Parish Church (Roxburghshire, 1773), is an impressive specimen of the *genre*. However, it was undoubtedly the so-called 'T-plan', which in many cases had originated in the addition of a central aisle or wing along one side wall of an older building (usually opposite the pulpit), which proved to be the most enduringly popular and practical layout throughout this period. The very epitome of a 'true Presbyterian edifice' is how one such kirk - Cromarty Parish Church East (Ross and Cromarty), which still retains three 18th-century lofts - was described, but the comment could equally have been applied to so many elsewhere, from one end of the country to the other.

One important town church that now conceals its original 'T-plan' layout is the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh (John Mylne, younger, mason-architect, 1637-47). The original south aisle was removed in the late 18th century, and the steeple was rebuilt to a more ambitious height in 1828. Enough of the truncated original survives, however, to show a fusion of late Gothic and Dutch detailing and styles which typify and symbolise the influences that then bore on the more pretentious church architecture. Inside, enough archaeological evidence also survives

to provide a rare illustration of the way in which the church was built over an existing pattern of streets and buildings.

Many of the small private chapels erected in this period, such as that at Donibristle (Fife, Alexander McGill, architect, 1729-32), remain as modest gems of contemporary architectural fashion. Others, such as those at Traquair House (Peeblesshire), gain in historical interest from the fact that their owners, the earls of Traquair, continued to adhere to Roman Catholicism.



◀ Left

Cromarty Parish Church East (Ross and Cromarty)

Dating from c.1700 and later, this church has been appositely described as a 'true Presbyterian edifice'.

▶ Right

Traquair House (Peeblesshire)

One of a series of 12 carved oak panels in the chapel portraying scenes of the Nativity and of Christ's Passion, in this instance a brutal depiction of the road to Calvary, 16th century.



Far Right

St Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow

The first large-scale classical church in Scotland and the first completely new church to be built in Glasgow since the Reformation, the grandiose St Andrew's owes much to the designs of James Gibbs, particularly of his St Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. Allan Dreghorn, architect, and Mungo Naismith, mason, 1739-56.

Dating from a remodelling of 1642, the rooms known as the Old Chapel and the adjacent Priest's Room are on the top floor of the main block of the house, but by the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries it was deemed safe to bring the chapel down to ground level and establish it in a service-wing adjacent to the main courtyard. Among its furnishings is a remarkable series of twelve carved oak panels of 16th-century date depicting scenes of the Passion and the Nativity.

Many of the kirkyards retain headstones, slabs and table-tombs of a distinctive and often arresting sculptural character; those of the Lothians and Fife are noticeably rich in such monuments while that of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh retains an outstanding collection. The post-Reformation period also witnessed the



creation or importation of some notable funerary monuments, one of the early trend-setters being the monument to George Home, Earl of Dunbar (d.1611), now re-set in Dunbar Old Parish Church (East Lothian), which has been restored after a recent fire. At Durisdeer in upland Nithsdale (Dumfriesshire), there is an equally remarkable pair of monuments associated with the 1st and 2nd Dukes of Queensberry, owners of nearby Drumlanrig Castle, the richly carved effigial monument to the 2nd Duke (d.1711) being a known product of the Anglo-Dutch sculptor, John Van Nost.

That part of South-western Scotland that was home to the Dukes of Queensberry was also one of the areas where extreme Presbyterianism



Left

Durrisdeer Parish Church
(Dumfriesshire)

Marble monument to the 2nd Duke of Queensberry (d.1711) and his wife (d.1709), one of the principal features of the rich Baroque interior of the Queensberry Aisle, John van Nost, sculptor, 1713.

persisted after the establishment of the Church of Scotland in 1690. One such group, a remnant of the Covenanters who claimed to remain faithful to 'true' Presbyterianism, was known as the Cameronians (named after one of its leaders, Richard Cameron), and it was in early 18th-century Nithsdale that Daniel Defoe was witness to an old Cameronian preaching 'to an auditory of near 7,000 people, all sitting in rows on the steep side of a green hill, and the preacher in a little pulpit made under a tent at the foot of the hill'. Such hill-country conventicles leave little archaeological trace, but closer to Dumfries, on Skeoch Hill, a memorial and four parallel rows of stones, the so-called 'Communion Stones', still mark the setting of a 3,000-strong gathering in 1679.

Nineteenth Century

Industrialisation and commerce made 19th-century Scotland a much richer country than it had ever been, the population grew dramatically, and there were a number of evangelical revivals, all of which combined to produce the most profound religious changes since the Reformation and an astonishing variety of new places of worship. One key event (summarised below) was the Disruption of 1843 which overnight more or less doubled the number of congregations. The sizes of older dissenting Presbyterian sects, of Roman Catholic and Episcopalian congregations - in some places Congregationalism and Methodism - also grew, often dramatically. The overall result was a huge, rich and varied stock of 19th-century churches, while a vogue for restoration and 'improvement' left few, if any, churches of earlier date untouched.

In the Church of Scotland itself, the early 19th-century evangelical revival was sustained throughout the century by various reformers and movements. They transformed the style of worship and the liturgy, and thus, correspondingly, the forms and layouts of the buildings required to accommodate such changes. The practice of taking Holy Communion seated around long tables was abolished, to be replaced by the taking of communion in the pews, the white cloths laid over the pews being a surviving memory of the long tables. This change meant that the congregation no longer had to move around the church, and the spaces occupied by the under-utilised tables could be replaced by much-needed extra seating. Disused communion tables can still be found, however, in a number of



Left
Inverbrothock Parish Church,
Arbroath

The elaborate classical pulpit of James Smith's church of 1828 contrasts with the severely chaste exterior. The pulpit is the most elaborate feature in the galleried interior. A later organ sits behind the columned screen.

Right
St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow

This, the only surviving church by Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, was built for the United Presbyterians in 1858-9. With his unique vision of classicism, he created a temple of faith of the greatest importance.



churches, including Durisdeer (Dumfriesshire) and Cromarty East (Ross and Cromarty).

Indeed, locating the communion table in an area removed from the congregation was one of the more important ideas which emerged later in the century under the influence of James Cooper, founder (in 1886) of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society - later to become the Scottish Ecclesiological Society - which sought to enhance, beautify and sanctify Presbyterian worship. A good example of such a layout is St Luke's, Broughty Ferry, Dundee, where the communion table is located in a semi-circular apse with the elders' chairs ranged round the walls after the manner of ancient basilicas.

Another change which had a lasting effect on the interior of all Presbyterian churches was introduced in 1866 when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland permitted the use of instrumental music in church, followed in 1870 by the publication of the first hymnary. The organ had 'arrived', so to speak, and space had to be found for it. It was often accommodated behind the pulpit as can be seen at St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, and McCheyne Memorial Church, Dundee, and thus became - and remains - a dominant element in many Presbyterian churches.

So far as the outward appearance of churches is concerned, the 19th century bequeathed a great variety of eclectic architectural styles. The medieval Gothic tradition was not as deeply ingrained in Scotland as it was in England, and in the first half of the 19th century, the

Below

St John's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh

Designed by William Burn and built in 1815-18, this church is a wonderful early 19th-century evocation of the Gothic style with its elegant tracery and fan vaulting. Being Episcopal, the focus of the church interior is on the altar not the pulpit (see also, p.34).



► Far Right

St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Dundee

Designed by J A Hansom (of 'Hansom Cab' fame) in 1865, this church has a nave of simple Gothic form which is transformed and uplifted by the unusual octagonal, buttressed chancel topped by a faceted spire.

► Below

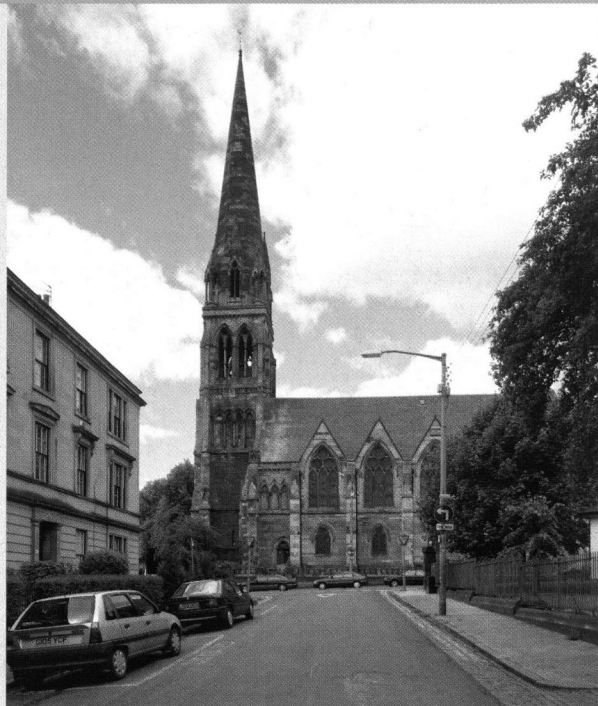
Dowanhill Church, Glasgow

Built in 1865-6 for the United Presbyterian Church to a design by William Leiper, this church's simple preaching space, richly painted by Daniel Cottier, was given an elaborate Gothic exterior, including a magnificent spire.

whole gamut of architectural design was considered to be available. One congregation might prefer an exquisite Gothic style (for example, St John's Church, Princes Street, Edinburgh, by William Burn), whilst another might opt for chaste Classicism (as at James Smith's Inverbrothock Parish Church, Arbroath, Angus) or exuberant Baroque (St Stephen's, Edinburgh, by William Playfair). The work of the architect James Gillespie Graham typified the wide variety of styles that were adopted: at Tolbooth St John's, Edinburgh, with the help of the Gothicist A W N Pugin, he produced a Gothic *tour-de-force*, whilst at Errol (Perthshire) he adopted Romanesque. At Murthly (Perthshire)

he created a fantastical medieval interior for the Roman Catholic church there.

Likewise, until the publication in 1845-52 of the exquisite records of Scottish medieval ecclesiastical architecture produced by R W Billings, restoration work on medieval churches, such as that carried out by William Burn at Dunfermline Abbey (Fife) and the City Churches, Dundee, sought primarily to recreate suitable ecclesiastical buildings for Presbyterian worship and was not guided by antiquarian and academic approaches. Billings, however, was to be an invaluable source of information and inspiration for the Scots Gothic Revival.





However, later ecclesiologists such as Cooper were indeed very interested in Scottish medieval churches and were influenced by what was known as 'The Oxford Movement', an English ecclesiological revival centred on Oxford in the 1830s which had sought to re-introduce mystery and sanctity into worship. It proposed a return to medieval church layouts of nave and chancel, and the adoption of Gothic as the only 'true' style. Although seemingly distant from the cold clear light of Scottish Presbyterianism, by the end of the century Gothic styles and medieval forms reigned supreme, externally at least. Downhill Church, Glasgow (William Leiper, architect), St Lukes, Broughty Ferry, Dundee (Hippolyte Blanc), Gardner Memorial Church, Brechin (Angus, J J Burnet, architect), and Queens Cross Church, Glasgow (C R Mackintosh), all clearly follow the 'Oxford' spirit, which probably found its purest Scottish expression in George Bodley's St Salvador's Episcopal Church, Dundee. The revival of Scots

Gothic forms was also particularly clearly seen in the works of Robert Rowand Anderson and was championed by Peter Macgregor Chalmers at the dawn of the 20th century.

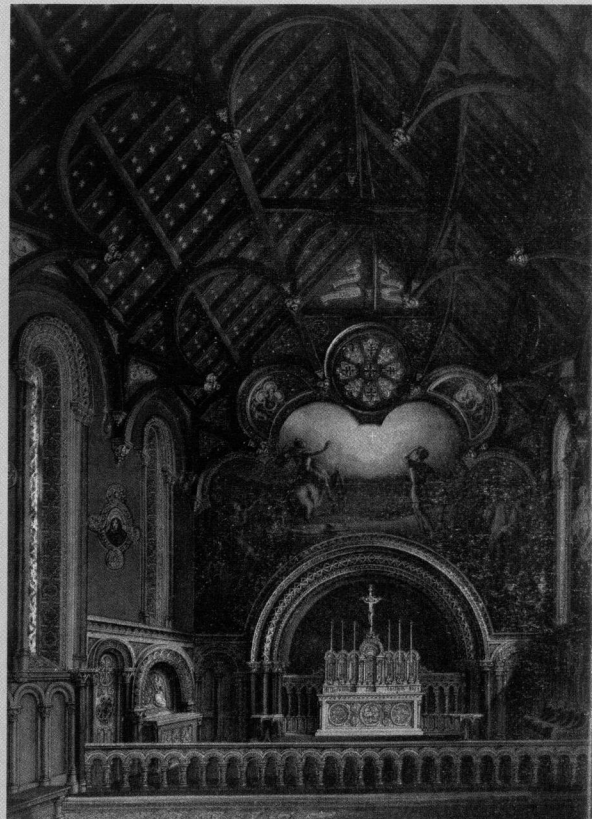
Such stylistic fashions had to be reconciled with the needs of a preaching church, in which the spoken word of the minister was of paramount importance, undoubtedly the guiding force behind all Presbyterian church design. The architect William Leiper successfully combined these requirements at Downhill Church,

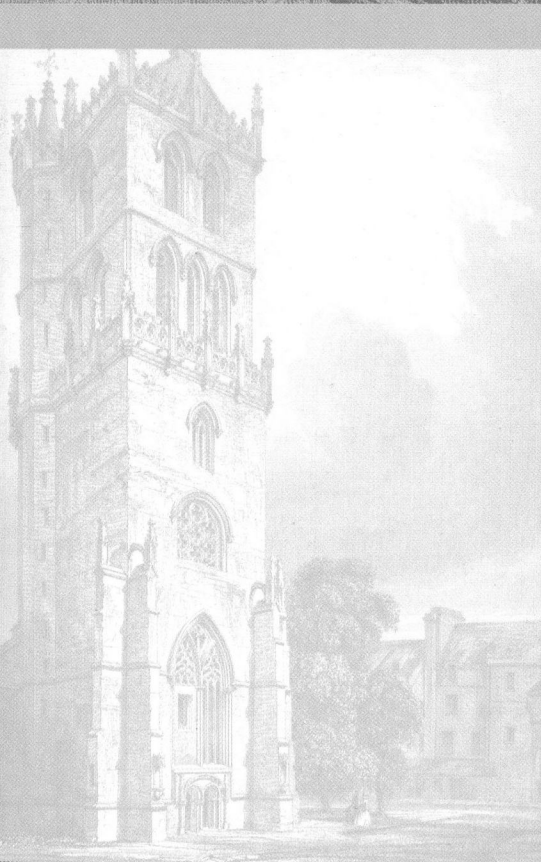
✦ **Left**
**St John's Episcopal Church,
 Edinburgh**

Externally, William Burn makes the most of a sloping site to create a striking pinnacled exterior, reflecting the exquisite fan vaulted interior (see p.32).

✦ **Right**
**Roman Catholic Church of St
 Anthony the Eremite, Murthly,
 Perthshire**

Dating from 1846, this was the first Roman Catholic church in Scotland to be actually consecrated since the Reformation. Designed by James Gillespie Graham in a simple Romanesque style, its fantastically mystical interior was decorated by Alexander Christie and is shown here in a volume published after its completion.





◀ Left

The Old Steeple, St Mary's, Dundee
This 15th-century tower, a surviving portion of the great medieval burgh church, was recorded by R W Billings whose detailed studies of Scottish medieval churches encouraged architects to use Scottish Gothic details and designs, rather than ones from further afield.

▶ Right

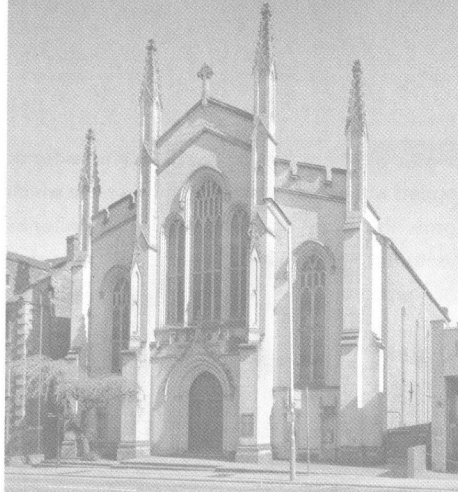
The City Churches, Dundee
In 1841 these churches, which were based on the great medieval burgh church, were ravished by fire which destroyed the east end. William Burn rebuilt the transepts and the chancel as two separate churches, not attempting to replicate the old building but rather creating his own elegant version of Gothic.

Glasgow, where a rich French Gothic exterior topped with majestic spire houses a nave which forms the body of the church with galleries contained within the aisles and the pulpit located in the end wall in place of the apse.

In the countryside the century witnessed a dramatic extension of church provision. One of the most significant single events was the Act of 1823 'for Building Additional Places of Worship in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland', which provided public funds to assist in the erection of new churches and manses at 40 different sites to a set of standard designs under the direction of the celebrated engineer, Thomas Telford. Particularly good examples of these 'Parliamentary' churches, as they are known, survive at Croick (Sutherland) and on Iona (Argyll). Overall, their simple T- or rectangular plan-forms established a basic model design which heritors and congregations outside the Highland areas could match against their own aspirations.

Five years later it was the turn of the urban areas to benefit when, in 1828, the General Assembly





Left

St Andrew's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Dundee

George Mathewson adopted an understated collegiate Gothic style favoured at the cathedrals in both Edinburgh and Glasgow. Built 1835.

of the Church of Scotland set up a committee 'To enquire into the adequacy of church accommodation'. This committee, under the chairmanship of Dr Chalmers, promoted or inspired the erection of a large number of churches, especially in urban areas. Perhaps second only to John Knox in his personal effect on the Church of Scotland, the devoutly evangelical Dr Chalmers became Moderator of the General Assembly in 1832, firm in his belief that congregations should have the ability to choose their own ministers and not be beholden to the local laird in his rôle as principal heritor.

It was with this aim in mind that, at the General Assembly held on 18 May 1843, 190 clergy walked out to form the Free Church. Ultimately, 474 ministers out of a total of 1,203 joined the new church, and in two years had erected 500 church buildings. These were not of any particular architectural merit, erected as they were in haste, some even having 'paper' roofs. Other unconventional products of the Disruption in the Highlands included a 'floating church' at Strontian (Argyll) and a series of preaching 'arks' or mobile pulpits, which were used at large,

open-air services. One such 'ark' survives at Edderton (Ross and Cromarty), complete with communion table and benches and precentor's desk.

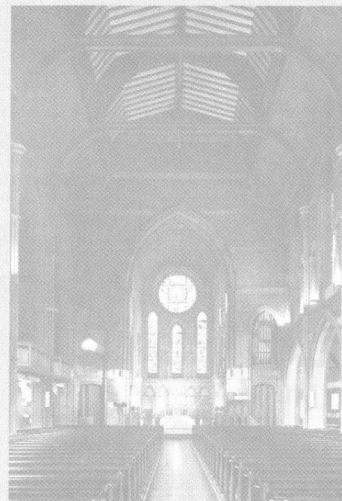
As the Free Church increased in wealth and stature, however, so its buildings correspondingly grew in size and sophistication, some coming to assume a Gothic form. The muscular Gothic style of Frederick T Pilkington provided an appropriately strong expression of Free Church faith, clearly demonstrated in, for example, McCheyne Memorial Church, Dundee, and the Barclay Bruntsfield Church, Edinburgh.

The Free Church was eventually joined in 1900 by the United Presbyterian Church, which was itself the product of an amalgamation in 1847 of the United Secession Church and the Relief Church. The United Presbyterian Church was an important architectural patron, having commissioned all of the churches designed by Alexander 'Greek' Thomson and some by William Leiper. 'Greek' Thomson did not fall into the general movement towards Gothic styles but created his own Classical vision, in what he

Below

Govan Parish Church, Glasgow

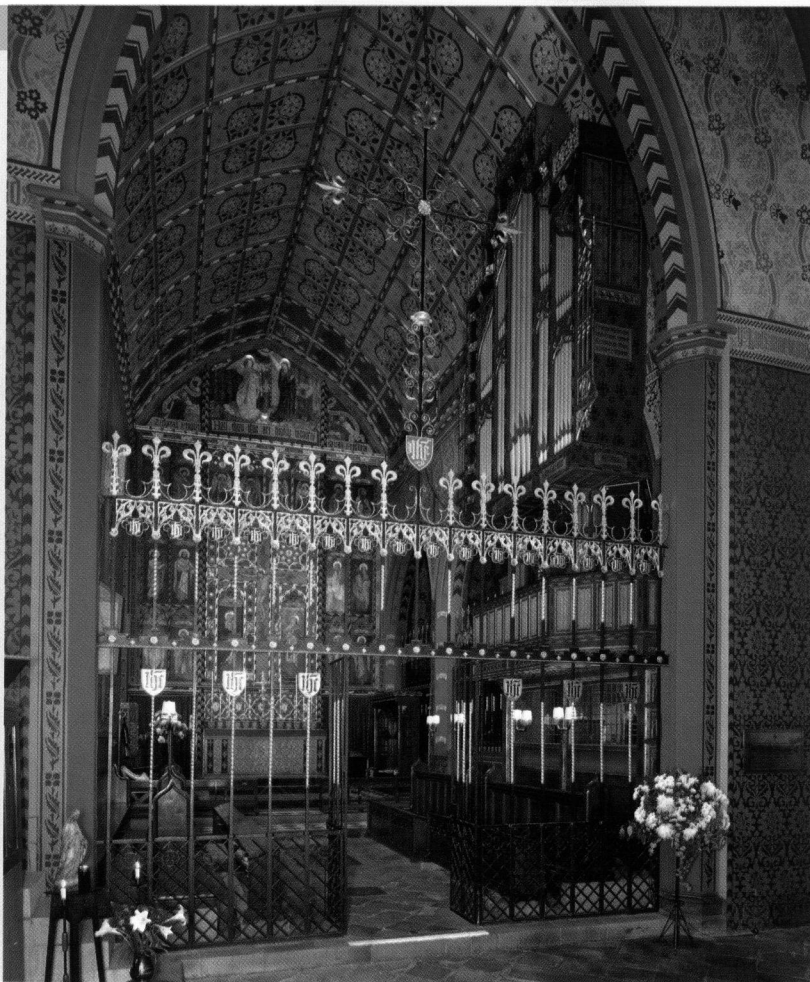
Built in 1883-8, Robert Rowand Anderson, architect. The minister was a believer in the beauty of worship as inspiration for the working classes, a belief which the architect sought to express in his architecture through the use of medieval Scottish details.



Below

St Salvador's Episcopal Church,
Dundee

This externally plain church was designed by G F Bodley and built in 1865-75. The interior is fabulously carved and gilded, a colourful expression of faith in the city which was at the centre of the 19th-century Episcopal revival.



described as 'a Utopian concept of antique society in terms of a kind of proto-Presbyterian purity'. Contrasting with the increasing Gothic uniformity of other denominations, his buildings provide a forceful expression of United Presbyterian faith in a highly individual, Classically-inspired style.

Deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement and employing some of its major exponents, including William Butterfield and George Bodley, the Episcopal Church unsurprisingly favoured a Gothic architectural style. All of its existing cathedrals were erected in the course of the 19th century, including those at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee (Gilbert Scott, architect), Perth and Millport, Great Cumbrae (Bute, William Butterfield, architect), and Inverness (Alexander Ross). At one time during the century the greatest concentration of Episcopalians in Scotland was in Dundee, and it is thus fitting that the city contains one of the most lavish Episcopalian monuments in Scotland - St Salvador's Church.

By 1800 there were some 30,000 Roman Catholics in Scotland, concentrated mainly in the North-east and in the Hebrides, and served by missionary priests. With the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the refounding of Blairs Seminary, Aberdeen, combined with a massive influx of Catholics, particularly from Ireland into western Scotland, the need for Catholic churches rapidly increased. Stylistically, these tended to follow the Gothic fashion, as at St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh (Gillespie Graham, architect) and St Andrews, Dundee (George Mathewson), where the form of a simple

collegiate chapel was adopted. At St Mary's, Lochee, Dundee, the architect (Hansom) displayed a much freer Gothic style with a lantern-like east end. A noticeable feature of Catholic church-design was that many of the commissions went to English architectural practices, particularly that of Pugin and Pugin, which designed and built a variety of churches around Glasgow, including St Francis, Gorbals.

Although Scottish Jewry has a long and distinguished history, it was not until 1879 that the first purpose-built synagogue was erected: Garnethill Synagogue, Hill Street, Glasgow. It was designed in a hybrid Romanesque Byzantine

style by John Macleod, with assistance from Nathan Solomon Joseph. The main hall is a simple rectangular space with a ladies' gallery above, and given that the word is also a focus of the Jewish faith, it is not surprising to find that the overall layout bears strong similarities to that adopted for Presbyterian worship. Following Glasgow's lead, a number of synagogues were later built throughout Scotland, always assuming the same simple form.

Churches in 19th-century Scotland can thus be seen to have undergone radical changes in almost all aspects of worship, and forests of spires and towers sprang up in every village,



town and city. Most churches became far more flamboyant in general character and appearance, thereby reflecting the aspirations of their congregations and the munificence of their benefactors. Nowhere are these trends better summed up and punctuated at the end of the century than by the magnificent Coats Memorial Baptist Church in Paisley (Renfrewshire, 1894), its crown-spired exterior in Scots Gothic style concealing a lavishly decorated and appointed interior, a veritable cathedral to Victorian religious aspirations, opulence and pride.

◀ Far Left

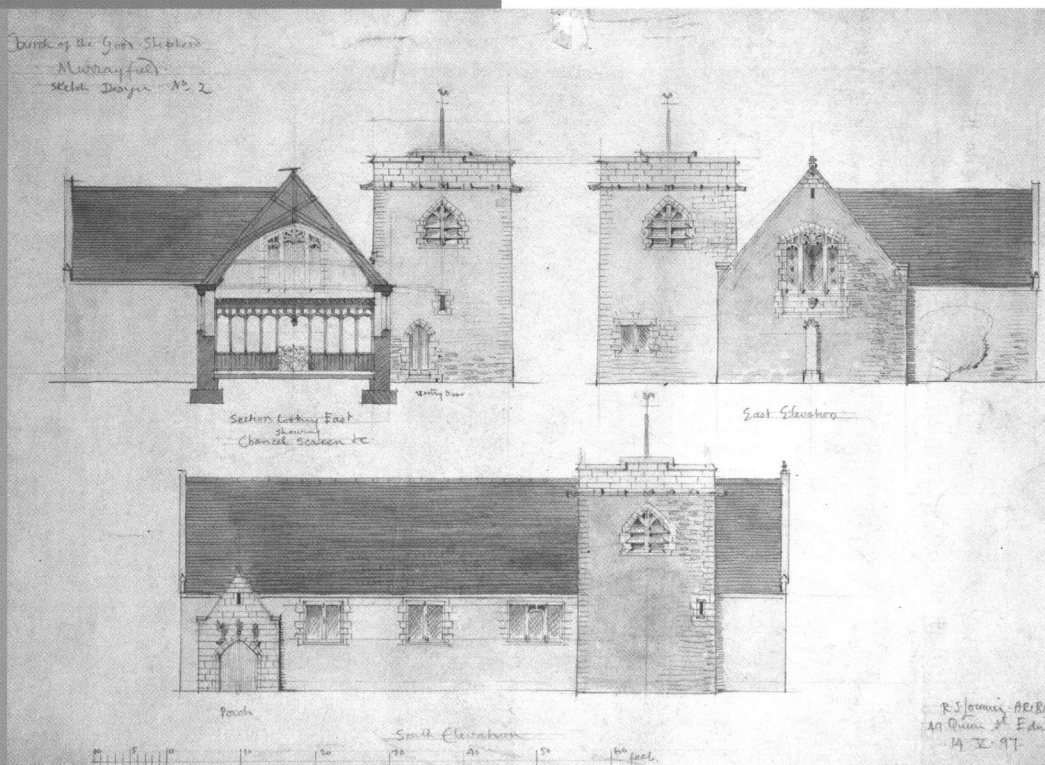
Garnethill Synagogue, Glasgow
The interior of Scotland's first purpose-built synagogue (1879) shows how similar the basic galleried form is to a Presbyterian church, where the speaking and hearing of the Word is also all-important.

◀ Left

Queens Cross Church, Glasgow
Built in 1896-7 as a Free Church, this is the only church design by Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Although he draws from English examples, he has created an undeniably Scottish building.

▶ Right

The Episcopal Church of The Good Shepherd, Edinburgh
A modest suburban church with a distinctive Scots Gothic flavour, and a foretaste of the Scots Gothic Revival to come. Design drawings by Robert S Lorimer, 1897.

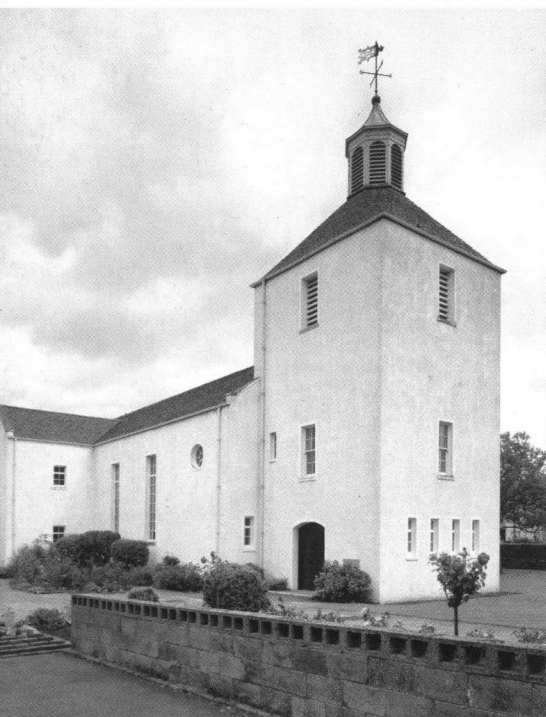


Twentieth Century

Scottish religious architecture of the 20th century is a complex, and in some instances, revolutionary product of a series of historical and liturgical events. The reunification of the Church of Scotland in 1929, coupled with a nation-wide decrease in congregation numbers from the 1950s onwards, left many churches redundant. For the Roman Catholic community, the post-war era in the west of Scotland witnessed three decades of momentous change in demographic, social and cultural conditions. That process of change transformed the organisational structure and geographical scope of the Roman Catholic Church, which was, in addition, greatly affected by radical reforms introduced through the Second Vatican Council

of 1962-5. Indeed, almost all churches in the post-war period were faced with the organisational and economic challenge of creating parishes in new, 'planned' communities following the large-scale housing and redevelopment of Scotland's central belt.

Independently of these events, Scottish church design itself was also influenced by broader architectural debate and innovation. However, despite the increasing influence of Modernism in 1930s Scotland, it was not until the late 1950s - primarily through the designs of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia in the west of Scotland - that Modernist-inspired innovation became manifest in church architecture. Until that time, the force of tradition remained strong.



Right

St Patrick's Church, Dumbarton (Dunbartonshire)

This sculpture of St Michael (1918) was commissioned from Eric Gill as a memorial to the Reverend Michael Gordon, one of the first Glasgow priests to volunteer as a chaplain to the Western Front, and the first to die in Flanders in 1917.

Left

Colinton Mains Church, Edinburgh

Ian Lindsay's church designs were greatly influenced by traditional white-harled churches of earlier centuries. The massive square steeple of Colinton Mains (1954) may owe something to Caithness prototypes.

Below

St Benedict's, Drumchapel, Glasgow

The 1990s growth of preservationist interest in the post-war church designs of Gillespie Kidd and Coia was not without controversy. The massive and dramatic sweeping forms of St Benedict's (Gillespie Kidd & Coia, 1964-9) suffered extensive water ingress, and the building was demolished in early 1991 just prior to being listed.



A strong respect for tradition inspired church designs in the first half of the century, many of which have become such powerful symbols of Scottish religion. These were the products of a whole generation of designers who, around the turn of the century, applied their extensive knowledge of the architecture and liturgy associated with traditional Scottish ecclesiastical buildings. Notable among these architects were Peter MacGregor Chalmers (1859-1922), Reginald Fairlie (1883-1952), Ian G Lindsay (1906-66) and, to a lesser extent, Ninian Comper (1864-1960): Chalmers introduced a scholarly revival of Romanesque and Celtic church design for both the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Church of Scotland; Fairlie, the most prominent and prolific Roman Catholic architect of the early 20th century, displayed a deep interest in Scottish pre-Reformation architecture in his work for that Church; Lindsay was a pioneering



conservationist who designed for both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches; and Comper focused his learned and highly religious work on commissions for the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Two contemporaries of Chalmers were Sir Robert Lorimer (1864-1925) and Sir John J Burnet (1857-1938) who, whilst having a much broader client-base, also made a significant contribution to traditionally-based ecclesiastical architecture of the early 20th century. In particular, Lorimer's National War Memorial (1924-7) in Edinburgh Castle and Burnet's War Memorial Chapel at the University of Glasgow (1923-7) greatly inspired the next generation of church designers.

In Edinburgh and eastern Scotland, 'Traditionalism' remained the dominant strain of church architecture. Its exponents, intending to be 'national', often adopted the simplified and massive forms of earlier Scottish models but in a free manner not conforming to precise historical styles. In relation to Roman Catholic architecture, this traditional approach may have been partly combined with a desire to evoke or perpetuate the simple and modest church exteriors typical of the period of Roman Catholic proscription, as well as harking back to the medieval past. In designs such as Our Lady of the Assumption and St Meddan, Troon (Ayrshire, 1909), with its semi-polygonal apse and raised crow-stepped choir (laden with historical allusion

→ **Right**
Dalziel North, United Free Church, Motherwell (Lanarkshire)
 HF Kerr looked towards ancient architecture for inspiration. In the case of this church (1915), mainly 5th- and 6th-century Byzantine sources dominate, the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople possibly being the model for the continuous rank of windows at the bottom of the dome.



to Holy Rude, Stirling), and the Immaculate Conception Church, Fort William (Invernesshire, 1933-4), with Iona Abbey-inspired capital details, Reginald Fairlie stayed faithful to this style throughout his career.

Traditionalist church architecture was also bound up with the beginnings of the architectural conservation movement, especially in the work of Ian G Lindsay. His special interest in historic churches eventually led to the publication of his book, *The Scottish Parish Kirk* (1960), and



Right

University of Glasgow, Memorial Chapel, Glasgow

Like Robert Lorimer's design for the National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle, Sir John Burnet's design (1923-7) tried above all to evoke the national architectural tradition of Scotland. This facade draws for inspiration on Dunblane Cathedral.



Far Left

Church of Scotland, Canna (Inverness-shire)

The architect, MacGregor Chalmers, was extremely interested in architecture of the pre-Gothic period.

In this instance (dating from 1912-14), the two main components of the church illustrate features from the Celtic era: a simple *cella* (small single volume space) and the distinctive pencil-shaped tower is of a type seen commonly in Ireland.

Left

Our Lady of the Assumption and St Meddan, Troon (Ayrshire)

At St Meddan's (1909), the architect, Reginald Fairlie, combined ecclesiastical and domestic components of the late medieval period, such as the semi-polygonal apse, and as seen here, the massive tower-house-inspired front.

inspired his post-war designs for Church of Scotland churches such as that at Colinton Mains, Edinburgh (1954).

In contrast to this preoccupation with evocations of 'traditional' and 'national' qualities, among most architects in Glasgow and western Scotland a cosmopolitan outlook of rational modernity had prevailed ever since the pioneering efforts of J J Burnet and J A Campbell in the late 19th century. In the inter-war period, this approach was re-invigorated in a trend towards the design of neo-Romanesque (and neo-Byzantine) churches with Latin cross or basilican plans and hall-like interiors. These churches combined a general 'modernity' in their up-to-date construction and materials - allowing their volume to be enhanced by innovative structural design - with a traditional adherence to a hierarchical arrangement of decoration, the front façade and the sanctuary being the most imposing and ornate components. Often, they

were built of facing red brick, a 'hard' material that was favoured by Glasgow's rationalistic designers.

Jack Coia (1898-1991) was the foremost exponent of this trend, and from the 1930s onwards enjoyed extensive patronage from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow. His work introduced a highly stylised international *Beaux Arts* Classicism to the church designs of that diocese, and greatly enhanced the ecclesiastical architecture of the inter-war years in the west of Scotland. His first church, St Anne's, Dennistoun, Glasgow (1931), was typical of the type in its Latin cross plan. Among Gillespie, Kidd and Coia's early post-war churches one commission, St Laurence's, Greenock (Renfrewshire, 1951-4) - a monumental brick replacement for a church destroyed by bombs in the Second World War - was sufficiently lavishly endowed to allow Coia to give full rein to his imagination in church design. A number of rivals to Coia emerged, including Alexander McAnally, who built the dramatic St Teresa of Lisieux Church, Possilpark, Glasgow (1956-8). A similar restrained and Classical use of red brick had been adopted by James Miller in his interwar design for Salisbury Road Synagogue, Edinburgh (1929-32).

After the Second World War a heavy, Romanesque brick style became the main vehicle for the Glasgow archdiocese's programme of new church-building. The increasing grandeur and sumptuousness of these brick churches of the 1950s contrasted markedly with the results of the very different policy pursued in the same



Left

St Columba's Church, Glenrothes (Fife)

The climax of Wheeler & Sproson's Parochial Centre (1960-63) in the emerging new town of Glenrothes was the traditionally-inspired Protestant square preaching-space lit from continuous clearstory windows.

years by the Church of Scotland in new parishes. Many of the Kirk's new churches were built as modest, dual-use 'hall-churches', comprising a community hall with a sanctuary at one end.

It was not until the late 1950s and 1960s that the full impact of Modern architecture was felt in Scottish religious building. It was at about that time that new pioneering liturgical concepts which had been developed on the European continent - where rapid liturgical change had been expressed through more centralised plans and grand unified abstract forms - began to filter through.

In the case of Protestant churches, the break with the past was not so abrupt, since centralised preaching-church planning had been a prominent theme since the Reformation. The modest hall-churches of the 1950s were rejected for more ambitious parochial centres within new housing areas, and designs shaped by rationalistic investigations of church functions. Following consultation with academic

theologians, the architect Anthony Wheeler, designed a square plan with separate ancillary buildings at St Columba's Church, Glenrothes New Town (Fife, 1960-3), and a similar clarity of planning was demonstrated at Kildrum Parish Church, Cumbernauld (Dunbartonshire, Alan Reiach, architect, 1962), with its well-lit interior and its use of pine wood and plain brick.

The position was more complicated in relation to Catholic church architecture. In the 1950s the gathering force of liturgical and architectural change on the European continent finally overpowered the strong power of tradition in Scotland. Continental innovations focused on the concept that the community of the church - the people - was the reason for a church's existence, and that, above all, its design must celebrate that rôle. Between 1947 and 1963 across Western Europe (principally in Germany and France) the established polarisation between nave (the people) and sanctuary (the priest) was broken down in favour of integrated plans. Essentially, the new designs abandoned

Below

St Teresa of Lisieux, Possilpark, Glasgow

The insertion (by Page & Park, 1996) of a hall-like structure in the rear nave of this spacious church provided a practical use for a church which had suffered a massive reduction in its congregation from the 1970s onwards. The architectural form of the new hall echoed the basilican plan and round-arched forms of the original design by Alexander McAnally (1956-8).



↓ Below

Great Mosque, Edinburgh

Edinburgh's new mosque (Basil al-Bayati, 1988-98) mixes Islamic and Scottish architectural motifs, being constructed of traditional sandstone.



traditional linear plans and the separately articulated areas of nave, choir and altar. By the mid 1960s, with the support of the Second Vatican Council, the battle for the single-volume worship space had been won.

Among Scottish architects, a significant step towards single-cell, Eucharist-community design in a large new project was taken by Basil Spence in relation to the Anglican Coventry Cathedral (designed 1951-4, built 1954-62). In Scotland, some Roman Catholic alteration schemes (such as, for example, the refitting of St Mary's Cathedral, Aberdeen, in the 1950s) pointed to the future, but the first consistent expression of these changes came in the work of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia, especially in the massive building programme of the Roman Catholic Church in the west of Scotland. Concentrating at first on new parish churches, this programme culminated in an ambitious seminary project at Cardross (Dunbartonshire, 1959-66).

Although the main developments were in western Scotland, it was a Gillespie, Kidd & Coia design in Fife, St Paul's, Glenrothes (1956-7), which heralded the beginning of nearly two decades of innovation in low-cost Catholic church design. At St Paul's, an economical design for a New Town extension area, the long-standing Scots Catholic tradition of the unitary, hall-like interior was transformed into a single-cell worship space. From the early 1960s, the practice's new, Modernist church architecture spread rapidly across Clydeside and beyond, Gillespie, Kidd & Coia continuing to dominate radical Catholic church design and exercising a widespread influence throughout Scotland in the 1960s.

The later decades of the 20th century have shown much less dramatic developments in church architecture. In a society where the main Christian denominations show declining church attendances and where the building of new planned communities of housing areas has been arrested, ecclesiastical commissions have correspondingly diminished. On the other hand, the growth of the heritage movement and concepts of sustainability have together begun to succeed in finding viable uses for redundant churches.

Ecclesiastical buildings of the post-war period have increasingly become a focus of attention on the part of planning and amenity bodies, and prominent among those given protection

have been the dramatic and personalised church designs of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia. However, given that many of these buildings had suffered from technical problems, the heritage value of the firm's oeuvre was not universally acknowledged, as in the case of the now-demolished St Benedict's, Drumchapel, Glasgow (which suffered extensive water ingress). Traditionally-inspired churches have proved more readily adaptable. In 1996, for example, St Teresa of Lisieux, Possilpark, Glasgow (1956-8, Alexander McAnally), a neo-Romanesque complex which once served a massive Catholic congregation, had a basilica-shaped hall inserted in the rear of its nave, to the designs of Glasgow architects Page and Park.



◀ Left

St Peter's Seminary, Cardross (Dunbartonshire)

(Gillespie, Kidd & Coia, 1959-66). One of the key monuments of post-war Scottish Modern Architecture, and the climax of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow's church-building drive. After only fourteen years of use as a seminary, and despite being a category A listed building, it now stands as a dramatic ruin in an ancient woodland.

► Far Right

St Joseph's, Faifley (Dunbartonshire)

Designed by Nicholson & Jacobson, 1996-7 and built to replace a former Gillespie Kidd and Coia church damaged by fire, the new St Joseph's employed similar design features as the post-war innovators. The dramatic sweeping timber roof, and concealed top-lit clearstory and chancel lighting were adopted.

▼ Below

Kildrum Parish Church,

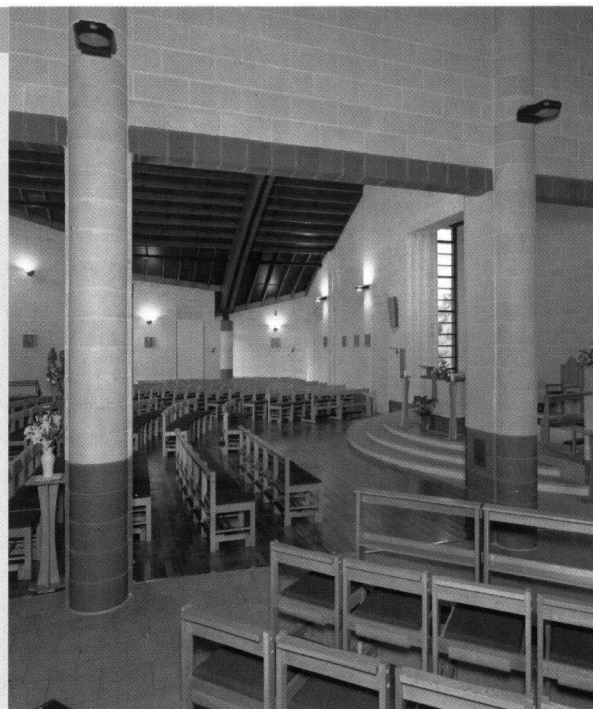
Cumbernauld (Dunbartonshire)

Alan Reiach's broad, well-lit new-town church (1962) displays a Scandinavian-inspired clarity of form. The continuous band of clearstory provides an abundance of light and conveys the impression that the ceiling is floating above the thin structure.

New church designs in late 20th-century Scotland have both suffered and benefited from their post-war predecessors. The technical problems which plagued many post-war Modern church designs have made the Church nervous of innovation and dramatic forms. On the other hand, increasing academic and heritage interest in these churches has clearly influenced a new generation of designers. For example, Nicholson and Jacobson's 1996-7 design for St Joseph's, Faifley (Dunbartonshire), which replaced a former Gillespie, Kidd and Coia church damaged by fire, employed a dramatic swept roof, and lighting effects, similar to those of the post-war innovators.

Increasing immigration in the post-war period led to the erection of a number of non-Christian places of worship in Central Scotland, particularly to serve the growing numbers of Muslim communities. The mosque's characteristic architectural features are a minaret or tower from which the call to prayer is traditionally given, the mihrab or niche indicating the direction of Mecca, which the worshippers face while praying, the minbar or pulpit, from which the sermon is delivered, and a source of water for ablutions before the service.

In Glasgow, the Coleman Ballantine Partnership provided a design for a Central Mosque which was opened in 1984. It comprised



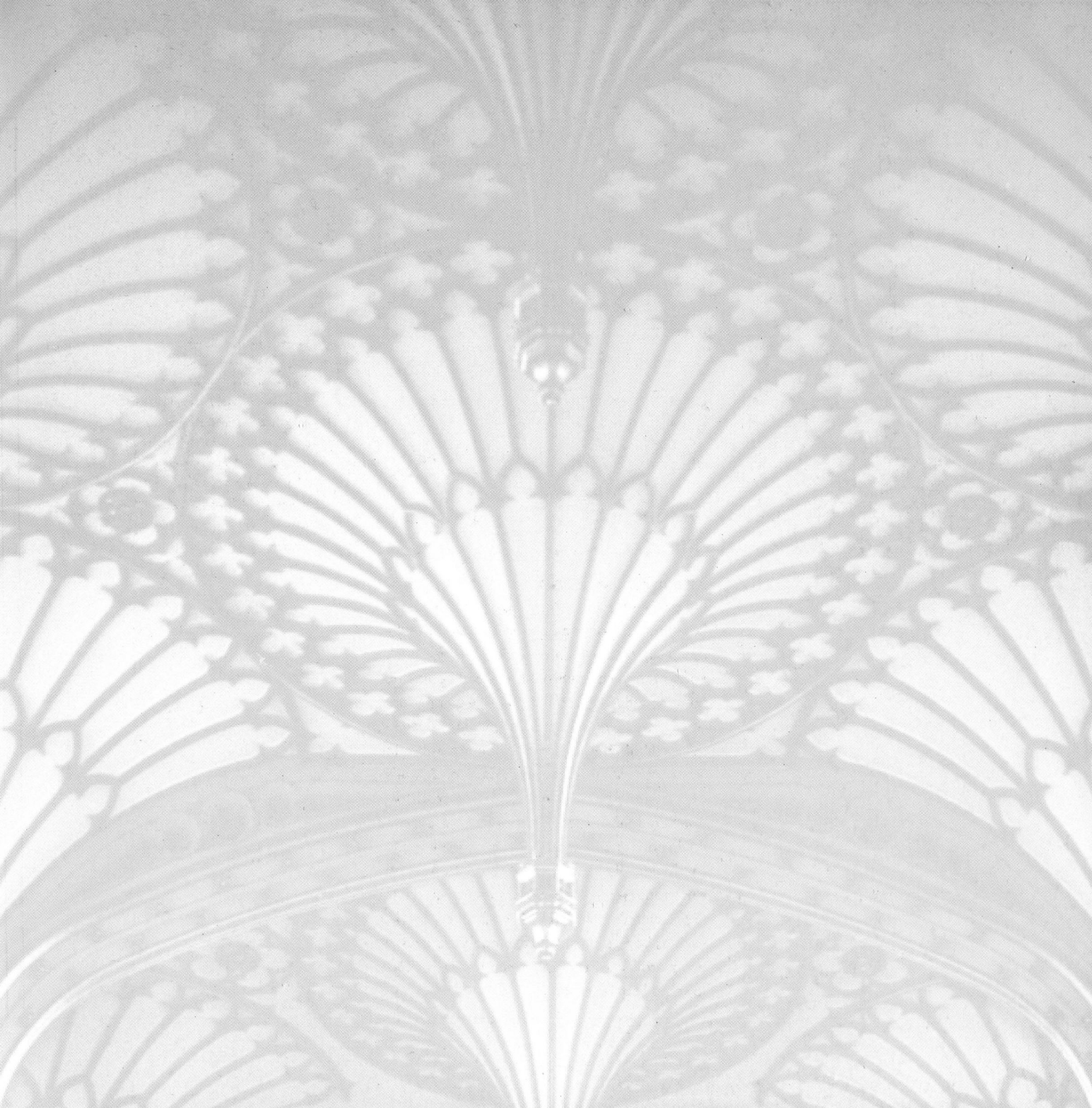


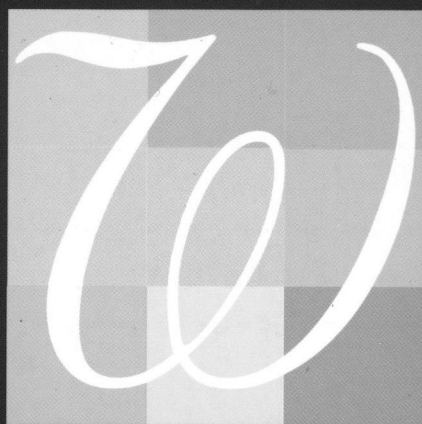
◀ **Left**

Central Mosque, Glasgow

This centre for the Islamic community of Glasgow (1984) performs a function not unlike that of any post-war parish church complex. Its materials and geometric forms also have much in common with the architecture of post-war Catholic church building in western Scotland.

a mosque and ancillary buildings set out around three sides of a paved courtyard, not unlike the functions of any post-war parish church-complex, while its materials - glass, red-brick and towering concrete minaret - and geometric forms had much in common with the architecture of post-war Catholic church building, despite the lack of any functional commonality. In Edinburgh, on the other hand, Basil al-Bayati's design for the Great Mosque (1988-98) attempted to synthesise its Islamic function with the historical architectural environment of the south side of Edinburgh. Traditional Scottish sandstone was utilised, and a mixture of Islamic architectural motifs and Scottish-inspired details, such as bartizans on the east façade, provided an overall appearance evocative of a four-towered Scottish castle.





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