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EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Antiquities, Archaeology or Geology of South West Scotland or the Solway Basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. It may also be possible to provide space for Industrial Archaeology. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for instructions, giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Archaeological contributions may in future have to be published in microfiche with a printed summary, this to reduce expense and render the article more readable for the average member. Each contributor has seen a proof of his paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information.

A copy of the current Rules, being those passed at the Special General Meeting on the 4th May 1977 appeared in volume 52, and a list of Members in volume 56.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hony. Librarian, 25 Maxwell Street, Dumfries, to whom enquiries should be made regarding back numbers of these Transactions — see rear cover. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time.

Payment of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Morag Donald, 7 Oakfield Drive, Dumfries who will be pleased to arrange Bonds of Covenant, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the Member.

Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research: applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the existence of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr. R. C. Reid. Applications for grants from the Trust, which are confined to work on the Early Iron Age, Roman, Romano-British and Early Christian periods, should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

This Volume is made with the assistance of a generous Carnegie Grant. The Council is also indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Ancient Monuments) for grants towards the publication costs of Miss Anne Crone's, Mr and Mrs George Haggarty's, and Mr Yates' Reports on the Clochmabanestane, Rispain Camp, and the Roman Road at Beattock respectively, and to the Mouswald Trust which has borne the remainder of the cost of publishing the Report on Rispain Camp.

MEMBERSHIP APPEAL

The Council has managed to hold the annual subscription at £5 for some years now, mainly due to grants from government and other bodies, but costs are steadily rising. Even a small increase in membership would increase the Society's income with virtually no increase in costs, so all Members with the interests and future of the Society at heart are strongly urged by the Council to endeavour to introduce at least one new full member, or one family member, during the forthcoming year.

QUATERNARY STUDIES IN GALLOWAY — A REVIEW

by

W. B. Kerr

SUMMARY

The history of Quaternary research in the Galloway area of south-west Scotland is reviewed. Research topics which require further work are identified and the area is considered in the context of regional Irish Sea glaciation.

The Dumfries and Galloway area has never attracted the volume of Quaternary research which has stimulated lively debates in other regions of Scotland such as Buchan. There has however, been a recent awakening of interest in Quaternary events, which are responsible for much of the region's distinctive landscape. In Wigtownshire for example, an authoritative study of the drumlins (Cutler, 1979), has revised the previously accepted pattern of ice movements in the area and recent papers in this journal (Kerr, 1982) have examined critically the till deposits of the Rhins and the chronology of ice readvances. It is therefore timely to review the body of work already published in this field and identify topics which might benefit from further research efforts.

The nineteenth century interest in natural history and landscape led to varied accounts by authors describing the topographic features of the countryside. Attention was obviously concentrated on the more spectacular landscape features such as waterfalls and rocking stones but there was also an undeniable curiosity in the writings of these men who had an undoubted feel for the landscape. A fine example of this genre is the paper by Jolly (1868) on, "The Evidence of Glacial Action in Galloway". This description of the corrie backing Loch Dungeon is memorable for the powerful prose.

> "Right before us rose a wall of greywacke, precipitous, serrated, gashed and furrowed to a wonderful degree and descending sheer into the dark waters of a lake. Standing by its shores and looking right across to the wild thunder splintered pinnacles and torn precipitous peaks of Millfire and Mildown one feels that he looks on one of the sublimer phases of nature and is overpowered with a wave of savage, solitary, grandeur and of the almighty forces that have torn and changed the face of the globe".

Jolly was a careful and systematic recorder of landscape detail using numbered sites on a map and a note book, which he called "a sort of dictionary of reference". He addressed the Edinburgh Geological Society on the 5th March 1868 on the topic of glacial erosion in the uplands and on the 19th March on the glacial deposits of the lowlands.

In the early years of this century the brothers James and Archibald Geikie were renowned for their contributions to what then was referred to as, 'the problems of the Ice Age'. Archibald Geikie was the first to recognize that following the decay of an ice sheet, local glaciers developed and readvanced in the hills surrounding Loch Doon. In his text entitled *'The Scenery of Scotland'* (1901) a map is included which shows the direction of ice flow in the Southern Uplands. This map is the foundation for all subsequent models of glaciation in the area to the extent where the official

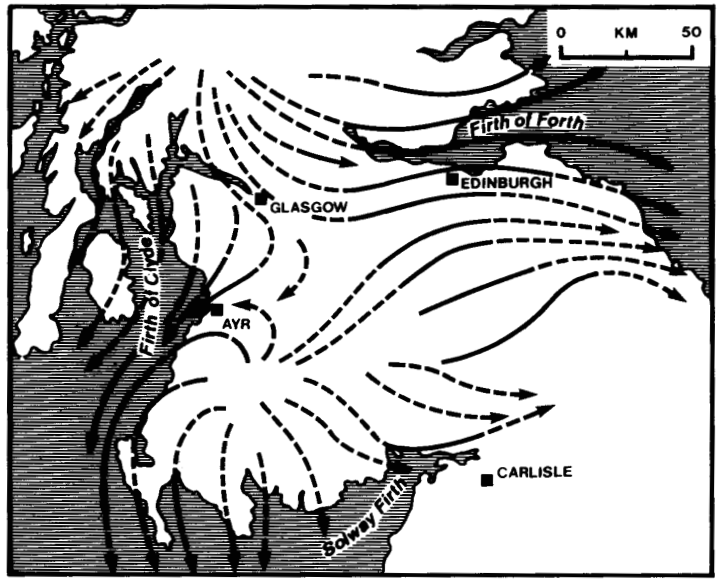

Fig. 1. Directions of ice-flow in Southern Scotland (after Geikie, 1901)

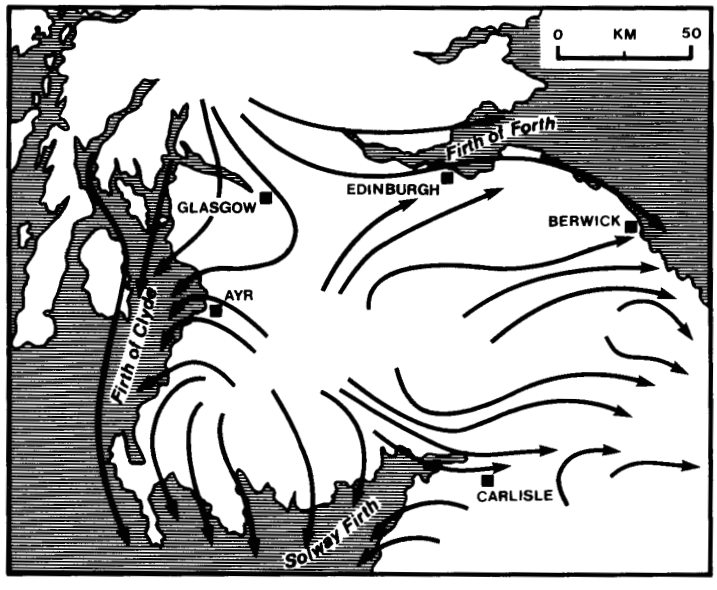

Fig. 2. Suggested directions of ice movement over Southern Scotland (after Greig, 1971)

handbook for the Southern Uplands in the *British Regional Geology* series, (Pringle, 1971), contains an almost identical diagram (Figure 1).

Younger brother, James Geikie, became professor of geology at Edinburgh University, and he recognized that 'glacial drift' was not a simple deposit of one glacier but a complex deposit comprised of many separate layers of till or boulder clay. The drumlins of Galloway, he concluded, were due to a sheet of till, the product of one glaciation being eroded by a later advance of ice, (Geikie, 1905).

The years 1925 and 1926 are of special importance in the history of Quaternary research in Galloway as four major publications appeared on 12th March 1925. Professor J. W. Gregory of the University of Glasgow read a paper entitled, "The Moraines, Boulder Clay and Glacial Sequence in South-West Scotland", to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The author attempted to explain the distribution of erratics in terms of ice rafted boulders and a preoccupation of the work is therefore the maximum heights at which erratics are found.

The following year Gregory published a second interesting paper on "Scottish Drumlins", which concentrates mainly on drumlins in the vicinity of Glasgow. He dismissed the work of ice in drumlin formation and replaced glacial action with the work of the wind, Gregory 1926, p. 436,

> "The clue to the origin of Scottish drumlins is given by the trees which grow on them. The trees show the direction of the prevalent wind and are but parallel to the drumlins".

However, in Wigtownshire the north to south trending drumlins of the Machers obviously does not accord with the wind direction and Gregory invokes the shallow till cover to explain the anomaly.

Also in 1926, J. K. Charlesworth of the Geological Survey, contributed two papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, read to the society by another eminent geologist of the period, Dr. J. Horne. These papers were the fruit of diligent field research in Galloway which until recently was the only field work of a substantive nature in the region. Charlesworth's first paper (1926a) entitled, "The Glacial Geology of the Southern Uplands of Scotland, West of Annandale and Upper Clydesdale", describes the general character of the glaciation. Much of the ideas on ice movements stemmed from a careful tracing of erratics in the drift. Charlesworth endorsed the idea of a central Galloway ice centre or dome from which ice radiated outwards. In the Rhins the author recorded "the most complex drifts of the region"; erratics were found from the central Galloway area such as Loch Doon but also erratic material owing its geological province to Arran, Ayrshire and Ailsa Craig.

In the Machers he identified two sets of drumlins separated by what was described as a moraine. He dismisses the view that these two sets of drumlins were produced simultaneously and concludes, (Charlesworth 1926a, p. 3),

> "It seems necessary therefore to conclude that the drumlins within and without the moraine are the products of two distinct glaciations separated by a retreat of uncertain magnitude".

This statement required an ice advance which has recently been challenged by authors such as Cutler, (1978), and Sissons, (1981).

In the second paper, Charlesworth (1926b), described the landforms associated with this proposed readvance which he termed the 'Lammermuir-Stranraer Moraine'. The argument for this moraine limit was based on the recognition of sand and gravel deposits with characteristic kamiform topography. In the west for example, Charlesworth linked the 'kame and kettle' topography at Leswalt in the Rhins to the sands and gravels at the head of Loch Ryan. Similar topography and materials at Glenluce, Kirkcowan, Twynholm, Dalbeattie and in the Nith Valley extended the proposed readvance line to join with other moraines east of River Nith. A detailed description of the Nith Valley kamiform deposits is given in Stone (1959).

The Lammermuir-Stranraer line was therefore an interpretation of field evidence, which later workers (Sissons, 1961) were to find unsatisfactory, but the concept of a readvance to the moraine limit was to remain in the literature for almost fifty years, (Goodlet 1970).

There is then a gap in the literature until the appearance of the 1st edition of the 'South of Scotland' in the *British Regional Geology* Series in 1935. This volume was edited by J. Pringle and appeared in revised form in 1948. The model of glaciation presented by Geikie, (1901) and Charlesworth, (1926a) is presented with little comment in a chapter on, 'Glacial and Superficial Deposits'. These publications were prepared by the then Geological Survey and relied on the published geology maps and accompanying memoirs. The recording of various types of superficial deposits on the same map as the solid geology provided the early geologists with much of their raw material. The mapping of glacial striae by the geologists was a vital clue to ice movements before sedimentary techniques were developed. The tracing of erratics, also depended on reliable geological mapping. The memoirs accompanying these early geology maps are reminders of the long history of geological mapping in the region. The memoir for sheet 9, Maxwelltown dates from 1877, and sheet 2, Whithorn from 1873.

In 1981 the 1:63360 scale maps were replaced by 1:50000 scale sheets and the solid and drift or superficial geology separated for the first time and published as separate sheets. These new maps provide invaluable information for any study of the Quaternary. The most recent edition of the geology guide to the South of Scotland in the *British Regional Geology* Series was published in 1971 and edited by D. C. Greig. Much of the chapter on the Quaternary is derived from the pioneer work of Charlesworth in 1926 and the concept of a readvance is maintained and referred to by Charlesworth's terminology of Kirkcowan and Corrie Readvance Stages.

The Institute of Geological Sciences is also responsible for a publication on the sand and gravel resources of the area entitled 'The Sands and Gravels of the Southern Counties of Scotland' (Goodlet, 1970). As all the sand and gravel quarries are in fluvioglacial deposits, this survey is a valuable source of information for anyone keen to examine fresh sections. In the introduction to the report, Goodlet discusses the general Pleistocene geology of the area and interestingly supports the argument for a 'Southern Uplands Readvance', which dates back to the ideas of Charlesworth. This is a view which has been challenged by modern workers such as Sissons. Goodlet writes, (p. 16),

> "Local in origin and relatively minor in scale compared with the main glaciation the ice of this readvance — The Southern Uplands Readvance — nevertheless spread out from the mountainous areas around the Merrick southwards to the Solway and invaded the low ground round Carlisle in the west of England, where it is known as the Scottish Readvance".

The issue of a readvance is therefore a research interest worthy of study. References to readvances in the literature of the area are often confusing as the terminology is borrowed from outside the area and the ideas and terms introduced by Charlesworth occur persistently in the literature. Charlesworth (1926a) suggested a main glaciation and deglaciation followed by two separate readvances which he called the 'Kirkcowan' and 'Corrie' stages, the readvance of the former stage was to a 'Stranraer-Lammermuir' moraine described in Charlesworth (1926b). This line appears on numerous maps and figures such as Sissons (1967), *'Evolution of Scotland's Scenery'* and was correlated in time with the Perth Readvance. By 1974 Sissons had revised the model on Scottish glaciation and concluded that a major readvance was unnecessary to explain the pattern of deglaciation in Scotland. Cutler (1979) working in the Machers carefully mapped the areas suspected of being a readvance moraine and decided that those deposits were the result of ice standstill during the final glaciation. The concept of a readvance became unpopular as field evidence was found to be unsatisfactory. The issue of an ice readvance in Galloway and the wider regional implications have been discussed by Kerr (1983a) in this journal. In a second paper Kerr (1983b) examined till fabrics, drumlins and glacial striae in the Rhins, in relation to glaciation chronology.

A striking landscape feature of the area is the drumlins, which until recently have not received much attention. A recent paper by Boardman (1982) reproduces four maps of drumlin fields in Britain which shows the Galloway field completely omitted in one case and of varying size and shape on the others.

In 1930 Hollingworth published a major paper entitled, "The Glaciation of Western Edenside and the Adjoining Areas and the Drumlins of Edenside and the Solway Basin". In Dumfriesshire he recorded drumlins between Annan and Gretna and in the valley of the Kirtle Water. These forms have never been systematically mapped although they are clearly described by Hollingsworth, p. 337.

> "Large oval forms characterise this area as a whole many of them broad and comparatively gentle swells."

The Geological Survey Memoir for sheet 11, Langholm, also records drumlins in the valley of the Esk at Canonbie. In Kirkcudbrightshire, Smith (1971, unpublished) examined 130 drumlins around Crocketford and in 1979, Cutler, presented a Ph.D. thesis on the drumlins of Wigtownshire.

Following deglaciation of the main Devensian ice sheet, the corries of the Merrick nourished small glaciers in what is now called the 'Loch Lomond Readvance'. This ice advance has left remarkably fresh looking morainic deposits which the early observers such as Jolly noted. Cornish (1981) has described these deposits and Moar (1969) produced pollen diagrams from lake deposits at the Nick of Curleywee, which placed the readvance in the period 10200-10000 BP. This readvance was called the 'Corrie Stage' by Charlesworth (1926a) and the 'Corrie-Merrick Stage' by Cutler (1978).

During this cold stage the lowlands while free from ice would have experienced arctic periglacial conditions. Watson (1977) mentions ice wedges at Annan and Newton Stewart and a review of the evidence is given in Galloway (1961).

A review of Late Devensian environmental conditions in southwest Scotland is provided by Bishop and Coope (1977). Moar (1969) discusses the pollen diagrams from the region. There is agreement that by 12500 BP most of Galloway would have been ice free. On the banks of the River Annan at Lockerbie peat incorporated in dead ice deposits gave a radiocarbon date of 12900 BP, which is an indication that by that date the lower ground was supporting a vegetation cover, (Bishop, 1963). Deglaciation seems to have been fairly rapid once it had begun and dead stagnant ice would become common in the main valleys.

The raised beaches of the Solway estuary are a striking record of the presence of ice. Paradoxically this is also one of the most complex parts of glacial history in the region involving the interplay of eustatic change in sea level related to the changing volumes of the world's glaciers and the isostatic uplift of the land due to the removal of the ice load. Jardine (1977, p. 100) describes the complexities of unravelling the evidence,

> "Evidence of former high levels of the sea in relation to the land takes various forms. Remnants of old sea cliffs now some distance inland or high above present sea level, raised shore platforms cut in solid rock or in glacial till, river terraces graded to heights above sea level, raised esturine beach or coastal sediments of saline or brackish water environments all bear witness to former sea levels relatively higher than at present".

The early work in this field was by Donner (1963), who described the 'Late and Post Glacial Beaches of Scotland'. He recorded the evidence for marine transgression at seven sites along the Solway and discussed his findings in terms of a 'Late-Glacial 100 foot Beach' and a 'Post-Glacial 20 foot Beach'. The terminology has now moved away from naming a raised beach from the height above sea level and Jardine, (1971, 1975 and 1977) has continued the research and refined the terminology.

Jardine and Morrison (1975) provided a synthesis of changing sea levels in relation to early man in an article entitled, 'The Archaeological significance of Holocene coastal deposits in southwest Scotland'. The geological evidence has been used by archaeologists to establish a time scale for the varying terrestrial environments which influenced the settlement, economy and movement of Mesolithic settlers in particular. The importance of cliff top sites for Mesolithic man has already been noted by Coles (1964), Cormack and Coles (1968) and Cormack (1968).

There is therefore, a long history of Quaternary research in Dumfries and Galloway which has in the past attracted eminent authorities such as James and Archibald Geikie, and Charlesworth. Often, however, the area has been considered as an appendage to the research on another region such as Cumbria or Ulster. In fact one of the fascinations of Quaternary studies in the area is its key position in relation to glaciation in Highland Scotland, Cumbria, Ireland, North Wales and the Isle of Man. There is by no means agreement on the correlation of events in these disparate areas and Dumfries and Galloway is therefore of interest in the context of glaciation in the Irish Sea Basin, (Kidson and Tooley, 1977).

Whatever the interpretation of evidence the landscape will continue to provide a source of research topics for anyone interested in the Pleistocene period. The stamp of glaciation is so fresh on the hills and glens of central Galloway that Eckford (1957) suggested that the region become a Glacial Park.

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NEW MESOLITHIC SITES IN SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND AND THEIR IMPORTANCE AS INDICATORS OF INLAND PENETRATION

by

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The Mesolithic sites of south-west Scotland have attracted the attention of many workers, especially over the past two decades. The principal focus of both field and written investigation has been the coastal sites (Edgar 1939; Lacaille 1945, 1954; Truckell 1963; Coles 1964; Cormack and Coles 1968; Cormack 1970; Jardine and Morrison 1976; Morrison 1980; Masters 1981). Although a few inland sites have been reported (Ansell 1966-1975) there has been nothing to compare with the concentration of finds from further east in the Tweed Valley (Corrie 1916; Callendar 1927; Mulholland 1970). The few finds from the southern shores of Loch Doon and the upper reaches of the Water of Ken, provided tantalising evidence for a wider penetration of inland areas in the Mesolithic than might be expected from the evidence hitherto available from the south-west of Scotland (Figure 1). This paper presents evidence from over fifty new find sites in inland locations. These have produced lithic finds comparable in style to material referred to the Mesolithic from elsewhere in the area.

The Sites

All but one of the sites are found in the catchment systems of the River Doon, Black Water of Dee and Water of Ken. In the following data presentation, the numbers in parentheses after the map grid references refer to the site numbers in Figure 2.

a) Loch Doon area : many thousands of flint and chert flakes, blades, microliths and cores scattered around the loch shores. The H.E.P. reservoir was created in 1936 (a dam raised the water level of a natural loch by about 8m) and the material is found at around 210m OD where peat has been eroded by the fluctuating water levels. The finds are spread over a wide area but are concentrated in the following spots:
NS 477013(1), NS 478012(2), NX 495995(3), NX 496997(4), NX 496998(5), NX 498998(6), NX 499996(7), NX 494964(8), NX 485949(9), NX 484948(10), NX 483947(11), NX 479941(12), NX 481941(13), NX 483939(14), NX 483937(15), NX 484936(16), NX 482927(17).
Another loch-margin site has been recorded at NX 485928 *(Discov. Excav. Scot.* 1968) — this is incorrect and should be NX 484929 which is below high loch water level and not on land.

A land site away from the perimeter of the loch was discovered at NX 482928(18). The upcast peat of forestry drains, 45m west of the southern shore of Loch Doon, revealed 10 flint flakes (3 of which display cortex on their edges);

1 patinated flint flake; 1 distal end of a flint blade; 6 chert flakes (1 burnt); 1 unifacial chert burin; and 1 fire-cracked piece of chert.

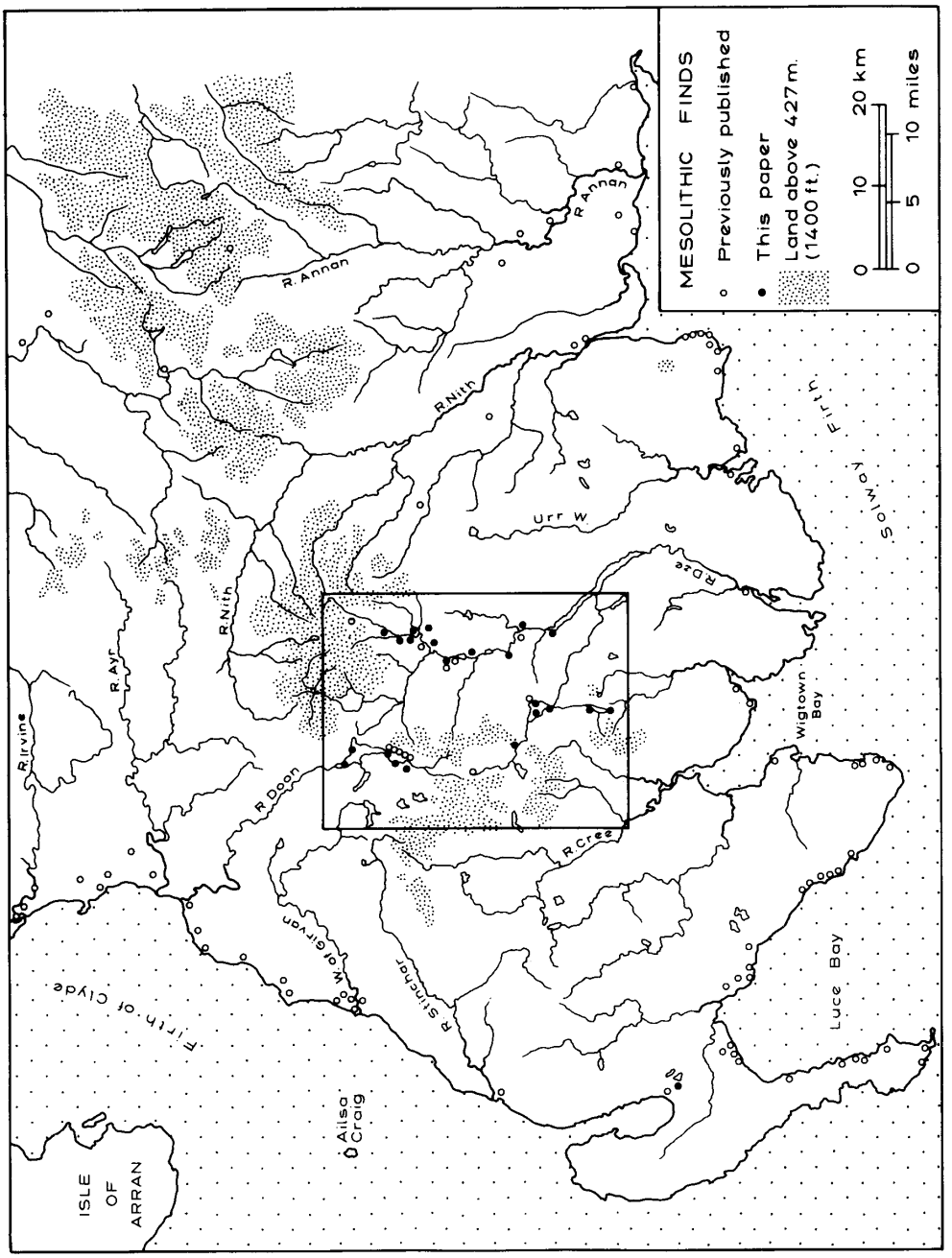

Fig. 1. Mesolithic finds in south-west Scotland. Inset area refers to Figure 2.

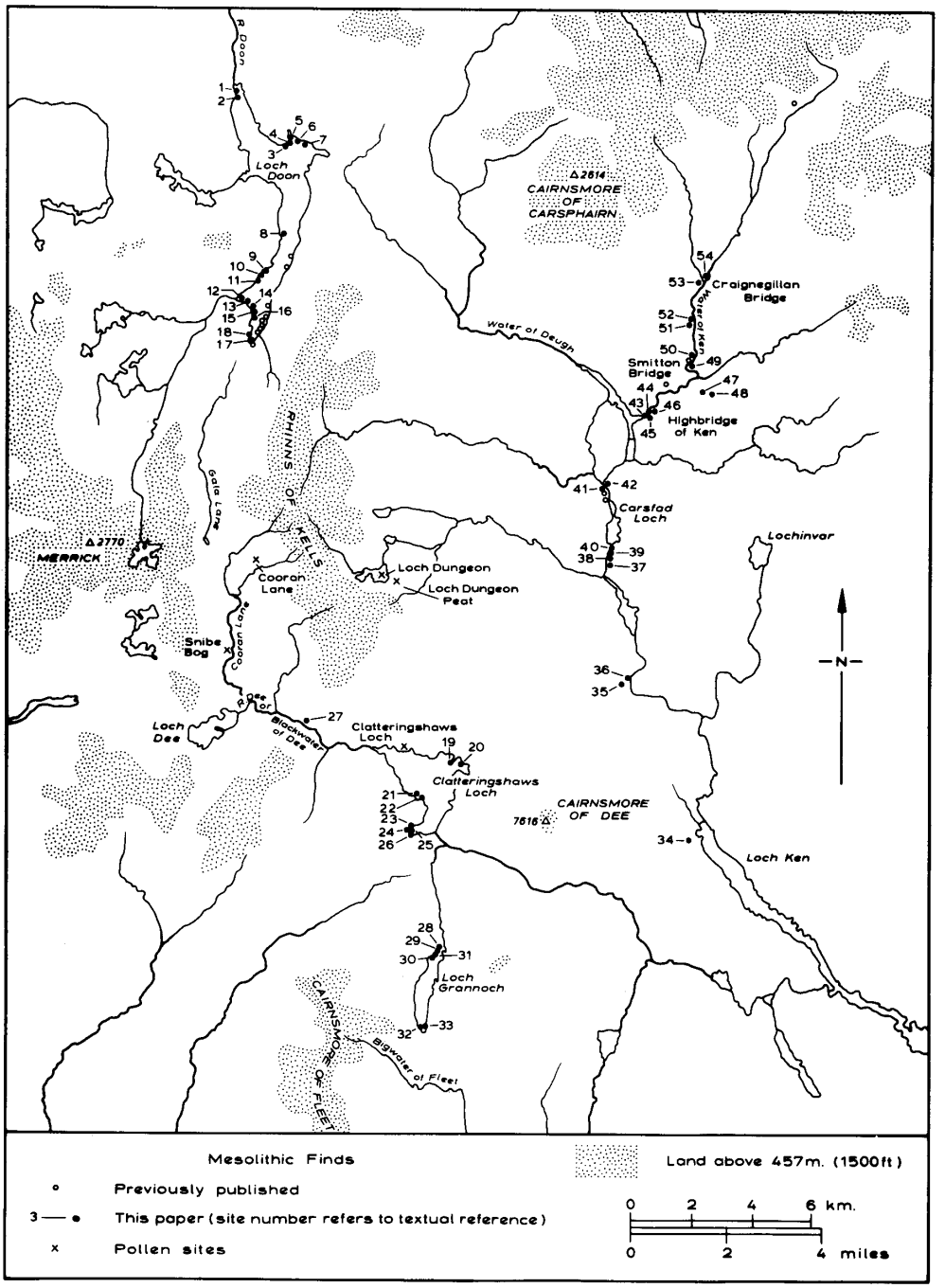

Figure 2. Mesolithic finds in central south-west Scotland.

b) Clatteringshaws Loch area: scattered flint flakes and waste on floor of Loch (an artificial H.E.P. reservoir created in 1937 by the damming of the Black Water of Dee). Concentrations of material were found at NX 552777(19), NX 554777(20), NX 538767(21), NX 539767(22), NX 536754(23), NX 536753(24), NX 537754(25), NX 537753(26).

Three kilometres north-west of Clatteringshaws Loch and in the peat surface about 50.0m north of the Black Water of Dee at NX 501793(27), 1 microlith, 1 core and 2 flakes of flint were also found.

c) Loch Grannoch: this loch formerly drained into the Black Water of Dee to the south of Clatteringshaws Loch but it is now diverted into Clatteringshaws Loch. Scattered flint flakes and microliths have been found below high water level at the northern (NX 548714(28), NX 547713(29), NX 546713(30), NX 545711(31)) and southern (NX 540684(32), NX 541695(33)) ends of the loch.

d) Water of Ken area: many sites along the river course have produced flint materials, especially in river terrace plough-soils or mole hills. NX 635751(34), 2 flakes at about 75m OD in peat upcast of forestry drains on slope to west of Loch Ken.

NX 611806(35), 2 flakes in soil of stream confluence terrace.

NX 613808(36), flakes, blades and microliths in plough-soil and mole hills of terrace.

NX 606849(37), NX 607852(38), NX 606853(39), NX 606854(40), scatters of flakes in mole hills on east side of Water of Ken terrace south of Carsfad Loch.

NX 603875(41), flakes in mole hills on terrace.

NX 605876(42), flakes in garden soils of houses east of stream confluence.

NX 618902(43), NX 619902(44), NX 621901(45), NX 622902(46), flakes in mole hills near southern end of High Bridge of Ken.

NX 638909(47), NX 639909(48), flakes in mole hills on either side of a tributary stream of the Water of Ken and at an altitude of about 190m OD.

NX 634918(49), over 100 flakes, blades and microliths in a small erosion scar in the terrace south-east of Smittons Bridge.

NX 635921(50), scattered flakes, blades and cores in plough soil of river terrace.

NX 633933(51), NX 635935(52), flakes in mole hills of terrace.

NX 637947(53), NX 638948(54), flakes in mole hills on terrace either side of stream confluence below Craigengillan Bridge.

e) Aird, near Stranraer. Mrs Jane Murray of Edinburgh informed us of a site (NX 089606) near the farm of Aird and 2.5km east of Stranraer. A ploughed hill slope produced 1 snapped blade end of flint subsequently patinated, 1 flint core of patinated beach pebble with a single striking platform, and 1 small pitchstone flake. Mrs Murray has recovered many flint artifacts from this site which seems to be part of a bluff and terrace complex overlooking a boggy area which was probably an extension to the sea. Coring in the boggy area revealed about 0.9m of peat overlying a grey-brown clay. The pollen content of the latter was rich in *Alnus* (alder), Gramineae (grass) and Chenopodiaceae pollen and possibly represents estuarine material of the mid-Postglacial marine transgression (Jardine 1971, 1975).

Discussion

A comprehensive consideration of the lithic industries mentioned above must await a detailed study of the finds. The present discussion must therefore remain tentative and assumes a certain degree of cultural homogenity amongst the material. The Mesolithic assignation of the finds is based especially upon the frequent occurrence of flakes, microliths and scrapers in flint and chert, long associated with the presence of early man (Lacaille 1954). A factor which should not be overlooked, however, is the possible continuity of Mesolithic artifactual styles into the Neolithic

and beyond. This topic is touched upon by Lacaille (1954) and also by Mulholland (1970) in connection with her study of the Tweed Valley industries.

A special value of these many new sites is the light which they throw on the location of possible Mesolithic communities and the implications for resource exploitation. The inland finds reported by Ansell in the 1960s and 1970s in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* are now supported by many new ones which stress the probable utility of the north-west to south-east trending stream systems of south-west Scotland. Routeways between the Ayrshire coast and the Solway Firth are now strongly suggested for at least two possibly interrelated systems. An easterly route could encompass the River Dee from Kirkcudbright Bay, along the Water of Ken and then north-westwards along the Water of Deugh and Carsphairn Lane to join the Loch Doon-River Doon system and then to the Ayrshire coast. A possible route to the west could lead from Fleet Bay northwards along the Big Water of Fleet to Loch Grannoch, and then by way of the Black Water of Dee and Cooran Lane into the Gala Lane and Doon systems to the Ayrshire coast. It is quite likely that these two paths were not only linked to the north via the Ken-Deugh-Doon route, but also in the south with a link along the Black Water of Dee between what is now Clatteringshaws Loch and Loch Ken.

The routes suggested above are only two possible means of traversing the uplands of the south-west. Searches for lithic materials in many other river systems (e.g. the Cree, Urr and Nith) may well reveal finds in sufficiently large numbers to justify speculation concerning their use as major routeways. Although the north-west to south-east directions have been stressed because of their major role in providing throughways, it should perhaps be added that many possible east-west links between such routes are also likely to have been used where the topography did not make such traverses difficult.

The coastal occupance of south-west Scotland in the Mesolithic has long been acknowledged. The inland territories would have provided at least seasonal attractions to settlement apart from any desire to move between the Ayrshire and Solway coasts. The rivers would have provided plentiful supplies of salmon and trout in summer while red deer and wild boar would have also been satisfying components of the Mesolithic diet. Perhaps the movement of animals and the need to follow them (Evans 1975) explains the location of flint flakes in the upper reaches of the Water of Ken, away from the proposed Ken-Deugh-Doon route? It should not be forgotten that the Loch Doon and Water of Ken areas both contain sources of chert (Etheridge *et al.* 1877; Wickham-Jones and Collins 1980) which while not necessarily attracting stone workers (chert is generally inferior to the flint which is imported from coastal sources), would certainly help to sustain subsistence activities in inland areas.

The vegetation would not only provide food for animals but also food and shelter for man. Pollen diagrams from south-west Scotland (Moar 1969; Birks 1972, 1975), suggest that the upland later Mesolithic landscape (*sensu* Morrison 1980) was characterised by birch, hazel, elm, oak, alder and pine woodland. Basin peat was also actively growing in wetter areas though the spread of blanket peat over much of the area probably came later. The question of man's impact on the vegetation is a topic under investigation (Edwards and Carter) though some of the published sites provide useful indicators. At Cooran Lane a blanket bog deposit analysed by Hilary Birks (1975) produced evidence for fire disturbance in sample levels dated to

7541 ± 120 bp (5591 ± 120 bc). *Betula* (birch) pollen values fall, *Pinus* (pine) expands and *Hedera helix* (ivy) makes its first appearance in the pollen record. Values for Gramineae, *Melampyrum* (cow-wheat) and *Pteridium aquilinum* (bracken) increase and large numbers of charcoal micro-fragments were also encountered. Birks acknowledges that such features in Scandinavian pollen diagrams have been ascribed to fire and perhaps attempts at forest clearance by Neolithic man. She considers that the Cooran Lane feature was not due to human interference but, rather, that the bog surface had become sufficiently dry for accidental burning to occur during a particularly dry period. Mesolithic man is largely dismissed since 'no evidence of occupation has been found in the hills' (Birks 1975, p. 206). The material discussed in the present paper shows this view to be no longer tenable. Further south at Snibe Bog, Birks (1972, p. 206) notes the occurrence of grains of *Plantago lanceolata* (ribwort plantain) pollen at two levels associated with *Fraxinus* (ash) pollen and *Pteridium* spores which 'may reflect some human interference. If so, this was probably due to early Neolithic man, as Mesolithic remains are concentrated on the Galloway coast'. The low amounts of charcoal or carbonized fragments in the pollen profiles from Clatteringshaws Loch (Birks 1975) and the Loch Dungeon lake and peat sites (Birks 1972, 1975) may well indicate that if Mesolithic man was present (and this is almost certainly the case in the vicinities of Clatteringshaws Loch and Snibe Bog) then the immediate locality was not often used (if at all) as a settlement/working/game driving area which might be expected to produce evidence for fire. The Cooran Lane area may have contained a more permanent site or sites, as could also be the case at Loch Doon where charcoal or burnt zones have been seen in deposits containing flint and chert finds (Ansell unpublished), while peat of likely Mesolithic age from the south-west shore side contains large amounts of microscopic charcoal (Carter and Edwards unpublished). In this connection it was noted above that the land site at Loch Doon (NX 482928(18)) featured a burnt chert flake and a larger piece of fire-cracked chert. It might also be appropriate to mention that the Stroangassel site on the west bank of the Water of Ken (Ansell 1967) produced several fractured, heavily scorched stones and charcoal — perhaps evidence of a hearth.

The reality of inland penetration during the Mesolithic period in south-west Scotland is strongly bolstered by the evidence presented above. The question of routeways and environment can only be extended by the collection of a great deal more information in the field and in the laboratory. While the permanency or otherwise of the early sites may never be discovered there is surely much additional evidence of all kinds waiting to be found. Two decades ago, A. E. Truckell (1963) finished his consideration of the Mesolithic in Dumfries and Galloway with words which are equally relevant today:

'the field is wide open: all workers are welcome'.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Mrs Jane Murray for bringing the site at Aird to our attention, and Mr W. Cormack and Dr. I. Ralston for helpful discussion. Dr. Paul Buckland assisted with the description of finds.

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THE CLOCHMABANESTANE, GRETNA

by Anne Crone

Introduction

The Clochmabanestane (NY 3123 6598) sits on the edge of a small plateau, a remnant of the post-glacial raised beach, at 10 m OD. It lies 250 m from the edge of the River Esk at the head of the Solway Firth, and the field below the plateau is liable to flooding. The land around the stone, now in grass, has been cultivated to within a metre of the stone. The stone itself is a coarse granite erratic, 2.9 m high and 1.8 m across at its widest point. Another, smaller granite boulder lies 24 m NNE of the Clochmabanestane on the line of the present field boundary.

The ONB states that the two stones are all that remains of a stone circle consisting of 9 stones and an earlier reference in the OSA (1841, 528) describes 'a number of white stones placed upright circling half an acre of ground in an oval form'. On the basis of this description Burl postulates a megalithic oval, 45.7m in diameter (1976, 205). However, the major significance of the stone lies in the etymology of its name. The stone has been variously called the Clochmabenstane, Clochmaben Stone and the Lochmaben Stone, the latter misleadingly connecting it with the town of the same name. Throughout this paper the stone is referred to as the Clochmabanestane, the form in which it appears in the earliest written reference to the stone, dated to 1398 (Watson, 1926, 181). The 'stane' suffix is a redundant feature due to anglicisation and Clochmabane has been translated as 'Mabon's Stone', 'cloch' being Gaelic for 'stone' (Watson, 1926, 181). Mabon was a Celtic deity worshipped in N Britain and adopted by the Roman military as Maponus. Three inscriptions from Corbridge equate him with the Roman god Apollo (Richmond, 1943, 206-10).

The stone has thus been identified with the *Locus Maponi*, referred to in the Ravenna Cosmography, a list of place-names within the Roman Empire, this copy dating to the 7th century AD. The reference to the *Locus Maponi* occurs in a list of 8 names, separate from the main text of the Cosmography and introduced as ". . . diversa loca . . .". Richmond (1958, 149) interpreted "loca" as meaning tribal meeting place and suggested that this section of the Cosmography was a list of such places recognised by Rome. Rivet and Smith (1979, 395), however, prefer to look for a British source for the word "locus" and suggested *loc* - "lake or pool", thus identifying "Locus Maponi" with the Dumfriesshire town of Lochmaben which contains the necessary loch or lake. The stone had certainly become a meeting, or trysting place by 1398 when it is mentioned as a location for the settlement of frontier disputes (Raleigh-Radford, 1953).

In February, 1982, after a spell of heavy frosts, the Clochmabanestane fell over and the Scottish Development Department, Ancient Monuments Branch, asked the author to investigate the area.

The Excavation

A trench, 3.0 x 1.5 m, was opened just N of the fallen stone revealing a shallow, ovoid pit, 1.56 m x 1.12 m and 0.25 m deep. One half of the pit was full of rounded stones which were piled on the N, uphill, edge and protruded into the overlying plough-soil. The stones sealed a grey sandy clay which contained a small concentration of charcoal.

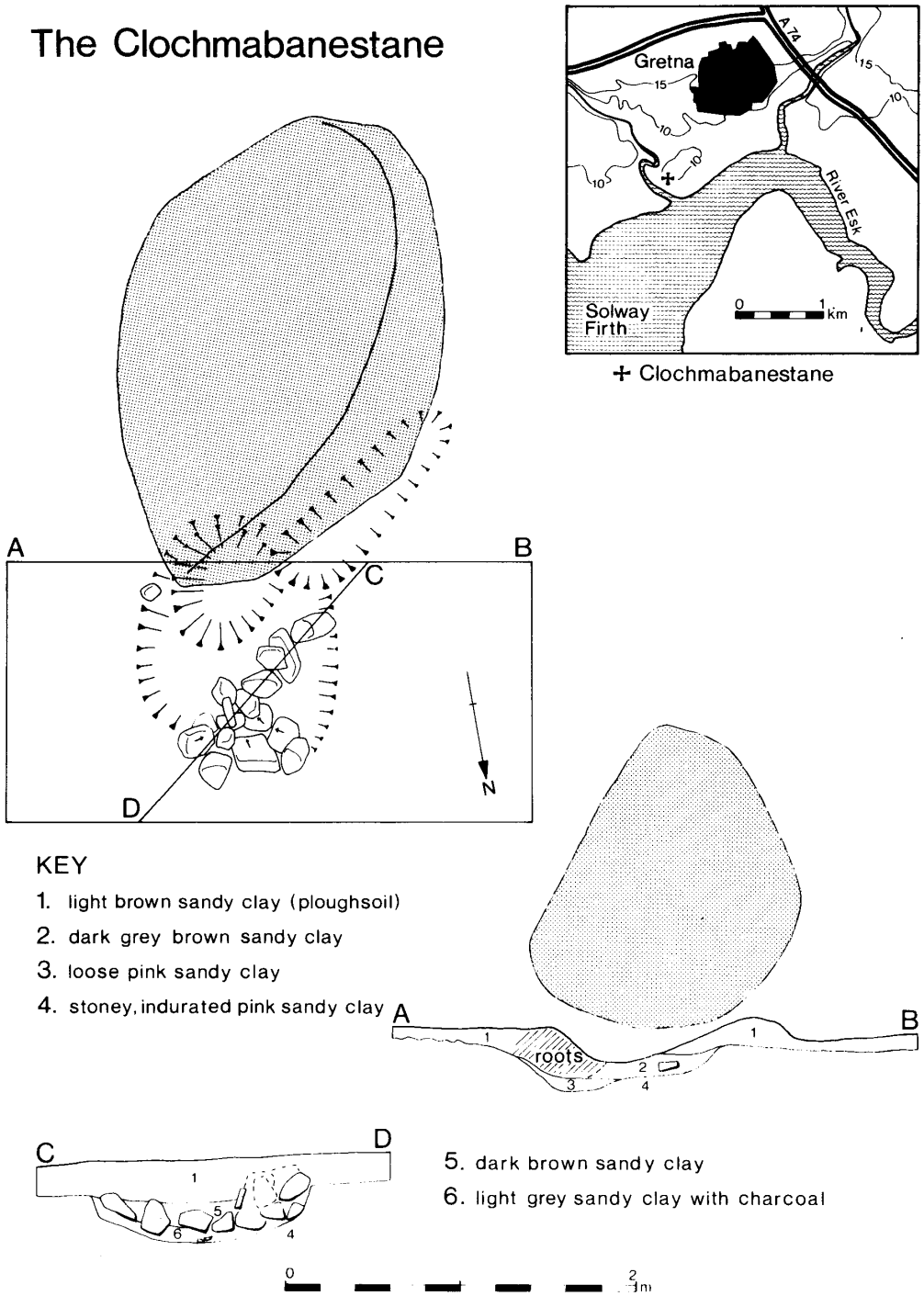

Fig. 1. Location map (top right), plan (centre left) and sections.

Over the S half of the pit a depression in the topsoil, roughly 0.7 m in diameter marked the position of the stone prior to its collapse. Topsoil and matted roots had formed a ridge around the depression. The soil immediately below this point was very mixed and the layers noted in the N half could not be distinguished here. The area was further confused by a shallow trench filled with a grey/brown sandy clay which had been cut in under the overhang of the stone in the recent past.

There were no finds. The charcoal from the lower layer was identified as oak (*quercus sp*; 80%), willow (*salix sp*; 13.3%) and hazel (*corylus avellana*; 6.6%). A date of 2525 ± 85 bc (GU 1591) was obtained from this charcoal.

The Resistivity Survey by Ian D. Mate

In view of the possibility that this stone was once part of a stone circle (above) it seemed desirable to try to locate the positions of the other stones. To this end an area, 30 m square, encompassing both stones and most of the top of the plateau, was surveyed using a Martin Clark resistivity meter at 1 m intervals. The survey registered only one positive anomaly which was investigated. A change in soil type from brown forest soil to acid brown earth occurred in the high anomaly area but no archaeological significance could be attributed to the change and no other archaeological features were noted. (The description of the soil profile for the high anomaly is appended in Table 1).

Discussion

As described above, the resistivity survey did not locate any other archaeological features on the plateau but the possible existence of a stone circle cannot be dismissed on these grounds alone. Excavations at Grange, Co. Limerick (O'Riordain, 1952, 42) showed that the stones rested on the old ground surface while at Berrybrae (Burl, 1976, 179) the stones of the circle sat *on* a low bank of earth and stones. In neither of these cases would any trace of the circle survive once the larger stones had disappeared. A socket as shallow as that under the Clochmabanestane would have disappeared after only a short period of cultivation. Many stone circles have yielded more enduring evidence such as cists, in central positions within the circle. To investigate this possibility a 3 m square located in the centre of the plateau and equidistant from the two stones, was stripped but nothing was found.

Although the stone had stood in the depression at the S end of the pit, excavation could not demonstrate any relationship between the pit and the stone. The pit certainly pre-dates the positioning of the stone and may be the original socket. If this is the case then the stone had gradually moved southwards out of its socket allowing it to fill. The mechanism for this event is not clear. The stone sat on the edge of a break in slope, and frosts such as the one which finally toppled it may have caused a gradual tilt down the slope, allowing the socket behind to infill. It was impossible to determine whether the small stones or the layer with charcoal below them had entered the socket by this means or whether they were part of the original fill. If the former case is correct the C14 date obtained from the charcoal in the lower layer provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the stone.

If the latter case is correct then the date of 2525 ± 85 bc makes this event contemporary with the earliest phase of the stone circle building tradition. The earliest date for a stone circle comes from Newgrange, Co Meath. There, the passage grave has been dated to 2585 ± 105 bc (UB-361) and it has been argued that the stone circle surrounding the mound is contemporary with it (Burl, 1976, 240). Similarly, the stone circle at Stenness, Orkney has been dated to 2536 ± bc (SRR-350) by

material from the surrounding henge ditch (Ritchie, 1975). A further early example, albeit undated, is provided by the example of a stone circle within a henge, which were buried beneath the passage grave at Bryn Celli Ddu (O'Kelly 1969).

Thus the early date does not militate against the interpretation of the Clochmabanestane as being the remains of a stone circle. It should be noted, however, that all the early examples cited above are associated with passage graves or henges and that there was no evidence for the presence of similar monuments around the Clochmabanestane.

In all probability the description in the ONB is correct and a stone circle did exist at the site of the Clochmabanestane. The presence of the two stones and the early date support this contention but, by no means, prove it.

The date throws very little light on the postulated Roman associations of the Clochmabanestane except to prove that it was certainly in existence during that period and, if part of a stone circle, would have been a prominent feature in the landscape. As such it may well have been chosen as a meeting-place.

The medieval documentary evidence indicates that it was a traditional meeting-place by the 14th century. Beyond this, the archaeological evidence cannot hope to resolve the philological debate upon which the Roman association rests.

Acknowledgements

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The site record is lodged in the National Monuments Record.

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Table 1

Profile description of the high anomaly area.

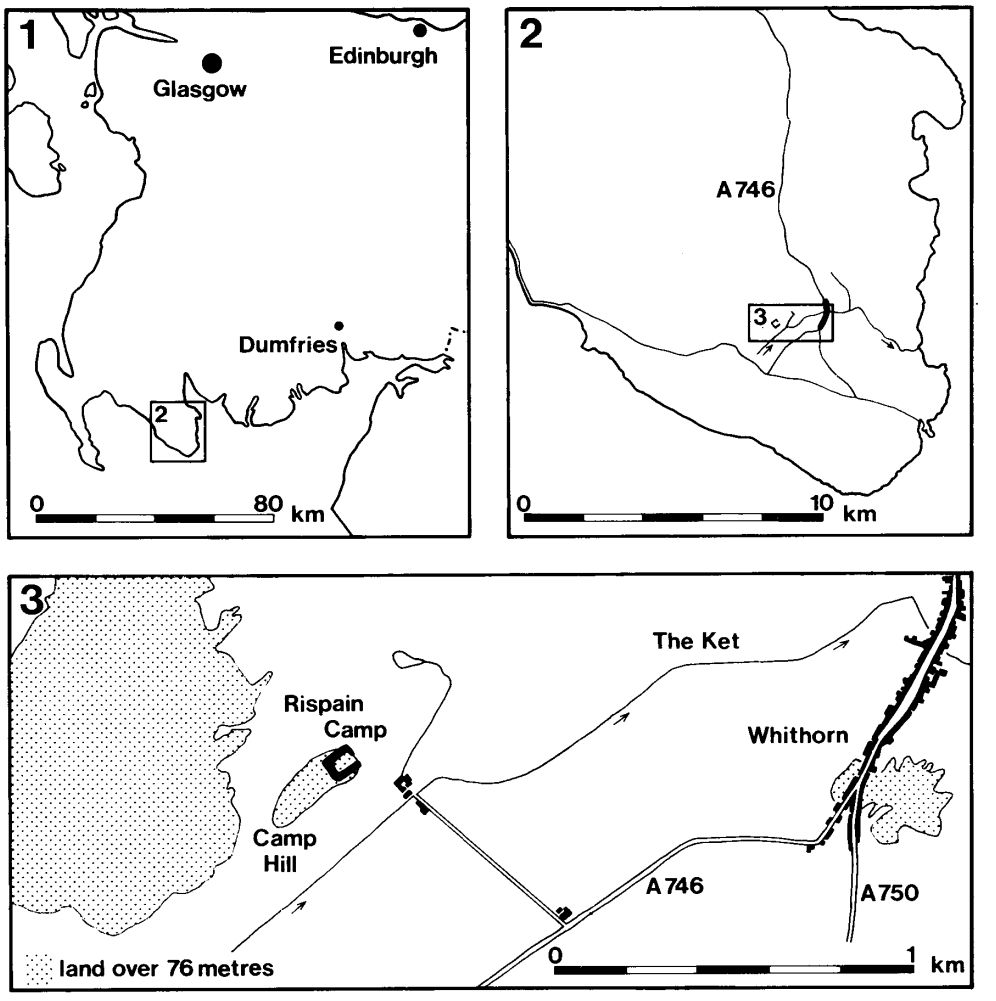
Horizon Notation	*Depth in cms*	*Description* (after Hodgson (1976))
Turf	0-4	Dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silt loam with many fine fibrous and common fleshy medium roots.
Ap	4-20	Dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silt loam. No mottle or change of colour on ped faces. Stones are predominantly 6 mm-2 cm and 2-6 cm. Slightly stony. Rounded tabular occasionally subrounded. Poor granular to single grain fragments. Worms present. Few to common fine fibrous to very fine fibrous roots. Abrupt flat lower boundary over 1 cm to:
B1	20-36	Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) silt loam. Slightly stony with stones 2 mm-6 mm and 6 mm-2 cm. A pedal single grain to moderately stony. Few very fine and fine fibrous roots. Flay abrupt lower boundary to:
B2	36-46	Strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) sandy silt loam. Stones common to many. Uncemented occasional brown channels from Ap layer above (relict roots). Few very fine fibrous roots. Single grain. Abrupt flat lower boundary to:
C1	46+	Red (2.5YR 4/8) sand. Compacted, uncemented. Extremely stony. Rounded occasionally tabular 6 mm-6 cm. Very few very fine fibrous roots.

EXCAVATIONS AT RISPAIN CAMP, WHITHORN 1978-1981

by
Alison and George Haggarty

Introduction

The site of Rispain Camp (NGR NX 429 399) lies *c.* 1.5 km. W. of Whithorn close to the southern edge of the Machars area of Galloway and 4 km. from the Solway Firth (fig. 1). It straddles the NE. end of Camp Hill, a ridge of high ground some 300 m. long by 100 m. wide, running SW./NE. and bounded by the 76 m. contour (fig. 2). The surrounding land is undulating and rises to 98.5 m. above sea level 500 m. W. of the site.



LOCATION PLAN

Fig. 1

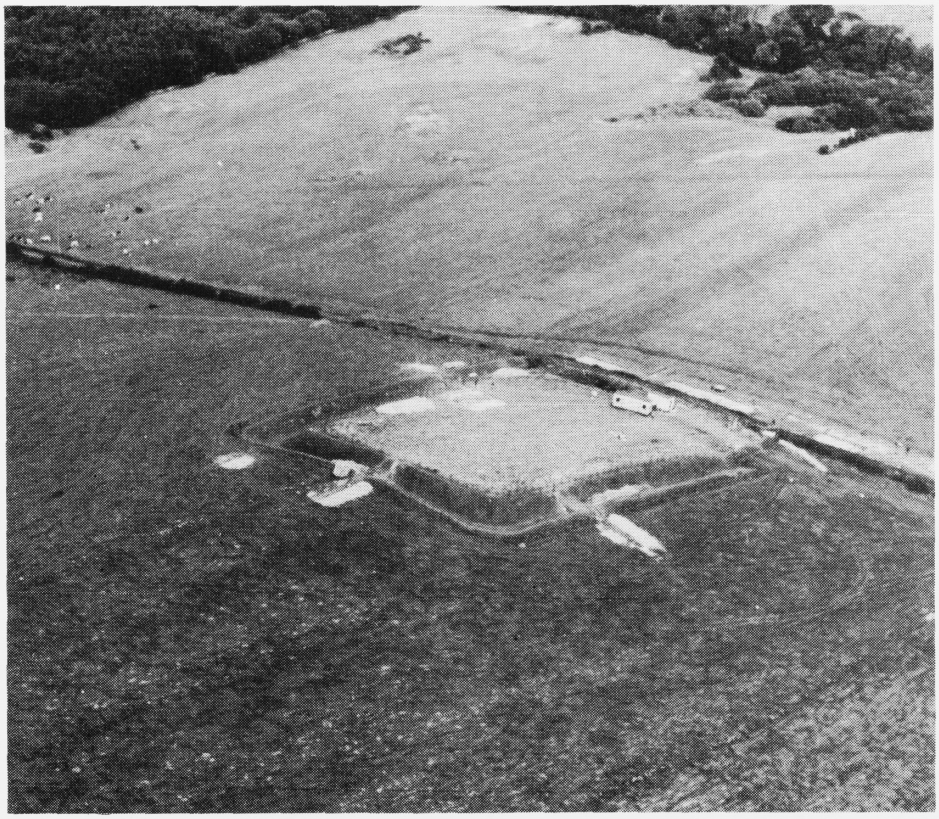
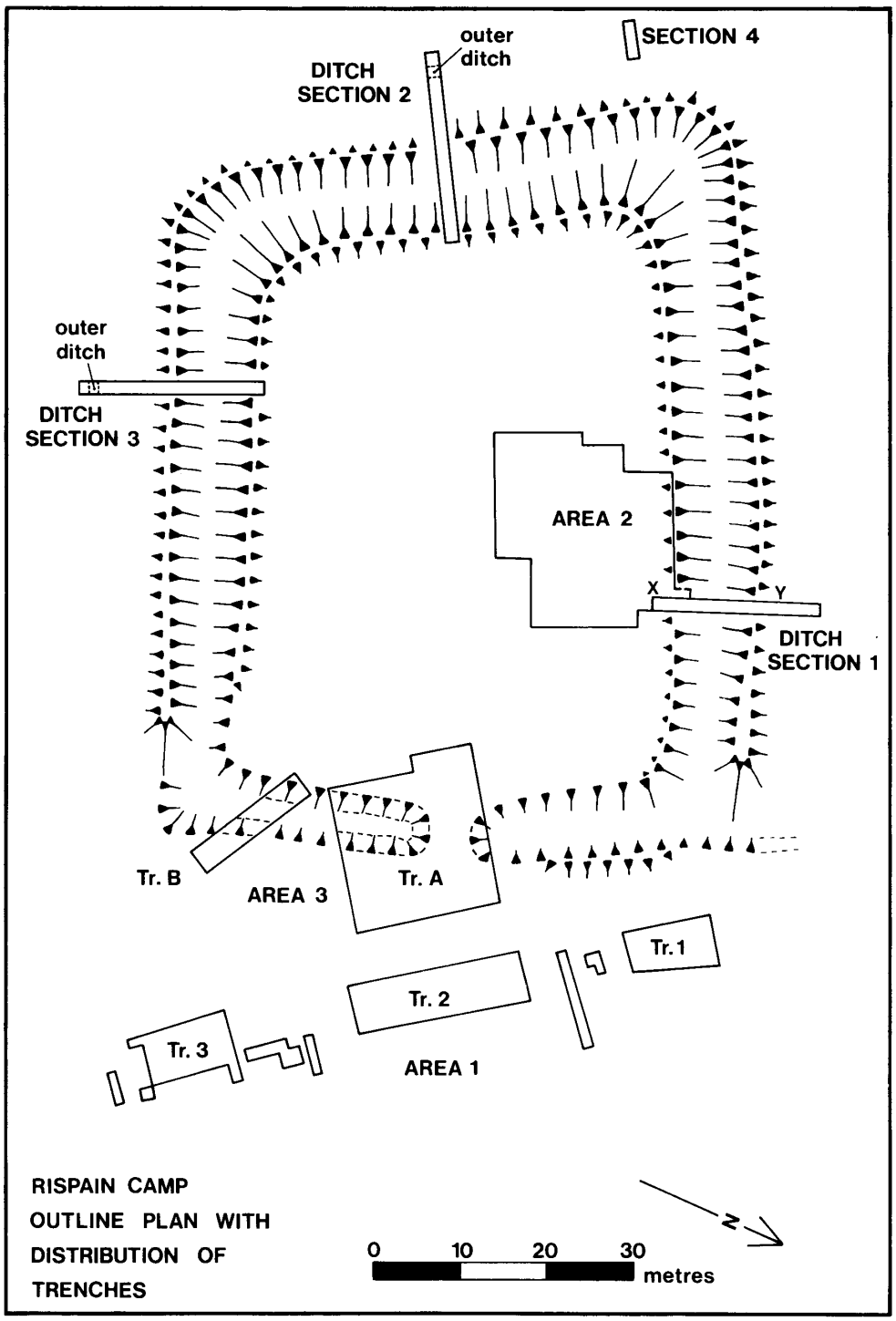


Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of Rispain Camp from S. taken during the first season of excavation.

The local subsoil is boulder clay over Silurian greywackes and shales. In the areas excavated the undisturbed subsoil was clay, generally pink in colour, with stones mostly local in origin. Some, however, were granites which may have come from the Cairnsmore Mass of Kirkcudbrightshire and indicate ice movement from the E. A band of freshwater alluvium follows the course of The Ket burn which runs 160 m. from the site.

The site is on Rispain Farm, part of the estate of R. H. Johnston Stewart Esq. of Glasserton, and was placed in the care of the State in 1890 by one of his forebears. The place name Rispain has been likened to Rispond in Durness Parish, Sutherland, which was explained as coming from the Norse *hryssa pund* meaning mare's enclosure or pound (Maxwell 1930, 237). M'Kerlie (1906, 480) preferred to think of Rispain as a corruption of the Cymric or Welsh word *rhwospen* which he translated as "the chief of the cultivated country".

The site (fig. 3) measures 88 by 71 m. overall and consists of a gently sloping rectangular area, 64 by 48 m., enclosed by a single ditch which is flanked by an inner and outer bank for most of its circuit. The interior slopes down towards the single entrance in the NE. side.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SECTION 4
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AREA 2
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Y
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AREA 3
Tr. A
Tr. 1
Tr. 2
Tr. 3
AREA 1
RISPAIN CAMP
OUTLINE PLAN WITH
DISTRIBUTION OF
TRENCHES
N
0 10 20 30
metres

Fig. 3

Before excavation the ditch, although silted, was well defined and measured up to 13 m. wide between bank tops and a maximum of 2.6 m. deep. The ditch to the S. of the entrance had been infilled as far as the E. corner, although it showed clearly as a crop mark on aerial photographs (fig. 2). There was no trace of either bank along this stretch. The inner bank averaged 2.5 m. wide by 0.20 m. high and the outer, 2.0 m. wide by 0.20 m. high.

Metal post and wire fences on both outer and inner banks had been erected some time after 1890 to protect the most obvious features of the monument. A metalled cattle track bounded by fences with, in addition, a gorse hedge on its SW. side led NW. from the farm past the site, encroaching upon the surviving portion of outer bank to the NE. of the ditch terminal N. of the entrance. A water tank supplying the farm had been built immediately to the SW. of the fence and gorse hedge. The interior of the site had been ploughed regularly for the production of vegetable crops, such as potatoes, until about two years before excavation began. When fallow it had been used as cattle pasture. The land to the NE. of the site, including Area 1, on fig. 3, was mainly used as cattle pasture with occasional ploughing for barley.

Historical Background

When placed in State care, the site was believed to be a Roman Camp. Isaac Davidson (1795, 276-7, 288) writing on the parish of Whithorn for *The Statistical Account of Scotland,* regarded it as such and it was also thus recorded on the first edition of the 6 inch to 1 mile scale O.S. map of the area; surveyed in 1849. Christison (1898, 62 and 271) classified Rispain Camp as a "redoubt", along with four other monuments which he described as "small rectangles with a single rampart and trench". He used the term as a convenient name for small strong works ascribed to the Romans, although he recorded that no Roman relics had been found at Rispain. This interpretation persisted until 1901 when the site was excavated as part of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's programme of excavations on Roman sites; Sir Herbert Maxwell, president of the Society donating £50 for the task. There was some delay in obtaining H.M. Board of Works approval for excavating on a Guardianship site, but it was granted when the landowner, Sir Herbert's nephew, gave his permission. The results of the 1901 excavations along with a plan and profiles of the site were published by James Barbour (1902, 621-6) who had previously been involved with the excavations at Birrenswark, Raeburnfoot and Lochrutton Crannog. Nowhere in his text was the site referred to as Roman. Barbour stated that the camp had been of great strength, but that nothing evidencing occupation resulted from the excavations.

The Royal Commission volume covering the county of Wigtown described Rispain as a fort of regular form: "It is an entrenched oblong with rounded angles, features which are often held to imply a Roman origin, and occupying a situation not incompatible with such an attribution. It has been carefully excavated, but yielded no evidence whatever of its character." (RCAHMS 1912, xxxi). In the 1950's the Commission made a rapid survey of the standing field monuments in Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire to locate any in danger of destruction. In the course of this work many monuments were reidentified. Sites with a shallow wet ditch and a bank on either side, generally marked on maps as "forts" were

reclassified as homestead moats. Rispain Camp was cited as a possible example of this type but it was said to be very much larger than the type in general (Feachem 1956, 64). By the time the Ministry of Works' *Illustrated Guide to Ancient Monuments — Scotland* 6th edition was published, Rispain was being described as a probable medieval homestead site (Piggott and Simpson 1970, 105), although, as recorded on the Ordnance Survey Record Card, the Commission preferred to see it as "a medieval earthwork of some kind, possibly a castle site rather than a homestead moat in view of the defensive nature of the ditch" as the situation and construction were, they thought, not typical of a homestead moat.

Previous Excavation

Barbour's 1901 excavation for the Society of Antiquaries seems to have consisted of two main trenches, one running the full length of, and another running right across, the site. The existing plan of the excavation is restricted to these main cuttings and the location of his other trenches can only be gleaned from his written account. The main trenches were continued through the outer rampart and for some distance outside the camp, thereby picking up traces of an outer ditch which had not been visible on the ground. He opened many short trenches around the exterior in an effort to plan the course of this outer ditch. Excavation was also carried out in the E. corner of the main ditch and finds were apparently made from an area half-way between the gateway and the E. corner. In order to have been able to state that the gateway was over uncut ground 20 ft. in width, with no defences of any kind connected with it, the probability is that trenching was also carried out in this area. He also recorded "turning over a considerable proportion of the interior in search of evidence of occupation". Regrettably, however, the true extent of 1901 activity on the site remains unknown.

The outer ditch was said to have been traced continuously from the centre of the SW. side to the S. corner and along the SE. and NE. sides of the camp with the exception of a part opposite the gateway and for a short distance on either side. No trace of it was found along the remaining half of the SW. side or on the NW. In general it was said to be 5 ft. wide at the top and 3 ft. 6 ins. deep with the dimensions greater at the E. corner and less NW. of the gateway. It ran approximately parallel with the main ditch except at the E. corner where there was an elbow-like projection outwards. At the E. corner of the main ditch he located a square-cut pit bounded to the SW. by a bar of uncut subsoil rising to 4 ft. in height above the bottom, and bounded to the NW. by a stone wall 6 ft. high at right angles to the first. This was thought to have been a water cistern as it lay at the lowest point on the circuit of the main ditch which was well supplied with water. At the E. corner and in his longitudinal section, Barbour located thin flat stones placed on the sloping sides of the ditch near the bottom. Part of a small stone ring was said to have been found in the material forming the SE. rampart; and the ditch half-way between the gateway and the E. corner produced a human skull pierced at the back, deer antlers and some bones.

It was reported that during draining of the camp in 1851 a bronze vessel was found and that ploughing had revealed a bronze axe just outside the camp. A short report on the human remains from the site by Dr T. H. Bryce revealed that two skulls were represented. One lacking a facial portion was thought to have been from a young adult female, while the second consisting only of a frontal fragment may have been from a male.

Reason for excavation

The excavation in August 1978 was undertaken prior to a realignment of the previously described farm track. The new concrete track encroached upon the outer ditch found by Barbour during the 1901 excavation. The Scottish Development Department (Ancient Monuments) decided to investigate this outer ditch in addition to cutting three sections through the main ditch and banks, and opening a 10 m. square within the enclosure, this last in the hope of resolving the question of the site's date. The results from the 1978 season led to further excavations during the summers of 1979, '80 and '81.

The Excavation

Area 1 (figs. 3, 4 and 5)

Three main trenches were laid out on the line planned for the new cattle track and five smaller trenches were subsequently opened around these. The fairly thin *c.* 0.25 m. ploughsoil cover comprising mid-brown clayey loam with stones and gravel was removed by hand from all the trenches, revealing in the first instance field drains, running SW./NE. and regularly spaced at *c.* 7 m. intervals. Identical stone-filled drains were found within the interior of the site where they probably belonged to the last phase of drainage mentioned by Barbour which he dated to 1851 (Barbour 1902, 623).

Trench 1. The outer ditch, F 105, was located running virtually NW./SE across the trench, entering 0.30 m. from the W. corner and leaving 1.90 m. from the S. corner. The ditch averaged 1.20 m. wide at the top, narrowing to 0.65 m. at the bottom and was dug 0.30 m. into the subsoil. The fill comprised mid-brown silty loam with small and medium-sized stones up to 0.30 m. long. A drain, F 107, 0.80 m. wide at the top, narrowing to 0.65 m. at the bottom and cut to the same depth as F 105, joined F 105, at right angles, from the SW. side. Its fill was the same as that of F 105. A second drain also roughly at right angles, F 116, joined F 105 from the same side. This feature was only 0.05 m. to 0.10 m. deep, but had a similar fill to that contained by F 105. Trench 1 had an undatable stone packed drain, F 108, running NW./SE. across the N. corner. This feature turned sharply to leave the trench at right angles to the NE. side. A charcoal spread was located immediately below the topsoil at the SE. baulk, just to the NE. of the F 105, ditch. It measured 0.75 by 0.50 m. and was up to 0.20 m. deep. The charcoal consisted of carbonised oak wood and was mainly in the form of twigs or small branches, up to 30 mm. in diameter (charcoal identifications by C. Keepax).

Trench 2. As Barbour had indicated, the area immediately in front of the entrance to the camp produced no trace of the outer ditch. The only feature worthy of note was, F 210, a roughly circular feature *c.* 0.80 m. diameter and up to 0.25 m. deep, found to have an upper fill of dark brown silty loam with some hazel/alder charcoal and many stones up to 0.25 m. long. The lower fill was composed mainly of the same charcoal with other burnt organic material present.

A shallow feature, F 215, *c.* 0.01 to 0.05 m. deep and between 0.70 and 1.0 m. wide, slightly to the NW. of centre and running SW./NE. across the trench may have been a trench from the 1901 excavation.

Trenches 1A and 1B were opened between trenches 1 and 2 to try to locate the outer ditch. Its terminal was found in 1B and contained a loose fill, comprising

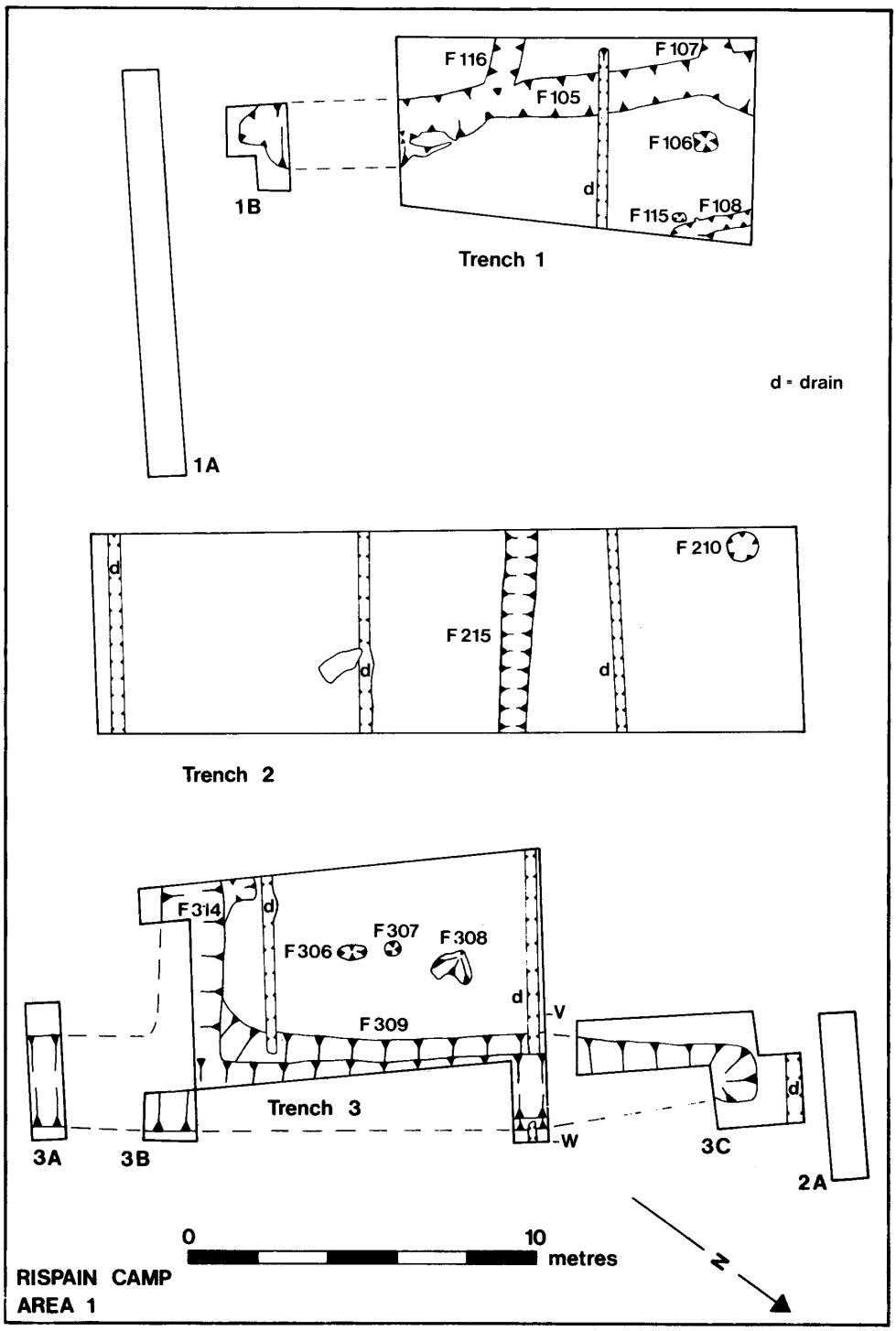

F 116
F 107
F 105
F 106
d
F 115
F 108
1B
Trench 1
d = drain
1A
d
F 210
F 215
d
d
Trench 2
F 314
d
F 306
F 307
F 308
d
V
F 309
Trench 3
d
W
3A
3B
3C
2A
0
10
metres
N
RISPAIN CAMP
AREA 1

Fig. 4

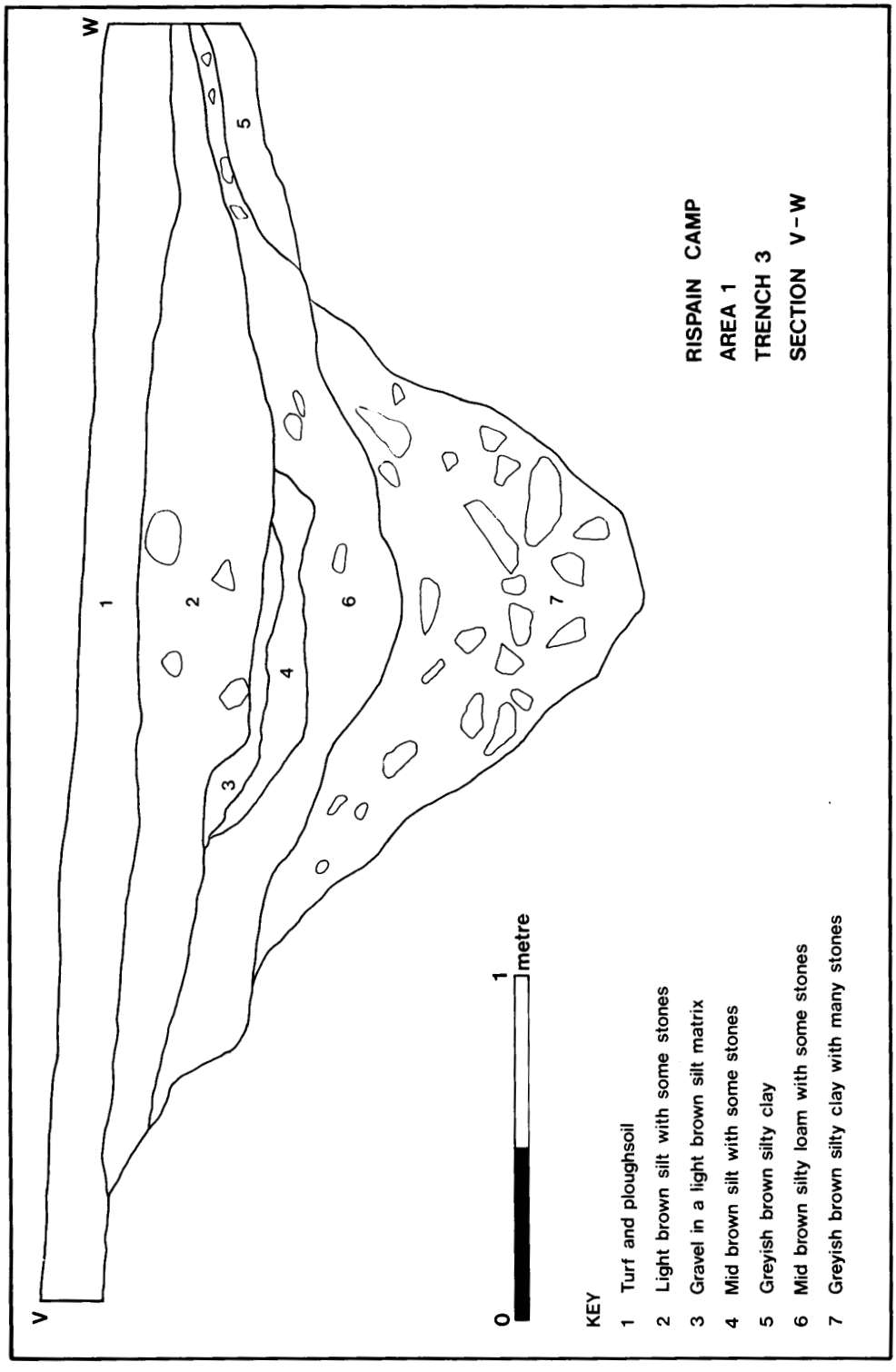

V
W
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
0
1
metre
KEY
1 Turf and ploughsoil
2 Light brown silt with some stones
3 Gravel in a light brown silt matrix
4 Mid brown silt with some stones
5 Greyish brown silty clay
6 Mid brown silty loam with some stones
7 Greyish brown silty clay with many stones
RISPAIN CAMP
AREA 1
TRENCH 3
SECTION V-W

Fig. 5

mid-brown silty loam with stones of all sizes together with fragments of the boulder clay subsoil. It is possible that this fill represented 1901 excavation backfill. The terminal was cut 0.24 m. into the subsoil. Trench 1A proved featureless.

Trench 3. In this trench Barbour's outer ditch appeared as F 309, running NW./SE. across the trench at its NE. edge. In order to be able to draw complete sections across the ditch, extensions to the trench were dug at the N. and E. corners. At the N. corner the ditch proved to be *c.* 3.0 m. wide at the top and was 1.45 m. deep, while at the E. corner it was 1.30 m. deep.

Another ditch, F 314, was noted running SW./NE. through the trench. A further extension was dug in the S. corner to expose the full width of this feature which was presumed to represent the turn of the ditch as found by Barbour. The F 314 ditch was shown on excavation to be 0.88 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep with its bottom almost 1 m. above the bottom of F 309 at their junction. The F309 ditch was still showing in the SE. side of the extension 3B, so a further slit trench, 3A, was opened *c.* 2.20 m. to the SE. to establish whether the ditch continued downslope or had indeed turned as Barbour suggested. The F 309 ditch was found to run across trench 3A. There it was 2.80 m. wide at the top and cut 1.30 m. into the subsoil. Trench 3C was opened to locate the terminal of the F 309 ditch between trench 3 and trench 2A, which proved featureless. The terminal was found, cut 0.70 m. into the subsoil. Its fill proved to be the same as the uppermost layer between the ploughsoil in the rest of ditch F 309. The fills along the length of the ditch were generally naturally accumulated layers with slight variations at the join of F 309 and F 314, most probably caused by 1901 activity. An oval feature, F 306, 0.80 by 0.40 m. was found to be between 0.01 and 0.02 m. deep. The fill was mid-brown silt with a few small red patches of clay and some gravel. The soil contained many small fragments of oak and hazel/alder charcoal. Another oval feature, F 307, beside F 306, measured 0.50 by 0.40 m. and was up to 0.05 m. deep. The fill was similar to that of F 306 but had a greater gravel content. It produced a large amount of small pieces of the same charcoal. A crescent shaped depression, F 308, was located measuring 1.14 m. long by 0.76 m. wide and up to 0.14 m. deep. The fill was a mid-brown silty loam with a large number of sharp, flat angular stones up to 0.20 m. long and shale chips.

Area 1 Summary

The general description of the outer ditch given by Barbour was found to be substantially correct in that it was much shallower at the NW. end than at the SE. However, where he noted the ditch turning at the E. corner, evidence was found for a narrower ditch joining at a higher level with the main outer ditch continuing downslope towards The Ket. Furthermore the stretch of outer ditch to the NW. of the entrance was found to have two narrower ditches joining it from the SW. side.

The outer ditch was also seen in Ditch Sections 2 and 3 (fig. 3). A further small trench, Section 4, was opened to the NW. of Ditch Section 2 but no trace of the outer ditch was found there, substantiating Barbour's plan which showed the ditch terminating just past the centre of the SW. side. The dating of the outer ditch remains

in doubt as insufficient datable material was found in its fill and the charcoal-rich features in Area 1 were not in sufficiently close association with the ditch to provide a securely contexted radiocarbon date.

The Main Ditch (figs. 3 and 6)

Three 1.5 m. wide sections (Ditch Sections 1, 2 and 3) were dug in the NW., SW. and SE. sides of the monument and a 3.0 m. wide section was dug across the infilled NE. side, to the SE. of the entrance (Area 3 Trench B).

The ditch was found to have been dug to a depth of 3.4 m. below the old ground surface (OGS) at the NW. side, 4.2 m. below the OGS at the SW. side, 3.1 m. below the OGS at the SE. side and 3.4 m. below the present ground surface at the NE. side. It was deepest to the SW. where the ground sloped away most gently from the site along the spine of the Camp Hill ridge. The ditch at the NW., SW. and SE. sides had silted up to depths of 2.25 m., 2.50 m. and 1.60 m. respectively while the ditch at the NE. side had silted naturally to a depth of at least 2.0 m. with a deposit of deliberately backfilled material laid on top in a layer 1.15 m. thick.

Ditch Section 1 (fig. 6). Removal of the turf in the ditch bottom revealed a 0.12 m. thick layer of black silty topsoil containing a few stones, over F 503, brown silty soil with stones, 0.13 m. thick. A layer of orange-grey clay, F 508, with iron-pan development underlay this. This had been cut into on two occasions for the laying of ceramic drainage pipes. Below this region of disturbance and recent deposits lay a light grey silt, F514, in a layer up to 0.15 m. thick with some stones at the bottom. This overlay a dark grey clayey, virtually stone-free, layer, F 509, 0.20 m. thick which enclosed bands of darker humic material and produced three sheep bones. Below this was a layer of green clay, F 510, 0.30 m. thick which contained stones and some charcoal and produced two cattle bones, seventeen sheep bones and ten pig bones. The primary fill comprised a very well sorted layer of purple-orange clay, F 511, 0.90 m. thick with stones and gravel at the bottom and fine particles at the top. This layer produced a total of eight bone fragments representing cattle, sheep and pigs.

The bones from F 509 represent at least two mature sheep. Two cattle bones from F 510 represent one adult and one immature animal. Seventeen sheep bones from the same layer are from at least two animals while the ten pig bones represent three animals, one under one year, one about two years and another appreciably older, with very worn teeth. The bone fragments from layer F 511 were too small to allow the calculation of minimum numbers of individual animals (bone identifications by Lin Barnetson).

One large piece of partially carbonised oak from a tree which had been over 0.50 m. in diameter (identified by Dr. C. A. Dickson) was found in the F 511 layer. The oak wood was submitted to Glasgow for radiocarbon dating. The resulting date of 40 bc ± 80 (GU — 1165) placed the construction of the earthwork in the later Iron Age. No evidence for recutting or cleaning out of the ditch was discovered in any of the sections excavated. Waterlogged conditions prevailed in the ditch and the results of analyses of samples of the clay layers in Ditch Section 1 indicate that the ditch had probably been waterlogged from its original construction (Mr E. Cox *pers. comm.).* A soil column was taken from this section to provide environmental information, but due to the lack of cold storage facilities, water loss resulted in drastic shrinking and its collapse into an unworkable state.

The bank material, F 504, of both outer and inner banks comprised mottled pink gritty silty clay up to 0.70 m. deep with stones up to 0.55 m. long. The OGS appeared as a band of light yellow clay with flecks of charcoal. Ditch Section 1 was extended to the SE., to meet Area 2, the trench in the interior. At the junction, a concentration of stones, F 406, was found sitting on the OGS and sealed by washed-down bank material.

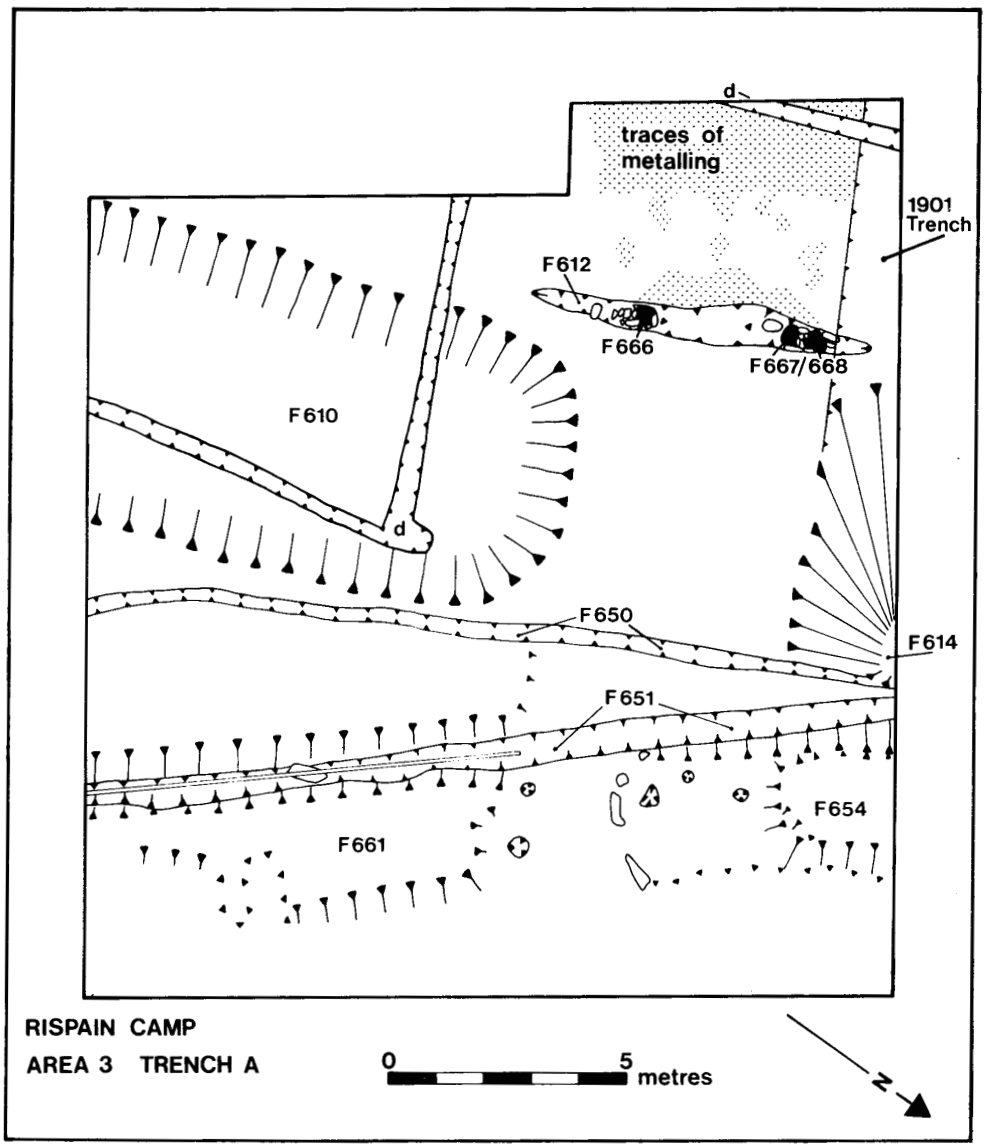


Fig. 7

The silting levels in Ditch Sections 2 and 3 were similar to those in Ditch Section 1, having humus rich layers indicative of a period of stabilisation in the silting process. Both had a ceramic drain pipe introduced into their upper levels. Ditch Section 3 was the stoniest and was round bottomed while 1 and 2 were squared-off. Ditch Sections 2 and 3 produced no finds. In Area 3, Trench A's humus rich layers were very pronounced with recognisable leaf mould and peat-like material. Animal bone representing cattle and pig came from three silting layers. A horseshoe-shaped ceramic drain set on flat stone slabs had been inserted through this section.

Area 3 The entrance (figs. 3, 7, 8 and 9)

The defences from the gateway to the E. corner had been infilled even before General Pitt Rivers visited the site in 1887 (1887, 6-7). The first aim of the 1979 season was to establish the depth of this levelling material and remove it, making this ditch profile similar to the others, with the silting levels intact. Two trenches A and B were laid out in Area 3 for this purpose. Trench A was also to check Barbour's statement that no defences of any kind had been discovered connected with the gateway.

Trench A. After removal of the ploughsoil it became obvious that this area had been badly damaged by the digging of trenches for drainage and water pipes. The infilled material in the ditch terminal to the SE. of the entrance was found to be over 1 m. deep, consisting of reddish-brown clayey loam with some stones.

A stone-filled field drain 0.48 m. deep ran NE. from the SW. side of the trench into the ditch terminal, F 610, where it turned at right angles and followed the line of the ditch, leaving the trench by the SE. side. This drain had been covered by the thick layer of loam. A further stone-filled drain ran approximately NW./SE. across the W.

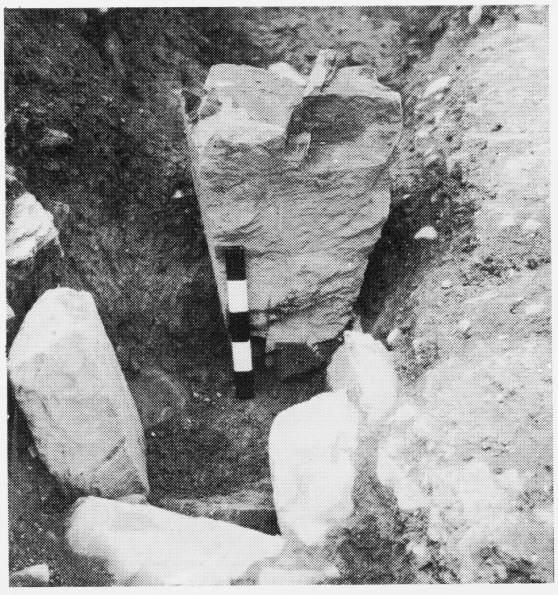


Fig. 8. Area 3, Trench A, F 666 posthole with packing stones *in situ*. Scale = 0.25 m.

corner of the trench. A trench, F 650, 0.15 m. deep and containing an iron water pipe ran across the trench, with the remains of a standpipe rising vertically just inside the NW. section immediately to the NE. of the F 614 ditch terminal. A series of stony features to the NE. of F 650 were found to be in alignment and to represent the fill of a trench, F 651, which contained a length of ceramic drain pipe. This trench had cut into the two slightly elevated features composed of the natural boulder clay, F 654 and F 661, which were believed to be remnants of outer bank. These had also suffered damage to their NE. sides from their being in the path of the former cattle track.

The bank material was not excavated but the line of the bank indicated by the excavation was used to reconstruct a slight mound along the NE. side of the ditch terminals. A slight bank was also reconstructed along the SW. side of ditch terminal, F 610, although no evidence for bank material in this position was found during the excavation of the entranceway. Presumably a bank had existed there but had been used as levelling material for the ditch.

A stone packed slot, F 612, 7.3 m. long, was found positioned between the ditch terminals to the SW. of the entrance. It cut off the entranceway from the interior of the monument. This feature on excavation proved to be 0.75 m. wide at its maximum, tapering at both ends. Towards its E. end it contained one single posthole, F 666, and towards its N. end two postholes, F 667 and F 668, which appeared to have been in use contemporaneously as they shared a central band of packing stones. All three postholes were 0.50 m. deep. The slot itself was from 0.15 m. to 0.30 m. deep, so the postholes had been cut through the bottom of the slot. The fill of the postholes was a pinky-brown silt with shale chips. Posthole F 666 was packed with large angular stones on four sides, suggesting the possibility that it had held a squared-off timber of side length *c.* 0.30 m. (fig. 8). Posthole F 667 was packed with large angular stones on the NE. and SW. sides. The maximum dimension of the timber upright suggested by the size of the posthole was 0.25 m. The NW. side had rounded stones separating this feature from F 668, which was also packed with large stones. It is suggested that a post of *c.* 0.30 m. diameter was set in this hole. There was a gap of 2.70 m. between the postholes. From its position across the entrance this was interpreted as a gateway into the interior of the enclosure.

A compacted spread of small stones forming a metalled surface was located to the SW. side of the F 612 slot. Beyond this was a disturbed area, but the metalled surface was picked up again in an extension of the trench to the SW. This presumably showed that a form of road had led from the gateway into the interior of the enclosure (fig. 9).

Area 2 (figs. 3, 10 and 11)

The Interior. Area 2 covered 379 sq. m. This constituted the excavation of approximately one eighth of the enclosed area of the site. The subsoil over most of this area consisted of the pink boulder clay noted elsewhere on the site, but a broad strip of yellow-brown clay filling a depression in the boulder clay ran NE./SW. across the trench. It proved difficult to locate and define archaeological features in this brown clay deposit. Charcoal spreads were noted through the ploughsoil during its removal and these were found to reflect the positions of features which had suffered plough damage.

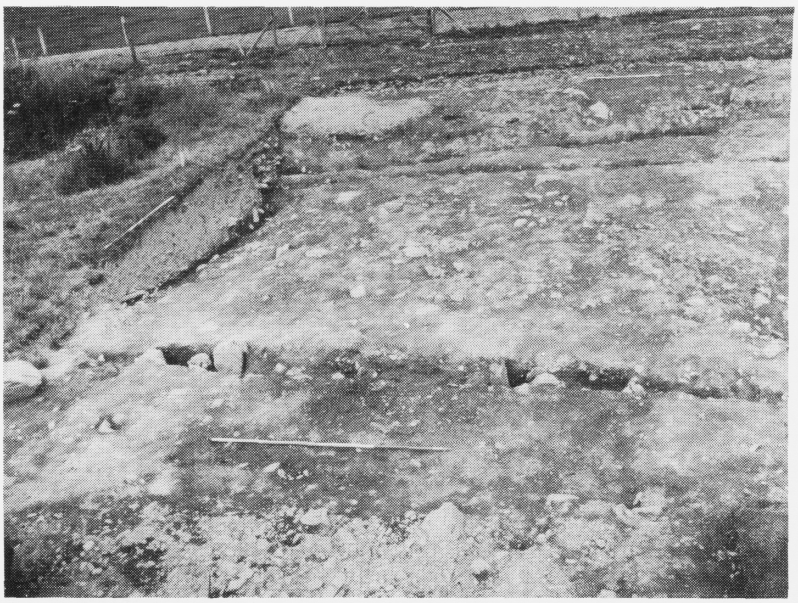


Fig. 9. Area 3, Trench A, View from interior of monument over NW. side of trench with part of metalled surface in foreground.

A few finds were made during removal of of the ploughsoil. Some were clearly modern and were discarded, but a possible stone gaming counter (No. 4 fig. 12), an approximately square piece of flint (No. 6 fig. 12) and a curved piece of inlaid bronze (No. 7 fig. 13) were retained (see The Finds, below).

The trench revealed evidence for there having been certainly one, and probably part of a second circular timber building of ring groove type within this limited area of the interior. These are referred to as Buildings 1 and 2 respectively.

Building 1

The Groove

The Groove which formed the footing for the timber wall of this structure described a circle approximately 13.5 m. in diameter, interrupted by two entrances, one in the E. and one in the SW. The groove was found to vary from 0.25 to 0.50 m. in width and 0.07 to 0.25 m. in depth and was stone packed along most of its length. Stone packing was absent from the shallowest stretches of slot which lay to either side of the E. entrance, where the plough damage was most severe. Transverse and axial sections were cut through the fill of the slot from which oak, hazel/alder and ash charcoal and carbonised hazelnut shell fragments were retrieved in addition to small amounts of unidentifiable burnt bone.

The configuration of some of the stone packing and the *in situ* shape of some of the charcoal deposit suggested that the structure's wall may have been plank built for part of its length, although in other parts the positions of the stones seemed to

indicate that posts had been present. An actual posthole, F 443, 0.30 m. in diameter and 0.20 m. deep, was located slightly off the main line in the stoneless portion of the slot NW. of the E. entrance.

The circuit of the wall slot was found to have been cut on a SE./NW. axis by a deep feature capped with stone, F 414, which may have been either a backfilled trench from a previous excavation or a form of drain. It was 6.8 m. long by 1.60 m. wide and 1.20 m. deep. From its section at the NE. side of the trench it was obviously continuing towards the centre of the enclosure. Its fill produced charcoal, burnt bone, cramp (see Appendix 3), and a possible pot boiler (Find No. 3) all most likely disturbed from other contexts.

On a SSE./NNW. alignment, F 416 appeared very similar to F 414. It was 4.0 m. long by 1.4 m. wide and 0.90 m. deep. From its section at the NW. side of the trench it was seen to be continuing through the inner bank. Its fill of brown clayey soil produced no finds.

Also on a SSE./NNW. axis was F. 424, a feature in the form of a trench *c.* 1.0 m. wide running the full width of the excavated area and cutting the F 408 wall slot at both sides. It was generally 0.10 m. in depth but deepened as it approached the ditch. This was interpreted as another 1901 excavation trench, probably part of Barbour's main transverse section C-D, which could be seen continuing through the bank. It presumably sectioned the ditch and was visible as a crop mark in the field beyond the outer bank. The fill of this feature produced charcoal and burnt bone which had probably come from the features it cut.

The E. Entrance

The E. entrance, 1.80 m. wide, was delimited by two large postholes, F 405 and F 428. The posthole to the N., F 405, was 1.55 by 0.97 m. and 0.54 m. deep. Its packing stones were up to 0.50 m. long and the timber size suggested by those remaining *in situ* was 0.30 m. diameter. The fill produced oak wood charcoal along with carbonised twigs of maple/cherry and hazel/alder and burnt bone representing possibly sheep and cattle/deer (burnt bone identifications by Mary Harman). A shallow scoop at the E. side of the posthole may have been a provision for easing the timber into the hole.

The posthole to the S., F 428, was 1.20 by 0.80 m. and 0.55 m. deep. Its packing stones, none of which appeared to be *in situ*, were up to 0.25 m. long. The fill produced oak and hazel/alder charcoal with unidentifiable burnt bone fragments. This posthole also had a shallow scoop at the E. side which was interpreted as serving the same purpose as that suggested for F 405.

The SW. Entrance

The SW. entrance was between the two large postholes, F 483 and F 484. The width of this entrance could not be accurately measured as a field drain had been cut through it, truncating F 484, but it was certainly narrower than the E. entrance.

The complete posthole, F 483, was 1.0 by 0.90 m. and 0.50 m. deep and contained large packing stones. Its fill produced oak and hazel/alder charcoal and a burnt bone fragment possibly from a sheep or pig. On complete excavation, part of

Fig. 11. An aerial view from NW. of Area 2 in 1981.
The entrance to the camp is in the top left corner.

the bottom of this feature was found to comprise the top of a stone enclosed within the boulder clay. The surface of the stone had several chips of a standard shape and size missing which suggested that a metal tool such as a pick had been used to dig the posthole originally.

The incomplete posthole, F 484, was 1.0 by 0.50 m. and 0.54 m. deep and contained large packing stones. Its fill produced oak and hazel/alder charcoal and unidentifiable fragments of burnt bone.

Features within the wall line

Within the wall line, F 408, was a ring of ten postholes (numbered 1 to 10 on fig. 10), situated 1.50 to 2.0 m. from the wall and spaced from 2.5 to 3.9 m. apart. The upright timbers in these postholes would have supported the roof of the structure. The postholes varied in depth from 0.29 to 0.60 m. Adjacent to posthole 2 was a shallow pit, 11, 0.08 m. deep and in a similar position beside posthole 7 was another, 12, 0.14 m. deep. A feature, 13, may have been a posthole 0.22 m. deep, but its only stone content was confined to a group of small stones, none over 0.13 m. long, protruding from the top of its fill.

An oval pit, 14, was 0.20 m. deep and had a perfectly flat bottom. The pit had flat stones on edge pressed against its sides and was filled with other stones, the main one of which was triangular in section and sat directly upon the flat base of the feature. An approximately triangular pit, 15, was up to 0.20 m. deep. A semicircular feature, 16, which was 0.02 m. deep for most of its length was found to deepen at both ends into pits, the larger of which was 0.28 m. deep. Beside 16, were 17, a possible

posthole 0.17 m. deep with upright stones in its fill and 18, a possible stakehole 0.12 m. deep. Close to entrance posthole F 483 was small stakehole, 19, which was 0.18 m. deep and by posthole F 484 was a small posthole, 20, 0.12 m. deep. The stippled areas on fig. 10 represent patches of charcoal concentration on top of the boulder clay.

Of the six features within the structure which had burnt bone in their fills, postholes 2 and 4 produced fragments too small to identify. Posthole 7 contained an unfused femur head from a sheep/pig and part of a mandible, a scapula and phalanx 2 also possibly pig. Posthole 5 produced part of the proximal end of a sheep metatarsal. Putative posthole 13 yielded a fragment of sheep/pig mandible alveolus and pit 15 the condyle from the distal end of a cattle/deer femur and mandibular, alveolar and fibular fragments of pig.

Nine of the ring of ten postholes produced charcoal, but only seven had pieces of sufficient size to be identified. Postholes 1 and 5 contained hazel/alder charcoal. Postholes 2, 4 and 8 yielded charcoal from hazel/alder and oak while 6 produced charcoal which was mainly oak with some hawthorn type, hazel/alder, conifer twig or root, cherry twig, birch and heaths. Posthole 7 contained hazel/alder, hawthorn type and cherry type twigs. Pit 11 produced oak charcoal while the putative posthole 13 had oak and a hazel/alder twig. Pit 15 contained hazel/alder charcoal, some in the form of twigs and oak. Feature 16 yielded mainly oak, hazel/alder and ash with a few other species not securely identified. The fill of posthole 20 produced only oak charcoal.

The features which produced carbonised seeds proved to be most important as among the seeds were cereals and weeds commonly present on arable land (seed identifications by Mr A. Fairweather). See Table 1. Pit 16 produced enough grains to indicate a ratio of approximately 3:1 wheat to hulled barley. Posthole 6 and pits 11 and 15 had small quantities of cramp in their fills and posthole 1 produced a pecked stone from among its packing stones (No. 1, fig. 13).

Table 1

Seeds from postholes and pits

	Postholes				Pits			
	1	6	7	8	11	12	15	16
Galeopsis tetrahit (hemp nettle)	*					*		
Chenopodium album (fat hen)			*			*		
Polygonum aviculare (knot grass)			*	*				
Polygonum persicaria (redshank)			*	*		*		
Corylus avellana (hazel nut)		*			*		*	*
Triticum aestivum (bread wheat)				*			*	*
Hordeum vulgare (hulled barley)							*	*

Features outwith the Structure

An arc of large stones, one course high, F 407, was set like a kerb at the N. side of the structure's wall where it came closest to the inner bank of the enclosure. The stones appeared to have been breached by F 416.

A slot, F 429, which was up to 0.40 m. wide and averaged 0.24 m. deep, ran parallel to the N. wall of the structure for most of its length before diverting away from the wall towards the NE. It had been transected by both F 416 and F 424. It had a silty fill with very little stone content up to the point where it straightened out, and then the fill became very stony. It was interpreted as a small trench which had been cut into the subsoil to collect the water that would have dripped from the roof of the building and channel it downslope. The trench had been cut through washed-down material from the inner bank of the enclosure. The drip trench began at the edge of F 486, which seemed to be a pit. A short stretch of drip trench truncated by a modern field drain was situated 1.5 m. from the SW. entrance.

Area 2, at its N. side, sectioned axially the enclosure's inner bank. The removal of the bank material extending into the trench revealed F 406, a concentration of stones which had also been noted in Ditch Section 1. This stone spread must have pre-dated the construction of the monument, as the stones lay directly on the OGS under the bank. On removal of the stones two features, F 421 and F 452 (neither shown on fig. 10), were revealed cut into the OGS. The former, a small oval feature 0.13 by 0.08 m. was 0.03 m. deep with a black loamy soil fill. The latter was figure of eight shaped, possibly a pit 0.52 by 0.25 m. and 0.10 m. deep. Its fill of brown clayey soil contained small stones.

Outwith the structure, close to the SW. entrance, was a large pit 0.30 m. deep, F 470. A small pit, F 457, 0.15 m. deep was cut at an angle into the subsoil. It was situated next to a possible pit, F 456, which extended through the side of the trench and was 0.25 m. deep.

The fill of F 429, the drip trench, produced burnt bone representing the proximal end of phalanx 1 of a sheep and alveolar fragments of pig along with unidentifiable pieces. Pits F 456 and F 470 and early feature F 421, contained unidentifiable fragments of burnt bone. Amongst the stones of F 406 was burnt bone representing cattle, sheep, pig and possibly also deer.

Charcoal of oak, hazel/alder and ash was present in the fill of the drip trench while the pit F 486 produced oak, hazel/alder and possibly birch. The pit F 470 yielded charcoal of ash and oak while F 456 contained both of these species with the addition of hazel/alder. The early features, F 421 and F 452, produced charcoal but too small for identification.

The seeds recovered are shown in Table 2.

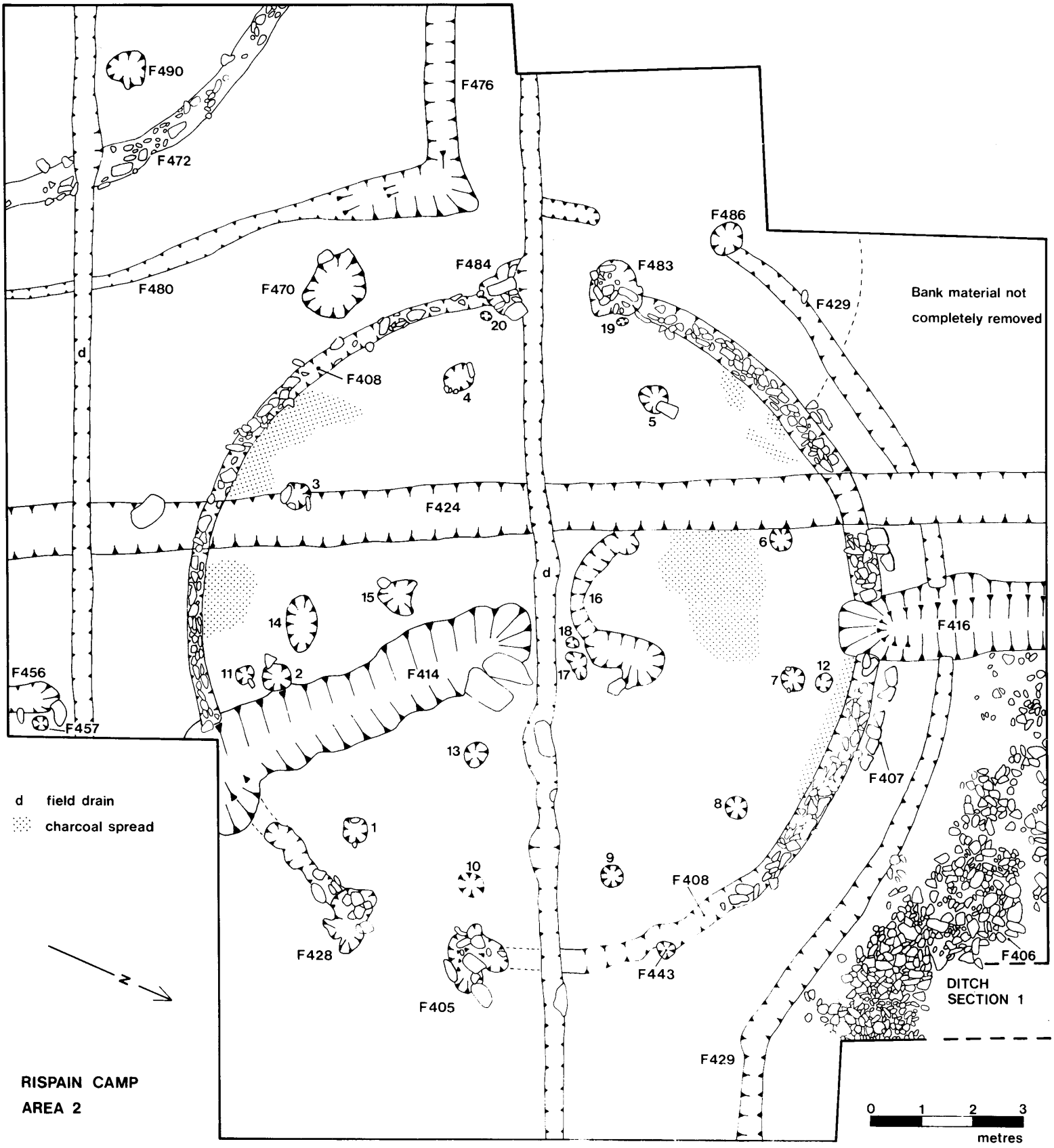
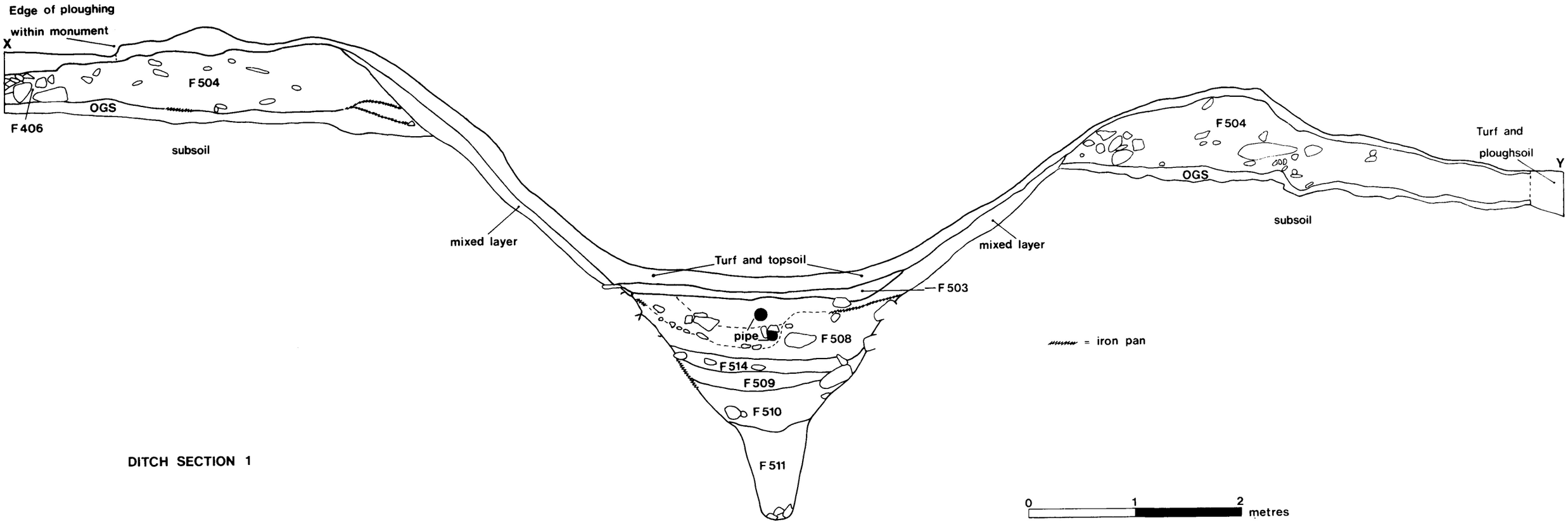

F490
F476
F472
F486
F484
F483
F480
F470
F429
Bank material not completely removed
F408
F424
F414
F416
F456
F457
F407
F428
F405
F443
F406
DITCH SECTION 1
F429
d field drain
charcoal spread
N
RISPAIN CAMP
AREA 2
0 1 2 3
metres

Fig. 10



DITCH SECTION 1

Fig. 6

Table 2
Seeds from features outwith the structure

	F 429	F 486	F 470	F 457	F 452
Galeopsis tetrahit (hemp nettle)			*	*	
Chenopodium album (fat hen)	*	*	*	*	*
Polygonum aviculare (knot grass)	*	*	*	*	*
Polygonum persicaria (redshank)	*	*	*	*	*
Sinapis arvensis (charlock)	*				
Polygonum convolvulus (bindweed)			*		*
Atriplex patula (orache)			*		
Spergula arvensis (spurrey)			*		
Rapharus rapharistrum (wild radish) (seed pod)					*
Triticum aestivum (bread wheat)	*		*		
Hordeum vulgare (hulled barley)			*		

Building 2 and associated features

Removal of the ploughsoil in the S. corner of Area 2 revealed F 472, an arc of a wall groove. Extrapolation from the curvature of the arc indicated that, if indeed circular, F 472 would equal or even possibly surpass in size, F 408, the wall slot of building 1. The arc, F 472, was not excavated but averaged 0.40 m. in width, had many stones protruding through its dark brown loam fill and was very similar to pre-excavation stretches of F 408. Where cut by a field drain, F 472 was seen to be 0.30 m. deep. On this evidence, F 472 was interpreted as a second ring groove structure. Within the possible wall line a large feature, F 490, was excavated. It had a fill of brown humic soil 0.17 m. deep and appeared to have suffered from animal damage.

Two features, F 476 and F 480, interpreted as drip trenches servicing building 2, joined almost at right angles N. of F 472. The depth of the two channels increased towards their junction which was approximately 0.75 m. deep with a primary fill of stones. A greenish grey silty clay overlying the stones contained two small pieces of glass (Find Nos. 9 and 10). The drain, F 480, to the E. of F 472 was concentric with the curvature of the wall line of building 2 and then kinked, apparently respecting the F 470 pit, before continuing to its junction with F 476. Iron tongs (Find No. 8; fig. 13 and Appendix 2) were found against the W. side of F 480 close to where it was cut by a modern field drain.

The clay in the junction of the drip trenches and F 480 itself contained burnt bone which was mainly fragmentary, but from F 480 came a cattle/deer carpal and a possible cattle rib. The F 480 drain produced hazel/alder, ash and oak charcoal

including one large piece of oak which had been worked and may have been from a plank which was found beside the iron tongs. In addition the fill contained twig sized fragments, 10 to 30 mm. in diameter, of unidentified wood, some of which had been sharpened to a point. These may have been fragments of wattle.

The F 480 drain contained hazel nut shell fragments and carbonised seeds of fat hen, orache, knot grass, redshank *Stellaria media* (chickweed), field bindweed, *Rubus fruticosus* (bramble), *Juncus* (rush) and some grains of bread wheat.

Table 3

Radiocarbon Dates

Sample Location	Material	Date bp	Lab. No.	Date bc/ad
Ring groove, F 408, building 1	Ash charcoal	1830 ± 90	GU—1164	120 ± 90 ad
Ring groove, F 408, building 1	Oak charcoal	2085 ± 80	GU—1627	135 ± 80 bc
Posthole 6, building 1	Assorted charcoal	2440 ± 85	GU—1628	490 ± 85 bc
Feature 16, building 1	Assorted charcoal	1700 ± 155	GU—1166	250 ± 155 ad
Drain, F 480, serving building 2	Oak charcoal	2045 ± 60	GU—1626	95 ± 60 bc
Main ditch, primary fill	Partially carbonised oak wood	1990 ± 80	GU—1165	40 ± 80 bc

Interpretation and Discussion

The outer ditch

The general description of the outer ditch given by Barbour was found to be substantially correct; however, it appeared on excavation not as a unitary monument but as disparate elements of a complex arrangement, comprising tributary drains and main ditches, possibly indicating a well managed field system around the enclosure rather than an additional defensive feature.

The dating of these 'outer ditches' remains problematical. They pre-date the modern field drains which were cut through their topmost fills. Even the deepest of the outer ditches had silted up completely before this event. The fact that the outer ditches respected the entrance to the enclosure may indicate their contemporaneity with the construction and use of the monument. The entrance to the enclosure was, however, approximately 5 m. wide between the terminals of its ditch and the distance between the terminals of the F 105 and F 309 outer ditches was 36 m., so their apparent avoidance of the entrance may have been coincidental.

The enclosure ditch and banks

Excavation of the four sections across the main ditch showed that the monument as originally constructed was strongly defended. The ditch was, on average, dug 3.4 m. below the OGS. Calculations based on the amount of material originally excavated from the ditch suggest that the heights of both banks could have been at least three times their present maximum of 0.80 m. above the OGS. These measurements combined would have made the ditch when first dug approximately 5.8 m. (19 feet) deep from the top of the banks; a quite formidable barrier. The date of 40 ± 80 bc. from partially carbonised oak wood found in the primary fill of the ditch at the NW. side suggests that the monument was constructed towards the end of the first millennium bc. or beginning of the first millennium ad.

The entrance

The single entrance to the monument was in the centre of the NE. side. A stone filled slot, F 612 which contained three postholes, was positioned across the uncut ground. The postholes had contained uprights which may have supported some form of gate to close off the 2.7 m. wide gap between them.

Leading from this feature into the interior were remnants of a metalled surface. A similar road surface of compacted small stones and gravel set into the subsoil was found sealed under a later surface of paving slabs at the site of Boonies in Dumfriesshire (Jobey 1975, 125). The Boonies road was associated with four postholes *c.* 0.45 m. deep, two of which were dug at either end of a drop trench which was edged with small slabs. This gateway measured *c.* 2.50 m. across between the postholes. The original gateway structure at Boonies was interpreted by Professor Jobey as having consisted of at least two pairs of opposed and presumably cross-braced uprights, closed by a simple lift-and-drop type of gate. Such a gate is not envisaged for Rispain as the packing in the slot did not respect its edges and there was no evidence for additional postholes in the area of the entrance, the posts in which would have been necessary for its operation.

Occupation during the first and beginning of the second century AD. was suggested for Boonies (Jobey 1975, 137), so the two sites are probably to some extent contemporary.

The interior

The trench in the interior covered approximately one eighth of the enclosed area and revealed one and part of a second ring groove type structure. The excavated building was 13.5 m. in diameter and its wall, represented by a stone packed slot, would seem to have been at least partially plank built. Within the wall line, which was broken by two entrances, was a ring of ten postholes not evenly spaced. They would have held upright timbers surmounted by a ring beam to take the weight of the roof. The two entrances into the structure were of different widths, the E. entrance being the wider. They were both flanked by large stonepacked postholes, but no further postholes were located in their vicinity and consequently it is not possible to suggest that porches existed.

A row of large stones had been placed at the NW. side of the structure to protect the wall from bank slippage. A drip trench serving the building, also at the NW. side, was cut through eroded bank material but after silting up was itself covered in places with more downwash from the bank.

Floor levels inside the structure had been almost completely ploughed away leaving a few charcoal spreads. Since the interior lacked stratigraphy, the non-structural elements within the building need not necessarily be contemporary either with the structure or with each other. Carbonised cereals and seeds of weeds commonly associated with cultivated ground were found in the fills of features within building 1, but its function remains conjectural. If F 470, a pit outside the SW. entrance, is regarded as contemporary with the structure, then it may have been domestic as the pit contained bread wheat, hulled barley and a total of seven species of weed seeds suggesting that this was a grain storage pit serving the house.

From the amount of charcoal in the wall slot, it seems probable that the building was destroyed by fire. The posts in the internal postholes had not burnt below ground level and the resulting timber stumps probably rotted away.

The carbonised wattle and piece of plank in the F 480 drain may have derived from the burning and collapse of the wall of building 2.

Interpretation of the stone spread, F 406, which pre-dates the construction of the monument, is difficult as its full extent was not revealed. It cannot be viewed merely as hard core laid as a foundation for material dug from the ditch as at the N. corner of Area 2 it swung away towards the E., no longer lying directly under the bank. It may represent pre-monument field clearance, but further excavation would be necessary to cast more light on its nature and function.

A tentative reconstruction of the excavated structure with the wall 1.5 m. high and the roof at an angle of 45° would mean that the apex of the roof was just over 8 m. high and the posts of the internal ring would be just over 3 m. in height. Actual reconstructions of similar buildings in the S. of England (e.g. the Pimperne, Dorset, house reconstructed in Hampshire) have shown that a further horizontal ring beam is necessary one third down the slant length of the rafters, attached to the major rafters and supporting the others (Reynolds 1979, 98). At Rispain the rafters may have been approximately 10.5 to 11 m. long, probably supporting thatch, and overhanging the top of the wall by *c.* 1 m. The ten timbers forming the main ring beam on top of the ten uprights would have been from 2.5 to 3.9 m. long. The circumference of the Rispain structure is approximately 42.4 m., with a floor area of 143.1 sq. m., resulting in an overall volume for the proposed reconstruction of 534.4 cubic metres.

Taking as a standard measure, 6 m. of usable trunk wood from a forest grown tree, such a building would require a total of just over ten trees of 0.25 m. diameter for its internal ring of posts and main ring beam, and one and a half trees of *c.* 0.30 m. diameter for its entrance posts and lintels. The planks for the wall, presumably radially split, estimated as 0.30 m. long by a maximum of 0.05 m. wide could be obtained from one tree 0.80 m. in diameter. The roof could have been constructed from ten main rafters *c.* 10.5 m. long with the ten segments infilled with shorter rafters reaching the height of the ring beam attached one third down the slant length of the main rafters and from the position of the main ring beam, an increased number of short rafters. Short lengths of small diameter timber would have been interwoven between the rafters to ensure that the span to be thatched was nowhere too great.

There was sufficient space within the enclosure at Rispain to contain eight such structures.

No pollen diagrams compiled from analyses of radiocarbon dated peat columns are known from the vicinity of the site to indicate the local availability of the timber. The closest pollen studies in terms of distance from the site are from the Galloway Hills, Kirkcudbrightshire and locations in Dumfriesshire but these are considered to be too far removed from Rispain to be of any help in this matter. That the SW. of Scotland generally had a good supply of timber would seem to be one inference from this recent statement.

> "In SE. Scotland and N. England, the replacement of timber by stone for houses seems to have taken place during, and perhaps as a result of, the Roman occupation, but this transition is absent from SW. Scotland where timber houses continued in fashion throughout the period. At one time there appeared to be virtually no native settlement in this area, because the stone-built sites so common in the eastern uplands were lacking, but a programme of intensive fieldwork in E. Dumfriesshire has shown that there are plenty of

equivalent sites, built as small embanked enclosures containing circular wooden houses." (Ritchie 1981, 99).

Cultural factors and diminishing Roman influence to the W., however, may also have been significant.

Ring groove structures have been noted at the sites of recent excavations in the E. of Scotland e.g. Broxmouth, E. Lothian (Hill 1982, 170-171). Buildings of this type generally have a single entrance, but at Saint Germains enclosure, E. Lothian, a ring groove structure possibly with two entrances was associated with Phase 3 of the site's Iron Age occupation (Watkins 1982, 110-111).

The Rispain Camp excavation yielded some slight indications of the economy of the site's inhabitants. At first sight, they would appear to have favoured mixed farming.

The animal bone represented cattle, sheep and pigs with the possibility also of deer. Deer bones and antlers were retrieved from the main ditch at its NE. side during the 1901 excavation, so it can be assumed that this animal played some part in the diet of the site's occupants, although Barbour (1902, 625) thought that they might be accounted for partly by animals straying into and being trapped in the silt of the ditch.

In general, the bone assemblage, both burnt and unburnt, is so small that the relative importance of any one species is impossible to assess and husbandry practices cannot be gauged. The animal species represented are typically found on Iron Age sites, although at Broxmouth, E. Lothian, where large numbers of faunal remains survived, the extended list included in addition, goat, horse, dog, bird and fish (Barnetson 1982, 102 and 104).

By the same token, the carbonised seeds from the site should be used only as indicators of potential crops, as suggested by Reynolds (1979, 58), and not as a complete corpus of crops grown during the site's currency.

Hulled barley is commonly found on Iron Age sites, having replaced the naked varieties dominant in the Bronze Age (Megaw and Simpson 1979, 352).

Bread wheat grows well on land with a significant proportion of silt or clay. Its advantages include winter hardiness, a high yield potential and a loosely packed head for ease of threshing, however, it is also vulnerable to attack from birds and fungi, competes poorly with weeds and requires greater soil fertility than other wheats. It has been suggested that bread wheat was favoured only when it became possible and desirable to invest the greater amount of fertilizer and man hours in the form of cultivation and weeding, that would be necessary to obtain its high yield potential (Jones 1981, 107).

If this was indeed the case, then possibly the economy at Rispain relied more heavily on arable than on mixed farming. It may be that M'Kerlie's rendering of the place name Rispain as "chief of the cultivated country" is not so far from the truth.

Rectilinear sites of broadly pre-Roman or Romano-British date have long been noted in the N. of England and more recently in SE. Scotland (e.g. Jobey 1960 and Maxwell 1970). In general, two main forms have been distinguished. The first exhibits a stone built enclosing wall, internal sunken yards and round stone walled houses, while the main feature of the second is a ditch enclosing circular timber houses. Rispain Camp seems to fit comfortably into the ditched version of rectilinear

sites which are often found on boulder clay areas, but at present it would seem to be the single representative of this type in Wigtownshire. Research has brought to light two sites, now obliterated, which from their descriptions may have been similar to Rispain. Other similar sites in Kirkcudbrightshire and Dumfriesshire were also noted. Comparisons of the form of monuments as an indication of date is a rather dubious pursuit and has led in the past to the designation of Rispain as both a Roman camp and a medieval moated homestead but, bearing this in mind, the following Wigtownshire sites are put forward as possible parallels.

Crows Fort, Kirkinner Parish (RCAHMS 1912, 45, No. 119) *c.* 16 km. from Rispain, described as occupying the S. end of a natural gravel ridge 400 m. NE. of Crows farm house, had straight sides, rounded corners and a V-shaped ditch. It was said to have been quasi-rectangular in form but had been badly damaged by cultivation so the measurements given were uncertain (RCAHMS 1912, xxxi).

A camp of rectangular outline on Annat Hill (NX 385 465), a knoll at the SW. end of the former Dowalton Loch, was recorded on a property survey map of 1777 and was regarded by Sir Herbert Maxwell as a possible Roman camp, but by 1885 only very slight traces of this site survived (Munro 1885, 106).

These possibly similar sites to Rispain Camp have been destroyed through land improvement and agriculture, so it is perhaps fortuitous that late Victorian interest in Roman military fortifications has left us with a fine example of a late Iron Age defended homestead in State care.

The Finds

Material from Rispain Camp in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, consists of three small finds from the site all donated in 1901 and therefore presumably from the Barbour excavation.

Item 1. Half of a sandstone ring 65 mm. in diameter with a polished hour-glass perforation 30 mm. in diameter (National Museum code GP 103) which is most likely to be the find described by Barbour as "part of a small stone ring".

Item 2. A piece of sandstone exhibiting many areas of pecking on one face (GP 101).

Item 3. Part of a badly corroded iron object which seems to have been an adze or hoe (GP 102) (see also Appendix 2 and fig. 13). As there is no mention of the last two in Barbour's report, their contexts are unknown.

The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, has in its collection two pieces of worked stone from the site and it also holds the bronze axe found outside the site (Hunterian Museum code B.1914.276 MacKie *pers. comm.*). The axe is a middle Bronze Age form with angled flanges and belongs to Coles's Class III Auchterhouse group (Coles 1966, 139).

Finds from the present excavations were sparse: the site proving aceramic at least in terms of prehistoric pottery.

Stone and Flint

1. Angular piece of sandstone with pecking on one face and another artificially flattened, possibly sawn. Packing stone in fill of posthole 1, Area 2 (fig. 13).
2. Angular piece of stone with groove and striations on one face. From stone spread, F 406, Area 2 (fig. 13).

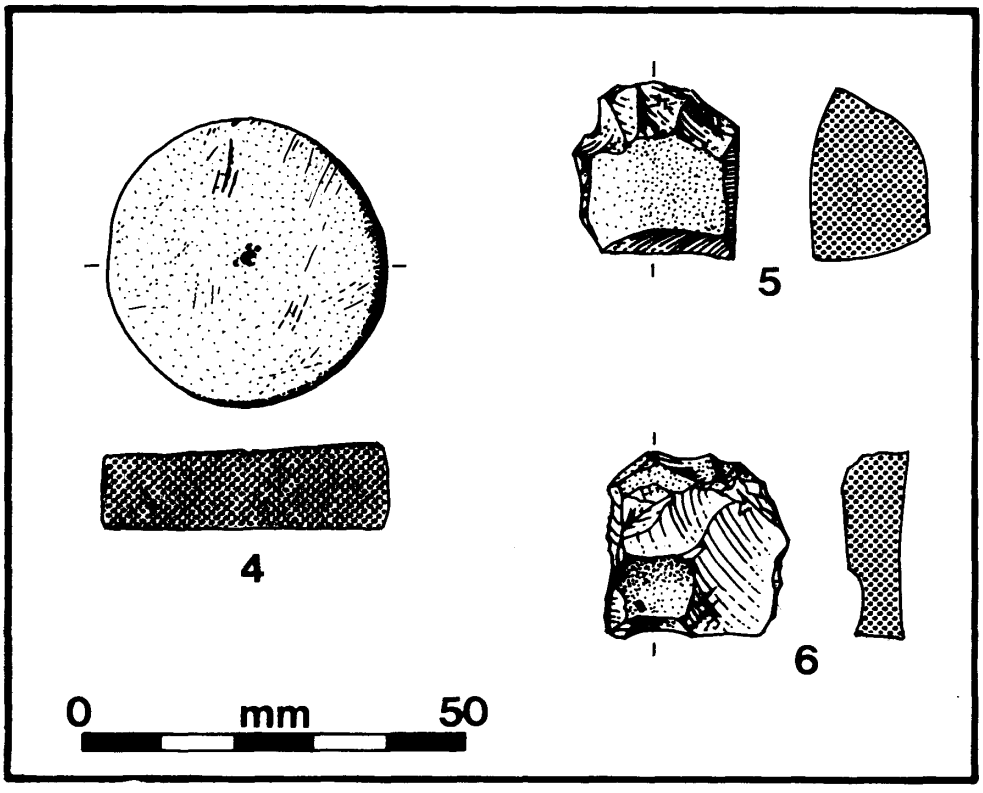


Fig. 12. Finds: 4, Stone disc, possibly a gaming counter. 5 and 6, flints.

3. Greywacke pebble with zig-zag fracture probably caused by thermal shock. It may have been a potboiler. From surface stone, F 414, Area 2.
4. Disc of altered trachyte, ground to shape. Possible gaming counter. Ploughsoil, Area 2 (fig. 12).
5. Broken piece of caramel coloured flint with attached cortex. From fill of, F 314, ditch, Area 1, Trench 3 (fig. 12).
6. Square of grey coloured patinated flint with attached cortex. From ploughsoil, Area 2 (fig. 12).

Metal

7. Curved piece of bronze with coloured enamel inlay. From the ploughsoil, Area 2 (fig. 13 and Appendix 1).
8. Iron tongs with one leg incomplete, possibly broken in antiquity, or more probably ploughed away. Fill of, F 480, Area 2 (fig. 13 and Appendix 2).

Glass/enamel

9. Triangular piece of blue glass or enamel 4 mm. x 4 mm. x 4 mm. From clay fill at junction of, F 480 and F 476, Area 2. Lost.
10. Irregularly shaped piece of pale blue opaque glass, maximum measurement 3 mm. From same context as 9 above. Lost.

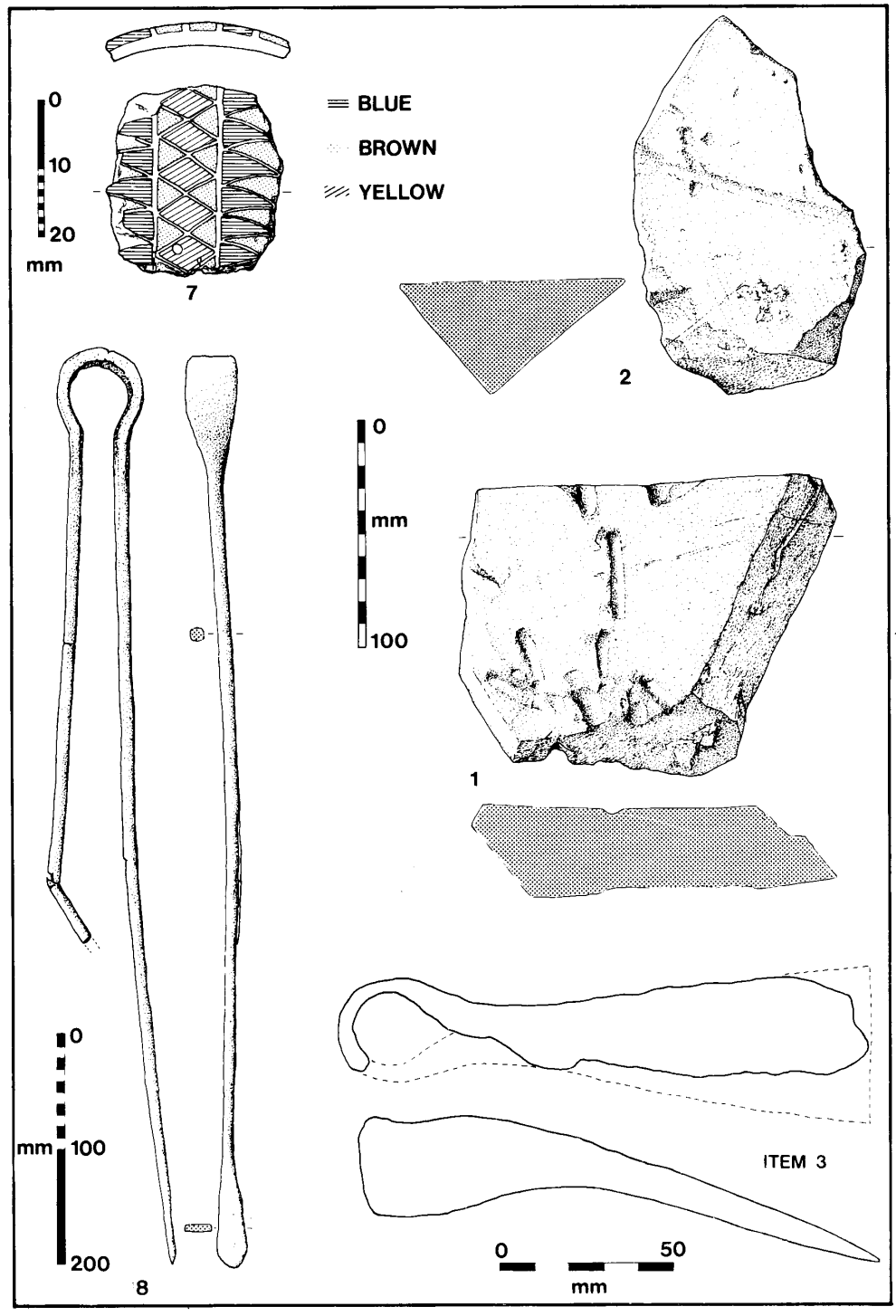


Fig. 13. Finds: 1, pecked piece of sandstone. 2, stone with groove and striations. Item 3, iron adze or hoe. 7, bronze with enamel inlay. 8, iron tongs.

Acknowledgements

The months spent working on Rispain Camp would not have been nearly as rewarding without the help and good offices of many individuals. The authors would like to record their thanks to the many volunteers and the Assistants, Miss Ann Lynch, Miss Jane Blair, Miss Liz Cox, Mr C. Forrest and especially Mr J. Lewis who all endured typical Galloway weather. We are also indebted to the following for their specialist work or advice. Dr. Joanna Close-Brooks for Appendix 1, Miss Lin Barnetson for animal bone, Miss Mary Harman for burnt bone, Mrs Carole Keepax and Mrs Camilla Dickson for charcoal, Mr Eoin Cox for geology, Mr Ian Maté for soils, Mr William Manning for metalwork and Mr Alan Fairweather for seeds. Mr Fairweather acknowledges the help he received from Dr. David Habeshaw, Dr. Jim and Mrs Camilla Dickson and the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden. Dr. Euan MacKie provided information on finds from the site in the Hunterian Museum and Mr Trevor Cowie arranged for access to the finds in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Miss Angie Townshend produced the finds drawings in figs. 12 and 13.

Our thanks also go to Mr Ashmore, Mr Reynolds and Mr Tabraham, Inspectors of Ancient Monuments, who have been involved with the project. Mr John Barber and Mr Tabraham read the draft text and made many useful comments. Mr Mike Brooks was responsible for the aerial photographs taken during the first season. Mr Fred Steel and the Ancient Monuments squad based at Glenluce Abbey provided much assistance.

In conclusion it remains to thank the many inhabitants of Whithorn and Garlieston who made us so welcome while resident in their communities, especially the MacDonald family of Rispain Farm who helped in ways too numerous to mention.

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APPENDIX 1

The enamelled bronze object (Find No. 7 fig. 13) by Dr Joanna Close-Brooks

This piece measures 27 mm. by 24 mm. and is 3 mm. thick. It is flat in one plane while curved in the other and all its edges are broken. The enamelling occurs in discrete cells. A central band of yellow lozenges and triangles filled with a decayed brownish material is flanked by bands of curved blue triangles and similarly shaped triangles filled with the brownish material.

The piece is related to many of the enamelled objects of the first and second centuries AD from N. Britain, as illustrated by Morna MacGregor (1976). Exactly what sort of object it comes from is less clear; not many objects have such a large enamelled field. The design is not fitted into a circle, so it can scarcely be a disc from the terminal of a massive armlet (cf. MacGregor 1976, nos. 239, 242, 243). The design and the size of the piece would be suitable for part of a massive strap junction, similar to those from Drumashie, Inverness-shire and from York (MacGregor 1976, nos. 36, 37), but the strong curve on the Rispain piece would seem to rule out this possibility. The curve would, however, fit an interpretation as a decorative plate forming part of a ribbed sheet metal strap bracelet. MacGregor (1976), 102-3, 115-6,

and nos. 211, 212) lists five such bracelets from four sites in Kirkcudbrightshire, Derbyshire and Wales; four having relief decorated plates separately made and attached beside the hinges. The fifth bracelet, an elaborate gold specimen from Rhayader, has narrow strips enamelled in curvilinear patterns next to the hinges. Part of a sixth hinged strap bracelet, found at Hengistbury Head, Dorset in 1952 and now in the Red House Museum, Christchurch has been published by Cunliffe (1978, 61, fig. 30, 15). This fragment has an enamelled area next to the hinge, the design of which is related to the central area of the Rispain piece. The details of the construction are difficult to see, as the fragment is presently attached on a cardboard replica for display purposes, but the section of the ribbed part of this bracelet is probably similar to MacGregor 1976, no. 211 (not as shown in Cunliffe 1978, fig. 30, 15). While the curve of the Rispain piece is suggestive of a bracelet, the enamelled band is considerably wider than on either the Rhayader or Hengistbury bracelets, so the possibility remains that it is from some quite different object, as yet unidentified.

Even if the original form of this piece is uncertain, its general date range is clear. Related patterns of enamelled geometric cells occur on such pieces as the strap junction from High Rochester, a square-headed dress fastener from Chesters, a mount and a looped stud from Traprain Law (MacGregor 1976, no. 31; fig. 8, 11; fig. 9, 10; no. 29). The lozenge design in the centre of the Rispain piece is closely paralleled on the Traprain stud, while the strange curved triangles are found on several dragonesque brooches. All this suggests a date in the later first or second century AD.

Almost all decorated native metalwork of this period, so far known (except for massive armlets and massive terrets) has been found south of the Forth-Clyde line, and the piece from Rispain is no exception.

X-Ray fluorescence analysis of the object by Dr. J. Tate in the research laboratory of the NMAS has shown that the metal, now very corroded, is a leaded bronze with a small amount of silver, perhaps due to contamination from scrap or from a crucible used for silver-making. The high lead content of all the coloured areas including blue suggests these are indeed enamels rather than glass. The yellow colour is due to lead antimonate, the blue to cobalt (perhaps modified by copper). The decayed brown material may originally have been red, brown or even orange enamel.

In detail the analyses showed the following elements. The yellow had a high lead content with antimony and some iron, manganese and copper. The decayed brownish material showed high copper, lead, iron and tin. The blue, high lead then iron, copper and antimony, while strontium and tin were also present. The blue colour could be due to a copper compound but is most likely to be from a small amount of cobalt, the presence of the latter being masked by the second iron peak. In all cases there may have been some contamination from the bronze decay products. The use of lead antimonate has some chronological significance as this substance was used to colour yellow enamel from antiquity down into the Roman period, but is only exceptionally found later (Bieke and Bayley 1979, 10).

APPENDIX 2 — The Iron Objects

The Tongs. (Find No. 8 fig. 13)

The iron tongs were found against the side of F 480, in Area 2. Though badly corroded their form was clearly discernible. Their corrosion concretions were removed by Mr Welander of the conservation laboratory, SDD Ancient Monuments. Their overall length is 755 mm. with one leg incomplete. The spatulate end on the complete leg is 115 mm. long by 26 mm. wide by 6 mm. thick. The diameter of the shafts varies between 10 and 13 mm. The head, 10 mm. thick, is 70 mm. in diameter externally by 50 mm. internally and 42 mm. wide at its maximum. At the neck, 90 mm. from the top end of the head, the distance between the legs is 24 mm.

The tongs have no known British parallel in iron. In fact the only iron tongs of the type previously published are from Býči-Skála in Czechoslovakia where they were of Hallstat period date (Manning *pers. comm.)*. They seem to be iron versions of a rare but widespread Bronze Age type found from Britain to Egypt. The British examples in bronze of such tongs occurred among the Late Bronze Age material from the Heathery Burn Cave, Co. Durham, (Britton, 1968), although these were just half the length of the Rispain tongs.

The Adze or Hoe (Item 3 fig. 13)

The iron adze/hoe from the site is badly corroded and incomplete. It is illustrated in outline with its possible reconstruction suggested by the dashed lines. The adze-type hoe first appeared in Britain in the later Iron Age. Tools of this date are very small, 130 to 180 mm. long, with blades 40 to 65 mm. wide. Their edges are generally corroded making it impossible to see wear marks and therefore difficult to be sure of their use (Rees 1979, 308). The Rispain tool's reconstructed size would place it within the later Iron Age group, the Romano-British examples being generally larger.

Another similarly sized iron adze/hoe to that from Rispain was in the Blackburn Mill hoard, Borders Region, and now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (code DW 100) (Piggott 1955, 48-49 (B 39)).

APPENDIX 3 — Cramp

Slag-like material was found in the fills of four Area 2 features; F 414, posthole 6, and pits 11 and 15. A few pieces from pit 15 contained burnt bone. This feature also produced the largest amount of the material, weighing 43 grams. The substance appeared like a slag due to the presence of glassiness and vesicles but was very light in weight.

Samples were examined using X-Ray fluorescence in the laboratory of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The analysis showed the presence of the following elements: potassium, calcium, barium, manganese, iron, rubidium, strontium and zirconium. This result indicated that the material was 'cramp'.

A geological description of cramp was given as an appendix to the excavation report on the Liddle and Beaquoy, Orkney, burnt mounds by John Hedges (Sofranoff 1977, 91).

A review of previous work on cramp by A. J. Fleet (1978, 46-48) appeared as an appendix to the Stones of Stenness, Orkney, excavation report by J. N. G. Ritchie. Finds of cramp had up till that time been restricted largely to Orkney and Shetland and to sites of broadly Neolithic and Bronze Age date. Seaweed burning had been put forward as a possible source of cramp by Dr. Callander (1936, 444-448). Fleet discussed this point but found the analytical results inconclusive.

At Rispain, seaweed burning would seem to be a fairly improbable explanation since the site is 4 km. from the sea and would seem to have had a good supply of timber.

The Rispain cramp would seem to be explained more by the suggestion of Sofranoff for the burnt mound material. She thought that the cramp represented soil which had undergone heating of an unidentified type, the temperature of which was high enough to fuse the soil, trapping volatiles in a manner similar to volcanic pumice and releasing them only after the substance had solidified, thereby retaining the shape.

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A NOTE ON VIKING SETTLEMENT IN GALLOWAY

by J. G. Scott

Some thirty years ago my wife and I were asked by the late Dr. D. A. Allan, then Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, to undertake a reorganisation of the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright. There I became interested in a glass linen smoother, of Viking type, [1] which I subsequently published.[2] According to the Stewartry Museum register the linen smoother had been found in 1902 when a trench was being cut for laying a gas pipe between Townend and Millburn, within the burgh. Mr. G. E. Paterson, Curator and Honorary Secretary of the Stewartry Museum Association, informed me at the time that this would place the find not far from where the Museum itself stands.

When discussing the linen smoother I mentioned the Viking grave group of sword, ring-headed bronze pin and blue glass bead, also in the Museum, recorded as found in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard.[3] I described the churchyard as within two hundred yards of the Museum. I now believe this to be incorrect, and that the grave group was in fact found in the churchyard to the north-east of the burgh.[4] I was misled at the time by another Museum register entry which I noted as describing a discovery "in digging foundations of Court House on site of old St. Cuthbert's Churchyard".[5] It would appear that this entry is incorrect, and that the churchyard indicated was St. Andrew's, and not St. Cuthbert's, for according to Graham, St. Andrew's, which was in use as the parish church in 1579, stood behind the present Sheriff Court.[6] Maxwell's *Guide Book to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*[7] explains that in 1564 Queen Mary granted the Friars' Kirk to the Magistrates of Kirkcudbright to be used as a place of worship, but adds that the Kirk had suffered considerably at the Reformation. The *Guide* further states that in 1569 Sir Thomas M'Lellan obtained a grant of the Monastery of the Grey Friars with the buildings belonging to it. In 1570 he sold the Friars' Kirk, with the Chapellary (*sic*) of St. Andrew's, its Kirk and Kirkyard, to the Magistrates of Kirkcudbright. This would explain how St. Andrew's came to be in use as the parish church in and from 1579.

From this it may be concluded that the linen smoother and the grave groups do not come from the same locality, as I previously believed, and that they denote Viking influence in two different places in Kirkcudbright. The linen smoother is now perhaps best regarded as coming from a settlement, perhaps from a Viking household site within the burgh.

Viking graves in the British Isles have been discussed by Shetelig,[8] but the importance for Galloway of the grave group and of its association with St. Cuthbert's Churchyard does not seem to have been fully grasped. Neither Collingwood[9] nor

1. Reg. no. 3176.
2. J. G. Scott, "A Glass Linen Smoother of Viking Type from Kirkcudbright", *PSAS* LXXXVIII (1954-6), 226-7.
3. Reg. no. 2050. Described and illustrated in *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. H. Shetelig (hereinafter cited as *VA*), II (1940), *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*, by S. Greig, 13-14.
4. Nat. Grid ref. NX 690513.
5. Reg. no. 159: "head of a saint".
6. A. Graham, "Kirkcudbright: some vanished landmarks", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., LII (1976-7), 175.
7. 5th ed. (1888), 66.
8. *VA* VI (1954), *Civilisation of the Viking Settlers in relation to their old and new countries*: H. Shetelig, "The Viking Graves", 65-111.
9. W. G. Collingwood, "Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., VII (1919-20), 97-118.

Radford[10] nor Reid[11] when discussing Viking settlement in Galloway refers to the discovery, though Truckell does not fail to note it.[12] The grave group represents a pagan burial: its significance is that a burial of this kind took place in a Christian churchyard.

Such pagan burials occur predominantly in areas of Norse settlement. By far the largest group is in the Isle of Man, where Viking objects have been found during grave digging at five churchyards — at Michael, Braddan, Maughold, Malew and Jurby (all parish churchyards) — whilst pagan Viking remains have been discovered at Balladoole and Balladoyne, which are sites of cemeteries of the pre-Viking era.[13] Elsewhere in England there are three such burials — at Repton churchyard, Derbyshire; at Rampside, Lancashire; at Ormside, near Appleby — all assigned to the 2nd half of the 9th century.[14] In Scotland the only other example recorded is a possible pagan burial from St. Olaf's Churchyard, Whitemoss, Shetland, of the late 9th century.[15] It will be noted that the Kirkcudbright burial is in a parish churchyard.

All these burials are warrior burials, whilst a significant proportion occurs in parish churchyards, which surely implies the consent of the local administration. It is tempting to think that the pagan warrior so interred had had an important place in that administration. It is an obvious but too simplistic an explanation to regard such burials as evidence of the imposition of pagan Viking control over a native Christian population, in an almost brutal demonstration of power. Wilson, however, considers that, in the Isle of man, the pagan Vikings respected the Christian Celtic graveyards, whilst their descendants, once having adopted Christianity, respected their forefathers' graves.[16] It may therefore be suggested as an alternative that the pagan Vikings arrived in the first instance by agreement — perhaps even by invitation, to act as mercenaries to protect the community against other marauding Vikings. That such an arrangement should eventually have led to Viking domination and control need occasion no surprise, but it should not be assumed that such domination was immediate. Shetelig notes that, to judge from the types of the grave goods, nearly all of these graves may be assigned to the latter half of the 9th century, only the sword from Maughold, in the Isle of Man, being later, of about 900.[17] Conversion must have hastened the absorption of the Vikings into the community.

The ring-headed pin from Kirkcudbright is one of fifteen recorded from fourteen pagan Viking graves in England and Scotland. The other thirteen burials are as follow: Buckquoy and Links of Pierowall, Orkney; Reay, Caithness (two burials); two burials from Oronsay (one from Carn nan Bharraich); Ardskinish and Machrins, Colonsay; Kiloran Bay, Colonsay (two pins); Balladoole, Cronk Moar and Knoc-y-doonee, Isle of Man.[19] Chance finds and finds from dwelling sites in

10. C. A. R. Radford, "Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1948-9), 97-101.
11. R. C. Reid, "Wigtownshire Charters", *Publications of the Scottish Hist. Soc.*, 3rd ser., LI (1960), x-xii.
12. A. E. Truckell, "Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages: Some Problems", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XL (1961-2), 97.
13. G. Bersu and D. M. Wilson, "Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man", *Soc. for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series*, No. 1 (1960), xiii-xiv; B. R. S. Megaw, "18. Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles", in *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man*, ed. P. Davey, II (1978), 285, Fig. 18.4. Cf. *VA* IV (1940), *Viking Antiquities in England*, by A. Bjørn and H. Shetelig, 22, 23, 25-6.
14. *Supra*, Bjørn and Shetelig, 14, 18.
15. *VA* VI (1954): H. Shetelig, "The Viking Graves", 69.
16. Bersu and Wilson, *op. cit.*
17. *VA* VI (1954): H. Shetelig, "The Viking Graves", 96.
18. *VA* VI (1954): H. Shetelig, "The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements", 135.
19. *VA* II (1940), 19, 20, 42, 45, 54, 58, 61, 96; *VA* IV (1940), 24; Bersu and Wilson, *op. cit.*, 43, 62, 79; *PSAS* 108 (1976-7), 190-1, 223-4; *PSAS* 111 (1981), 263 ff.

Scotland are noted from Shetland (two), from Orkney (four), from Sutherland, from Moray (five — four from one site), from Perthshire, from Lewis, from Harris (three), from North Uist (three), from South Uist (two), from Eigg and from Colonsay: a silver pin of the type has been identified in the Skaill hoard, Orkney.[20] The list will certainly be incomplete, but the Hebridean group seems to be the largest. It may be remarked that Grieve was of the opinion that Colonsay was not infrequently the centre of administration of the Sudreys.[21]

A medieval charter provides a sequel. Between 1172 and 1174 William the Lion granted to Holyrood Abbey the churches of Kelton, Kirkcormack (in Kelton), St. Andrew (in Balmaghie) and Barncrosh (in Tongland).[22] Radford points out that these four churches had previously belonged to the monastery of Iona, and that their acquisition by Iona must belong to the period of Viking rule.[23] This evidence implies that the Viking settlement in Kirkcudbright had taken root, flourished and indeed developed along the same lines as in the Isle of Man: it may be suggested that each of the four churches, with probably Kirkcudbright also, marks the estate of a Viking landholder, or of a landholder of Viking descent retaining his Viking sympathies.

In Wigtownshire Viking settlement in the Machars has long been accepted.[24] But it is possible that Viking control and rule were achieved later than in Kirkcudbright. Collingwood points out that after St. Cuthbert's relics had been rescued from the Danes in 875 they were taken to Whithorn, where — and surely not under Viking control — for a time they found a resting place.[25] There are two inscribed cross slabs from the Machars, one from Whithorn, the other from St. Ninian's cave, each inscription of Anglian type, with Anglian runes.[26] Yet details of the ornament show that these crosses cannot be earlier than the 10th century. The disc-faced crosses of the Whithorn school, datable to the 2nd half of the 10th century, show no affinity in style with the contemporary stone monuments of the Isle of Man, but are considered by Collingwood to be derived directly from Anglo-Cumbrian models.[27] Four of the crosses of the Whithorn school, as Radford points out, are tall monoliths which are not memorials to individuals but may be equated with what a Saxon writer describes as the "standard of the holy cross erected on the estates of nobles and lifted up on high so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer".[28] Such crosses are more likely to have been erected by Anglian than by Viking landholders. These several pointers imply Anglian control of the Machars well into the 10th century.

Probably not later than the 2nd half of the 10th century control of the Machars must have passed to the Vikings. Radford notes that the medieval church dedication at Wigtown was to St. Machutus (St. Malo), and that this points unequivocally to Maughold in the Isle of Man.[29] He further observes that the

20. *VA* II (1940), 145-7, 149, 155, 157, 161, 166, 168-70, 172, 175; *PSAS* XCVIII (1964-6), 328, 334; *PSAS* 105 (1972-4), 288, 319; *PSAS* 108 (1976-7), 223. Skaill hoard, *PSAS* 108 (1976-7), 223.
21. S. Grieve, "Note upon Carn nan Bharraich, or Cairn of the Men of Barra, a Burial Mound of the Viking Time on the Island of Oronsay, Argyllshire, - - -", *PSAS* XLVIII (1913-14), 290.
22. *Regesta Regum Scottorum* II (1971), "The Acts of William I", ed. G. W. S. Barrow, 213, no. 141.
23. Radford, *op. cit.*, 97-101.
24. W. G. Collingwood, *op. cit.*; Radford, *op. cit.*, 97-101.
25. W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age* (1927), 3.
26. *Ibid.*, 63,65.
27. *Ibid.*, 65.
28. Radford, *op. cit.*, 100-1.
29. *Ibid.*, 100.

parish of Wigtown seems to have been cut out of the older district of Penninghame, which comprised the land between the Cree and the Bladnoch, from the sea to the moors.[30] Thus the parish of Wigtown may ultimately derive from a Viking landholding similar to those suggested earlier for Kirkcudbright. The Hiberno-Norse silver penny of Dublin, found at Whithorn, and minted in the last decade of the 10th century,[31] suggests that the Machars Vikings, no doubt in trade with their counterparts in England and Ireland, may have continued to use coins at a time when the Norse elsewhere in Scotland had largely abandoned coinage in favour of "ring money".[32]

Finally it may be noted that the Machars and Kirkcudbright may have retained prominence as centres of power in Galloway into the 12th century. It seems to be generally accepted that Fergus, the 12th century lord of Galloway, is the hero of an Arthurian romance written probably for Alan, lord of Galloway, in the 13th century.[33] In the romance Fergus has a father called Somerled (Soumilloit), who lived in a stronghold which has reasonably been identified with Cruggleton, near Whithorn.[34] His son Uhtred, who with his brother Gilbert later shared the lordship of Galloway, was murdered by Gilbert's son Malcolm in 1174 after being besieged and captured in his stronghold at Loch Fergus, near Kirkcudbright (if Sir Herbert Maxwell's surmise be correct).[35] Cruggleton and Loch Fergus may well have been the 12th century successors of the strongholds from which in earlier centuries Viking earls, perhaps ancestors of Fergus, had ruled Kirkcudbright and the Machars.

30. *Ibid.*, footnote 78.
31. R. H. M. Dolley and W. F. Cormack, "A Hiberno-Norse Penny of Dublin found in Wigtownshire", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XLIV (1967), 122-5.
32. J. A. Graham-Campbell, "The Viking-age silver and gold hoards of Scandinavian character from Scotland", *PSAS* 107 (1975-6), 126.
33. Miss D. Legge, "Some Notes on the Roman de Fergus", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1948-9), 163-72; Radford, *op. cit.*, 99-100.
34. Legge, *op. cit.*, 171, footnote 7.
35. Sir Herbert Maxwell, *The Early Chronicles relating to Scotland* (1912), 181.

KIRK- COMPOUND PLACE-NAMES IN GALLOWAY AND CARRICK

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KIRK- COMPOUND PLACE-NAMES IN GALLOWAY AND CARRICK: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

by Daphne Brooke

The *Kirk-* compounds as a class of place-names unique to the Solway area have been regarded for over a generation as an indicator of settlement and political organisation in Galloway and Carrick in the darkest period of their history — the tenth and eleventh centuries. A discussion which took place in the nineteen fifties and sixties still provides support for much of the current thinking on this subject; and its importance removes any need for apology in reopening the debate with the presentation of fresh evidence.

This article, written by an historian, reviews the interpretation and conclusions suggested hitherto by place-name scholars, working mainly without medieval place-name forms, and endeavours to fill this gap by presenting a collection of the *Kirk-* compound names in Galloway and Carrick, recorded before 1500. The evidence these convey is analysed, and the extent to which the *Kirk-* compounds can be seen to be innovations replacing earlier names is examined. There follows an account, where records are available, of the cultural group apparently in local positions of power prior to the development of a *Kirk-* compound parish name. How far the conclusions to be drawn confirm or refute previous views is then discussed, and the historical problems arising briefly outlined.

To begin with a definition: the *Kirk-* compounds are the place-names beginning with the germanic element *kirk-* followed in celtic word order by the name of the patron saint of the church implied in the first element. For example Kirkbride, Kirkoswald. Names like Kirkdale in the Stewartry are not *Kirk-* compounds since the elements follow germanic (Scandinavian) word order and derive straight-forwardly from Scandinavian speakers. The *Kirk-* compounds by contrast reflect a bi-lingual society, and this is what makes them so interesting.

The Appendix lists 29 *Kirk-* compound names, 22 of them medieval parishes. Most of them were recorded many times before 1500. The 4 earliest forms are listed under each name, except where scarcity of records makes this impossible, and in one or two cases a fifth form of special interest is included. In only 6 instances is the first record of the parish or settlement as old as the twelfth century, but 12 date from the thirteenth century, with 5 and 4 from the fourteenth and fifteenth respectively. This material is not as full as would be ideal but it is not insignificant, and offers a picture of the process by which parish names changed and in some instances shows the actual development of the *kirk-* compound. A fuller analysis follows a summary of the previous discussion of the subject.

As early as 1918, Eilert Ekwall had called attention to the uniqueness of this class of place-names.[1] He identified the element *kirk* as deriving directly from the Old Norse *kirkja* (church), and hence considered that the *Kirk-* compounds were an indicator to Scandinavian settlement in the Solway area.

Scandinavians and Celts in the N.W. of England: Lund 1918

In 1956 Prof. John MacQueen enlarged on this theme with particular reference to the Gaelic content of the *Kirk-* compounds and those which incorporated dedications to Irish saints.[2]. He discussed the relationship of the *Kirk-* compounds to the wholly Gaelic names, superficially similar, prefixed by the Gaelic element *Kil-* (properly *cill*). He developed his argument further in subsequent articles.[3] In the meantime, Prof. W. F. H. Nicholaisen had contributed significantly to the discussion.[4]

MacQueen accepts Ekwall's view of the derivation of *kirk* in the *Kirk-* compounds, as indicating that the names were coined by Scandinavian speakers, in a predominantly Gaelic-speaking area. He suggests that Gaelic was introduced into Galloway both prior to the period of Scandinavian settlement, and simultaneously with it. His central thesis lies in identifying the *Kirk-* compounds as the creation of the *Gall Ghaidhil*, settlers of Hiberno-Norse origin generally held to have ruled Galloway, probably from the tenth century. This thesis has special interest because if tenable, it constitutes almost the only available evidence of *Gall Ghaidhil* settlement, apart from inferences to be drawn from some rather dubious Irish texts. According to MacQueen, "some of the *Gall Ghaidhil* may be descendants of the earlier Irish settlers in Galloway, who in the ninth and tenth centuries were forced or won over to the Norse way of life." He emphasises that despite their association with Norsemen, the *Gall Ghaidhil* were primarily Gaelic speakers. Finally, he excepts from the general category of *Kirk-* compounds, those which appear to incorporate the Gaelic affectionate pronoun, *mo* (my dear). He instances Kirkmaiden. On the grounds that the element *Kirk-* must originally have been the Gaelic *Kil-*, and have dated from a very early period, he suggests that this type of name was only subsequently translated to the Old Norse *kirkja-* by Scandinavian speakers acquainted with Gaelic, and the function of *mo*.

With this Nicolaisen appears to agree. He further points out that between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Kil-* and *Kirk-* were often interchangeable, and concludes that it is "self evident" that we must expect to find a number of late part-translations, in which *kirk* supplanted *kil*. However, he extends this group to cover all the *Kirk-* names incorporating the names of Irish saints. Of these he says, "we can more or less assume that the original first element was *kil*, and not Norse at all, unless as a part-translation adopted by Norse incomers when they reached the Gaelic speaking area".

Nevertheless, he concludes that "even this possibility is less plausible than the explanation that *Kirk-* supplanted *Kil-*, not in Scandinavian but in Anglian mouths." In support of this thesis, he draws attention to the *Kirk-* compounds incorporating the names of saints of the Northumbrian church, e.g. Cuthbert, Oswald: "whose cult very probably reached south west Scotland before the arrival of the Scandinavians."

To summarise: MacQueen holds that the element *kirk-* derives directly from the Scandinavian *kirkja-*, while Nicolaisen concludes that it derived only indirectly from *kirkja*, through the Anglian tongue. Both scholars assume that some *Kirk-* names,

2 "Kirk" and "Kil" in Galloway Place-Names: *Archivum Linguisticum* vol. 8, 1956, 135-149

3 Notably in: The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick. *Scottish Studies* 1973, 17-33

4 Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland. *Scottish Studies* 1960, pp49-70.

incorporating the names of Irish saints, supplanted equivalent *Kil-* names. Nicolaisen applies this to all the *Kirk-* compounds containing the names of Irish saints, and MacQueen confines it to those incorporating *mo*. He further attributes the *Kirk-* compounds as a whole, to the *Gall Ghaidhil*, and while acknowledging their notorious hostility to the Christian church, assumes that they had become Christian by the time that they settled Galloway in the tenth century, and were the founders of the churches which the *Kirk-* names identified.

How these tentative conclusions compare with the evidence of the medieval place-name forms has now to be considered. Before looking more closely at the Appendix however, two points should be made. The first is that a distinction needs to be kept constantly in mind between the founding and dedication of a church, and the naming or re-naming of the parish. There can be no guarantee that the two events took place at the same time when considering a particular parish name or class of names. Experience as formulated in the Appendix, on the basis of medieval record, indicates the contrary.

The second point relates to the question whether the element *kirk* derived directly from the Scandinavian *kirkja* or was originally applied in the Anglian form. Sir William Craigie reviewed the history of the entry of *kirk* into the Older Scottish tongue,[5] and pointed out that *kirkja* itself entered Old Norse as a borrowing from the Old English *circe* or *cyrce* (church) and subsequently passed back into late Old English and Middle English in the forms *kirk*, *kirke,* and *kyrke*. "The earliest forms in place-names," he commented, "is *chirche, chyrche*, as in *Selechirche* c.1120. In the thirteenth century these were apparently superseded by *kirk, kirke* or *kyrke,* which first appear in the later twelfth century".

It may be argued that documents relating to Galloway scarcely begin before the later twelfth century; but the earliest recorded forms of parish names which developed into *Kirk-* compounds in the Solway area as a whole bear out Craigie's contention. In Cumbria Kirksantan was *Santacherche* in 1087 and *Kirkesantan* c.1185; St Bees was *Cherchebi* in 1125 and *Kirke Bibeccoch* c.1195; and Kirkbride was *Chirchebrid* in 1163 and *Kirkbride* 1189.[6] The same trend is briefly glimpsed in Galloway at Kirkgunzeon (*Cherchewinni* 1159-81, and *Kirkwinnen* 1174-99); and Kirkcudbright (*Cuthbrictis Khirche* c.1164, and *Kyrkecuthbert* 1200-06). A transitional form between *chirche* and *kirke* is to be seen both under Kirkcudbright and also Kirkcormack *(Kirchecormach* 1165-1214).

Slight as the evidence may be, it is a straw in the wind favourable to the view that the element *kirk-* derived from Anglian rather than Scandinavian speech. This would be consistent with the indications provided by the twelfth and thirteenth century charters of the currency of Middle English in Galloway. This is not to deny the prevalence of Gaelic. A state of bilingualism must have existed in Galloway and Carrick throughout the Middle Ages.

Scandinavian speakers on the other hand have been far less numerous in the preceding centuries than used to be thought. Apart from coastal raiding bases, full-scale settlements were confined to a fairly large district west and north of Kirkcudbright, centring on the parishes of Tongland, Borgue, and the medieval parish of Kirkdale; and a rather smaller district in Wigtownshire occupying the

5 *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*

6 *Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names*. 1964

eastern part of Glasserton, the Isle of Whithorn, and Sorbie. These settlements are authenticated by place-names recorded in the medieval period and the general picture has become clear to me in the course of preparing for publication a comprehensive survey of settlements recorded in Galloway and Carrick prior to 1500. Any general conclusions as to the confines of Scandinavian settlements require further discussion than is appropriate here. Here it is unnecessary since the geographical distribution of the *Kirk-* compounds within the region is too wide to allow any significant correspondence between the incidence of these names and Scandinavian settlement, and the *Kirk-* compounds can be seen to have been formed too late to have been the direct product of Scandinavian speakers.

To turn now to a closer consideration of the Appendix, a recurrent feature appears in those parishes where the *Kirk-* compound can be seen to be emerging. The actual record of the *Kirk-* compound is preceded by an earlier record referring to *the parish of the church of St —*. This applies at Kirkandrews Balmaghie (1165-1215), Kirkconstantine of Urr (1154-74), Kirkinner (1325), Sorbie Major (1185-1200), and Kirkcudbright Innertig (1444). This can be taken as recording the stage at which the *Kirk-* name was already current colloquially but had not yet received official recognition in documents. It constitutes one of the several ways in which it is possible actually to witness the emergence of the *Kirk-* name. The long time-span during which the process took place comes across very clearly. Beginning in the latter half of the twelfth century, new *Kirk-* compounds can still be seen to be coined as late as the end of the fifteenth. The inversion compound was fully established at Kirkcudbright and Kirkgunzeon around 1200, while Kirkinner did not appear until 1400, and Kirkcudbright Innertig did not come into record until 1484. The total absence before 1500 of any record of either Kirkmadrine suggests that these names may actually have "arrived" after that date. Both parishes were documented during the Middle Ages, but Kirkmadrine in the Deanery of Farnes was Eggerness, and in the Rhins, Toskerton. This latter parish had been a Christian centre since the fifth century, as the fifth and sixth century memorial stones testify. The original church may not have been as old as the burial ground but the probability is that it was more ancient than either of the parish names known to us.

Some *Kirk-* compounds proved quite evanescent. *Kirkfolan* (Sorbie Major) is recorded as a parish name only once, though Kilfillan Bridge survives today. *Blaiket* was recorded as a parish twelve times before 1500 but only twice as Kirkbride. Kirkconstantine of Urr has a similar record.

The fluidity of parish names in medieval Galloway reflects its multi-cultural society, and the way in which names changed is illuminating. Out of the three Kirkandrews in the Stewartry, all are documented by the thirteenth century, the *Kirk-* compound yielded to a new name at Balmaghie by the fifteenth century, and Parton had established itself at the expense of the *Kirk-* name by 1296. Which had been the older name is not clear. These dedications to St Andrew suggest that the church foundations dated from the Northumbrian church.

These instances of the *Kirk-* compound giving way to another name are matched by the reverse process. At Kirkinner the *Kirk-* compound can be seen replacing an older Cumbric name, *Carnmoel.* It is interesting to note that the Papal letter of 1428 contained a form *Linkynner*, apparently containing the Cumbric *lann* (church).

Kirkcowan is not recorded until 1435 but the unidentified *Awengalteway* of Baiamondo's Taxation Roll (c.1275) was, in my submission, the former name of Kirkcowan. *Awengalteway* appears under the Deanery of Farnes, and appears to fit Kirkcowan better than any other parish in that deanery. Dr Annie Cameron identified it as Galtway near Kirkcudbright, but that was in the Deanery of Desnes, and an agent of the Papacy in the thirteenth century would not have been likely to make that kind of mistake. More than this, the church of Galtway was annexed to Holyrood in the twelfth century and would not have been taxed separately in 1275; while the parish of Kirkcowan, a pendicle of Kirkinner, was probably involved, in the opinion of Prof. I. B. Cowan, in a disputed claim by the Priory of Whithorn to the annexation of that church.[7] These circumstances support the identification of *Awengalteway* with Kirkcowan.

Kirkmichael in Carrick is qualified by the (Gaelic) name of an ancient Cumbric kindred,[8] the *Munterduffy* or *Montercasduff*, of which more will be said later. It is questionable how far it would be true to say that the name Kirkmichael was replacing *Munderduffy*, or how correct it would be to regard *Munterduffy* as a place-name. The qualified *Kirkmichael Munterduffy* meant, presumably, "Kirkmichael in the territory of the kindred of Munterduffy". The line to be drawn between clan name and place-name is very fine here. It is however sufficient for our purpose that the inversion compound must have been a newcomer to what had traditionally been Cumbric territory. At Kirkcudbright Innertig the *Kirk-* compound does not replace the Gaelic *Innertig* until 1484.

In these parishes at least there can be no suggestion that the parish name had originally been a *Kil-* name which was subsequently translated to *Kirk-* for the inversion compound was replacing a totally different name. The Appendix indicates how conspicuously the parish names eschewed *Kil-* and how the settlements, such as the Merksworth of Kirkbride, and the dependent chapels such as Kirkbride in Carrick and Kirkdominae adhered to the *Kil-* form. Of the parishes only *Kylpatrikcro* (1394 and 1396) appears before 1400. After 1400 the *Kirk-* compound is occasionally "invaded" by a *Kil-*. Kirkbean suddenly becomes *Kylbieni* in 1468 but thereafter was recorded as *Kirkben, Kirkbene* four times before 1500. Kirkmaiden in the Rhins was *Kilmedun* in 1469. Nicolaisen has already shown that this trend increased after 1500 to the point at which *Kil-* and *Kirk-* almost became interchangeable. The present stability seems to depend on the Ordnance Survey and the ultimate decision whether some less important places eventually became *Kirk-* or *Kil-* was probably decided, sometimes somewhat arbitrarily, by the early surveyors.

Some enlightenment on this matter comes from a study of *Blaiket*. This Anglian name was never displaced by Kirkbride but the *Kirkebride* of the thirteenth century became *Kilbride* in 1488; and in 1175-85 a bounder identified a nearby burn as *Polchillebride*, *Polkillebride* (*Holme Cultram Chrs.*). This may indicate that there was a genuine tradition of an old name Kilbride here. Whether or not that is true, it highlights the point that streams were named by the Gaelic-speaking peasantry and parish names by the church and aristocracy. By this token it seems possible that many

7. I. B. Cowan: *Parishes of Medieval Scotland.* 1967 p. 119.

8 *v.* G. W. S. Barrow: Kingship and Unity: *Scotland 1000-1306,* 1981 p11

a *Kirk-* compound parish name was known by the country folk as Kilpatrick or Kiloswald at any time from the development of the *Kirk-* compound. It would not necessarily indicate that an older *Kil-* name existed before the *Kirk-* came into use.

MacQueen has reviewed very fully the saints' names incorporated in the *Kirk-* compounds[9] and there is no occasion for repetition. They represent both local saints and the cults especially to be associated with the Cymry, the Gael, and the Angle. In fact they reinforce the impression of the multi-cultural society of the region. One significant contribution to the subject which reference to the historical records has made is to identify the patron saint of Kirkcolm, not as Columba but as St Cummene, an Abbot of Iona who died 669. A Papal letter of 1395 refers to "The church of St Cummin in the Rhins" (*Reg. Vat.* 322).

Very little light can be thrown on the existence of names incorporating the pronoun *mo,* except to eliminate Kirkmabreck as potentially of this category. The records indicate that the church dedication here was to *Aed mac Bric,* as Professor MacQueen suggested. The forms given under 1468 and 1501 in the Appendix make this clear. Whether the Kirkmaidens contain *mo* remains in doubt. The patron saint was called St Medan in 1393, and this form of her name appears in the early sixteenth century *Aberdeen Breviary*, which records her festival day and rehearses her life. The *Breviary* claims that she was an Irish contemporary of St Ninian, that she founded both the churches of St Medan in Galloway, and is buried at Whithorn. Although there seems to be a broken and artificially reconstituted tradition attaching to her, there is reason to believe that her churches were of ancient foundation, and though her date may have been seventh rather than fifth century, she is the only saint we know of whose story gives colour to Bede's statement that many saints rest in the body alongside Ninian at *Candida Casa.* Her "reconstituted" legend may have been the work of the Northumbrian church, and if that is so the *Mo-Etain* which MacQueen proposes as her original name might therefore have been transformed to *Medan* owing to Anglian unfamiliarity with the function of *mo.* Apart from this rather doubtful instance, no parish or settlement name of which record has survived contains the pronoun *mo.*

It is already clear that the hypothesis that the *Gall Ghaidhil* were the creators of the *Kirk-* compound names is incompatible with the historical evidence, and particularly with the chronology. We have traced the advent of the *Kirk-* compounds to the late twelfth century and have seen the speech habit continued throughout the medieval period. In no way can this be attributed to incomers of the tenth century, if indeed they settled Galloway at all. An alternative explanation for this type of place-name must be sought, and it must be applicable not only to Galloway and Carrick but to the whole Solway area.

The history of this whole area in the tenth to the twelfth century was, as might be expected, similar but by no means identical throughout the wider region. Dumfriesshire, originally Cumbric territory, was settled early by the Northumbrian Angles, and later a significant group of Scandinavian settlers penetrated Annandale, whom Nicolaisen has traced fairly conclusively, as moving in, not from the west, but from north-eastern England.[10] By the early twelfth century Gaelic speakers had been in

9 *op cit* (1956)

10 *op cit*

the area long enough to affect important place-names. Cumbria had a similar Cumbric and Anglian mix and the rich Eden valley was occupied by the Cymry of Strathclyde in the tenth century. In the Lake District place-names give ample evidence that about the same period Scandinavian speakers settled, accompanied by some Gaelic speakers.

The names of streams, lakes, and many mountains are Scandinavian, showing a much more deeply seated Scandinavian population that can be traced in Galloway, and some Scandinavian settlement names contain Gaelic personal names. In fact if it were posited that the *Gall Ghaidhil* settled the Lake District there would be more support from place-names than Galloway affords. The Isle of Man, where the *Kirk-* compounds also occur, was in Norse occupation, with an older subservient Gaelic-speaking population.

All these areas had in common a mixed population speaking more than one language. It cannot be claimed for them however that they had identical cultural groups in positions of power. If we move on in time to the twelfth century, when Cumbria was still being shuttled between the Kingdom of Scots and England there were nevertheless circumstances in which the whole of the Solway area shared, the setting up of newly reconstituted centralised church government on the Anglo-Norman model, and the introduction, probably for the first time, of a strictly territorialised parochial system.

David I of Scotland restored the ancient bishopric of Glasgow around 1120, its boundaries extending from Strathclyde to Dumfriesshire and west to the river Urr, and embracing what was later to become the Earldom of Carrick. The diocese of Whithorn was reestablished about five years later, and the bishopric of Carlisle came into being in 1133. Whereas the ancient bishoprics of which all record disappeared in the ninth century under the Viking attack on Northumbria may be visualised as constituting centres of influence and administration within fairly well defined boundaries, it is doubtful whether their dioceses were divided into a systematic parish system. Churches tended to cluster, and settlements were divided by tracts of waste and forest. The Anglo-Norman church on the other hand was essentially territorialised and one parish was divided from the next by clearly defined bounds. Where natural landmarks were missing to mark these limits, wooden crosses were erected to identify the boundary. This was regularly perambulated to keep local memory alive.

With the advent of this new system, the gathering ground of some of the ancient churches incorporated into it will have been known and adopted, and such parishes as Longcastle, or Culness, or Maybole came into being with an anciently established name. Sometimes the parish was co-terminous with some long established estate, later to become a barony, such as Buittle or Leswalt.

Where such a clearly established name for the new parish district was lacking, or a new church was founded, or the ancient name for the parish no longer came easily to the tongue either of Anglian or Gaelic speaker, the official ecclesiastical identification was there to fall back on. The parish of the church of St Michael, or St Cummin, or St Cuthbert, became colloquialised in the passage of time to Kirkmichael or Kirkcolm or Kirkcudbright. This is a hypothesis; but it seems to make sense of the records before us in the Appendix.

Unfortunately the majority of *Kirk-* names are the first record we have of their parishes, and the variations and complexities of the process suggested are concealed from us; but a substantial minority of parishes show a significant, and at first sight surprising correspondence of *Kirk-* parish names with the survival of Cumbric estate names. In the most conspicuous of these — the barony of *Carnmoel* (Kirkinner) — the estate and parish were identical. This was also true of Longcastle except that Longcastle was part only of the great barony of Craighlaw and Longcastle, Craighlaw being the extensive estate in the southern part of the parish of Kirkcowan.

The apparently Anglian name Longcastle was deceptive. It was recorded c. 1275 as *Lengast* (*SHS Misc*) and appears to retain the Cumbric *lann* (church). The principal homestead of Longcastle was originally the crannog in Dowalton Loch. The barony of Craighlaw and Longcastle was one of the most important estates in medieval Wigtownshire. In its best documented period — the fifteenth century — the superiority belonged to the Keiths and the lands were divided between three Keith heiresses and their husbands. An Inquest of 1296 following the death of Elena de la Zouche, Alan of Galloway's granddaughter, found that she was tenant-in-chief of a third of *Manhincon* (read by the editor of *CDS* as *Mauhinton*). This was the Cumbric name for the principal manor of the Craighlaw estate. *Manhincon* was recorded under a number of forms and degrees of corruption: *Mamuncioune* 1449 *(RMS* ii), *Monhuncion* 1465 *(Ailsa Writs), Monyhuncioun* 1470 (RMS ii), *Manhunscion-in-Crachlew* 1497 *(Wigt. Chrs.)*. There is clearly a first element *men* (stone) here; and I am indebted to Prof. Kenneth Jackson for the view that the forms just quoted suggest that the "c" was really an "s" or a "g". Very recently I have found reference to the modern name of the standing stone at Craighlaw as the *Hanging Stone.*[11] Hence a form such as **Menhungion* seems possible; but this is a linguistic judgement I can only submit to correction by place-name scholars. This estate dominates the south of the parish of Kirkcolm.

The medieval parish of Kirkmaiden in the deanery of Farnes appears to have occupied the western area of what is now the parish of Glasserton as far as the border of Longcastle in the north, and the lands of Monreith in the west. Prior to 1684 when the Maxwells of Monreith acquired the adjoining lands of Myrton in the parish of Mochrum, and made their principal residence there, the parish of Kirkmaiden and the barony of Monreith were more or less co-terminous. There is general agreement that the name Monreith is Cumbric. It was *Melrethe* in 1270 (*CDS* i); *Maynreht* and *Meynrethe* in 1296 (*CDS* ii); and *Monrethe* and *Menrethe* in 1312 (*CDS* ii). These forms also suggest a name containing the element *men* (stone) and there are several standing stones at Monreith. On the other hand the forms of the name as recorded in *RMS* ii changed in the fifteenth century to *Mureith* 1481, and *Murheth* 1481-2, and a similar form *Murethe* 1483 appears in the *Book of Caerlaverock.* Prof. Rachel Bromwich draws attention to Nennius having depicted Urien of Rheged as "*rex Murifensium*" and comments "D. N. Dumville proposes to me that Geoffrey of Monmouth's "*Murief*" represents the name Monreith in Wigtownshire".[12]

11. *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*: Wigtownshire, 1962, p.411.
12. *The Welsh Triads*. 1978. p.565.

Whichever way one interprets the derivation, the name Monreith was a Cumbric survival. In the Middle Ages the barony of Monreith in the parish of Kirkmaiden was of a similar order of importance to the barony of Craighlaw and Longcastle in the parish of Kirkcowan.

The Stewartry, though generally better documented than Wigtownshire, offers little evidence of this order. None the less the Douglas stronghold of Threave lies in the parish of Kirkandrews-Balmaghie. Although Threave is not documented before the period of the Douglases' tenure (*le Treyf* 1429 (*RMS* ii)), its Cumbric origin is unquestionable, and its unqualified form *y Dref*, reflected both in the 1429 form and in modern pronunciation is an indication of its importance prior to the tenure of the Earls of Douglas.

In the parish of Kirkoswald in Carrick lies *Trochrague: Trevercragis* 1324 (*Annandale Chrs.*) and *Trevercrageis* 1303-29 (*RMS* i App 2). The 1324 form appears in *RMS* i as *Crevercraig*, but in medieval scripts "c" and "t" are indistinguishable.

The parish of Kirkmichael in Carrick, reflecting a dedication to the Archangel, and in the territory of the ancient kindred of the Munterduffy, might be expected to reveal Cumbric settlement; and it does not disappoint us. Four important settlements in the parish contain the element *tref*: *Tradunnock, Tranew, Troquhain,* and *Guiltree. Tradunnock* was *Trudonag* in 1444, *Trewdunnak* in 1492 (both *Laing Chrs.*). *Tranew* was *Trownawe* in 1370-80 (*Laing Chrs.*), and *Treunewr* in 1450 (*RMS* ii). *Troquhain* was *Trewchane* and Trevichane c. 1370, and *Trewchan* 1383-4 (PRO *Ailsa papers*).

Guiltree was *Geyltrew* in 1383 (*PRO Ailsa pp.*), *Gyltre* c. 1385 (*Laing Chrs.*) and *Geyltre* 1385-1400 (*Laing Chrs.*). This seems to derive from *Gwelidref* — the bed homestead, or cradle of the kin. Thomas Kennedy was proprietor in 1383, and John Kennedy of Dunure had received royal recognition as "captain of the clan *Muintircasduff* in 1345 (*RMS* i). As we have already seen "Munterduffy" remained the qualifying name of Kirkmichael, presumably to distinguish it from Kirkmichael in Dumfriesshire.

The territory of the kindred extended to Kirkcudbright Innertig, where the Gaelic name *Ballemontercasdow* 1475, *Balmundercasdow* 1491-2 (*PRO. Bargany papers*) preserved their memory. The name is now Auchencrosh (*Auchycross alias Balmuntircaste* 1539) The Gaelic name probably dates from the Kennedys' tenure.

Here are seven instances in which it is possible to trace a correspondence between important estates with Cumbric names and a *Kirk-* compound parish name. In all but the lands in Carrick, the earliest traceable proprietors were either the Lords of Galloway or Anglo-Norman landowners. At *Carnmoel* (Kirkinner) the Crown had held the lands in 1305, when they were first recorded. This was probably as a result of dispossessing the Baliols or their Anglo-Norman vassals. Elena de la Zouche's ownership of a third of *Manhincon* similarly points to previous ownership of the lands of Craighlaw and Longcastle by the Lords of Galloway. At Monreith the Maxwells, of Anglian descent, were proprietors. At Threave, the Douglases, representing the new order after the coup of 1306, are the earliest recorded proprietors. Only in Carrick do we find the Kennedys, a Gaelic family, apparently stepping into the shoes of the Cymry. Significantly, what afterwards became some of the richest baronies in Anglo-Norman hands had been former centres of Cumbric

power; and the pairing of Cumbric estates with parishes bearing *Kirk-* compound names, as revealed where records are available, is sufficiently marked to suggest that some other *Kirk-* parishes, less well documented, may conceal similar histories.

But for the difficulties of chronology, and the history of the element *kirk*, this evidence taken in isolation, could have been held to support the hypothesis that the *Kirk-* compound parish names had been the creation of the *Gall Ghaidhil.* For transfer of power from Cumbric hands to others had clearly taken place, presumably a generation or so before the Cumbric language died a relatively sudden death. Jackson puts its rapid obsolescence sometime in the early eleventh century.[13] He has further established that a resurgence of power on the part of the Kingdom of Strathclyde in the tenth century had led to its acquisition of territory south of Solway as far as the Rere Cross. After the collapse of that kingdom with the death of Owen the Bald he has traced the Gaelic aristocracy from Dalriada moving into Strathclyde and penetrating Lothian.[14]

It is to be expected that the Cumbric lords of Galloway, if they were not actually in a relationship of vassalage to Strathclyde at that time, enjoyed the benefits of Strathclyde's ascendancy and apparently, suffered in consequence of its eclipse. That could suggest that the transfer of power in Galloway away from the Cumbric chiefs took place in the course of the eleventh century, too late for the conquest and subsequent rule of the region by the tenth century *Gall Ghaidhil.*

That a transfer of power took place, and probably before the advent of the Anglo-Norman owners whom the records reveal as in possession in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, is undeniable. What is difficult to believe is that the *Gall Ghaidhil*, not an ethnic group but unorganised war bands of the ninth century, were able to preserve their identity until the mid- or late eleventh century, and then take control of Galloway. The credibility, not only of the association of the *Gall Ghaidhil* with the *Kirk-* compound parish names, but with Galloway as its supposed settlers and rulers, begins to look questionable.

The problem goes beyond the scope of this article but a little more needs to be said here. Consideration of two of the three main cultural groups in medieval Galloway to the neglect of the third is liable to distort our perception of the picture. The formidable power of the Cymry, seen to be only recently overthrown in the twelfth century, should not be allowed to obscure the equally tenacious hold of the Angle. We began by referring to the evidence of Anglian speech in the medieval charters. Here in order to keep a balance, it should be said that apart from Nithsdale and the *tref* parishes of the eastern Stewartry, evidence of the Cymry seems to be concentrated in Wigtownshire and Carrick. The Stewartry is distinguished by a chain of Anglian medieval parish names: Southwick, Edingham, Buittle, Kelton, Rerrick, Twynholm, Senwick, and Girthon, which lie contiguous to one another almost without a break. All these names are recorded from the thirteenth century, Edingham and Twynholm from the twelfth. Some of them, perhaps most, may date from eighth century settlements, but it argues a continuing Anglian presence that they should have survived as important names.

13 *Language and History in Early Britain.* 1953, p. 9-10 and 219.

14 K. H. Jackson: Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern. *Studies of the Early British Church.* ed. N. K. Chadwick, 1958, p. 277-279.

If Gaelic had been spoken in Galloway and Carrick from the seventh century, and sporadic infiltration of settlers from Ireland continued over the centuries, the *Gall Ghaidhil* hypothesis is not necessary to account for the fact that by the time the names of the lesser settlements become plentiful in record, that is in the fifteenth century, the overwhelming majority were Gaelic. In the compilation of a general study of the medieval settlements and their place-name forms, I have gained a strong impression that not only did Gaelic speech gain ground as a result of the Wars of Independence, but that it acquired a higher social status. The Gaelic landowning families are similarly scarcely documented before 1400 apart from the McDowells, and some lesser nobility such as the McGuffogs. When the wealth and power of the Kennedys can be fully seen, and the McCullochs, Agnews and McClellans observed in prominence, their origins are obscured by the long and largely documented rule of the Earls of Douglas, and it is as their clients and successors that they appear. Nonetheless we do not need to posit rule by the *Gall Ghaidhil* to fill this gap.

In proposing that the *Kirk-* compound names were evidence of *Gall Ghaidhil* settlement and dominance, Macqueen acknowledged that if this were so it constitutes the sole evidence. The possibility has since been discussed that the place-names containing the Gaelic elements for pennyland and quarterland should also be associated with them. This has proved difficult since the pennylands represent units of taxation for a naval levy which has been found to be in operation in Dalriada prior to the Norse period.[15]

If in place of the *Gall Ghaidhil* the explanation of the *Kirk-* compound names was the response of a multi-lingual society to the advent of a strictly territorial parish system, then the hypothesis of the *Gall Ghaidhil* appears to be in urgent need either of the kiss of life or of decent burial. A necessary preliminary however is a critical review of the Irish texts relating to the *Gall Ghaidhil*, and in particular a fresh study of the etymology of the name Galloway.

To conclude, the historical evidence presented here indicates that the *Kirk-*compounds began to appear in the course of the twelfth century after the word *kirk* had become assimilated into northern Middle English. Once the speech habit had been formed, these names continued to be produced as late as the end of the fifteenth century and possibly later. Their formation appears to have been consequent upon the introduction of the territorial parish structure in the newly reconstituted bishoprics of Glasgow, Whithorn and Carlisle. Is is therefore almost certain that the *Kirk*-compounds derived from Anglian speech. Their replacement of earlier names is sufficiently well documented in a significant minority of medieval parishes to make it clear that the *Kirk-* names were not in general translations of long-standing Gaelic names with the first element *Kil-*. There is little evidence of the incidence of *Kil-* in parish names before 1400, after which *Kirk-* and *Kil-* gradually became more interchangeable. This implies that it was *Kil-* that was the translation of *Kirk-* and not the other way about; and appears to have been the effect of the spread and enhanced social status of Gaelic speaking following the Wars of Independence. It is further

15. John Macqueen: Pennyland and Davoch in South-West Scotland, and Basil Megaw: Note on Pennyland and Davoch in South-West Scotland. *Scottish Studies* 1979, p. 69-77.

evident that the church dedications incorporated in the parish names were often of much greater antiquity than the names, and not necessarily related to the cultural group dominant in the district when the *Kirk-* compounds were formed.

A significant correspondence between *Kirk-* compound parish names and Cumbric-named estates can be traced, and they seem to mark the overthrow of Cumbric power, probably around the mid-eleventh century. In the Stewartry particularly a sizeable group of parishes in which *Kirk-* compounds did not develop have apparently long-established Anglian names. The implications of these findings for the history of Galloway prior to 1100 go beyond the subject of this article. Suffice it that they rule rule out any possible association between the formation of the *Kirk-* compounds and the *Gall Ghaidhil.* Over the Solway area as a whole these place-names can be seen to be the product of the administrative structure of the Anglo-Norman church operating within a multi-cultural society.

Abbreviations

ACSB *Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-88.* ed A. I. Cameron.

ADA *Acts of Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints.* ed T. Thomson 1839.

CDS *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.* ed J. Bain 1881-8.

Coll. *Collectorie* (documents in Vatican archives: microfilm University of Glasgow).

CPL *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* Papal Letters. edd W. Bliss and others.

CPP *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* Petitions to the Pope. ed W. H. Bliss 1896.

CSSR i *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-22.* edd E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron. SHS 1934.

CSSR ii *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423-28.* ed A. I. Dunlop. SHS 1956.

CSSR iv *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-47.* ed A. I. Dunlop. SHS.

Cross. Chrs.
Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel. AHCAG. 1886.

Dryburgh Liber
Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh. Bannatyne Club 1847.

ER *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.* edd J. Stuart and others. 1878-1908.

Fraser *Annandale*
W. Fraser, *The Annandale Family Book.* 1894.

Fraser *Caerlaverock*
W. Fraser, *The Book of Caerlaverock.* 1873.

Glas. Reg.
Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis. (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs 1843).

Holm Cultram
Register and Records of Holm Cultram. edd F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood. 1929.

Holy Lib.
Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis. Bannatyne Club 1840.

Laing Chrs.
Calendar of the Laing Charters 845-1837. ed J. Anderson.

Pais. Reg.
Registrum Monasterii de Passelet. Maitland Club 1832: New Club 1877.

Papal Letters 1378-94
Papal Letters to Scotland 1378-94. ed Charles Burns. Scottish History Society. 1976.

Papal Letters 1394-1417
Papal Letters to Scotland 1394-1417. ed McGurk. Scottish History Society. 1976 vol. ii.

PRO *Ailsa* pp.
Scottish Public Record Office: *Ailsa collection* (unpublished) GD 25.

PRO *Bargany* pp.
Scottish Public Record Office: *Dalrymple Hamilton of Bargany* collection (unpublished) GD 109.

PRO *Cally* pp.
Scottish Public Record Office: *Murray of Broughton and Cally* collection (unpublished) GD 10.

Reginald of Durham
Vita Beati Cuthberti Reginald monachi Dunelmensis. Surtees Society 1.

Reg. de John de Halton
Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle. A.D. 1292-1324. ed. W. N. Thompson & T. E. Tout. vol. 1. *The Canterbury and York Society.* 1913.

Reg. le Romayne
Register of John le Romayne 1285-96. Surtees Society 1913-17.

RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum.* edd J. M. Thomson and others 1882-1914.

RS *Register of Supplications to Rome* (MS in Vatican archive, University of Glasgow).

SHS Misc.
Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. Scottish History Society 1893-/

St Bees Reg.
Register of the Priory of St Bees. Surtees Society 126.

Theiner Vet. Mon.
Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum Historium Illustrantia ed A. Theiner 1864.

Wigt. Chrs.
Wigtownshire Charters ed R. C. Reid. Scottish History Society 1960.

Appendix

The four earliest records of the parish name are given except where records are not available before 1500. An additional later form is added where this is of special interest. All dates are approximate. "Parish" means church had parochial status in the medieval period.

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright

KIRKANDREWS (parish: now in the parish of Borgue)

Kirkeandres	1234	*St Bees Reg.*
Kirkandris	1306-29	*RMS* i App 2
Kirkandris	1315-21	*RMS* i
Kirkandres Plunton	1335-6	*CDS* iii

KIRKANDREWS, BALMAGHIE (parish)

ecclesia de S. Andree	1165-1215	*Holy Lib*
Kyrcanders	1189-1209	do
Kirkanders Balemakethe	1255-93	do
Kircander Balimeth	1275	*SHS Misc*

KIRKANDREWS, PARTON (parish)

Kirkandrum Purten	1275	*SHS Misc*
Partone	1296	*CDS* ii
Kirkandres Porton	1335-6	*CDS* iii
Perton	1414	*Papal letters 1394-1417* SHS 1976

KIRKBEAN (parish)

Kirkbene	1272	*Laing Chrs*
Kyrkebene	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kyrkben	1425	*ACSB*
Kirkben	1427	*CSSR* ii
Kylbieni	1468	*CPL* xii

BLAIKET (parish)		
ecclesia de S Brigide de Blachet	1164-74	*Holy Lib*
Blacket	1175-99	do
Blakhet	1214-34	do
Blacketh	1233-41	do
Kirkebride	1249	do
Kilbride	1488	*ER* x (rental)
KIRKBRIDE (settlement NGR 7454)		
Markisworth de Kilbride	1456	*ER* vi
Merkeland de Kilbryde	1456	do
KIRKCARSWELL (settlement NGR 7649)		
Kirkassudie	1329-71	*RMS* i App 2
Kyrassalda	1365	*RMS* i
Kirkcassald	1468	*ER* ix
Kirkcassall	1481	*ADA*
KIRKCHRIST (parish)		
Kirkcrist	1294	*Reg. le Romayne*
Kyrcrist	1331	Fraser: *Caerlaverock*
Kyrccrist	1345	*Holy Lib*
Kyrkcrist	1416	*Papal Letters* 1378-94 SHS 1976
KIRKCONNEL (settlement NGR 9768)		
Kirkconnel	1200-34	*Holm Cultram*
Kirkeconeuel	1235-53	do
Kyrconeuel	1270-80	do
URR (parish)		
Hur	1185	*Holm Cultram*
S. Constantini de Hur	1233-41	*Holy Lib*
Kircostyntin	1262	do
Hurr	1290	*Holm Cultram*
KIRKCORMACK (parish)		
Kirchecormach	1165-1206	*Holy Lib.*
Kirchecormach	1172-4	*RRS* MI.
Kyrkecormac	1200-06	*Holy Lib.*
Kirkormock	1329-71	*RMS* i App. 2
KIRKCUDBRIGHT (parish)		
Cuthbrictis Khirche	1164	*Reginald of Durham*
Kyrkecuthbert	1200-6	*Holy Lib*
Kircudbriht	1200-14	PRO *Chrs*
Kirkecudbrit	1218	*CDS* i
KIRKEOCH (settlement NGR 6650)		
Priory of S Evoca	1423	*CSSR* ii
Kirkevok	1464	*CPL* xii

KIRKENNAN (settlement NGR 8058)		
Kirkkenane	1428	PRO *Cally pp*
Kirkennan	1453	do
Kirkkynnane	1454	do
Kirkkenan	1458	*RMS* ii
KIRKGUNZEON (parish)		
Cherchwinni	1159-81	*Holm Cultram*
Kirkewinnen	1174-99	do
Kirkewynnyn	1175-85	do
Kyrkegunni	1185-1200	do
KIRKMABRECK (parish)		
Kyrkemaberc	1351	*Coll* 14 162v
Kirkmakbrik	1468	*RMS* ii
Kirkmabrek	1468	*ER* ix
Kirkmakbrek	1501	*ER* xii
KIRKPATRICK DURHAM (parish)		
Kirkpatrick Dorand	1272	*Laing Chrs*
Kyrkepatric Duraunt	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kirkpatrick Durand	1296	*CDS* ii
Kirkepatrick Duraund	1305	do
KIRKPATRICK IRONGRAY (parish)		
Kyrkpatric Cro	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kirkepatrick	1304	*CDS* iii
Kircpatric juxta Travereglis	1347	do
Kylpatrikcro	1394	*Papal letters 1378-94* SHS 1976

Wigtownshire

KIRKBRIDE (settlement NGR 0070)		
Kirkbride	1462	*ER* vii
KIRKCOLM (parish)		
Kyrcum	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kirkum	1295	*Reg le Romayne*
Kirkom	1302	*Reg. John de Halton*
Kyrceum	1358	*Theiner Vet Mon*
KIRKCOWAN (parish)		
Kirkkewan	1435	*CSSR* iv
Kirkewane	1471	*RMS* ii
Kirkcowane	1498	*Wigt Chrs*
Kyrkewane	1499	do
KIRKINNER (parish)		
Carnemal	1275	*SHS Misc*
S. Kenere de Carnesmall	1326	*RMS* i App 1
Kykynner alias Carnismole	1400	*Papal letters 1394-1417* SHS 1976
Linkynner	1428	*CSSR* ii
Carnismule alias Kyrckyner	1460	*Theiner Vet Mon*

SORBIE MAJOR (parish)

ecclesia S. Foylani de Sowrby	1185-1200	*Dryburgh Liber*
Sowrby	1221	do
Soureby	1281	*CDS* i
Kirkfolan	1282	*Dryburgh Liber*

KIRKMAIDEN (parish in the Deanery of Farnes)

Kikmethin	1306	*CPL* i
Kyrckemethym	1307	do
Kirkmidyne	1473	*RMS* ii

KIRKMAIDEN (parish in the Deanery of Rhins)

Kirkemethen	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kirkmaiden	1393	*Wigt Chrs*
S. Medan de le Rynnys	1393	*Papal letters 1378-94* SHS 1976
Kyrkmedin	1444	*CPL* ix
Kilmedun	1469	*ER* vii

Carrick

KIRKCUDBRIGHT-INNERTIG (parish)

Innertig	1275	*SHS Misc*
Inntug	1404	PRO *Ailsa pp*
Invertig (S. Cuthberti)	1444	*Cross Chrs*
Kyrkubry de Entertig	1484	PRO *Bargany pp*

KIRKDOMINAE (chapel approx NGR 2592)

Kyldormne	1391	*Papal letters 1378-94* SHS 1976
Kuldomine	1404	PRO *Ailsa pp*
Kildomine	1444	*Cross Chrs*

KIRKMICHAEL (parish)

S. Michael de Munthyrduffy	1270-80	*Laing Chrs*
Kirkmichell	1275	*SHS Misc*
Kircmichel	1333	*CPL* i
Kyrkmichel	1362	*Pais Reg*
Kyrcmychel Munterduffy	1370	*Cross Chrs*

KIRKOSWALD (parish)

Kykoswald	1324	*Cross Chrs*
Kircoswald	1326	*RMS* i App i
Kyrassalda	1365	*RMS* i
Kirkoswald	1374	*Cross Chrs*

NOTES ON SOME CHARTERS OF THE BRUCES OF ANNANDALE, 1215-1295

by
Alan Macquarrie

Introduction

A group of charters of the Bruces of Annandale was edited by Joseph Bain in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.*[1] These documents are in the Archives of the Duchy of Lancaster now held in the Public Record Office, and, with one exception, are undated. On the basis of the date of that one (no. 1 below), Bain assumed that the rest of the group was of similar date. Comparison with other Bruce charters shows that this is not the case, and that in fact the Duchy of Lancaster documents spread all across the thirteenth century.[2]

What follows is a conjectural reconstruction of the order in which they, and one other[3] charter of the lords of Annandale, were issued. No absolute certainty is claimed for this ordering, but documents which seem close in date are grouped together, each one is given outside date limits (with × between them), and one uncertain document (no. 12) is placed at the end. Full texts are offered only of original grants by lords of Annandale, to allow for diplomatic study; for the rest, abstracts with lists of witnesses are given instead.

It is hoped that these notes on Annandale charters of the thirteenth century, as well as correcting erroneous dates in Bain's *Calendar,* will be of service to local historians of south-west Scotland.[4]

Abbreviations

Bain, *CDS*	J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office, London* (Edinburgh, 1881-8)
Barrow, *Bruce*	G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (2nd edn Edinburgh, 1976)
Chron. Lanercost	*Chronicon de Lanercost,* ed. J. Stevenson (Maitland Club, 1839)
Migne, *PL*	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (Paris, 1844-65)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RRS	*Regesta Regum Scottorum,* ed. G. W. S. Barrow and others (Edinburgh, 1960-)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SP	*The Scots Peerage,* ed. J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14)
TDGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*

Documents

1. Agreement made at Martinmas (11 November) 1218 between Patrick earl of Dunbar and Christina the countess, and Sir Robert de Brus; namely, that the earl and countess have demised to Sir Robert their lands in Hertness of the countess's dower-lands for a term of eight years for £36 6s. silver yearly, half at Whitsun and half at Martinmas, saving one third of the market and fair of Hartlepool to the earl and

1. Bain, *CDS* i, nos. 700, 704-7, 1680-5.
2. PRO DL 36/2, 36/3, 25/L84-9. On the history of these documents, see R. Gladstone, 'The early Annandale Charters and their Strange Resting Place', *TDGNHAS* 3rd ser. vi (1919), 137-46.
3. Troyes, Archives départmentales de l'Aube, 3 H 332. On the background of this document, see J. Wilson, 'The Passage of St. Malachy through Scotland', *SHR* xviii (1921), 69-82; R. C. Reid, 'The Caput of Annandale or the Curse of St. Malachy', *TDGNHAS* 3rd ser. xxxii (1954), 155-66; Barrow, *Bruce,* 35-6.
4. My thanks are due to Professor G. W. S. Barrow, the staff of the Public Record Office, and the staff of the Archives départmentales de l'Aube, Troyes.

countess, if they and Sir Robert can acquire these, and Sir Robert shall pay the money to the earl and the countess his mother so long as they warrant the lands to him, and he shall not demise the lands within the eight years in the way that he received them from his grandfather. His pledges: Humphrey de Cardino, Hugh de Corri, William de Heriz, Robert de Crossebi, Richard de Bosco, G[ilbert] son of John, Robert de Tremor.
11 November, 1218.
Source: PRO DL 36/3
Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 700

2. Charter of William son of Ralph Lardenarius and his brother David quit-claiming to Robert de Brus and his heirs all the lands which they held of him in the town of Annan, for the account of David his brother at the time when he was servant of Robert de Bruce in Hertervilla, which William undertook to pay but could not, and for 100 shillings which Robert gave to him. Appends his seal. Witnesses: Sir Richard de Leuint', Sir Roger Avenel, William de Brus, John de Brus, William de Heriz, Humphrey de Gardin, Hugh de Cori, Robert de Crossebi, Gilbert son of John, Roger de Kirkepatric, Robert de Tremor, Richard de Bosco, Richard de Humez, Hugh Mauleuerer, Hugh son of Hamelin, William Franceis, Ingram, Thomas the clerk, and the court of Sir Robert de Bruce of Annan.
1215 x 1245; probably c. 1218.
Source: PRO DL 25/L87
Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 704

3. Charter of Robert de Brus in favour of Humphrey son of Simon.
1215 x 1245.

Omnibus hominibus Has litteras visuris uel audituris . Robertus de Brus salutem Sciatis me dedisse . et concessisse et [h]ac[1] presenti carta mea confirmasse Vmfrido filio Simonis et heredibus suis pro homagio et seruitio suo Hunneluecroft[2] per suas rectas diuisas[2] . Libere . et quiete Honorifice et pacifice . Hunc etiam predictum Croftum : teneb[un]t[3]ipse predictus Vmfridus et heredes sui de me et heredibus meis . Reddendo mihi et heredibus meis annuatim duo galcaria deaurata . Infra[ ][3] Karleoli . Hiis testibus . Hugone de Corri . Willelmo de heris . Ricardo de bosco . Roberto de Crossebi . Ricardo de humeth . Laurencio de berkelai . Willelmo franceis . hugone filio hamelin . Iuone filio hamelin et Aliis

Abstract: R. de B. granting to H. son of S. and his heirs Hunneluecroft, for an annual rent of a pair of gilded spurs to be rendered at Carlisle.
Source: PRO DL 36/3
Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 707
Textual notes: 1. torn. 2-2. torn. 3. stained.

4. Charter of Roger son of William Franciscus quit-claiming to Sir Robert de Brus lord of Annandale and his heirs two bovates of land in the territory of Annan towards Weremundebi, in exchange for two bovates of land which his father William Franciscus formerly held of Sir Robert de Brus in ferme in the territory of Moffat. Appends his seal. Witnesses: Sir John de Rumundebi, Sir Humphrey de Kirkepatric, Sir Roger his brother, Sir Gilbert de Ioneston, Sir Robert de Herice, Sir Humphrey Mauluerir, William de Heneuil, Adam de Dunwidhi and others.
1245 x 1295; possibly c. 1250.
Source: PRO DL 25/L86
Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 705

5. Charter of Adam de Crosseby quit-claiming to Sir Robert de Bruis his lands and tenements, salt-works and mills, services and rents and all pertaining to him in the town of Cumbertres (Cummertrees), for 64 acres of land which he gave him in exchange in the tenement of retenhou (Gretna), and he warrants the lands and tenements to Sir Robert de Bruis and his heirs. Witnesses: [Sir] [1] Alan de Dunwidi at the time steward of Annandale, Sir William de Mortaigne, Sir William de Karliol, Sir Ingram de Muscens, Sir Adam de Carnoto, Humphrey Mauleverer, Robert de Herice, Hugh son of Hamelin, sir William vicar of Annan, William clerk of Annan, Adam the clerk, and others.
1245 x 1295.

Source: PRO DL 25/L85

Printed: Abstract in Bain *CDS* i, no. 1685

Textual note: 1. Hole in parchment.

6. Charter of Robert de Brus in favour of David de Torthorwald.
1245 x 1295.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris uel audituris Robertus de Brus dominus Vallis Anand' salutem In domino Noueritis nos dedisse concessisse et quietumclamasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris dauid de Torthorald et heredibus suis quod nullum eschapum capiatur Inter baroniam Valis Anand' et tenementum de Torthorald nisi de tanto scilicet de decem auerijs vnum denarium de decem bidentibus .i. denarium de decem capreis .I. d' de .x. porcis vnum denarium et pro equo obolum In huius rei testimonium presenti scripto cigillum nostrum apponi fecimus Hiis testibus domino th[oma] de bosco domino Roberto herris tunc senescallo vallis Anand' domino A de Chartres domino H de kirpatric domino Rogero fratre eius domino Wmfredo de malleuere ada de [ ][1] et aliis

Abstract: R. de B. lord of Annandale granting to D. de T. that no fines for escaped animals will be levied between the barony of Annandale and the tenement of Torthorwald except as follows: for ten fowl (?), 1d; for ten sheep, 1d; for ten goats, 1d; for ten swine, 1d; and for a horse, ½d.

Source: PRO DL 36/3

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 1683

Textual Note: 1. stained.

7. Charter of Richard de Bancori quit-claiming to his lord Robert de Brus and his heirs the lands of Loyerwode (Locharwoods) by these bounds: from Pollnilin (Powhillon) to Blakebeck (Black Grain?), extending to half of Mosse (Longbridge Muir) and from the said half of Mosse to the water of Loyer (Lochar Water) with its pertinents, and a certain common pasture in the fee of Comlongan (Comlongon) which Robert de Brus's men in Musefaud (Mouswald) used to have in ferme for payment of one mark yearly, saving only to him and his heirs his wood in [ ][1] as he held it before the date of this quit-claim. Appends his seal. Witnesses: Sirs Adam de Carnoto, David de Parco, Humphrey de Kirkepatric, Roger de Kirkepatric, William de Sancto Michaele, Ingram de Musseus, James the clerk and others.
1245 x 1295.

Source: PRO DL 25/L 84

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 1684

Textual note: 1. Stained.

8. Charter of Robert de Brus in favour of Henry de Kyircudbricht.
1245 x 1295.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Brus Dominus Vallis Anand' dedi. concessi . et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui pro me et heredibus meis . Henrico de Kyircudbricht et heredibus suis de se legitime procreatis totam terram meam de Cumbertres cum omnibus suis pertinenciis sine aliquo retenemento . et totam aliam terram meam de Ryehille cum omnibus suis pertinenciis quam Iohannes filius Reginaldi et mater eius . Symon filius Reginaldi . et Reginaldus filius Elioti in eadem uilla de Ryehille quondam de me tenuerunt . Tenend' et habend' de me et heredibus meis . dicto Henrico et heredibus suis de Se legitime procreatis totas predictas terras per asdem diuisas per quas ipsas tenui dum fuerunt in manu mea . et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis inperpetuum . Adeo Libere . quiete. integre . plenarie . pacifice . et honorifice . sicut ego easdem aliquando liberius tenui uel possedi . in pratis pascuis . Paunagiis . Viis . semitis . Aquis et Stagnis . et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus . communionibus et asiamentis ad dictas uillas de Cumbertres et de Ryehille pertinentibus . Ita uidelicet quod predictus Henricus et heredes sui . ac homines eorundem liberam ac plenariam potestatem habeant molendi bladum suum ubicunque uoluerunt sine multura dãnda ad molendina mea uel heredum meorum . Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis . ipse et heredes sui de Se legitime procreati quatuor essceppas brasei ad duos terminos anni . videlicet medietatem ad Pentecost' . et medietatem ad festum Sancti[1] martini in hyeme . pro omnibus seruitiis. consuetudinibus . exactionibus . demandis . sectis Curie mee et heredum meorum Vallis Anand' . et omnibus aliis secularibus demandis . Et ego Robertus de Brus et heredes mei . predicto Henrico et heredibus suis de se legitime procreatis . totas predictas terras cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prout predictum est . contra omnes homines et feminas Warantizabimus aquietabimus . et defendemus inperpetuum . In cuius rei testimonium presenti Scripto Sigillum meum apposui . H[iis t]estibus[2] dominis Vmfredo de Kyrkepatric tunc Senescallo Vallis Anand' . Willelmo de Sancto Michaele . Dauid de Torthorald . Roberto de Herice militibus . magistro Ada rectore ecclesie de magna Daltun . Domino Roberto rectore ecclesie de Anand' . petro Le flamang' . Ada hendeman . Ricardo Crispin . et aliis

Abstract: R. de B. lord of Annandale granting to H. de K. and his heirs Cummertrees with its pertinents and Ryehill with its pertinents, which John son of Reginald and his mother, Simon son of Reginald, and Reginald son of Eliot held of Robert de Brus in the town of Ryehill; and Henry, his heirs and men have full power to grind corn at Robert's mill without paying multure; for an annual rent of four skips of malt, payable half at Whitsunday and half at Martinmas, for all services.

Source: PRO DL 36/3

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 1680

Textual notes: 1. A word erased after *Sancti.* 2. Faded.

9. Charter of Robert de Brus in favour of William de Heneuil.
1245 x 1295

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego[1] Robertus de Brus dominus vallis anand' dedi[2]. concessi[3] . et hac presenti carta mea[4] conf[irmaui][5] Willelmo de Heneuil' et heredibus suis de corpore suo Legitime procreatis pro homagio et seruitio suo octodecim[6] acras terre de dominio nostro in villa de moffet[7] una cum tertia parte molendini eiusdem ville Tenend' et habend' sibi et heredibus suis de corpore suo Legitime procreatis de nobis et heredibus[8] bene et pacifice integre et honorifice

totam terram predictam una cum[9] tertia parte molendini eiusdem ville cum omnibus libertatibus communionibus et asiamentis dicte terre pertinentibus . Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et heredibus ipse et heredes sui de corpore suo Legitime procreati pro dictis octodecim acris terre tres esceppas farine[10] quolibet anno ad festum sancti martini in yeme . et pro tertia parte dicti molendini : vnum par calcarum deauratorum vel duodecim denarios ad festum assumpcionis Beate marie pro omni[11] exaccione seculari et demando . Et ego[12] Robertus de Brus et heredes mei[13] dictas octodecim acras terre unacum predicta tercia parte molendini eiusdem ville dicto Willelmo de Heneuil' et heredibus suis de corpore suo Legitime procreatis contra omnes homines et feminas inperpetuum [wa]rantizabimus[14] aquietabimus et defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus . Hiis testibus . Dominis [um]frido[15] de kirkepatric tunc Senescallo vallis anand' . Rogero fratre suo . Dauid de Torthorewald . Willelmo de Sancto michaele . militibus . [ ][16] de kirkecudbrit Clerico . Willelmo de leuingston . Rogero francisco . Et Alijs .

Abstract: R. de B. lord of Annandale granting to W. de H. and his heirs eighteen acres of Robert's demesne in Moffat with one third of its mill; for an annual rent of three skips of flour for the eighteen acres at Martinmas, and a pair of gilded spurs or 12d for the third of the mill at the feast of the Assumption.

Source: PRO DL 36/2

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 706

Textual Notes: 1. scored out; *nos* interlineated. 2. altered to *dedimus*. 3. altered to *concessimus*. 4. scored out; *nostra* interlineated. 5. torn. *pro nobis et heredibus nostris* interlineated. 6. scored out; *xxxv* interlineated. 7. *videlicet totam illam terram quequidem terra Iacet inter terram domini patricii Comitis de Dunbar ex vna parte et pratum domini humfridi de kirkepatric ex altera et vnam bracinam in predicta uilla quam salinam pistor quondam solebat tenere in eadem uilla* interlineated. 8. *ita quiete* interlineated. 9. *dicta bracina et* interlineated. 10. *pro dictis . . . farine* scored out; *pro dicta terra et bracina vnacum et tercia parte predicti molendini iiij esseppas farine* interlineated. 11. *seruicio* interlineated. 12. scored out; *nos* interlineated. 13. scored out; *nostri* interlineated. 14. torn. 15. torn. 16. torn.

10. Charter of Robert de Brus in favour of the monks of Clairvaux.
1272-3.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Robertus de Brus dominus Vallis Anand' dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et beate marie ac domui Clarevallis et monachis ibidem deo seruientibus et inperpetuum seruituris ad sustinendum Luminare coram beato malachia pro salute anime mee et salute omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam totam terram meam de Esticroft cum rectis et antiquis suis diuisis et pertinenciis ac communibus prout Rogerus de WillamWode et Galfridus Collan ipsam terram de me quondam tenuerunt . Tenend' et habend' totam terram predictam monachis predictis de me et heredibus meis libere . quiete . plenarie . Integre et honorifice . sicut aliqua elemosina in toto regno Scoc' liberius et quiecius tenetur aut possidetur . In boscis et planis . pratis et pascuis . moris et mariscis. turbariis . paunagiis et omnibus aliis aysiamentis que in dicta terra Inuenirj poterunt vel excerceri . absque omni consuetudine seculari exactione et demanda . Volo etiam et concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod terra predicta libera sit a multura et quod tenentes eandem libere et sine contradictione molent in molendinis meis . Ego vero et heredes mei predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinenciis ut predictum est prefatis monachis contra omnes homines et feminas Warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus

inperpetuum . Vt autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetue firmitatis robur obtineant presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roboraui . Hiis testibus dominis Dauid de Torthorald tunc Senescallo Vallis Anand' . Roberto de Herice . Willelmo de Sancto michaele militibus. magistro Ada de kircudbr' . domino Willelmo de Duncorri . Willelmo de Corri Ada Hendeman . Ricardo Crispin . Willelmo de Are clerico . et Aliis

Abstract: R. de B. lord of Annandale granting to the monks of C., to maintain lights before the shrine of Saint Malachi, the land of Esticroft, as formerly held by Roger de Williamwood and Geoffrey Collan, with freedom from multure in Robert's mills.

Source: Troyes, Archives départementales de l'Aube, 3 H 332

Printed: Migne, *PL* clxxxv, part ii, cols. 1759-60

11. Charter of Helen daughter of the late Roger called Porter in her necessity selling to her lord Robert de Brus lord of Annandale a grange with the land on which it is built standing opposite the house of the late Patrick de Ilchestun at the head of the town of Annan on the way to the gallows for a certain sum of money, rendering therefor to light [the altar of] St. Mary of Annan 1d. annually at Christmas, and she warrants it to him. Appends her seal. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Heriz, Sir Roger de Kyrkepatric, Sir John de Setun, Sir William de Duncurry, Hugh Tramayl de Anand, Ralph de Camera the constable, and many others.
1245 x 1295.

Source: PRO DL 25/L88

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 1681

12. Charter of Agnes Avenel eldest daughter of the late Laurence Avenel resigning to Sir Robert de Brus lord of Annandale her land of Wichstan in the fee of Thonergarth (Tundergarth) and Holgrilemire (= ?) and her meadow of Capilker (Capel Burn, Tundergarth ph). Appends her seal. Witnesses: Sirs Humphrey de Gardino, Robert de Haueryngton, David de Thorthorald, Humphrey de Bosco, knights, Geoffrey de Caldecote, Adam Flamank, Robert Forestar, John de Refholes, and others.
1245 x 1295.

Source: PRO DL 25/L89

Printed: Abstract in Bain, *CDS* i, no. 1682

Comments

1. This is the only one of the documents which bears its own date. For Patrick earl of Dunbar, see *SP* iii, 252-3.

2. This charter is probably very close in date to no. 1 (i.e., c. 1218). Seven of its witnesses appear as Robert de Bruce's pledges in no. 1, and William and John de Bruce can be identified as his brothers (*SP* ii, 430). The Avenel family were lords of Eskdale (*RRS* ii, 296).

3. This charter clearly belongs to the time of Robert de Bruce 'the Noble', lord of Annandale 1215-1245. Seven of its witnesses also witness no. 2, from which it cannot be too far removed in date. Four of them also appear as pledges in no. 1. Its diplomatic is markedly different from that of charters of Robert 'the Competitor' (cf. nos. 6, 8, 9 and 10).

4. This charter is later than nos. 2 and 3, as William Francis has been succeeded by his son Roger. Robert de Herries in this document presumably also had succeeded the William de Herries who appears in nos. 1, 2 and 3; so it is probably a generation later. Among its witnesses are some names which appear earlier and others which appear in documents which seem to be later, so this charter probably belongs somewhere in the middle. A date early in the period of 'the Competitor' (c. 1250) seems likely.

5. Adam de Crosby, the grantor, presumably succeeded Robert de Crosby of nos. 1, 2 and 3; on Robert de Herries, cf. comment to no. 4. Sir Ingram de Mushens is possibly identifiable with 'Ingram' in no. 2, while to assume that Alan de Dunwoody, here steward of Annandale, is identical with Adam de Dunwoody, not yet a knight in no. 4, assumes a scribal error in one or the other. That is perhaps more likely than the alternative conclusion, that this document is earlier than no. 4.

6. The beneficiary, David de Torthorwald, witnesses nos. 8, 9, 10 (dateable 1273) and 12, and died c. 1296 (Bain, *CDS* ii, p. 172). Thus he, and charters in which he figures, belong to the latter years of 'the Competitor' (say c. 1260-1295). This charter is later than no. 5, as Humphrey de Mauleverer and Robert de Herries are not yet knights in no. 5, but are both *dominus* in this document.

7. Possibly close in date to nos. 5 and 6, as all three are witnessed by Adam de Chartres, who does not appear in any other. For Ingram de Mushens, cf. comments on no. 5 above.

8. This charter and no. 9 following must be close in date, as both were issued when Humphrey de Kirkpatrick was steward of Annandale. This office seems to have rotated among the knights of Robert de Bruce's household; as well as Humphrey de Kirkpatrick (nos. 8 and 9), Alan de Dunwoody (no. 5), Robert de Herries (no. 6) and David de Torthorwald (no. 10) all occupied the office of steward of Annandale. It is not mentioned in documents of the time of the Competitor's father (1215-1245; cf. nos. 1, 2 and 3), and not in every document of this generation either.

9. This charter was originally close in diplomatic style to no. 8, although the scribe alternated unsteadily between the first person singular and plural; the same hand (or one very like it) has subsequently changed *ego* to *nos,* etc., and added certain interlineations when the original grant was enlarged. The text here presented is the original one, with the alterations noted in the *textual notes.* Cf. comments on no. 8 above.

10. Apart from no. 1 above, this is the only document here presented to which a definite date can be assigned. Robert de Bruce 'the Competitor' took part in Lord Edward's crusade to Acre in 1270-2 (Bain, *CDS* i, no. 2575; *Chron. Lanercost,* 160-1), and so would have been returning across France in 1272-3. In 1273 the monks of Clairvaux requested a dispensation from the Cistercian chapter-general to keep lights at the tomb of St. Malachi (Migne, *PL* clxxxv, part ii, col. 1759). Cf. Barrow, *Bruce,* 35-6 and nn. The witness-list may represent Robert de Bruce's retinue on crusade.

11. Of the witnesses to this charter, Robert de Herries and Roger de Kirkpatrick appear frequently in charters of 'the Competitor'; William de Duncorry appears also in no. 10.

12. This charter is witnessed by David de Torthorwald, and so should belong to the latter part of the Competitor's period; cf. comments on no. 6. But it is also witnessed by Humphrey de Jardine, a name which appears in no. 1 (dated 1218) and no. 2 of similar date. The Humphrey de Jardine who appears in this document may belong to a different generation. Humphrey de Bois *(de Bosco)* in this charter may be of the same family as Richard de Bois in nos. 1, 2 and 3, of the period of the Competitor's father, and Thomas de Bois. who witnesses no. 6 as a knight.

Table

Names which appear more than once

Document No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Humphrey de Jardine	*	*										*?
Hugh de Corry	*	*	*									
William de Herries	*	*	*									
Robert de Crosby	*	*	*									
Richard de Bois	*	*	*									
Gilbert John's son	*	*		*								
Robert de Tremor	*	*										
Roger de Kirkpatrick		*		*		*	*	*	*		*	
Richard de Humez		*	*									
Hugh Hamelin's son		*	*		*							
William Francis		*	*									
Ingram de Mushens		*?			*		*					
Roger Francis				*					*			
John de Romundeby				*				*				
Humphrey de Kirkpatrick				*		*	*	*	*			
Robert de Herries				*	*	*		*		*	*	
Humphrey de Mauleverer				*	*	*						
William de Heneville				*					*			
Adam/Alan de Dunwoody				*	*							
Adam de Chartres					*	*	*					
William de St. Michael							*	*	*	*		
David de Torthorwald						*		*	*	*		*
Adam Hendeman								*		*		
Richard Crispin								*		*		
Adam de Kirkcudbright									*?	*		
William de Duncorry										*	*	

ADDITIONS TO "THE EARLY PRINTED MAPS OF DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY"

by John N. Moore

Glasgow University Library

The original work listing the pre-1850 printed maps of the counties of south-west Scotland appeared in these Transactions seventeen years ago[1]. It remains one of the very few guides to the early maps of any Scottish region and is, undoubtedly, a major contribution to our knowledge of the cartography of the area. At the same time, Dr. Stone admitted the likelihood of omissions from his list. It is in the spirit of continuing the value of his work that this updating is submitted. Certain points of dating of the maps are discussed, particularly in the light of recent research. Most of these findings were published in the second volume of *The Early Maps of Scotland*, published by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1983. Readers are recommended to consult this work for library locations of all the maps covering Dumfriesshire and Galloway. A layout similar to the earlier listing is employed and the author wishes to thank Dr. Stone for his support and advice.

1793 — ROY, William. "General map of the lower part of Annandale shewing the relative situations of the Roman works in that district of the country". Roman miles 2[= 61mm.]; English miles 2[= 66mm.]. Scale 1":0.76ml. or c1:48,274. 208x422mm. Engraved by J. Basire. In *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1793. Plate XXV.

This map provides far more than 'trustworthy topographical information regarding Roman sites'[2] for it can be assumed that the detail portrayed here is based on the relevant sections of the Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-55. Certainly, comparison with the Survey sheets shows a marked similarity in design and features mapped. Roy is believed to have been in charge of the surveying party working in Eskdale in 1752[3] and it is possible that the scene illustrated on this map dates from this time.

The map covers the area between Lochmaben, Lockerbie (here mis-transcribed as Lockerry) and Ecclefechan. Hill shading extends over the whole map and a most detailed image is given of the topography of the area. Individual fields and enclosures are marked. There is much information on settlements, with individual houses located, roads and the river pattern. As the title suggests, Roman roads and military works are indicated, in particular those at Birrenswark. Roy, himself, later wrote that the survey 'is rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than a very accurate map'[4]. Certainly, the overall impression is good but inaccuracies in areal measurements exist, especially as the surveys tended to be based on primary work along the valleys. Hence, distortions of distance and location can be found in the upland areas.

1. STONE, Jeffrey C. "The early printed maps of Dumfriesshire and Galloway". *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, vol 44, 1967, pp 182-195.
2. MACDONALD, George. "General William Roy and his 'Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain' ". *Archaeologia*, vol 68, 1917, p161.
3. MACDONALD, George. op. cit. pp167-168.
4. ROY, William. "An account of the measurement of a base on Hounslow Heath". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, vol 75, 1785, pp386-387.

c1804 — CRAWFORD, William.

[Stone notes the uncertainty over the date of publication of this map but an edition is held in the National Library of Scotland with an 1803 watermark. It bears a pasted slip entitled 'General View of the Mineralogy . . . prepared for the County Map by Colonel Alexander Dirom of Mount Annan in 1802.' One authority (Royal Scottish Geographical Society) has persistently assumed this earlier dating.]

1805 — THOMSON, John

[The maps listed by Stone are dated 1814 but, in fact, both appear in the second edition (1805) of *The Traveller's Guide through Scotland and the Islands belonging to it.*]

"Dumfries". No scale but approximately 1":8-12 mls. 90x155mm. Opp. 186.

The map has no border and the county boundary is shown in a very rudimentary fashion. A most general view of the roads and rivers is given with quite obvious inaccuracies of location and distance apparent. Only 16 settlements are indicated. Of later editions, the fourth (1808) includes a border and more place-names (some without specific locations), while the sixth (1814) features hachuring to delineate the upland areas of Annandale and those north-west of Moniaive.

"Kirkcudbright". No scale but approximately 1":8-12 mls. 90x155mm. Opp. p222.

A similar map to the above with only a general picture being given. 23 settlements are featured; roads and rivers are marked but none named. The fourth edition has many more place-names arranged on the same framework and the map is given a border. By the sixth edition, hachuring depicts the hills in the north and west of the county but there is no attempt to indicate those of the coast (e.g. Criffel). The seventh edition of 1818 has the notable error of transcribing Irongray into Trongray. Apart from such small differences, the map continues to be the same depiction.

1807 — BROWN, Thomas.

[Although dated 1800 by Stone, recent study of the map watermarks suggests that publishing began in 1802. The last maps may have been issued as late as 1807.]

(1832) — MURPHY, William.

[The following three maps were published in *Pocket County Atlas of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Alex, Macredie. Only one edition appears to have been published but this is undated. The copy held by the National Library of Scotland has a manuscript entry dated 1832. Murphy drew and engraved each map.]

"Dumfries S." Scale of miles 15[=31mm.] 1":12mls. or 1:760,320. 86x117mm. Map 14.

A small but well engraved map with much information on settlements, roads and rivers, largely based on Lothian's map. The county is divided into the river valleys of the Nith, Annan and Esk but a curious diversion occurs near Canonbie and the wording 'Nithsdale' stretches far into Annandale. Over 90 places are located but there are many errors of transcription and location (e.g. Kirkconnel appears twice,

Ecclefechan is placed south-east of Middlebie). Relief is shown by hachuring with several hills named. There are marked distortions in the shape of the drainage pattern, particularly in the exaggeration of the turnings of rivers. Some questions may be asked about the selectivity of material mapped (e.g. Thornhill is omitted).

"Kirkcudbright S." Scale of miles 10[= 26mm.] 1":10mls. or 1:633,600. 86x116mm. Map 23.

Similar in style to that of Dumfries, this map has an alignment taken straight from Lothian. Like this latter map, the county is split into East and Mid Galloway, but again the division differs; in this instance, around Carsphairn. The county boundary mistakenly follows the line of Eglin Lane and omits the bulge round Mullwharchar. Once more, there is a great amount of detail on settlement, 96 separate places being located, but there continue to be errors in location (e.g. Girthon), direction and distance. Curious transcriptions occur (e.g. Marcoritnoy for Marcartney). Many lochs are named, especially in the north-west and the drainage pattern is far less exaggerated. The major roads are shown, while the style of hachuring used here is more effective than that on Lothian's map.

"Wigton S." Scale of miles 10[= 28mm.] 1":9mls. or 1:570,240. 86x117mm. Map 37.

Another map closely resembling that by Lothian, with 84 places named and a depiction of the major roads. Again, the use of hachuring is quite effective for such a small map but few hills are individually named. The coastline and river network is generally good and avoids the exaggerations of other maps. However, there are more doubts about this map's selectivity (e.g. the omission of Garlieston) and style of place-names. Location and direction remain locally suspect.

1842 — LAWSON, John P.

[The following three county maps appeared in *The Descriptive Atlas of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co., 1842. This is more a detailed text on the counties of Scotland, with maps, than a proper atlas. The maps were engraved by J. Brown. Once more, only one edition of this work appears to have been published.]

"Dumfries Shire". British miles 10[= 28mm.]Scale 1":8.89mls. or 1:563,200. 98x152mm. Opp. p145.

A small but very detailed illustration of the county portraying relief, rivers, roads and settlements. There is a wealth of place-names, most notably in the southern half of the county. Each parish is numbered, with an alphabetical index lying bottom left, but boundaries are confusing where they follow rivers. Lawson has taken pains to indicate the uplands by hachuring and many hills are named. Only one spot height is given, for Black Lorg Hill, 2890'. Mosses, castles and churches are mapped. Much information is provided about the pattern of drainage, bearing in mind the scale, and many tributaries are delineated. Inevitably, with the amount of detail marked, there is some confusion in relating names to places but, overall, the fine engraving allows for a clear picture.

"Kirkcudbright Shire". British miles 10[= 24mm.] Scale 1":10mls. or 1:633,600. 99x149mm. Opp. p381.

The design of this map resembles the above but, in general, the engraving is less complete (e.g. the county boundary is not fully marked and the offshore shading of

the coast stops short in Wigton Bay and on the River Nith). There are fewer names of places and rivers but the lochs and hills of the north and west are detailed. As with the Dumfries map, the parish boundaries tend to be confusing.

"Wigton Shire". British miles 8[= 28mm.] Scale 1":7.5mls. or 1:475,200. 97x146mm. Opp. p555.

Again, similar to the above maps, with the same high content of settlement name, the indication of parishes and the confusion of their boundaries. Nearly 70 names are located on the Rhinns alone but elsewhere 'empty' areas exist (e.g. south of Wigtown). Hills are again indicated by hachuring, particularly effective on the coast road north of Port William. No rivers, few hills but several lochs are named.

[Unfortunately, because of its lack of topographical detail, it was felt necessary to exclude a recently discovered chart of the Solway Firth drawn by Thomas Winter in 1742. It is hoped that a contribution will be submitted on this interesting work in the near future.]

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY OBSERVED: THE DIARIES OF A. O. CURLE, 1911-13

by

Geoffrey Stell

The first official survey of the ancient monuments of Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and the greater part of Dumfriesshire was carried out during the summers of 1911, 1912 and 1913. It was mainly, though not exclusively, the work of one rather remarkable man, Mr (later Dr) Alexander Ormiston Curle (1866-1955) (Fig. 1) then Secretary of the recently founded Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, and shortly to become Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.[1] The Chairman of the Commissioners at that time was Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith, who of course possessed special knowledge of the region and had probably been instrumental in directing the Commission's attention towards Galloway.[2]

Fig. 1 Dr A. O. Curle, 1866-1955.

1. For biographical details see the memorials by Angus Graham in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, **88** (1954-6), 234-6, and in Bell, A. S. (ed.), *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* (1980), 216-8. For an account of the early history of the Commission, based partly on information supplied by Dr Curle, see also the article by Angus Graham in *The Archaeological News Letter*, **2**, no. 12 (May 1950), 193-5.
2. e.g. Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Studies in the topography of Galloway* (1887); *The Place Names of Galloway* (1887, revised 1930); *A History of Dumfries and Galloway* (1896); *A History of the House of Douglas* (2 vols, 1902). For autobiographical details see his *Meridiana: Noontide Essays* (1892); *Post-Meridiana: Afternoon Essays* (1895); and *Evening Memories* (1932). He was Chairman of the Commission from its inception in February 1908 until April 1934, attending every meeting except one during that period.

The results of this survey were published in the county *Inventories* of monuments which appeared respectively in 1912, 1914 and 1920.[3] The descriptive information contained in these publications was based on personal on-the-spot observations recorded in field note-books. In addition, Curle kept a daily journal in which he entered neat and well-ordered 'fair copies' of his fieldwork descriptions. This journal, which extends to seven volumes, four for Galloway and three for Dumfriesshire,[4] contains much more than a mere record of the monuments. It served also as a personal diary in which the author commented freely on a whole range of subjects: scenery and natural history; the eternal delights and problems of fieldwork such as the weather, accommodation, and transport; the calibre of his assistants and local informants; frank remarks on the physical condition in which he found some of the monuments; the difficulties of interpreting field monuments; and the conduct of other business activities during his spells of fieldwork in the area. Over all, these diaries provide a fascinating and evocative glimpse of warm summers in Galloway on the eve of the First World War as seen through the eyes of a perceptive and tireless antiquary. The following extracts, which incorporate minor editorial amendments, speak for themselves.

'Sunday 7th May 1911. Glendarroch, Kirkcowan. Here we arrive late on Friday afternoon to undertake the survey of the Ancient Monuments of Galloway. Glendarroch is a shooting lodge on Craighlaw Estate, the original part of which was brought over from Norway, and is of wood, as also are the wings which have been later additions. A stone-throw in front of the door lies a little loch with tall bullrushes nodding by its margin at one end, and rhododendrons dipping their leaves in the water at the base of the heather clad hillock on the other side. Moorland sprinkled with grey boulders lies all around us, and the call of the cuckoo and the long drawn out whistle of the curlew are never wanting for long. Across ten or twelve miles of undulating country, where moor and farmland intermingle, with here and there a white washed farmhouse gleaming from a clump of trees, lies Cairnsmoor of Fleet along the horizon. The tones of colour on woodland and field are something to revel in just now. The hawthorns are in their full foliage and the hard little cluster of buds just discernible bespeak a snowy mantle a few weeks hence. The leaves on the birches are not yet so thick that they conceal the silver branches and purple twigs beneath them, while the beeches have hardly yet shed their brown leaf covers. A red tint of soil still shows through the braird of the corn distinguishing the arable land from the green meadows that divide it. The loch in front holds trout and in half an hour after tea last night floating about with J. and M. in the boat I landed two, the largest about ¾lb. Tomorrow work commences.'[5]

The landscape clearly made a deep impression on him. 'There is, perhaps, no more interesting region in the Stewartry to the Antiquary than that which lies between Creetown and Gatehouse of Fleet and no other which can surpass it in the beauty of its woods and scenery at this time of year.'[6] The area around Rockcliffe was

3. RCAHMS. *Inventory of Wigtown* (1912); *Inventory of Kirkcudbright* (1914); *Inventory of Dumfries* (1920).

4. RCAHMS Notebooks lodged in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, MS 36/3-6. There are 19 field note-books altogether, comprising 6 in MS 36/3, 5 sketch-books for Kirkcudbright in MS 36/4 and 8 note-books for Dumfriesshire by Curle *et al.* in MS 36/6. The volumes of the journal, henceforward referred to as *Galloway*, **1-4**, and *Dumfriesshire*, **1-3**, are in MS 36/3 *(Galloway*, **3-4**,*)*, MS 36/4 *(Galloway*, **1-2***)* and MS 36/5 *(Dumfriesshire*, **1-3***)*.

5. *Galloway*, **1**, 1-2.

6. *Galloway*, **4**, 1. (17 May).

also singled out for special praise. 'Of all the districts in the Stewartry this is one of the most attractive. The estuary is encircled by hills rising by steps to the mass of Ben Gairn, rugged and majestic in the background. The brackens now a rusty red strike a bright note of colour against the grey rocks and dark heather slopes. Yachts were racing about the mouth of the river and we met many bathers regardless of appearances making their way down to the water from the villas on the higher ground. Across the Solway the Cumberland Hills were quite clear to view.'[7] Cycling down the valley of the Fleet from the station at Dromore he came to the conclusion that this was 'one of the most beautiful vales in the South of Scotland. The hills rise steeply all around it from a densely wooded glen at the foot of which nestles the little town of Gatehouse with the Solway beyond.'[8]

Whether or not the scenery possessed spectacular qualities, Curle was ever alive to the charms of the countryside and the changing seasons. Riding in a horse-drawn trap up the left bank of the Cree from Newton Stewart to Dramandow in early May he rejoiced 'to be out in the country on a warm moist morning in the sweet o' the year. Driving through the woods the scent of the birches fills the air and beneath the trees there is a blue carpet of hyacinths with here and there a cluster of wood anemones. As we left the main road and passed upwards to the shepherd's house in a meadow among the trees I counted twelve old black cock and a couple of hens feeding.'[9]

It was at the lake dwelling on Loch Urr that he had his most dramatic encounter with local bird life, and his description vividly confirms what is apparent in the photograph of the island published in the *Inventory*.[10] 'Across the island', he wrote, 'as we were ferried to it by a kindly fisher, there rose and fell a white cloud of screaming gulls and when we put foot on it only by walking most circumspectly were we able to avoid crushing young birds or breaking eggs at every step. The young ones were in every stage from the new hatched blinking "squab", hardly able to balance itself on the edge of the nest, to ungainly objects the size of peeweets. When our work took us to the water's edge away would sail a flock of tiny fluffy chicks, some of them getting to where the parent gulls had settled on the water 60 or 80 yards away. I watched with interest one old gull deliberately drive back a youngster who had ventured too far from home. It was a lovely afternoon with a warm sun and light breeze so I don't think the chicks would come to harm. The colony seemed to be entirely black-headed gulls, though the eggs varied in ground colour from pale green to brown.'[11]

His observations embraced all aspects of wild life. At Drummore Fort overlooking Kirkcudbright Bay he remarked 'I never saw so many hares as I do in this district. In one field I merely crossed I saw twelve on foot at once.'[12] And at the hut circle at Culroy a terse note records the simple startling fact that 'In this circle I killed a large adder'.[13]

7. *Galloway*, **3**, 93-4.
8. Ibid., 102.
9. Ibid., 144-5.
10. *Inventory of Dumfries*, no. 144, figs. 47-8.
11. *Dumfriesshire*, **1**, 21-22.
12. *Galloway*, **3**, 119; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 231.
13. *Galloway*, **1**, 42; *Inventory of Wigtown*, no. 321.

Like all fieldworkers, Alexander Curle was very conscious of the caprices and extremes of weather as they affected his working routine — and his mood! 'It was 7.45 ere we got back to Kirkcowan Station very tired after a long day and much difficult walking in a grilling sun. Hard walks are not repaid by the sight of a cairn practically all removed. For all the walking I have done I have seen very little worth remark in this county,'[14] a mood of disappointment with Wigtownshire that was expressed elsewhere. The weather, however, proved quite exceptional. On 23 September 1911, the day that he re-visited Rusco Castle, he recorded that it rained and that it had been the first completely wet day since July. 'Such a summer in the British Isles there has not been in the memory of Man. Water is very scarce everywhere and prices of milk etc have risen greatly'.[15] Returning to the Stewartry the following May he noted, with the wisdom of experience, that 'The weather has been abnormally fine hitherto, April having been the driest April on record, so I must be prepared for some wet weather.'[16] He well knew what to expect. On 29 June 1911 he 'motored with MacGibbon & W. to High Balfern and got a plan of sections made of the fort and also made additional notes on the cup and ring marks. In the middle of our work the rain began to fall in torrents and we had to abandon the rest of our work.'[17] 3 May 1913 was written off as 'a hopelessly wet day',[18] and at the Doon of Carsluith he confessed that 'the cold was so intense and the wind so high on the top of the Doon that I did not attempt to measure the interior.'[19]

Accommodation congenial to his taste was found at the Ellangown Hotel in Creetown and The Selkirk Arms in Kirkcudbright. The Ellangowan 'I find most comfortable and clean,' and again a few days later he extolled its virtues as 'simple, moderate in its charges, and very comfortable.'[20] The Selkirk Arms was 'very unpretentious but clean and rendered externally attractive by the bright window boxes which fill the window-ledges of its white gable standing end-on to the street. There is an air of homely comfort within which augurs well for my prospects.'[21] He was less enamoured with The Crown at Newton Stewart which he found 'uncomfortable,'[22] and on 26 September 1911 he 'gave up the Manse at Parton with no feelings of regret. It lies too low to obtain much advantage from the picturesque region it is situated in, and the water supply insufficient I should imagine in a normal year was hopelessly so in this.'[23] His busy fieldwork schedule seems to have left little time for mid-day meals, but he confessed a rare moment of self-indulgence whilst working in Urr parish: 'Being close to Orchardknowes I turned into lunch there — a change from the daily pic-nic.'[24]

14. *Galloway*, **1**, 92-3.
15. *Galloway*, **3**, 108; see also ibid., 37.
16. Ibid., 144.
17. *Galloway*, **2**, 16; *Inventory of Wigtown*, nos. 118 and 122. Alfred Lightly MacGibbon (1874-1915) was the son of David MacGibbon, whose architectural partnership with Thomas Ross is most often remembered for the series of books on castellated and ecclesiastical architecture. 'W' was G. P. H. Watson, appointed as architectural draughtsman in 1911 and, following MacGibbon's illness and death, promoted to principal architect. I am indebted to Mr D. M. Walker for biographical information on A. L. MacGibbon.
18. *Dumfriesshire*, **3**, 81a.
19. *Galloway*, **4**, 1; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 284.
20. *Galloway*, **3**, 162; *Galloway*, **4**, 1.
21. *Galloway*, **3**, 109.
22. Ibid., 162.
23. Ibid., 109.
24. Ibid., 100.

The work of measuring and drawing could not of course have been carried out single-handed, and Curle usually had to secure the services of an assistant. In Kirkcudbright his landlady 'secured a youth with a bicycle', and in May 1912, he first hired 'a grocer's assistant out of work, but . . . well mannered, sturdy and knows the district well', and then 'a Manxman, Cowell . . . a carpenter out of work but a superior individual'.[25] One of his helpers in the first season's work found a firm place in his affections. On 23 September 1911 he confided to his diary 'Today I said goodbye to my assistant for the last two months, John Stewart, a Glasgow medical student and son of a schoolmaster at Clarebrand. The advantages of an educated assistant who takes an intelligent interest in my work are obvious and I enjoyed them to the full with Mr Stewart besides finding in him a pleasant companion.'[26] At Rusco he recalled that 'S. thoroughly enjoyed wandering through these old keeps.'[27]

As was noted above in connection with the fort at High Balfern, some prehistoric sites were recorded in association with A. L. MacGibbon. They sometimes travelled together,[28] but after the Wigtownshire survey the architectural monuments were recorded independently by MacGibbon and the newly-recruited G. P. H. Watson. Curle still visited all the sites, however, and there remained a degree of mutual assistance in their survey work. On 16 September 1911, for example, he paid a visit to the motte at Boreland of Parton 'which I must describe from Mr MacGibbon's plan'.[29] Towards the very end of his part in the Dumfriesshire survey he was joined by 'Mr J. Graham Callander who has been appointed archaeological expert to the Commission.'[30] After only a few days in the field together Callander was left to get on with the task on his own.

In his recorded dealings with local contacts Curle betrayed a cautious scepticism and a fair degree of shrewdness. Of the Tor of Craigoch in Leswalt parish, Wigtownshire, he triumphantly noted that 'though assured by numerous natives that there was no fort here I penetrated into the wood from which rises the monument to Sir Andrew Agnew and there found one.'[31] On another occasion in Wigtownshire 'Having heard that the shepherd at High Gillespie had found some object of interest in digging a drain I cautiously interrogated his wife who produced three nice socketed and looped celts of bronze all found together on the farm 4 feet below the surface. The finder believes there were more but did not attach any importance to them when he found them. I got him to let me take them away on the understanding that Dr Anderson could make him an offer for them which he would be free to refuse if he thought insufficient. He was evidently pleasantly surprised when I suggested that they might be worth £2 or £3.'[32]

Adam Birrell, who lived at Burnfoot near Carsluith, was one of Curle's local contacts and was the subject of a most vivid pen-picture. 'He was a salmon net fisher and I found him down at his nets on the mud flats left by the ebbing tide, a little wiry man with a bronzed face, a frank independent manner and a keen active mind

25. Ibid., 109, 144, 165-6.
26. Ibid., 107.
27. Ibid., 108.
28. e.g. *Galloway*, **2**, 16, 56.
29. *Galloway*, **3**, 94; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 391, fig. 155.
30. *Dumfriesshire*, **3**, 65a.
31. *Galloway*, **2**, 9, and see also *Galloway*, **1**, 93; *Inventory of Wigtown*, no. 176.
32. *Galloway*, **1**, 14-15.

anxious to gather information on any subject. He had won a humane society's medal on the occasion of the burning of a motor launch off Roscarrel Point a few years ago when he swam in his clothes two miles to the shore for help and was thus instrumental in saving the life of a young laird, the only survivor of the party beside himself. He was (*sic*) a keen Antiquary, an observer of wild birds, parish councillor and Sergeant Major of Territorials',[33] talents that clearly commended him to Alexander Curle.

Although interested in the character and conduct of particular individuals who came within his sphere of operations, Curle does not seem to have shown the same curiosity towards groups of persons and local customs. The silence on these matters was broken only once. Passing through Castle Douglas on a Fair day (25 September 1911) he observed with a measure of genteel detachment that 'the street was crowded with people rapidly diminishing in sobriety'.[34]

The visiting of remote sites in the country, then as now, involved a good deal of walking, and on one occasion after a day in Whithorn 'The train which I wished to catch at Newton Stewart was so late I walked home — 8 miles'.[35] Cycling was, however, the form of transport that he preferred and enjoyed the most, and with a bicycle he was able to make good use of the local railway network. Hence on 5 September 1911 'Tired of motoring I have taken once again to my bicycle. I took the train to Dalbeattie and there proceeded eastwards to Kirkgunzeon.'[36] A week later 'Train to New Galloway station thence southward on bicycle. This mode of progress I much prefer to the motor car and unless the objects to be visited are far distant from each other or from a railway station I can cover as much during the day at a much smaller expense.'[37] In keen-ness, proficiency and probably also in the quality of his bicycle he seems to have had the edge over his assistants. At Creetown on 9 May 1912 'I had to wait half an hour for my assistant whose bicycle had broken down on the way.'[38] And after finishing his examination of the motte at Barmagachan near Borgue at 6.45 in the evening of 14 May 1912, with gentlemanly condescension, 'I said good day to my assistant so that he might take his time, covered the distance to Gatehouse in about half an hour, stopped there for 5 minutes and swallowed a jug full of milk and did my remaining 12 miles to Creetown in 65 minutes getting home for dinner at 8.25.'[39]

Motoring did not appeal to him at all, and some of his experiences did nothing to promote confidence in it as an efficient and safe mode of transport. At least twice during the course of the Wigtownshire survey he took the early train to Stranraer where he was met by the hotel car 'an ancient piece of mechanism which stuck on nearly every hill and sorely tried our nerves.'[40] On the first occasion 'We had not gone far from the station ere we collided with a coal cart running right into the horse. Fortunately the splasher of the car was a flimsy article or the horse would have been badly cut.'[41]

33. *Galloway*, **3**, 153.
34. Ibid., 108.
35. *Galloway*, **2**, 56.
36. *Galloway*, **3**, 51.
37. Ibid., 75.
38. Ibid., 153.
39. Ibid., 173; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 56.
40. *Galloway*, **2**, 9.
41. *Galloway*, **1**, 93.

Just how lethal the early motor car could be to other road-users was demonstrated two months later. The fact that the unfortunate victim was a cyclist must have been of little comfort to Curle himself. In his words 'A most distressing accident occurred to us today [7 August 1911] at 11.10. Rounding a sharp corner, in the car, just beyond Laurieston village where the road was narrow and its surface bad we met a cyclist coming down hill at a great rate. In the effort to control his bicycle, the brakes of which were very defective, he overturned some 5 feet in front of the car and shot beneath it, the off front wheel passing over his body. As speedily as possible we lifted him up and I accompanied him to the hospital in Castle Douglas being fortunate enough to find the Doctor at home. He evidently received internal injuries for the poor lad, a postman, died in the night. We were going quite slowly and no blame could attach to our driver but there will have to be a formal enquiry.'[42]

The enquiry was held in Kirkcudbright on the afternoon of 1 September following, 'I went there by early train and passed the forenoon visiting the various objects of interest in the town which have been examined by the Architects. . . . The old castle is in a shockingly neglected state and will soon fall to pieces if nothing is done for it. Ivy is growing rampantly over it, and inside it is full of dirt and decay.'[43] At a meeting a week later he had an opportunity to suggest that the building 'might be placed under the Ancient Monuments Act, an idea which seemed to commend itself to the proprietor Captain Hope [of St Mary's Isle].'[44]

The condition of Rusco Castle provoked similar censure. He ascertained that the castle 'was occupied until 18 years ago by farm labourers and though some money is evidently spent on its upkeep its condition leaves much to be desired. Cattle frequent the courtyard and their manure lies ankle deep over it in a disgusting manner. This cannot be beneficial to the foundations.'[45]

Informal remarks on the interpretation of field monuments did not find their way into print, but, as Curle was well aware, some of these unpublished sites would serve as useful object-lessons to fieldworkers of every generation. 'In a low lying meadow to the west of Beattock Station', he wrote, 'is a small pentagonal entrenchment measuring some 94 feet by 69 feet which was a puzzle to me as it was clearly neither defensive nor pastoral. Mr Johnstone cleared up the enigma by stating that it was the site of navvy's huts created during the construction of the railway in 1847! It is likely to puzzle some Antiquary of the future.'[46] He was also indebted to Mr Bell-Irving of Whitehill with whom he visited 'a so-called stone circle at Westerhope-head. He enlightened me concerning the circles with feal banks which I have noted in this county [Dumfriesshire] especially in the Eastern districts and his statement was corroborated by his aged shepherd. They were wont to be erected as recently as 60 years ago and their purpose was to protect hay ricks from the sheep. "Hay stells" they are called.'[47]

42. *Galloway*, **2**, 105.
43. *Galloway*, **3**, 42-3; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 218.
44. *Galloway*, **3**, 63-4.
45. Ibid., 103; *Inventory of Kirkcudbright*, no. 9.
46. *Dumfriesshire*, **3**, 14; Handley, J. E., *The Navy in Scotland* (1970), 137, 141-2, and see also Coleman, T., The Railway Navvies (1968 edn), 80-92 and sources cited.
47. *Dumfriesshire*, **3**, 59.

Remarkably, even with all the work to be done out of doors, not to mention the large task of writing up his notes and compiling the journals themselves, Curle still found time to conduct other business activities during his sojourns in this area. The morning of 15 July 1911, for instance, was spent at Kirkcowan discussing outstanding problems relating to the index of the Commission's Caithness *Inventory* which was then in the final stages of production.[48] Whilst at Stapleton engaged on the Dumfriesshire survey in late April 1913 'I learned that the Controller of the Stationery Office could see me in London on Monday afternoon regarding the illustrations for the Stewartry volume, the office through their Edinburgh clerk having said that our plans were useless for reproduction and our photos "bad"! . . . Went to the Stationery Office with Lord Guthrie and had a pleasant and satisfactory meeting with the Controller at the Scottish Office that afternoon [i.e. Monday]. Returned to Scottish Office on Tuesday morning, had a long interview with Sir James Dodds *re* Secretaryship of the Commission and Directorship of the National Museum of Antiquities. Met Mr MacKinnon Wood, Secretary . . .'[49] Having returned to Dumfries on the Wednesday, he spent the following weekend with the Gladstones at Capenoch. On the Monday (5 May) 'Callander came from Dumfries in a car and met me. Among my letters was one from Mr MacKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, offering me the post of Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.'[50]

Although his links with the Commission were to continue in his capacity as a Commissioner, Curle's direct involvement with this work had come to an end. The final paragraph of his Dumfriesshire journal contains a touching commemoration of this fact, coupled with an *envoi.* The passage is so typical of this man's sense of purpose and is couched in his typically direct but poetic style:

'On Saturday 10 May [1913] I left Dumfries and returned to Edinburgh having finished my survey work of the Ancient Monuments. On Tuesday I endued Mr J. Graham Callander with my mantle, and sent him forth with the camera and satchel that I had carried so far and so frequently as almost to regard them as parts of my clothing. At one time my ambition was to have seen with my own eyes everything of notice in Broad Scotland, but the Fates have decreed it otherwise and in a few weeks I shall be ensconced in Dr Joseph Anderson's chair as Director of the National Museum of Antiquities. Amen!'[51]

Acknowledgements

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48. *Galloway,* **2,** 56.
49. *Dumfriesshire,* **3,** 65-6.
50. Ibid., 71a.
51. Ibid., 81.

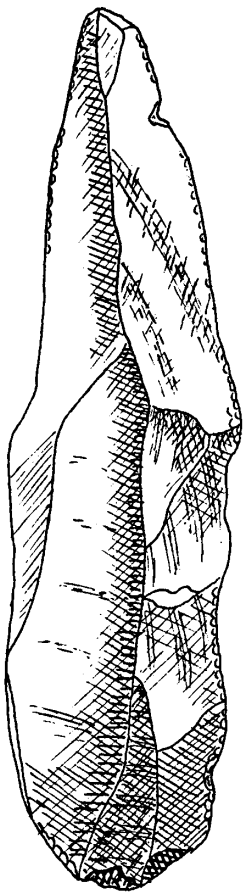

Fig. 1
Flint Blade from Redkirk.

A FLINT BLADE FROM REDKIRK POINT, DUMFRIESSHIRE

by

W. F. Cormack

For some years prior to the carrying out of coastal protection in the late 1970s at Redkirk Point, NY 300651, artifacts were recovered as they were eroded from the carse clays and overlying topsoil by the advancing sea. Also exposed was a good succession of post-glacial stratification which became the subject of several papers.[1]

The artifacts themselves, in Dumfries Museum, have generally only been recorded by brief references from time to time in *Discovery and Excavation*, although some of the pottery found prior to 1967 has been discussed more fully in these *Transactions*.[2]. The finds consisted mainly of a small amount of worked flint (including other fissile siliceous material), green-glazed pottery, and fragments of lead — the latter perhaps from fishing activities or glazed windows, but a possible pilgrim's badge has also been recorded.

Outstanding among the flint work was a blade in grey flint[3], which has since gone missing. However an illustration was made by the writer of this note, following its discovery in 1963, and is here reproduced at full size (Fig. 1). The underside of the blade consisted of the natural flake surface. The butt end showed signs of blunting, and the edge, utilisation. It was unpatinated and unburnt.

A blade of this quality and size would appear to be unusual, if not unique for S.W. Scotland. While it would be unwise to ascribe it to any particular period of prehistory, it would not be out of place in the Mesolithic, of which period a hearth has since been found within a few yards of the find spot of the blade.[4]

1. e.g. W. G. Jardine. Holocene Raised Coastal Sediments. These *Transactions* LV, 1-59, and papers there cited.

2. *D.&E. Scotland* 1962, 26; 1963, 25 and 26; 1964, 27; 1967, 19; 1968, 16; 1976, 69 and for the pottery A. E. Truckell and J. Williams — Medieval Pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, these *Transactions* XLIV, 135-174.

3. *D.&E. Scotland* 1963, 25.

4. L. Masters. A Mesolithic Hearth at Redkirk Point. These *Transactions* LVI, 111.

THE BROCH AT STAIR HAVEN, WIGTOWN DISTRICT

by M. J. Yates

The site at Stair Haven is one of a small number of brochs which have been identified in SW Scotland. These distinctive and entirely Scottish monuments date from about 100BC into the early centuries AD and are most common in the NE of the country (MacKie 1975). Many are also found scattered down the W coast but there are only three possible examples in Wigtown District and these lie on the very fringes of the known distribution (RCAHMS 1912 Nos 28 Teroy, 310 Stair Haven and 433 Ardwell).

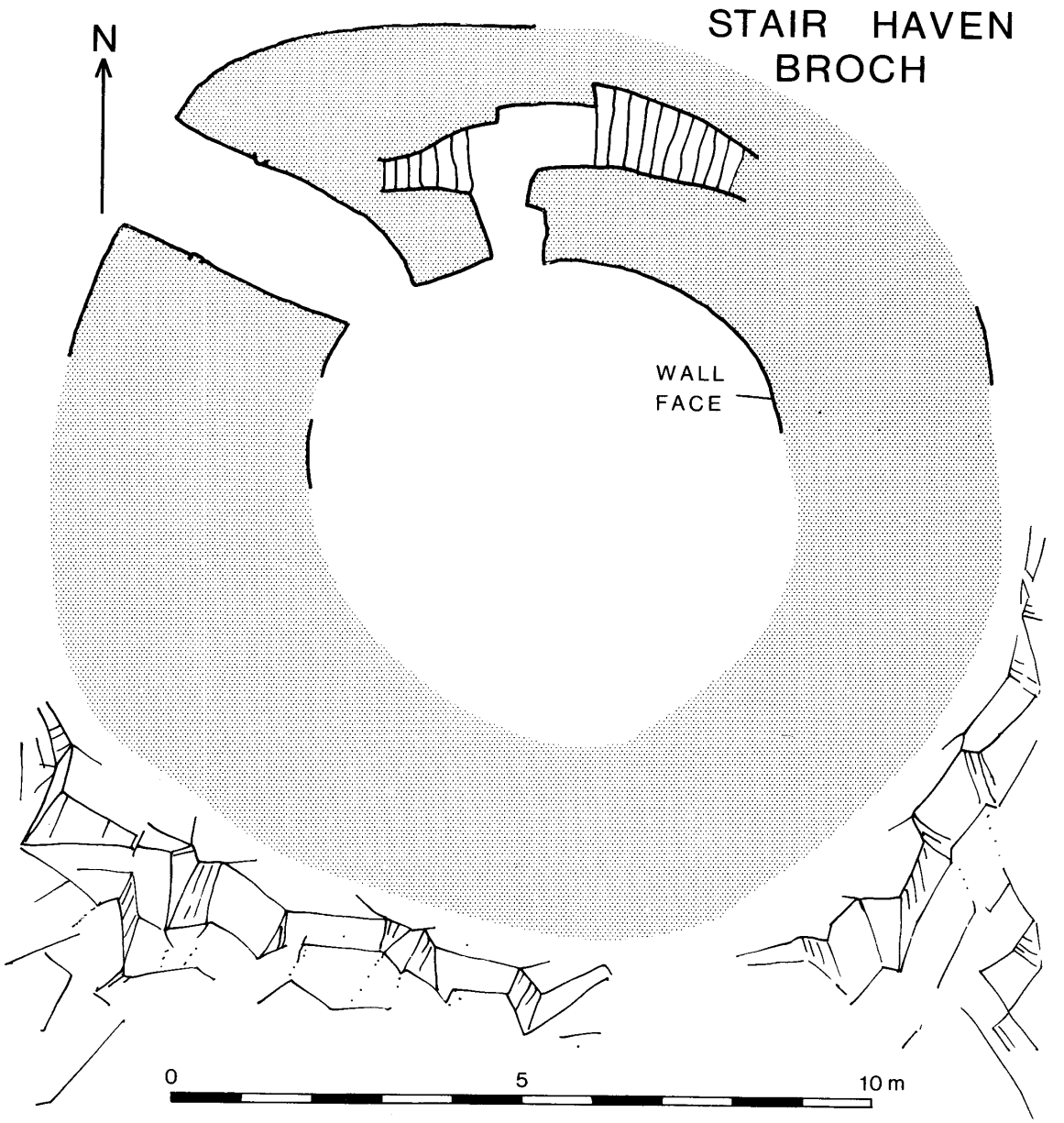

Fig. 2. Plan of broch 1977

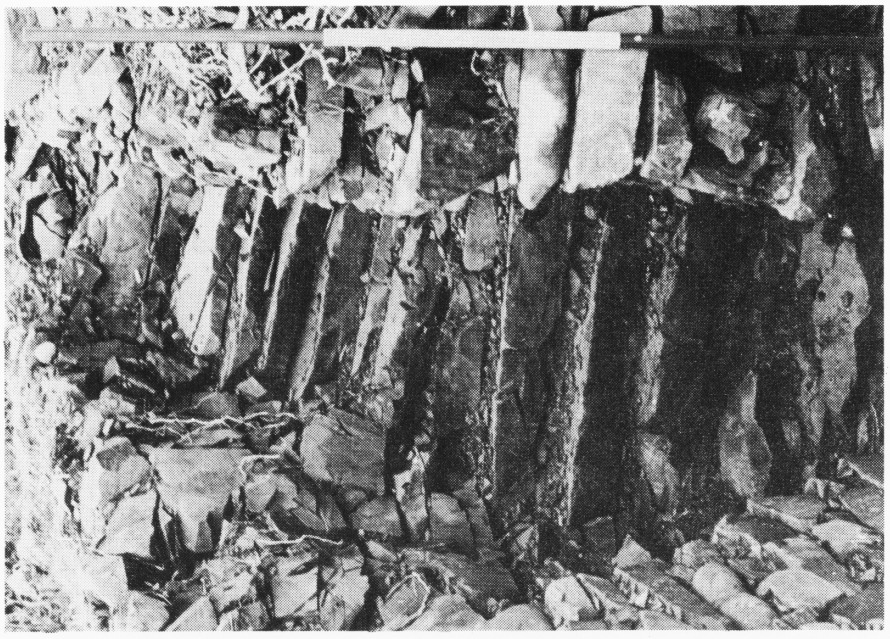

Fig. 4. Stair Haven Broch: E stairway

Fig. 3. Stair Haven Broch: Vertical stone (broken) set into SW side of entrance passage

The Stair Haven broch is located at grid reference NX 2090 5335 and lies about 300m due S of the small settlement from which it takes its name. Like many other brochs it is sited in a naturally defensive position. It is overlooked by a steep slope which rises to the E but the site itself is on a rocky knoll standing above the foot of the precipice and is surrounded on the S and W by a rocky cliff which falls to a rough pebble beach and the sea. Consequently it can only be approached easily from the N.

In the summer of 1977 the writer was informed that the monument had been damaged by an unauthorised and inexpert 'excavation'. The site was visited and it was found that much of the tumbled stone had been removed to expose the wall faces. Since this had been protecting the surviving structure from erosion and decay the site seemed vulnerable and it was decided that it should be planned and recorded before any further dilapidation took place. The purpose of this note is to place on record details of the monument which were then visible (Fig. 2).

The 'excavation' had been concentrated on the NW side around the entrance. A short length of the outer wall face was exposed, apparently down to its basal course. This was well constructed of closely fitting, undressed stones and survived in places to a height of 1.4m. Building material consisted almost exclusively of greywackes and shales derived from the local Silurian rock sequences but the rounded, water-rolled appearance of many of the stones indicated that they had been gathered from the beach below. The entrance passage had also been cleared out and could be seen to measure 3.5m in length as it passed through the thickness of the broch wall. It was 1.6m wide but narrowed slightly to 1m as it approached the interior. About 1.3m in from the exterior wall a vertical stone about 0.8m high had been built into each side of the passage (Fig. 3). These might have been interpreted as a door jambs, but since neither projected beyond the wall face this is difficult to accept.

Tumbled stone had also been removed from the W portion of the interior and in places the original ground surface had been exposed and indeed disturbed. Much of the inner wall face was also visible indicating that the central area was about 6.8m in diameter. Immediately to the E of the entrance a short passage barely 0.75m wide gave access to a small intra-mural chamber. Two stairways led from the ground level of the chamber. Ten low, narrow steps, each a single flat slab of stone, rose to the E (Fig. 4) while six slightly higher steps rose to the W and perhaps originally passed over the entrance passage.

Additional features and wall faces were obscured by fallen stones and also by spoil from the 'excavation' but it seems that in general the walls of the broch were about 3.2m thick becoming slightly wider on either side of the entrance.

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THE ROMAN ROAD NEAR MOFFAT — OBSERVATIONS DURING GAS PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION

by M. J. Yates

When Scottish Gas began work on the 89mm steel pipeline near Moffat it was clear that their trench would cut across the Roman road which led N from Hadrian's Wall and the fort at Birrens, towards the Antonine Wall. The point at which the intersection occurred lies a little above 274m (900 ft) O.D. at grid reference NT 0123 03 16 on Muckle Hill. This section of the road is largely obscured by shallow peat but it can be traced as a change in vegetational cover for several hundred metres running in a straight line to the E of the crest of a ridge.

In preparation for laying the pipe the peat and topsoil were removed from a strip of ground about 3.3m wide. This crossed the road obliquely revealing a metalled surface about 8.5m across. No structural features could be recognised although a dressed sandstone block found close to the W edge and a large boulder on the E side might have been all that remained of an otherwise robbed out kerb. Generally, however, disturbance caused by machinery and extremely wet conditions made the identification of features very difficult.

When the actual pipe trench was cut it was found that solid rock lay a short distance below the surface. Heavy machinery was therefore required and this effectively destroyed the remains of the road. At the same time poor weather conditions meant that the pipe had to be laid and the trench backfilled quickly. As a result examination was necessarily brief and only a sample section could be left for detailed recording (Fig. 5). It was, however, possible to establish that the layers represented here continued throughout the width of the road.

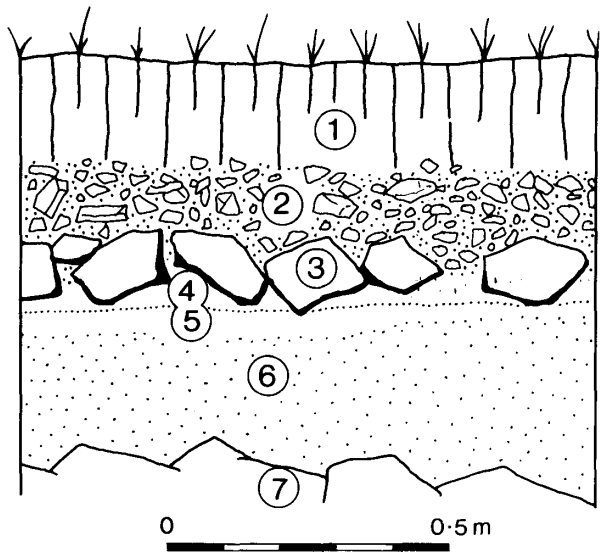

Fig. 5. Sample section through Roman road near Moffat.

They may be described as follows:

Layer 1 Humic, black peaty soil and roots.

Layer 2 Tightly packed, angular and rounded small stones in brown, sandy loam with high clay content. The stones were less tightly packed near layer 1 and were mixed with darker soil. Towards layer 3 the soil content became more orange.

Layer 3 A single course of large stones up to 350mm across. Most were rounded but some angular stones were also present. Layer 2 extended down to fill the spaces between the larger stones.

Layer 4 Grey, sandy clayish material containing some charcoal and a few small stones. The stones of layer 3 were set in layer 4.

Layer 5 As layer 4 but with a slight pinkish colour and very little charcoal.

Layer 6 Orange, sandy, clayish material containing a few stones of all sizes. This was the natural glacially deposited subsoil

Layer 7 Solid rock - Silurian greywackes.

Layers 1, 6 and 7 were entirely natural and continued on either side of the road but with a shallow, leached mineral soil between layers 1 and 6. The other deposits could only be interpreted as constituent parts of the road itself. No finds were recovered to indicate the date of construction or use but the structural details agree so closely with Roman road building techniques and specifications (see, for example, Collingwood and Richmond, 1969, 1f) that the broad period cannot be in doubt. The absence of

a sealed original ground surface above layer 6 suggested that the area was stripped down to the natural subsoil before building began. Layers 4 and 5 represent the basic clay bonding into which larger stones (layer 3) could be set as a secure foundation for the smaller stones (layer 2) which were packed down to form the metalled surface. There were no indications of repairs or separate construction phases but these might have been missed in the short section. A careful search was made for ditches on either side of the road but none could be seen either in plan or section. In view of the solid rock below, however, this is not altogether surprising.

Reference

Collingwood, R. G. and Richmond, I. 1969 *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* London.

CONHEATH CHAPEL

by

Miles Horsey

This small private chapel, situated at grid reference NX 996 694 in the secluded grounds of Conheath House some 4 miles S of Dumfries, is an unusual small-scale rural example of high-quality Arts and Crafts architecture.

Its construction was commenced in 1909 to the Baroque designs of James A. Morris, by Robert Young Pickering, a wealthy businessman and owner of Conheath House, for the private use of his family and staff.[1] The original plans[2] envisaged an aisled W nave with bellcoted Baroque W facade, and a narrower E chancel (Fig. 6); a lower hip-roofed vestry was to be built against the N wall of the chancel. By 1914, however, R. S. Lorimer, as part of his work on the Conheath Estate, had produced amended plans, retaining the chancel and vestry, but omitting the nave (in favour of a modest vestibule) and such features as pulpit, choirstalls, and organ. The church was completed c. 1930 to these plans.[3]

The W facade, built to Lorimer's designs, has a central entrance with one of his characteristic ovigal doorcases. Morris's corresponding E facade has rusticated pilasters and central round-headed Baroque window. The N vestry wing has a somewhat Art Noveau doorway with ogival moulded tympanum and bead-shaped keystone. Internally, there is ashlar walling up to a height of some 7-12 ft. above floor-level. Building work was evidently interrupted at that point (perhaps due to shortage of funds) for the stonework above, evidently later, is of a lighter hue, and the interior ceiling is of plain cedarwood boarding. The E 'sanctuary', raised slightly in floor-level above the remainder of the chancel, has a blank-arcaded wooded altar, an E window with original stained glass, and triple sedilia and piscinas on its S wall. A plaque, also set in the S wall, reads: 'In the vault below lie the remains of/Ellen Caldwell Pickering/first wife of Robert Young Pickering/of Conheath 1847-1909, and of their daughter/Robina Ellinor Graham Pickering 1873-1916/Requiescant in Pace.' This crypt (now sealed, with the exception of the lobby to its N, which contains glass fern-cases) is approached by an external staircase.

1. Information about R. Y. Pickering from E. Murray, Esq., Conheath Farm.
2. Plans by J. A. Morris, dated June 1909, in NMRS (ref. DFD/148/1-4).
3. Plans by R. S. Lorimer in NMRS (ref. DFD/148/5-27).

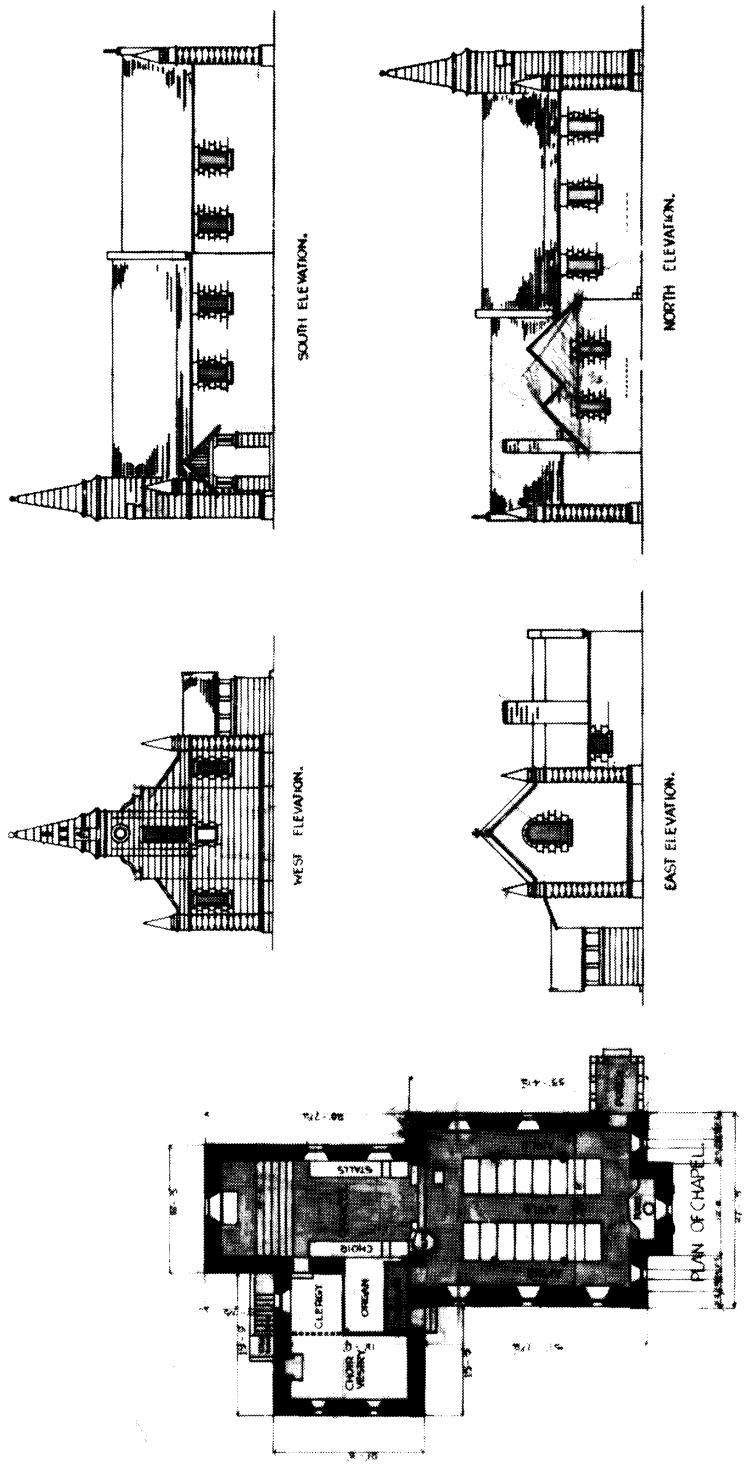

Fig. 6. Part of the original plans, with pencilled sketches, by James A. Morris, of Conheath Chapel.

REVIEWS

Caerlaverock Castle, 75p; **Threave Castle**, 45p; **New Abbey Corn Mill**, 45p. *Ancient Monuments Guide Books.*
Cardoness Castle, 30p; **MacLellan's Castle**, 30p. *Ancient Monuments Guide Leaflets.*

The Scottish Development Department (Ancient Monuments), which is responsible for the care and maintenance of monuments held in trust for the nation, has taken a fresh look at its publications concerned with monuments in Dumfries and Galloway. It must be said at once that the new publications are in layout and appearance a great improvement on their less ambitious predecessors. The one major complaint that may be made about all the new issues — and it is a serious one — is that the plans are reproduced at too small a scale, to the extent indeed that the registration of the hatching indicating the different phases at Caerlaverock is irregular and indistinct.

The same formula is followed in both books and leaflets: a history of the monument precedes a descriptive tour. This is a necessary arrangement, for a description without historical background would be meaningless. The texts closely follow those of previous publications, where these exist. Revision and additions are the work of C. J. Tabraham, Inspector of Ancient Monuments.

In general this system is satisfactory, but an exception must be made of Caerlaverock Castle, where the original text of 1952 needs major surgery. In two footnotes C. J. Tabraham inserts the results of archaeological investigations since carried out. Dendrochronological dating of oak timbers shows that the second castle, to the south, was built first, and that the earliest of three timber bridges to the later structure may have been built soon after 1277, considerably earlier than is implied in the text. Successive and changing styles of masonry are otherwise the evidence for dating the different phases, and here one notes that Murdoch's Tower, assigned to the 14th century, has fish-tailed arrow slits, considered at other sites to be of the 13th century. In the case of both Caerlaverock and Threave the uninitiated visitor might have expected some background information to explain the vastly different plans of the two castles. As for New Abbey Corn Mill, the visitor may work out the system of operation for himself, assisted by the explanatory diagrams in the guide book.

Notwithstanding these minor criticisms, guide books and guide leaflets are excellent value, and reflect the high standards of a service which perhaps we take too much for granted. As for Caerlaverock, the guide book whets the appetite for the full publication of the finds of the last thirty years — this is keenly anticipated.

J.G.S.

Echoes in Stone

A beautifully illustrated book has recently been published by the Ancient Monuments Division of the Scottish Development Department in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the first Ancient Monuments Act. This was the first legislation designed to protect, preserve and present to the general public some of Scotland's most important national monuments.

Back in 1882 prehistoric monuments only were the Act's main concern but *Echoes in Stone* edited by Magnus Magnusson shows just how widely the Act has been interpreted in recent years. Now even buildings from our recent past are under the care of the State. New Abbey Corn Mill, one of the few in Scotland with its machinery still intact, is a scheduled ancient monument although in 1882 the idea of scheduling a watermill, one of the commonest sights of the countryside, would have been a preposterous idea. Perhaps the most bizarre item now protected is Biggar Gasworks.

The book, which was produced to complement a B.B.C. Television programme also called "Echoes of the Past", is a series of essays in the history and current work of the Ancient Monuments Division in Scotland. There are sections on some of the more important excavations in Scotland in recent years: Bearsden Roman Bath House, the discovery of an unknown standing stone at Callanish, Isle of Lewis, and the story of its re-erection back in its original position, the excavation of mediaeval Aberdeen to mention a few.

The most striking feature of the book, however, is the large number of superb colour photographs of Scotland's monuments. Locally Whithorn, Caerlaverock Castle, Sweetheart Abbey, Wanlockhead Beam Engine feature, and New Abbey Corn Mill which opened in 1983 has four pages devoted to it.

If the book has a failing it is that it seems to fall between two stools. It is difficult to see at which kind of reader it is aimed. It does not contain the detailed information on sites and excavations that the academic would require, but on the other hand it is not a coffee table guide book or gazetteer giving 'potted' histories or information on opening times and admission charges to the 328 monuments of outstanding national importance. One of the essays on how Arbroath Abbey is interpreted to the general public would seem to appeal only to the museum professional or interested layman, but again there is not sufficient technical detail.

Overall though, the book is nicely put together and should appeal to all those who have an interest in their country's past and the continuing work that goes on to care and protect it.

Echoes in Stone is published by Blackwoods and costs £4.50.

D.L.

PROCEEDINGS 1982-83

8 October 1982

Annual General Meeting.
Mr A. E. Truckell elected an Honorary Member.
Presentation to Mr A. E. Truckell on the occasion of his retiral from the curatorship of Dumfries Museum.
Speaker: Mr R. Walton — Hills and Coasts of Dumfries and Galloway.

22 October 1982

Speaker: Mr J. Scott — Long Cairns of South-West Scotland.

5 November 1982

Speaker: Dr I. Taylor — Barn Owls.

19 November 1982

Speaker: Mrs J. Muir — Ecological Survey at the Barony College.

3 December 1982

Speaker: Mr D. Adamson — James Muirhead and Dumfries Covenanters.

14 January 1983

Speaker: Mr D. W. Ogilvie — Robert Burns in Nithsdale.

28 January 1983

Members Night.
Speakers: Mr Wood — History of Fire Fighting.
Mr A. E. Truckell — Seven Trades Books.

12 February 1983

Speaker: Mr G. Ewart — Excavations at Cruggleton Castle.

28 February 1983

Speaker: Mr K. H. Dobie — "Has It Got A Lion On It?"

11 March 1983

Speaker: Mr I. Donnachie — Archaeology in Australia.

25 March 1983

Special General Meeting.
It was decided there would be no change in the rates of subscription for the coming year.
Speaker: Dr. I. Donaldson — S. R. Crockett.

Publications of the Society

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series—(a) 1862-3*, (b) 1863-4*, (c) 1864-5*, (d) 1865-6*, (e) 1866-7*, (f) 1867-8*. New or 2nd Series—(1) 1876-8*, (2) 1878-80*, (3) 1880-3*, (4) 1883-6, (5) 1886-7, (6) 1887-90*, (7) 1890-1, (8) 1891-2*, (9) 1892-3*, (10) 1893-4*, (11) 1894-5*, (12) 1895-6*, (13) 1896-7*, (14) 1897-8*, (15) 1898-9*, (16) 1899-1900*, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)*, (18) 1905-6*, (19) 1906-7, (20) 1907-8*, (21) 1908-9, (22) 1909-10*, (23) 1910-11*, (24) 1911-12*, 3rd Series — (i) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-6*, (v) 1916-8*, (vi) 1918-9*, (vii) 1919-20*, (viii) 1920-1*, (ix) 1921-2*, (x) 1922-3*, (xi) 1923-4*, (xii) 1924-5, (xiii) 1925-6*, (xiv) 1926-80, (xv) 1928-9, (xvi) 1929-30*, (xvii) 1930-31, (xviii) 1931-33*, (xix) 1933-35*, (xx) 1935-36*, (xxi) 1936-38*, (xxii) 1938-40*, (xxiii) 1940-4*, (xxiv) 1945-6*, (xxv) 1946-7, (xxvi) 1947-8, (xxvii) 1948-9* (Whithorn Vol 1), (xxviii) 1949-50*, (xxix) 1950-1 (with Index of Vols i to xxvi)*, (xxx) 1951-2*, (xxxi) 1952-3* (Hoddam Vol.), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6* (Whithorn Vol. 2), (xxxv) 1956-7, (xxxvi) 1957-8, (xxxvii) 1958-9, (xxxviii) 1959-60, (xxxix) 1960-1 (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii), (xl) 1961-2 (Centenary Vol.), (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966, (xliv) 1967, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970, (xlviii) 1971, (xlix) 1972 (with Index of Vols. xxxix to xlviii), (l) 1973, (li) 1975, (lii) 1976-77, (liii) 1977-8, (liv) 1979 (Wanlockhead Vol.), (lv) 1980, (lvi) 1981, (lvii) 1982.

Prices: Single Volumes (to Members) — To Vol. 53, £3; Vol. 54 on, £5, all plus postages.

Runs of Volumes (and prices to non-members) — On application to Hon. Librarian.

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumf. and Kirkcud. by James M,cAndrew, 1882.*

Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr. J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, 1911.*

History of Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912.*

History of the Society, by H. S. Gladstone, 1913.*

The Ruthwell Cross, by W. G. Collingwood, 1917.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, "Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746," with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, edited by R. C. Reid, 1916.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II, "The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire," by James Steuart, W.S., 1932.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. III, "The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925", by J. C. McConnel, 1962, £2.00 plus postage.

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923.*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A.Scot.*

Index to Transactions, Series 1 and 2. £2 plus postage and packing.

The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr. E. J. Perkins, 1972. 112pp. £2 plus postage and packing.

Birrens (Blatobulgium), by Prof. A. S. Robertson (1975), 292pp. 88 figs., 12 plt. £5.50 post free to members; £7.50 to non-members. Obtainable from Hon. Librarian.

*Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

REPRINTS (Selection)

Food Vessels in S.W. Scotland, by D. D. A. Simpson (1965), 26pp., 76 vessels illustrated, described and fully discussed, 20p plus posts.

The Battle-Axes, Mace Heads and Axe-Hammers from S.W. Scotland, by Fiona E. S. Roe (1967), 23pp., 8 figs., 2 pls., 206 implements inventoried and fully discussed. 35p plus posts.

Fish Fauna of the Castle & Mill Lochs, Lochmaben with special reference to the Lochmaben Vendace, P. S. Maitland (1966), 17pp. 40p plus posts.

Fossil Footprints from Dumfriesshire, with descriptions of new forms from Annandale, J. B. Delair, (1966), 16pp. 40p plus posts.

Additional Records of British Permian Footprints, J. B. Delair (1967), 5pp. 25p plus posts.

Roman Burial at High Torrs, Luce Sands, Wigtownshire, by D. J. Breeze and J. N. G. Ritchie (1980) 9pp, 1 fig., 1 pl. 35p plus posts.

Printed by Dinwiddie Grieve Ltd., 102-4 Irish Street, Dumfries