The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an historical assessment

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ABSTRACT

The Anglian settlements dating from the Northumbrian supremacy in Galloway and Carrick are traced from place-names, church dedications, and supportive historical, topo-graphical, and archaeological material. Their grouping reveals three 'shires' with some identified boundaries. These territories appear to have co-existed with British occupied areas, presumably under tribute. Medieval place-name forms are listed in an Appendix, and Appendices also give corresponding forms of British, Scandinavian, and selected Gaelic place-names.

INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to trace the extent of Anglian settlement in Galloway and Carrick (illus 1) in the period of the Northumbrian supremacy from the mid-seventh to tenth century. Evidence from place-name study and archaeology is related to documentary and literary sources. The settlements examined in detail are provisionally listed in app 1 and shown by number on illus 2. Villages, estates and churches are identified in their groupings round strategic and geographical nuclei. Some administrative divisions emerge. The conclusions attempt a rough numerical assessment, allowing that some evidence appears to have been destroyed by later settlers. Relations between Angle and Cymry are discussed in terms of territory, the economy, and the social structure. The need to be brief has ruled out any consideration of the cultural or religious quality of life. The surviving British estates and the later Scandinavian settlements are identified in app 2 & 3 and illus 3 & 4, with app 4 offering notes on the Gaelic-speaking settlement.

The area covered comprises Galloway as defined before the introduction of regions (the erstwhile Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the shire of Wigtown), and Carrick, the southern division of Ayrshire. The boundaries no longer correspond precisely with current administrative divisions; but it is convenient and least confusing to keep the old names and limits. The text and appendices refer to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (its eastern boundary the river Nith), Wigtownshire (west of the Cree), and Carrick, its southern boundary shown on illus 2 & 3. The whole territory is wedge-shaped with sea to the west and south, the land tapering to the thin hammer-head of the Rhins peninsula in the extreme south-west. Illus 1 shows its relationship to neighbouring territories.

* Craignair, Auchencairn, by Castle Douglas
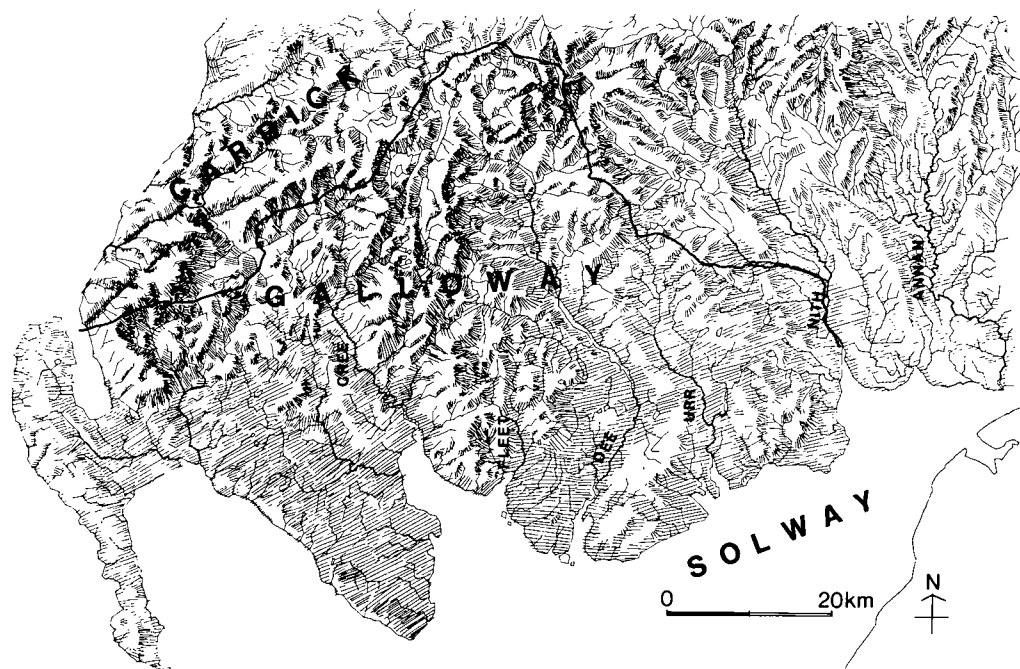
ILLUS 1   Map showing location of Galloway & Carrick.

TOPOGRAPHY

The Irish Sea and Solway Firth are encircled by territories that in the early Christian period had as much in common with each other as each with its hinterland. Among the provinces of Ireland, southern Argyll, Strathclyde, Cumbria, Man and Wales, Galloway occupied a central position, and its broken coastline with a dozen bays and inlets were hospitable to shipping. The commerce across the narrow seas ranged in intent from warfare and slave-raiding to trade and peaceable cultural exchange. The pre-Northumbrian monastery of *Candida Casa* trained Irishmen for the priesthood, and the legends of the sixth-century saints of Ireland and Wales imply regular coming and going. This intercourse was not exclusive. The Picts could sweep down through the Hebrides intent on plunder, as the Vikings did later; and Galloway's interchange of goods and ideas ranged as far as south-western Gaul and the Mediterranean.

Looked at from this perspective the chief havens and strongholds of Solway in the pre-Northumbrian era gain significance. The Mote of Mark can be seen guarding the estuary and port of Urr. The natural harbour of the Isle of Whithorn served *Candida Casa* as a port until the Reformation; and Penrhyn Rionydd, commanding the harbour of Loch Ryan, was remembered in Wales as 'one of the three thrones of Britain' (Bromwich 1978, 85).

Inland the rocky spine that divides Galloway from Carrick broadens as it runs eastward. The southern uplands border Galloway on the north, their protection breached by narrow defensible passes at the head of the Glenken and Nithsdale, and more hazardously by Annandale. The corridor of Annandale and the vale of Eden, opened up by Roman roads, has been a perpetual threat to Galloway's territorial security. Any power approaching from upper Tweeddale over the watershed of Clyde and Tweed, or northward from Carlisle, and controlling that corridor might hope to hold the south-west under tribute.
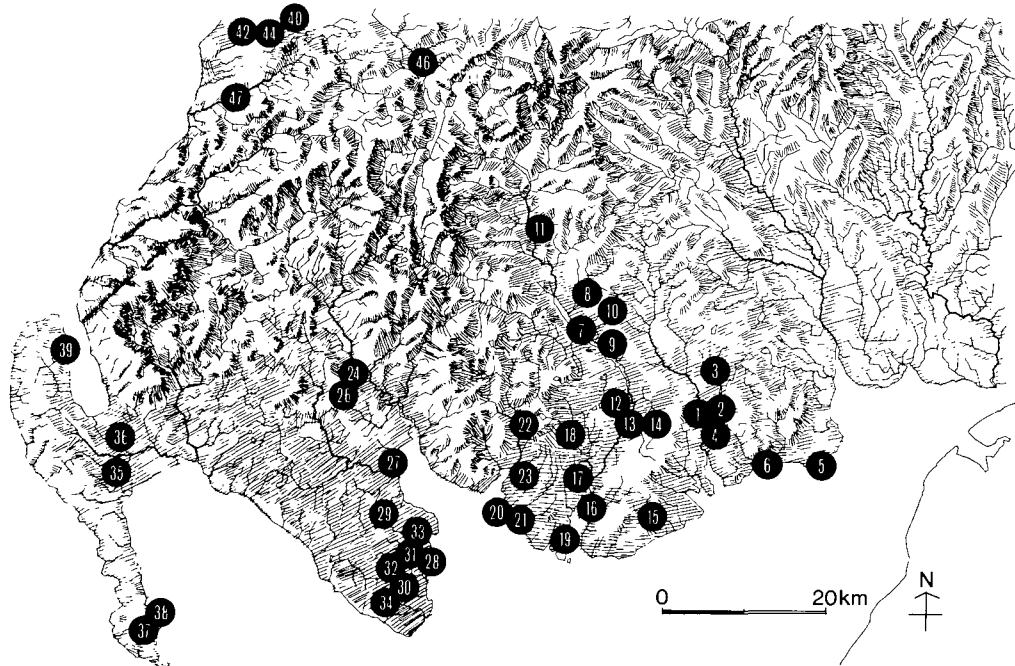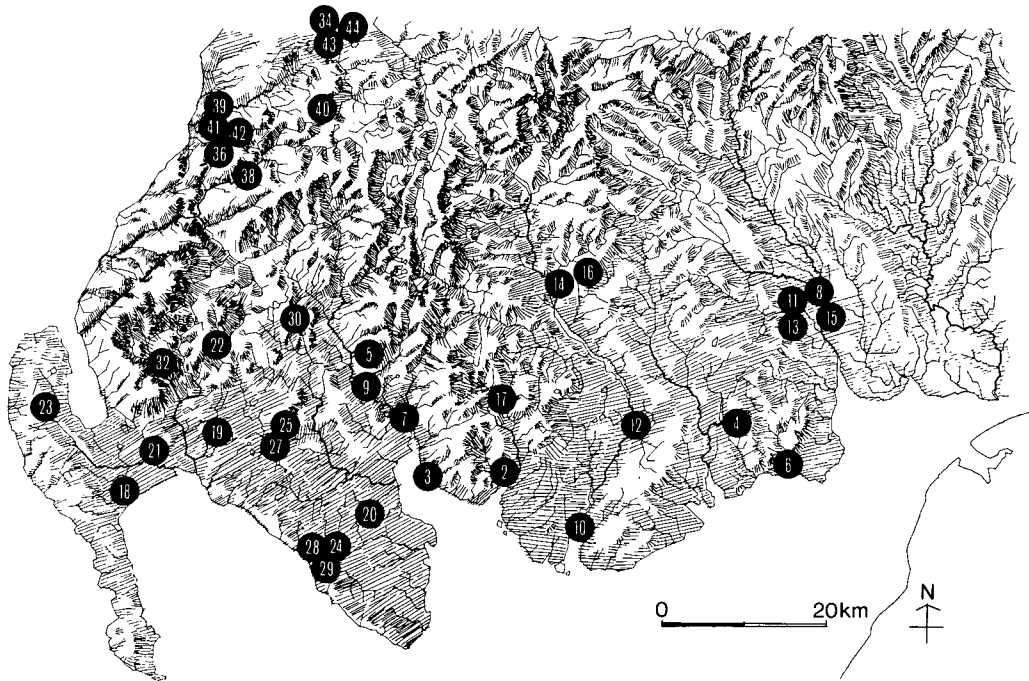
ILLUS 2   Location of Anglian place-names listed in app 1.

    That tribute was worth exacting. Carrick comprises upland with a narrow coastal plain, its north-flowing rivers watering good grazing land. Its traditional food-rents were rendered mainly in cheese, but Galloway had that and more to offer. Its slopes and the rivers run due south. The warm, alluvial valleys of Urr, Dee, Fleet, Cree and Luce invited the cultivator; the pasture was rich enough for horse-breeding. Salt could be panned along the coast, and the waters, both salt and fresh, teemed with fish. The forests offered oak for building and boat-construction, and an abundance of game. The hills between the two provinces held the additional lure of precious metals – copper, silver, and a little gold – sought by both British and Anglian craftsmen. The west coasts gave access to established trading centres. Excavation has revealed the import of luxuries from the Continent at pre-Northumbrian Whithorn and the Mote of Mark: glass-trailed beads, millefiori rods for jewellery-making, Merovingian glass, E-ware, and wine (Hill 1990, Laing 1975). This spelled wealth and mercantile opportunity. Galloway was a prize, and unless strongly defended, it lay open both by sea, and across the fords of Nith and Solway, overland.

THE EVIDENCE

    It is no accident, therefore, that the history of settlements along the northern shore of Solway is so complex. The extent of Anglian settlement in this complexity has been questioned. Duncan (1975, 65) has commented: 'The faintest writing on this Gallovidian palimpsest is Anglian, probably not so much that it was later obliterated, as because it was always slight'. This sums up the prevailing view (Smyth 1984, 23–4). The Anglian population was 'more in the nature of a scattered upper-crust of landlords than a really thick settlement of

ILLUS 3   Location of Brittonic place-names listed in app 2.

peasants' (Jackson 1955, 84). The purpose here is not so much to refute these judgements as to replace generalizations with a more detailed survey.

About 35 years ago place-name scholars identified certain Old English (OE) place-name elements implying habitation which were widely used in Britain in the early centuries of Anglo-Saxon settlement and thereafter became obsolete. A minimum of early Anglian settlements were identified in southern Scotland, only a few of them in the south-west. These contain the suffix -ingaham (homestead of so and so's people) as in Edingham and perhaps Cunningham; the suffix -ham (homestead, village) as in Peninghame and possibly Twynholm; and the element botl (hall, village) as in Buittle and Maybole (Nicolaisen 1964, 76–7).

Archaeology has increased our knowledge through the excavation of the Mote of Mark, Ardwall Island, and Whithorn, in a systematic survey of the early medieval sculpture, and by some chance discoveries. Dedications of churches, crosses, wells and fairs can also be used as tentative indicators of Anglian settlement.

The Northumbrian Church honoured a limited and relatively easily identifiable calendar of saints, at least in the eighth century. St Peter and the Virgin were both popular dedications in Northumbria proper, but dedications to St Peter do not appear in Galloway apart from the seventh-century St Peter's stone at Whithorn, and the universality of the cult of the Virgin Mary makes it impossible to identify her commemorations as specifically Anglian. Similar difficulties will be discussed in relation to St Laurence the Martyr.

Dedications to the apostle Andrew, on the contrary, appear to mark the presence of Anglian influence in Galloway. The cathedral church of Hexham was dedicated to St Andrew in 674, and dedications at Balmaghie and Porton appear to have been among the earliest Northumbrian foundations in the south-west. The cult of King Oswald, Northumbria's first
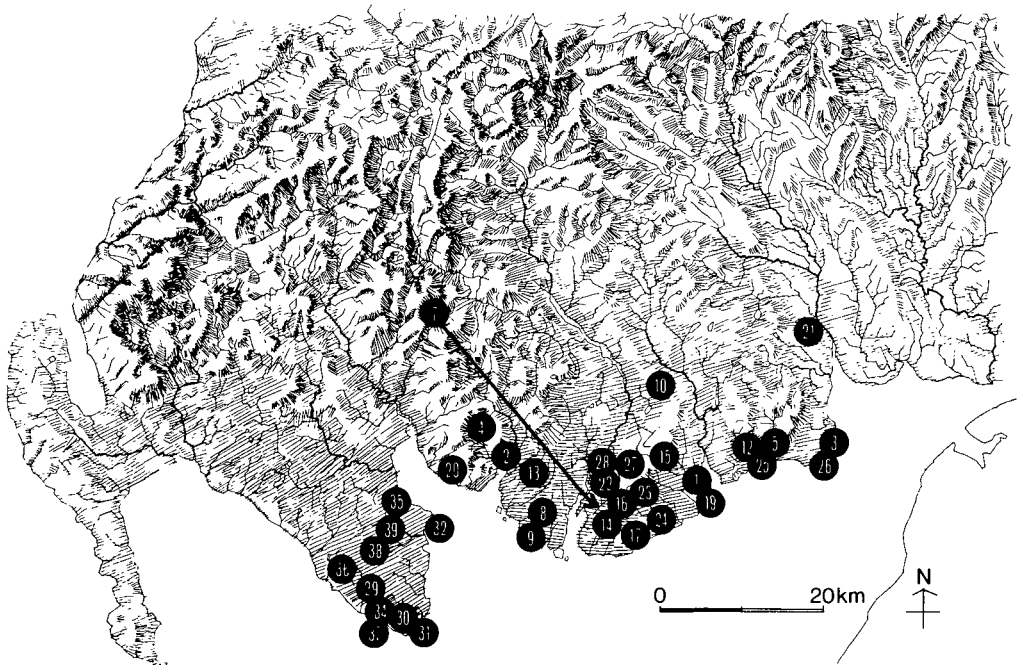
ILLUS 4   Location of place-names of Scandinavian origin, listed in app 3.

martyr, was established before Adamnan's *Life of Columba* was written (c 692) and his dedications, along with those to St Andrew, may mark some of the first of the Northumbrian churches in Galloway. Dedications to St Cuthbert may have been slightly later; St Cuthbert's body was translated to Lindisfarne in 698, and was found to be uncorrupted (Farmer 1978, 105), a sign to his contemporaries of great sanctity. Two Latin *Lives* soon appeared, and the cult was fully established by the early eighth century.

PROBLEMS WITH THE EVIDENCE

Much of this evidence has inherent weaknesses. OE settlement names formed with the element *tun* (enclosure, village), and topographical place-names such as Soulseat, may be as old as the identifiably early settlement names, but they are impossible to date. Occasionally it is difficult to distinguish an OE derivation from a Scandinavian one. The principal difficulty lies in discovering whether a place-name, not specifically dated by its form, was the product of Old English-speakers in the eighth or ninth centuries or of Anglo-Normans speaking Middle English (ME) in the 12th century. In general, the Anglo-Normans did not re-name their estates; but the hazard of mistaking an ME place-name for an OE one remains. Earlstoun, to be discussed shortly, is an example of the difficulty.

Dedications are equally unreliable if treated uncritically. Church dedications to St Cuthbert in Carrick, for example, may represent the slow spread of a cult over a long period. Such material is useful only where it is supported by evidence of a different kind or drawn from another discipline.

The correspondence between Anglian settlements and the traditional demesne of the

medieval lords of Galloway has been noted, and is shown in app 1. The demesne lands were recorded mainly by the Exchequer in 1455–6 when the Crown seized the estates of the 9th Earl of Douglas. This documentation is very late for the present purpose, and, with few exceptions, specific estates cannot necessarily be assumed to have remained in the hands of the rulers of Galloway for 700 years. Even so, the main castles and lands of their demesne have a way of bearing OE names.

THE ANGLIAN MOVE WESTWARD

Bede described the Anglian conquest of Bernicia from a foothold round Bamburgh. In a famous passage about King Ethelfrid, he described the degrees of defeat inflicted on the British population: extermination, serfdom, 'making their lands tributary to the English or ready for English settlement' (*HE* i, 34). As Bernicia pushed its boundaries westward in the seventh century, emphasis on exacting tribute probably increased, but the annexation of the more fertile lands for Anglian settlement continued.

It has been suggested (Smyth 1984, 22–4) that the marriage of Oswiu, King of Northumbria, to Reiemmelth, the great-granddaughter and only remaining heiress of Urien of Rheged, brought Galloway into Northumbrian possession relatively peaceably. The theory presupposes that Rheged incorporated Galloway. The marriage may have advanced Northumbria's move westward, but whether it involved lands west of Annandale and Nithsdale remains to be established. At best Reiemmelth's position as surviving heiress to the kings of Rheged appears to demonstrate that the males of the princely line were dead and British resistance broken by the time the marriage was negotiated. That is not to say that the Cymry as a people were exterminated.

The survival of a British population on both sides of Solway may be deduced by the rapid resurgence of Cumbrian power in the 10th century under the banner of Strathclyde. A measure of co-existence must have been worked out in the intervening centuries between Cymry and Angle, helped perhaps by a mountainous topography and extensive forest which separated one district from another. This is illustrated in Galloway by the survival into the later Middle Ages of the crannogs, island homesteads, and large estates which had clearly remained in the hands of a Cumbrian aristocracy to within a generation or so of the advent of Anglo-Norman proprietors. So long as Northumbrian power lasted in the south-west, it may be assumed that these territories rendered tribute.

Demographic factors are largely concealed from us. The seventh century saw several epidemics in north Britain, the worst in 664. According to Bede's account, it affected both Northumbria and Ireland, and so, by implication, Galloway. How far the plague reduced the British population and so facilitated the Northumbrian thrust westward cannot be determined. It did not reduce the Anglian population of Bernicia sufficiently to relieve the pressure on land there. Northumbria remained chronically in need of land. Bede complained of the lack of estates with which to endow warriors for the kingdom's defence (Sawyer 1978, 161–2).

The river valleys of the south-west were lush and desirable to the eyes of a land-hungry and ambitious people. When the Angles took political control of Galloway is still uncertain, though the Whithorn excavation has already revised our over-cautious guesses that the setting up of the bishopric, c 730, marked an initial demonstration of power. Bede's statement that the bishopric of Whithorn was created because the 'number of believers had so increased' quotes a motion discussed at the Synod of Hertford (673) that 'more bishops shall be consecrated as the number of the faithful increases' (*HE* v, 214 and xxiii, 331) and to that

extent it was a stock explanation. But the chronology which can be inferred from Whithorn supports Bede's statement. The appointment of the bishop may have been a consummation of two or three generations of Anglian settlement and church organization. How and when Northumbria mastered Galloway, however, are problems beyond the scope of this paper. Here the main question is where the Angles made their homes.

THE ESTUARY OF THE URR (app 1, Group 1)

Once Bernicia had annexed Carlisle and the valleys of Eden and Annan, Galloway was accessible by the fords of Solway, and its south-facing estuaries lay open to ships. The question has to be asked, whether these were the ways the Angles took, or, if for settlers leading wagons and perhaps driving animals, the best overland route through heavily wooded country was not rather to ford the Nith and follow the Roman road which must have linked Nithsdale with Glenlochar and Gatehouse of Fleet (Maxwell pers comm).

The settlements listed in app 1 cluster round the estuary of the Urr, in the southern Glenken, round the mouths of Dee and Fleet, along the east coast of the Machars, in the Rhins, and in northern Carrick. The concentrations round the estuaries of the Urr and Dee are linked with the group at the intersection of the east to west (Roman) road with the route north through the Glenken. The head of the pass into Ayrshire is covered by Anglian settlements, which in Carrick tend otherwise to be coastal.

This deployment was dictated by the strategic geography of the country. Galloway's maritime character necessitated the control of estuaries and ports, just as command of the passes and river crossings was indispensable to the mastery of the hinterland. At these geographical pressure points the defences and settlements of successive powers – British, Roman and Anglian – can be traced.

On the west of the Urr estuary, the stronghold of Buittle commanded the mouth of the river and a landing-place at Palnackie. The simplex name and the subsequent status of Buittle as a caput of the medieval lords of Galloway implied that Buittle was one of the main centres of defence and administration under Northumbrian rule. *Botl* can signify a mother settlement and Buittle gives the appearance of a foundation settlement from which others spread (Reaney 1960, 106).

A British stronghold, the Mote of Mark had dominated the entrance to the port of Urr on the east side. A settlement of the fifth century was enclosed by a defensive wall in the seventh, and tools and moulds for the production of high-quality penannular brooches of that period have been discovered in the course of excavation. Archaeologists disagree about the dating and provenance of the jewellery (some have suggested that it was produced under Anglian influence and management). It is unnecessary to labour the point that the port of Urr had been a significant trading post importing luxuries from the Continent before the advent of the Angles. To what extent they took over the stronghold and port has not been clearly established. Two runic inscriptions – on relatively movable objects at Mote of Mark – suggest an early Anglian presence (Laing 1975, 33–5; Graham-Campbell 1976; Close-Brooks & Laing 1976; Laing 1976).

The place-name Edingham conforms to one of the earliest categories of OE settlement names, and the existence there of an Anglian church and monastic community has been suggested (Brooke 1987, 48–65). The church later became a mensal church of the See of the Cumbrians, though there can be little doubt that in the eighth century it lay within the diocese of Whithorn. At Edingham, like Whithorn, the Anglian church appears to have replaced or absorbed a British foundation.

The pendicles of the mother church included Blaiket and Preston, and Southwick may have been part of the Anglian territories here. It is questionable whether the place-name was the OE *sud-ac* (south oak) later Scandinavianized, or whether it derived from the Viking period. The meaning of the name Little Richorn near the port – the steading of the hunting dogs – suggests that hunting dogs were among the luxuries exported from the port of Urr, a trade for which Britain was known in Roman times (Frere 1986, 258). A convex enclosure with a drystone perimeter wall was excavated here (Coles 1892, 117–76), though its early medieval origin has recently been questioned (Tabraham 1984, 116).

Across the river Urr, Buittle adjoined Anglian settlements in Rerrick and Kelton, which in turn covered the road junction at the approaches to the Glenken.

GLENKEN (app 1, Group 2)

A Roman fort, a marching camp, and a Roman burial ground are concentrated at Glenlochar where the Dee flows out of Loch Ken. To the south lies the flood plain of the Dee, and to the north the Glenken. The way through this narrow valley climbs north-westward over the watershed to Carrick. It was wild wooded country, designated as late as the 14th century as a royal hunting forest.

Successive peoples have defended the Glenken along its length. Roughly 10 miles north of Glenlochar an island homestead on Burned Island (Arsbutil) represented the Anglian phase. It may be relevant that before the dam was built at Glenlochar, river and loch were navigable thus far (W F Cormack, pers comm). In the later Middle Ages Arsbutil commanded a six pound land on the shore – a very valuable estate.

The medieval forms of the place-name are confusing, but the element *botl*, our authority for regarding it as a Northumbrian settlement, is consistently given. The first element *iris-*, *erys-* or *ars-* is compatible with an OE personal name such as Aethelred or Eadred, but the *erth-*and *arth-*suggest OE earth (earth fortification). The Latin *insula Arsa* is an indication that *Ars-* was the form of the first element most often used. In Latin it meant 'burnt': in Gaelic 'ancient'. Whether the stronghold was ever burnt is not recorded, unless Fordun's account of the burning by Edward Bruce in 1308 of what he described as an island in the river Dee, referred to Arsbutil (*Fordun Chron*, 345). As late as 1352 Edward Baliol mentioned in a charter 'mea castra de insula Arsa', and Wyntoun has the couplet:

> Yhit the Ballioll all that quhill
> In Gallwa wes at the Brynt-yle (Wyntoun, *Orygynale Cronykil*, 477).

Arsbutil is accompanied by two other illuminating place-names: Shirmers and the parish name Parton, both of which lie on the eastern shore of Loch Ken. The OE derivation of Shirmers, *scir-(ge)-maere* (boundary of the shire or administrative district), is confirmed by the position of these lands at the intersection of two modern parish boundaries. The march between Parton and Kells runs roughly north to south down the middle of Loch Ken, and the march between Parton and Balmaclellan roughly east to west. The significance of the name Shirmers is that the east to west march represented the external limit of the Anglian territory south of it.

Significantly the principal estates of Balmaclellan (Troquhain and le Contref), and the old parish name Trevercarcou (see app 2), mark a long-lived centre of British power (Brooke 1984, 41–56). Apart from the doubtful Earlstoun, there is no trace of Anglian settlement between Shirmers and the Carrick border. Arsbutil is revealed as a frontier fort.

Parton seems to embody another OE term for a territorial division *pearr-tun*, signifying

the village in the district (that is within the area the Angles had settled). The chief estate in Parton, Glenswinton, compares with Dalswinton, the site of the Roman installation in Nithsdale. Both are the OE name Swinton qualified by a Gaelic prefix, much like the Cumbric prefixes in the otherwise Anglian place-names Cumwhitton and Cumquinton in Cumberland.

Some miles north of Arsbutil, outside the boundary of the shire lies another undatable English place-name, Earlstoun. The lands (and motte) belonged to the medieval lords of Galloway, and it is possible that the Earls of Douglas were the earls commemorated by the place-name. Whether this was so, or the place-name was a great deal older, it appears to have meant 'Earl's stone' rather than 'Earl's village', and it argues in favour of an early origin. A boundary of the Anglian 'shire' at Shirmers would have been consistent with a corresponding boundary mark on Carrick's southern border. There is no stone of any significance on the site now, but the adjoining farm is called, suggestively, Todstone.

KELTON: THE CROSSROADS (app 1, Group 3)

South of the Roman fort at Glenlochar lies Threave, where another defended island similar to Arsbutil may be traceable to an ancient British lordship. The Earls of Douglas built their great castle there, but the simplex Brittonic name equivalent to the Welsh *y Dref* (The Homestead) suggests an earlier dwelling, and there is some archaeological evidence pointing, though inconclusively, to earlier occupation. Traces of a pre-14th century building have been identified on the island, and a fragment of a second-century glass bracelet was turned up in the course of excavation (Good & Tabraham 1981, 129).

The medieval parish of Kelton lies on the eastern bank of the river Dee. The lands were demesne lands of the medieval lords of Galloway contiguous to the lands of Buittle. They consisted of a multiple estate embracing in the later Middle Ages Kelton Grange, Kelton Lodge, Nether Kelton (now Halmyre) with a total annual value of 40 merks. Within the parish the lands of Threave were a 10 pound land (15 merks), and Whitepark, another 15 merkland. These lands were granges, growing cereals beyond local subsistence requirements (*ER* vi). Arable production was already fully organized here in the early 13th century when 32 acres in the open fields belonged to the church (*RRS* Wi).

The dedication of the church of Kelton to King Oswald the Martyr gives the first clue to a Northumbrian presence in Kelton itself. The Angles had assumed possession of a long-established and important settlement here, for it had been a tribal centre before the Roman occupation.

At Torrs in the parish of Kelton stood a small stone circle. On the same lands the famous La Tène Celtic pony-mask was unearthed. It is currently thought to have been imported and its presence at Torrs explained as votive offering, made perhaps some time after its date of construction c 200 BC (Macgregor 1976, 23–4); as a votive offering it is sufficient evidence that a wealthy chieftaincy at Kelton existed at the time of its deposit.

The hoard of first- and second-century worked metal discovered in Carlingwark Loch is acknowledged to have been a votive offering either by the Roman soldiery or by the local tribe to a native water deity (Manning 1973, 224–68; Frere 1986, 319). The river Dee, perhaps a mile distant, was Deva (the Goddess) on Ptolemy's map.

A traditional horse-fair held at Kelton Hill (NX 7460) was one of the main centres of Galloway's horse trade (*OSA*). Its age cannot be guessed, but it has preserved an open space large enough for a tribal assembly. It is marked by a standing stone on adjoining land, now enclosed. In total, the name Threave, the pagan shrine, the tribal assembly place, and the

pony mask, add up to evidence of a tribal capital here formidable enough to explain why, in the second century AD, the Romans built their fort at Glenlochar rather than elsewhere. It is possible to hazard a name for the tribal centre. The Cosmography of Ravenna gave a place-name Loctrebe, apparently in south-west Scotland. It has been taken to mean the homestead of the lake-dwellers, probably a crannog (Rivet & Smith 1979, 394). There was at least one crannog in Carlingwark Loch. Alternatively the name may reflect its proximity to the Threave (W F Cormack, pers comm).

Against this background, with the estates and defences of Arsbutil and Buittle marking the northern and southern limits of an area of continuous Anglian settlement, the central position of Kelton takes on significance as the probable administrative heart of the shire. Its undatable and probably Scandinavianized OE name does not detract from its obvious importance in the Northumbrian period.

In 1210 Kelton church was annexed by William the Lion to Holyrood Abbey with three other churches, all described as having previously belonged to Iona (*RRS* Wi). When the gift to Iona had been made is not recorded. The charter gives precedence to the church of St Oswald of Kelton and this suggests that it was a mother church and the other three pendicles. They were the church of Kirkcormack (probably founded during Iona's possession of the rest), the church of St Andrew, and the chapel of Barncrosh. The church of St Andrew was probably much the same age as St Oswald's of Kelton. It became the medieval parish church of Balmaghie (*Holy Lib*).

The name Barncrosh (Balencros in 1210 *RRS* Wi) suggests the existence before the chapel was built of a preaching cross, probably older than the Gaelic place-name. A fragment of a cross-shaft carved in characteristically Anglian fashion is now built into the wall of a cottage within a mile of the modern house of Barncrosh. Its design resembles that of the cross-arm discovered in Rascarrel Bridge and discussed later, but the carving of the Barncrosh cross is less delicate, and may date from the ninth rather than the eighth century (D Craig, pers comm).

Another estate in Balmaghie with an OE name may have related to the mother church of Kelton. Between 1240 and 1250 a silver merk from the mill of Netherhall was granted annually to St Bees Priory in Cumbria. A marginal note on the charter reads: '*habetur sub cera in libro de Nederhall in cella de Kirkandres*' – had under seal in the book of Netherhall in the cell (daughter church) of Kirkandrews (*St Bees Reg*) (Latham 1965, 78). The editors of St Bees *Register* were convinced that the charter did not refer to Kirkandrews in Cumbria, and proposed that Netherhall might be identified as Netherhall in Galloway which they described as near Kirkandrews, Borgue (app 1, Group 6). In fact, Netherhall is in Balmaghie. The 'book of Netherhall' suggests there may have been a religious establishment at Netherhall itself. The OE place-name element *hall* can have religious implications (Ekwall 1960, 212).

In the medieval parish of Rerrick on the south-western marches of Buittle and Kelton, a second dedication to St Oswald is implied by the place-name Kirkcarswell, probably another pendicle of Kelton church. The parish name Rerrick derives from the Scandinavian *hreyrr-eyk* (cairn oak) (G Fellows-Jensen, pers comm); but a previous Anglian settlement has received double confirmation in recent years. A few years ago a fragment of finely carved stone interlace was found built into Rascarrel Bridge, and has been dated to the eighth century (Crowe 1986, 53). More recently a metal plate, perhaps a fragment of a reliquary, was picked up in the burial ground of the old church of Rerrick (NX 7646); it is ornamented with an exceptionally elegant interlace design, and has been tentatively identified by members of the staffs of the Royal Museum of Scotland and the British Museum to be Anglian of the eighth century.

The lands of Kirkcarswell are now two farms. At East Kirkcarswell an Anglo-Norman motte has been identified (NX 7548). 'A sunken road snakes past . . .' (Tabraham 1984, 112). By 1142 Dundrennan Abbey was built nearby. Its estates, listed in 1305, included the whole medieval parish of Rerrick with the significant exception of the lands of Kirkcarswell (CDS ii).

Group 3 (app 1) has been discussed in detail because its significance and continuity of occupation has rarely received notice. The Anglian settlements in Balmaghie and Rerrick, suggested by the church dedications, are confirmed by the archaeological evidence from Barncrosh, Rascarrel and Rerrick kirkyard. The case for identifying Kelton itself as a Northumbrian settlement depends mainly on the dedication to St Oswald the Martyr, with only a dubious place-name to support it. Kelton's central position, its prominence before the Northumbrian period, and the inclusion of its lands in the demesne of the medieval lords of Galloway, may be strictly no more than circumstantial evidence, but taken with the rest they point convincingly to Kelton as one of the most significant Anglian centres.

THE DEE ESTUARY (app 1, Group 4)

The church of St Cuthbert, preserving the OE form of the Northumbrian saint's name – Cudbriht – suggests an Anglian settlement and port on the Dee estuary. Geography alone makes this probable for the place was designed by nature to be a haven. The harbour (now filled in) offered exceptionally sheltered anchorage in all weathers.

An account of a pre-Norman minster at Kirkcudbright centring upon a 'little ancient church of rock and stone' emerges from Reginald of Durham's account of Ailred of Rievaulx' visit to celebrate St Cuthbert's Day in 1164. The 'scolocs' (novices) in training there incurred the retribution of the saint by baiting a bull in the burial ground (*Reg Dunelm*, 179). The probable existence of an early 'field church', predecessor of the one described as ancient in the 12th century, has been indicated by the discovery in the burial ground of a finely carved cross arm, now in the Stewartry Museum. The cross presumably antedated the church. The *plebiana* of St Cuthbert probably included the British foundations at Dunrod (dedicated to St Mary and St Bruoc) and Galtway (Trail) on the eastern bank of the Dee and at St Mary's Isle (*Holy Lib*).

Twynholm was almost certainly a settlement of OE-speakers. The medieval parish lay between the Tarf Water and the Corraford Burn. A derivation from the OE *(be)tweon-eam* (dative plural) meaning 'between the streams', would be consistent with the topography; but the second element may have been -*ham* – a mark of early settlement (Nicolaisen 1979). The estate of Miefield, on the conjectural Roman roadline running from Loch Ken to Lauriston (Crawford 1954, 22–7), may have been a daughter settlement.

Down-river the medieval parish of Senwick comprised a large multiple estate belonging to the medieval lords of Galloway. The lands of Senwick were recorded in the 15th century as Sannak Grange (now Balmangan NX 6545), Dunrod Sannak, Nethir Sannak, Ovir Sannak (all 1458 *ER* vi), and Mill of Sannak (1480 *ER* ix) – all valuable cereal-growing land. Senwick is on the western shore at the mouth of the Dee, its burial ground tumbling down the slope to the river's brink. The parish surrounded the headland and island now called the Ross, where the sea has taken round bites out of the land at Ross Bay and Brighouse Bay. Symson (1692, 43) described Ross Bay (which he called Balmangan Bay) as one of the best harbours in the west of Scotland 'for here ships of all sizes are secure, blow the wind which way it will'. The landward end of the headland between the two bays is a narrow neck; and this may have given the place its name. The OE *sand-hnecca* (sandy neck) makes both etymological and topographical sense, for unlike most beaches on this coast these bays are sandy.

To sum up, Kirkcudbright was a port during the period of Northumbrian rule, and the development of an Anglian burial ground and then a church and minster is authenticated by archaeological and literary sources. Settlements with chapels or burial grounds at Twynholm and Senwick are inferred mainly from the evidence of place-names, and to that extent their inclusion is more speculative.

MOUTH OF THE FLEET (app 1, Group 5)

The Roman fortlet on the river Fleet lies about 2 miles above the widening of the estuary. On the coast to the east was a native settlement contemporaneous with the fort with its own coastal defence. A stone fort, possibly Iron Age, lay by the shore guarding a small bay now called Castle Haven (NX 5949). It was occupied in the early Christian period and probably later by Scandinavians and is still known locally as the Borgue (ON *borg*: fort) (Barbour 1907, 71–80).

On Ardwall Island, within wading distance from the shore at low tide, a sixth-century burial ground has been excavated. An Anglian religious community existed at a later stage, and a memorial stone incised with the OE personal name Cuthgar has been discovered (Thomas 1966, 84–116). The lettering has been described as Hiberno-Saxon book script, and the stone linked stylistically with the crosses between Fleet and Cree (Craig 1991). They present a sharp contrast with the classically Northumbrian style of the broken pieces found in Rerrick, Balmaghie, and Kirkcudbright.

The Anglian establishment extended to a church, and perhaps a monastery on shore. The church became the medieval parish church of Kirkandrews, and perhaps the dedication to the apostle Andrew the fisherman refers to the maritime character of the place (W F Cormack, pers comm). The parish (NX 6048) was recorded c 1275 (*SHS Misc* vi) with a qualifying name to distinguish it from Kirkandrews Balmaghie. This was Purcen or Purton and its meaning, 'port village', refers to the ancient haven. The use of Purton to distinguish one Kirkandrews from another suggests that Purton was the older name.

Holyrood Charters leave us in no doubt that the Kirkandrews which was once annexed to Iona was St Andrews Balmaghie; but Thomas identified it as St Andrews Porton and his description of the burial ground at Kirkandrews Porton is nonetheless valuable: 'The old burial ground of Kirkandrews . . . is a raised circular area with [replaced] stone walls . . . and traces of a slight external ditch on the eastern side. . . . That it represents a pre-Conquest site seems very likely.'

Symson (1692, 44) related that 'in the kirkyard of Kirkanders upon the ninth day of August there is kept a fair called St Laurence Fair where all sorts of merchant wares are to be sold'. This fair on St Laurence's Eve (his feastday was 10 August) suggests a survival from a time when Kirkandrews was a port. The cult of St Laurence the Martyr was active in the Northumbrian Church from the seventh century when Pope Vitalian sent King Oswiu relics. Early dedications included the infirmary chapel at Monk Wearmouth (Farmer 1978, 329). St Laurence was also peculiarly dear to the medieval Knights of St John whose Order used the church of St Laurence in Malta for their General Assemblies (Macquarrie 1983, 189). They owned many small crofts in Galloway including one associated with St Laurence's chapel at Fairgirth in Colvend, and St Laurence's croft in Kirkcudbright. They also had a croft at Kirkandrews Porton. Whether their influence in the district accounted for the dedication of St Laurence's Fair, or whether it was a legacy of the Northumbrian settlers is impossible to say.

The estate name Plunton (plumtree enclosure) at NX 6050 cannot be ascribed to the OE

period with certainty; and this is true of the parish name Girthon. Medieval forms in app 1 correspond to the English Girton and Gretton deriving from the OE *greot-tun* (gravel village). The local hydronymy is more certainly Old English.

The name Fleet applied originally to the river mouth, for the OE *fleot* bears the meaning creek, estuary. The Skyreburn which flows into the estuary seems to derive from the OE *scir-burna*. The name was incorporated in the estate name Glenskyreburn, now Rusko. *Scirburna* could mean either bright stream or the stream of the shire (administrative district). The medieval form Glenskirburne had been Scandinavianized (the ON *skírr* also means bright) but here, it seems, was the south-west boundary of the administrative district of which the northern limit lay at Shirmers.

The Skyreburn was the march between the medieval parishes of Anwoth and Kirkdale, but Anglian place-names and archaeological finds stop abruptly to the west of it; and the hinterland shows traces of long-established British occupation, particularly in Minigaff. The medieval parish names of Anwoth and Kirkdale represent later Scandinavian encroachment.

Immediately south and west of the Skyreburn the medieval lands of Cardoness (NX 5653) preserved a Cumbric estate-name (see app 2). Further west a British stronghold on the coast, presumably older than the Viking settlements, was represented by the medieval tower-house of Carsluith (app 2). The site, dominating the tide swirling down from the Cree estuary, lies where a British stronghold might be looked for. A large embanked enclosure of indeterminate function on the Skyreburn itself at NX 5604 5615 is called Kirkbride, and a local tradition that this marked the site of a church and burial ground was recorded in 1850 (OS Name Book). It might, however, have been a frontier fort (D Craig, pers comm) in which event, in common with the place-names, it would be consistent with Skyreburn having been an Anglian boundary.

It was to be expected that the valley of the Fleet, the warmest, greenest of all the Galloway valleys, should have fallen to the acquisitive Angle. Though much of the place-name evidence is inconclusive, its conjunction with archaeological evidence at Ardwall and Kirkandrews, the naming of the two watercourses, and the identification of a boundary, argues that the Northumbrian Angles were well established on the estuary of the Fleet and in the coastal district between Fleet and Dee.

EASTERN WIGTOWNSHIRE (app 1, Group 6)

The Gaelic river-name Cree (Creche 1301 *CDS* ii) also means boundary. The river provides a natural frontier which appears to have marked the divide between the Brittonic lordship of Minigaff and the Anglian settlements fanning out from Whithorn. The name Penninghame which is authenticated as OE by the suffix *-ham*, implies that the lands immediately west of Cree were settled early in the Northumbrian occupation of Galloway. In the Middle Ages the lands belonged to the bishop of Whithorn; Northumbria's way of staking a claim to this territory may have been by endowing the bishop.

Apart from its authentically early name, evidence of an Anglian presence in Penninghame is disappointingly sparse. A cross-slab dating from the 10th or 11th century suggests that the church of Penninghame was not built until later. Its dedication to St Ninian was almost certainly late medieval. Nynia and variants were the early medieval forms of the saint's name and the form Ninian is not recorded before the 12th century.

Two estate names within the medieval parish – Merton and Frethrid – are derived from Old or Middle English; but which is not certain. The name Frethrid suggests an assart from the

forest; but Reaney regarded 'ryden' as a late place-name element (Reaney 1960, 111). The lands were an estate in the medieval barony of Mertonhall (NX 3864) which was then called Merton. After the 1415 form given in app 1, the spelling became confused with the Scandinavian Myrton in the parish of Mochrum. Topography suggests, however, that Merton in Penninghame took its name from the OE *mere-tun* (lake village). The claim of these two estates to be regarded as Northumbrian settlements rests mainly on their proximity to Penninghame.

Most of the records of the medieval burgh and port of Wigtown date from the 15th century. By then an urban and commercial milieu had been developing over at least two centuries. The names of the streets, the lands within the burgh, and the estates of the parish beyond the burgh walls, were by then almost wholly anglicized, despite Gaelic patronymics among the surnames of the burgesses (Brooke 1985, 51–61).

It would be all too easy to write off the whole history of Wigtown as starting with the grant of burgh status sometime in the 13th century, but this will not do. Apart from its position in relation to Penninghame and Cruggleton, the siting of a 10th- or 11th-century cross in the churchyard indicates that a 'field church', if no more, existed at Wigtown before the Anglo-Norman era; and the Cumbrian dedication to St Machutus (of St Malo and Lesmahagow) confirms it. Moreover, a distinctive town-plan is reminiscent of a number of nucleated early Anglian villages in the heartland of Northumbria. An exceptionally wide, and originally gated high street was designed for penning cattle in the centre during the night. This plan is characteristic of certain Northumbrian villages (eg Stamfordham); the OE place-name of Wigtown, *wic-tun*, meaning a cattle-farm or cattle-farm enclosure, is an exact description.

Cruggleton Castle was a stronghold of the medieval lords of Galloway, surrounded by a large demesne. The name was a hybrid and double tautology. Similar place-names occur in several parts of England, most of them showing the translation of the OW *cruc* (hill) to an OE *cryc* – hence Crichel Down, Cricklewood, Crigglestone. At Cruggleton the first element retained its Brittonic character.

The 13th-century poem the *Roman de Fergus* is thought to describe Cruggleton as 'a castle above a valley quite close to the Irish Sea. The house was well built of hurdles all round, on the top of a dark rock. On the hill was a tower which was neither stone nor lime. The high wall and battlements were made of earth. The man within could see all round him for thirty leagues and needed have no fear for siege-engineer or assault. The rock was too high.' (Legge 1950, 163–72). This evokes a hall built within a palisade similar to the one revealed by excavation, which had an eighth-century phase in its construction (Ewart 1985, 16).

Not far from Cruggleton, the estates of Pouton and Claunch can be identified as early Anglian villages by their proximity to better authenticated places. There can be no argument about the existence of a Northumbrian village, church, and monastery at Whithorn. The archaeological findings are supported by literary evidence, including the eighth-century Latin poem, *The Miracles of Nynia the Bishop*. Internal evidence indicates that it was written at the Anglian monastery of Whithorn: several characters appear with OE personal names, and the pilgrim traffic so celebrated in the later Middle Ages is mentioned as already well established (*Miracula* 1961, ch 4). Recent examination of the eighth-century monastery's midden suggests that the community was supported by a large and wealthy demesne (Hill 1990, 5).

There is no record of this estate, but three lands in the medieval parish of Whithorn – Broughton, Outon, and Rispain – probably represent Anglian villages. Outon belonged in the Middle Ages to the medieval Priory and may always have been part of the monastic lands. It was a particularly large estate with four distinct centres. All these were cereal-growing lands.

At Rispain a squared earthwork has recently been excavated. A late Iron Age defended homestead has been revealed and dated by a fragment of an enamelled bracelet of the first or second century (Haggarty & Haggarty 1983, 21–51). By the time the Angles arrived the homestead had fallen back to the wild, and was overgrown with brushwood, but that it was named at all by the Angles is evidence that the lands had either been kept in use or were then reclaimed.

The Isle of Whithorn and the parish of Glasserton became sites of Scandinavian settlements. The valuable granges of Glasserton passed into Viking hands. Anglian inscriptions on stones in St Ninian's Cave, Physgill, show that the cave was used as a place of pilgrimage and prayer in the period of Northumbrian dominance (D Craig, pers comm). The estates now bearing Scandinavian names, such as Physgill, Kidsdale, and Ravenstone, had probably been Anglian lands in the eighth century.

This compact block of settlements, probably a second shire, is the one most unshakably authenticated. The place-name Penninghame and present-day knowledge of the church and settlement at Whithorn are enough to support much of the rest. At Cruggleton support is not needed: archaeology, place-name study and, to a lesser extent, literary evidence are unanimous in presenting an Anglian hall succeeding a British one which remained one of the chief coastal defences of the lords of Galloway until the 14th century. For the less clear-cut story of Wigtown, and the purely place-name evidence of the remaining estates, the normal balance of probability is reversed in their favour.

The western boundary of this territory has been obscured by later settlers, but in the north it appears to have been the Water of Tarf in its north/south course. Once the stream makes its right-angled turn to the east, the great Brittonic estate of Manhincon-Craighlaw encroaches on the north side.

THE RHINS (app 1, Group 7)

The British stronghold of Penryn Rionyt, the Rerigonion of Ptolemy, was associated with Loch Ryan (Watson 1926, 34). The location of the site is uncertain but it cannot have been many miles west of the fort of Dunragit. Bernicia had every incentive to establish control here. A potential rallying point for British resistance, it lay under the threat of infiltration from Ireland, and was a centre of maritime trade. The church of Whithorn, moreover, had inherited a special interest in the Rhins at Kirkmadrine, already an ancient holy place.

The medieval parish names – Stoneykirk and Soulseat – represent an early Anglian settlement and probably a Northumbrian monastery, at the head of Luce Bay. Their dating from the Northumbrian supremacy is supported by the discovery on the shore of Luce Bay of several ninth-century Northumbrian coins (Cormack 1965, 149–51). The name Soulseat describes the narrow peninsula projecting into the Green Loch, thus giving it its horse-shoe shape. The confused story of St Malachy's 'foundation' of the medieval Abbey there is best explained by his trying to regularize a minster of traditional type, then fallen into decay.

Malachy was a Cistercian, but his monastery at Soulseat emerged in record as a Premonstratensian house, perhaps because that Order was more easy-going about absorbing 'bodies of canons already in existence with peculiarities of their own' (Reid 1960, 89). Premonstratensians were also willing to take on the pastoral care of the laity, part of the charge of the traditional minsters, and it is significant that a parish of Soulseat, with the church annexed to the Abbey, survived until the Reformation. Similar houses of canons at the mother church serving a district, endured from the Northumbrian period into the 12th century at Whithorn, Kirkcudbright, and at Edingham.

Alton in Kirkmaiden – the old village – and the adjoining estate of Cailliness commanded what is now called Drummore Bay. In the open fields of Alton a medieval chapelcroft of St Mary (1481 *ER* ix) or Ladycroft (1489 *RMS* ii) was recorded. By then the chapel seems to have disappeared. The invocation of the Virgin would be consistent with an early Anglian foundation, but as evidence it is inconclusive.

The strategically important Loch Ryan offered the best harbours for sailing ships on the coast. Before the deepening of the basin at Stranraer, two natural havens attracted settlement and trade: one was at Kirkcolm; the other at Innermessan, in the Middle Ages a sizeable burgh belonging to the bishop of Whithorn. Whether the Anglian bishops held the estates of Inch is not clear, but the existence is known of another port in the Rhins with an OE name – Rintsnoc – which would identify with Kirkcolm.

Watson quoted a pre-Christian Irish tale, written down in the medieval period, which mentioned the port of Rintsnoc. The OE place-name was clearly an interpolation. A Latin *Life of St Cuthbert* of the 12th century portrayed the infant saint being brought (improbably) from Ireland by his mother in a stone currach, and landing 'in Galloway in the district which is called the Rhins [Renii] at the port which is called Rintsnoc' (Watson 1926, 157). A ME metrical version also contains the name though it has been transcribed 'Munsone', an easily made error for 'Rinnsonc' (*Libellus* 1838; *Metrical Life* 1891). The name Rintsnoc is a hybrid and possibly a tautology deriving from the Brittonic *penryn* or *rin* (peninsula); Gaelic *roinn*; OE *snoca* (projecting piece of land); ME *snoke*.

Watson took the name to apply to both ends of the Rhins peninsula, but the whole 'hammerhead' of the Rhins could scarcely be described as a port. The headland north of the Wigg fits the description 'the promontory on the peninsula'. David II's grant to Malcolm Fleming of the Earldom of Wigtown in 1341 (SRO RH1 i i) describes the bounds as extending from the Cree to 'Molerennysnag'; that could mean both peninsulas, but the northern Rhins is the more obvious limit.

The site of the medieval church of Kirkcolm has been described as standing on a low knoll within a walled burial ground enclosed by traces of 'what may be an earlier perimeter comprising double banks and a medial ditch' (RCAHMS 1985, 21), thus suggesting an early medieval site. The dedication of the church to St Cummin, the second Abbot of Iona (S Cummin de Kirkcum 1397 SRO Reg Vat 322) might be compatible with a Northumbrian church foundation; but the many invocations of Irish and Columban saints in the Rhins need further study.

CARRICK (app 1, Group 8)

The place-name Maybole was first recorded with Gaelic qualifying suffices *mor* (big) and *beg* (little) tacked on to it: Meibothelmor and Meibothelbeg. The medieval parish church of Maybole, recorded in 1258 as under the invocation of St Cuthbert (*NB* Chrs), appears to be another mother-settlement. The name has been interpreted as meaning the hall of the maiden or kinswoman (Nicolaisen 1979), possibly signifying an heiress. An apparently OE settlement name within the parish – Scipsate – was recorded only once.

The adjoining medieval parish was Turnberry or Kirkoswald. The place-name means 'fort of the thornbushes'. The medieval castle once on the headland presumably was built on the site. The dedication of the church to St Oswald was recorded in 1258 (*Paisley Reg*). The OE place-name, church dedication, and the proximity of Maybole suggest very strongly that Turnberry was a Northumbrian settlement. Its status as the caput of the medieval Earls of

Carrick appears to have marked the revival of an Anglian centre of administration and defence.

The place-names Authenblane and Blanefield in Kirkoswald probably mark the site of Suthblan. These lands were granted to Crossraguel Abbey at its foundation and continued to be documented in the Crossraguel and Paisley charters into the 15th century. Also belonging to the Abbey of Crossraguel were the lands of Snade (Snathe in 1315–21 (*RMS* i 31)). This unusual place-name occurs also in the parish of Glencairn in Nithsdale. Ekwall (1960, 428) explains the meaning of this place-name as a piece of land, often a piece of woodland, and quoted a Saxon charter of AD 843: '*unus singularis silva . . . quem nos theodoice snad nominamus*' – 'one single woodland . . . which under God's guidance we call the snad' (Birch 1893). In addition to Suthblan and Snade, the lands of Coffe are reasonably well documented. Where they lay is not known, but they were probably located on the coast.

The medieval parish of Straiton lay on the route from the head of the Glenken to Maybole. The place-name Stratton is common in England where its derivation was usually *straet-tun* (the village on the paved road, often a Roman road). The church of Straiton was dedicated to St Cuthbert (1444 *Cross Chrs* 22).

On the southern border of Straiton in the Kirkcudbrightshire parish of Minigaff lies the highest summit in southern Scotland – the Merrick, 2764 ft (850 m) above sea level; to this day, this height marks the southern boundary of Ayrshire. It is clearly visible in Kelton and Girthon in the south, but its OE name was probably coined by the Angles of Straiton, since they had reason to know its meaning best. Because the Merrick is a natural feature, and not a settlement or estate, it has not been possible to discover a medieval record of the name. Modern pronunciation suggests that the second element was OE *hryeg* (ridge). Professor Barrow (pers comm) has, however, expressed doubt as to whether it would have been applied to a summit of 2700 ft. Pont's map gives 'Maerack' which preserves the OE first element *(ge)maere* (boundary) with notable faithfulness. To the south in the eighth century lay, not the 'shire', but the area under British control which became the medieval parish of Minigaff.

Another (British) boundary mark consisted of the standing stones of Laggangarn (NX 2271) where the Tarf Water crosses the De'il's Dyke. The significance of this earthwork has been questioned, but the place-name Laggangarn implies boundaries, presumably the Dyke and the Tarf (Graham 1949, 184). The apparently Gaelic Laggangarn was *Lekkyngiorow* in 1448 (SRO 138 i 2) inviting comparison with the Welsh *llech-yn-gorau* (stones at the boundaries). The stones stand a mile or two south of the modern border between Carrick and Wigtownshire.

For the remaining Anglian settlements in Carrick, there is some inconclusive evidence in the parish name Dailly and the church dedications to St Cuthbert at Girvan and Ballantrae (Kirkcudbright Innertig). The explanation for the three dedications to St Cuthbert may be that the cult, centred on the church of Maybole, remained popular in Carrick over a long period. It does not necessarily mean that all three churches or their invocations date from the Northumbrian supremacy. The unidentified Red Hohc, recorded only once, and the well-documented Alesburc (app 1) both suggest Anglian settlements.

The evidence for Anglian settlement in the Rhins is apparently incomplete. A minster at Soulseat suggests more than a mere strategic hold at the head of Luce Bay and the entrance to Loch Ryan. The question whether the bishop's estates in the medieval parish of Inch originated in the 12th century or much earlier remains unanswered. In Carrick the evidence is fuller but much of it is confined to place-names and therefore remains inconclusive; but

settlements at Maybole, Turnberry, and Straiton are supported by the place-names, the church dedications, and the survival of Turnberry as the caput of the Earls of Carrick.

CONCLUSIONS

We have repeatedly been made aware that Scandinavian settlers later encroached on Anglian land. The Carletons in Borgue and Colmanell are among the vestiges of a previous Anglian presence there. As a place-name Carl(e)ton goes back to the Old Scandinavian Karlatun, but this is not found in Scandinavia, and generally taken to be a translation of the OE Ceorlatun (the village of the free man or peasants) (Ekwall 1960, 87; see app 3).

In Rerrick a Scandinavian settlement can be seen to have succeeded an Anglian one. The pattern is repeated in several places, including the medieval parish of Glasserton near Whithorn. The consequent obliteration of Anglian evidence needs to be argued no further. The Kirk-compound parish names have also been shown to have replaced earlier place-names in the 12th century and after, and Kirkcolm may have been an example. How far the ubiquitous Gaelic-speakers of that period also produced place-names masking earlier settlement is not demonstrable except in such rare instances as Barncrosh.

The topographical character of the Gaelic place-names suggests they were coined by the peasantry, mainly rather late. There is authority for dating the predominance of Gaelic speech in the south-west from the 10th or 11th century (Jackson 1958, 277–9). Habitation names are comparatively few, and the names prefixed by *baile*- signifying a homestead of some standing, were among the latest. Irish immigration in the pre-Viking period has been suggested on the not wholly satisfactory evidence of the *slew*- hill-names (Nicolaisen 1965, 91–105; see app 4). The widespread gaelicization of many Brittonic place-names makes the identification of some parish names as the genuine product of Gaelic-speakers difficult. Allowing the benefit of the doubt in several cases the number of such medieval parishes is small: five in the Stewartry, three in Wigtownshire, and none in Carrick allowing for the lateness of Ballantrae. This and a good deal of positive evidence indicates that the aristocracies that left their mark before 1100 on the ecclesiastical and political institutions of Galloway and Carrick, and named the important strongholds and territorial divisions of the south-west, were the Angles and the Cymry (Barrow 1981, 11–12).

BOUNDARIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

We started with a list of settlements divided into eight groups: the first five comprise one contiguous block; Groups 6 and 8 make two more blocks of contiguous settlements; lack of evidence for Group 7 leaves its eastern boundary uncertain.

The boundary of the eastern 'shire' has been identified at Shirmers and at the Skyreburn. This administrative district was probably under the control of a thane (Barrow 1981, 6–10). A similar district seems to have lain in eastern Wigtownshire, centring upon Whithorn or Cruggleton. In Northumbria the shire was a unit of assessing and rendering customary services – military service, food-rent and hospitality. In Galloway this corresponded to military service, cain and conveth, still being levied in the 12th century (Barrow 1973, 7–68).

An *eorl* may have ruled Carrick, though possibly this dignity was not bestowed until Anglian territory extended into northern Ayrshire after 750. The southern boundaries of his jurisdiction may be marked at Earlstoun in the Glenken, and – more certainly – by the Merrick between Straiton and the British-occupied territory of Minigaff, and at Laggangarn further west.

We have been accustomed to think that the earldom of Carrick originated in 1185. Duncan, son of Gilbert, lord of Galloway, a hostage at the court of Henry II, was deprived of his patrimony by his cousin Roland, and William the Lion made Duncan the Earl of Carrick – apparently in compensation. Yet to create an earldom would have been an unusual thing for William to do. Baronies might be created for Anglo-Norman incomers, but the earldoms of Scotland belonged to an older, jealously preserved order. Most of them were the successors of the Pictish mormaers, but they included what was coming to be known as the Earldom of Dunbar, the legacy of a great Northumbrian lordship. It might have been more likely that William should revive an Anglian earldom in Ayrshire than that he should create a new one.

EXTENT OF ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT

The strength of the evidence which has been presented necessarily varies. Some individual settlements may have to be regarded as sketched in provisionally, though the general outline is clear. The findings are best authenticated where one discipline confirms the evidence of another. In Rerrick, despite later Scandinavian intrusion, the invocation of St Oswald, the reliquary fragment, and the piece of stone interlace from Rascarrel, speak in unison. At Kirkcolm an archaic place-name and what appears to have been an early Christian enclosure, support one another. A similar consensus drawn from more than one discipline is conspicuous at Edingham, Kelton, Cruggleton, and in northern Carrick.

The shires in the Stewartry and eastern Wigtownshire represented such concentrations of well-authenticated villages, estates and churches, that some of the 'doubtfuls', depending for identification solely on place-names of uncertain date, gain support from their surroundings. Twynholm, Senwick, and Miefield in the Stewartry, and the estates in the vicinity of Whithorn, are examples.

The survival of Anglian centres of defence and administration within the demesne of the medieval lords of Galloway and Earls of Carrick show the long continuity of land-holding patterns set during the Northumbrian supremacy. The strongholds and estates of Buittle, Arsbutil, Cruggleton and Turnberry remained the headquarters of the political masters of Galloway and Carrick until the 15th century. Extensive radial estates show similar correspondence. For example, the demesne of Buittle Castle stretched from the lands of Buittle to Kelton, and eastwards across the Urr to Southwick, including Little Richorn. The general profile of the huge demesne of the medieval lords of Galloway suggest that a very large area of demesne was retained in vice-regal hands in the Northumbrian period, an arrangement which characterized not only Northumbria proper but the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms generally (Stenton 1985, 300).

Appendix 1 lists 50 Anglian settlements, though a few of these may be discounted as doubtful. By this reckoning at least 17 out of the 38 medieval parishes (48%) of the Stewartry contained Anglian settlement; in Wigtownshire nine out of 22 (40%), and in Carrick four out of nine (44%). The last figure omits as too doubtful Kirkcudbright Innertig (Ballantrae), and Earlstoun in the parish of Dalry, since that may have been merely a boundary mark and not a settlement.

The size of the Anglian population these figures imply is difficult to assess. Place-name scholars have urged that the full-scale replacement in England of Brittonic place-names with Anglo-Saxon ones 'occurs only when the newcomers are farmers rather than, or as well as, overlords' (Gelling 1976, 811). In Galloway and Carrick there were enough Old English-speakers sufficiently at home in the countryside to name for posterity 19 out of 69 medieval

parishes, two water-courses, and a mountain – something more, perhaps, than the impact of 'a scattered uppercrust'. There is nothing to show whether Anglian lords ruled British peasants, though this may have happened if only locally. There must have been areas where the Angles settled as a whole people, with their own free peasants working the land. The Carl(e)ton place-names hint that this was so; but social patterns may have been diverse.

The strategic importance of the sites where Angles settled is sufficient confirmation of their mastery of the country. Most important – in a region where communication and opportunities for trade depended so much on the sea – they controlled a very large proportion of the coast and all the better ports. The maritime character of the Anglian settlements extended to their settlement and control of the inland district of the Glenken at the navigable limits of the river Dee and Loch Ken. The coast, estuaries and rivers seem to have been more significant than the Roman roads, both in the Anglian settlers' approach to Galloway, and thereafter. To what extent they exploited the mercantile opportunities is less clear.

Allowing for the larger size of estates in the eighth century, of which the monastic estate of Outon is an example; allowing for the rough hill country of northern Galloway and southern Carrick, and the unknown but probably large area which was still under forest, let us say that Anglian settlements accounted for something like half the accessible land. Their absence north of Parton and Balmaghie, between Fleet and Cree, and the north-western districts of central Wigtownshire, indicates where the other half lay. It may be presumed that much of this was under tribute to Northumbria. The demonstrable lateness of Gaelic settlement names, and the distribution of the *slew-* names of which there is medieval record within areas which can be seen to have been under Anglian or British control, indicates that the dominant aristocracy in the areas not settled by the Angles was British.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS (app 2)

The age of some British settlements has been obscured by the effect of Cumbria's resurgence of power in the 10th century, when the old situation was reversed. Galloway east of the Urr seemed to come within the direct control of the kingdom of Cumbria, much of the rest probably rendering tribute. Some important British centres, such as the lordship of Carnmoel (Kirkinner), may date from this time; but at least some of the homesteads which remained in British occupation from Roman times until the post-Northumbrian period can be traced. The crannog at Longcastle (Stuart 1866, 277–9) and the island in Castle Loch, Mochrum (Ralegh Radford 1950, 41–63), are examples. Terregles marks the site in the east of a primitive Christian church (Barrow 1983, 1–15) and a Brittonic homestead about which little is known.

The great multiple estates of Wigtownshire where the Brittonic name of the caput contained the place-name element *maen* (stone) coinciding with the presence of a standing stone, testify to continued occupation dating back to pre-Northumbrian society. They included Manhincon (Craighlaw) and Mindork in Kirkcowan, Monreith of Kirkmaiden in the western Machars, and the obsolete Menybrig in Leswalt. Corresponding evidence of British tribal organization is traceable in parts of Carrick (Brooke 1983, 64).

PARTITION

It is striking that an approximately similar partition of territory between people of different cultures has been inferred independently from different data relating to the 10th and 11th centuries. Dr Derek Craig's fine study of the local sculpture of this period distinguishes the siting of the carved crosses of the Whithorn school from the territories where less skilfully

executed incised stones were a feature. In the northern Glenken around Carsephairn, between the Fleet (or Skyreburn) and the Cree, and west of Castle Loch in the parish of Mochrum and the Tarf Water, the sculpture differed both in kind and quality from the more professionally carved crosses in the vicinity of Whithorn: and different again from the fragments of classical Northumbrian crosses of the eighth and ninth centuries featuring plant scroll decoration, in the eastern Stewartry. Dr Craig (pers comm) has suggested that the Whithorn crosses indicate the continuation through the undocumented period 802–1125 of a regional centre at Whithorn.[1] On the higher, poorer land incised stones, simple and crude enough to be undatable, were markedly the produce of a different tradition.

Our respective demarcations of territory differ mainly in relation to the Rhins where the sculptural evidence offers no support for Anglian settlement, and the case for it is perhaps at its weakest. Elsewhere in Galloway, working with diverse material, similar conclusions can be drawn. The common recognition, for example, of the river Tarf as a boundary highlights the extent of the agreement. This measure of unanimity not only reinforces the strength of our respective conclusions. The archaeological analysis implies the survival of an Anglian population and culture for at least 200, and probably 300 years, and for much of that time the existence of a (probably) tributary people in clearly demarcated territories.

The parallel survival of two cultures over this period is confirmed by a third corpus of evidence: the historical development of the place-name Galloway along two distinct stems. This has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Brooke 1991).

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

By the 10th century a rudimentary parish system can be traced from the siting of many of the 'Whithorn' school crosses (Craig, pers comm); and this is supported by the fact that more than 25% of medieval parishes retained OE names. Within the diocese of Whithorn which probably extended into Carrick, the pattern of minsters (mother churches) and outlying chapels to be seen at Edingham, Kelton, Kirkcudbright, and probably Soulseat and Maybole, appears to have emerged under Northumbrian rule. It conforms to the three-tier structure of head-minster, minster (*matrix ecclesia*) and field church already developed in southern England in the seventh century (Stenton 1985, 150) and traceable in the *paruchiae* of Hexham and Lindisfarne. The development of the medieval parishes from this organization has been described in relation to southern Scotland as a whole (Cowan 1961, 44–55).

EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES

How much the Angles felled woodland and brought waste into cultivation, or contented themselves in good cattle- and horse-breeding country with a mainly pastoral economy, can be assessed only in tentative terms. Whatever forest clearance they undertook, large areas of woodland in the 12th century remained in districts once occupied by the Angles. This is recorded most clearly between the Nith and the Urr.

The Anglian settlements identified coincide with wealthy cereal-growing estates organized on a manorial system in the 12th, 13th, and 15th centuries; certainly, the Angles seized for themselves lands with an arable potential. Some of the erstwhile British estates, such as the lands of Threave and Kelton, may have been partly under the plough before the Northumbrian period, but it seems likely that the Angles considerably enlarged the total area of arable land.

The lead- and silver-mining districts, such as Carsphairn and Minigaff, remained in

British hands. These were the places where gold also was available, if only by panning. The Britons were traditionally miners, and the form of their tribute to Northumbria may have reflected it. Deposits of copper and iron, by contrast, lay in the coastal districts under Anglian control. Whether they were worked we do not know. Salt-panning, on the other hand, was sufficiently well established by the time of the Vikings to give rise to the place-name Southerness (Salternes) signifying salt headland.

If the Anglian economy stressed arable cultivation and the Cymry leaned toward stockraising, it nevertheless remains relevant to ask whether either or both depended in places upon a Gaelic-speaking peasantry to provide the labour force on arable lands, for timber felling, mineral extraction, or the herding of livestock. The answer must await further research.

The uniqueness of Galloway, so long blurred by a miasma of misunderstanding, is now appearing, through the work of many scholars, in sharper focus. We have looked for one society, and have found two, maintaining co-existence no doubt precariously. Tension, born of competition for power and resources, must have broken down into violence from time to time. Both peoples defended their homesteads and maintained their frontiers and frontier forts, but the quality of the peace they kept may be measured by comparing their relatively scanty fortifications with the multitude of motte-and-bailey castles the Anglo-Normans built. Rather than entrenched hostility we seem to discover complementary economies and habitats – arable and pastoral, coast and hinterland, open country and forest.

APPENDIX 1
PROVISIONAL LIST OF ANGLIAN SETTLEMENTS IN GALLOWAY & CARRICK

The settlement numbers correspond with those on the map (illus 2): d signifies that settlement was part of the demesne of the medieval lords of Galloway, and * indicates that the place-name was recorded fewer than four times before 1500.

Map Ref (NX)	Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Suggested OE form and meaning
	GROUP 1				
1 8161	Buittle (d)	Botel	c 1251	*Oxford deeds*	*botl*: hall, mother-village
2 8362	Edingham	Edyngaheym	c 1120	*ESC*	E's-*ingaham*: homestead of E's folk
3 8367	Blaiket	Blachet	1164–73	*Holy Lib*	*blaec-haeth*: black heath
4 8359	Richorn (d)	Richhyrn*	1456	*ER* vi	*raecc-aern*: stead of the hunting dogs
		Rechern	1458	*ER* vi	
		Reicharne	1497	*ADC*	
5 9655	Preston	Preston-under-Crofel	1319	*CDS* iii	*preost-tun*: priest's village
6 9056	Southwick (d)	Sudhaik	12th C	Holm Cultram	? *sud-ac*: south oak (transcription by G W S Barrow)

Map Ref (NX)	Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Suggested OE form and meaning
GROUP 2					
7 6672	Burned Island (d)	insula Arsa	1352	SRO RH i i	personal name + *botl*,
		Irisbutil	1456	*ER* vi	hall, mother-village
		Erysbutil	1458	*ER* vi	OR *eorth-botl*, home-
		Arsbutil	1460	*ER* vi	stead of the earthwork
		Erthbuthill	1465	*ER* vii	
		Arthbutill	1471	*ER* viii	
8 6875	Shirmers	Schyirme(r)s*	1408	SRO RH6 ii 219	*scir-(ge)maere*: shire boundary
9 7169	Parton (transcribed Parcon)	Parton	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*pearr-tun*: village in the district
10 7074	Glenswinton	(Glen)swyntoune	1336	*RMS* i app i	*swin-tun*: pig enclosure
11 6183	Earlstoun (d)	Erlistone*	1456	*ER* vi	*eorl's stan*: earl's stone
GROUP 3					
12 7163	[Kirkandrews]	S Andree	1172–4	*RRS* Wi	
13 7361	Netherhall	Nederhall*	1240–50	*St Bees Reg*	*neother-hall*: low hall
14 7660	Kelton (d)	Cheleton	1172–4	*RRS* Wi	*celf-tun*: calf enclosure
15 7549	(Kirkcarswell)	Kyrassalda*	1365	*RMS* i	
GROUP 4					
16 6850	(Kirkcudbright)	S Cuthbert de Desnesmor	1165–71	*RRS* Wi	
		Kirkcudbriht	1210	*RRS* Wi	
17 6654	Twynholm	Twignam	1154–65	*Holy Lib*	*Twicga-ham*:
		Twenham (six forms -*ham* before 1296)	1200–6	*Holy Lib*	Twicga's homestead OR (be)*tween-eam*:
		Tuinam	1296	*CDS* ii	between streams
		Twynham	1300	*CDS* ii	
18 6559	Miefield (d)	Meythfelde*	1456	*ER* vi	?*Maegthe-feld*: the open country of the mayweed OR see Maybole
19 6546	Senwick	Sanneck	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*sand-hnecca*: sandy
		Sa'nayk	1296	*CDS* ii	neck. See NX 6445
GROUP 5					
20 5749	(Ardwall Island)				
21 5948	(Kirkandrews)	K Purten	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*port-tun*: harbour
		K Porton	1335–6	*CDS* iii	village
		K Purtoun	1413	SRO RH6 ii 233	
22 6050	Plunton	Plunctoune	1458	*RMS* ii	*plum-tun*: plum
		Plomtoun	1461	SRO GD 25 i 83	enclosure
		Pluwmptoun			
23 6053	Girthon	Girtun	1296	*CDS* ii	discussed p 307
		Gerton-on-Flete	1300	M'Kerlie p 470	
		Girtoun	1306–29	*RMS* i app 2	
	River Fleet	Flete*²	1300	as above	*fleot*: creek
		Fleit	1508	Pitcairn, *Trials*	
	Skyreburn	(Glen)skirburne*	1494	*RMS* ii 2204	*scir-burna*: shire (boundary) stream

Map Ref (NX)		Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Suggested OE form and meaning
	GROUP 6					
24	4060	Penninghame	Peningham	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	? penny homestead
25	?	(unidentified)	Frethrid*	1474–5	*RMS* ii	*fyrhth-ryden*:
			Frethrid	1475	*ER* ix	woodland clearing
26	3864	Mertonhall	Merton	1431	*RMS* ii	*mere-tun*: lake
			Mertoune	1473	*RMS* ii	village
27	4355	Wigtown	Wiketune	1232	DFR	*wic-tun*: cattle farm enclosure
28	4843	Cruggleton (d)	Crugeldum	c 1148	Bernard, Malachy	*cruc-hyl-dun*: hill-hill-hill
29	4248	Claunch	Cleonces	1329	*RMS* i app i	clench: a lump mass
			Clonchis	1451	*ER* v	(hill)
30	4440	Whithorn	Huuitern	c 1100	Symeon of Durham	*hwit-aern* white shack, steading
31	4544	Broughton	Brochtounys	1365–6	*RMS* i	*broc-tun*: fort
			Brochtoun	1468	*ER* ix	village
32	4442	Outon	Oton	1326	*RMS* i app i	*ata(n)-tun*: oat enclosure/village OR *hoh-tun*: high village
			Houton	1464	*CPL* xii	
33	4645	Pouton	Poltoun	1306–29	*RMS* i app ii	*pol-tun*: village with tidal stream
34	4339	Rispain	Respin*	1459	*CPL* xii	*hris-pen*: brushwood
			Raspyn	1464	*CPL* xii	enclosure
	GROUP 7					
35	0953	Stoneykirk	Stanacra*	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*stan-aecer*: stony acre
36	1058	Soulseat	Sauleset (transcribed Fauleset)	1257	*CPL* i	*salh-sceat*: spit of land with sallows
			Saulsete	1275	*Laing Chrs*	
37	1335	Alton	Altoune	1456	*ER* vi	*alda-tun*: old village
38	1435	Cailliness (d)	Callones	1456	*ER* vi	*calu/calwe-nes*:
			Calvynnes	1460	*ER* vi	bare headland
39	0368	[Kirkcolm]	Rintsnoc*	12th C	*Libellus* 1838	discussed
			rennysnag (Mole)	1341	*RMS* i & SRO RHi	
	GROUP 8					
40	3009	Maybole	Meibothel(beg)	c 1180	*Melrose Lib*	? *maege-botl*: maiden's hall
			Scipsate*	1185–1214	*Melrose Lib*	*sceap-seotu*: sheepfold
42	2407	Turnberry (Kirkoswald)	Tornebiri	1214	*Melrose Lib*	*thyrne/thorn-burh*
			Turnbere	1225	*Cross Chrs*	(dat. *byrig*) thornfort
			Turnberige	1226	*CPL* i	
			Tornebiri	1301	*CDS* ii	
43		unidentified	Coffe*	1456	SRO GD 25 i 71	*cofa*: den, cave
			Cofe	1464	*ER* vii	or small bay, cove
			le Coffe	1470	*RMS* ii 1010	
44	2607	[Auchenblane]	Suthblan*	1225	*Cross Chrs*	*suth-blae*(n)
			Suthblan	1226	*CPL* i	(dat.): south of
			Southblane	1324	*Cross Chrs*	rough country

Map Ref (NX)		Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Suggested OE form and meaning
45		unidentified	Snade	1404	SRO GD 25 i 26	snaed: piece,
			Snade	1444	Cross Chrs	oddment of land
		(transcribed Suade)				or woodland
			Snayd	1498–9	RSS i	
			Snayde	1498–9	Pitcairn, Trials	
46	3804	Straiton	Straton	1225	Cross Chrs	straet-tun: village
			Stratoun	1346	Laing Chrs	on the road
47	2701	Dailly	Dalie*	1214–49	SRO RH6 i 21	da-leah: doe-wood
48	1183	[Ballantrae]	Kyrkcubry de Entertig	1484	SRO GD 109 i 780	
49		unidentified	le Red Hohc*	1285	NB Chrs	reade-hoh or hreod-hoh: red ridge or reedy ridge
50		unidentified	Alesbruc	c 1185	RMS ii 142 (transumpt)	personal name + burh, byrig:
			Alesburc			fort (compare
			Alesbro	before		Turnberry)
			Alesbiri	1214	Melrose Lib	
			Alesburc			
			Alesburc	1249	Melrose Lib	

APPENDIX 2
BRITTONIC NAMES OF PARISHES AND IMPORTANT ESTATES

The settlement numbers on the far left correspond with those on illus 3. The modern Welsh equivalent of the Cumbric place-name elements are given unless an ancient form is known. The asterisk * signifies that the transcription published has been adjusted by reading n for u, c for t, and t for c.

Map Ref (NX)		Place-Name	Early form	Date	Source	Definitive Brythonic element
		STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT				
1		unidentified	le Contref	1408	SRO RH6 ii 219	?gaelicized ceanntref (chief homestead)
2	5856	Cardoness	Karden	1240	CPL i	cardden (copse)
3	4955	Carsluith	Carsluthe	1422	SRO GD 10 i 26	caer-(stronghold)
4	8763	Falgunzeon	Boelewynnyn	1175–85	Holm Cultram	moel (bare hill)
5	4269	Garlies	Garles	1329–71	RMS i app 2	llys (court)
6	P	Kells	Kelles	c 1275	SHS Misc vi	?hidden place (see
			les Kellys	1301	CDS ii	Padel 1985 p 48)
7	4562	Kirroughtree	Carowchtre	1456	ER vi	caer-
8	9678	Lincluden	Lencludan	1296	CDS ii	llan (church) OR llyn (pool)
9	P	Minigaff	Monygof	1471	CPL xiii	mynydd (mountain)
10	6749	St Mary's	Trail	1165–1214	Holy Lib	tref-
11	P	Terregles .	Traveregles	c 1275	SHS Misc v	tref-
12	7463	Threave	Treif	1422	SRO RH6 ii 276	tref-
13	9375	Terrauchtie	Traachty	1457	RMS ii	tref-
14	P	(Balmaclellan)	Trevercarcou	c 1275	SHS Misc vi	tref-
15	P	Troqueer	Treverquyrd	c 1120	ESC	tref-
			Treucoer	1154 x 1186	Holy Lib	

	Map Ref (NX)	Place-Name	Early form	Date	Source	Definitive Brythonic element
16	6880	Troquhain	Trechanis	1466	*RMS* i	*tref-*
17	5765	Trostrie	Trostaree Trostre	1456 1481	*ER* vi *ER* ix (rental)	*tref-*
	WIGTOWNSHIRE					
18	P (NX 1152)	Clayshant	Clocsent	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*clog* (rock)
19	2363	Carscreugh	Castelcruk	1456	*ER* vi	*cruc* (hill)
20	P	(Kirkinner)	Carnemal Carnmoel	c 1275 1298	*SHS Misc* vi *CDS* ii	*moel* (bare hill)
21	2358	Dunragit	Dunrechet	9th C	*Martyrology of Oengus*	?*din Reget* (fort of Rheged)
22	2271	Laggangarn	Lekkyngoriow	1448	SRO GD 138 i 2	see p 311
23	P	Leswalt	Leswalt	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*llys* (court)
24	P	Longcastle	Lengast	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*llan* (church)
25	3161	(Craighlaw)	Manhincon *	1296	*CDS* ii	*maen* (stone)
26	9761	(Larbrax)	Menibrig Menybrig	1426 1485	*RMS* ii *ER* ix	*maen -*
27	3059	Mindork	Mundork	1475	*RMS* ii	*maen -*
28		Mochrum	Mochrom	1326	*RMS* i app 2	? *moch-drum* (pig ridge)
29	3644	Monreith	Maynreht	1296	*CDS* ii	*maen -*
30	3275	Ochiltree	Uchiltrie	1475	*ER* ix	*uchil-tref* (high homestead)
31		unidentified	Rerigonion Penrhyn Rionydd	2nd C 12th C	Ptolemy Welsh Triads	*rigon* (very royal)
32	1469	Pularyan	Pollanregane	1499–1500	*RMS* ii	*rigon*
	CARRICK					
34	3512	Guiltree	Geyltrew	1383	*Cross Chrs*	*gweli-dref* (bed of the kindred)
35	4369	Keirs	Caeris	1300	*CDS* iv	*caer -*
36	2296	Trowier	Trowere	1430	*RMS* ii	*tref -*
38	2592	Traboyack	Trabuyag	1413	SRO RH6 ii 236	*tref -*
39	2101	Trochrague	Trevercraig *	1324	*RMS* i	*tref -*
40	3005	Tradunnock	Trudonag	1444	*Cross Chrs*	*tref -*
41	2297	Traloddan	Troloddane	1497–8	SRO GD 17 i 171	*tref -*
42	2397	Tralorg	Trewlorg	1459	*RMS* ii	*tref -*
43	3508	Tranew	Trownawe Treunewr	1370–89 1449	*Laing Chrs* RMS ii	*tref -*
44	3710	Troquhain	Trewchan	c 1370	*Cross chrs*	*tref -*

APPENDIX 3
PARISH & SETTLEMENT NAMES OF SCANDINAVIAN DERIVATION

This list is probably inflated, for in contrast to app 1 it has been compiled to be inclusive rather than kept to a minimum. Where it is uncertain whether a place-name derived originally from OE or ON, it has been included here rather than risk weakening app 1 with 'doubtfuls'. So the parishes of Southwick and Tongland are included here, and several - *nes* names. It is also a problem to distinguish names which were the product of Scandinavian-speakers from those given by Anglo-Norman incomers in the 12th century. Both knights and monks settled in Galloway from Yorkshire, Cumbria, and Lincolnshire, where terms such as *fjall* (fell), *holmr, dalr* (valley) and *kirkja* (kirk) had passed into English speech; and *leikr* (play) was adopted into vernacular Scots. The *kirk*- compound parish names, such as Kirkcudbright, are omitted as of this 12th-century vintage (Brooke 1983, 56–71).

Map Ref (NX)	Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Interpretation or definitive ON element
	STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT				
1 8153	Almorness	Ambrenes	1376	*Mort Reg*	pers. name and-*nes* (headland)
2 P	Anwoth	Anewith	1200–6	*Holy Lib*	-*wath* (ford)
3 9957	Arbigland	Arbygland	c 1288	*Holm Cultram*	pers. name and-*land* (estate)
4 5559	Arkland	Archland	1499–1500	*ADC*	pers. name (? Archil)-*land*
5	Bareness	Barness	1429	*RMS* ii 133	-*nes*
6	unidentified	inter aquas	1412	SRO RH6 ii 232	*vatn* (lake)
		Betwix the Wateris	1437	SRO RH6 ii 299	There are 4 lochs
7 5072	Bombie	Bundeby	1296	*CDS* ii 823	-*byr* (farm)
		Bondeby	1296	*CDS* ii 824	
8 P	Borgue	Worgis	c 1161–70	*Dryburgh*	*borg* (stronghold)
		Borg	1235–53	*SHS.Misc* vi	
9 6145	Borness	Borownes	1448	Caerlaverock	-*nes*
10 ·7964	Cockleaths	Cokklakis	1457	*ER* vi	*kokka-leikr* (cock-play)
12 8856	Fairgarth	Fayrgarth	1456	*ER* vi	*faer-gardr* (sheepfold)
13	Gaitgil	Gaytgil	1462	*ER* vii	*geit-gil* (goat valley)
14	Galtway*	Galtweied	1165–70	*RRS* Wi	?*goltr-thveit*
		Galtweith	1200–6	*Holy Lib*	boar-clearing
		Galtwayt	1476	*ADA*	
15 P	Gelston	Gevilstun	1264–6	*ER* i	pers. name: ? Gjofull (ON) ? Geville (A-Norman)
16 7350	Gribdae	Gretby	1365	*RMS* i	-*byr*
17 7446	Girstingwood	Gairstange	1305	*CDS* ii	*geirr-stong* (boundary pole)
18	Halketleaths	Hancoklachis	1456	*ER* vi	-*leikr*
19 8350	Hestan Island	Estholm (insula de)	1305	*CDS* ii	*est-holmr* (east island)
20 P	Kirkdale	Kirkedal	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	*kirkja-dal*: church vale
21	Mabie	Mayby	1200–34	*Holm Cultram*	-*byr*
22 7252	Milnthird	Myddilthride	1458	Pitcairn, *Trials*	-*thrid* (part)
23 7155	Netherthird	Netherthrid	1475	*RMS* ii	-*thrid*
24 P	Rerrick	Reraik	c 1280	*Holm Cultram*	*hreyrr-eyk*: cairn oak

Map Ref (NX)		Settlement Name	Early form	Date	Source	Interpretation or definitive ON element
25	P	Southwick	Sudhaik	1185–1200	*Holm Cultram*	*?sud-eyk*: south oak
26	9754	Southerness	Salternes	1185–1200	*Holm Cultram*	*salt-nes*: salt headland
27	7153	Sypland	Sipland	1210	*RRS* Wi	?pers name
			Sypland	1288	*ER* i	*-land*
			Sippeland	1305	*CDS* iv	
28	P	Tongland	Tuncgeland	1165–75	*RRS* Wi	*tung-eland* (OE)
			Tungeland	1189–1206	*Holy Lib*	or *tungr-land*
			Tuncland	1240	*CPL* i	(ON) tongue-like
			Tungland	1272	*Laing Chrs*	island or estate

WIGTOWNSHIRE

28	4140	Appleby	Apilby	1459	*CPL* xii	*apelbyr* (apple farm)
29	4536	Arbrack	Arborg	1456	*ER* vi	*-borg*
30	4736	Bysbie	Buskeby	1296	*CDS* ii	*-byr*
			Biskeby	1305	*CDS* ii	
31	4946	Eggerness	Egernes	1189–96	*Wigt Chrs*	personal name and-*nes*
32		unidentified	Fayrgarth	1478	*Wigt Chrs*	*faer-gardr* (sheep enclosure)
33	4336	Kidsdale	Kisdale	1352	*CDS* iii	pers name: *dalr*
			Kythydalle	1356–65	*RMS* i app 1	
33	4450	Lybrack	Lybrig	1456	*ER* vi	*-bryggia* (landing place)
34	3743	Myrton	Myrtoun	1432	*Wigt Chrs*	*myrr-*(swampy)
35	4336	Physgill	Fischgill	1470	*RMS* ii	*fisk-gil* (fish ravine)
36	4144	Ravenstone	Ravischach	1306–29	*RMS* i app 2	*Hrafn-skogr* (Hrafn's wood)
37	P	Sorbie	Sowrby	1185–1200	*Dryburgh*	*saurr-byr* (swamp farm)

CARRICK

38	1790	Millenderdale	Moylonadale	1306–29	*RMS* i app 2	*-dale*
			Mylanadel	1456	*ER* vi	

APPENDIX 4
GAELIC SETTLEMENT NAMES

The evidence suggests that if Gaelic was spoken in Galloway in the eighth and ninth centuries it was then a minority language used by some peasants. It would be inappropriate here to attempt a general survey of the flood of Gaelic place-names recorded in the 12th century and after. These notes concern only the parish names apparently produced by Gaelic-speakers, the names incorporating the generic *baile-* (homestead) and the *sliabh* or *slew-* names.

Only a handful of medieval parishes were named by Gaelic-speakers, other than those such as Balmaghie, Balmaclellan and Ballantrae, which can be dated as late medieval; in the Stewartry there are five, in Wigtownshire three. Some of these are indistinguishable from Brittonic names (eg Crossmichael and Inch). Kells and Lochkinderloch were, on balance, included in app 2, but some linguists would perhaps list them here. Lochrutton and Toskerton are anglicized and dubious. There were no medieval parish names of Gaelic derivation in Carrick.

PARISH NAMES

Parish Name	Early form	Date	Source	Interpretation
Colvend	Culwene	1165–74	*RRS* Wi	*cul-beinn* (back
	Culven	1174–86	*Holm Cultram*	of the peak)
Crossmichael	Crosmighel	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	Michael's cross

Parish Name	Early form	Date	Source	Interpretation
Dalry	Dalri	c 1275	*SHS Misc* vi	king's meadow
Lochrutton	Lochreuttone	c 1275	*SHS Misc* v	?
Inch	Inch	1254–61	Theiner *Vet Mon*	*innis, ynys* (the island)
Glenluce	Glenlus	1296	*Holm Cultram*	*gleann-lus* (herb valley)
Toskerton	Tuskerton	c 1275	SHS Misc vi	? *tosgair* (envoy)

SETTLEMENT NAMES

Nicolaisen (1970, 15–35) discussed the Gaelic names implying settlement in southern Scotland, concentrating on those containing the elements *cille* (church), *achadh* (field), and *baile* (homestead). The data used were mainly from maps. This note is confined to place-names recorded before 1500. The *cille-* or *kil-* are omitted for three reasons: few are recorded in contrast to the many *kirk-* names; some *kirks* changed to *kil-* in the 15th century; and *kil-* can represent an original *cuil* (nook), *cul* (back), or *coille* (wood) as well as *cille* (church). The *achadh-* are numerous, but reveal their chronology less clearly than the *baile-* names, and possibly the *sliabh* names.

In the Stewartry five *baile-* names were recorded before 1500: 22 in Wigtownshire, and 17 in Carrick. Out of these total of 44, eight can be shown either replacing an older name or coming into use in the late Middle Ages.

STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT

NX 7059	Barncrosh	Balencros	1172–4	*RRS* Wi

See p 304. The ninth-century cross of which a fragment is preserved indicates an Anglian settlement.

P	Balmaclellan	Balmaclelan	1453	*CPL* i

See app B no 14 This was the parish of Trevercarcou c 1275.

	Balmaghie	ecclesia de S Andree	c 1161	*Holy Lib*
		Kirkanders Balemakethe	1255–93	*Holy Lib*

See app A no 12. 'The church of St Andrews', a Northumbrian settlement.

6545	Balmangan	Balmangane	1498	*ADC* i

'Half the lands of Schannok called Balmangan' (1513 ER xiii) and 'alias Grange of Sannik' 1616 Inquis ad Capell). app A 19

WIGTOWNSHIRE

0850	Balgreggan	Ballygragane	1456	*ER* vi

Baile-gragan (homestead or village of the manor) 'the modern village street is clearly aligned on an impressive Norman motte . . . the name cannot have come into existence before the end of the twelfth century' (Macqueen 1979, 30).

4639	Balnab	Balnab	1450	*Wigt Chrs*

The 'Abbot's homestead' in the parish of Inch belonged to the Abbot of Glenluce. Glenluce was founded in 1192, and the Abbot's lands could not have been named before that. It has been suggested that Balnab in the parish of Whithorn dated from the period when there was an abbot of Whithorn (instead of a Prior) (Nicolaisen 1970, 15–35); but these lands, recorded in 1532–3, were the property of the Abbot of Soulseat (*Wigt Chrs*). Abbots needed a second residence only when some distance from their monastery.

4440	Bishopton	Balnespyk	1502	*Wigt Chrs*

The Bishop had complained to the Pope in 1408 that he had no residence in Whithorn (Papal Letters 1394–1419 *SHS* 1976). In 1502 his successor appointed a keeper of his palace and fortalice of Balnespyk (bishop's homestead) in Whithorn.

CARRICK

P	Ballantrae	Kyrkcubry de Entertig		SRO GD 109 i 780

Parish of Innertig c 1275 (Cross Chrs 6). see p 311.

SLEW-NAMES

The Gaelic element *sliabh* (hill) went out of currency in Ireland before the Vikings established themselves there (Nicolaisen 1965, 105). It is argued therefore that its use in Scotland, where it takes the form *slew*, was similarly limited, and that its occurrence in Galloway argues the presence of Gaelic-speakers not later than the ninth century. But *slew-* names were recorded in Fife where Gaelic-speaking before 845 seems unlikely (Barrow: corresp.). This weakens but does not wholly invalidate the argument.

A crowd of names prefixed by the generic *slew-* (Gaelic: *sliabh*) appear on the modern maps of the Rhins but none is known to have been recorded before 1500. The following, however, do appear in medieval record:

NX 7458	Slagnaw	Sleugnaw	1456	*ER* vi
6468	Slogarie	Slewgarre	1481	*ER* vi
	unidentified	Slewdonale	1482–3	*RMS* ii
	unidentified (alias le Fell: Retours)	Sleundaw	1456	*ER* vi

Slagnaw is in Kelton, Slogarie in Balmaghie (districts in Anglian occupation); Slewdonale was in the hills of Kirkcowan, the Fell is in Balmaclellan, a British reserve. All four were in the demesne of the medieval lords of Galloway. The medieval records of these four suggest they were holdings of value.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1 Dr Craig has written to me that he is prepared to accept the Skyreburn as a sculptural boundary of sorts although the cross at Kirkclaugh shows some affinities with crosses on Ardwall Island and in Anwoth.
2 This reference is not very satisfactory. McKerlie seems to have had access to an English document which I have been unable to trace. Sir William Fraser wrote similarly of Edward I's leaving Caerlaverock and going on to Kirkcudbright, Twynholm and 'Flete' in 1300 (Fraser 1973, 51).

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