

**Transactions**  
of the  
**Dumfriesshire and Galloway**  
**Natural History**  
and  
**Antiquarian Society**



LXXIV 2000

**Transactions**  
of the  
**Dumfriesshire and Galloway**  
**Natural History**  
and  
**Antiquarian Society**

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXXIV

Editors:

JAMES WILLIAMS, F.S.A.Scot.,  
W. F. CORMACK, M.B.E., F.S.A.Scot.

ISSN 0141-1292

2000

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

OFFICE-BEARERS 1998-99  
and  
FELLOWS of the SOCIETY

**President**

Mr Patrick Crichton

**Vice Presidents**

Dr D Devereux, Dr J K Johnson and Mrs E Toolis

**Fellows of the Society**

Dr J Harper, MBE; Mr J Banks, BSc; Mr A E Truckell, MBE, MA, FMA; Mr A Robertson, MA;  
Mr A Anderson, BSc; Mr D Adamson, MA; Mr J Chinnock, Mr J H D Gair, MA, JP, Dr J B Wilson, MD  
and Mr KH Dobie - as Past Presidents.

Mr W F Cormack, MBE, MA, LLB, WS; Mr J G Scott, MA, FMA; Mr J Williams  
and Mr L J Masters, MA - appointed under Rule 10.

**Hon. Secretary**

Mr Mark White, Smithy Cottage, Milton, Crocketford, Dumfries DG2 8QT  
Tel.(01556) 690271. Assisted by Mrs J Taylor as Minute Secretary.

**Hon. Membership Secretary**

Mrs M Rochester, Hillcrest, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SL. Tel.(01387) 710144

**Hon. Treasurer**

Dr J Bruce Irving, Bonshaw Tower, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie DG11 3LY Tel. (01461) 500526

**Hon. Librarian**

Mr R Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP. Tel.(01387) 263164  
Assisted by Mr J Williams, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ

**Joint Hon. Editors**

Mr W F Cormack, 16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie DG11 2AJ and Mr J Williams

**Hon. Curators**

Mrs E Kennedy and M/s S Ratchford

**Ordinary Members**

Miss H Barrington, M/s L Botten, Mr D W Ogilvie, Mr P Kormylo,  
Miss M Stewart, Mrs Olga Stewart and Mrs J Brann

## CONTENTS

---

Prehistoric Landscapes in Dumfries and Galloway – Pt 1 Mesolithic & Neolithic by R A Gregory.....	1
Excavations and Survey at Coats Hill, near Moffat 1990-1 by Andrew Dunwell, Ian Armit, Ian Ralston and Anne Clarke .....	27
Two Problems from Roman Scotland – Genunia and Cohors II Tungrorum by J Spaul.....	47
Four Brittonic Place-Names from South-West Scotland by Andrew Breeze.....	55
Drengs and Drings by W F Cormack .....	61
A Fragment of Medieval Church Music in Stranraer Museum by S N Atkins.....	69
Dumfries Burgh Court Books in the 16th Century Part II – with Index of Personal Names in Parts I and II by A E Truckell .....	77
Some Early Teind Lists by Duncan Adamson .....	95
Addenda Antiquaria	
Lithic Materials from Bar hill, St Mungo's Parish, Annandale by James Williams .....	105
The Dragon of Corriehills by Iain Fraser .....	107
The Wells of the Rees and Stones of Laggangarn – some unpublished references by W F Cormack and Julia Muir-Watt .....	111
Lochmaben Town Council Minutes 1612 - 1721 – The Economy of Lochmaben by J B Wilson.....	114
A Tale of Two Houses in Virginia and Kirkcudbright by Margaret Torrance.....	120
Reviews	
<i>Fisherman's Haul</i> by Henry Truckell (W F Cormack) .....	123
<i>The Evacuee – Sixty Years On (1939-1999)</i> by Robert Kerr Moodie (W F Cormack) .....	123
<i>A Galloway Venture – The Kirkcudbright Shipping Company 1811-1817</i> by Carol Hill (Mark White) .....	123
<i>Border Towers of Scotland, their History and Architecture – The West March</i> by A M T Maxwell Irving (J Williams) .....	124
Obituary	
Jack Gillespie Scott (W F Cormack) .....	125
Proceedings .....	126

## EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Geology, Antiquities and Archaeology including Industrial Archaeology, of South West Scotland or the Solway Basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for 'Instructions to Contributors', giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Each contributor has seen a proof of his or her paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information in it.

A list of Members, as in May 1998, appeared in volume 72 and a copy of the current Rules, dated 13th October 1995, appeared in volume 69.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr Mark White, Smithy Cottage, Milton, Crocketford, Dumfries DG2 8QT, Tel. 0155 669 0271, deals with all matters other than membership which are dealt with by the Hon. Membership Secretary, Mrs M. Rochester, Hillcrest, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SL, Tel. 01387-710144.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr J. Williams, St Albans, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ. Exchange volumes are deposited in the Library of Dumfries Museum at which location they may be freely consulted by members. However, as public opening hours may vary, it is recommended that prior contact be made with Museum staff (phone 01387 253374) before visiting.

Enquiries regarding back numbers of Transactions - see rear cover - should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lover's Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time.

All payments, other than subscriptions, should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr J Bruce Irving, Bonshaw Tower, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie DG11 3LY. Payment of subscriptions should be made to Mrs M Rochester (see above), on behalf of the Hon. Treasurer who will be pleased to discuss Bonds of Covenant and Gift Aid, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. The attention of members and friends is drawn to the important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions which are conferred on individuals by the Finance Acts, in as much as bequests, or transfers of shares or cash to the Society are exempt from these taxes.

Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on certain periods. Enquiries and applications for grants should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

The Council is indebted to Shell Chemicals UK Ltd for a substantial grant towards the publication costs of the paper by Andrew Dunwell and others on the excavations and field work at Coats Hill, Moffat, for a generous anonymous grant towards the printing costs of Mr A E Truckell's paper on Dumfries Burgh Records and to The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for those of Iain Fraser's note on The Dragon of Corriehills.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article The Early Church in Dumfriesshire by W.G. Collingwood, in volume XII, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*. It is discussed afresh by Prof. Richard Bailey in *Whithorn Lecture* No. 4 (1996).

# PREHISTORIC LANDSCAPES in DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

## Part 1. Mesolithic and Neolithic Landscapes

by R A Gregory

P.E.R.U. School of Geography, University of Manchester M13 9PL.

### Introduction

Seventy-five years ago in these *Transactions*, the then director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, J G Callander discussed the prehistoric remains of Dumfriesshire. Callander (1924) considered meticulously the available evidence for the 'Stone', 'Bronze' and 'Early Iron Ages', placing these 'relics' in their inter-regional setting. This important contribution was enhanced a number of years later with a paper by J M Corrie (1928), also published in these *Transactions*. Corrie's goal was to complement Callander's discussion by again describing the prehistoric remains of a select region, in this instance the neighbouring county of Kirkcudbrightshire. Inevitably, since the publication of these early contributions the extent and understanding of the prehistoric remains in the respective regions has increased dramatically. Advances in, and implementation of, non-destructive techniques of discovery, such as ground survey and aerial photography, coupled with the use of destructive techniques of investigation, notably excavation, have exponentially enriched knowledge of the residues of prehistory, while advances in Scottish archaeology in general have allowed these remains to be placed in relative and absolute chronological schemes. The number of 'stray' finds have also increased in both areas, due in part to continued modern agricultural exploitation of lowland environments. The establishment of palynology and geomorphological studies in the area have added a further dimension, providing some degree of insight into the kinds and types of landscape that these early communities inhabited. The last 75 years in British prehistory have also witnessed a conceptual revolution whereby a suite of interpretative techniques, ranging from empiricism through to humanistic modes of enquiry, have attempted to comprehend and explain the nature of the communities who occupied these seemingly distant realms.

In the light of these advances the time has perhaps arrived to re-evaluate the prehistory of the regions originally discussed by Callander and Corrie: an area which equates roughly with modern Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire. The precise study area, however, is defined not by administrative boundaries but by natural landscape features. The east-west boundary is formed by two major river systems, the River Esk, to the east, and the River Cree, to the west, while the northern boundary is a product of topography. Here a division has been made between the *lowland* and *upland* areas of the region and equal proportions of these landscapes are included to delimit the northerly extent of the 'region'. This distinction, between *upland* and *lowland*, is difficult but it is based in this instance on the Soil Survey of Scotland physiographic divisions, where 200m OD is viewed as the boundary between these two differing types of landscape (Brown and Shipley, 1982a; 1982b). In the *Zeitgeist* of Callander's and Corrie's enquiries this study will first consider evidence of Mesolithic and Neolithic settlement in the region. Two later contributions will consider the evidence for the Bronze and Pre-Roman Iron Ages.

### The Mesolithic

During the early half of the Holocene the natural landscape was radically different from today. The main Holocene marine transgression submerged large tracts and probably in-

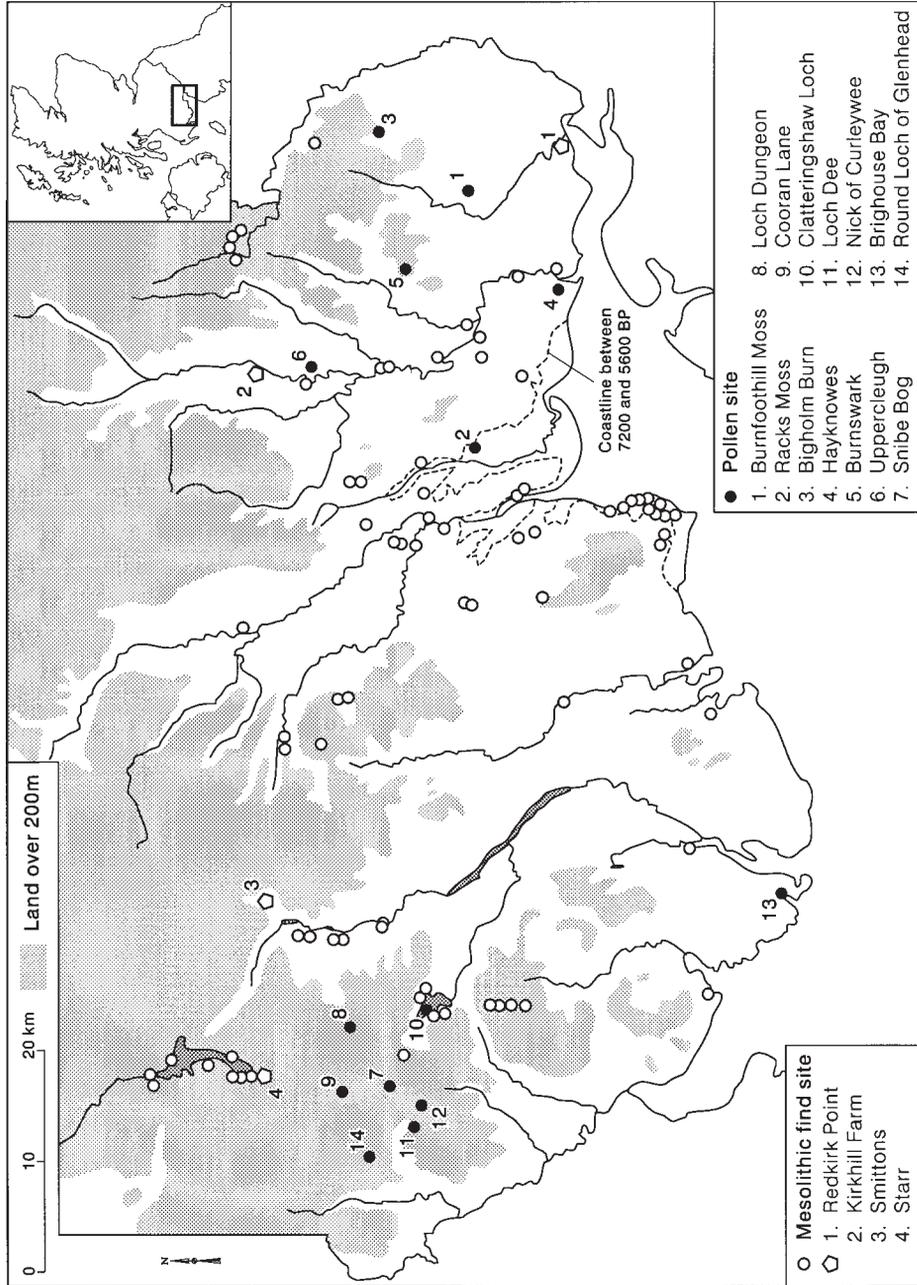


Figure 1. Mesolithic find spots and pollen sites.

creased the availability of estuarine resources. The chronology and extent of transgression and later regression has been examined in some detail by Jardine (1971; 1975; 1977; 1980; Jardine and Morrison, 1976). Jardine's work effectively establishes the position of the Holocene sea at approximately 7200, 6600, 5600 and 2000 uncal. bp against which the cultural evidence from the Mesolithic may be related (Figure 1). Numerous pollen studies indicate that vegetation cover was largely dominated by an undisturbed primeval woodland. Between c. 7500 - 6000 cal. BC birch, hazel, elm and oak were prevalent (Moar, 1969; Birks, 1972; 1975; Jones *et al.*, 1989; Tipping, 1994) in both upland and lowland areas. Pine was also found in the Galloway hills and in some coastal areas, but declined regionally between c. 5500 - 4500 cal. BC (Birks, 1975; Berglund *et al.*, 1996). Alder made a later appearance colonising upland and lowland landscapes by c. 5900 cal. BC, and continued as a dominant taxon in places until c. 4500 - 4000 cal. BC (Birks, 1972; 1975; Tipping, 1995b). It has been argued that by c. 3500 cal. BC this natural forest cover extended altitudinally to at least 460m OD (Birks, 1988) consisting at the tree line of a mixture of birch, pine, aspen and rowan (Berglund *et al.*, 1996).

It was in this primeval landscape that the first human communities, practising hunting, fishing and gathering, were established. In other areas of the British Isles recent discussion suggests that minor woodland modifications, or disturbance, may be detected in the pollen record, and this is largely viewed as a product of anthropogenic activity (*inter alia*; Simmons, 1975; 1979; Simmons and Tooley, 1981; Smith, 1970; Edwards and Ralston, 1984; Innes and Shennan, 1991). Recent analysis (Bradley, 1978; Edwards and Hirons, 1984) also indicates, in some areas, the occurrence of cereal cultivation, slightly before the elm decline at c. 3500 cal. BC, representing a pioneering phase of agrarian activity. The direct influence of burgeoning communities on the landscape of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, however, is not particularly clear. Minor forest disturbances have been located at Burnfoothill Moss where Tipping (1995b; 1997a; 1997b) identified two possible early anthropogenic woodland disturbances at 5850-5750 cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ) and 5540-5400 cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ). At Hayknowes Farm, on the Solway coast, a peak in charcoal may indicate anthropogenic disturbance at a localised scale between c. 5593-5279 cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ) (Owen, 1997; Gregory, 1998; *forthcoming*). In the uplands, fire disturbance has been identified at Cooran Lane, Kirkcudbrightshire, dated between 6459-6213 cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ) (Birks, 1975), and Edwards *et al.* (1983) suggest that a strong case exists for Mesolithic interference in the vegetational sequence. At the Round Loch of Glenhead two possible anthropogenic forest disturbances occurred between c. 5546-4331 cal. BC and c. 4411 cal. BC (Jones *et al.*, 1989). Vegetational disturbance at Loch Dee, evidenced by decreases in arboreal pollen and increases in non-arboreal pollen, was dated between 4238-4086 cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ) and has been associated with a worked flint, probably of Mesolithic type (Edwards *et al.*, 1991). Woodland disturbance which may suggest anthropogenic activity, has also been noted at Loch Doon (Edwards, 1989), and at Brighthouse Bay (Rapson, 1994). For the eastern uplands, no palynological data has yet been published but Mesolithic find spots in Annandale and Eskdale suggest the possibility of comparable disturbance.

Many of these events, of course, may represent no more than natural disturbances to the woodland cover which is difficult to ignite intentionally in northern latitudes (Rackham, 1980). By contrast twenty-three lightning strikes have been recorded over a two day period within the Galloway hills and these natural events may account for much woodland modi-

fication (Thompson, 1971; Edwards and Ralston, 1984). Nonetheless the archaeological record reveals the presence of Mesolithic communities in the vicinity of most of the pollen sites (Figure 1) and implies the possibility of early woodland interference or management, connected with clearance and even with early experiments in pastoralism.

The primeval landscape nevertheless offered a variety of food resources to early communities. In the inland, exploitation was probably seasonal. The densely wooded inland areas, penetrated *via* the river valleys, offered numerous plant resources. Fresh water fish, particularly salmon and trout, enter the Solway estuary between April and December with the greatest numbers ascending the rivers from June onwards and they probably constituted a resource of considerable value, together with fish from numerous lakes and lochs. Other important resources were migratory animals which utilised the river valleys as route ways into the uplands during summer. The coastal regions, on the other hand, may have provided a more permanent and diverse resource base including beach pebble flint as well as a variety of foods. Saltwater fish, salmon, waterfowl, shellfish, plants (including seaweed) and land game were probably plentiful and may have been vital, particularly during the winter months. Some animals, such as red deer, may also have been concentrated in these lowland environs during the cold season (Mellars, 1976). From a dietary perspective the coastal areas may have been critical (Zvelebil, 1994).

Direct indication of the activities of Mesolithic communities, however, is based on a narrow range of evidence though the period has attracted a variety of research over the last three decades (Truckell, 1963; Coles, 1964; Morrison, 1981; 1982; Edwards *et al.*, 1983). This has produced a wide distribution of find spots and in a number of cases the possibility of 'activity' sites (Cormack, 1964; Affleck, 1983; Finlayson, 1990; Pollard, 1993). The evidence itself consists predominantly of flint or chert artefacts discovered as surface scatters. Generally the flint used in the west of the area, on the Kirkcudbrightshire coast, was obtained further west from beach pebbles and drift deposits located around the Rhinns (Cormack, *pers com.*) East of the Nith, pebble flint is supplemented by an increasing amount of local chert and imported flint, possibly from Yorkshire, appears to dominate the assemblages (Cormack, *pers com.*). A similar pattern has also been noted at the inland sites of Smittons and Starr. At these sites, assemblages are comprised of imported flint and local chert which is abundant in the Southern Uplands (Finlayson, 1990). Amethyst was also used for the manufacture of tools, but this is confined to an area west of the mouth of the Nith, and was probably obtained from exposures in the Southwick Burn (Cormack, *pers com.*) The distribution pattern of these Mesolithic finds and the activity associated with them suggests concentrations near the coast, around lochs, and in some river valleys (Figure 2). There have been finds, for example, at the mouths of all major estuaries with a notably large concentration of sites south of the Nith Estuary, below the Criffel mountain. There have been find concentrations around Loch Doon and Loch Grannoch. Finds have also been made along the upper portions of the Water of Fleet, the Dee and the Urr water. In the east, sites are concentrated on the Nith and Esk systems, and there is a marked linear spread along the Annan.

This distribution seems to highlight the importance of both coastal and riverine environments but it may be deceptive. For example, the location of material has probably been greatly influenced, not by the relative distribution of activity, but by the distribution of

modern day research. The coastal areas have generally attracted more attention and this is reflected in the subsequent concentration of find spots (Truckell, 1963; Coles, 1964; Cormack and Coles, 1968; Morrison, 1981; 1982). Similarly, the inland areas surrounding Loch Doon, the Black Water of Dee and the Water of Ken have also received detailed attention (Edwards *et al.*, 1983). The majority of the remaining find spots, though, are chance discoveries. This problem is compounded by the nature of the post-depositional environment. Overwhelmingly, zones of recovery are confined to areas of modern arable agriculture or areas which have suffered from coastal or riverine erosion. Lithic assemblages may be just as great elsewhere, as exemplified by forestry drainage which revealed a series of Mesolithic chipping floors at Twiglees, above the Esk (RCAHMS, 1997).

Other problems relate specifically to the contemporaneity of the available material. Although distributions appear relatively dense it is probable that this is a product of activity spanning a considerable period of time. The few pieces of dating evidence confirm that the Mesolithic of the region covered a very long period. The earliest dates are derived from limited excavations of an exposed hearth at Redkirk Point near Gretna which gave radiocarbon dates of  $6050 \pm 65$  uncal. bc [ $7080-6660$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] and  $5985 \pm 110$  uncal. bc [ $7175-6500$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] (Masters, 1981a). Two other dates of  $4310 \pm 80$  uncal. bc [ $5460-5000$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] and  $3520 \pm 80$  uncal. bc [ $4460-4050$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] are associated with fire spots and an arc of stake holes from Smittons, in Kirkcudbrightshire (Affleck, 1983). A recent date of  $4060 \pm 60$  uncal. bc [ $5050-4730$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] has also been obtained from material suspected to be contemporary with Mesolithic artefacts at Irish Street, Dumfries (Mackenzie, 1996). The discovery of Mesolithic artefacts on raised beaches at Tallowquhairn, on the Nith estuary, suggesting post-marine transgression activity, may also be dated to a similar period (Jardine, 1975; 1980). The final site which has produced a 'proxy' date for Mesolithic activity is found inland in the vicinity of Loch Dee. Here a stratigraphic layer utilised for pollen analysis, dating between  $4238-4086$  cal. BC ( $1\sigma$ ), was found to be associated with a single Mesolithic flint (Edwards *et al.*, 1991). On the limited dating evidence for the region as a whole, therefore, Mesolithic material falls between the 7th and 5th millennium BC. This large date range may also be a problem at a site specific level. At certain localities, particularly in the coastal regions, high concentrations of lithics have been collected. But, as with the more widely dispersed material, contemporaneity should not be assumed. It is feasible as Mellars (1976: 378) notes that, 'larger sites may represent not settlements of a large social group but simply palimpsests of repeated visits to the same locality'.

The distribution of the material and the nature of Mesolithic society in the region, therefore, remains uncertain. Find spots indicate mobility in the landscape using the river valleys as routeways. The scale of this movement has been emphasised by Edwards *et al.* (1983), who postulate travel between the Solway coast and the Ayrshire coast *via* the river systems of the Dee and Doon, and the Fleet and Doon. Movement also appears to be present in eastern areas particularly along the Nith, while Annandale may have been important for contacts with the Tweed Valley (Mulholland, 1970). Interpretation of this movement is, however, problematic. Two scenarios may be postulated from the distribution of Mesolithic material and the available resource base. The first relates seasonal movement from the resource rich coastal areas in winter, to inland locations during summer, when the resource base had increased and the migratory patterns of land game had shifted. This is supported by evidence of seasonal camps on the coast at Low Clone (Cormack and Coles, 1968) and,

perhaps, Redkirk Point (Masters, 1981a). Inland, Pollard (1993) has suggested that the site at Kirkhill Farm in Annandale represents a camp which was revisited in a seasonal cycle over a period of years. A second hypothesis of near permanent occupation at the coastal sites could also be envisaged. It has already been emphasised how important, from a resource point of view, the coastal areas may have been. In theory they could have supplied the majority of resources required throughout the year. The inland sites, moreover, may represent merely ephemeral sites, or 'task camps', rather than seasonal sites occupied for part of the year by the whole community (Edwards *et al.*, 1983). At a number of these inland sites the lithic assemblages may confirm such assumptions. Analysis of the assemblages at Smittons and Starr suggests that a proportion of the tools, notably those made of flint, were brought to these sites 'ready-knapped' (Finlayson, 1990). For Dumfries and Galloway, although little work has been undertaken on comparing assemblages from coastal and inland sites, it is possible that such tools were transported to these locations from resource rich coastal localities and used in activities designed to supplement the resource base. This may also be the case for the sites located at Dalton Hook, in Annandale where again, a percentage of the assemblage is composed of imported materials (Cormack, 1964; Cormack, *pers com.*). In this instance, the sites appear to have been utilised for both the exploitation of migrant fish ascending the River Annan, and for the acquisition of a local siliceous raw material which is suitable for tool manufacture (Cormack, *pers com.*; Williams, J. *forthcoming*).

It is, therefore, difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions regarding Mesolithic society in the study area due to the ambiguous nature of the evidence. Some movement almost certainly occurred, perhaps over considerable distances, and probably over prescribed routes conditioned by primeval forest cover. The importance of periodically revisiting particular locations, however, may have imbued aspects of the landscape with a meaning particular to the community in ways which have already been noted by writers such as Bradley (1993), Barrett (1994) and Thomas (1993). They suggest that mobile groups need to rendezvous for the purposes of exchange and this results in the identification and ideological 'fixing' of specific locales in both space and time. On the meagre evidence available there is no way to recreate these processes and perceptions. If tradition was an important force, however, then the significance of these areas may have been fixed and consolidated in the perceptions of later prehistoric communities.

### **The Neolithic**

The term 'Neolithic' is generally associated with the adoption of agriculture, resulting in a new exploitative strategy towards the natural landscape. Related developments are the adoption of communal monuments, the first use of pottery, a change in stone technology, an increase in trade and, perhaps, a more 'sedentary' lifestyle. As certain writers have pointed out, however, these traditional views are based largely on conceptions of the 'Neolithic' formulated from other areas of Europe, and they need not necessarily be 'pan-European' phenomena (cf. Bradley, 1993; 1998). The evidence from Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire suggests that while certain elements of the 'Neolithic lifestyle' were appropriated, at least by the early fourth millennium BC, other defining features were not embraced until later stages of prehistory.

The adoption of agriculture, a key tenet of the 'Neolithic', certainly appears ambiguous. During the initial stages of the 'Neolithic', or the Early Neolithic (c.4300-c.3300 cal. BC), palynological studies suggest that the natural vegetative cover was essentially similar to that of the Mesolithic, with the primeval woodland dominating the landscape. Only short lived declines in elm are found and the reasons behind these are far from clear (Nichols, 1967; Moar, 1969; Birks, 1972; Jones *et al.*, 1989; Tipping, 1994; 1995b; Rapson, 1994). Direct evidence for clearance and agriculture are, however, difficult to detect from the palynology alone. Indirectly, the presence of Non-Megalithic wooden monuments - like the cursus east of the Nith - suggests that some clearance was taking place. Archaeological evidence also points to limited arable cropping associated with small scale clearance. For instance, a pit located at Carzield, in Annandale, dating between c.3966-3383 cal. BC (2 $\sigma$ ), produced charred grains of emmer and naked barley (Maynard, 1993). The appearance of pastoral weeds in numerous pollen diagrams, coupled to the nature of the soil associations, however, suggests that stock rearing was probably more important than cultivation.

The evidence from the Late Neolithic (c.3300-c.2200 cal. BC) remains ambiguous with regard to agriculture. At Burnfoothill Hill Moss, Kirkpatrick Fleming, forest regeneration between c.3100-2200 cal. BC is attributed to a climatic shift and cereal pollen is only consistently recorded in the profile after c. 1800 cal. BC (Tipping, 1995b). At Beckton Farm, Lockerbie, the low quantities of naked barley found suggest that cultivated plants played only a small role in the local diet while lithic and bone evidence point to the hunting of game (Boardman, 1997; Pollard, 1997). Movement, therefore, may still have been an important element of an annual cycle related to pastoralism. The Neolithic, then, is defined less by changes in economic practice than by innovations in other aspects of everyday life and perception.

### *The Early Neolithic*

#### 1. Monuments

One of these innovations was the construction and use of monuments. Monuments, which appear important from an early date in parts of the region, include chambered or unchambered tombs covered by a stone cairn which is either trapezoidal or round in form. Superficially, the chambered tombs may be divided into 'Clyde' and 'Bargrennan' types (cf. Henshall, 1963; 1972). Clyde tombs generally comprise a trapezoidal stone mound, or long cairn, which covers a series of stone built chambers linked to a concave façade and forecourt (Edwards, 1922; Piggott and Powell, 1949). The tombs, therefore, share characteristics with the court tombs of Ireland and the earthen long barrows of southern Britain. Ceramic assemblages associated with these tombs indicate a period of use spanning the 'Neolithic' and 'Early Bronze Age'. Bargrennan tombs differ architecturally in that they consist of a round stone cairn covering a passage which terminates at a wedge or rectangular shaped tomb. Precise dating of these tombs is difficult, however, due to a lack of diagnostic finds or dateable material (Curle, 1928; Piggott and Powell, 1949; Henshall, 1972). In form they are similar to the Irish passage graves and may be of a comparable currency, dating to c.2000-2900 uncal. bc (ApSimon, 1986). Murray (1992), however, has argued for a date falling in the late fourth to early third millennium BC.

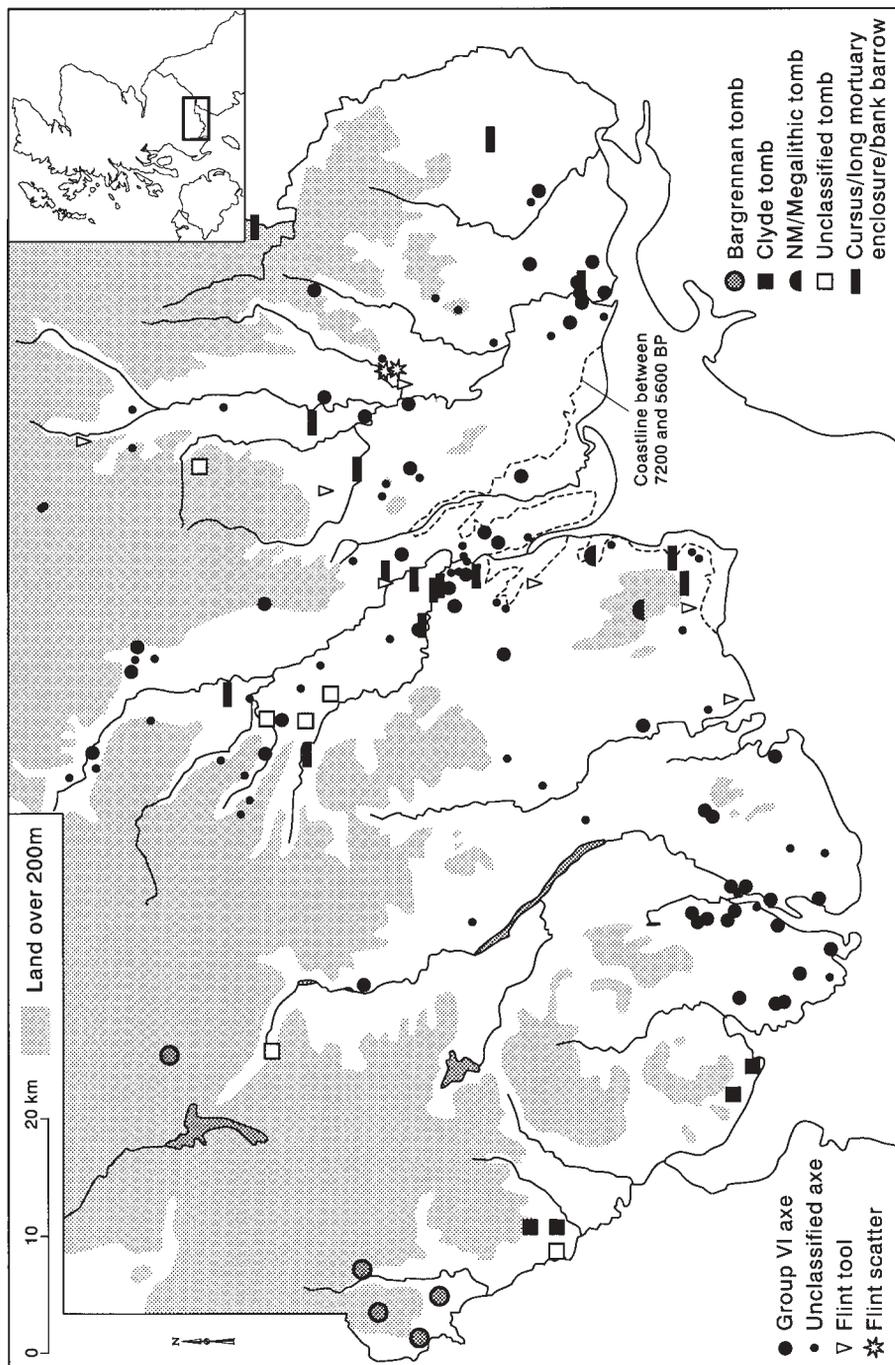


Figure 2. Monuments and artefacts dating to the Early Neolithic.

At a number of sites these tombs are found to seal earlier distinctive 'timber mortuary structures'. Excavation suggests that these structures are precursors of the long cairns in the region and indicates that some of these sites have extensive histories and may have served as important localities for much of the Neolithic. At the Lochhill long cairn, for example, an early phase consisting of a mortuary structure associated with a timber façade and four stone orthostats was revealed (Masters, 1973). The mortuary structure was of fairly standard form, consisting of a rectangular area defined by granite blocks containing three post-pits. Of these the two outer pits contained one split tree trunk each, while the centre pit contained a double post arrangement. The remains of an oak plank floor were also noted which gave a radiocarbon date of  $3120 \pm 105$  uncal. bc [4212-3646 cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )]. The structure appears to have been burnt and then covered by a stone long cairn with a stone façade and forecourt area. Deposits of flint and pottery possibly relating to 'ritual' activity were found in considerable quantities within this forecourt area. The final phase of activity at the monument resulted in the blocking of the façade and forecourt area. A similar sequence was determined at Slewcairn (Masters 1981b). The first phase, as at Lochhill, consisted of a rectangular mortuary structure containing three post-pits. There were no indications of a timber façade but at the southern end a setting of vertical stones seemed to represent the equivalent of the porch at Lochhill (Masters, 1981b). A paved area was also located in line with the mortuary enclosure. This was assumed to belong to the primary phase. With the construction of the long cairn and concave façade, the stones of the 'porch' feature were incorporated into a small chamber approached by a passage from the western side of the cairn. Large quantities of ceramics and lithics were found associated with both the primary and secondary phases. A final stage resulted in the blocking of the forecourt.

Although architecturally distinct, the function of these early funerary monuments may have been similar. Some sites appear to be connected initially with the 'processing' of the dead, and this was perhaps the role of the timber mortuary structures (cf. Scott, 1992). The remains could then be housed within specifically designed tombs. The form of these tombs implies that they were designed in order to house the remains of numerous individuals and hence served - as it were - as receptacles for the 'ancestors' (*inter alia*; Flemming, 1973; Kinnes, 1975; Renfrew, 1976; Sherratt, 1990; Hodder, 1984; 1990; 1994). They were, therefore, important structures in the *lives* of Neolithic communities. The nature of their importance, of course, has proved fertile ground for controversy. To some, they were symbols of territoriality or communal strength (Renfrew, 1976; Chapman, 1981; Sherratt, 1990). They have also been viewed as metaphors for the household or the village, vehicles of social cohesion similar to the 'longhouses' of Europe (Hodder, 1984; 1990; 1994). It has been suggested, too, that their architecture implies a social hierarchy in which the exercise of ritual and ceremony within the tombs was a specialised activity of a 'priestly' kind (Thomas, 1990; 1992; 1993; Barrett, 1994). If this was the case, then only certain members of the community would access, and control, the ancestral remains. Similarly, once the tombs were sealed only certain individuals would initiate the rituals within, and around, the monument, which presumably resulted in the deposition of pottery, flint and cremated bone as at Bargrennan, Cairnholy I and II, Slewcairn and Lochhill. In this way, the monuments and their associated architecture were important in defining social relations and socially structuring the early communities of the region. These social processes appear to have had a long currency as excavation at sites such as Lochhill and Slewcairn indicate. In this sense as

Thomas (1993: 77) notes they acted as 'dominant locales', which were 'important both to the creation of routine and, thereby, to social reproduction'.

The distribution of these varying funerary monuments indicates a division between the megalithic 'Bargrennan' and 'Clyde' series (Figure 2). In geographical terms the Bargrennan group is confined to the upland areas of the Galloway hills, forming the southern outliers of a concentration which stretches into Ayrshire, while the Clyde group has a more lowland riverine/coastal distribution. A general division may also be made between a Megalithic tradition in the west and a Non-Megalithic tradition in the east, the Nith valley acting as an arbitrary line of demarcation. There is also a notable absence of any form of Neolithic funerary monuments in the lower reaches of Annandale and Eskdale.

In attempting to explain this distribution it may be argued that the tombs are located on land which was more amenable to permanent settlement. In the absence of good evidence for cultivation or sedentary farming, however, other explanations must also be considered, including the argument advanced by Bradley (1993: 44) that, 'All monuments were built in places, and many of these places were selected precisely because they already enjoyed a special significance'. In this light, the location of the 'Clyde' tombs and the other long cairns, with their general coastal/riverine distribution, may have been in areas and places which already held some 'significance' to Mesolithic communities, such as the Criffel mountain. The monuments, then, legitimised existing places of significance or were themselves legitimised by virtue of significant locations. Architecturally, Sharples (1992: 329) has also argued that 'the transformation of timber mortuary structures into rectangular cists could well have been influenced by an existing, but as yet undocumented, tradition of Mesolithic burial in cists'. The same locational arguments may also explain the mutually exclusive areas occupied by the 'Bargrennan' and 'Clyde' tombs. The 'Bargrennan' tombs occur in upland areas and Murray (1992) has argued that they may represent later colonisation of these areas by communities engaged in pastoralism and hunting. She envisages new upland settlers emphasising their differences with lowland communities by adopting a new form of monument architecturally distinct due to the passage construction. Thus the monument symbolised a unique upland identity and ideology. Present evidence, however, suggests that these tombs are located in areas which were not exploited by Mesolithic communities (Figure 1). They were not, therefore, incorporated into the pre-existing landscape images. Perhaps part of the process of 'fixing' an image of them was by the adoption of a novel monument type markedly different from the monuments located at pre-existing places of 'significance'.

The distribution pattern of these funerary monuments is also intriguing in that there is an apparent absence of funerary monuments in the lower reaches of Nithsdale, Annandale and Eskdale. Although valid arguments could be made for the destruction of such monuments by relatively recent farming it would appear that within this Non-Megalithic zone the apparent void was filled by other monument types, which may have functioned in a similar way to the tombs. In this context the 'cursus'/ 'long mortuary enclosure'/ 'bank barrow' monuments appear of some significance. These classes of monument, which are found throughout Scotland, have usually been detected as cropmark sites, and have only recently attracted the attention that they undoubtedly merit (Barclay, 1995). Within the region large ditched 'cursus' monuments, smaller ditched 'mortuary enclosures', pit-defined 'long mor-

tuary enclosures' and a single bank barrow have been identified. The cursus monuments and pit-defined 'mortuary enclosures' were initially analysed by Loveday (1985). He recognised three ditched cursus monuments, at Holywood A and B, and one pit-defined enclosure, at Fourmerkland. Closer scrutiny of the aerial photographic coverage reveals that this total may be increased to possibly eight ditch-defined cursus monuments and six pit-defined 'long mortuary enclosures' (RCAHMS, 1997; Gregory, 1998). The character and dimensions of the monuments are shown in Figure 3. Recent survey by the Royal Commission, within the Eskdale region, also appears to have identified a 'bank barrow' (RCAHMS, 1992; 1997).

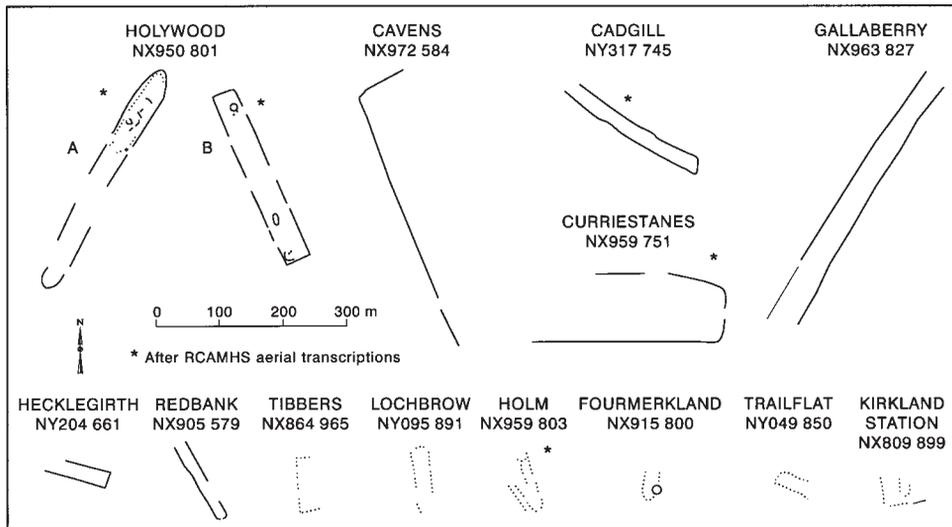


Figure 3. 'Cursus' and 'Long Mortuary Enclosures' as plotted from aerial photographs.

These monuments are distinct in terms of their constructional technique and size, but they may have shared essentially similar functions and chronological currency (Loveday and Petchey, 1983; Loveday, 1985). They all define roughly linear areas and appear to be aligned towards natural or anthropogenic features. The chronology of cursus monuments suggest a currency running from c.4000-2500 cal. BC, though the main radio-carbon 'ranges' fall between c.4000-3100 cal. BC (Gibson 1994). Loveday (1985) suggests that cursus monuments with convex terminals may be early in the sequence and monuments with square terminals may be later. Gibson (1994), while agreeing with this interpretation, also suggests that the narrower cursus monuments and elongated ditches may also be earlier in the sequence. Thomas's (1998) work at the Holywood cursus monuments should resolve some of these questions of dating, form and sequence.

The chronology of the pit-defined 'mortuary enclosures' is more obscure due to a lack of excavation. However, at Douglasmuir, Angus, radiocarbon dates suggest a chronological span between 3760-3550 cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ ) (Kendrick, 1995), while at Cowie Road, Bannockburn a date range 'from perhaps as early as the late fifth millennium cal. BC until sometime in the early third millennium cal. BC' has been proposed (Rideout, 1997: 59). A similar cur-

rency may also be envisaged for the bank barrow in the region. Investigations at the Cleaven Dyke bank barrow, in Tayside, suggested a *terminus post quem* for this monument falling between 4663-3999 cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ ) (Barclay *et al.*, 1995), and so a comparable currency for the bank barrow located at Raeburnfoot is possible.

While definitive statements can be made concerning the form and date of these different monuments their function is less clear. Modern interpretations have favoured a 'phenomenological' approach. This emphasises the importance of movement, or procession, along the structures, which guides the perception of the landscape in a prescribed, sequential, order (Barrett *et al.*, 1991; Barrett, 1994; Bradley, 1986; 1993). Integral to the concept of procession is the notion of societal hierarchy and, perhaps, of social inclusion/exclusion (Bradley, 1993). These themes, therefore, replicate many of the ideas that may

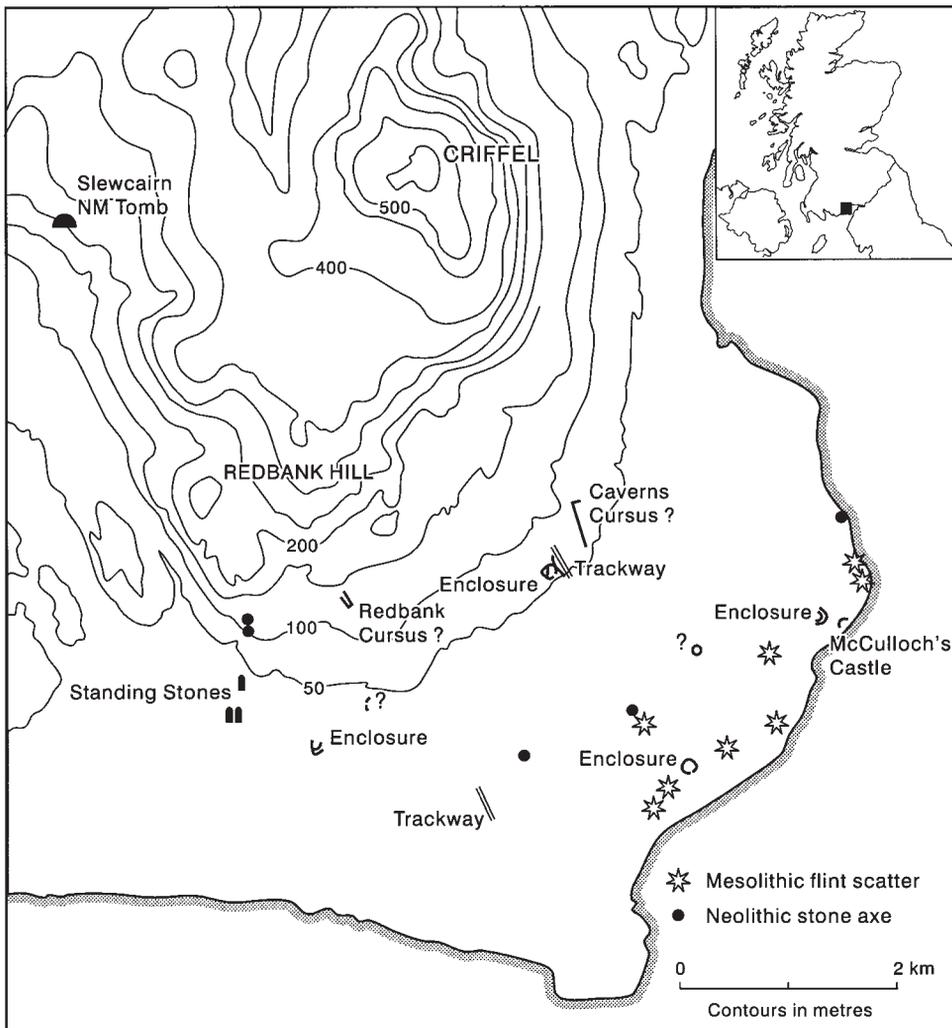


Figure 4. Possible 'cursus' monuments and other prehistoric sites located beneath the Criffell.

have been implicit in the function of Megalithic and Non-Megalithic tombs suggesting, once more, that monuments actively shaped and structured early society. Thomas's (1998) work at Holywood and Holm also suggests that, in a similar manner to the tombs, the use and construction of these alignments encompass reworkings and rebuildings over successive periods of time.

Despite these similarities with chambered tombs the use of these monuments appears more intimately connected to their surroundings. The fact that they define an alignment is important in this context. As Bradley (1993) notes, such alignments link and direct perception to both natural and anthropogenic features in the wider landscape. Thus the possible cursuses situated in the Kirkbean area are both constructed on the slopes of the Criffel mountain (Figure 4). Moving down them affords a vista over the coastal plain and Solway Firth. In the other direction the summit of the Criffel is visible at Cavens, and Redbank Hill is visible from Redbank. They seem, therefore, to emphasise the importance, or the unity, of uplands and shore, land and water. The same associations, especially the conjunction with water, recur constantly throughout the area. In the Holywood area a concentration of cursus monuments is found located at Fourmerkland, Holm, Gallaberry and around the Twelve Apostles stone circle. All monuments are located within low-lying vicinities and have some relationship to either the Nith or the Cluden Water in that they are directed towards, or are aligned parallel, to these water courses (Thomas, 1998; Gregory, 1998). Of the remaining monuments within Nithsdale, the importance of water and close proximity to a river is once more apparent. At Curriestanes the cursus is within close geographical proximity to, and is aligned towards, the Nith to the east. The possible pit-defined enclosure at Kirkland Station, as with the Holm enclosure, is aligned parallel to the Cairn Water, while the pit-defined enclosure at Tibbers also shares a similar alignment with the Nith. Ring-ditches and a pit-defined sub-circular enclosure are also found directly to the north of this alignment. The dating of these features is unsure, but it is feasible that the sub-circular pit-defined enclosure may be of comparable date to the cursus. Within Annandale and Eskdale these sitings and locales are again replicated. The possible cursus at Hecklegirth is found on the slopes of Shawhill both in close proximity to the Annan and also overlooking the Solway Firth. Similarly, the pit defined 'mortuary' enclosure at Lochbrow is located close to, and aligned towards, the Annan. An enclosure at Trailflat is aligned directly to the Water of Ae. At Lochbrow, as with Tibbers, the presence of a sub-circular pit defined enclosure, pit alignments and round and square barrows can also be detected. If these features are contemporary it may suggest the possibility of some form of 'ceremonial centre'. Alternatively, it may attest to the continued ritual importance of this location over a considerable span of prehistory. Within Eskdale, at Cadgill a prominent location was selected which would have commanded extensive views over the Solway plain towards the Esk. Finally, the 'bank barrow' identified at Raeburnfoot is aligned directly upon the Esk and appears to traverse this river (RCAHMS, 1992; 1997). It would appear, therefore, that all these monuments share an intimate relationship with certain landscape features, particularly rivers. This suggests that these natural features may have held some importance for the rituals associated with these enclosures, but the monuments themselves may also have created, for the communities that built them, a 'sense of place' particular to the natural setting in which they are found (Gregory, 1998; Thomas, 1998; RCAHMS, 1992; 1997).

## 2. Artefacts

The remaining evidence for activity in the Early Neolithic is found in the form of artefact distributions. These include both flint and stone implements, and one example of a wooden bow dating between 4040-3640 cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ ) (Sheridan, 1996a). The majority of stone objects, as with the Mesolithic material, have been located as single finds or scatters usually within areas subject to modern ploughing. The problem of skewed distribution should, therefore, always be considered when analysing the spatial patterning of the material.

The flint tools that have been discovered, although limited in number, are comprised of 'traditional' Neolithic types. These include points, leaf shaped arrow heads, spearheads, knives, blades, scrapers and a variety of cores and debitage. The majority have been located as single finds but a number of scatters exist in areas where systematic surface collection has been undertaken. These may represent potential areas of settlement or intense/sustained activity. The only securely excavated examples are those from funerary monuments, 'settlements', and the assemblage derived from a pit at Carzield, Kirkton. Here various flint flakes and blades were found in association with Early Neolithic pottery, fragments of a polished Group VI stone axe, charred grains of emmer and naked barley, and burnt hazel nut shells and charcoal (Maynard, 1993a). The lithic assemblage contained Arran pitchstone, suggesting contacts outside the area. The context produced two radiocarbon dates of  $3060\pm 70$  uncal. bc [ $3966-3649$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] and  $2970\pm 110$  uncal. bc [ $3962-3383$  cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )].

Numerous flaked stone axes have also been located. The manufacture of such implements spanned at least 1500 radiocarbon years, from c.3250 uncal. bc to c.1750 uncal. bc [c. 4200-1900 cal. BC ( $2\sigma$ )] (Smith, 1979). Many of the axes are 'exotic' and derive from a limited range of distant centres, notably the Great Langdale axe factory in Cumbria (Clough and Cummins, 1979). Limited evidence also suggests that it was not only the finished product which was exchanged. Two examples are known of unfinished Group VI 'rough outs', one from Dumfries and one from Annan, suggesting that a proportion of the axes may have been 'finished' by communities in the region. Contacts with other areas can also be assumed. An example of a Group IX (porcellanite) axe within the valley of the Ur Water may indicate contact with communities either in Antrim, Northern Ireland, or Rathlin Island. Two jadeite axes probably derive from the Piedmont (NW Italy) where jadeite is known to have been worked from c.3500 uncal. bc, throughout the third millennium BC (Piggott and Powell, 1949; Murray, 1994) Bradley and Edmonds (1988), drawing on work in economic anthropology, have suggested that movements of goods in this manner is likely to be due to a desire to create and maintain social relationships based on complex networks of 'debts' and 'obligations' which may have been fulfilled in part by the exchange of 'exotic' objects such as the stone axe.

The distribution of these various artefacts suggests some basic settlement patterning (Figure 2). The flint artefacts, though, are generally unhelpful. They are confined to the eastern portion of the study area, especially Nithsdale and Annandale, and may reflect either the continued occupation of areas familiar to Mesolithic communities, or simply areas where recovery is more likely. The stone axe distribution, however, is slightly more revealing and suggests a number of concentrations. In the west a concentration is encountered around the Kirkcudbright/Gatehouse of Fleet area, with a denser concentration around the Dee estuary. A lesser concentration is also encountered in the vicinity of the Criffel.

Within Nithsdale the highest concentration is to be found at the mouth of the Nith and around the modern town of Dumfries. Lesser concentrations are found running up the Nith valley. Likewise a smaller concentration is also present at the mouth of the Annan. In explaining the apparent concentration in the Nith estuary Ritchie (1987) suggests that this area played a major role in the import of Group VI axes from Cumbria, which presumably was *via* maritime routes. A similar reasoning may explain the other concentrations of Group VI axes at the mouth of the Dee and Annan. Some caution is necessary, though, since the concentrations may reflect, once more, areas which are amenable to recovery. The distributions do, however, correlate with the monuments already discussed and suggest that it was these tracts of landscape which held a particular significance in terms of utilitarian and ritual practice for these early communities.

At one level all of these artefacts represent specific utilitarian objects for domestic use, for hunting, clearance, construction, and so on. Some of them, however, while fulfilling these utilitarian functions may also have been used within a more 'symbolic'/'ritualised' sphere. This may be especially relevant for the 'exotic' stone axes. The symbolic significance of the axe, leading to its incorporation in the 'ritual' and 'cosmological' universe of these early communities, has been connected to the first clearances of woodland and the construction of the first substantial monuments (Bradley and Edmonds, 1988; Bradley, 1990). Evidence for such an interpretation, however, is dependent on context and only a few finds from early funerary monuments and ritual deposition sites afford reliable contextual information. It appears, for example, that a variety of flint, stone artefacts and early ceramic types were utilised in the rituals undertaken at funerary sites such as Lochhill, Slewcairn and Cairnholy (Piggott and Powell, 1949; Masters, 1973, 1981b). The incorporation of certain elements of material culture into 'ritual' practice may also explain the deposition of particular objects discovered in isolated pits, as at Carzield (Maynard, 1993). Although in this case, these objects could be regarded as domestic refuse associated with a yet undiscovered settlement or activity area, excavation in the vicinity of the Carzield pit produced no other evidence for Neolithic activity (Maynard, 1993a). The location of the pit may, however, be significant as it was found on an eroding stream bank on the flood plain of the Nith, in the general vicinity of the Gallaberry cursus monument. The composition of the material within the pit could also be viewed as a 'structured ritual deposit'. The formal deposition of material in pits is known to be associated with many ritual monuments. In this context, it may be important that the material found within the Carzield pit mimics ritual deposits found at Cairnholy I, Lochhill and Slewcairn (Piggott and Powell, 1949; Masters, 1973, 1981b). At Cairnholy I material deposited next to a hearth consisted, as at Carzield, of broken fragments of pottery and a flake of Arran pitchstone (Piggott and Powell, 1949).

It is, therefore, conceivable that ritual deposition, which was possibly the case at Carzield, may have occurred in, or close to, areas deemed 'significant' by early communities. This 'significance' may have arisen due to the presence of particular natural features, such as a river or stream, or it may have been connected in some manner to landscapes found surrounding certain monuments. If this was the case some of the remaining objects, located as surface finds, could also represent similar depositions. At the broadest of contextual levels it may be pertinent that a number of axes appear to have been deposited in water-related environments which became important for ritual deposition in later stages of prehistory (Bradley, 1990; Gregory, 1998). Indeed, the practice may well have originated in the Neolithic when 'significant objects' were first deposited in 'significant places'.

### *The Late Neolithic*

#### 1. Monuments

For the Late Neolithic (c.3300-c.2300 cal. BC) the evidence of human activity increases. Monumentality, for instance, diversifies with the introduction of novel monumental forms of which the stone circle is of particular importance. Dating stone circles, however, is difficult. Only 12 sites in Britain have produced material suitable for radiocarbon dating and these indicate a currency stretching from c.2500 uncal. bc until c.1000 uncal. bc (cf. Barnett, 1989). The stone circle at Lochmabenstane, near Gretna, for example, was built in the middle of the third millennium and is contemporary with later tomb building and the cursus tradition (Crone, 1983). The majority of British dates, however, probably signal the re-use of mid/late Neolithic monuments during the Bronze Age. An early excavation at Greystone Park, for example, recovered a pygmy vessel which suggests that the monument was used until c.1250 uncal. bc (Morrison, 1968). The use of stone circles may also have continued into much later phases of prehistory. For instance, literary evidence indicates that the Lochmabenstane stone circle was used as a meeting place into the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age/Roman Iron Age, if this site can be equated with *Locus Maponi* as described in the *Ravenna Cosmography* (cf. Richmond, 1958; Rivet & Smith, 1979).

Architecturally the stone circles of the region may be subdivided into various size and class divisions giving some indication of organisation involved in construction, sub-regional preferences, and the size of the gathering which could be assembled. (cf. Thom, 1961; Barnett, 1989). Their distribution has a western bias with two apparent areas of concentration (Figure 5). The first is in the Drannadow area; the second is in the landscape surrounding Cairnholy. Both may be linked to the presence of earlier chambered tombs indicating the continued importance of these tracts of landscape for Late Neolithic communities. Similar processes appear also to be operating in the eastern region around Dumfries where the association here is with the cursus monuments. The remaining stone circles, however, are in areas where earlier Neolithic activity appears sparse. This possibly indicates that these monuments were constructed in locations which only became important during the Late Neolithic, attesting to a wider 'exploitation' of the landscape during this period.

In the siting of these monuments certain geographical themes emerge. There appears, for example, to be some loose relationship with water. A number of situations overlook or are close to burns, lochs or major rivers and in one instance a stone circle is surrounded by a series of springs (Gregory, 1998). Other locations include the slopes of major hills where visibility may have been an important locational consideration (cf. Bradley, 1998).

The function of stone circles is uncertain but it may have been similar to henge monuments that date from c.2300 uncal. bc and that attracted depositional activity of one kind or another (Harding, 1987). As with stone circles the importance of henges as landscape foci continued, or was rediscovered, in the later stages of pre-history. The region holds two classic henge monuments and one other possible site, though it is likely that others will be revealed as enclosure excavation proceeds. Of the known henges Broadlea falls into the Class II category while the Pict's Knowe henge is an example of Class I (Atkinson, 1950; 1951; Barclay and Fojut, 1990). The latter site is particularly important because it is the

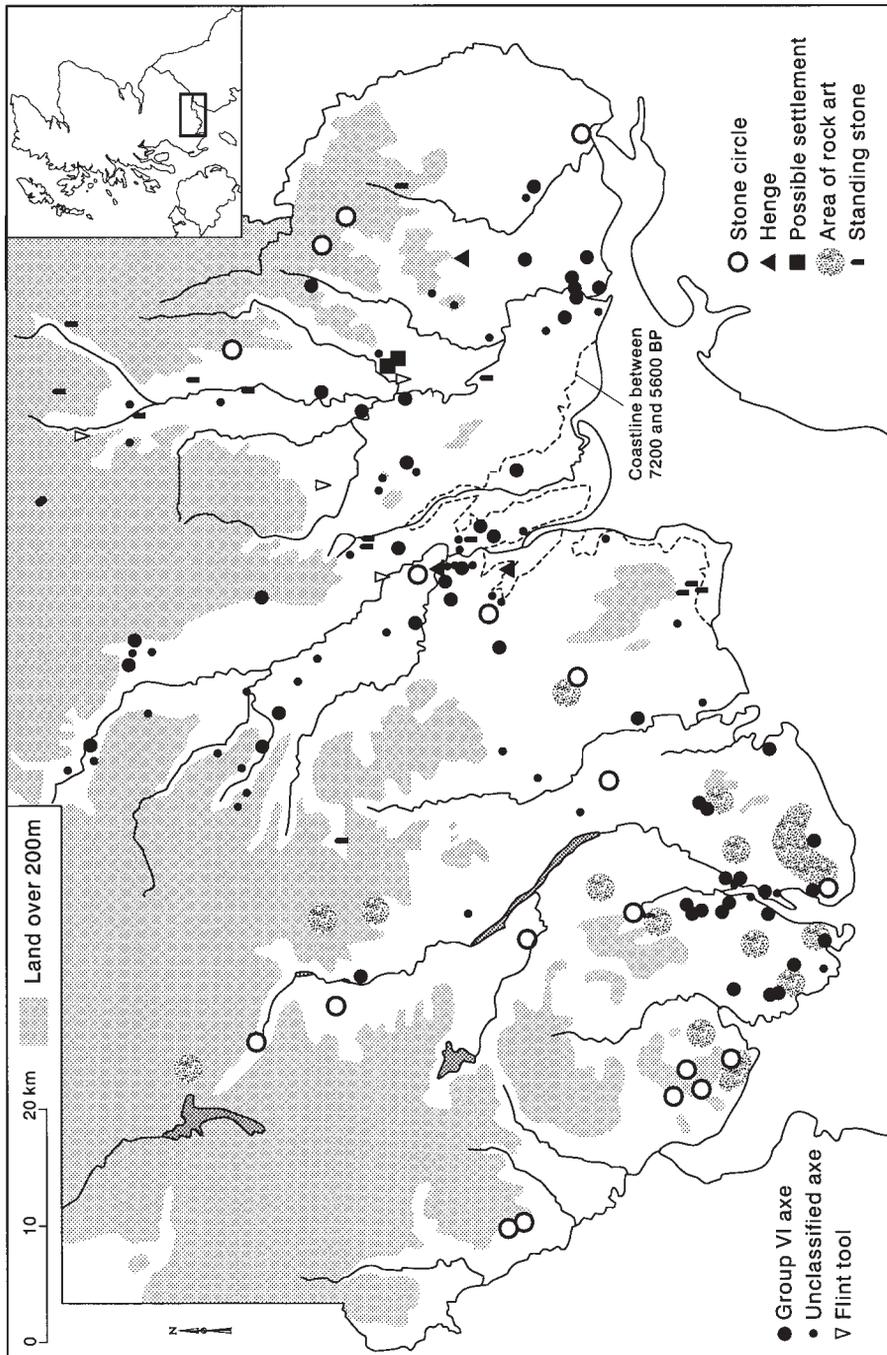


Figure 5. Monuments, artefacts and settlement dating to the Late Neolithic.

only one to have been excavated (Thomas, 1994a; 1994b; 1997; 1998). Preliminary results suggest pre-henge activity, dating to the Early Neolithic, the construction of the henge, dating to the latter half of the third millennium BC, its use for cremation burial during the Bronze Age, and most intriguing the re-use of the monument two millennia later, during the Roman Iron Age. (Thomas, 1997; 1998). A putative henge has also been identified at Newbridge.

Discerning the precise function of these monuments is problematic. It is apparent that the form and possibly the function of both the henges and stone circles are similar. At a very basic level both monuments define a circular area within, or around, which rituals were performed. Across Britain many examples have similar deposits and ceramic associations (e.g. Grooved Ware) and, as is evident from Greystone Park and Pict's Knowe, later cremation burials are sometimes associated with them. Astronomical alignments may also have been of some subsidiary importance to both stone circles and henges (Burl, 1976; Barnatt, 1989), though their principal emphasis probably lies with the creation of a focal point in the landscape. In this sense, it is feasible that they eventually replaced the earlier 'ritual monuments' as the main social foci for Neolithic communities of the region.

Architecturally, however, this focus was differentially manipulated in the two forms. Thus the free standing stone circles, principally located at upland sites, tend to openness, allowing the surrounding landscape to be viewed from within and the internal rituals to be viewed from without. The lowland henges, on the other hand, restrict visibility by banks and, at Pict's Knowe, by wattling screens and hurdles (Thomas, 1994). It may also be important that the henge monuments are confined to the lower reaches of the Nith (Pict's Knowe and Newbridge) and to the lowlands of Annandale (Broadlea). They are, therefore, in areas where Early Neolithic activity has been well documented, suggesting that during the Late Neolithic novel monument types were required in these 'established' Neolithic landscapes.

The localities chosen for construction and, hence, for ritual may have been similar to those connected with earlier ritual monuments, such as the *cursus*. The henge monuments provide the best example of this. As with the *cursus* monuments, they are all located in low-lying areas and share some association with water. For example, Newbridge and Broadlea overlook the Nith flood plain and the Mein Water respectively. At Pict's Knowe the proximity of a 'clootie well', a site of importance in early water rituals, may also be significant (Barclay and Fojut, 1990). Environmental evidence from the excavations also suggests that this henge was located on a low island which projected from ground which was wet or boggy in the later Neolithic (Thomas, 1994a; 1994b). It is possible, as Harding (1987) and Richards (1996) have suggested, that water-related rituals may have formed part of the activities on henge sites. Indeed at Pict's Knowe silting patterns within the ditch, coupled with the preservation of structured organic deposits, led the excavator to suggest that standing water may have been present in the ditch from its first use (Thomas, 1994a; 1994b). In this sense, although the form of the monument was different, their ideological meaning for the communities of the area may have been rooted in a deeper Neolithic cosmological tradition.

Other smaller late Neolithic monuments are also found in the region. Standing stones are found predominantly in the eastern, or non-Megalithic, portion of the region and - like

circles and henges - appear to have had a long currency which started in the Late Neolithic (Williams, 1988). The function of monuments based upon a single stone is difficult to determine, though it may be assumed that they emphasised a significant locality and, perhaps, attracted some form of ritual activity. At the Park of Tongland, for example, two initial standing stones may have marked the position of a flat cremation cemetery (Russell-White *et al.*, 1992). The significance of standing stones, not unlike other 'Neolithic' monuments, was sustained into the Bronze Age at least, and possibly through to the Iron Age as recent excavation from Ireland has confirmed (McCormick *et al.*, 1995).

## 2. Rock Art

The later Neolithic may also have embodied the initiation of rock art. It occurs in the western portion of the region, with a high concentration in coastal localities (cf. Morris, 1989). Some examples are associated with funerary monuments but the highest concentrations are located on rock outcrops or boulders suggesting an intimate relationship with landscape settings. This style is generally regarded as 'Galician' after MacWhite's study of Irish rock art (cf. Bradley, 1995). The basic elements consist of 'cup and ring' marks which, in the more complex examples, are linked by radial runners or grooves. Other motifs consist of spirals and, at Broughton Mains, a 'ladder' symbol. Due to the general lack of associations the dating of 'Galician' rock art is notoriously difficult. Morris (1989) has tenuously suggested an Early Bronze Age date lying perhaps between 1900-1700 uncal. bc (c.2200-2000 cal. BC) but there is the possibility that such art is contemporary with the 'Boyne' style petroglyphs and date range between c.2900-2000 uncal. bc (c.3600-2400 cal. BC) should not be discounted (ApSimon, 1986). Cup-marks, at least, may even have an origin within the Early Neolithic, due to the discovery of these carvings associated with the Dalladies long barrow (Piggott, 1973). Bradley (1995) has suggested, however, that most open air rock art was carved between 3000-2000 cal. BC.

The location and 'meaning' of the rock art has been much debated (Morris, 1989; Tilley, 1991; Bradley *et al.*, 1993; Bradley, 1995) and two studies have been directed to these problems in the region (Morris, 1979; 1989; Bradley *et al.*, 1993). They suggest that it is located in areas which were occupied by Neolithic societies, and at places which held some 'significance' for them. Siting, Bradley *et al.* (1993) observe, may be along trails and route-ways which were important for a mobile community. The art may, therefore, be acting as a kind of 'map' and its complexity may have indicated the relative significance of places. The art may relate to mundane daily matters or, as Tilley (1991) suggests, it may have held cosmological significance. It is possible, too, that only certain members of society would possess the 'knowledge' required to interpret the more complex designs located in more marginal areas and reproduced on ceramics, such as Grooved Ware. The art, therefore, may have acted as a means of 'grading' society in a manner similar to the 'ritual' monuments.

When the distribution of rock art is viewed in its entirety it becomes apparent that an east-west division is present. The concentration of rock art is confined to the Stewartry district, predominantly within the lowland coastal landscape (Figure 6). No examples are known from Nithsdale, Annandale or western Eskdale. It could be argued, of course, that this simply reflects the location of suitable outcrops and boulders, which are more abundant in the west. By extension it could also be argued that the communities in the west, due

to the terrain and soil conditions, may of necessity have been engaged in a more mobile economy requiring the use of petroglyphs for information regarding locales and trails through the landscape. In the more fertile river valleys and coastal plains of the east, a more sedentary economy may have negated the need for symbolic resources connected with movement. Alternatively, in the east, equivalent symbols may have been inscribed on less durable features in the woodland which have left no trace in the archaeological record.

### 3. Settlement

The Late Neolithic in the region is also represented in settlement evidence, though this is confined to Annandale. It has been discovered by chance, often during modern development. The lack of more upstanding evidence may imply either a high degree of mobility, resulting in an ephemeral form of settlement, or a lack of desire to emphasise settlement boundaries. Either factor would produce near invisibility in terms of detection by traditional survey techniques.

At the recently excavated site of Beckton Farm occupation surfaces, pits, cremation burials, structural features such as huts, postholes, stakeholes and two intriguing four-post structures were recorded (Pollard, 1997). A number of these features were associated with Grooved Ware. This together with a series of radiocarbon dates suggests activity spanning the mid-fourth to mid-third millennium BC. It is not clear whether Beckton Farm was exclusively used for settlement or for some combination of domestic and ritual activity which may have been conducted consecutively or concurrently (Pollard, 1997). If the latter assumption is correct this has important implications for conceptions of Neolithic 'settlement'. It may be that the very processes of habitation were set within a ritualised arena as complex as that occurring at monuments. Ritual deposition, including cremation, may, therefore, be mirrored in settlement contexts as well as in ritual enclosures and, for the Late Neolithic, the sacred and the profane may be indivisible. This form of Late Neolithic 'ritual' deposition, associated with possible occupation, may also be represented at the nearby site of Kirkburn where excavation revealed a complex arrangement of both cremation and deposition spanning the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Cormack, 1963; Longworth, 1963). It may be significant that the depositional repertoire at both Beckton and Kirkburn closely mimics that already described at specific 'ritual' sites. At Kirkburn, a further point of importance is the site's longevity. It was later used as a Bronze Age cremation cemetery drawing its significance, perhaps, from the presence of earlier activity. The absence of any persistent marker at the site suggests that this 'significance' may have been retained by generational memory.

### Summary

Generally the distribution of both Mesolithic and Neolithic material shows a close correlation. Many of these places that were important for earlier Mesolithic communities were, perhaps, legitimised during the Neolithic by new monumental constructions in places like the Criffel mountain. The evidence indicates that the 'Neolithic' was a formative period well represented by a variety of monuments, sites, and artefacts. It was a period when the 'significance' of localities was emphasised by building and by artefact deposition to the extent that places acquired a *genius loci* that was to be shared by communities in later times.

For both the Mesolithic and the Neolithic the lowland coastal regions and river valleys, which contained the most productive soil associations, were the favoured landscapes. Concentrations of material are found in Nithsdale, Annandale, and along the coastal areas of Kirkcudbrightshire. A zone running down Nithsdale to an area around the base of the Criffel is particularly significant and contains the highest concentration of both monuments and artefacts within the region. Within this area, the landscape around the modern town of Dumfries displays a dense concentration of large-scale ceremonial monuments. Annandale also shares a high concentration of monuments and artefacts. It is these valleys which may be characterised as Non-Megalithic. Typical monuments include the cursus, 'long mortuary enclosure', henges and the larger examples of stone circles. This differs from the Megalithic landscapes found in Kirkcudbrightshire where tombs, small stone circles and rock art predominate and where the monuments are smaller and the material remains less frequent. If larger monuments can be equated with larger populations - and perhaps to the formation of larger social groups at particular times, notably for monument construction and utilisation - it would appear that it was the eastern river valleys, especially Nithsdale, which held a higher proportion of inhabitants. The landscape of the west, by the nature of its topography and soil conditions, seems to have promoted a different form of life, centred on smaller and more dispersed communities.

The monuments and their associated deposits offer some understanding of the ideological and societal structure of this period. Although they differ in form and depositional repertoire monuments may share a broadly similar function. At one level they appear to act as a cohesive influence on society as shown in the act of their construction and their subsequent use and maintenance. The uniting of society at a 'significant place' at certain 'significant times' may have been important in terms of the exchange of both economic and social resources, for a society which was probably scattered. At another level the architecture of the monuments was important in 'structuring' and 'grading' society and, therefore, in shaping the perceptions of those who used them. It should not be forgotten, however, that they were located in a wider natural landscape and drew upon this setting in the ritual practices which they housed. It has been noted, for example, that many of the monuments, particularly the cursus monuments, share an intimate relationship with natural features such as rivers. The incorporation of water rituals into the cosmological sphere also appears important at other monuments, such as the henge. This ritual affinity with water continues throughout the prehistoric period. The natural landscape, therefore, played an active role in the moulding of social perceptions and, perhaps, the cosmological images of the community as well as in the creation and interpretation of rock art and artefact deposition.

From an economic standpoint exchange with outside communities may be attested by the presence of numerous 'exotic' artefacts. Trade, at least within the Irish Sea zone, appears undeniable. Of the other economic activities less is known. Agriculturally, clearance must have occurred to some degree during the Neolithic with the possibility of some limited cereal cultivation, although pastoralism was probably of greater significance. It is also possible that the traditional resource base of the Mesolithic was still utilised to a large degree during this period. The limited evidence available from ephemeral settlement implies a society which was still largely mobile and, perhaps, principally dependent upon animals. Even domestic habitation, however, seems to have become amalgamated in a complex ritual sphere which reflected the processes occurring at the larger 'ritual' monuments.

## Acknowledgements

This contribution has benefited greatly from the comments of Dr M E Robinson, Mr W F Cormack, the late Professor G D B Jones, and an anonymous referee who read earlier drafts of this manuscript. I would also like to thank Mr G Bowden who kindly prepared the figures.

## References

- ApSimon, A. M. 1986. Chronological contexts for Irish megalithic tombs. *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 3, 5-15.
- Affleck, T. 1983. *Smittons, Kirkcudbrightshire*. Entry in NMRS.
- Atkinson, R. J. C. 1950. Four new henge monuments in Scotland and Northumberland. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 84 (1949-50), 62-3.
- Atkinson, R. J. C. 1951. The henge monuments of Great Britain. In Atkinson, R. J. C., Piggott, S. and Sanders, N. K. *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon*. Oxford. Ashmolean Museum, 81-107.
- Barclay, G. J. 1995. Pit-defined structures in Scotland. In Kendrick, J. Neolithic enclosures and Iron Age settlement at Douglasmuir. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125, 26-7.
- Barclay, G. J. and Fojut, N. 1990. The site at Pict's Knowe, Troqueer, near Dumfries: a south-western henge re-discovered. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 65, 69-72.
- Barclay, G. J., Maxwell, G. S., Simpson, I. A. and Davidson, D. A. 1995. The Cleaven Dyke: a Neolithic cursus monument/bank barrow in Tayside Region, Scotland. *Antiquity* 69, 317-26.
- Barnatt, J. 1989. *The Stone Circles of Britain: Taxonomic and distributional analyses and a catalogue of sites in England, Scotland and Wales*. Oxford. British Archaeological Reports British Series 215 (I, II).
- Barrett, J. C. 1994. *Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900-1200 BC*. Oxford. Blackwell.
- Barrett, J. C., Bradley, R. and Green, M. 1991. *Landscape, Monuments and Society: The prehistory of Cranborne Chase*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Berglund, B. E., Birks, H. J. B., Raliska-Jasiewiczowa, M. and Wright, H. E. 1996. *Palaeoecological events during the last 15000 years: Regional synthesis of Palaeoecological studies of Lakes and Mires in Europe*. Chichester. John Wiley and Sons.
- Birks, H. H. 1972. Studies in the vegetational history of Scotland II: Two pollen diagrams from the Galloway Hills, Kirkcudbrightshire. *Journal of Ecology* 60, 183-217.
- Birks, H. H. 1975. Studies in the vegetational history of Scotland IV. Pine stumps in Scottish blanket peats. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* (B) 270, 181-226.
- Boardman, S. 1997. Plant remains. In Pollard, T. Excavation of a Neolithic settlement and ritual complex at Beckton Farm, Lockerbie, Dumfries and Galloway. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 69, 107-9.
- Bradley, R. 1978. *The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain*. London. Routledge.
- Bradley, R. 1986. *The Dorset Cursus: the archaeology of the enigmatic*. Wessex Lecture III. London. Council for British Archaeology.
- Bradley, R. 1990. *The Passage of Arms: An archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, R. 1993. *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe*. Edinburgh. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series 8.
- Bradley, R. 1995. After MacWhite: Irish Rock Art in its International Context. In Waddell, J. and Shee Twohig, E. (eds.) *Ireland in the Bronze Age: Proceedings of the Dublin Conference, April 1995*. Dublin. Stationery Office, 90-7.
- Bradley, R. 1998. *The Significance of Monuments: On the shaping of human experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*. London. Routledge.
- Bradley, R. and Edmonds, M. 1988. Fieldwork at Great Langdale, Cumbria, 1985-1987: Preliminary Report. *The Antiquaries Journal* 68, 181-209.
- Bradley, R., Harding, J. and Mathews, M. 1993. The siting of prehistoric rock art in Galloway, south-west Scotland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 59, 269-84.
- Brown, C. J. and Shipley, B. M. 1982a. *Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture: South-East Scotland*. Aberdeen. The Macaulay Institute for Soil Research.
- Brown, C. J. and Shipley, B. M. 1982b. *Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture: South-West Scotland*. Aberdeen. The Macaulay Institute for Soil Research.

- Burle, H. A. W. 1976. *The Stone Circles of the British Isles*. New Haven and London. Yale University Press.
- Callander, J. G. 1924. Dumfriesshire in the Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 11 (1923-24), 97-119.
- Clare, T. 1987. Towards a Reappraisal of Henge Monuments: origins, evolution and hierarchies. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 53, 457-77.
- Clough, T. H. McK. and Cummins, W. A. 1979. *Stone Axe Studies*. CBA Research Report 23. London. Council for British Archaeology.
- Coles, J. M. 1964. New Aspects of the Mesolithic Settlement of South-West Scotland. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 41, 67-98.
- Cormack, W. F. 1963. Burial Site at Kirkburn, Lockerbie. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 97 (1962-63), 107-135.
- Cormack, W. F. 1964. Dalton Hook. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1964, 25.
- Cormack, W. F. and Coles, J.M. 1968. A Mesolithic Site at Low Clone, Wigtownshire. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 45, 44-72.
- Corrie, J. M. 1928. Kirkcudbrightshire in the Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 14 (1926-28), 272-99.
- Crone, B. A. 1983. The Clochmabenstone, Gretna. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 58, 16-20.
- Curle, A. O. 1930. Examination of a Chambered Cairn by the Water of Deugh, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 64 (1929-30), 272-4.
- Edwards, A. J. H. 1922. Report on the Excavations of (1) A long segmented Chambered Cairn, (2) A Bronze Age Cairn, and (3) A Hut-Circle, in the Parish of Minigaff, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 57 (1922-23), 55-74.
- Edwards, K. J., Ansell, M. and Carter, B. A. 1983. New Mesolithic sites in South-West Scotland and their importance as indicators of inland penetration. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 58, 9-15.
- Edwards, K. J. and Hirons, K. R. 1984. Cereal Pollen Grains in Pre-elm Decline Deposits: Implications for the Earliest Agriculture in Britain and Ireland. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 11, 71-80.
- Edwards, K. J. and Ralston, I. 1984. Postglacial hunter-gathers and vegetational history in Scotland. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 114, 15-34.
- Edwards, K., Hirons, K. R. and Newell, P. J. 1991. The palaeoecological and prehistoric context of minerogenic layers in blanket peat: a study from Loch Dee, southwest Scotland. *The Holocene* 1 (1), 29-39.
- Flemming, A. 1973. Tombs for the Living. *Man* 8, 177-93.
- Gibson, A. 1994. Excavations at the Sarn-y-bryn-caled cursus complex, Welshpool, Powys, and the timber circles of Great Britain and Ireland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 60, 143-223.
- Gregory, R. A. 1998. *Prehistoric landscapes in Dumfries and Galloway*. University of Manchester. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis.
- Gregory, R. A. *forthcoming*. Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic remains at Hayknowes Farm, Annan, Dumfries and Galloway.
- Harding, A. F. with Lee, G. E. 1987. *Henge Monuments and Related Sites of Great Britain*. Oxford. British Archaeological Report British Series 175.
- Henshall, A. S. 1963. *The Chambered Tombs of Scotland, I*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press.
- Henshall, A. S. 1972. *The Chambered Tombs of Scotland, II*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1984. Burials, houses, women and men in the European Neolithic. In Miller, D. and Tilley, C. (eds.) *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 51-68.
- Hodder, I. 1990. *The Domestication of Europe: Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societies*. Oxford. Blackwell.
- Hodder, I. 1994. Architecture and Meaning: the example of Neolithic Houses and Tombs. In Parker-Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (eds.) *Architecture and Order: approaches to social space*. London. Routledge, 73-86.
- Innes, J. and Shennan, I. 1991. Palynology of archaeological and mire sediments from Dod, Borders Region, Scotland. *Archaeological Journal* 148, 1-45.
- Jardine, W. G. 1971. Form and age of late Quaternary shore-lines and coastal deposits in south-west Scotland: critical data. *Quaternaria* 14, 103-114.
- Jardine, W.G. 1975. Chronology of Holocene marine transgression and regression in south-western Scotland. *Boreas* 4, 173-96.
- Jardine, W. G. 1977. The Quaternary marine record in southwest Scotland and the Scottish Hebrides. In Kidson, C. and Tooley, M. J. *The Quaternary History of the Irish Sea*. Geological Journal Special Issue 7, 99-118.
- Jardine, W. G. 1980. Holocene Raised Coastal Sediments and Former Shorelines of Dumfriesshire and Galloway. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 55, 1-59.

- Jardine, W.G. and Morrison, A. 1976. The archaeological significance of Holocene coastal deposits in south-western Scotland. In Davidson, D. A. and Shackley, M. L. (eds.) *Geoarchaeology: earth science and the past*. London. Duckworth, 175-95.
- Jones, V. J., Stevenson, A. C. and Batterbee, R. W. 1989. Acidification of lakes in Galloway, south west Scotland: a diatom and pollen study of the post-glacial history of the Round Loch of Glenhead. *Journal of Ecology* 77, 1-23.
- Kendrick, J. 1995. Excavation of Neolithic enclosure and an Iron Age settlement at Douglasmuir, Angus. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125, 29-68.
- Kinnes, I. A. 1975. Monumental function in British Neolithic burial practices. *World Archaeology* 7, 16-29.
- Kinnes, I. A. 1985. Circumstance not context: the Neolithic of Scotland as seen from outside. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 115, 15-57.
- Longworth, I. H. 1963. Pottery and Other Small Finds. In Cormack, W. F. Burial Site at Kirkburn, Lockerbie. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 97 (1962-63), 120-31.
- Loveday, R. 1985. *Cursus and Related Monuments of the British Neolithic*. University of Leicester. Unpublished Ph.D thesis.
- Loveday, R. and Petchey, M. 1983. Oblong ditches: a discussion and some new evidence. *Aerial Archaeology* 8, 17-24.
- Mackenzie, J. R. 1996. Irish Street, Dumfries. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1996*. Edinburgh. Council for Scottish Archaeology, 137.
- McCormick, F., Cribben, G., Robinson, M. E., and Shimwell, D. W. 1995. A Pagan Christian transitional burial at Kiltullagh. *Emania* 13, 89-98.
- Masters, L. 1973. The Lochhill long cairn. *Antiquity* 47, 96-100.
- Masters, L. 1981a. A Mesolithic Hearth at Redkirk Point, Greta, Annandale and Eskdale District. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 56, 111-114.
- Masters, L. 1981b. Chambered Tombs and Non-Megalithic Barrows in Britain. In Evans, J. D., Cunliffe, B. and Renfrew, C. (eds.) *Antiquity and Man: Essays in Honour of Glyn Daniel*. London. Thames and Hudson, 161-76.
- Maynard, D. 1993. Neolithic Pit at Carzield, Kirkton, Dumfriesshire. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 68, 25-32.
- Mellars, P. 1976. Settlement patterns and industrial variability in the British Mesolithic. In Sieveking, G., Longworth, I. H. and Wilson, K. E. (eds.) *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*. London. Duckworth, 375-99.
- Mertlew, R. D. and Ruggles, C. L. N. 1996. Ritual and Landscape on the West Coast of Scotland: an Investigation of the Stone Rows of Northern Mull. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62, 117-32.
- Moar, N. T. 1969. Late Weichselian and Flandrian Pollen Diagrams from South-West Scotland. *New Phytologist* 68, 433-67.
- Morris, R. W. B. 1979. *The Prehistoric Rock Art of Galloway and the Isle of Man*. Poole. Blandford Press.
- Morris, R. W. B. 1989. The Prehistoric Rock Art of Great Britain: A Survey of All Sites Bearing Motifs more Complex than Simple Cup-marks. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 55, 45-88.
- Morrison, A. 1968. Cinerary Urns and Pygmy Vessels in South-West Scotland. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 45, 80-140.
- Morrison, A. 1981. The Coastal Mesolithic in South-West Scotland. In Gramsch, B. (ed.) *Mesolithikum in Europa*. Berlin. Deutscher Verlag, 441-49.
- Morrison, A. 1982. The Mesolithic Period in South-West Scotland: A Review of the Evidence. *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 9, 1-14.
- Mulholland, H. 1970. The Microlithic Industries of the Tweed Valley. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 47, 81-110.
- Murray, J. 1992. The Bargrennan Group of chambered cairns: circumstance and context. In Sharples, N. and Sheridan, J. A. (eds.) *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland in Honour of Audrey Henshall*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 33-48.
- Murray, J. 1994. Jade axes from Scotland: a comment on the distribution and supplementary notes. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 60, 97-104.
- Owen, P. 1997. *Archaeology and Palaeoenvironment at Hayknowes Farm, Dumfries*. University of Manchester. Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis.
- Piggott, S. 1973. The Dalladies long barrow: NE Scotland. *Antiquity*, 47, 32-6.
- Piggott, S. and Powell, T. G. E. 1949. The excavation of three neolithic chambered tombs in Galloway. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 88 (1948-9), 103-61.
- Pollard, T. 1992. *Beckton Farm*. Glasgow. Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division.
- Pollard, T. 1993. *Kirkhill Farm*. Glasgow. Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division.
- Pollard, T. 1997. Excavation of a Neolithic settlement and ritual complex at Beckton Farm, Lockerbie, Dumfries and Galloway. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 69, 69-121.

- Rackham, O. 1980. *Ancient woodland: its History, Vegetation and Uses in England*. London. Arnold.
- Rapson, S. 1994. Pollen analysis at Brighthouse Bay. In Maynard, D. *Archaeological discoveries in the dune system at Brighthouse Bay. Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 69, 25-33.
- Renfrew, A. C. 1976. Megaliths, territories populations. In de Laet, S. J. (ed.) *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*. Bruges. de tempel, 198-220.
- Richards, C. 1996. Henges and Water: towards an Elemental Understanding of Monumentality and Landscape in Late Neolithic Britain. *Journal of Material Culture* 3, 313-36.
- Richmond, I. A. 1958. *Roman and Native in North Britain*. Edinburgh and London. Nelson.
- Rideout, J. S. 1997. Excavation of Neolithic enclosures at Cowie Road, Bannockburn, Stirling. 1984-5. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127, 29-68.
- Ritchie, P. R. 1987. Current research on Scottish Stone Axes. *Scottish Archaeological Gazette* 14, 8-14.
- Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith. C. 1979. *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*. London. Batsford.
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), 1992. Annandale and Eskdale. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1992. Edinburgh. Council for Scottish Archaeology, 90.
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), 1997. *Eastern Dumfriesshire*. Edinburgh. HMSO.
- Russell-White, C. J., Lowe, C. E. and McCullagh, R. P. J. 1992. Excavations at three Early Bronze Age monuments in Scotland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 58, 285-324.
- Scott, J. G. 1992. Mortuary structures and Megaliths. In Sharples, N. and Sheridan, J. A. (eds.) *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland in Honour of Audrey Henshall*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 104-19.
- Sharples, N. 1992. Aspects of regionalisation in the Scottish Neolithic. In Sharples, N. and Sheridan, J. A. (eds.) *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland in Honour of Audrey Henshall*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 322-31.
- Sheridan, J. A. 1996a. The Oldest Bow...and other objects. *Current Archaeology* 149, 188-90.
- Sheridan, J. A. 1996b. Pict's Knowe, Dumfries. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1996. Edinburgh. Council for Scottish Archaeology, 137.
- Sherratt, A. 1990. The genesis of megaliths: monumentality, ethnicity and social complexity in Neolithic north-west Europe. *World Archaeology* 22, 147-67.
- Simmons, I. G. 1975. The ecological setting of Mesolithic man in the Highland Zone. In Evans, J. G., Limbrey, S. and Cleere, H. *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Highland Zone*. CBA Research Report 11. London. Council for British Archaeology, 57-63.
- Simmons, I. G. 1979. Late Mesolithic societies and environment of the uplands of Great Britain. *Bulletin of the University of London Institute of Archaeology* 16, 111-29.
- Simmons, I. G. and Tooley, M. J. (eds.) 1981. *The Environment in British Prehistory*. London. Duckworth.
- Smith, A. G. 1970. The influence of Mesolithic and Neolithic man on British vegetation: a discussion. In Walker, D. and West, R. G. (eds.) *Studies in the Vegetational History of the British Isles*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 81-96.
- Smith, I. F. 1979. The chronology of British stone implements. In Clough, T. H. McK. and Cummins, W. A. (eds.) *Stone Axe Studies*. CBA Research Report 23. London. Council for British Archaeology, 13-22.
- Thom, A. 1961. The Geometry of Megalithic Man. *Mathematical Gazette* 45, 83-93.
- Thomas, J. S. 1990. Monuments from the inside: the case of the Irish megalithic tombs. *World Archaeology* 22, 168-78.
- Thomas, J. S. 1992. Monuments, movements and the context of megalithic art. In Sharples, N. and Sheridan, J. A. (eds.) *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland in Honour of Audrey Henshall*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 143-55.
- Thomas, J. S. 1993. The Politics of Vision and the Archaeologies of Landscape. In Bender, B. (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford. Berg, 19-48.
- Thomas, J. S. 1994a. Picts Knowe, Dumfries: Excavations 1994, Interim Report. *University of Southampton Web Site*.
- Thomas, J. S. 1994b. The Pict's Knowe. *Current Archaeology* 141, 344-47.
- Thomas, J. S. 1997. The Pict's Knowe, Dumfries: Interim Report on Excavations in 1996 and 1997. *University of Southampton Web Site*.
- Thomas, J. S. 1998. Pict's Knowe, Holywood and Holm. *Current Archaeology* 160, 149-60.
- Thompson, D. A. 1971. Lightning fires in Galloway - June 1970. *Scottish Forestry* 25, 51-2.
- Tilley, C. 1991. *Material Culture and Text: the art of ambiguity*. London. Routledge.

- Tipping, R. 1994. The form and fate of Scotland's woodlands. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124, 1-54.
- Tipping, R. 1995a. Holocene evolution of a lowland Scottish landscape: Kirkpatrick Fleming. I. Peat- and pollen-stratigraphic evidence for raised moss development and climatic change. *The Holocene* 5 (1), 69-82.
- Tipping, R. 1995b. Holocene evolution of a lowland Scottish landscape: Kirkpatrick Fleming. II. Regional vegetation and land-use change. *The Holocene* 5 (1), 83-96.
- Tipping, R. 1995c. Holocene evolution of a lowland Scottish landscape: Kirkpatrick Fleming. Part III. Fluvial history. *The Holocene* 5 (2), 184-95.
- Tipping, R. 1997a. Holocene evolution of a lowland Scottish landscape. In Mercer, R. *Kirkpatrick Fleming Dumfriesshire: An anatomy of a parish in South west Scotland*. Dumfries. Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Ann Hill Bequest 6.
- Tipping, R. 1997b. Environmental history and landscape evolution. In Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), 1997. *Eastern Dumfriesshire*. Edinburgh. HMSO.
- Truckell, A. E. 1963. The Mesolithic in Dumfries and Galloway: Recent Developments. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 40, 43-47.
- Williams, G. 1988. *The Standing Stones of Wales and South-West England*. Oxford. British Archaeological Report British Series 197.
- Williams, J. 2000 forthcoming. Lithic materials from Bar Hill, St Mungo's Parish, Annandale. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series 74.
- Zvelebil, M. 1994. Plant Use in the Mesolithic and its Role in the Transition to Farming. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 60, 35-74.

## EXCAVATIONS and SURVEY at COATS HILL, NEAR MOFFAT, 1990-1

by Andrew Dunwell\*, Ian Armit<sup>+</sup> and Ian Ralston\*

with a contribution by Ann Clarke

\* Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, Old High School, 12 Infirmity Street, Edinburgh EH1 1LT  
+ School of Archaeology & Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast, University Road, Belfast BT7 1NN

### Abstract

*This report describes the results of the survey and sample excavations of small cairns, annular structures and other remains on Coats Hill, near Moffat. The difficulties of assessing the dates and functions of certain of the structures are discussed. The project formed part of the archaeological studies for the North Western Ethylene Pipeline (NWEP) Project for Shell Chemicals UK Ltd, which wholly funded the archaeological work and the publication of this report.*

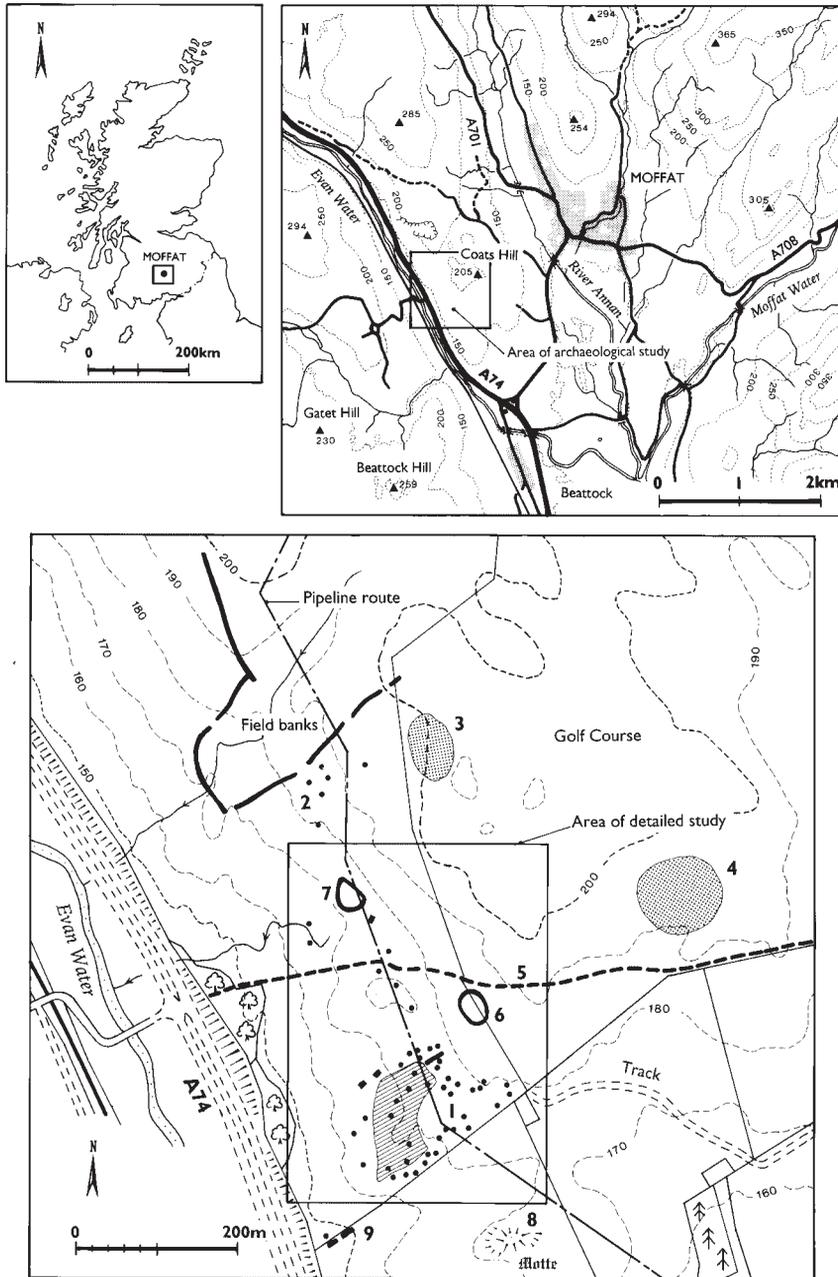
### Introduction

This report describes the results of archaeological survey and sample excavations carried out by the Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, during 1990-1 on a range of archaeological features at Coats Hill, near Moffat, Upper Annandale (NT 071 043, Illus 1). This fieldwork formed part of the archaeological studies commissioned by Shell Chemicals UK Ltd in advance of the construction of the North Western Ethylene Pipeline between Grangemouth and Stanlow, in Cheshire.

The study area lies mostly between the 160m and 180m contours on the relatively gently sloping, upper west-facing slopes of Coats Hill (Illus 1 & 2), currently maintained as rough pasture. The landscaped grounds of Moffat Golf Course lie in the field to the east of the study area, with improved grassland present to the south (Illus 2). The lower slopes of Coats Hill fall away more steeply down to the narrow valley floor of the Evan Water, which forms part of the Clydesdale - Annandale communication route through southern Scotland. This natural corridor has seen heavy modern development, not restricted to the valley floor but including the slopes of the flanking hills where, due to the lack of land improvement, upstanding archaeological monuments are extensively preserved (such as around Beattock Hill, Gatet Hill and Stanshiel Rig, which lie less than 2 km to the south of Coats Hill, Illus 1; Feachem 1973, 340-2, fig 7; RCAHMS 1997, 57-74).

### Working Methods

Fieldwork at Coats Hill was phased, reflecting the staging of pipeline planning and construction. The presence here of a motte, cairnfield and enclosed settlement (Illus 1, Sites 8, 1, 6) had long been known (Christison 1891, 220, 237; RCAHMS 1920, nos 394-5, 418; RCAHMS 1997, nos 1253, 202, 713), and the area was, therefore, highlighted as archaeologically sensitive at the initial desk-based data collection stage which preceded fieldwork. Non-archaeological constraints upon the choice of pipeline corridor route, principally the nature of the local topography and the presence of Moffat Golf Course, meant that complete avoidance of the cairnfield (Site 1) was not possible. Rapid reconnaissance and mapping of the earthworks were subsequently undertaken in an attempt to record the nature and extent of the remains. This was conducted initially within a 40m wide corridor along the pre-



Illus. 1 – Locations maps, including map showing distribution of monuments referred to in the text. 1, Cairnfield subject to detailed survey; 2-4, small cairns; 5, drove road; 6-7, enclosed settlements; 8, motte; 9, rectilinear foundations.



Illus. 2 – Photograph showing the Coats Hill landscape, looking south, showing cairns and annular structures (Site 1) as low mounds in the fore- and middle-ground, and the motte (Site 8) in the background.

ferred pipeline route but, as the complexity of the site was realised, a wider area was encompassed for detailed mapping to enable a better evaluation of the site and the planning of alternative pipeline routes through the complex, to minimise damage to it. Illus 1 shows the route of the pipeline as planned - as constructed, a pipeline alignment was followed which avoided Site 7.

After the final pipeline route had been agreed, excavation was undertaken of a representative sample of the features present within the construction corridor. This work was undertaken in November 1990 and February-March 1991, in often severe weather conditions with snow-covered and / or frozen ground. At this time detailed recording and a photographic survey of the cairnfield and associated monuments were undertaken. Finally, topsoiling of the pipeline swathe across the site was monitored in Summer 1991 during the construction phase of the project. Damage to archaeological sites within the construction corridor was avoided as far as possible by the laying of temporary surfaces on machine running tracks, and by the narrowing of the construction corridor from its standard width of 20m.

### **Field Survey**

Field survey demonstrated that the cairnfield (Site 1, Illus 1) was considerably more complex and extensive than had been realised by previous researchers. At least four distinct structural components can be detected within the cairnfield, with examples of constructional sequence visible. In addition, two enclosed settlement sites were demonstrated to lie within the general area of the cairnfield (Sites 6 & 7).

Furthermore, it was evident that the field survey, by concentrating according to its remit upon the immediate vicinity of the preferred pipeline corridor, had not recorded the full extent of surviving archaeological remains potentially associated with the cairnfield. Fieldwork conducted in advance of other major development proposals at about the same time, namely Scottish Power's Anglo-Scottish Interconnector power line (by CFA; *Discovery Excav Scot* 1991, 10) and the proposed A74-M74 road upgrading (by Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division; *Discovery Excav Scot* 1993, 16), located further sites both downslope from the cairnfield and in the improved land to the south of the site. Finally, the recorded distribution of cairns and current patterns of land use combine to indicate that land improvements to the east and south of the study area have most probably removed former components of the cairnfield in these directions.

That the cairnfield lies within a landscape rich in the remains of sites of apparently varying antiquity, poses interesting questions as to the chronological and functional inter-relationships of its elements with these other monuments. The following sections provide summary descriptions of the suite of monuments present, based upon the results of field survey and previous accounts. The general distribution of the monuments is illustrated on Illus 1, with a detailed plot of the surveyed cairnfield (Site 1) presented as Illus 3. Fuller details are provided in archive reports (Ralston & Armit 1990; Armit & Dunwell 1992) deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS).

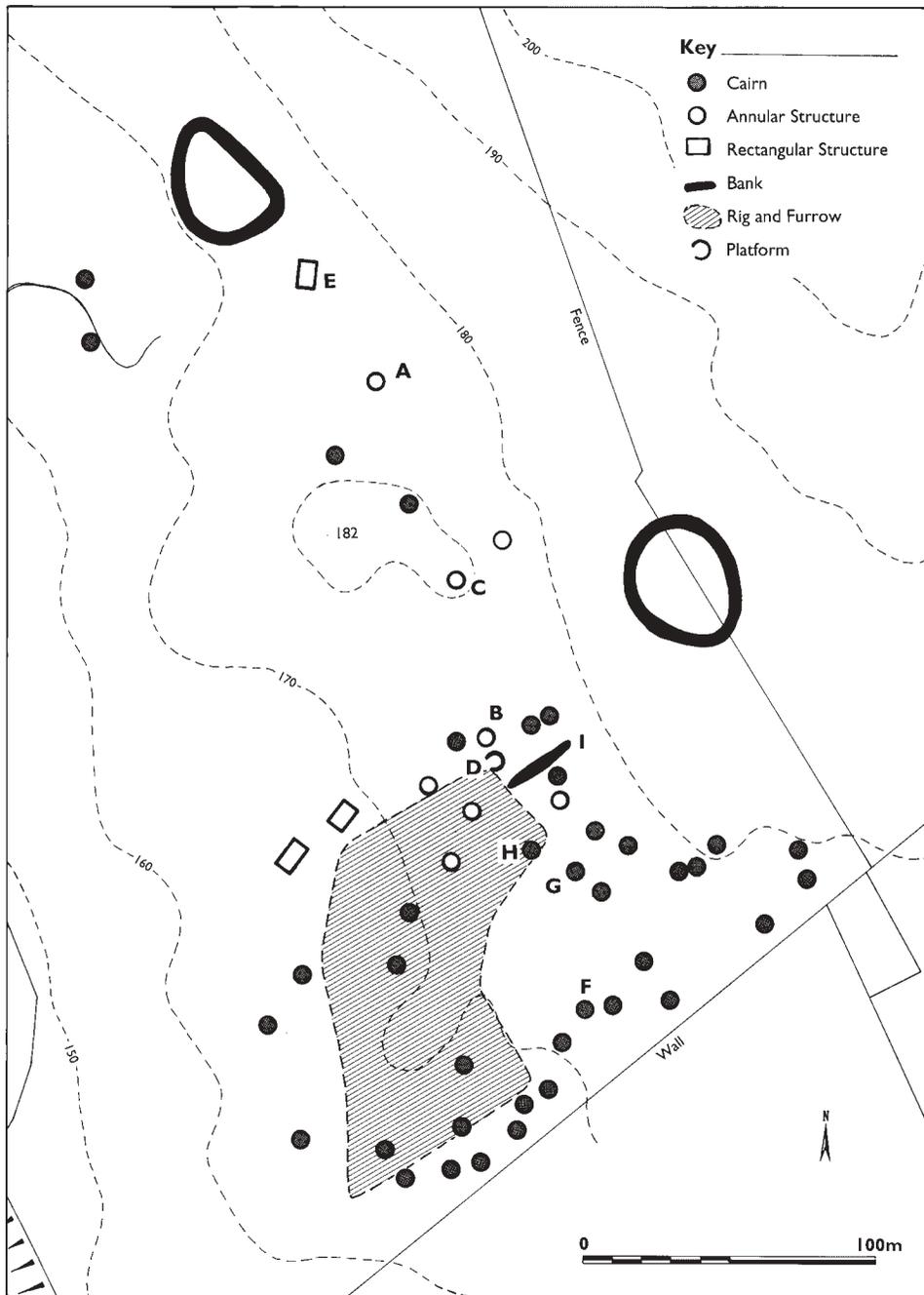
#### *Cairnfields and associated features (sites 1-5)*

Previous published accounts of the cairnfield (NT 071 043; Site 1, Illus 3) do not provide a consistent or complete impression of its various components. Christison (1891, 220, fig 2) recorded an arrangement of small stone heaps with no recognisable pattern a short distance to the north of Coats Hill motte (Site 8, Illus 1), and near a settlement (Site 6, Illus 1). RCAHMS (1920, 144; no. 418) catalogued the presence of about 5 clearance cairns, with others visible in the bracken nearby. Welsh (*Discovery Excav Scot* 1972, 20) subsequently identified what he interpreted as two oval huts, discontinuous stretches of parallel rubble banks and a number of stony mounds. Subsequent field visits recorded in NMRS (Ref: NT 00 SE 32) led to the identification of approximately 25 clearance cairns, several of which appeared to have been destroyed with the construction of a previous pipeline (ie Site 3, within the golf course), but no huts; the presence of rig-and-furrow cultivation marks and lynchets was also noted.

Detailed survey along the route of the NWEF pipeline in fact revealed the survival of almost 40 small stone cairns in the unimproved field west of the golf course. These varied in size up to 7m across and 0.6m high, and clustered at the southern end of the field. Most of this cluster appeared loosely to define a sub-rectangular plot occupied by rig-and-furrow cultivation marks, orientated south-west to north-east and with a wave amplitude of 5m and a relief of no more than 0.2m. The extent of this rig-and-furrow cultivation could not be established with any certainty as the marks were visible only in certain light conditions and from certain angles. A single linear stone bank (I, Illus 3), running parallel to the alignment of the rig and furrow, occurred within the cairn cluster.

Within the northern part of this cluster lay several annular or oval features defined by a low stony bank, the largest with external dimensions of c. 7.5 m by 7 m. A further isolated structure of similar form was located c. 120 m to the north (A, Illus 3). The majority appeared to contain dumps of cleared stone, and it was thus unclear prior to excavation whether they were structures or disturbed cairns.

Immediately to the north of the cairn cluster, in a prominent location on the summit of a knoll, lay a significantly more substantial stone cairn with a hollow centre (C, Illus 3). Elsewhere, three arrangements of stone alignments appeared to indicate the presence of either rectilinear foundations or linear clearance heaps; one of these (E, Illus 3) was excavated. Other rectilinear foundations of likely post-medieval date have been recorded in the vicinity (Site 9, Illus 1; Site 7, *infra*).



Illus. 3 – Detailed plan of the Site 1, distinguishing the various types of features recorded, and identifying excavated elements (A-I).

Further discoveries of cairns in the vicinity of the surveyed area, both during the current project and by other researchers, indicate that the cairnfield was extensive and would benefit from more wide-ranging survey. To the north of the study area a group of six stone cairns was identified on the pipeline route (NT 070 047; Illus 1, Site 2). It was near to these that a group of four small cairns was recorded within the grounds of Moffat Golf Course, during the construction of a gas pipeline (NT 071 047, Illus 1, Site 3; *Discovery Excav Scot* 1976, 27; RCAHMS 1997, no 200). Up to 12 further cairns have been reported further east within the golf course (NT 074 045, Illus 1, Site 4; Scott-Elliot 1967, 105-106; RCAHMS 1997, no 199); quantities of dumped stone previously recorded at this location indicate the removal of further examples, and probably reflect wider destruction caused by landscaping for the golf course. Site 1 most probably once extended southwards into the improved grassland field, beyond the dyke marking its surviving southern limit, although no remains of it now occur here; a substantial heap of stones north of the motte may well contain material cleared from former cairns.

A drove road (Site 5, Illus 1) is recorded on both William Crawford's map of 1804 and the first edition Ordnance Survey coverage of 1857 (Dumfriesshire, sheet 16, 1861) as running from Evan Water to Moffat via Coats Hill. Its route as mapped intersects Site 1, although no surface traces of it could be detected.

### *Settlements (sites 6-7)*

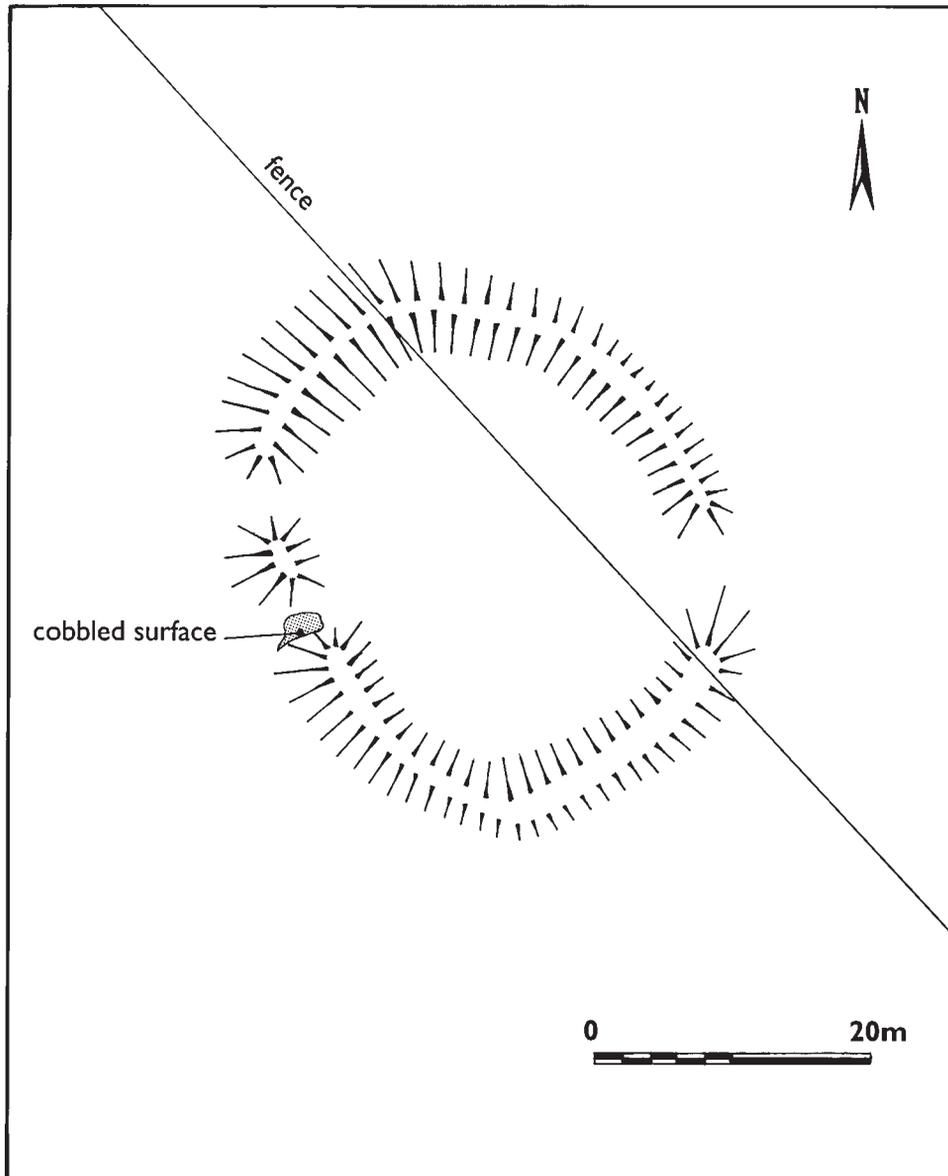
Two small enclosed settlement sites of later prehistoric character lie only c. 160 m apart within the cairnfield, at around the 180m contour (Illus 1, Sites 6-7). Such settlements (formerly referred to as "birrens" or "burians") are present in considerable numbers in south central Scotland, and appear to represent a regional settlement tradition in the late first millennium BC and early first millennium AD (see Jobey 1971; RCAHMS 1997). Several are known in the hills of Upper Annandale (see eg Feachem 1973; RCAHMS 1997, 57-74). Excavations at a limited number of these sites in Dumfriesshire - in Eskdale at Boonies (Jobey 1975) and Long Knowe (Mercer 1981), and in Annandale at Woodend (*Discovery Excav Scot* 1995, 17-8) - have demonstrated prolonged occupation within the enclosures in sequences of timber roundhouses. The chronological relationship between the two Coats Hill settlements can only be a matter of speculation. The pipeline was routed to avoid these sites.

The southern settlement (Site 6; NGR: NT 071 044; RCAHMS 1997, no 713; Illus 4) has been known of since the middle of the 19th century, when it was recorded as a fort on the Ordnance Survey first edition 6-inch coverage (Dumfriesshire, sheet 16, 1861: also Christison 1891, 237; RCAHMS 1920, no 394). It is oval in form, bounded by a degraded stone wall, and with an entrance to the west. The earthwork straddles the boundary between the unimproved land and the golf course, and in the latter area is markedly less well preserved.

Site 7 (NGR: NT 0702 0456; RCAHMS 1997, no 722; Illus 1) was first identified during field survey conducted for the NWEP project. It lies on a west-facing terrace and is overlooked by steep slopes to the east and north. Although much disturbed and obscured by secondary constructions, sufficient is visible to indicate that its original form was an oval stone-walled enclosure, c. 30 m across, the wall now reduced to foundation level. Much of the eastern half of the enclosure is obscured by rectilinear constructions and platforms most probably related to a secondary, medieval or later, settlement. The north-eastern enclosure wall has been mutilated by the passage of a track (not the drove road referred to above) immediately juxtaposed with, and perhaps respecting the position of, the secondary settlement.

### **Excavations**

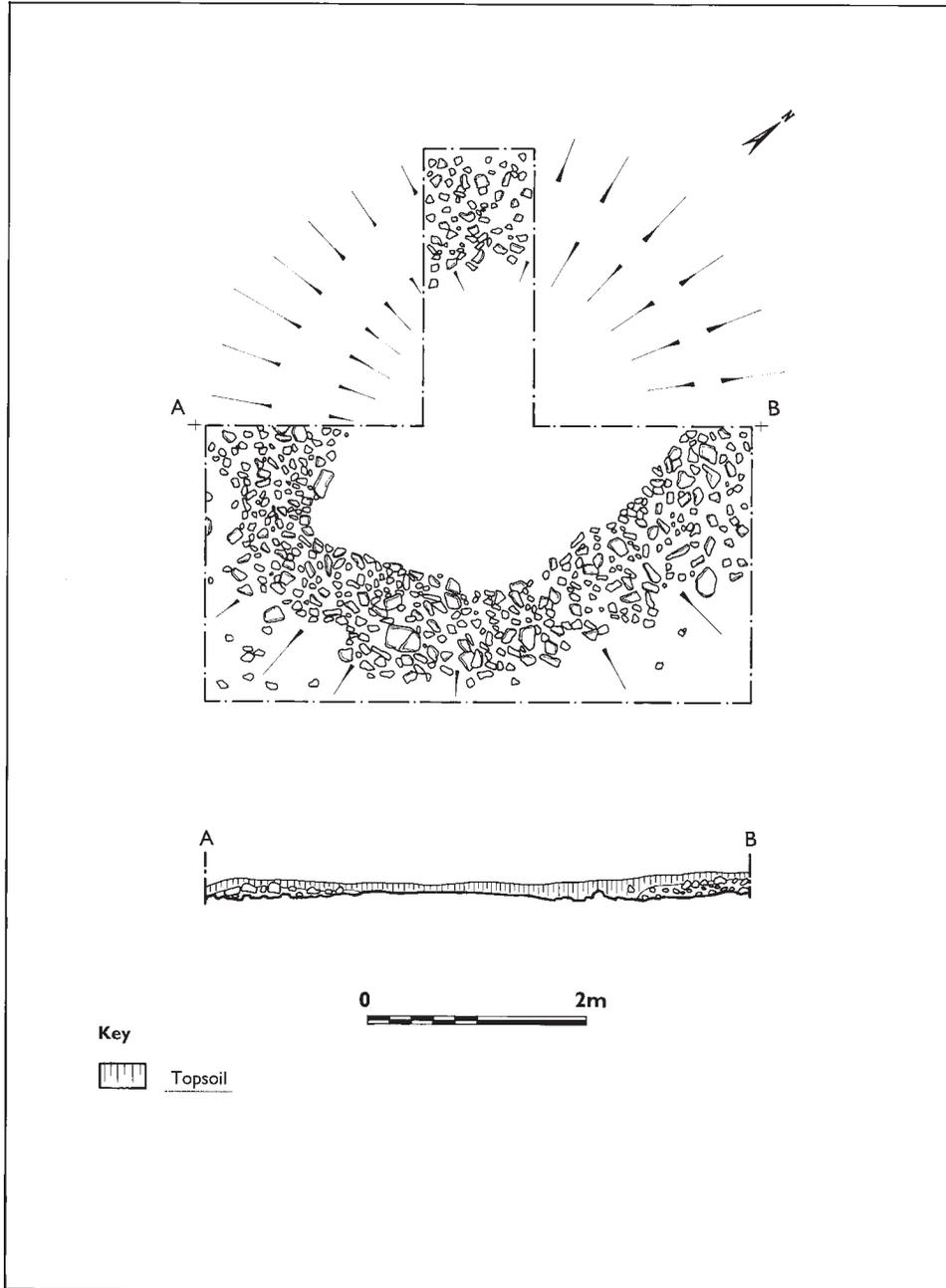
Nine elements of Site 1 (Illus 3) present on the route of the pipeline were examined, revealing three annular structures (A-C), a scooped platform (D), a possible rectilinear foundation (E), three clearance cairns (F-H), and a linear clearance bank (I). Some of the excavated features proved to be of different character than had been proposed from surface survey (C, D). Full details are in an archive report (Armit & Dunwell 1992) and the site records, which are deposited in the NMRS.



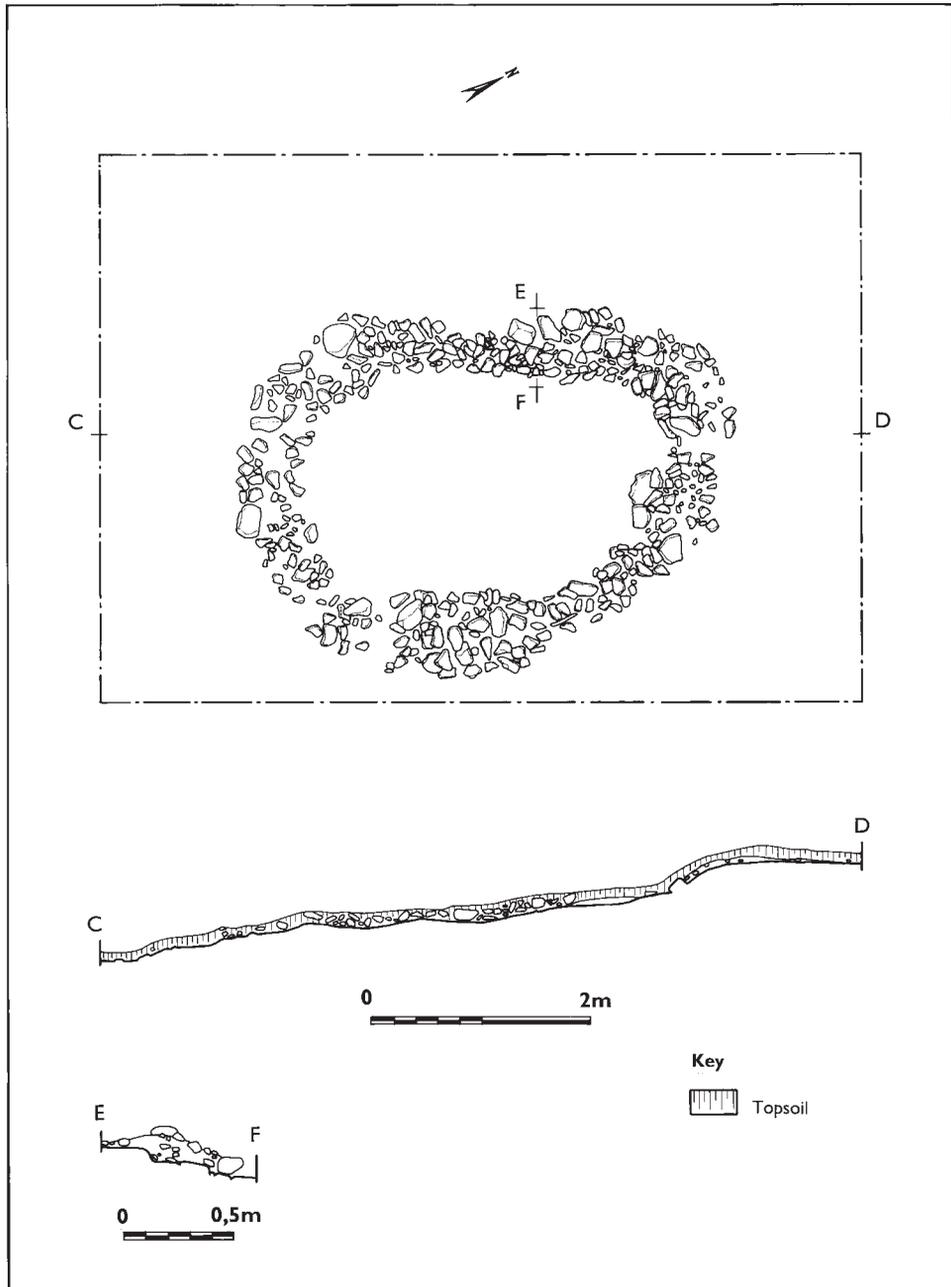
Illus. 4 – Plan of enclosed settlement (Site 6).

#### *Annular structures*

*Structure A (Illus 5)* was clearly recognisable from surface traces as a small annular structure, as it had not been obscured by the later dumping of cleared stone. Approximately two-thirds of this structure was investigated. Removal of topsoil and turf revealed an unbroken bank of small cobbles, 0.6 - 1 m wide and standing to no more than 0.15 m high, enclosing an area measuring c. 3.4 m by 2.8 m. No deposits or features were present to indicate that the structure had been occupied or roofed; topsoil lay directly over subsoil in the enclosed zone. In addition, there were no spreads of stones around the



Illus. 5 – Plan and section of Structure A.



Illus. 6 – Plan and sections of Structure B.

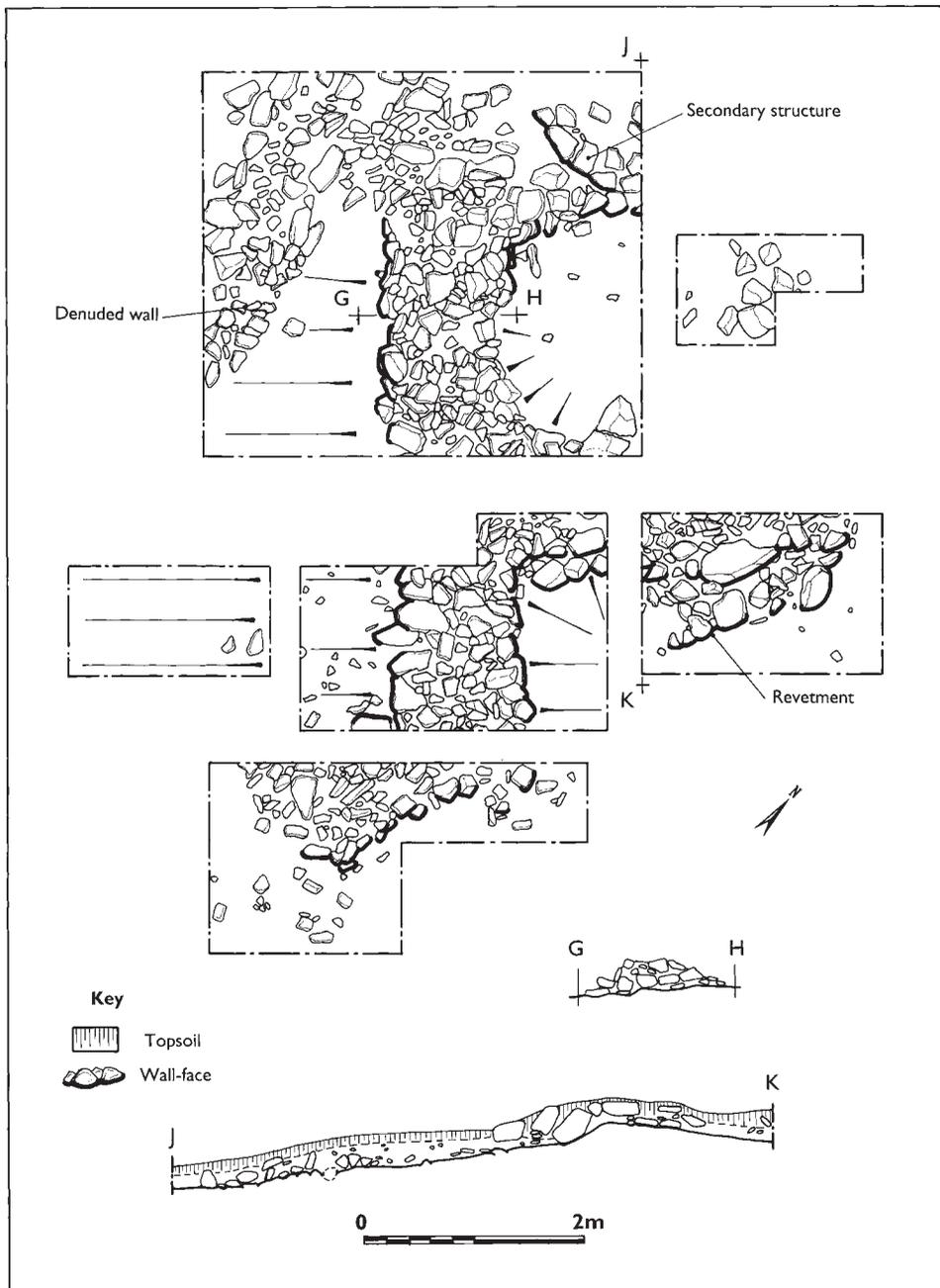


Illus. 7 – Photograph of Structure B, from south-west.

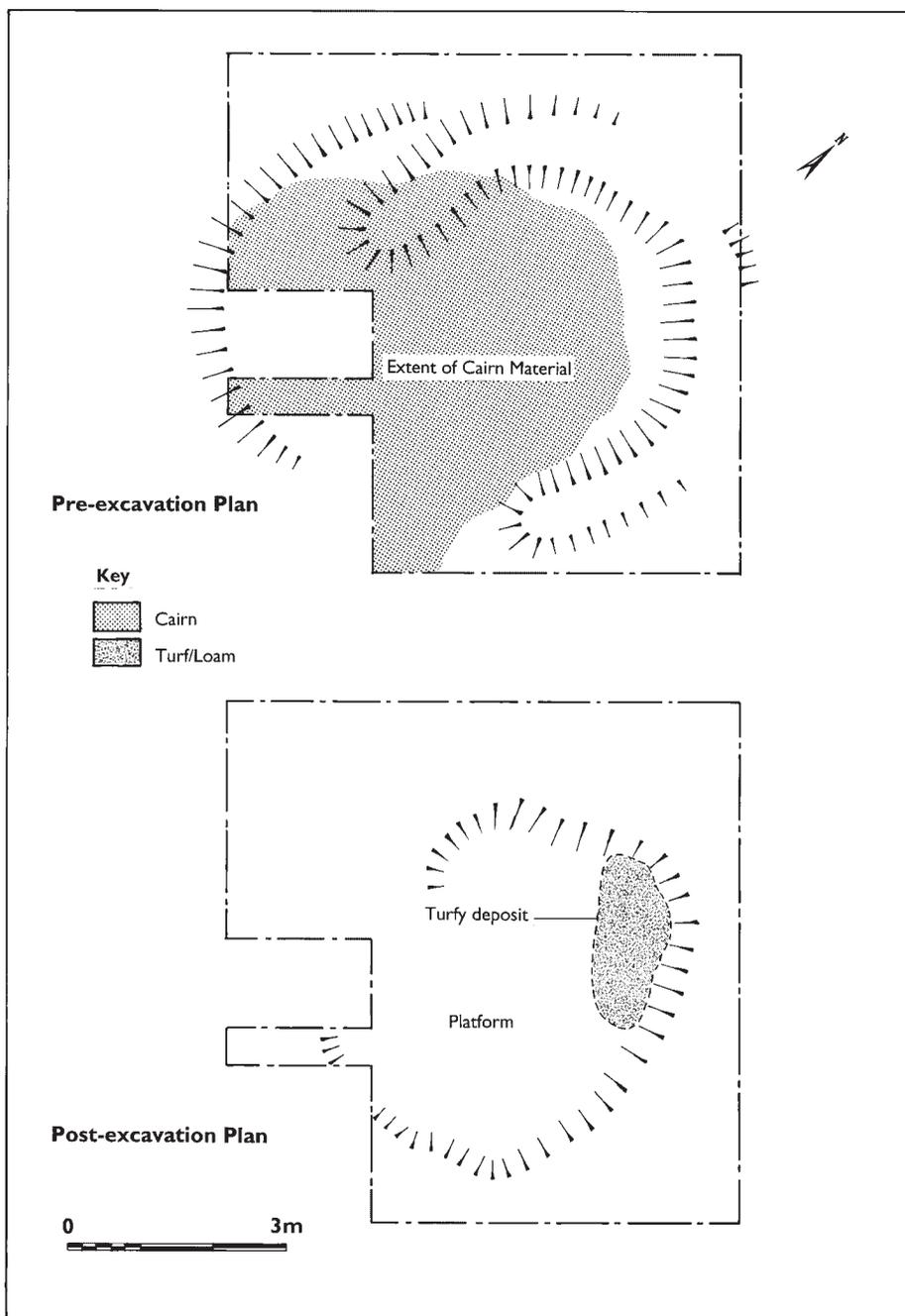
bank to suggest that it had ever been more substantial. Sections excavated through the bank revealed no trace of an old ground surface sealed beneath it. No artefacts were recovered from this structure.

*Structure B* (Illus 6 & 7) appeared from surface traces as a low penannular banked feature containing loose stone. It was fully excavated, revealing two phases of activity. The first phase comprised a small oval enclosure similar in character to Structure A. A shallow scoop, no more than 0.3 m deep, had been cut into the hillside, reducing the gradient of the slope but without creating a level platform. The edges of the scoop were lined with a continuous stone bank to enclose an oval area c. 3.5m north-south by c. 2m. This bank appeared to be preserved almost intact, apart from the western, downslope side, which is visible in the foreground on Illus 7, and results from trampling over the bank (by humans or livestock?), rather than a deliberate break. The structure did not appear to have been provided with an entrance. Internal primary deposits were restricted to isolated flecks of yellow and grey clay on the subsoil surface. The second phase of activity comprised the use of the structure as a repository for cleared stone. No artefacts were recovered from this feature.

*Structure C* (Illus 8) lay on the summit of a pronounced knoll between Structures A and B. It appeared from surface traces as a substantial stone cairn, measuring 9m by 7m and up to 0.6m high, with a hollow centre. Excavation principally revealed an apparently P-shaped rubble-built structure, c. 6m long north-west to south-east, incorporating a sub-circular enclosure a little over 2m across internally. The walls of this curious structure survived to c. 0.3 m high, and appeared to represent a single build, although the eastern wall of the enclosure had been stabilised by the addition of an external revetment. There was no evidence of a ground surface sealed beneath the walls. The northern wall of the enclosure proved to be substantially denuded, and thus it could not be determined



Illus. 8 – Plan and sections of Structure C.



Illus. 9 – Plans of scooped platform D; the upper recording surface topography and the extent of secondary cleared stone identified; the lower showing the extent of the scooped platform.

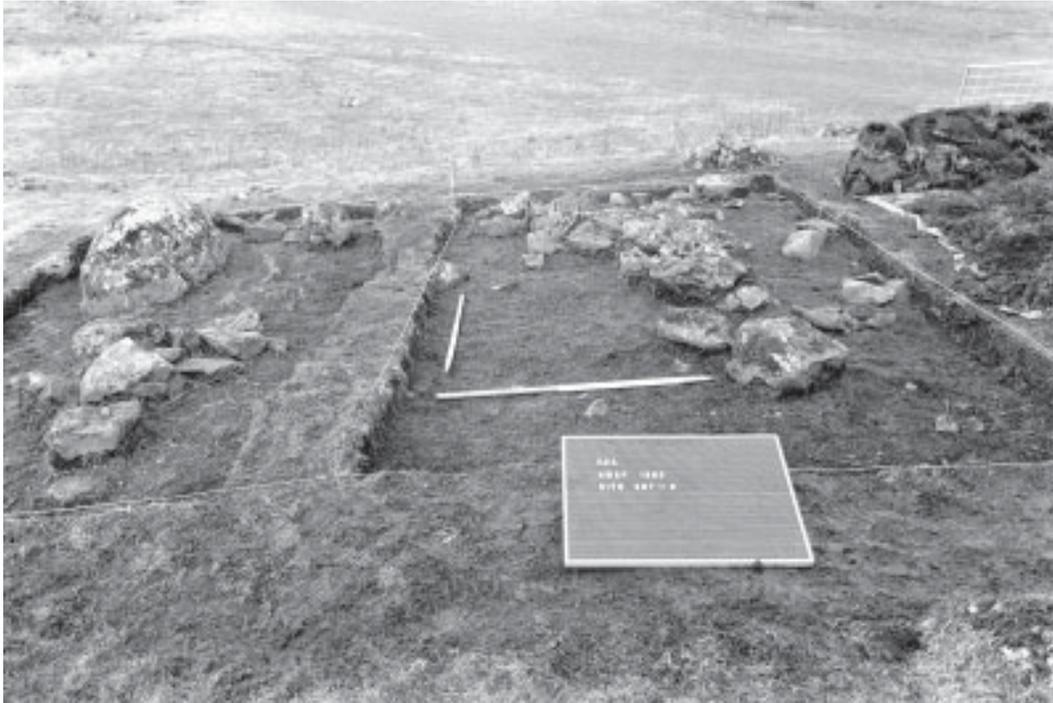
whether an entrance had been present here. The only remains within the enclosure comprised loose stone, representing either collapsed walling or field clearance material. Traces of other features were identified in the trenches - a stony band, possibly denuded walling, ran obliquely past the west end of Structure C; an arc of stones, possibly forming the external face of a denuded structure, had been cut into the north-west part of Structure C, and was thus secondary to it. No finds were recovered from this trench.

### *Platform*

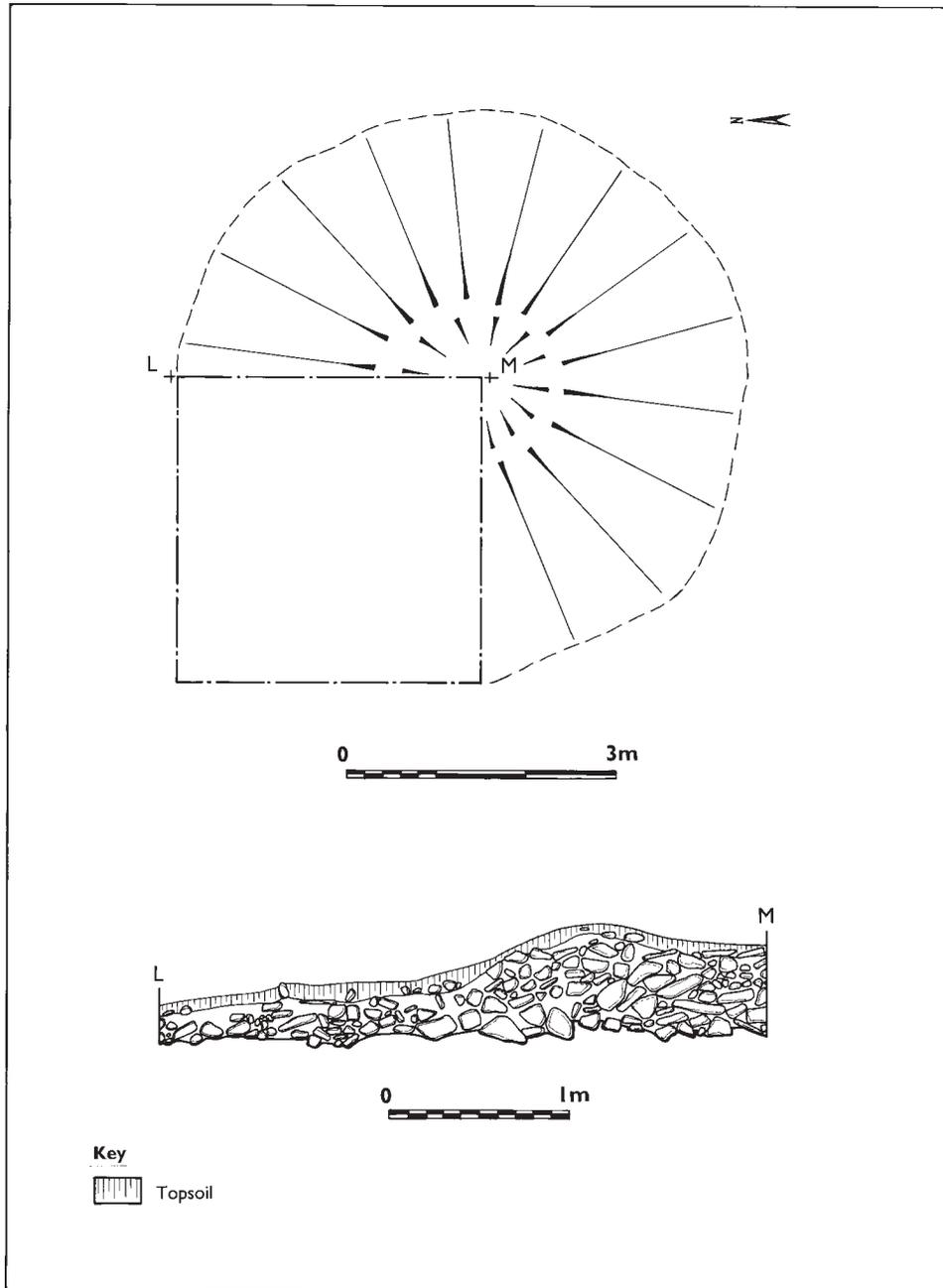
*Platform D (Illus 9)* was identified during field survey as a robbed cairn, c. 7m in diameter. Excavation of this feature revealed two phases of activity. The first comprised the scooping of a small platform into the hillside. This platform was of sub-rectangular form, measuring c. 4.5m by 3.6m, with a back-scarp up to 0.5m deep. Its surface was not level, but it sloped less steeply than the surrounding hillside. A low annular bank of earth and stone ran around the top of the scoop, and was largely responsible for the misinterpretation of the monument from surface traces. The only primary deposit present above the subsoil floor of the platform was a patch of stones within a silty clay soil (possibly decayed turf), set against the back-scarp of the platform. There was no further evidence of structural remains on the platform. A spread of cleared stone dumped across the platform, and spilling downslope from it, represents a secondary use of the structure unrelated to its original function. No artefacts were recovered from this trench.

### *Structure (possible)*

*Structure E (Illus 10)* was visible from surface survey as an arc of stones. Excavation in fact revealed three fragmentary, parallel stone alignments, from c.2.5m to 5m long and up to 0.4m high,



Illus. 10 – Photograph showing part of possible structure E, from south-west.



Illus. 11 – Plan and section of cairn F.

possibly representing walling - at one point two courses were present. All alignments were contained within the topsoil. No anthropogenic deposits were present in association with these remains. Residual traces of a buried ground surface were preserved beneath the stones, but were too fragmentary to allow sampling. A sherd of glazed pottery was recovered from the topsoil. The quality of survival of these remains was too poor to allow any convincing interpretations of age and function to be made, although an explanation as the denuded foundations of a rectilinear building is plausible.

### *Small cairns*

*Cairn F (Illus 11)* appeared from surface survey as a circular mound, 6.5 m in diameter and 0.35 m high, with a slight hollow on its summit. Investigation of its north-west quadrant revealed a stone heap, up to c. 0.5m high and lacking any internal order or structure, and bonded by a rooty topsoil. There was no evidence of an old ground surface sealed beneath the cairn. No artefacts were recovered from this trench.

*Cairn G* appeared from surface traces as a low mound measuring 5m by 3m by 0.5m high. Excavation of a quadrant revealed a disordered heap of stones. Again, neither a buried soil nor artefactual remains were encountered.

*Cairn H* appeared from surface traces as an area of low stony hummocks measuring approximately 5.5m by 4.5m overall and up to 0.3m high, and was identified by field survey as a disturbed stone cairn or annular structure. Excavation confirmed the first possibility as the correct interpretation - the main stone pile within the spread appeared to be the surviving rump of a disturbed clearance cairn. No buried ground surface was present beneath this feature. A stone with three parallel grooves incised into it (Illus 13) was found in the disturbed debris of the cairn.



Illus. 12 – Photograph showing section of linear stone bank I, from south-east.

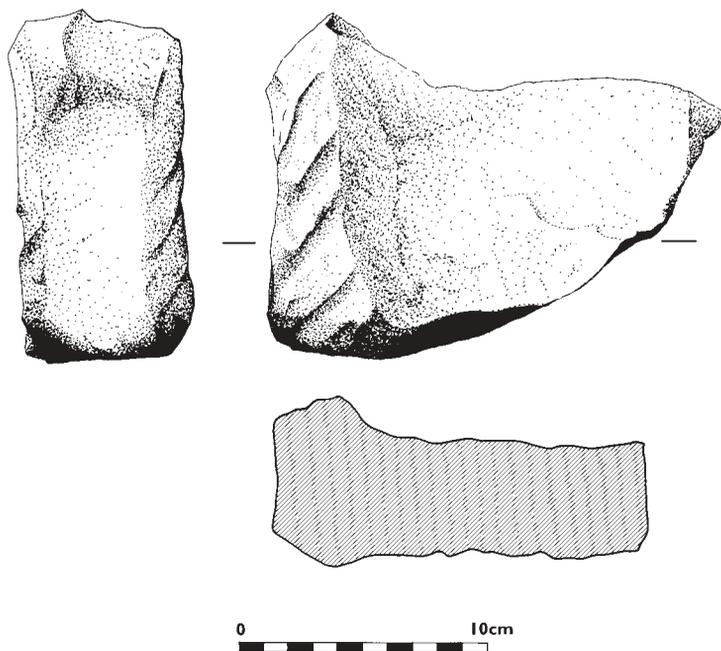
### *Linear clearance bank*

*Bank I* (Illus 12) extended for 23m, and was 2m wide and up to 0.3m high. A trench 1m wide was excavated across it c. 5m from its south-west end. The bank was revealed to be composed of rubble bonded by topsoil. The rubble lay directly upon the subsoil surface, with no trace of a buried soil between the two. On this evidence the bank can be interpreted most convincingly as a band of cleared stone.

### **Finds**

Three artefacts were recovered during fieldwork on Coats Hill. These have been declared as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dumfries Museum. The catalogue entries for finds 2 and 3 were produced by Ann Clarke.

- 1) Rim-sherd of brown glazed pottery, 19-20 centuries AD. From the topsoil, Structure E.
- 2) Angular, fractured stone: L 170mm; W 130mm; 70mm (Illus 13). Three parallel grooves, 40mm x 5mm x 2mm, run diagonally across one face; traces of a fourth groove are present. The incisions do not appear to be decorative, and are too regular to be the result of plough-scoring; they probably reflect the use of the stone for sharpening metal blades. From the disturbed debris of cairn H, within topsoil.
- 3) Whetstone: L 129mm; W 26mm; Th 12mm. Fine-grained sandstone. Oval in plan and rectangular in cross-section. Both faces have been worn quite flat. Possibly a modern form of whetstone. Found during topsoiling of the pipeline corridor; no structural associations.



Illus. 13 – Grooved stone from cairn H.

## Discussion

The datable elements of the suite of monuments on Coats Hill reflect intermittent occupation extending over approximately two millennia: the two enclosed settlements (Sites 6 & 7) can be broadly dated by regional parallels to the last centuries BC and first centuries AD; the motte (Site 8) belongs to the medieval period, around the 12th century AD (RCAHMS 1997, 188); and the rectilinear structures (eg Site 7) can be classified loosely as medieval or later rural settlement (cf Foster & Hingley 1994; Hingley 1993). The proximity (and in one case, Site 7, sequence) of settlements of varying antiquity on Coats Hill presents significant difficulties in interpreting the likely context and associations of the more ephemeral remains that lie between them. This is accentuated by the lack of material recovered from the trenches by which the dates, and in some cases functions, of these features might be deciphered. However, the publication of RCAHMS' (1997) study of Eastern Dumfriesshire just before this paper was completed proved timely, and allows Coats Hill to be considered within a regional context.

### *Rig-and-furrow cultivation and cairnfield*

The rig-and-furrow cultivation marks arguably form the least contentious element of Site 1. Whilst their precise character and extent defied accurate recording, due to their poor quality of preservation, a medieval or later date seems highly likely. The majority of the stone cairns cluster in the immediate vicinity of the rig-and-furrow cultivation marks, and those excavated need represent no more than dumps of cleared stone. It could be argued, therefore, that the cairnfield and rig-and-furrow together represent a single episode of medieval or later cultivation in marginal land. A medieval date for a cairn overlying rig cultivation has been demonstrated at New Kinnord, Aberdeenshire (Edwards 1980), and traces of stone clearance are often found around rig-systems (eg Eastern Dumfriesshire; RCAHMS 1997, 59).

However, the cairns on Coats Hill extend over a much wider area than could be demonstrated for the rig-and-furrow cultivation, and this may suggest differing origins for at least some of the cairns. The clearance of stone for agricultural and funerary purposes can be traced back to the neolithic period, and it is possible that the rig-and-furrow merely re-used an area originally cleared long ago. There has been much discussion of the origins of cairnfields in south-western Scotland (eg Scott-Elliott 1967, Yates 1985, RCAHMS 1997, 43), and there are good reasons to believe that many are likely to be prehistoric, probably Bronze Age in date, unless demonstrated otherwise. Factors which have influenced this belief include their complementary distributions with burial cairns and burnt mounds (RCAHMS 1997, 60), the lack of later settlements amongst them (S Halliday, pers comm) and discoveries of Bronze Age funerary remains in components of cairnfields (although this is relatively uncommon; Yates 1985, 218-9; Scott-Elliott 1967). A large cairnfield examined recently at Fall Kneesend, Upper Clydesdale (*Discovery Excav Scot* 1993, 89) revealed both prehistoric funerary and clearance functions for the cairns, and indicate that composite cairnfields exist. On this basis, not all the cairns on Coats Hill need simply be the result of field activity.

In summary, there is a reasonable possibility that the Coats Hill cairnfield at least partly reflects medieval or later land use, but this is tempered by the lack of datable excavated

evidence and the heterogeneous origins of cairnfields as revealed by other excavations in the vicinity. There is, in the end, no reason why the Coats Hill cairnfield cannot reflect more than one episode of clearance.

#### *Annular structures*

The close correspondence in size and morphology, and close spatial association, of the annular structures suggests that they can be considered as a group of broadly contemporary features. Sufficient information was obtained from the excavations to demonstrate that they are stratigraphically earlier than stone cairns where the two coincide. As such, this suggests that they are medieval or earlier in date. Beyond this, however, there is little that can be stated confidently about the absolute date and function of these enigmatic features. No artefacts were recovered from the excavated examples, and no material suitable for radiometric dating was encountered. There was insufficient evidence of occupation debris, internal features or collapsed building debris to suggest that they represent the remains of inhabited, roofed structures. Furthermore, none of the excavated structures was demonstrated to have been provided with an entrance. Despite their surface appearance, therefore, they cannot be explained as either hut circles or funerary ring cairns. Although they lie in close proximity to a former drove road (Illus 1, Site 5) there seems little to commend the structures as shieling huts - which in any case are rare in the region (RCAHMS 1997, 72-3). That Structure B had been placed within an artificial shallow scoop set into the hillside argues against its interpretation as a dump of cleared stone which had been robbed in antiquity and latterly added to by further clearance material. The excavated structures in each case appeared too regularly formed to be explained as disturbed cairns (cf element H, an irregular spread of stone which was interpreted as a damaged cairn).

The structural simplicity and lack of evidence for occupation point to an association of the annular structures with non-domestic, agricultural activity. It is unlikely that they were ever small enclosed cultivation plots, such as the plantiecrues of the Northern Isles (cf Fenton 1978, 103; Hunter 1996, 96-102), as there was no depth of soil within the enclosed zone. Many such small annular enclosures in the English Border Counties have been interpreted as 'stack stands' (after Ramm *et al* 1970, 54-60), built to store winter fodder and protect it from unseasonal consumption by livestock. Stack stands are characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries AD, and commonly occur in groups of two to five in close association with farm steadings. They can be difficult to distinguish from surface traces alone (cf Neighbour 1992, 8), and few definite examples were noted by RCAHMS (1997, 31) in Eastern Dumfriesshire. The structures on Coats Hill seem to be of earlier date than this, and seem rather small for such a purpose, although a storage function is possible.

#### *Platform*

The primary function of the platform is not clear. The absence of a level surface, structural foundations or occupation debris mean that an interpretation as an element of an unenclosed platform settlement of Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age date (eg as excavated recently in Upper Clydesdale at Lintshie Gutter; Terry 1995) can be discounted. The use of the structure as a charcoal burner's platform can similarly be dismissed due to the absence of a pitstead or any carbonised remains; such platforms on occasions appear to have re-used unenclosed platform settlements in Western Scotland (Rennie 1997). In the absence of any

positive evidence for its date and function, an origin as a non-domestic, agricultural feature is perhaps as specific as one can be about this enigmatic feature. Given that the platform was re-used as a dumping ground for field clearance material, a medieval or earlier date seems likely.

### **Conclusions**

The suite of archaeological monuments recorded on the western flank of Coats Hill can be regarded as a palimpsest of activity extending back at least to the first millennium BC, and quite possibly beyond. Later prehistoric, medieval, and medieval or later settlement forms are represented. In addition to these features there is evidence of probably medieval or later cultivation rigs, a cairnfield of uncertain date(s), and medieval or earlier annular structures and a platform. It would be convenient, although unwise, simply to associate the more ephemeral remains with the demonstrable periods of settlement - each of the structural forms excavated on Coats Hill could thus relate to a separate phase of activity on the hillside.

The above comments are not intended to be a cause for pessimism about the opportunities for understanding such palimpsests. Rather the variety of monuments present, and their inter-relationships, mark Coats Hill as a surviving fragment of an important archaeological landscape. It is only through further examination of such sites that their context and associations will become clearer. Linear developments, such as the NWEP pipeline, can thus often be of benefit to archaeologists, in that their construction leads to less commonly researched monument forms being examined at the expense of more well known site types, which tend to be avoided at the design stage. As part of the NWEP project several less popular targets for research excavations were examined - such as a post-medieval field system at Crookedstane, Upper Clydesdale (Dunwell *et al* 1995) and a post-medieval farmstead at Chapel Farm, Moffat (Alexander *et al* 1992). Field survey can provide important information on the regional patterns of such less well understood monument types (eg RCAHMS 1997), yet the limited amount of excavated and published data restricts what can be said with confidence. It is only through the examination of the wide range of elements of archaeological landscapes that we will begin to understand the extent to which all the pieces fit together, and thus to address more holistically what is important and worthy of protection from future development.

### **Acknowledgements**

Fieldwork associated with the NWEP project was wholly funded by Shell Chemicals UK Ltd. Environmental co-ordination for the company was conducted by Dr Alan Ryder, of RSK Environment Ltd, assisted by David Maynard. Much of the detailed survey work was conducted by Peter McKeague and Anne Sangster, both formerly of CFA. Illus 1 includes details of sites surveyed on behalf of Scottish Power plc as part of their Anglo-Scottish Interconnector project. The line drawings were prepared by George Mudie of CFA. We are grateful to Bill Finlayson of CFA and Stratford Halliday of RCAHMS for their comments on an earlier draft of this report. Responsibility for the final form and content of this report, however, rests with the authors and CFA.

*The Society expresses its indebtedness to Shell Chemicals UK Ltd. for meeting the publication costs of this report.*

## References

- Alexander, D, Armit, I & Ralston, I 1992 'A post-medieval farmstead complex at Chapel Farm, near Moffat, Dumfries and Galloway Region', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 67, 49-54.
- Armit, I & Dunwell, A J 1992 *Excavations at Coats Hill, Moffat (parcel 387), Dumfries and Galloway Region, February 1991*. NWEPA Archaeological Studies (Scotland) Phase 2, Series 2, Report No. 5. Unpublished report, Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh / UnivEd Technologies.
- Christison, D 1891 'A general view of the forts, camps and motes of Dumfriesshire, with a detailed description of those in Upper Annandale', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 25 (1890-1), 198-256.
- Discovery Excav Scot *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*. Council for Scottish Archaeology, Edinburgh.
- Dunwell, A, Armit, I & Ralston I 1995 'The post-medieval farmstead and field system of Over Newtown at Crookedstane, Elvanfoot, Upper Clydesdale', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 29, 61-75.
- Edwards, K J 1980 'Excavation and environmental archaeology of a small cairn associated with cultivation ridges in Aberdeenshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 109 (1977-8), 22-29.
- Feachem, R W 1973 'Ancient agriculture in the Highland of Britain', *Proc Prehist Soc*, 39, 332-353.
- Fenton, A 1978 *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Foster, S M & Hingley, R 1994 'The potential and significance of field system remains', in S Foster & T C Smout (eds), *The History of Soils and Field Systems*, Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 135-44.
- Hingley, R (ed) 1993 *Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.
- Hunter, J R 1996 *Fair Isle. The Archaeology of an Island Community*. Edinburgh: HMSO / The National Trust for Scotland.
- Jobey, G 1971 'Early settlements in eastern Dumfriesshire', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 48, 78-105.
- Jobey, G 1975 'Excavations at Boonies, Westerkirk, and the nature of Romano-British settlement in eastern Dumfriesshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 105 (1972-74), 119-40.
- Mercer, R 1981 'The excavation of an earthwork enclosure at Long Knowe, Eskdale, Dumfriesshire, 1976', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 56, 38-72.
- Neighbour, T 1992 *Short Notice Forestry Survey at Capelfoot, Annandale and Eskdale District, Dumfries and Galloway Region*. Unpublished report, Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh / UnivEd Technologies.
- Ralston, I B M. & Armit, I 1990 *The North Western Ethylene Pipeline (Grangemouth-English/Scottish Border), Archaeological Studies (Scotland), Phase 1, Final Report*. Unpublished report, Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh / UnivEd Technologies.
- Ramm, H G, McDowell, R W & Mercer, E 1970 *Shielings and Bastles*. London: HMSO.
- RCAHMS 1920 *Seventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries*. HMSO: Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1997 *Eastern Dumfriesshire: An Archaeological Landscape*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.
- Rennie, E B 1997 *The Recessed Platforms of Argyll, Bute and Inverness*. Oxford [= BAR British Series 253].
- Scott-Elliot, J 1967 'The small cairn fields of Dumfriesshire', *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Natur Hist Antiq Soc*, 44, 97-121.
- Terry, J 1995 'Excavation at Lintshie Gutter unenclosed platform settlement, Crawford, Lanarkshire, 1991', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 125 (1995), 369-428.
- Yates, M J 1985 'Groups of small cairns in northern Britain - a view from SW Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 114 (1984), 217-34.

## TWO PROBLEMS from ROMAN SCOTLAND Genunia and Cohors II Tungrorum c. L.<sup>1</sup>

by J. E. H. Spaul

57, Charlton Road, Andover, SP10 3JY

### THE GENUNIAN PROBLEM

The problem was presented by Pausanias who wrote, referring to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in Book 8 (43, 4) of his ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ (Guide to Greece):

‘απετεμετο δε και των εν Βριτανια Βριγαντων την πολλην ὅτι επεσβαινειν και ουτοι συν ὀπλοις ηρξων ες την Γενουνιαν μοιραν υπηκοους Ρωμαιων.’

‘He took from the Brigantes in Britannia the larger part of their territory because they had raided under arms into the Genounian area, the people of which were subject to the Romans.’

Many scholars inferred from this passage that Pausanias referred to the Brigantes, the dominant tribe of Northern England and Southern Scotland, a tribe which had in the previous century proved difficult to subdue, and which would prove a trouble in years to come.

In 1911, Dr (later Sir) George Macdonald reported (*The Roman Wall in Scotland* p.7) that Pausanias tells us that Antoninus Pius ‘deprived the Brigantes in Britain of most of their territory because they too had invaded the district of Genunia which is subject to Rome’. The district of Genunia, he conceded, was mentioned nowhere else, but previous scholars had been content to identify Pausanias’ reference with the subjugation of southern Scotland by Lollius Urbicus.

Forty years later, Eric Birley quoted Pausanias in his article on ‘The Brigantian problem, and the first Roman contact with Scotland’, (*Dumfriesshire & Galloway Transactions* 3rd series XXIX 1952, 46-65). In the context of an account of Antoninus Pius, Pausanias remarked that he ‘never of his own volition went to war against anyone - but he did deal with the unprovoked aggression of the Moors and the Brigantes’. In that context it was impossible to avoid equating the episode of the Brigantian raid with the punitive action taken by Pius which led to the reoccupation of Scotland and the construction of the Antonine Wall. Though ‘the Genounian district still eludes our precise grasp ... it will be somewhere close to the Wall, and beyond it rather than to the South’ was Eric Birley’s summary.

Twenty years later, the position as far as British scholars were concerned was unchanged. Sheppard Frere (*Britannia*, revised 1974, p.173) took Pausanias’ comment as the reason for moving the frontier from Hadrian’s to the Antonine Wall. He admitted that Pausanias’ statement was ‘not of much value as it stands, since it is clear that Pausanias imagined the Brigantes to be outside the province, whereas they had been within it for more than sixty years; nor do we know where Genunia lay’. He could not choose between Eric Birley’s

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations have been used.  
BRGK = Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission  
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

RIB = Collingwood and Wright *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*  
RMD = Roxan, M.M. *Roman Military Diplomas*  
NH = Gaius Plinius *Naturalis Historia*

argument that the attack on Genunia must have taken place in 139-140, and an alternative view which saw it as a reference to the Brigantian rebellion of 154. He was prepared to 'cut the Gordian knot by allowing that the term Brigantes is not used by Pausanias with the same precision as it has hitherto been used. ... If by Brigantes he can be permitted to mean 'the Brigantes and their friends in the north' or even 'the inhabitants of northern Britain', the passage acquires sense and the context becomes clear, the governorship of Urbicus.'

But a crack appeared in the unanimity. J.G.F.Hind, discussing 'The 'Genounian' part of Britain' (*Britannia* viii, 1977, p. 232) noted 'the *Brigantii* who have left a trace of their name in modern Bregenz at the extreme western tip of Austria. Near neighbours of theirs in the valley of the River Inn were the *Genauni*', citing Strabo iv 206 and Pliny NH iii 137 and ix 63. He even wrote 'The whole passage in Pausanias might refer to events in *Raetia* misplaced in *Britannia*', but thought it more probable that when he heard of the attack 'by the *Brigantes*, Pausanias remembered that a neighbouring tribe of the *Brigantii* was the *Genauni* who had been conquered by Drusus and were mentioned in one of Horace's Odes'. In this way he hoped to remove the need to find the 'Genounian' part, but against this was the absence of any trouble in Raetia in Antoninus' reign. So he ended (p.233-34) by suggesting that the *Cornovii*, or the *Coritani* were the victims of Brigantian aggression.

David Breeze and Brian Dobson (*Hadrian's Wall* revised ed. 1987) noted (p.86) that 'J.F.G.Hind has drawn attention to the occurrence of Brigantii and Genauni in Raetia and suggested that Pausanias in describing something that occurred relating to the Brigantes in Britain included in error a tribe that were neighbours to the Brigantii in Raetia. He suggests as an alternative but less probable explanation that Pausanias was describing otherwise unrecorded troubles in Raetia under Pius.' They also noted (p.87) that 'A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith in their study of place-names drew attention to the fact that 'in Britain' seems to be a later insertion into the manuscript of Pausanias, and consider there may have been a conflation of incidents in Britain and Raetia. That,' Breeze and Dobson conclude, 'is not impossible but it still seems incredible that Pausanias should have referred to some other troubles otherwise unknown and pass over the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in silence.'

But such is the attraction of chauvinism that (p.112, and p.114) they reject J.F.G.Hind's comment that Pausanias would be more likely to be more familiar with the Alpine region than with the distant province of Britannia, because in Raetia the troubles were otherwise unknown. They also rejected the alternative view which took Pausanias to refer to the Brigantian revolt of the mid 150s. For them, the Genounian district was probably Southern Scotland.

But Genounia / Genunia is clearly in Raetia if one can accept the facts behind an ode of Q. Horatius Flaccus. It is not often that one can quote a poet in a historical note, but in the Fourteenth Ode of the Fourth Book, he wrote in praise of Augustus and Tiberius:

*Quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo  
Drusus Genaunos, inplacidum genus,  
Breunosque veloces et arcus  
Alpibus inpositas tremendis  
Deiecit acer plus vice simplici;*

What can you do with war? For, by your arms,  
fierce Drusus more than just threw down the  
Genauni, an unquiet race, as well as the swift Breuni  
and their strong-holds imposed on the formidable  
Alps;

In this section, Horace referred to the swift campaign conducted by Tiberius and his brother Drusus which subdued the *Vindelici* in 15 BC. Clearly the Genaunians lived in Vindelicia, and it is no longer accurate to assert that the Genounian district is unknown, though one may query whether there was any trouble in Raetia in the reign of Antoninus.

But there was trouble in Raetia in the reign of Antoninus Pius, though the evidence was found at Gnotzheim about 230 kms. east of Bregenz and 100 kms upriver from Regensburg and at Pfunz a further 45 kms to the south east of Gnotzheim. Neither Gnotzheim nor Pfunz are near Bregenz and the Rhine valley, but units which had been involved in suppressing the rising could have been withdrawn after the event to less exacting areas. A fort at Gnotzheim on the border of Vindelicia was the station of *cohors III Thracum ciuium Romanorum*. At Pfunz was another fort garrisoned by *cohors I Breucorum equitata*. Their presence in Raetia is recorded on numerous diplomas from 107 to 166 but rarely on stones and stamped tiles. One inscribed stone at Gnotzheim (37/38 BRGK 81) is a dedication to Antoninus Pius in his seventh tribunician power, that is in AD 144; it is broken at the left and part of the numeral is missing but it can be restored<sup>2</sup>;

IMPCAESTAELHADRANTONINO  
AVCPIO TRBPVICOS III PONIFMAX  
CO III THRACCREQBISTORQVA

37/38 BRGK 81

As no First or Second Thracians are recorded in Raetia and no Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, or Seventh either, this stone must refer to *cohors III Thracum ciuium Romanorum equitata*.

An inscribed stone at Pfunz is remarkably similar though much is missing. The name of the Emperor can be restored easily, but the indication of regnal years is missing. Further the decoration awarded is given the full wording 'Twice honoured for its bravery'. A dedication in honour of the giver, Antoninus Pius, is probably the most acceptable method of thanking him.

IMPCAESDIVIHAD  
FILTAEHADANT  
ONINOAVCPIO  
COI BRECOR  
V V BISTORQ  
VATOBVIRTVT  
EMAPPELLATA

Both these units were honoured for bravery; both are *bis torquata*. This award is not previously recorded for the First unit of Breucians nor for the Third Thracians. The tribunician year dates one inscription and therefore postdates the trouble which resulted in the award for bravery. If there was trouble in Raetia in the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, *cohors I Breucorum* and *cohors III Thracum* were both involved, and the trouble must have involved the Genounian district and the men of Brigantium.

CIL iii11931

Strabo and Pliny have both been cited on this point and Claudius Ptolemaeus can be cited also. In the eleventh chapter of Book Two of his *Geographia*, he records the town of Brigantium in Raetia near the Rhine. By Brigantes, then, Pausanias meant the people who lived around the town of Brigantium, and while Vindelicia may have been subdued by

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions, restored letters are shown in outline.

Tiberius and Drusus, it does not follow that all the people of Vindelicia were Roman citizens. Some of them might remain as non-citizens, and become increasingly envious of their affluent neighbours, the Genauni. Was it envy; or perhaps hunger, which led them to invade the Genunian district.

Problems still remain. Gnotzheim is too far from Bregenz to have been the station of one of the units called in to deal with the situation and so is Pfunz.. Where the two units were is not known; both may have been in attendance on the governor at Augsburg. But after its decoration for bravery, *cohors III Thracum* was stationed at Gnotzheim and *cohors I Breucorum* at Pfunz. Some details remain to be sorted, but the main outline ought to be clear. Raetia was much nearer to Rome than Britannia. Romans would not care very much about what happened in the barbarian parts of the world but the Alps were not part of the barbarian world. Pausanias was thinking as a Roman not as a Briton.

Who was Pausanias? He was a Roman and a Philhellene writing for other Roman Philhellenes in Greek ‘sometimes elaborately and sometimes carelessly’ (Peter Levi, *Pausanias Guide to Greece* (Penguin 1971), II, 1). He may have been a doctor, and was certainly interested in religions. He wrote, or dictated, the manuscript at various times around AD 165, and a 9th century copy (probably) of the manuscript was brought to Italy in the 15th century by Cyriaco of Ancona or another. From this manuscript, itself a copy of a copy, stem all the eight versions of the text.

In their 1839 edition of the text, Schubart and Walz noted five variations for Βριτανια namely Βριτανια, Βριταγα, Βριταγενεα, Βριταγεινεα, κριγαντων. Another German scholar, Carolus Godofredus Siebelis suggested that Genounia was a scribal error for Henunia which he equated with Vinovia or Binchester.

William Hanson and Gordon Maxwell (*Rome’s Northwest Frontier*, Edinburgh U.P. 1983) find it difficult to accept Peter Levi’s comment that the ‘tendency to take him (Pausanias) as an inch-by-inch commentator’ is likely to lead into serious danger. They discuss the text (p. 62-63) but do not reach a satisfactory conclusion; and while agreeing that there is confusion, cannot dismiss the reference in Pausanias as entirely irrelevant as had Malcolm Todd (*Roman Britain 55BC-AD400* (Fontana 1981) p.165) who had reached this conclusion as a result of J.G.F.Hind’s article in *Britannia*.. They could find no archaeological evidence for any serious fighting in Scotland in the Antonine period and archaeology indicated that Lollius Urbicus’ advance started at Corbridge, extended along Dere Street and diverged ‘westwards into the main valleys of the Tweed and penetrating as far as middle Clydesdale’. They also made the point that the very strength of the Antonine Wall suggests that Caledonia, not Brigantia, was the major long-term threat.

The conclusion appears very simple. If the phrase ‘in Britannia’ was added to Pausanias manuscript at a later date, there is no problem. If it was Pausanias’ own phrase, he was not thinking clearly, and there is an unresolvable problem.

#### COHORS II TUNGRORUM MILLIARIA EQUITATA C. L.

‘New opinions’ wrote John Locke in the Dedicatory epistle to his *Essay on Human Understanding*, ‘are always suspected and usually opposed without any other reason but be-

cause they are not already common'. The problem posed by the letters *C.L.* which conclude the official title of the Second Tungrian Infantry has proved difficult to resolve and the resolution herein proposed in general does not seem to be accepted. It is generally accepted, however, that following the revolt of Civilis, some regiments were raised from the Germanic tribes of the lower Rhine, among them regiments of Batavians and Tungrians. *Cohors I Tungrorum equitata*, *cohors II Tungrorum equitata* and *cohors III Tungrorum* were probably raised at this time, increased to milliary size somewhat later, and stationed, the First and Second regiments in Britannia, and the Fourth in Noricum and later Tingitana. Whether there was a *cohors III Tungrorum* will be dealt with later.

The most notable feature of the Second Tungrian infantry is its absence from the Hadrianic diploma of 122, (*CIL* xvi 70) on which one might reasonably expect to find listed all the units serving in Britannia. But it is also absent from all the other diplomas of Britannia as recorded by Margaret Roxan in *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* volume II, fascicule 1, 1-28. There are several possible explanations. First that it was not present in the province when these diplomas were being issued. This is difficult to accept given that two Tungrian regiments were reported by Tacitus (*Agricola* 36) to have distinguished themselves at the battle of Mons Graupius, and the Second Tungrian Infantry are not recorded in any other province.

A second explanation, that it did not arrive in Britannia until the Antonine invasion of Scotland, is, in view of Tacitus' account, equally unacceptable. A third option is that it never had any men to whom the Roman citizenship could be given on discharge, either because none ever reached the end of their service in a year for which a diploma has been recovered, or because none were ever eligible for the citizenship.

It is in this context that the letters *c. L.* attached to the name of the unit become significant. First used on *RIB* 2110, a dedication slab to Antoninus Pius, presumably erected in the Headquarters Building at Birrens, the letters, according to the Reverend John Hodgson, were an abbreviation for *c(ivium) L(atinorum)*, a suggestion accepted by Huebner and Mommsen and Eric Birley and most other scholars. Hartmut Wolff, however, suggested in *Chiron* 6, 267-88, that the expansion was more probably *c(oram) L(audata)* but this is hardly suitable, especially as so many other units are described as *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*. Another expansion, here put forward, is *c(ivium) l(iberorum)*. This seems to be the simplest and most straightforward expansion of the letters and provides an answer to the problem why the unit is never listed on diplomas. The letters, *c. L.*, parallel the letters, *c. R.*, and the significance is that members of a unit so described would not want to be Roman citizens. Indeed they may have been from outside the Empire and intended to remain outside the Empire on their retirement. Extra-Imperial forces played an important part in Imperial strategy; Tacitus reminds us in *Historiae* III 12, that the Batavians 'were not exploited financially ... but contributed only men and arms'; in other words, these men were free from the obligations of citizenship.

Paul Holder (*The Roman Army in Britain*, 123) and Michael Jarrett ('Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain', *Britannia* xxv, 49-50) both noted that a vexillation of the Second Tungrians was recorded on the diplomas for Raetia in 147 and probably in 153, Paul Holder adding also in 121/5. On closer examination it transpires that these statements are mislead-

ing. The record is:

Year	name	position	Province	Reference
122/4---	---R ∞ VEEXE	4/7	Raetia	RMD 25
147	---GROR N VEX	6/14	Raetia	CIL xvi 94
153	-----	---	Raetia	CIL xvi 101

In all cases the numeral is missing, and in one, the name. Ute Schillinger-Häfele pointed out in 'Vierter Nachtrag CIL XIII / Zweiter Nachtrag Vollmer IBR' *BRGK* 58, 584-5 that the space available on *CIL* xvi 94 was more than was needed for *II Tungrorum*. From its position in the numerical order of cohorts each entry could refer to a *cohors III Tungrorum* ∞ which is not otherwise recorded on any diploma, nor on any inscription. It makes better sense to assume a Third Tungrian Infantry in Raetia or Noricum than to think that one or both of the units in Britannia were, in the late Hadrianic and early-Antonine period, in a position to release a vexillation to serve in the Upper Danube area.

Other references to unnumbered *cohortes Tungrorum* among the diplomas are

128/38	---I TVNGR ∞ VEX	2/5	Noricum	CIL xvi 174
135/8	--- TVNG ∞	4/5?	Noricum	RMD 93

Unfortunately, the numeral in both cases is incomplete or missing, and in these circumstances one can only point out that diplomas of Tingitana refer to a *cohors IIII Tungrorum* ∞, which completed its move to North Africa before AD 158.

Eight altars attributable to the Second Tungrians have been found at or near Birrens. Five of them (*RIB* 2094, 2100, 2107, 2108, 2109) give the unit's name simply as *COH II TVNGROR* without specifying its size. This is the normal practice adopted by the quingenary unit though on some occasions it will refer to itself as being of 500 men. Four of these altars were dedicated to Roman gods, and four to strangers. In addition there is an inscribed pedestal base to Fortune.

Further evidence for the peculiar status of *cohors II Tungrorum* ∞ *eq. c. L.* may be ob-

FORTVNAE PRO  
SALVTEP CAMPANI  
ITALICIPRAEFCOHI  
TVNCELERLIBERTVS

V∅ S∅ L∅ L∅ M∅

*RIB* 2094

served on *RIB* 2094 found at Birrens before 1772 and since lost. 'To Fortune, for the welfare of P. Campanius Italicus, Prefect of the Second Tungrians by Celer, a freedman, who fulfilled his vow gladly, willingly and deservedly.

The generally accepted inference is that Celer was a freedman of the Prefect of the Second Cohort of Tungrians. While the Prefect may have had a freedman as one of his entourage, it seems odd that if the dedicator was a Roman citizen he did not give his full Roman name, as so many other freedmen do while dedicating altars, and as one would expect him to be proud to use. The fact that the only name which the dedicator uses is Celer, could suggest that he was not a freedman but a non-Roman citizen, a free man, using a Latin version of a Tungrian epithet for 'speedy' (probably his nick-name).

Similar arguments can be applied to another inscription, *RIB* 2109, found about 1812., at Birrens on a rather oddly dedicated altar: Frumentius is not a standard name for a soldier; if

he was a citizen, it would be his family name requiring two more names for completion. As a non-Roman, it would be quite acceptable on its own though its meaning is not entirely clear.

Again in the context of a non-Roman, the dedication 'to all the gods and goddesses' could include the non-Roman gods. Celer and Frumentius could be two rankers of the unit, of which three groups of rankers are known from other altars which they erected.

DEAERICAG<sup>M</sup>  
BEDAEPAC<sup>V</sup>S  
VELLAVSMILT  
COH II TVNC  
V S L M

RIB 2107

Yet another altar RIB 2108 found before 1772 at Birrens was dedicated to another non-local goddess. 'To the goddess Viradecthis, (the men of the Condrustian district serving in the Second Cohort of Tungrians under Silvius Auspex, the Prefect, (set this up).

MARTIETVICTO  
RIAEAVC·CR<sup>AE</sup>  
TIMILIT·INCOI  
II TVNCR·CVI·  
PRAEESTSILVIVS  
AVSPEX·PRAEF  
V ♡ S ♡ L ♡ M

RIB 2100

Eric Birley suggested in 'A Note on Cohors II Tungrorum' (*Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions*<sup>2</sup> xxxv, 56) that the Raetians had been enlisted when a vexillation of the unit had been serving in Raetia. This is not necessarily the case, since in the second century recruit drafts were often raised and sent to other provinces. He also pointed out that the unit, though milliary, was commanded by a Prefect and not a *Tribunus Militum*. Perhaps the title of Tribune normally used for the commander of a milliary unit did not apply to the commander of a free-born force, despite its nominal strength.

Less certainly attributed to the Second Tungrians is yet another altar, RIB 2096, to a non-Roman goddess, though the carving is very similar (*CSIR*, 1,5,8). 'Sacred to the goddess, Harimella, Gamidiahus, the engineer, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.' He may have belonged to the other unit of Nervians stationed earlier at Birrens. Nine altars of that unit have been preserved, two to Jupiter, two to Hercules, one to Fortune and four to the British god, Cocidius. This altar to Harimella is the only one recorded in Hermann Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* and it appears to have connections with Munich. Gamidiahus seems more likely to belong to the Second Tungrians.

DIBDE  
AB·Q·  
OMNB  
FRVMEN<sup>T</sup>  
IVSMILC<sup>o</sup>III  
TVNCR·

RIB 2109

About the same time as Frumentius' altar was found, another altar, RIB 2107, was dedicated to an otherwise unknown goddess. Despite grammatical difficulties due no doubt to the non-Roman quality of the dedicators, Richard Wright translated this as 'To the goddess Ricagambeda, (the men of the) Vellauian district serving in the Second Cohort of Tungrians willingly and deservedly fulfilled their vow'.

DEAEVIRADEC  
THIPACVSCON  
DRVSTISMILIT  
INCOHIITVN  
CRORSVBSILV  
OAVSPICEPRA<sup>EF</sup>

RIB 2108

As a contrast to these two inscriptions to non-Roman deities, another altar set up under the same commander RIB 2100 was more elegantly inscribed.. This altar to the deities of war and victory was set up by Raetian citizens, C(ives) RAETI(ae), who were serving in the Second Cohort of Tungrians

DEAE  
HARIMEL  
LAESACCA  
MIDIAHVS  
ARCTVSLLM

RIB 2096 = ILS 4744

Since arriving at this resolution of the problem, my attention has been drawn to the situation among the towns of Africa Proconsularis recorded in Pliny's *Natural History*, (Book 5, section 1, chapters 29, 30). Here Pliny noted the existence of 15 *oppida civium Romanorum* and 30 *oppida libera*. Hence, objections that *civis liber* is never an alternative to *civis Romanus* are proved invalid.

Why the title did not appear until the unit was stationed at Birrens in 157/8, is possibly because a new Governor making up his list of units with men for discharge asked the commander who replied that his men did not qualify for citizenship. The question having been raised, it seemed sensible to add the letters C.L. to the inscriptions on the two other altars found at Birrens (*RIB* 2092, 2104) and this practice was followed on three of the altars found at Castlesteads, (*RIB* 1981, 1982, and 1983) the last of which was erected in AD 241. The dedication slab (*RIB* 2110) parts of which were found in the well of the headquarters building at Birrens not only introduces the special status of the unit, but also its increased size. It is now milliary and part-mounted. That only three of the nine possible inscriptions from Birrens use the full name, suggests that the unit did not stay there long after it had been enlarged.

As an ex-pupil of Eric Birley, to whom I owe my introduction to Tacitus and to Roman Provincial Administration, I tender this answer to a minor problem concerning a unit at one time stationed at Birrens, a site which he excavated in the 1930s, and for which he had a special affection.

## FOUR BRITTONIC PLACE-NAMES from SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND

## Tradunnock, Trailflat, Troqueer and Troax

by Andrew Breeze

University of Navarre, Pamplona

**Tradunnock**

Tradunnock is a farm by the Water of Girvan, three miles south of Maybole (NS 3004) in South Ayrshire. Although in Carrick, it resembles many places in the Dumfries and Galloway region in having a Cumbric name. Tradunnock is recorded in 1492 as *Trodonag* and *Trodonag-Makcowben*, which parallel the name of Tredunnock or Tredynog near Caerleon in Monmouthshire/Gwent (ST 3794), attested in c. 1348 as *Tredenauk*.<sup>1</sup>

The first element of *Tradunnock* corresponds to early Welsh *tre* ‘homestead, estate, village’. The second has been obscure. But it may be the equivalent of Welsh *dannog* ‘betony’, which was a famous medicinal herb in ancient, medieval and early modern Europe. The evidence for this is as follows.

Betony (*Stachys officinalis*), a member of the mint family, is a common plant of woods, moors and hedgerows. It has blade-like leaves with serrated edges and an erect stem crowned by a mass of trumpet-like purple flowers.<sup>2</sup> Medieval people, drawing upon Roman pharmacological tradition, regarded it as having power against poison, demons and witches. A Middle English poem in a Stockholm manuscript thus tells of its power over snakes. As late as 1694 it was described as a pharmacopoeia in one herb: ‘cephalick, epatick, splenetick, thoracick, uterine, vulnerary and diuretick’. Unfortunately this supposed ‘very precious herb’ is now known to have no obvious medical value whatever.<sup>3</sup>

The older English name for betony was *atterlothe* ‘poison-hostile’ (= antidote). But the Welsh knew it as *dannog*, a collective noun (the singular is *danhogen*); we also have an (emended) Old Cornish form *les denshoc* ‘herb betony’. Since Welsh and Cornish, like Cumbric, derive from British, the Celtic language spoken in Roman and sub-Roman Britain, these cognates indicate an ancient British name for betony which referred to the tooth-like edges of its leaves (cf. Welsh *dant* ‘tooth’).<sup>4</sup> *Dannog* was certainly a long-lived term for betony, since it occurs in 14th-century medical treatises associated with Myddfai in Dyfed. These include an alarming account of an operation on the skull, where betony was used with salt butter to heal the *pia mater*.<sup>5</sup> In modern Welsh the word *dannog* is obsolete, betony now being called *Cribau San Ffraid* ‘St Bridget’s Combs’ (also alluding to its leaves).

Can *dannog* be associated with Tradunnock in Carrick and Tredunnock in Monmouthshire? It seems it can, although it is a pity the early forms *Trodonag* and *Tredenauk* show no signs of geminated *n*. Nevertheless, the British word for betony survived in Welsh and Cornish and it was almost certainly known in Cumbric as well. The original back vowel *a* would be

1 W J Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh (1926), 361-2

2 T Schauer, *A Field Guide to the Wild Flowers of Britain and Europe*, London (1982), 392

3 G Grigson, *The Englishman’s Flora*, London (1955), 323-4

4 *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (hereinafter *GPC*), Caerdydd (1950-), 888

5 *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol*, edd N Lloyd and M Owen, Caerdydd (1986), 137; cf. A C Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature*, Dublin (1997b), 32

represented best in *Trodonag*, which has undergone vowel-harmony, as has (with a difference) *Tredenauk*. We may add that both Tradunnoch and Tredunnoch are in wide sheltered wooded valleys, where betony might be expected to grow.

If the names of Tradunnoch and Tredunnoch both mean ‘betony homestead, settlement where betony grew’, they provide an insight into early Christian Britain. The Britons would be far more interested in betony for its (supposed) medical virtues than for anything else, of course. If the name of Tradunnoch predates the Northumbrian occupation of Carrick in the 7th century, which is possible, it tells us something about medicine in post-Roman Scotland, where the Britons probably took their knowledge of betony from Mediterranean tradition. Dioscorides describes a herb called *kestron*, which was taken to be betony; *De herba botanica* by pseudo-Antonius Musa contains a prayer to this ‘herb of strength’ for help in making 47 remedies; the *Herbarium* spuriously attributed to Apuleius, which was popular in medieval Europe (it was even translated into Old English), also sets out the excellences of betony.<sup>6</sup> So the names of Tradunnoch and Tredunnoch are not merely of philological and even ecological interest, but probably also show a trace amongst the early Britons of Roman medical teaching, as attested in the Greek of Dioscorides and Latin of later writers.

### Trailflat

Trailflat is a farm by the Water of Ae (NY 0485), seven miles north-east of Dumfries. In the middle ages Trailflat was also a parish (now part of Tinwald). Its church, which stands on rising ground half a mile south of the farm and is marked on the map as an antiquity, belonged to Kelso abbey, appearing as *Traverflet* or *Traverflat* in Kelso documents of 1165-1214.<sup>7</sup>

What follows argues that the name of Trailflat is completely Cumbric. Its first element corresponds to Welsh *tref* in its early meaning ‘farmstead, estate, hamlet’, while the second element is either the definite article (= Welsh *yr* ‘the’), or a preposition (= Welsh *ar* ‘upon’).<sup>8</sup> The last element has been obscure. However *fl* points to an equivalent of Welsh *ll*, as with the personal name *Fluellen* (= *Llywelyn*) in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*. This suggests a Cumbric original *\*llet* or *\*llat*. If that has a cognate in another Celtic language, it will tell us what *Traverflet* means.

The only word known to this writer which corresponds to *\*llet* or *\*llat* is Welsh *llaid* ‘mud, mire, dirt, clay, slime, ooze’. This has been related to Welsh *llad* ‘liquor, ale’, and more distantly to *Arelate*, the Gaulish name of Arles-sur-Rhône in Provence.<sup>9</sup> If *\*llet* is cognate with *llaid*, then the name of Trailflat means ‘farmstead of/on the mire’ (*Tre’r-llaid* in Welsh), paralleling modern Welsh *Tre’r-ddôl* ‘farmstead of the meadow’ or *Tre’r graig* ‘farmstead of the rock’ (equivalent to *Trevercraig* in Carrick).<sup>10</sup>

Trailflat lies by the flood-plain of the Water of Ae, which here begins a series of meanders that show constant shifting of its course. There are various small lochs in the vicinity,

6 Grigson, *op cit*, 323

7 Watson, *op cit*, 359; *The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165-1214*, ed G W S Barrow, Edinburgh (1971), 373, 374; R Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, Oxford (1982), 107

8 Watson, *op cit*, 359

9 *GPC*, 2090

10 Watson, *op cit*, 360

also indicating poor drainage. In these circumstances, ‘farmstead of the mire’ makes excellent sense as a name for Trailflat.

However, an alternative view, put to the present writer by Dr Thomas Clancy of Glasgow University, derives the second element of *Trailflat* from the Old English *flet* ‘dwelling’. Dr Clancy regards the name as a tautologous Celtic-English hybrid, meaning ‘dwelling of the dwelling’. He feels that, since we know little of the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *ll*, it would be hazardous to see *fl* here as representing it.

Yet a meaning ‘dwelling of the dwelling’ presents difficulties of meaning and seems to have no parallel; and Cumbric-English hybrids are rare in Scotland. We also have evidence for the Cumbric sound corresponding to Welsh *ll* in the north Cumberland name *Polthledick*, attested c 1200, and occurring as *Polthledith* in the 13th century and *Polhedich* in 1273.<sup>11</sup> The exact location of this place is unknown, but the first element must mean ‘pool’ (cf Welsh *pwll* ‘pit, pool’, Cornish *poll* ‘pool, cove’). The second element is surely the Cumbric counterpart of Welsh *lleidiog* ‘muddy, miry, oozy, slimy, foul, dirty’, the spelling *thl* showing a scribe trying to produce a sound with no equivalent in English, Latin or French. A meaning ‘muddy pool, foul creek’ would make good sense for *Polthledick*, which was presumably amongst marshes (perhaps those south of the Solway Firth).

On this interpretation, *Polthledick* shows an equivalent in Cumbric by 1200 of Middle and Modern Welsh *ll*. Jackson thought Welsh *ll* fully developed by the 10th century; this development never occurred in Cornish or Breton, which retained *l*; Cumbric seems, therefore, to have shared the same sound change as Welsh at roughly the same time. Hence the evidence of *Polthledick* points to the same sound in early forms of *Trailflat*. We might add that we are dealing with essentially the same element, since Welsh *lleidiog* ‘muddy’, which is attested in the Red Book of Hergest of c 1400, is merely the adjectival form of *llaid* ‘mire’.<sup>12</sup> It also occurs, as a Welsh place-name element, in *Nantlleidiog* ‘muddy stream’ (SH 9739), the name of a district between Bala and Corwen in North Wales.

If we are here correct in taking *Trailflat* as a completely Cumbric name, we free the historian from doubt on this point, as well as providing an unexpected semantic link between Trailflat ‘farm of/on the mire’ in Scotland and Arles or *Arelate* ‘(settlement) on the mire’ in the South of France.

### Troqueer

Troqueer, formerly in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, is now part of the Burgh of Dumfries (NX 9775), downstream from the town centre and on the other side of the river Nith, still tidal at this point. History says little of Troqueer, despite its economic importance in the days when Dumfries was a major port. But it has the same name as the more famous Traquair, on the diminutive Quair Water in Peeblesshire/Borders (NT 3334), six miles south-east of Peebles. Although this eastern Traquair is now a mere village, it has ancient royal links, and guide books speak proudly of the twenty-seven Scottish and English monarchs who have stayed there.

<sup>11</sup> K H Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh (1953), 479

<sup>12</sup> *GPC*, 2145

Thanks to its royal associations, the name *Traquair* is better attested than *Troqueer*. It is *Treverquyrd* in King David's inquest of c 1124, *Treuequor* in before 1153, *Trauequayr* in documents of 1150 x 1242, *Trauerquyer* in 1174, and so on. This is a Celtic name, from the Cumbric for 'farmstead of the Quair'. Watson compared *Quair* with *Gueir*, the Welsh name of the river Wear flowing through Durham, 'which is supposed to mean "the clear one"'.<sup>13</sup> As for *Troqueer*, this is recorded in 1372-4 as *Trequere*, and Watson suggests this may be the same as *Traquair*, and may contain an older name for the Cargen Water, which flows through this parish.<sup>14</sup>

The present writer has published a paper on *Wear*, which he argues does not mean 'clear one' or 'wet one' (as stated by standard works), but 'bending one, twisting one' - a name very suitable for this river.<sup>15</sup> It corresponds to Welsh \**gweir* 'bend, curve, ring, circle, torque' which survives in Welsh *diwair* (with negative prefix) 'chaste, pure, faithful, loyal, honest, true' and *mynwair* 'torque, collar, horse collar' (where the first element means 'neck').

The point seems effectively proved by *Uiruedrum Promontorium*, the Romano-British name for Duncansby Head, Caithness. The first element here is an intensitive; but the meaning can hardly be 'very wet cape', as some have thought. It must be 'very sharp cape', which makes excellent sense, since Duncansby Head is the most abrupt headland on the Scottish coast for many miles.

This brings us back to *Troqueer* and *Traquair*. The meaning is clearer for *Troqueer*, situated where the Nith makes a 90° twist to the south-west. Its name thus means 'farmstead on the (river-)bend'. We can therefore reject Watson's suggestion that the Cargen Water, which runs a mile west of *Troqueer*, was once called 'Quair'.

As for *Traquair*, the meaning 'Farmstead on the *Quair*' creates difficulties if we take *Quair* as 'Bending (River)'. *Quair* Water is not a meandering stream (though its valley has a gentle bend two miles upstream from *Traquair*). The 'bend' is more likely to be that of Tweeddale, just north of *Traquair*. The valley of the Tweed here makes a mighty 90° turn to the north-east, which is far more significant than anything on *Quair* Water itself. It seems, therefore, that *Traquair* means 'Farmstead of the Bend' (referring to Tweeddale), and that *Quair* was later applied to *Quair* Water, the rivulet that flows past *Traquair*.

## Troax

*Troax* in South Ayrshire is a farm above the coast road from Girvan to Ballantrae (NX 1187). Like *Tradunnock*, discussed above, it lies in Carrick which, as stated, shares a substratum of Cumbric place-names with Dumfries and Galloway.<sup>16</sup> *Troax* has a Cumbric name with a first element corresponding to the early Welsh *tre-* 'homestead'. It is recorded as *Trowag* in 1549; the present form is thus an English plural.<sup>17</sup> The second element of *Troax* has, however, been a puzzle.

13 Watson, *op cit*, 360

14 Watson, *op cit*, 362

15 A C Breeze, 'The Name of the River Wear', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 13 (1997a), 87-8

16 K H Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria' in *Angles and Britons*, Cardiff (1963), 60-84 at 78; D Brooke, 'Kirk Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick' in *TDGNHAS* 58 (1983), 56-71; A C Breeze, 'The Name of Trailtrow, near Lockerbie, Scotland' in *Northern History*, 35 (1999), 205-7

17 Watson, *op cit*, 362

Yet it may be no more than the Cumbric equivalent of the Welsh adjective *gwag* ‘empty, desolate, vacant, void’, which has undergone soft mutation to *wag* after feminine *tre*. The meaning would therefore be ‘desolate homestead’. Such a meaning would be paralleled in early Welsh literature, as well as in English place-names. In the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, written in 1128 or thereabouts, the protagonists look back from the Mound of Arberth near Cardigan (now Banc-y-Warren at SN 2047) to find Arberth itself overcome by magic. They see ‘neither house nor beast nor smoke nor fire nor man nor dwelling, but the houses of the court empty (*tei y llys yn wac*), desolate, uninhabited, without man, without beast within them, their very companions lost ...’<sup>18</sup> At a severely practical level, the native Welsh laws in the 12th-century Black Book of Chirk stipulate the oaths needed (of fifty women for the woman, and fifty men for the man) to free from calumny a man and a woman seen coming out of a grove or ‘empty house’ (*o guacty*).<sup>19</sup>

These examples show *gwag* might be used of a house. The word also occurs with *tref* (in its later sense ‘town’) in an elegy by Lewys Glyn Cothi for Edmund Tudor (c 1430-56), father of Henry VII. Beginning each line with the word *gwag*, Lewys declares,

Desolate a land seen without governance,  
Desolate a house without bed and youth,  
Desolate a town (*gwag tref*) without mansions,  
Desolate a strand without waters,  
Desolate a dwelling without food in plenty,  
without mead, without sustenance.<sup>20</sup>

If Troax meant ‘desolate homestead’ (Welsh *Tre-wag*), this would, therefore, accord with Brittonic idiom.

This interpretation has English equivalents. The original meaning of the English word *idle* is ‘empty’ (Othello speaks of the ‘deserts idle’ he has seen on his travels); and this sense occurs at Idle, near Bradford in Yorkshire (SE 1737). Ekwall thought the sense here might be ‘uncultivated land’.<sup>21</sup> But this meaning seems unrecorded, and it is better to understand the name as ‘unoccupied, without inhabitants’, a sense attested in Old English.<sup>22</sup> Before 1190, when the name of Idle is first recorded, it may have been a deserted settlement or ghost village, perhaps due to William the Conqueror’s devastation of Yorkshire in 1069-70 or abandonment soon after. Domesday Book shows the whole Bradford area was depopulated by 1086.<sup>23</sup> If Idle existed (under another name) before then, its inhabitants may have fled when it was wrecked by Norman soldiers, or when in the years following they found they could not live in a wilderness.

Destruction of property is even clearer from the name of Burntshield, six miles south of Hexham, Northumberland (NY 9253). This dates back to at least 1230, and means ‘burnt

18 *The Mabinogion*, tr G Jones and T Jones, London (1949), 43; *GPC*, 1552; A C Breeze (1997b), 75-9

19 *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* edd O Jones et al, 2nd edn Denbigh (1870), 1029; cf *Llyfr Iorwerth*, ed A R Wiliam, Cardiff (1960)

20 *Lewys Glyn Cothi (Detholiad)*, ed E D Jones, Caerdydd (1984), 14

21 E Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* 4th edn Oxford (1960), 262

22 *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* ed T N Toller, Oxford (1921), 588

23 T A M Bishop, ‘The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire’ in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* edd R W Hunt et al, Oxford (1948), xiv, 1-14

hut',<sup>24</sup> Burntshield thus strengthens the argument that *Troax* means 'desolate homestead', of parallel meaning.

If it does, it tells us a little about the early history of Troax, sited below the 350-foot contour half a mile from the sea. Since the name is Cumbric, it must predate the extinction of that language about the year 1100, and may be much earlier. It suggests that the settlement here was destroyed, either by fire or by an enemy (perhaps coming from the sea), or was deserted, possibly because of the hardships in farming on an upland site. It also implies that the place was reoccupied later, probably before Cumbric ceased to be spoken in Carrick. When that might have been is unclear, though it has been thought that Cumbric survived the Northumbrian occupation of the area in the later 7th century, and perhaps even the Norse-Gaelic settlement of the early 10th, when Galloway and Carrick were thoroughly Gaelicised.<sup>25</sup>

The name of Troax thus provides information on settlement in Carrick. The site was deserted for a while because of violence, plague or another reason, so that its old name was lost and it was called 'desolate homestead'. Yet it was later reoccupied, probably while Cumbric was still spoken, since the name of an abandoned sheiling is unlikely to survive the turmoil of invasion, resettlement and language loss, but the name of an occupied site has, in contrast, a better chance of survival. The resettlement may have been at almost any date before the tenth century, when Cumbric apparently died out in Carrick.

The name of Troax can therefore, it seems, be recognized as evidence for settlement change in early Scotland. Like the deserted villages of England, described as a 'sealed-off store of information about how men and women lived and how society worked in the medieval countryside', Troax may one day allow opportunities for archaeologists. They may be able to show when and how this farm above the sea was abandoned, how long it was left empty, and when it was that people returned to live there once more.

24 Ekwall, *op cit*, 76, 169

25 K H Jackson, 'The Britons in Southern Scotland' in *Antiquity*, 29 (1955), 77-88 at 85-6 and his *op cit* (1963), 71, 78-9

## DRENGS and DRINGS

by W F Cormack

*Hafa dreng i serk*

To have a stout heart in one's breast

Old Icelandic saying<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

As part of what he considered to be the most important paper he had ever published and which in the sad event turned out to be his last, the late Jack Scott incidentally propounded an interesting solution to a long standing problem arising from the nature of certain of the place-names of north Cumbria and Annandale. This approach introduced the reader to the probably unfamiliar land-holders known as 'drengs' and their corresponding land-holding known as 'drengeage'.<sup>2</sup> This paper, which was discussed with Jack and received his enthusiastic approval in principle, is intended not only to enlarge on the subject of drengs but is submitted also in memory of an esteemed Fellow of the Society and a much valued friend of the writer.

The problem arose from the number of compound names with the Scandinavian suffix -bie or -by, which are considered to be a relatively early place-name element for a settlement but which are preceded by a personal name as a specific - a personal name of a Norman, Flemish or Breton character which cannot be earlier than the Norman conquest of 1066 in England and are unlikely to be earlier than 1092 when William Rufus arrived in Cumbria. Examples of these hybrid place-names are Lockerbie from Locard, Lammonbie or Lamonby from Lambin, Wyseby from Wyce etc.

Hitherto the accepted explanation of these anomalies has been that these names had originated as result of the spread of a Norse-speaking population from the Danish settlement in Yorkshire into the area about the mid-tenth century, that the settlement names of the type mentioned above had originally been prefixed by Scandinavian personal names (like Ormsby in Cumbria) but that in the great majority of cases the original prefixes had been *replaced* in the 12th century by Norman and other names to which the original generic suffix of -bie and -by continued to be attached.<sup>3</sup>

However Scott argued that these hybrid names had originated at the start of the 12th century by a movement of Anglo-Normans into a political vacuum caused by the decay and collapse of the old British Kingdom of Strathclyde and who had brought, as their principal retainers, settlers from Lincolnshire who were still speaking a form of Old Norse. Thus the form of the names reflected the linguistic difference in origin between the leaders and the bulk of the settlers. Since the majority of the settlements do not have mottes the principal settlers seem not to have been of the status of knights and hence may have been drengs.<sup>4</sup>

1 Zoëga, G T, *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*, Oxford, 1910 *sub drengr*.

2 Scott, J G, 'The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092-1153' in *TDGNHAS*, Vol 72, p 11 etc.

3 Nicolaisen, W F H, *Scottish Place-Names*, 1976, p 100 etc; Fellows-Jensen, G, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence' in Oram, R D *et al*, eds, *Galloway Land and Lordship*, 1991.

4 Scott, *op cit*, at p 19.

For the benefit of his readers, Scott quoted Barrow's succinct description<sup>5</sup> of this ill-fitting and archaic element in the structure of feudal society in northern England and south-eastern Scotland as follows:-

They (drengs) must be part of the noble order yet are clearly on its borderline... the dreng held by a ministerial tenure, but his services were markedly more agricultural, more personal, even menial. His holding would be typically a single ploughgate, or a small township within a shire, or an outlying dependency of a village... he combined the features of a tenant by knight-service or at least serjeanty with that of a...villein. ...there was no denying that he was a freeman, and might claim lordship over others.

Whether Scott's interesting contribution will stand the test of scholarly criticism remains to be seen but in this paper the writer intends to show how the term was once widespread in Scandinavia and the Danelaw of England and of relatively high status; how it then moved down in the social scale but has survived, albeit with altered connotation, in Scandinavia and one of the northern isles of Scotland and as a proper name in England.

### **Drengs in Scandinavia and the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland**

That the word *drengr* may originally had a connotation of status is implied in the creation-myth known as *Rígsþula*, of which the surviving version dates to about 1350 but largely duplicates a somewhat similar creation-myth *Voluspá* of about 1000 AD.<sup>6</sup> In *Rígsþula* the god *Ríg* enters three successive homes where he fathers offspring on the wife of the householder. In the first house the result of his visit is a son called *Thrall* from whom are descended the race of slaves. The visit to the third house gave rise to jarls (earls) with whom we are not concerned here apart from noting that it was among the jarls that kings were eventually to emerge. In the second house however *Ríg* fathers a son called *Karl*, from whom come *Karlakyn* - the race of free yeomen. Karl's sons include among others, *Drengr* and *Pegn* (Thegn). This category also includes skilled craftsmen and *Búi* and *Bóndi*, landowner, farmer. Thus it is clear that basically there was an element of status in the term *drengr* but that this was only part of a class which itself had sub-divisions.

The word *dræng* or *drengr* appears on several early runic inscriptions which are quoted and translated by Page,<sup>7</sup> with a chronology from Foote and Wilson.<sup>8</sup> All scholars have difficulty in finding an appropriate equivalent in English in each case since the meaning may vary widely according to context and thus differ between scholars. Is the term when used merely descriptive or is it one of status? The following examples show the difficulty.

On a gravestone of about 1016 a father describes his son as *dræng harþa goðon* which Page translates 'a very tough lad' although he cannot exclude a meaning of 'free-born warrior'.<sup>9</sup> On a stone from Södermanland of the first half of the 11th century, the adverb *drængila*

5 Barrow, G W S, 'Northern English Society in the Early Middle Ages' in *Northern History*, IV, 1969, pp 10-11. A somewhat similar definition appears in F W Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p 308 quoted in Lawrie (note 32 infra). Also see Faith, R, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, 1997, pp 94-95, 98. Nowhere is there a clear contemporary definition of 'drengage' which perforce has had to be reconstructed from scattered and oblique references.

6 Foote, P G and Wilson, D M, *The Viking Achievement*, London, 1970, p 81.

7 Page, R I, *Chronicles of the Vikings, Records, Memorials and Myths*, London, 1995.

8 Foote and Wilson, *op cit*.

9 Page, *op cit*, p 87; Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 107.

(drengrily) is translated ‘like men’.<sup>10</sup> Cf English adjectives ‘manly’ or ‘soldierly’ where the ideal attributes of a noun are emphasised in the derived adjective. The noun *drængr* on a stone at Västmanland of about 1020 is perhaps best translated ‘comrade’.<sup>11</sup> On a stone of about 980-990 at Hällestad the plural noun *drengrir* is used in the sense of ‘fighting men in the service of a lord’. Page stresses the implication of bravery, toughness and loyalty in the word.<sup>12</sup> On a stone at Hedeby, Jutland, of about 990 the plural noun *drengriar* (*trekiar* in the runes) is translated by Page ‘fighting men’ but for *drengr harða góðr* appearing earlier in the same inscription he favours a looser meaning of ‘jolly good chap’.<sup>13</sup> Then on a stone at Uppland, Ågersta the same author would translate *drengr* as ‘man (of standing and worth)’.<sup>14</sup> Finally on an 11th C. stone a man is described as a *dreng* with Knut (the Great).<sup>15</sup> Here ‘*dreng*’ could be a proper name, as also could the first element of the place-name *Drengsted* in Jutland.<sup>16</sup> A definite proper name *Þorstein Drangakarl* makes an early appearance in Iceland.<sup>17</sup> More about proper nouns below.

The common noun *drengr* and its compounds also occur in the Icelandic Sagas from which Zoëga<sup>18</sup> gives the meaning of the primary word as 1, ‘a bold, chivalrous man’; *dreng goðr*, a good-hearted, noble-minded man’; 2, ‘a young unmarried man’; 3, ‘an attendant’; 4, ‘a fellow’ and 5, ‘a pole’. Among several contextual examples of these quoted by Zoëga this writer prefers the old saying with which this article is introduced. Compounds of *drengr* were numerous in Old Icelandic. Zoëga gives among others *drengiliga* adv. ‘bravely’; *drengligr* adj. ‘brave, generous’; *drengiaval* n. ‘a choice company of gallant men’; *drengileysi* n. ‘want of generosity, unmanliness’; *drenglundaðr* adj. ‘noble-minded, generous’; *drengmaðr* n. ‘*dreng*, bachelor, opposed to *bondi*’; *drengmenska* n. ‘noble mindedness’.<sup>19</sup>

However Zoëga also gives, as a derivative of *drengr*, a verb *drengja* ‘to bind fast’.<sup>20</sup> If this respected scholar’s view is correct he offers a clue as to the original or basic connotation of *drengr* as one of a closely knit *band* of young men. As will be seen this verb has outlived the noun and may still survive locally in Shetland as well as in Scandinavia proper.

Recent and present use in Scandinavia shows a regrettable decline in status of *drengs*. In Norway he has become a hired man or in dialect a bachelor, servant or apprentice - only in archaic use is he remembered as a brave, daring man.<sup>21</sup> In Sweden he has become a farm hand<sup>22</sup> and in Iceland a boy or young man.<sup>23</sup> In Faroese *drongur* has become an unmarried man or, in fishermen’s talk, a halibut.<sup>24</sup>

10 Page, *op cit*, p 89. This inscription ends with the phrase ‘God help his soul’, indicating that the person commemorated was a Christian.

11 Page, *op cit*, p 90; Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 107.

12 Page, *op cit*, p 106; Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 105.

13 Page, *op cit*, p 167; Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 105.

14 Page, *op cit*, p 168.

15 Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 106.

16 Myres, J N L, *The English Settlements*, 1986 p 72 and maps 1 and 5.

17 *Landnamabok* 376, quoted in Shetelig, H, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, pt. VI, p 226.

18 Zoëga, *op cit*, sub *drengr*.

19 Zoëga, *op cit*.

20 Zoëga, *op cit*.

21 Haugen, E, ed., *Norsk Engelsk Ordbok*, 1967; Brynildsen, *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbog*, 1917. These editors also include some compounds of *dreng*.

22 Holt *et al*, *Standard Swedish Dictionary*, 1985.

23 Taylor, A R, *English-Icelandic Pocket Dictionary*, n d, Clowes, London.

24 Jakobsen, J, *Etymological Dictionary of the Norm Language in Shetland*, 1928.

Likewise in Shetland Norn the noun *drengen* (the accusative plus the suffixed definite article), ‘man’ or ‘lad’; also the compound *ungadrengen*, ‘young man’, last appeared in a publication of 1866 but among material which may have been recorded earlier.<sup>25</sup> However a place-name Drengigjo was noted in Nesting Parish in 1910 but was interpreted by that recorder as derived from the verb *dreng* to draw tight.<sup>26</sup> It is quite possible that when coming to this conclusion he was unaware of the noun. It is here suggested that this place-name is rather derived from the noun *drengr* or *drengir* and thus would mean Dreng’s or Drengs’ Geo (a cleft in the sea cliff).

However in Shetland in 1866 the noun was also being used, as in Faroe, for a halibut.<sup>27</sup> Could the fishermen have deliberately chosen a word with historic overtones of a man of strength and valour for the king of fish which may for them have held these attributes? Furthermore, the associated verb mentioned above, ‘draeng, dreng or dring’, also previously recorded (1866) with various meanings ‘draw tight; squeeze; suffocate; fasten’ etc, is still remembered in the sense of drawing or fastening tight by the fishing fraternity in Shetland today (1999), if perhaps not being used actively.<sup>28</sup>

The word does not seem to have been recorded in Orkney but in the Western Isles, while neither verb or common noun seem to have survived there, either intact or as borrowings into Gaelic, *Drengr* as a proper name way well be enshrined in the place-name Drineshader in Harris, i.e. *Drings-sætr* or *-setr*, Dreng’s shieling or dwelling respectively.<sup>29</sup>

### Drengs in mainland Britain

Although the term dreng must have been introduced into Scotland and Anglo-Saxon England with the first Scandinavian settlers, the earliest recorded mention is in the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Battle of Maldon* (after 991 for the poem), which contains the line *forlet drenga sum darop of handa fleogan* i.e. ‘one of the (Scandinavian) warriors let fly a dart from his hand’.<sup>30</sup> At any rate from then on *dreng*, *-s* m. noun appears in Old English as a borrowed word for a warrior or soldier.<sup>31</sup>

It early seems to have become associated with land tenure in the north of England and south-east of Scotland and is often linked with *thegn*. Examples are as follows:-

c.1041-1055, ‘Gospatric greets all his dependents and every man free and dreng that were in Cumbria and all my kindred in friendly fashion’ - then follows a grant of land in Allerdale.<sup>32</sup> The reference to ‘free and dreng’ might be held to imply that drengs were not

25 Edmonston, T, *Glossary of the Dialect of Shetland and Orkney*, 1866. Edmonston states that some of his words ‘are derived from a Mss left by the late William Grant’. Jakobsen, *op cit*; *Scottish National Dictionary*.

26 Angus, J S, *Glossary of Shetland Place-Names*, 1910, p 11.

27 Jakobsen and Edmonston, *op cit*; Fenton, A, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland*, 1978, p 621. The latter makes the valuable comment, ‘.it is in relation to the central act of the fisherman’s life, the act of fishing itself, that the old sea-language is syntactically most complete’. Both he and Jakobsen found in sea-language a rich store of otherwise forgotten vocabulary.

28 Manson, Allan, Lerwick, pers. comm., June 1999.

29 Nicolaisen, W F H, *op cit*, p 91. The interpretation of the first element is by WFC.

30 Bosworth and Turner, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* with quotation from Sweet, ed., *Battle of Maldon*, II, pp 149-151.

31 Foote and Wilson, *op cit*, p 105.

32 Armstrong, A M *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 1952, Pt III p xxix. Also see Ragg, F, ‘Early Barton’ in *TCWAAS*, NS XXIV, 1924. This charter shows clearly that drengage existed in Cumbria prior to the (possibly second?) influx postulated by Scott.

free but the words can also be read as the inclusion of two categories both of non-servile men viz freemen and drengs, which was probably intended. Later in the deed, which is defective, is a possible clause freeing the grantee of a former 'obligation to provide messengers'.

c.1085, The Domesday Book lists many drengs as it does *bondas*, all in the Danelaw or Cheshire and seems to equate the tenure in part with the tenure of socage further south in England.

c.1117, A confirmatory charter by Earl David of Scotland to the Monks of St Cuthbert (i.e. Durham) is addressed to his 'faithful thanes and drengs of Lothian and Tweedale'.<sup>33</sup>

Two charters, of about the same date as the previous, by Cospatric (or Gospatric), The Earl, of property in Berwickshire are addressed to 'all my worthy men, thanes and drengs, clerics and laymen'.<sup>34</sup>

c.1118, Earl David decided a dispute which had arisen between the monks of Coldingham and the drengs of Horndean (Berwicks.).<sup>35</sup>

c.1135, David, now King of Scots, granted Swinton (Berwickshire) to his *miles* Hernulf (or Arnolf), land which had formerly been held by 'Liulf son of Edulf and Udard his son'. The unusual wording of the designation of the grantee viz *huic meo militi* and *iste meo militi* have been considered somewhat contemptuous and hence that by *miles* is meant 'a soldier who was not a knight but a dreng'.<sup>36</sup> Notwithstanding the usual desire among landed families to prove that a remote ancestor had 'come over with the Conqueror' in 1066, the distinguished family of Swinton of that ilk were proud to claim a possible descent from Edulf through Liulf, Udard and Arnolf, whether drengs or not.<sup>37</sup> The place-name perhaps implies an original Scandinavian settler (Sweyn).<sup>38</sup>

c.1173, William the Lyon, King of Scots, grants or confirms to Reginald Prath of Tynedale, land in Northumberland granted to Reginald by Ranulf son of Uchtred - the same to be 'free of drengage service' formerly rendered to the King - also four shielings within 'Le Hunteland'. Reddendo, one 2-year-old sparrowhawk annually.<sup>39</sup> See below for comment on this reddendo.

c.1200, William confirms to John, son of Reginald Prat, lands as previous. Drengage reference and reddendo likewise.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, while it would be difficult to improve on Barrow's description of the nature of

33 Lawrie, A C, *Early Scottish Charters, prior to 1153*, 1905, p 23. Durham seems to have had a particular affinity for drengage. Among the extensive endowments for Lindisfarne on the mainland adjacent were 3 thegnages and 3 drengages owing works at its major dependency at Fenwick nearby. See Jones, G, 'Historical Geography and our landed heritage' in *University of Leeds Review*, 19 (1976), pp 53-78: his map is reproduced as fig. 76 in O'Sullivan, D et al, *Lindisfarne - Holy Island*. English Heritage 1995.

34 Barrow, G W S, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, 1971, Vol 1, p 45.

35 Lawrie, *op cit*, p 25, no. xxxii. The brief by which David's decision was announced is discussed further by Donaldson, G, in *Formulary of Old Legal Documents* comp. Goulesbrough, P., *Stair Society*, Vol 36, 1985. I am indebted to Margaret Watters for the latter reference.

36 Lawrie, *op cit*, pp 79-80.

37 *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1871, p 1349 and Lawrie, *op cit*, pp 342-3.

38 Johnston, J B, *Place-names of Berwickshire*, 1940, would rather make the original settler an Angle. A witness to the deed in note 35 includes one Swein son of Ulfkil.

39 Barrow, *op cit*, 1971, Vol II, p 215.

40 Barrow, *op cit*, 1971, Vol II, p 405.

drengage holding, one or two minor comments might be made. Some have seen drengage as an ancient tenure connected with hunting services with a requirement 'to feed a horse and a dog and to go in the great hunt with two harriers and fifteen cordons.'<sup>41</sup> Certainly the Prath charters quoted above, with the reddendo of a hawk and a reference to 'Hunteland' might support this as would the comments on Renton (*infra*) but such an inference does not seem necessarily to apply to the majority of drengage holdings. In the 1041 charter of Gospatric, part is indecipherable but, as stated above, appears to add a reference to the providing of messengers among the obligations which are cancelled. Such an obligation would be quite consistent with Barrow's summary but might also suggest an origin for the surname Trotter which seems to have been particularly common about Durham and in the same part of Scotland as where drengage is recorded.<sup>42</sup>

Nonetheless it seems clear that by the 12th Century the tenure of drengage in the north of England and south of Scotland was in desuetude and surviving examples were being converted into conventional feudal holdings.

The final decline and ultimate demise of the common noun, in its final form 'dring', can be dealt with briefly. It survived in England until the late 13th Century in literary use only.<sup>43</sup> In Scotland it declined in status until it became a term for a low or base fellow.<sup>44</sup> By the 16th Century it finally appeared as a term for a servant or a miser.<sup>45</sup> Was there perhaps a lingering recollection of the associated verb when its last use was for a man tight with his money?

Although the common noun may have sunk into oblivion, during its floruit it did however give rise to proper names, changing likewise to 'Dring'. Place-names arising from it in England are Dringhoe (E. Yorks), Dringhouses (W. Yorks), Drinsey (Lincs) and Ring Haw (Northants).<sup>46</sup> No place-names based on dreng are known from the mainland of Scotland. However their absence from the northern English border and from Berwickshire, where, as we have seen, drengage was definitely in force, suggests that the absence of the place-name element from Annandale need not alone invalidate Scott's suggestion that drengs were settled there.

As regards personal names, one of the first in England must have been the moneyer Dreng who minted coins in Lincoln in name of Ethelred II (976-1016), presumably in the later years of his reign.<sup>47</sup> Although his name was to appear, still as minting at Lincoln, on later coins of Canute, these are thought to be Scandinavian copies of Ethelred's coins struck, unchanged on the reverse, for his successor.<sup>48</sup> Roger and William Dreng (Durham) appear in 1155, Robert Dring (Yorks) appears in 1379 and in Scotland, Patrick Dreng of Remingtune (Renton, Berwick).<sup>49</sup> While one might infer from Black that this Patrick had 'Dreng' as a

41 Brewer, E C, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1870 (1970 ed), *sub* 'dreng' with quotation from Seebohm, F, *The English Village Community*, ch. II, p 10.

42 Black, G F, *Surnames of Scotland*, New York, 1946, *sub* 'Trotter'. Also see Faith, *op cit* in footnote 5, pp 107-8. The earliest record of the surname is 1148 in Winton (Hants) see Reaney, P H, *Dictionary of British Surnames*, 1958.

43 Onions, C T ed., *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, 1986 *sub* 'dreng'.

44 Onions, *op cit*.

45 Longmuir, J ed., *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, 1867, *sub* 'dring'.

46 Smith, A H, *English Place-Name Elements*, 1956.

47 North, J J, *English Hammered Coinage*, 1963, vol I, p 115.

48 North, *op cit*, p 125.

49 Reaney, *op cit* in footnote 42; Black, *op cit*, p 230.

*surname*, the probable early date of this reference (uncertain, but probably the last quarter of the 12th century) renders it more likely that 'Dreng' in this instance was a designation of status or local office.<sup>50</sup> Some useful comments on Renton and its owners are made by Carr<sup>51</sup>, who includes the thought-provoking information that the owners of that property were hereditary Foresters of Coldingham Priory and lists the 'forests' pertaining to the Priory in detail. Presumably these were hunting forests. When an undoubted surname for the owner appears it was, unsurprisingly, *Renton*. However the occupational surname of *Forrester* may have been adopted later by the family in lieu.<sup>52</sup>

As far as the survival of the relatively rare surname 'Dring' in England is concerned, a dredge through the 1997 Telephone Directories for that name gives the following 'league table' - after the totals of Drings are recalculated to the number per 100,000 subscribers. Directory areas with fewer than 10 Drings per 100,000 are omitted, apart from London. 'Dreng' itself was not found.

Directory	Totals	Drings per 100,000
Nottingham & Mansfield	72	31
Lincolnshire	64	25
Derby & Chesterfield	39	16
York & N E Yorks	45	15
Staffordshire	14	10
London	18	2

### A Final Comment

Jack Scott, working from meagre historical records, postulated that settlers in North Cumbria and Annandale about 1100 were Norse-speaking drengs from Lincolnshire, where a rich and remarriageable Anglo-Norman widow had estates with man-power to spare. However it is remarkable that, still at the end of the second millennium, it is in that area of England, if anywhere, that can still be found the home of the drengs.<sup>53</sup>

### Acknowledgements

The writer is pleased to acknowledge that, as stated above, he had the opportunity of discussing the general gist of this paper with the late Jack Scott prior to his death. He has also derived much help in discussion with and in other ways from Liz Palmer, Whithorn, Margaret Watters, Orkney and Allan Manson, Shetland. The writer is of course solely responsible for the conclusions and comments in the paper.

50 See Barrow G W S ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum* I, 1960, p45.

51 Carr A A, *History of Coldingham Priory*, Edinburgh, 1836, pp 109-112.

52 Carr, *op cit*, p 109 - note.

53 Guppy, H, *Homes of Family Names*, 1890. This author firmly puts the Home of the Drings in Lincolnshire.



## A FRAGMENT of MEDIEVAL CHURCH MUSIC in STRANRAER MUSEUM

by Stephen N. Atkins

6A Orkney, Braemar Heights,  
7 Wai Tsui Crescent,  
Braemar Hill, North Point,  
HONG KONG.

Stranraer ST/1/7/0-B is a single folio of medieval vellum, stored in the archives at Stranraer Museum. It contains chants for the greater part of the Office for Good Friday, and is an important fragment of medieval church music since many insular liturgical books from this period have either been destroyed or lost. Discovered 'in the late forties or early fifties' by Mr. Alfred Truckell and the late Dr. R. C. Reid, this folio had been used as a cover for the protocol books (land transactions) of James Glover, Clerk of Court in Stranraer towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Truckell informed the writer here that, after its discovery, he had shown the fragment to Father Duffy of St. Teresa's in Dumfries. Father Duffy took it to a conference in France on medieval church music 'where it was declared unique...somewhere between the York and Sarum rites'.<sup>2</sup> The sturdy storage box for the fragment also contains some notes by one Thomas Kelly of Dumfries who identifies some of the chants with those found in 'Liber Usualis'.<sup>3</sup> A few pages torn out of 'Liber Usualis', to illustrate Mr Kelly's observations are included as well as an index card with a description of the fragment.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript had, after an initial flurry of interest, lain in the archives of Stranraer Museum until 1996 when it was brought to the writer's attention.<sup>5</sup>

Used as a cover, the folio has been folded in two. On the 'front' of the cover it is possible to read James Glover, 1588, written in capital letters and centred at the top. Further down, at the right hand side, is written the same name possibly in his own 'fine and neat', cursive handwriting.<sup>6</sup> There are a number of small holes drilled along the folded area, where the de facto spine would have held the entire document together by means of twine or some other binding material. The outside of the cover, the recto of the original document, is extremely darkened. This may have been caused through constant handling, or the cover could have been deliberately darkened in order to disguise the original manuscript. As a consequence this has rendered the chants and text on the recto virtually illegible. The inside, however, or

1. Truckell, A. E. Early 'Stranraer Records' from *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural Historian and Antiquarian Society*, LXVII (1991) p.91.
2. In a letter to the writer from Mr Truckell, dated 27.6.98.
3. *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1956). A twentieth century revision of Tridentine and monastic rites, not particularly relevant to our discussion of a medieval manuscript but a useful source for obtaining modern transcriptions of chants. Harper, J. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991) p.279
4. 'Fragment from the temporale of a Noted Choir Breviar according to the Use of Sarum; early 15th century... The greater part of the matins for Good Friday: from [ocu]lis plaga crudeli of the first responsary (*Omnes amici*) to the opening words of the seventh responsary (*Barrabas latro*). Parch., 1 fol., being the leaf of a quire, 465 x 320 mm; square notation in 2 col. Of 15 staves of 4 red lines, 320 x 200mm. Used as cover for... On the lower part of the recto is written...'
5. I am indebted to Mr Truckell for drawing my attention to this manuscript, and for freely providing additional, supplementary evidence.
6. Truckell, p.91.



‘verso’ is remarkably clean and easy to read (Figure 1). Alterations include pairs of holes punched into the right hand sides of the cover so that the book could be tied shut. One of the vellum ties is still attached. The edges of the cover had also been folded in and glued a few millimetres to give it rigidity and to make them straight.

Unfolded, the manuscript reveals a large folio measuring 465mm by 320mm. On both sides there are two columns of 15, four-line staves ruled in red ink. The neumes of the chants and the text are written in dark brown ink, while rubrics indicate the types of chants and position of lessons. These are, characteristically, done in red. Two symbols in blue, on either side of the manuscript, announce important points in the liturgical service. Situated between two rubrics, these blue symbols demonstrate the rule in medieval church books that ‘a red rubric cannot follow another’.<sup>7</sup> The paleographic style of the text is ‘Gothic textura’, although most of the letters are relatively discreet, that is, the vertical strokes are quite widely spaced rendering the letters fairly legible to the untrained eye. This would date the manuscript to the middle of the 15th century. That some of the large, square neumes are beginning to slope downwards to look diamond-shaped provides additional evidence to support this dating.

The major chants (antiphons and great responsories) are announced with large, size 2, capitals, while the verses use only size 1 capitals.<sup>8</sup> A particularly fine capital ‘A’ may be found at the beginning of line 7 in the second column on the verso. This reveals a decorative style not unlike paisley design and, on closer inspection, resembles the fine stone tracery found on medieval stained glass windows. Research into this feature may shed additional light on the provenance of this manuscript.

In order to continue this description of the Stranraer Fragment, a brief explanation of the medieval liturgy may now be required.<sup>9</sup> The liturgical year was articulated in an annual cycle of seasons and feast days, known as the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*. There was a weekly cycle of observances and a daily cycle of the Divine Office and Mass. Clearly there was overlapping and interacting of these cycles so that, by the time of the late medieval church, the liturgy had developed into a structure of byzantine complexity. Suffice to say that daily services generally included the offices of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. The Offices would have been punctuated by the celebration of Morrow Mass and High Mass, although their positions differed according to region and/or religious order.

The Stranraer Fragment, then, indicates the observance of Matins on Good Friday during Holy Week. Good Friday, or *Feria VI* in *Parasceve*, marks the second of three solemn days, known as the ‘*Triduum*’ or ‘*Tenebrae*’, and marks a dramatic departure from the usual round of office and mass observances. The chanting of penitential psalms and private contemplation were very much part of the course. On Maundy Thursday, it was customary to strip the altar bare, and wash it down with a mixture of wine and water. The candles were extinguished one by one after reciting each antiphon preceding the psalms until the church was in total darkness. Often mass was not celebrated during the *Triduum*.<sup>10</sup>

7. Hughes, A. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a guide to their organisation and terminology* (Toronto, 1982) pp. 104-6.

8. *Ibid.* p.104.

9. For a detailed discussion of the liturgical year, see Harper, Chapter 3.

10. For a detailed discussion on Holy Week, see Hughes, Chapter 9.

Matins generally had three sections called Nocturns, each consisting of 3 antiphons, with 3 psalms; then a versicle and response; and the reading of 3 lessons, preceded in turn by 3 great responsories and verses. This was the framework used in secular institutions such as cathedrals and parish churches. Monastic houses used a far more elaborate and longer structure but, during the Triduum, even these establishments pared their services down to the bare minimum.<sup>11</sup> The Stranraer Fragment demonstrates, in part, this reduced framework (see Appendix). Containing the latter part of Nocturn I, all of Nocturn II and the first part of Nocturn III, it is possible to reconstruct the Matins for Good Friday as it might have been observed in the Dumfries and Galloway region during the late medieval period.

A further consideration is that of Use. Each religious establishment followed special liturgical customs belonging to a particular diocese or group of diocese.<sup>12</sup> This meant that the chants used for a particular observance may have differed from one area to another. It is generally thought that the area of Dumfries and Galloway followed the Use of York until 1472.<sup>13</sup> A close examination of the chants and their texts in the Stranraer Fragment reveals strict adherence to the Sarum Rite.<sup>14</sup> Associated with the cathedral of Salisbury, the Sarum Rite was widely used in Britain at the end of the late medieval period. This was the case even in Scotland, where the Sanctorale was adapted to include Scots saints.<sup>15</sup>

It is unlikely that the Stranraer Fragment travelled far to its present location. Stephen Allenson has credibly argued a similar situation in his discussion of the Inverness Fragments.<sup>16</sup> The folio at Stranraer Museum was used, not as a professional bookbinder's material, but as the cover for a working document. For this reason, it is most likely that the cover was obtained from a local source. This would place the provenance of the manuscript firmly in the Rhins area, possibly originating from a local parish church or the nearby Premonstratensian Abbey of Soulseat.

The Premonstratensian Order followed the Rule of the Cistercians, but tended to observe the Use of the Augustinians.<sup>17</sup> Augustinians generally adopted their Use to suit local practices which, if they were according to Sarum in this area, would include the religious houses of St Mary's Isle and Canonbie. These houses may be ruled out because of their distance

11. Harper, p.104.

12. 'Use of York', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>.

13. Brooke, Daphne, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1994) pp.171-2. While it is generally assumed that the area now known as Dumfries and Galloway followed York Use, no evidence other than the Sweetheart Fragment exists. (Edinburgh University Library: *olim* MS.D.b.iv.7) While this fragment was found in the binding of a book from Sweetheart Abbey and demonstrates York Use, it has not been proven that it originates from the same location. See McRoberts, D. *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953) p. 7, no. 27.

14. Frere, W. H. (ed.) *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (London 1901-24, repr., Farnborough, 1966), Vol. III, ff. 223-226; Procter, F. and Wordsworth, C. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburiensis* (Cambridge 1879-86, repr., Farnborough, 1970) Dcclxxxvi-dccxc; and Lawley, S. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* (Surtees Society, 1880) Vol.71, pp 389-394.

15. Woods 'Our Awin Scottis Use: Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland', *Journal of the Royal Musicological Society* 112 (1987) p. 22.

16. Allenson Stephen. 'The Inverness Fragments: Music from a Pre-Reformation Scottish Parish Church and School', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Feb 1989) p.18. Mr Truckell, in a letter to the writer, mentions the following. "Dumfries Museum has, nicely mounted in a frame, ten pages of an early 15th-century MS Bible used to bind the protocol book of Herbert Anderson, which has been published and runs up to the 1560's - nicely written and illuminated but alas not music - so the practice was clearly quite common just after the Reformation."

17. Harper, p.29.

from Stranraer. That leaves the Premonstratensian Houses of Holywood, Soulseat, Whithorn and Tongland, which ‘thread through Galloway like a string of pearls’.<sup>18</sup> Apart from Soulseat, these again may be discounted because of the distance involved. Finally, the Cistercian houses should be considered. They were at Dundrennan, Mauchline, Sweetheart and the nearby Abbey of Glenluce. They can be ruled out immediately, given that the Cistercians were a strict monastic order, tending to follow the Rule of their mother house in Citeaux, France, rather than observing local practices.<sup>19</sup>

Each religious house, whether secular or monastic, required several books in order to follow the liturgy of the day.<sup>20</sup> These were conflated in the late medieval period to an Antiphoner (or Antiphonal) and Breviary for the Divine Office, and a Missal and Gradual for the Mass. The Breviary contained the full texts for the lessons and, if it were a noted breviary, would have the chants notated. An Antiphoner, on the other hand, usually contained all the chants for the Office and would merely indicate the lessons to be read without quoting the entire text. Since the Stranraer Fragment falls into the latter category, we may safely assume that it is from an Antiphoner.<sup>21</sup>

One final point should be made about ST1/7/0-B. It was mentioned earlier that this folio represents one of the most austere junctures in the liturgy of the medieval church. The Stranraer Fragment contains part of the Office for the ‘lowest’ spiritual point in the Christian calendar. The church is in complete darkness, save for one candle, solemn psalms are sung, and there is no celebration of mass before, during or after this solemn day. It seems curious that this fragment should have survived the Reformers’ zeal, if that was the fate of the remaining antiphoner folios. Given that the celebration of mass was considered idolatrous and constituted pure anathema to the Reformers, this fragment contains little that would have offended their sensitivities. While the reader may regard this as conjectural, it is possible to imagine that the Stranraer Fragment may have survived for symbolic reasons.

There are a number of reasons why the Stranraer Fragment is important. Firstly it supplements our knowledge of medieval liturgy in Scotland. Second, it is one of the few remaining fragments of local provenance.<sup>22</sup> Finally, it provides us with local insight on the important observances of Holy Week. The customs and rituals of Easter have attracted much attention by the scholars of Insular and Continental liturgy. The Stranraer Fragment allows us to make a proud contribution to the literature, one which is distinctly Scottish, even Gallovidian in context.

Scots Liturgical Musicology stands at a crossroads. There have been small flurries of scholarly activity in this area since the middle of the nineteenth century, but these have been

18. Oram, R. D. *The Christian Heritage of Wigtownshire, from A Journey Through Time 1*, produced by The Whithorn Trust & The Dumfries & Galloway Tourist Board, place of publication and date unknown.

19. Harper, p.29. Information about the religious orders in SW Scotland was obtained from Richard Fawcett’s book, *Scottish Abbeys and Priors* (London, 1994). Attempts to link the Stranraer Fragment with Glenluce Abbey are confounded by another detail. Land disputes between the Kennedy and Gordon families caused the brethren to take refuge at the collegiate college of Maybole, presumably taking their books with them. By the time they returned to Glenluce in 1560, the Reformation was already under way. Grove, D. *Glenluce Abbey* (Edinburgh, 1996).

20. For a detailed list of English Service Books, see Wordsworth C., and Littlehales, H., *The Old Service Books of the English Church* (London, 1904) Chapter I.

21. I am indebted to Dr Warwick Edwards of the Department of Music, Glasgow University, for his assistance in reaching this conclusion.

22. Two other fragments from Sweetheart and Canonbie have been identified.

fragmentary, and have yet to provide us with a complete picture of Scots liturgical music in the late medieval period. One excuse has been the apparent lack of documentary evidence. Whether at the hands of the Reformers, or because of political intrigue or our unfavourable climate, most church books have indeed been lost. A good number, however, remain.<sup>23</sup> A brief search on the web-site of The National Library of Scotland reveals several medieval breviaries, antiphoners and psalters languishing on their stacks.

One of our chief pioneers in the liturgical music of medieval Scotland, Dr Isobel Woods Preece, sadly passed away a couple of years ago, leaving a yawning hiatus in this field.<sup>24</sup> Isobel was inspirational in her reconstruction of musical life in the Scots medieval church. By referring to a number of sources in a multi-disciplinary approach, she was able to provide us with a remarkably detailed biography of the Scots composer, Robert Carver whose works are featured in the Carver Choirbook.<sup>25</sup> Dr Woods acknowledged the dearth of primary sources in her field. She provided us, however, with a number of ‘windows’ looking into the rich ecclesiastical life of medieval Scotland, by researching as many different secondary sources as possible. Her words, ‘there is much remaining to be done’, hopefully still ring in the ears of Scots musicologists<sup>26</sup>. This writer trusts that he has provided the readers here with a small ‘window’ into the mists of time; a glimpse into medieval life in a small corner of SW Scotland.

I acknowledge the assistance of Mr Alfred Truckell, Mr John Pickin, Mrs Nikki Goldsworthy and Dr Warwick Edwards in conducting my research into the Stranraer Fragment. My grateful thanks go to them for the time and trouble they took to provide information and advice. Also I should like to mention the assistance that Professor Greta J. Olson, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, has given in preparing this final copy of my article.

23. Although out of date, with several omissions, David McRoberts pamphlet provides a useful list of Scots church books and fragments. Also printed in *The Innes Review*, X (1952) pp. 49-63.

24. Dr Warwick Edwards of Glasgow University is currently preparing for publication, materials on music in the early Scottish Church from the papers of Isobel Woods Preece.

25. National Library of Scotland ... Also, see Woods, Isobel, *The Carver Choirbook*, Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1984).

26. Details about recent research on ‘Chants from the Sprouston Breviary’ (c. 1300) by Greta Mary Hair and Betty Knott Sharpe, and ‘The Inchcolm Antiphoner’ by Warwick Edwards may be accessed on the ‘Musica Scotica’ Website at <http://www.music.gla.ac.uk>

## APPENDIX

## Stranraer Fragment - ST/1/7/0-B

[RECTO]

[Feria vi in i Noct]

*R* [Omnes amici mei...ocu] lis plaga crudeli  
*V* Et dederunt in escam meam fel  
*R* Tradiderunt me in manus impio  
*V* Astiterunt reges terrae  
*R* Caligaverunt oculi me  
*V* O vos omnes qui transitis

F[eria vi] *in ii* [Noct]

*Ant* Vim faciebant qui quaerebant  
*Ps* Domine ne in furore tuo  
*Ant* Confundantur et revereantur  
*Ps* Expectans expectavi Dominum  
*Ant* Alieni insurrexerunt in me  
*Ps* Deus in nomine tuo  
*W* [Ab insurgentibus in me]  
*R* [Libera me]  
[L] *iii mediae* [Lectiones de expositione Psalmi] *supra[di]ctio modo*  
*R* Vineam meam electam [...]

[VERSO]

...] et Barrabam dimitteres

*V* Ego quidem plantavi te[...]*Q[uo]d*  
*R* Tamquam ad latronem  
*V* Filius quidem  
*R* Jesum tradidit impius  
*V* Et ingressus est in atrium

F[eria vi] *in iii* [Noct]

*Ant* Ab insurgentibus in me  
*Ps* Eripe me de inimicis meis  
*Ant* Longe fecisti notos meos  
*Ps* Domine Deus salutis meae  
*Ant* Captabunt in animum justum  
*Ps* Deus ultionum [Dominus Deus]  
*W* Locuti sunt adversum me  
*R* Lingua dolosa  
[L] *iii vlti[ma]e le[tiones] de ep[isto]la pauli s[upradic]tio vlti m[od]o legatur l[ec]tio*  
F[ra]t[er]: festinemus in[gre]di  
*R* Barrabas latro dimittitur

\*[ ] square brackets denote text not in MS - except Psalms:

*Italics* denote rubrics in the MS:*Ant*=Antiphon to Psalm : *Ps*=Psalm:*W*=Versicle : *R*=Responsary : *V*=Verse



## DUMFRIES BURGH COURT BOOKS in the 16th CENTURY

by A.E.Truckell

### Part II

(p.592) 3rd Apr. 1578 - The Provost, Baillie McKynnell and the Council agree with the Provost for the use of his two chalmers on the backside of the New Wark where the prisoners were kept to be ready for Lord Maxwell, Warden until Lammas come a year that the pledge house appointed by the King & Privy Council be built paying 6 marks of mail yearly [the building of a prison in Dumfries must be the outcome of the meeting in Edinburgh.].

(p.601) 11th Mar. 1577/8: The whole town and freemen thereof and other inhabitants shall lead and carry lime, stone and timber freely for the building of the pledge house.

A list of lands not set in feu - David Rawling an acre in Gallowrig, John Rig at Chapell 2 acres in Wolfgill, Homer Maxwell elder an acre of the Friar's Lands in Troqueer: a piece of ground on the Sandbeds, 2 acres in Gallowrig, a yard at Our Lady Well called the Chapel Green, a rood or more of the Friar's Lands lying in the close on the West of the late John Dun now in the hands of William Edgar: This list is clearly made with a view to feuing off these lands to raise funds for the building of the Prison.

(p.606) 16th Apr. 1578: Provost Archibald McBair of Almagill explains that he is heritably infeft in the town mill of Dumfries with dams and watergangs and there is a watergang pertaining to the said mill coming from the loch of Duriskon [Dalscone] and protests that if it or the rest of the watergangs be set to any man or broken that he may have the same rid and made free and that the Judges and Councill of Dumfries set no part of the dams and watergangs of the said Mill in 'few' to any person and if they do for remede of law [as with the Newark, which the town thought was its property and which the McBairs successfully claimed in the mid-century, the above has clearly once been the town's].

There follow several pages of lists of feu lands, roups and feu charters - very good topographical stuff.

(p.618) An acre of land in Troqueer sometime pertaining to the Friars of Dumfries and now to Amer Maxwell elder burgess of Dumfries is to be set in feu for helping of the bigging of the pledge chalmer and because no one will bid for it James Rig one of the procurators for the common weill of the burgh protests that it may come in the Town's hands.

(p.622) 7th May 1578 - Schir John Lauder claims that John McKie sword slyper has a sword of his: among the witnesses is schir John Baty: he also produces a writing of Richie Edgar who had the said sword confessing it to be the said schir John Lauder's.

(p.626) A quarter and half quarter of velvet and 2 ounces of onion seed: and John Rig of the Chapell litster - this is the chapel at the foot of Bank Street turned into a dyeworks by the Rigs at the Reformation.

None of the wine lately come to this town from Wigtown to be sold dearer than 40 pence the pint to the neighbours thereof.

(p.627) Hugh Cunningham alleges that his hand which was hurt in September last by John Anderson alias notar and should have been cured by James Young, surgeon, was not as yet hid whole and sufficiently mended and so Young ought not to be paid.

A barrel of soap bought by John frissell from Herbert Maxwell at the port, Salt bought by Thomas Trustrie and herbert Ranyng from John Lord Maxwell.

(p.629) A barrel of soap and half a barrel of orchard lit.

(p.632) Jonet Kirkpatrick, relict of george maxwell, has damaged Robert Rae in his booth by running down wort [from brewing] on the said Robert's and other merchants' cloth.

(p.633) Schir John Baty, a man of 69, knows that the sword claimed by schir John Lawder and found in the booth of John McKie furburer is Lawder's.

(p.636) 9th May 1578 - Andrew Maxwell, jailor, [gevellor] of the pledge chalmer.

(p.637) 14th May 1578 - Maister James Beton's horse is fenced in Andrew Edgar's house at the instance of Maister Archibald Menzies - Edgar has let Beton take it away.

(p.639) Andrew Maxwell, glover, is to put out his house the Egyptians which he has presently received within three hours - he has promised to do this and has promised not to receive them again and if he does he will be debtor for any gear stolen by them in the town,

(p.640) John Brown of Land borrows 210 marks from Margaret maxwell daughter of the late Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell: a marginal note says the loan repaid 23rd Nov. 1586.

(p.641) 21st May 1578 - Spanish and danish iron.

(p.642) 23rd May 1578 - John Dunlop has sold to the town 74 maiss of herrings at 40/- the maiss and 12 bolls of salt measure of Nith for 4/- 2d less the peck.

(p.643) 26th May 1578 - Mark Peris is to deliver to William Lanrik 60 loads of peats between now and the Roodmass next, delivered in his yard in Friarvennell with sufficient sacks marked.

(p.645) 28th May 1578 - a protocol is insufficient because transumpted only by a single notar.

(p.646) William Sawryeht dreads bodily harm from John Kirkpatrick in Bucklerhole.

13/4 for the shell of a steelbonnet.

(pp.647-50) Full text of the contract for a cargo of salt between Lord Maxwell, Herbert Ranyng elder, Herbert maxwell at Port and Paul Thomson - an interesting legal document.

(p.650) John Edgar called Black John.

(p.651) David Walker to pay John Crosbie 28 pence for carrying of each stone of 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> stoness of wool to Edinburgh.

(p.652) 29th May 1578 - A Flanders tin quart of Thomas Trustrie weighing 6 lb. 10 ounce valued at 32/-, taken 'for his disobedience in nocht cuming to the stenting of the towne for leiddyng of stanes to the pege chalmer'.

(p.653) 30 May 1578 - A Lying between John Schortrik and James Anderson - an auld thorn tree and a great ash tree in the hedge.

(p.660) 11th Jun. 1578 - Thomas Anderson in frerevennell to pay 20/- to Patrik Young 'for sum cure tane be his sone to william anderson brother to the said thomas'.

(p.661) Witnesses in the claim by Rowie Coltert that he was put out of his house in Lochmabengate and that his goods lay in the street for a long time (one says a month) and that he suffered skaith.

(p.664) 18th Jun. 1578 - A coat of Scottis russat pointed out of Gilbert Barncleuch's booth.

19th Jun. 1578 - Herbert Carruthers miscalls John Maxwell called Patrick's John: gets a stick out of his house: goes through the streets [route specified] with a drawn sword: and attacks Maxwell at his door: Maxwell draws his own sword and wounds Carruthers: Carruthers fined and put in irons or stocks in the King's House.

(p.665) 19th Jun. 1578 - An iron jack [breastplate] of John Muirhead's in Frerevennell comprised to 36/- 16d.

(p.666) 110 marks borrowed from Agnes Chartors of Amisfield - this is one of a series of quite large sums borrowed from her by various substantial townspeople: this one repaid July 1582.

(p.668) Katherine Harestanis spous of John Maxwell grants that she has taken the boarding of his son and hers about 20 days ago for a year he paying her £5 '& farther scho to stand at his favors'.

No wine, white or red, to be sold dearer than 4/- the pint jug measure.

(p.669) We hear of schir Johne Tailzeor parson of Cummertrees.

(p.672) The Lying of a moss 'lyand in harstonefute' - Gilbert Greere has been casting peats in Patrick Newall's moss 'to the valor & quantite of xl lades or thairby.'

(p.677) 1st Jul. 1578 - A half hagbut of John Reid tailzor comprized for 13/8d.

(p.681) 4th Jul. 1578 - A long list of persons fined 'for brekyn to the comon work but delay.'

No goods are to be laid on the Willies by the Over Sandbeds unless with a good cause shown.

(p.682) Adam Walker flesher is pursued for 'blasfleming' of the provost, baillies and Judges of the town last Friday - James Robson of Rychorne charged his wife more in the market for a peck of meal than he did other people; and Adam said the Judges who permitted it were more like common thieves than good Judges - Adam is ready to ask God and the Judges forgiveness.

The Judges and Council to pass upon Tuesday next 'to wessy the comon & marches thereof & to Sowm the toun & put ane comon hyrd & to meitt on the gallowrigg at 8 a.m.'

The Judges and Council are to convene on Wednesday next in the week after Whitsunday in the Tolbooth and take order with the poor folks according to the King's proclamation and ordains all the poor folks of the town to be warned in the Kirk next Sunday 'for ordor to be tane with thame Swa at It maybe vnderstand quha the toun and parochin aucht to Sustane & quha nocht.'

(p.686) 7th Jul. 1578 - John Rig litster has bought from William Horner '2½ pokkis of waid & a barrel of ale.'

(p.691) 9th Jul. 1578 - We hear of John Mummerson.

(p.692) A black ox, £5.10/-, 'quhyte riggit of the age of 5 zeiris or thereby.'

(p.694) 9th Jul. 1578 - Margaret Cairns Lady Orchardtoun and Edward Maxwell of Tynwald her spouse - agreement with Peter Davidson for the boarding of William Kirkpatrick and Michael Kirkpatrick her sons. Thomas Edgar son of John Edgar, 16 years of age, testifies that in July last Lady Orchardton caused him to write a bill in her name to the Laird of Kirkmichael her son desiring him to give Peter davidson 2 bolls of meal in her name to the boarding of her 2 sons and his brothers and signed the letter and he took it to the Laird Kirkmichael at Kirkmichael. John Edgar says that about the Roodmass last he was in Peter Davidson's house where the Lady Orchardton and Laird Tynwald had dined and she told him about the agreement.

Witnesses in the case of Herbert Ranyng against Thomas Trustrie regarding the storage of Trustrie's third part of 31 bolls of salt in David Rae's cellar.

(p.699) 16th Jul. 1578 - Mention of Adam Sturgeon son and heir to Andro Sturgeon in Torrorie.

(p.703) 23 Jul. 1578 - Herbert McKie is ordered to pay Robert Hall, burgess of Kirkcudbright 30/- Scots for an English ryall borrowed from him in Ardglass in Ireland.

(p.704) Herbert McKie confesses that he had slandered Robert hall 'sayand that he suld have faltit him & his marrowis in arglass in Ireland & causit thame to tyne thare bote & ladynyng' and repents and asks God and the said Robert's forgiveness and Robert has instantly forgiven him and requires the town's testimonial in form of act.

(p.705) John Fleming protests that if he is ordered by the law to warrand the onion seed he sold this year to James Rig and others that he may have the like action against Herbert Skaillis from whom he bought the seed.

(p.706) A reference to 'Poildavie Kenves'

(p.707) 'A quarter yaird of the Schirefis orchard lying within the territory of Dumfries'.

(p.709) 23rd Jul. 1578 - Martin Rawling complains that about 5 in the afternoon on the 22nd Nicoll Newall came into his booth where he was working 'at godis peace & the Kyngis' on clothes for Nicoll and tried to take the clothes away; Martin would not give him them because they were not ready: Nicol took him by the throat and would have slain him and tore his shirt neck and the buttons off his coat and 'dang him with his neifis' and would not leave the booth until Baillie Herbert Ranyng caused him to go. Told him in the King's name to make no further trouble and to come before the Provost, Baillies and Council in the morning for trial. Nicoll then went to his nephew Archibald: Archibald provided a club and they with Archibald's brother Jamie 'upon set purpose forethocht felony & hame sukin' came where Martin was standing between his booth and the Fish Cross intending to kill him and struck him and chased him in at Baillie James Lindsay's gate and struck him with their fists and feet when the club was taken from them and when Lindsay came to them in his own gate and ordered them to stop they would not but Archie kicked Martin: evidence of

witnesses taken: the Judges and Council find that Nicoll and Archibald have committed great and manifest oppressions against martin and have proudly contested the order of the Baillies: they are to find caution each for £100 to appear before the Provost, Baillies and Council in the Tolbooth when warned and underly such correction as shall be advised to them.

(p.711) 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pounds of Spanish iron.

(p.712) 28th Jul. 1578 - 9 pecks of bere and 9 pecks of great black corn.

(p.775) There is reference to the protocol book of the late schir Thomas Connelson notar regarding lands in Braidmyre heid, dated 1546, and to Master James Lorimer chaplain.

(p.776) The inhabitants who have common lands or houses are to appear in the Tolbooth in january next to make offers for them to provide funds for the bigging of the prison.

(p.779) 5th Jan. 1578/9 - John fyndlay elder in Killylung - lands in Duncow.

(p.780) John Crokatt in Duncouthra in Kirkpatrick Durham.

6th Jan. 1578/9 - A sufficient man is to answer in the Exchequer with the town's maills and the account of the common good on the 13th January - the Treasurer is to answer him for his reasonable expences.

(p.781) 9th Jan. 1578/9 - George Maxwell heir appeirand of Drumcoltran and Jonet Carnis his spous one of the heirs portioners of the late Cairns of Dalbatie - at Bargalie 5th January instant - Katherine Maxwell second daughter of late Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell - she has paid them 200 marks for the annuelrent of Little Dalbatie - lands, manor, mill and fishing in the Urr.

(p.785) 14th Jan. 1578/9 - James Young, surgeon, claims 40 marks for causing Hugh Cunningham's two fingers and the foot of his hand to adhere to the rest 'quhilk war all bot ane small gripe of flesche at the Schakill bane desinerit and cuttit fra the rest of his hand be ane straik of ane Sword be Johne Andersone alias notar committit in September last.'

(p.788) 14th Jan. 1578/9 - David McCourtie, who with his wife has kept John Johnston 'callit of Newbie' so long in ward for debt, is himself in ward for debt: the Council will free him if he pays his debts and fines especially that 'for absenting himself when he was duly charged and for not passing with the rest of the neighbours of the town in October last for relief of the sons of ?blaarte furth of England's hands' and because he is deprived of his freedom he must find caution that he shall not usurp the privileges of the town. What is this - a raid into England?

William Lanerick is ordered to remove a midden of muck and fulze from the back wall of John Quhinkirstanis house or else pay 8/- for each 24 hours it stays there.

(p.790) The Council votes that there be an 11-year tack of the Kingholm as from Whitsun next to the 30 or 40 freemen who bid most for it and that the same be rouped this day 8 days for completing of the ward house [prison]: Herbert Ranyng younger with certain others of the Council, former tacksmen and possessors thereof, offered 11 score marks in foremaill for an 11 year tack thereof.

(p.791) 21st Jan. 1578/9 - An action by schir James Gledstanis against Robert McKinnell customer and Isobell Gledstanis his spouse for taking out of his house at raffell dubs a stool to set water on and other goods.

An action between Robert Rae and Parick Aitkyn for setting of a 5-year tack of an acre of land in Gallowrig for 12 marks and a pair of shoes of foremaill.

(p.793) Another acre of land in Gallowrig - formaill of 12 marks with a pair of 'doubill solit schone' - with 'ane auld testane of Irlis.'

(p.796) John Johnstone called of Newbie offers to make David McCourtie and Jonet Matheson his wife, who have kept him in ward in the Tolbooth for months for a debt of seventy odd pounds to Jonet's late husband, assignays to all his goods or lands so far as they would extend to £71 by an inventory - they refuse to let him be set free. However, the Provost and baillies 'for obedience of the decree of the Lords of Session to free Johnstone called of Newby who has been detained in ward 'of ane lang tyme bygane' for nonpayment of £71 owed to Jonet Matheson relict and executrix of the late John Kirkpatrick Smith and David McCourtie now her spouse, send the Burgh Officer who charges McCourtie to appear and see the decree put to effect - he refuses and protests against the decree: so they 'tuik the said Johnne Johnstone Deiplie sworne vpoun the halie evangell that he was bair man and had nother guidis nor Lands Distrenzeabill' and offering to do everything possible for McCourtie and Matheson - McCourtie still refuses so they free Johnstone [who is 40 and married - but there has been no mention of his wife in this long-drawn case].

(p.797) Two timber sleds are to be made and quarriers are to be contracted with all expedition for winning of great whin cran stanes at the old gallows stead at Lochmabengate (near the Chrystal or Halyblude Chapel - where St Mary's Church is now) and that tomorrow after prayers the two baillies, Herbert Ranyng younger, John Thomson dean, Mathew Dickson treasurer, John Richardson, Symon Johnston and Thomas Johnstone 'sall vene in the tolbuith And geve vp and appoynt ane roll of all the personis Inhabitants of this burgh quha ar abill to leid or caus to be led ony of the said stanis or vtheris greitt stanis of twa or thrie horss draucht quhair ewir the same can be gottin or Win for Laying of the ground of the new waird and presoune hous to be biggit this Instant zeir.'

30th Jan. 1578/9 - John Johnston called of Newby, newly released from ward, binds himself to pay Symon Johnston and James Johnston burgesses £40 borrowed from them in 1560: also £17 owed by him for merchandice bought by him from them and £102 paid by them for his part of the eschete and Kynbute to John Maxwell and Ector Rae: £50 paid by them at his command to John Harrote burges of Edinburgh for pepper and other merchandice: £10 paid by them at his command to Thomas Carlyle, Englishman: £18 paid at his command to Robert Rae burges of Dumfries for debt and merchandice: to themselves £10 for the price of hats etc. and £10 for Lint and camerage [Good Lord - and he has just declared himself 'bair man'!].

(p.799) 4th Feb. 1578/9 - David McCourtie gives 'ane cloiss almerie with lokkis & pertinertis' to James Cowdane in Smythholme of Amisfield worth £7 for malt bought by Jonet Matheson his wife - so they are hard up!

(p.800) Mr Homer Maxwell commissar of Dumfries presents his commission and defines his duties and powers.

Provost Archibald McBrair complains that Archibald Newall has slandered him by alledging that he caused burn Edward Maxwell's corn.

(p.802) A meeting convened for rousing the Kingholm and other common lands 'to the vther evaill ... for byggeing of the new ward houss and pledge chalmer' - too few turned up - postponed to next Tuesday.

(p.805) Robert McKinnell wobster and Issobell Gledstanis his spouse deny schir James Gledstanis' claim against them for 'ane stule to sett water on twa wobster beamis ane Slae bred Nyne ells of lynnyng and xij ss of gerss maill for certane scheep in symmer last'.

A decree arbitral is to be pronounced anent the sufficiency of John Lawson alias Sawrycht's mason work on James McCaul's house at Brigend.

Heirship goods of late John Carruthers - a plate claimed by John Carruthers had been taken once for a night watch.

(p.807) More on the roup of common lands to raise funds for the building of the prison: John Richardson and Herbert Ranyng younger appointed masters of work (Ranyng's initials, on a stone from the prison, are to be seen on the wall of the Midsteeple): in case Herbert either sails this year or passes furth of the realm he is to make up his account before departure and arrange for another to be sustained in his place. All fines from now on are to be applied to the bigging of the Prison.

(p.809) 11th Feb. 1578/9 - James Lyndsay of Barcloy pursues George Rig, son natural of the late schir James Rig, for the maill of the half tenement 'callit the new houss'.

(p.810) Sevinstane weycht of candill.

(p.813) Andro Baty is to pay John Fleming as cautioner for the Laird of Broughton 33/8d for the price of a pair of boots.

Visitation of the booth in the Vennel formerly occupied by George Maxwell smith who built a chimney in his forge for avoiding fire damage: the booth is now occupied by John Lowke smith: it is to be decided what recompense should be given to Maxwell by Jonet Matheson the owner.

Thomas Trustrie is fined because Marrioun makka and Kathereen makkee who dwell on his land were apprehended bearing John McCleir's goods.

(p.814) John Carruthers called Blanschies Johne has drawn a quhinger to have struck Thomas Horne upon the Iysche: he is to ask Horn's forgiveness on his knees and to lose his freedom if he troubles the town again.

Claim by Patrick Young against John Sawrycht alias lawsone for not duly completing the work of his stone house in the Midraw at the Flesh market and of a chimney stools backside

20 Feb. 1578/9 - Schir John Baty prebender of Lincluden.

(p.817) 25 Feb. 1578/9 - 'ane pistolatt of gould'.

Maister Archibald Menzies, vicar of Colvend, 60 years of age, unmarried, sworn witness, depones that he was present at the curing of Hugh Cunningham's hand by Patrick Young and James Young his son 'and in the menetye James Young said I wald ye maid

sum pryce and the said hew anserit dispair ye me / I promise zow be my faith & strenth to Satisfie zow at the sicht of the said Mr Archibald and patrik Young ....'

Five quarters of poldavie.

(p.818) William Horner 'assoilzeit of the acclame of certain madir propoint againis him by Johne Tait'.

26 Feb. 1578/9 - John Herries burgess becomes bound to pay to the creditors of David McCourtie and Jonet Matheson his spous all sums of money which McCourtie is decerned or acted any way, by any decree or obligation acted or registered in the burgh court books or for which David was imprisoned except the tolbooth fines and bond.

(p.820) Last February - David McCourtie and Jonet Matheson - Geordie Maxwell smith and the price of the chimney built by him - they don't turn up and are to pay George 50/- for the chimney.

Thomas Trustrie to refund and deliver 2 bolls of salt and the third part of a peck received by him from the tenants of Blackshaw to Herbert Ranyng elder 'as thrid pairt marrow & Loutenare with the said herbert ranyng & herbert maxwell at poirt coft be thame fra Johne Lord Maxwell in the moneth of october 1576.'

(p.821) 3rd Mar. 1578/9 - James Kae, son and heir of late John Kae in Lochmabengate cordiner assigns to George Moffat smith all the heirship goods which pertained to him by decree of his father estimated to £16 in complete payment of his apprentice fee.

(p.824) 1st Apr. 1579 - Margaret Maxwell to appear next Sunday before the whole congregation and bring with her four of her nearest neighbours to give their great oaths that Margaret is clean and innocent of the poisoning of John Scott's yard with the 'gouldseid' and other weed seeds.

(p.825) James Young surgeon and Patrick Young his father are to swear by their great oaths what they spent on 'ony vlzeis droggis or vngwentis' upon the curing of Hugh Cunningham's hand hurt by John Anderson in September 1578 - they swear that it was £10 Scots.

(p.826) 8th Apr. - Margaret Maxwell spouse of John Crosbie to be immediately transported by the officers out of judgement and warded in the bellhouse for 8 days till she pays 40/- for breaking of ward in the Tolbooth for remaining on her trial for poisoning of a yard occupied by John Scott with gouldseed 'Lyand at the stynkand vennell fute in the Shireffis' yard be west the gate gangand to the chapell of the willyis' and till she finds caution not to harm Scott and that she shall satisfy him for the damage sustained by him through the poisoning of the said yard: also John Corsby is to come before the Minister on Sunday next in time of prayers or preaching and by his own oath and that of Carruthers, Frude, Sawrycht and such others as were appointed for cleansing of the said yard to acquit himself of all part in the poisoning of the yard and, if he fails, to incur the same punishment and that because Margaret and the others did not appear in the parish kirk last Sunday as ordered.

This is a serious case: a man's 'yard' grew barley, oats, vegetables, housed cattle, sheep pigs and poultry, and it was a mainstay of the family: the deliberate sowing of it with weeds was a very foul trick indeed.

(p.827) Herbert Ranyng elder, John Thomson and Mathew Dickson are appointed masters of the work on the prison: Ranyng younger who was appointed before is to pass out of the realm and John Richardson 'is depairtit out of this Lyfe.'

John Edzer in Inglistoun is mentioned, as is the late Rolland Coltart's possession of part of the lands of Nunfield - so 'Rowie Coltart', so often mentioned, is dead.

(p.828) 'ane auld black freiss cloik.'

(p.829) Katherine Thomson daughter and heiress of late Nicoll Thomson burgess, John Maxwell of Monreith and John Maxwell Patrick's son her curators - an arbitration between her and John Maxwell at Fleshstocks before 'ane nobill and potent lord John Lord Maxwell 'over half of a tenement in the Back Raw.

(p.830) 10 Dec. 1579 [Nothing since 9th April] - Cuthbert Smyth tailor to pay Nicoll Forsyth merchant 40/- together with 'ane pair of fyne plaitt slevis.'

11th Dec. - James Johnson in Middlegill and Robert Johnston in Mosspen.

(p.832) 16th Dec. - A satin doublet received by John Wolls from him: James Johnston a man of 35 depones that he 'being on moussald grene ane quarter of zeir syne or thairby befor the deceis of John Kirkpatrick Saw ane black Satein doublatt vpon Johne Kirkpatrick's bak as he was playand at the ball And in the menetyme he herd vtheris standand by esteime the said doublatt to fyve pundis' - James Mouss, aged 40, confirms this but estimates the doublet to £4.

(p.834) 21st Dec. - Herbert Maxwell at the Port and Herbert Maxwell his son of their own free motive wills without any compulsion or persuasion humbly submitted themselves upon their knees in the provost baillies council and community's will obliging them to reverence acknowledge and obey them as superiors and magistrates above them, as also to underly whatever punishment intimated to them for the wilfull manifest and Disobedient contempt done and committed by them - dear me - prominent citizens - what *have* they done?

(p.836) 14th Jan. 1579/80 - Contract between John Maxwell son to Patrick and Nicoll Newall messenger 'or how sone it sal happin the said nicoll or his foirsaidis vpoun ane day betuix the sone rysing and gangin downe of that Ilk.'

(p.840) A reference to a John Jelly.

The service of Edward Maxwell as heir to schir John Maxwell vicar of Lochmaben postponed until 10th Febraury.

(p.842) 28th Jan. 1579/80 - A cloak of Thomas Heslope in Goosedubs and a brass kettle comprised for 16/8

3rd Feb. 1579/80 - Thomas Trustrie to remove his muck from the hall door and close which Jonet [ ] has in tack of him and to be fined 8/- for each 24 hours he does not do it.

(p.843) We leap more than six years to the election of October 1586: Archibald McBair is no longer Provost, John Corsane in Kirkgate is elected Treasurer and paul Thomson Kirkmaister and Brigmaister.

'youth contain coltard' - John Davidson, John Schortrig, William schortrig, Amer schortrig, Thomas Maxwell, Michael Anderson, Andro Robsoun 'with ane greit number of the yowth of the town' desire James Coltard *not* to be re-elected as a Burgh Officer, he having committed diverse faults, being a faulty person, a tale teller, an inventer and deviser of evil tales between neighbours and especially between the magistrates and the young - Coltard is *not* re-elected. This is the first mention of the 'youth of the town' as a group.

(p.845) George Moffat admitted 'knok keeper', Thomas McBair demster and Herbert Birkmyre 'kepar of the willies.'

(p.846) Petition by Archibald McBair and John Kids - they are town bairns born and bred - yes we've been bad - but don't hand us over to My Lord the Earl of Morton! - most abject - the town delays action till the magistrates have spoken with the Earl (p.850 - The cautioners for Kid and McBair are to enter them to the Justice Court to be held shortly by My Lord Earl of Morton in this town.)

6th Oct. 1586 - Right Honorable John Maxwell of Newlaw provost.

(p.847) James Herroun deacon of the fleshers and George wollis allegeing himself elected deacon by part of the fleshers submit themselves to the deacons of the other crafts - smiths, skimmers, tailors, wobsters, cordiners, with the assistance of the provost, baillies and council if the deacons require it.

Thomas Johnston for him and James Johnston his son protest that in case George Wolls be made deacon of the fleshers he and his son be exempted from under the said George's authority and that George have no jurisdiction over him or George and his friends sought them for their slaughter in their own houses.

(pp.847/8) Regulation for the common quarry at Castledykes.

(pp.848/9) All the inhabitants are to accompany the magistrates and council yearly on allhallowday to ride the marches: each neighbour is to prepare a horse, beginning on all hallowday next.

(p.849) The Townhead quarter is to repair the Braidmire Brig.

The Provost, Baillies and Council are to pass through the town on the morning after allhallowday and 'tak Inquisition of the estait of euerie person man and woman quha ar nocht Knawin to haif certaine Leving or traffiqs and quhairupon thai Leiff quhairby the town may be equalie devydit be quarters and the roll of the Inhabitantis augmentit to the just nummer and evill persons tryit.'

(p.850) Order is to be taken by Provost, Baillies and Council anent the fowful under the yard which lies between the fowful at Lochmabengate Port and andro cunninghames yard and that order be taken with the satisfaction of the heritors of the ground where the said fowful is cassin anent the skaith sustained by them before any further of the fowful be cassin or wrocht.

Thom Raa, barker, to be warned to make sufficient that piece of street foranent his house at the calsay in Kirkgait within 48 hours.

(p.851) 7th Oct. 1586 - Proclamation of the Council's Acts at the Mercat Cross by David McMath, Burgh Officer.

11th Oct. 1586 - The goods of John Corsan merchant as cautioner for John Maxwell of Kirkconnell for £40 & a boll of beir - 2 boxes of coverings of steelbonnets containing 12 coverings - £16: 2 ells of velvet & a nail to £10: a dozen garnishing £3: a box of coverings containing 6 to £6.12/- and 6 garnishings to 40/-.

(pp.856/7) 19th Oct. 1586 - John Marshall challenged by James Rig surgeon upon a fence laid upon a brown horse worth £20 pertaining to John Aikin in Duncow for £10 resting owing by John Aikin to James Rig for curing of his wounds which he got in Duncow - Marshall grants that he became cautioner to make the horse or price thereof forthcoming.

All men who have not yet paid their maills to the Treasurers are to come next Friday and pay their maills contained in the common rental and if they do not the Council will 'tak sik forder ordor anent the getting payment of the samin as thae may.'

A list of new burgesses: including John Wright 'callit blak John' in Rotchell, and Robert Newall presented by Gilbert Edgar alias Barncleuch in recompence for the said Gilbert's service and to be done *anent the pavillion* [author's italics]: Cuthbert Grierson presented to the Provost by virtue of his office of provostrie. 'It is appointed be consent of the saids new burgesss that the said robert newlands cuthbert greir patrik maxwell be furnesit with speir steilbonet & sword as thair armour the said andro schairp with Jak speir steilbonett & sword, the saids paull edzar and glencorss and patrik schitlington hagbutteris.'

(p.858) Robert Glencorse andro forsyth & John makeull are licensed as stallangers for the year 'to vse the traffiq of flescheor craft.'

(p.859) Mr Andro Maxwell deacon of the skinners (he is a glover) - it is unusual to find a master of arts in a craft.

(p.863) The Fleshers craft agree, to avoid strife, that no deacon of fleshers be within the burgh for the next year and that Roger Gordon, Dean of Guild, be visitor of the said corporation for the year and exercise the office of a deacon.

(p.864) 28th Oct. 1586 - Stephen Palmer states that he and his brother Thom Palmer went into John Marshall's close at Robert Edgar's command to thatch the back side of Clement Edgar's tenement to set the ladders thereto and started work, Robert being with them: John Marshall came down the little chalmers stair fastening his clothes with his quhinger in the sheath rolled in his belt and said to Robert 'hes zow na vthir place to promonie in nor my cloiss afoir my duris gang thy way out of my cloiss and robert anssrit he wald nocht gang and than Johnne pullit out ane quhinzeor & wald have bene at robert' - Robert pulled up a stake and turned - the Palmers put him out of the close and John said he would not stop Clements work - but Robert came back into the close with his cloak about him (a touch of formality here?) and a sword: Marshall pulled out a halbert and came out of the hall door and they would have been at each other but the Palmers, James Johnston and other neighbours separated them - Johnston begged Robert Edgar not to come in again to oversee Clement's work - but he came back in his cloak armed with a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other.

(p.870) 2nd Nov. 1586 - William Crocket is to pay John Herries 33/- for 'unsufficient muk.'

(pp.873/4) Land at Loaningfoot disponed and set in feu to John Johnston potter (brass pots, not pottery) and John Johnston his son but discharges a freedom granted to him in excambion of the town's bell with one of his and further has promised not to put his midden on the King's street.

(p.875) Patrick Newall protests that the above grant should not prejudice his heretable right to the waste ground involved.

John Gledstanes alleges adultery committed by Thomas Gowdie with Gledstane's wife - Gowdie proves the allegation false - Gledstanes grants that the whole entry 'be extinguisit & put on perpetuall oblivion.'

(p.885) John Kennedy in Hallaythis.

(p.894) 16 Nov. 1586 - Marion Fergusson relict of late Thomas Newall is and has for some time past been suing William Gledstanes occupier of a booth in New Wark, Catherine and Margaret Maxwells daughters of late Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnel and Janet Grierson Lady Barnsoul for bygone maills.

(pp.894/5) Christall Wallace complains that David Wallace of boirlands Deans Officer has taken 5 hides from him: the Court finds that Christall has done wrong in transporting of hides out of burgh to unfreemen: he is to pay 8d fine for each of the 5 hides and for the third fault escheating of the goods and loss of his freedom.

(p.896) 18th Nov. 1586 - James Coltart about 8 p.m. on the 17th [in the dark] shooting his pistolat at his own door towards William Schortrig where he stood on the street with Amer his brother: 'the said pistolat misga & wald nocht schuitt.' William and Amer asked 'What was that?' and because there was dissension between William Schortrig and Coltart they believed he had shot at them and they pressed forward to know the same: while they did this Coltart cried the slogan 'A Maxwell' and William kicked him: whereupon 'the haill tumult succedit' - Coltart to be put in stocks and to ask forgiveness in Church on Sunday because he cried the slogan of Maxwell under silence of night after my lord warden's [Lord Maxwell's] watch was set: he is to come to the church to grant his reckless offence - William Schortrig is also punished because he kicked Coltart.

(p.898) 21st Nov. 1586 - John Carruthers in Denby found guilty of trying to pass a false 30/- piece in the market.

(p.900) 23rd Nov. 1586 - Malie Thomson in Cummertrees confesses that she gave John carruthers the 'evill' 30/- piece - her son got it in Annandale in payment for certain fees. John is exonered and she to remain in ward till she finds caution to be answerable.

(p.901) Patrick Aitken accused of the wrongous casting of certain sods and divots in William Horner's meadow.

(p.903) Thomas Grierson brother to the gudeman of capinoch made burgess - the burgesses in this group to be armed with jacks, spears and steelbonnets.

(p.906) The Crown intervenes in the Marion Fergusson case [see p.894]: Oswald Porter messenger stops the proceedings: Archibald McBair of Almagill, former Provost, with William Gledstanes, Katherine and Margaret Maxwells and Jonet Grierson Lady Barnsoull, Archibald's tenants in his properties in the New Wark - not Marion Fergusson's - explains

that he, Archibald, Provost at the time, being in 1585 in ward in Edinburgh at the King's command, Maxwell of Newlaw was unjustly intruded as Provost and Homer Maxwell and Herbert Ranyng as baillies: Archibald is at enmity with them and at 'deidlie feid' with Edward Maxwell at Brigend who had wounded him in the head about 8 years syne, both Maxwell of Newlaw and Ranyng being related to Edward so they are all 'uterlie suspect in ony caus'. Archibald, on 25th March 1585, obtained from the Lords of Council a decreit of exceptions exempting him his household, men, tenants and others dwelling on his lands from all proceedings against them by Maxwell, etc. as 'Judges vncompetent in ony caus concernyng thame in tyme cuming.' Marion Ferguson is to appear before the Privy Council on 8th December next. Provost Maxwell and the Baillies are discharged of their offices till 12th December. The Baillies - Mr Homer Maxwell and Herbert Ranyng - are to have £20 to go to the King in the above case: William Gledstanes appears and says he knew nothing about all this and is content that the Provost and Council try his case.

(pp.914/25) A long and interesting disputed heritage between John Paterson and John Paterson his natural brother - shows the purchase of special bastard rights by the cordiner.

(p.926) 12 Dec. 1586 - John Maxwell of Kirkconnell and Elizabeth Maxwell Lady Wauchope - Mr Gilbert Broun abbot of Sweetheart.

(p.936) A claim for payment for keeping the accounts and books of a business.

1588 [After a gap] - A burgess made at young Lord Maxwell's request.

16 Nov. 1588 - Robert Maxwell 'callit evill saul.'

(p.941) 27th Nov. 1588 - William Lord Herries provost.

A case of the fee for an apprentice cordiner not being fully paid in terms of the indenture.

(p.942) David Welsche of College.

(p.944) 4th Dec. 1588 - Alexander Gordoun of Carlenwork.

5th Dec. 1588 - 'Richt Honorabill william Lord Herreis provost.'

(p.945) 'Ane stik of birret' [whatever that was!].

The most interesting of these late entries is the appearance of Archibald McBrair, as full of fight as ever - he had been last of a long line of McBrair Provosts and it had been assumed - following, I think Pitscottie, that he had been hanged in Edinburgh following his killing of a man in the street in 1581 the day before the King was to enter Dumfries: Clearly, if sentenced, that sentence had been commuted to imprisonment.

### Index of Persons appearing in 'Dumfries Burgh Court Books'

Part I appeared in Volume 73 (marked i).

Part II is marked ii.

- [ ], Archibald - nephew of Nicoll Newall, ii, 80  
 [ ], Jamie - nephew of Nicoll Newall, ii, 80  
 Abbot of Holywood, i, 193  
 Adamson, John - i, 193  
 Aikin, John - in Duncow, ii, 87  
 Aikman, Robert - burges of Dieppe, i, 192  
 Aikman, Thomas - i, 192  
 Aitken [Aitkyn], Patrick - ii, 82,88  
 Amulgane, John - i, 192  
 Anderson, Herbert - Warden Clerk, i, 191, 194  
 Anderson, James - ii, 78  
 Anderson, John [Johne] - i, 194; ii, 81, 84  
 Anderson, John - 'alias notar', ii, 78  
 Anderson, Michael - ii, 86  
 Anderson, Thomas - 'in frerevennell', ii, 79  
 Anderson, William - 'brother of Thomas', ii, 79  
 Armstrong, Geordie - of Biggins, i, 194  
 Armstrong, Heck - of Subholme, i, 194  
 Armstrong, Jame - i, 194  
 Barncleuch, Gilbert - ii, 79  
 Batie, Thomas - i, 186  
 Baty, Andro - ii, 83  
 Baty, John - Schir, ii, 77, 78  
 Baty, John - Schir, prebender of Lincluden, ii, 83  
 Batye, Thomas - burges of Dumfries, i, 184  
 Bell, Janet - dau. of John, i, 184  
 Bell, John - i, 184  
 Beton, James - 'Maister', ii, 78  
 Birkmyre, Herbert - 'kepar of the willies', ii, 86  
 Birkmyre, John - husband of Bessie Lorimer, i, 194  
 Black, John - i, 193  
 Bratton [Brattoun], Thomas - i, 191, 193  
 Brice, John - Vicar of Dumfries, i, 184, 185  
 Broughton, Laird of - ii, 83  
 Broun, Gilbert - Abbot of Sweetheart, ii, 89  
 Brown, John - glover, i, 191  
 Brown, John - of Carlsruith, i, 186  
 Brown, John - 'of Land', ii, 78  
 Bryce, John - (schir) Vicar of Dumfries, i, 194  
 Bryce, John - i, 187  
 Byrkmyr, Habbe - i, 188  
 Cairns of Dalbatie, ii, 81  
 Cairns, Jonet - spouse of George Maxwell, ii, 81  
 Cairns, Margaret - 'Lady Orchardtoun', ii, 80  
 Campbell, Thomas - Commendator of Holywood Ab-  
 bey, i, 185, 190  
 Carcart, John - i, 188  
 Carlyle, [ ] - i, 191  
 Carlyle, Ade - of 'Crukit Heigh', i, 191  
 Carlyle, Habe - brother of Ade, i, 191  
 Carlyle, Robert - i, 192  
 Carlyle, Robin - in Torthorwald, i, 191  
 Carlyle, Thomas - Englishman, ii, 82  
 Carruthers, [ ] - ii, 84  
 Carruthers, Habbe - i, 187  
 Carruthers, Herbert - ii, 79  
 Carruthers, John - ii, 83, 88  
 Carruthers, John - 'called Blanschies Johne', ii, 83  
 Carruthers, John - in Denby, ii, 88  
 Carruthers, John - in Lochmabengate, i, 193  
 Carruthers, Margaret - i, 189  
 Chartors, Agnes - of Amisfield, ii, 79  
 Coltart, James - ii, 88  
 Coltard, James - Burgh Officer, ii, 86  
 Coltart, Rolland - of Nunfield, ii, 85  
 Coltart, Rowie - ii, 85  
 Coltert, Rowie - 'in Lochmabengate' ii, 79  
 Connelson, Thomas - schir, late notar, ii, 81  
 Copland, James - i, 186  
 Corsan, John - merchant, ii, 87  
 Corsane, John - in Kirkgate, Treasurer, ii, 85  
 Cowdane, James - in Smythholme of Amisfield, ii, 82  
 Craigs. The Laird of - i, 191  
 Crockatt, John - in Doucouthra in Kirkpatrick Durham,  
 ii, 81  
 Crocket, William - ii, 87  
 Crosbie, John - ii, 78  
 Crosbie, John - spouse of Margaret Maxwell, ii, 84  
 Cunningham[e], Andrew [Andro] - i, 189, 190; ii, 86  
 Cunningham, Herbert - i, 193  
 Cunynghame, Herbert - notar publict, i, 184  
 Cunningham, Hugh - ii, 78, 81, 83, 84  
 Cunningham, Katherine - i, 192  
 Dalzell, Ninian - Master of Grammar School, i, 190,  
 193  
 Davidson, James - i, 192  
 Davidson, John - ii, 86  
 Davidson, Peter - ii, 80  
 Dickson, Mathew - treasurer, ii, 82, 85  
 Douglas, Robert - of Coshogle, i, 192  
 Dun, John - ii, 77  
 Dunlop, John - ii, 78  
 Edgar, Andrew [Andro] - 1, 194; ii, 78  
 Edgar, Clement - ii, 87  
 Edgar, Edward - burges of Dumfries, i, 192  
 Edgar, John - 'called Black John', ii, 78  
 Edgar, John - father of Thomas, ii, 80  
 Edgar, Richie - ii, 77  
 Edgar, Robert - i, 190, 192; ii, 87  
 Edgar, Thomas - in Holme, i, 185  
 Edgar, Thomas - son of John , ii, 80  
 Edgar, William - i, 192; ii, 77

- Edgar, Gilbert - alias Barncleuch, ii, 87  
 Edzar, Paul - ii, 87  
 Edzer, John - in Inglistoun, ii, 85  
 Faw, George - egiptiane, i, 184  
 Fergusson, Marion - ii, 88  
 Fergusson, Marion - relict of Thomas Newall, ii, 88  
 Fleming, John - ii, 80, 83  
 Forsyth, Andro - ii, 87  
 Forsyth, Nicoll - merchant, ii, 85  
 Fressall, Anne - brewer, 'maid fre voman', i, 194  
 Frissell, John - ii, 78  
 Frude, [ ] - ii, 84  
 Frude, Michael - i, 192  
 Fruid, Geordie - i, 189  
 Frussall, John - i, 193  
 Fyndlay, John - elder, in Killylung, ii, 81  
 Gibson, Adam - burgess, i, 185  
 Gledstane, [ ] - dau. of James, i, 190  
 Gledstanes, James - (schir), i, 185, 190  
 Gledstanes, John - ii, 88  
 Gledstanes, William - i, 185; ii, 88 *bis*  
 Gledstanis, Isobell [Issobell] - spouse of Robert  
 Gledstanis, James - schir, ii, 82, 83  
 Glencorse, Robert - ii, 87  
 Glessall, Thomas - i, 194  
 Goodwife, see Jail  
 Gordon, Roger - Dean of Guild, ii, 87  
 Gordoun, Alexander - of Carlenwork, ii, 89  
 Gowdie, Thomas - ii, 88  
 Graham, William - 'callit pryors wille', i, 185  
 Greir, Cuthbert - ii, 87  
 Grere, Gilbert - ii, 79  
 Grierson, Cuthbert - burgess, ii, 87  
 Grierson, Janet - Lady Barnsoul, ii, 88 *bis*  
 Grierson, Robin - 'callit the King', i, 193  
 Grierson, Thomas - brother to Capinoch, ii, 88  
 Hairstanis, Katherine - spouse of John Maxwell, ii, 79  
 Haleday, Willie - 'callit vanderlait', i, 193  
 Hall, Robert - burgess of Kirkcudbright, ii, 80 *bis*  
 Hallow, James - sseruand, i, 184  
 Harrote, John - burgess of Edinburgh, ii, 82  
 Herreis, Roger - i, 185  
 Herries, John - ii, 87  
 Herries, John - burgess, ii, 84  
 Herries, John Lord - i, 191  
 Herries, Lord - i, 186, 191, 194  
 Herries, William Lord - provost, ii, 89 *bis*  
 Herroun, James - deacon of the fleshers, ii, 86  
 Heslop, Andro - i, 186  
 Heslope, John - on Rattourow, i, 185  
 Heslope, Thomas - in Goosedubs, ii, 85  
 Horn, David - burgess of Edinburgh, i, 192  
 Horne, Thomas - ii, 83  
 Horner, William - ii, 80, 84, 88  
 Hostane, Bessie - i, 192  
 Irving, Matthew - in Hurkledale, i, 185  
 Jackson, Gille - i, 187  
 Jail, Goodwife of the - i, 192  
 Jelly, John - ii, 85  
 Johnson, James - in Middlegill, ii, 85  
 Johnston, Gavin - i, 192  
 Johnston, James - ii, 85, 87  
 Johnston, James - burgess, ii, 82  
 Johnston, James - son of Thomas, ii, 86  
 Johnston, John[e] - i, 186; ii, 82, 86  
 Johnston, John - brother of Simon, i, 193  
 Johnston, John - 'calit of Newbie', ii, 81, 82  
 Johnston, John - flesher, i, 194  
 Johnston, John - potter, ii, 88  
 Johnston, John - son of John, ii, 88  
 Johnston, John - the Pow, i, 189  
 Johnston, Robert - in Mosspen, ii, 85  
 Johnston, Simon - i, 192  
 Johnston, Simon - brother of John - i, 193  
 Johnston, Symon - ii, 82  
 Johnston, Symon - burgess, ii, 82  
 Johnstone, Thomas - ii, 82  
 Jonstoun, Jame - i, 192  
 Kae, James - son of John Kae, ii, 84  
 Kae, John - in Lochmabengate, cordiner, ii, 84  
 Kennedy, John - in Hallaythis, ii, 88  
 Kent, Agnes - wife to Wiliam Maxwell, i, 189  
 Kids, John - ii, 86  
 Kirkhaigh, Katherine - widow of Thomas McBrair, i, 192  
 Kirkpatrick, [ ] - i, 191  
 Kirkpatrick, Gibbe - flesher, i, 191  
 Kirkpatrick, Habbe - of Barmuir, i, 191  
 Kirkpatrick, John - i, 185, 192; ii, 85  
 Kirkpatrick, John - called 'of Rockhall', i, 191  
 Kirkpatrick, John - 'Giddeis Jok', i, 192  
 Kirkpatrick, John - 'in Bucklerhole', ii, 78  
 Kirkpatrick, John - smith, ii, 82  
 Kirkpatrick, Jonet - 'relict of George Maxwell', ii, 78  
 Kirkpatrick, Michael - son of Margaret Cairns, ii, 80  
 Kirkpatrick, Robin - brother to John, i, 191  
 Kirkpatrick, William - son of Margaret Cairns, ii, 80  
 Lanerick [Lanrick], William - ii, 78, 81  
 Lauder, John - Schir, ii, 77  
 Law, George - Friar, i, 186  
 Law, John - goldsmith, i, 185, 190  
 Law, Robert - burgess of Kirkcudbright, i, 186  
 Lawder, John - Schir, ii, 78  
 Lawson - see Sawrycht  
 Lawson, John - 'alias Sawrycht', ii, 83  
 Lawson, John - mason, i, 184  
 Lawson, Syme - i, 190  
 Leiss, Alexander - Scotsman, i, 184  
 Lindsay, James - i, 194  
 Lindsay, James - Baillie, ii, 80  
 Lindsay [Lyndsays], James - of Barclay, burgess, i, 193-194; ii, 83  
 Lindsay, James - of Wauchope (?Barclay), i, 194  
 Lindsay [Lyndsays], Thomas - indweller, i, 192

- Little, Minister of Troqueer, i, 187  
 Lorimer, Bessie - sister to Roger & wife of John Birkmyre, i, 194  
 Lorimer, James - 'Master', chaplain, ii, 81  
 Lorimer, John - i, 188  
 Lorimer, Roger - i, 190, 194  
 Lowke, John - smith, ii, 83  
 Makka, Marrioun - ii, 83  
 Makkee, Kathereen - ii, 83  
 Marshall, John - ii, 87 *bis*  
 Matheson, Jonet - ii, 83  
 Matheson, Jonet - spouse or relict of David McCourtie, ii, 82 *bis*, 84 *bis*  
 Maxwell [makeull], John - ii, 87  
 Maxwell, Amer - elder, burgess, ii, 77  
 Maxwell, Andrew - glover, ii, 78  
 Maxwell, Andrew - jailor, ii, 78  
 Maxwell, Andro - Mr, i, 185  
 Maxwell, Andro - 'Mr', deacon of Skinners, ii, 87  
 Maxwell, Archie - 'ane vacabond man', i, 189  
 Maxwell, Bernard - of Kirkconnell, brother of Katherine, i, 188  
 Maxwell, Catherine - dau. of Herbert Maxwell, ii, 88  
 Maxwell, Cristian - i, 185  
 Maxwell, Edward - ii, 82  
 Maxwell, Edward - at Brigend, ii, 89  
 Maxwell, Edward - heir to John Maxwell, ii, 85  
 Maxwell, Edward - of Tynwald, ii, 80  
 Maxwell, Elizabeth - 'Lady Wauchope', ii, 89  
 Maxwell, Geordie - smith, i, 190  
 Maxwell, George - ii, 78  
 Maxwell, George - 'heir appeirand of Drumcoltran', ii, 81  
 Maxwell, George - provost of Dumfries, i, 184  
 Maxwell, George - smith, ii, 83, 84  
 Maxwell, Harbert - 'at Port', i, 189, 192; ii, 78 *bis*, 84, 85  
 Maxwell, Herbert - of Kirkconnell, ii, 78, 81, 88  
 Maxwell, Herbert - son of Herbert, ii, 85  
 Maxwell, Homer - baillie, ii, 89  
 Maxwell, Homer - commissar of Dumfries, ii, 82  
 Maxwell, Homer - elder, ii, 77  
 Maxwell, James - burgess of Rouen, i, 184  
 Maxwell, John - i, 190, 192; ii, 82  
 Maxwell, John - at Fleshstocks, ii, 85  
 Maxwell, John - 'called patrick's John', ii, 79  
 Maxwell, John - in Fleshstocks, i, 190, 192  
 Maxwell, John - Lord, ii, 78, 84, 85  
 Maxwell, John - of Kirkconnell, ii, 87, 89  
 Maxwell, John - of Monreith, ii, 85  
 Maxwell, John - of Newlaw, provost, ii, 86  
 Maxwell, John - son of Patrick, i, 186, 192; ii, 85 *bis*  
 Maxwell, John - spouse of Katherine Harestanis, ii, 79  
 Maxwell, John - vicar of Lochmaben, ii, 85  
 Maxwell, Katherine - dau. of Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell, ii, 81, 88  
 Maxwell, Katherine - sister to Bernard, i, 188  
 Maxwell, Lord - i, 184, 186, 191, 194; ii, 78, 78, 88, 89  
 Maxwell, Margaret - ii, 84  
 Maxwell, Margaret - dau. of Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell, ii, 78, 88 *bis*  
 Maxwell, Margaret - spouse of John Crosbie, ii, 84  
 Maxwell, Marion - second wife of John Rogerson, i, 193  
 Maxwell, of Newlaw - provost, ii, 89  
 Maxwell, Patrick [Patrik] - i, 186, 192; ii, 85 *bis*, 87  
 Maxwell, Robert - 'callit evill saul', ii, 89  
 Maxwell, Thomas - ii, 86  
 Maxwell, William - i, 189  
 McBrair, Archibald - ii, 86  
 McBrair, Archibald - of Almagill, i, 193; ii, 88  
 McBrair, Archibald - Provost, ii, 77, 83, 85  
 McBrair, Thomas - i, 192  
 McBrair, Thomas - burgh officer, i, 185  
 McBrair, Thomas - demster, ii, 86  
 McBray, Isobell - wife to Robert Morton, i, 187  
 McBriar, Arche - i, 191  
 McCaul[e], James - i, 191, 193  
 McCaul, James - at Brigend, ii, 83  
 McChristine, Robert - of the Isle of Man, i, 191  
 McCleir, John - i, 193; ii, 83  
 McCourtie, [ ] - i, 193  
 McCourtie, David - ii, 81, 82 *bis*, 84 *bis*  
 McCulloch, Robert - burgess of Kirkcudbright, i, 184  
 McJoir, John - i, 192  
 McJoir, John - on Rattonraw, i, 185  
 Mckee, Janet - wid. of John Amuligane, i, 192  
 McKie, Edward - in Stakeford, i, 185  
 McKie, Herbert - ii, 80 *bis*  
 McKie, John - i, 187  
 McKie, John - 'furburer', ii, 78  
 McKie, John - son to Edward, i, 185  
 McKie, John - 'swordslyper', i, 189; ii, 77  
 McKinnell, Robert - customer, ii, 82  
 McKinnell, Robert - wobster, i, 190; ii, 83  
 McKynnell, Baillie - ii, 77  
 McMath, David - Burgh Officer, ii, 86  
 Menzies, Archebald - Commissioner of Dumfries, i, 192  
 Menzies, Archibald - 'Maister', vicar of Colvend, ii, 78, 83  
 Mersar, Hary - Sir, - i, 183  
 Moffat, George - smith & 'Keeper of the Knock' i, 192; ii, 86  
 Moffat, George - smith, ii, 84  
 Moir, Andrew - mason, i, 190  
 Montgomery, Christiane - i, 189  
 Morrisone, Andro - i, 188  
 Morton, John - 'schir', parson of Dornock, i, 192  
 Morton, Regent - i, 189  
 Morton, Robert - i, 187  
 Morton, Earl of - ii, 86  
 Mouss, James - ii, 85  
 Muirhead, James - i, 191  
 Muirhead, John - 'in Frerevennell', ii, 79

- Mummerson, John - ii, 80  
 Murdoch, John - tailor, i, 191  
 Neilson, Agnes - i, 190  
 Newall, Archibald - i, 188; ii, 83  
 Newall, Archibald - son to Patrick, i, 187  
 Newall, Archie - i, 186  
 Newall, Male - i, 194  
 Newall, Nicoll - ii, 80  
 Newall, Nicoll - messenger, ii, 85  
 Newall, Patrick - i, 187; ii, 79, 88  
 Newall, Robert - i, 186, 189  
 Newall, Robert - burgess, ii, 87  
 Newall, Thomas - spouse of Marion Fergusson, ii, 88  
 Newlands, Robert - ii, 87  
 Palmer, Stephen - i, 185, 186; ii, 87  
 Palmer, Thom - ii, 87  
 Pane, James - quarrier, i, 190  
 Parson, Ronald - i, 192  
 Paterson, John - ii, 89  
 Paterson, John - natural brother of John Paterson, ii, 89  
 Paterson, Thomas - i, 186  
 Peris, Mark - ii, 78  
 Porter, Oswald - messenger, ii, 88  
 Quale, John - of the Isle of Man, i, 191  
 Quhinkarstanis, [ ] - burgess of Dumfries, i, 188  
 Quhinkarstanis, John - ii, 81  
 Raa, Thom - barker, ii, 86  
 Rae, David - ii, 80  
 Rae, Ector - ii, 82  
 Rae, Hector - i, 184  
 Rae, Robert - ii, 78, 82  
 Rae, Robert - burgess, ii, 82  
 Ramsay, James - Master, i, 188  
 Ranying[ Ranyng], Herbert - i, 186; ii, 78, 80  
 Ranying, Herbert - baillie, i, 191; ii, 80, 89  
 Ranying, Herbert - younger, i, 192  
 Ranying, Robert - treasurer, i, 185  
 Ranyng, Herbert - elder, ii, 78, 84, 85  
 Ranyng, Herbert - younger, i, 193; ii, 81-3, 85  
 Rawling, David - ii, 77  
 Rawling, Martin - ii, 80  
 Reid, John - Lord Maxwell's servant, i, 184  
 Reid, John - tailzor, ii, 79  
 Richardson, John - ii, 82, 83, 85  
 Richardson, John - burgess of Dumfries, i, 189  
 Rig, George - son natural of schir James Rig, ii, 83  
 Rig, James - ii, 77, 80  
 Rig, James - Dean, i, 192  
 Rig, James - schir, father of George Rig, ii, 83  
 Rig, James - surgeon, ii, 87  
 Rig, John - of Chapell, litster, ii, 77 *bis*, 80  
 Robson, James - of Rychorne, ii, 79  
 Robsoun, Andro - ii, 86  
 Rogerson, Janet - dau. of John Rogerson, i, 193  
 Rogerson, John - flesher, i, 193  
 Sawrycht, John - ii, 84  
 Sawrycht, John - 'alias lawson', ii, 83  
 Sawrycht, John - mason, i, 190  
 Sawrycht, William - ii, 78  
 Schairp, Andro - ii, 87  
 Schitlington, Patrik - ii, 87  
 Schortrig, Amer - ii, 86, 88  
 Schortrig [Schortrik], John - ii, 78, 86  
 Schortrig, William - ii, 86, 88  
 Scot, Dik - 'called of Dyope', i, 194  
 Scott, John - ii, 84 *bis*  
 Sinclair, Alexander - i, 184  
 Sinclair, John - Schir, i, 184  
 Skaillis, Herbert - ii, 80  
 Smyth, Cuthbert - tailor, ii, 85  
 Stanehouse, Christian - wife of Peter Watson, i, 187  
 Sturgeon, Adam - son of Andro, ii, 80  
 Sturgeon, Andro - in Torrorie, father of Adam, ii, 80  
 Tailzeor, John - Schir, parson of Cummertrees, ii, 79  
 Tait, John - ii, 84  
 Thomson, John - i, 193  
 Thomson, John - at Corce, i, 193  
 Thomson, John - dean, ii, 82, 85  
 Thomson, Katherine - dau. of Nicoll Thomson, ii, 85  
 Thomson, Malie - in Cummertrees, ii, 88  
 Thomson, Nicoll - burgess, ii, 85  
 Thomson, Paul - ii, 78  
 Thomson, Paul - Kirkmaister & Brigmaister, ii, 85  
 Trustrie, Thomas - ii, 78 *bis*, 80, 83, 85  
 Tynding, John - i, 185, 190  
 Walker, Adam - i, 191  
 Walker, Adam - flesher, ii, 79  
 Walker, David - ii, 78  
 Wallace, Christall - ii, 88  
 Wallace, David - of Boirlands, Dean's Officer, ii, 88  
 Wanderlate, Willie - i, 193 - see Haleday  
 Watson, Peter - Revd, Minister of Dumfries, i, 187, 194  
 Welche, [ ] - i, 189  
 Welche, Jame - i, 188  
 Welsche, David - of College, ii, 89  
 Wollis, George - ii, 86  
 Wolls, Bessie - 'woman of John Johnston the Pow', i, 189  
 Wolls, John - ii, 85  
 Wright, John - 'callit blak John' in Rotchell, burgess, ii, 87  
 Young Patrick - father of James, ii, 84  
 Young, James - son of Patrick Young, ii, 83  
 Young, James - surgeon, ii, 78, 81, 84  
 Young, Patrick - (Pate), i, 186  
 Young, Patrick [Patrik] - i, 187, 190; ii, 79, 83 *bis*  
 Young, Patrick - surgeon, i, 185



## SOME EARLY TEIND LISTS

NAS Vol. CS 7 335

by Duncan Adamson

39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries. DG2 7RS.

CS 7 335 is the National Archives of Scotland reference for a volume of Acts, as distinct from their cousin, Decrees, recorded between July 1619 and March 1620. It is a rather special volume, at least from a local standpoint, for it contains no fewer than five parish teind lists from Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry. The parishes concerned are, in chronological order, Balmaghie, Caerlaverock, Lochrutton, Moffat, and Dryfesdale. There is also a short list of perhaps some thirty householders relating to the parish of Kirkmichael.

The very word ‘teind’ tends to frighten people, who have only the vaguest idea that they represent something too complicated for them to understand. Fortunately, this article is not about teinds themselves (which were the Scottish equivalent of tithes) but simply about the lists of householders who were liable to pay them but had failed to do so, and were accordingly summoned before the Court of Session. In the margin heading we are told, to take one example, that Hereis (Mr Robert Herries, the minister) is pursuing the ‘parochiners of Dryiadaill’, and there then follows about a page of names and addresses of defenders. It should be emphasised that these lists do not include, and do not pretend to include every householder in the parish, but only those who had not paid. There are obviously all sorts of reasons why this should include some families and not others, and we shall see that even the longer lists are by no means ‘complete’. This is illustrated by the two lists which we give in full below for Lochrutton, one of which we might describe as a ‘full’ and the other a ‘partial’ parish list. Presented to the Court of Session within months of each other, the partial list contains several names which are missing from the full one. Nevertheless, whatever the caveats, some of these lists are remarkably long, and the best of them come very close to listing every house in the parish. Often heritors are omitted, and also cotters, who were not normally ‘teindable’, but in Lochrutton and Dryfesdale an attempt may have been made to list every tenant. In most cases these are the fullest account of parishioners before the Covenanting lists of 1684, or the Hearth Tax of 1690/1691.

There are, in fact, many such lists in the ‘Acts and Decrees’ series of volumes. I have previously, for example, come across early 17th century teind processes relating to Annan, Kirkmahoe, Cummertrees and others; yet the existence of such lists is not well known. For this widespread ignorance there is a simple explanation, which is that the ‘Acts and Decrees’ have not yet been indexed. Consequently there is gold to be found, but you have to dig for it long and hard. That is why I was so delighted to find so many lists in the one volume.

Perhaps one aspect of teinds should be explained, which is that although they were levied as a means of funding the minister’s stipend, the right to collect them, and to retain the surplus, might be held either by the minister or by someone else, which explains why, for example, Douglas of Drumlanrig and not the relevant parish minister appears as a pursuer. The lists are given below.

### Editing note

The lists would be copied by Edinburgh clerks from originals supplied by Dumfries and Kirkcudbrightshire lawyers, so that one might expect a considerable number of scribal errors. One notices, for example, 'Balfill' in Lochrutton, which may well have been 'Barfill' in the original list. Despite this, the great majority of farm names are clearly recognisable. My own copying is from photo-copies, in which the 17th century hand is good and clear. Occasionally a name has given difficulty, and this has been indicated by a question mark [?]. Spelling of proper names has been left as in the original, except in some cases where contractions have been expanded. Capitals have, however, been added. Likewise spellings such as 'yair' have been given as 'there'. In the commentary I have used the word 'farm' to denote any farming unit.

### Balmaghie

31.7.1619. folio 63, raised by Mr Hugh McGhie, minister of Balmaghie, who had acquired the right to the teinds from McGhie of Balmaghie.

70 persons summoned. (There are occasional ambiguities in some lists, so totals are given in round figures). It will be clear to anyone who is familiar with the parish that many places are unmentioned. A number of those which have been listed do not correspond to modern place names, which may be in part the result of miscopying by Edinburgh scribes; others may simply have changed their names, or spelling over the centuries. 'Glentove', for example, is presumably Glentoo.

#### The Balmagie list:-

Jon English in Bargatoun; David Ray in Edzeartoun; Jon Durhame in Dinance; Jon Mcquhen in [?]Clubene; Rodger Mcclun there; Gilbert Greir there; Pauell Mulighane; Alexr Livingstoun in Cullenoch; Patrik Smyth in Lochenbrok; Jon Mcgowan in Threifgrang; James Mcgowan there; Jon Neiving in Blakbrigis; James Mcguffok in Drumlane; James Mcgowane there; Walter Mccairtnay in Glentove; Wm Mcquha there; Jon Hanny; Rot Cochrane in Knokinner; Rodger Cammok in Dornald; Katharene Mcgoun there; Jonet Cammok; Jon Cammok there; James Mccairtnay in Finenish; Wm Mcbirnie in [?]Beandknok; Patrik Smyth in Lochinbrak; Patrik Mathesoun in Overtormolland; James Mccubene in [?]Are; Jon Ray there; Cristiane Mcbrair in Nather Crae; Symoun McClure in Edzeartoun; Patrik Wilsoun there; Jon Bennoch in Nather Tormolland; Jon Gordoun of Slogarie; Bessie Mcbirnie in Over Crae; Jon Chartres in Drumbrak; George Livingstoun with his brother in Cullenoch; Rot Schorte in Bargatoun in Five Shilling land; Jon Martene in Clone; Wm Mertyne in Rone; Jonet Mcbirnie in Drumglas; Jon Murdoche there; Alexr Murdoche there; Jon Corrie in Brekoche; Jon Sinclair there; George Campand there; Wm Cubene in Mekill Duchray; Jon Murdoche in Littil Duchray; Frances Mcbirnie in Uliock; Archibald Mcguffok there; Jon Smyth there; David Ray there; Jon Mcilnay in Uroche; Wm Mcilnay there; Patrik [?] Mckevat in the Maynes of Duchray; Rot Mckevat there; Jon Kennedie & Jonet Ireland in Craiges; George Mcguffok there; Rot Schorte in [?]Bleinmak; Jon Chartres in [?]Genocht; James Chartres in Strone; Andro Strudgoun of Corrie; Richard Muligane in Arngannoch; James Wallace in Five shilling land; Jon Cammok in Dornald; George Ashinnane in Thrifmaynes.

### Caerlaverock

23.11.1619, folio 109, raised by James Douglas, apparent of Drumlanrig. About 110 names.

Almost certainly more than half the householders in the parish are recorded, perhaps about 60% (There were 192 recorded hearths in 1690/91, and Webster gave a population of 784 for the early 1750s). The largest units are Blackshaw (19 householders named), Bankend (15), Shearington (12) and Glenhowan and Glencaple, (both ten). Altogether there are only some seventeen or eighteen places mentioned, Lantonside and several others being missed out. There appear to have been several families in Caerlaverock surnamed Elder. Given that Edzer (Edgar) was a common Caerlaverock name, one might suspect miscopying, but the handwriting is clear, and there is no doubt that it was 'Elder' that the Court of Session clerk intended.

The Caerlaverock list:-

Johne Maxwell, in Lochwood called of Bourlands; Johne Hyslop in Bourlands; Jon Mcbraire in Counhaith; Michael Henrie there; Paul Kyd there; Jon Huttoun there; Gawin Jardane there; Jon Stobrig elder there; Jon Stobrig younger there; Rot Mcburne in Holmends; Katherene Rannald in Glencapil; Thomas Dun there; Jon Dun there; Wm Dun there; Harbert Herroun there; Mark Rauling there; Jon Rauling there; Jon Wallace there; Jon Pat[er]soun there; Jon Rauling there; Samwell Rauling in Glenhowan; Wm Heman [or Heinan] there; Jon Elder there; Wm Elder there; Andro Gibsoun there; Charles Gibsoun there; Rot Maxwell in Hemayns; Alexr Dicksoun there; Jon Stott there; Jon Edzer there; Mathow Edzer in Bowhouss; Rot Edzer there; Johne ? Culzeand [or ? Tuizeand, Tuizeane etc] in Scheringtoun; Wm Elder there; Jon Fergusoun there; Nicoll Edzer in Carmuck; Jon Edzer there; Jon Sturdgwun there; Rot Edzer called of the Wodend in the Bankend; Jonet Ray there; Andro Caird there; Wm Edzer there; Edward Mcburne there; Symeoun Gunzeoun in Kirkblane; Wm Martyne in Blakshaw; Cristiane Maxwell there; Jon Martyne called lang Jon or Joks Jon; Jon Martyne elder there; Wm Corsbie there; Thomas Jaffray there; Marioun Dun there; Wm Dicksoun now her spous; Jon Dicksoun of [?]Yet there; Jon Forsyth there; Jon Baittie there; Jon Brewhouss there; Clement Dicksoun there; Adam Martyne cordiner there; Rot Nicolsoun cordiner there; Jon Maxwell in Conhaith; Edward Maxwell of Ile; Rot Mcburne in Kirkblane; Jon Carlell there; Johne Edzer in Lands; Gawin Mcbrair called of Bourlands; Jon Maxwell in Bourlands called lang Jok; Bessie Edzer there; Helene Broun there; Jon Gledstains in Knoping Farnoks Potarknok [perhaps a version of Knockhornock]; Rot Maxwell there; Mark Rauling in Glenhowan; Jon Forsyth there; Edward Edzer there; Jon Blakstok there; Nicoll Martyne in Hemayns; Abraham Hislop there; Charles Gunzeoun there; Jon Neill [or Weill] there; Jon Forsyth there; Rot Kirkpatrik in Swadyland alias Langriglands; Thomas Allane there; Wm Ousteane there; William Cubeane in Grenheid; Jonet Jamesoun in Scheringtoun; Rot Dicksoun her son there; Thomas Edzer there; Clemet Gibsoun there; Wm Gibsoun there; Wm Hislop there; Jon Dicksoun officer there; Jonet Hislop there; Jon Adamsoun there; Robert Heres in Greinmyln; Jon Mccowane there; Edward Patersoun there at the myln and Bankend [sic]; Wm Edzer in Blakshaw; Jon Dicksoun called Kaittis Jon there; Edward Patersoun there; Jon Maxwell in Bankend; Rot Edzer there; Thomas Edzer; Edward Rauling there; Mathow Dun; Thomas Dicksoun; Jon Blakstok there; Jon Andersoun there; Jon Broun there and Thomas Mcquharie there.

**Lochrutton**

List 1, Drumlanrig against parishioners of Lochrutton, 28.1.1620 :-

Jon Robsoun in Watterheid; Jon Hostane in Newland; Agnes Stitt in Lochruttoun Gait; Adam Cairnes there; Edward McMorrane there; Agnes Tod in Kirkcroft; Jon Murray in Bank of Hillis; Rot Mckilduf there; Jon Lowrie in Wodfute; Jon Camok in Felendcroft; Jon Clerk in Nather croft; Jon McMorrane there; Edward Welshe there; Jon Thomsoun in Hills; Petir Duncane there; Petir Crokchet there; Harbert Croket there; Edward Clerk there; Fergus Allane there; Patrik Allane there; Walter Robsoun in Barlay; Rot Muligane in Howyaird; William Muligane in Ruchhill croft; Adam Camok there; Agnes Myller in Lochfute; Jon Myller younger there; Jon Myller elder there, Andro Muligane in Hall of Barquhar elder; Andro Muligane younger there; James Muligane there; Margaret Curror there; Gilbert Crokchet there; Wm Roper there; James Caimane in Armainoche there; Patrik Mitchelsoun in Auchinfrans; Thomas Muligane there; Gilbert Lowrie in Quhityaird; Gilbert Mitchelsoun elder there; Andro Muligane elder in Barquhar; Andro Muligane younger there; James Muligane there; Robert Mek in Mote; Rot Myller elder there; Rot Myller younger there; Florie Myller there; Jon [?]Mcgowin in Lochsydecroft; David Murheid in Barnebachill; Barbra Maxwell in Croftis; [?]Jonet Gourlay in Thrid; James Robsoun in Overdeidsyde; Wm Bikkertoun in Natherdeidsyde; Thomas Bell in Deinstoun; Henrie Cairnes there; Jon Maxwell in Overbarfell; Edward Heres there; Rot Robsoun in Natherbarfell; Andro Bikkartoun younger in Bar; Andro McQuhen in Burnesyde; Andro Davesoun there; Jon Bikkartoun younger there; Jon Robisoun in Corne heid; Andro Bikartoun there; Wm Sinclair in Carswada; Marioun Adamsoun there; Wm Carsan there; Jon Clerk there; Rot Hislope there; Edward Maxwell there; Rot Heres in Lawstoun; Jon Allane there; Cubbie Neilsoun there; Wm Rig there; Agnes Adamsoun there; Richard Mitchelsoun there; Richard Allane in [?]Bowrig; Wm Heres in Corswada; Jon Kippert there; Jon Wilkene there; Jon Wod there; Alxr Conquhie in Heid; Wm Heres in Mekilbogrig and Jon Curror minister at Lochruttoun who are cited for the violent withholding of teinds from James Douglas, tacksman thereof, in the years 1615 to 1617.

List 2. In 1618 Mr Alexander Train became minister of Lochrutton, and he too raised a process against certain parishioners. This process was called on 24th March 1620 (folio 311):-

Johne Bell in Quhytyairds; Barbara Maxwell relict of James Geddes of Barbachill in Thrid pairt; Jon<sup>e</sup> Lorimer there; Jon Schaw there; James Robsoun in Deidsyd; Wm Bicartoune there; Thomas Bell in Deinstoun; David Thomesoune there; Jon<sup>e</sup> Afflek there; Robert Hereis in Lawstoun; Jon<sup>e</sup> Allane there; Robert Robsoun in Balfill; Florie Bicartoun there; Andro Bicartoun younger there; Andro Davidsoune there; Jon<sup>e</sup> Wilsoune in Heid; Marioune Adamsoun in Carsuada; Richie Allane there; Jon<sup>e</sup> Ahanna there; Edwart Maxwell there; Williame Sinclare there; Hendrie Cairnes there; Richie Mitchelsoune there; Patrik Mitchelsoune there; Williame Corsan; Robert Hesilhoip there; Robert Shankland in Bogrie; Andro Quhytheid in Littill Merkland; Andro Biccartoun elder in Barfill; David Muirheid in Mayns of Barbachill; Archie Charters in Barbachill and Jone Schaw there, who have wrangously withheld their vicarage teinds for 'the yeirs of God lyd'. [lybelled]

Now the two lists do not cover the same years, since Train did not become minister until 1618, and Douglas's list refers to 1615 to 1617, so we might anticipate a very small variation regarding the names and addresses of the tenants. In actual fact, however, the differ-

ences are far too great to be explained by the deaths of tenants in the first list, or by their moving to a different farm. We find, for example, in the second list farms as well as surnames which are not in the first - Bogrie, Littill Merkland; and out of the thirty one people named in the second list a third do not appear in the first. Furthermore if we look at where people were said to live the two lists seem almost to belong to different worlds. The reader can easily make the comparison, for List 2 corresponds more or less to the second half of List 1. Of those who are found in both lists, more than half are given two different addresses. The explanation is surely to do with classification: addresses appear to have been used in at least one of the lists as general descriptions rather than as precise definitions.

We do not know the population of Lochrutton at the time, of course, but one would be surprised if it were much above 500, or around a hundred households. (In a report in 1627 there were stated to be about two hundred communicants, a hopelessly vague figure; 98 hearths were paid for in the Hearth Tax; the population was said to be 480 in 1728, according to the *Old Statistical Account*<sup>1</sup>, and Webster gave the population in the 1750s as 564). If we combine the two lists, and add the missing heritors, a hundred households is very nearly the total we would come to. (Eighty in the first list, ten or more new names in the second, and another ten missing heritors and cotters) That some householders are missing is clear if we count the number of women listed, which in a 'true' list would normally account for 10% or more of the total. But most of these would be widows, or poor cotters who probably did not pay teinds. With regard to tenants we must have, between the two lists, something very close to a complete list for the parish.

Most of the surnames are those we would expect to find, such as Milligan and Clark, but there are one or two oddities, like Roper. And apart from the parish historian, Mr James Williams, who would have guessed that Bickarton was one of the commonest surnames there? Not me<sup>2</sup>. As for communities, there is no suggestion that Lochfoot, was any different from any other farm. By the mid 18th century there was a hamlet, or small village there, so it seems that the development must have begun at some time in the intervening one hundred and forty years<sup>3</sup>.

It is puzzling to find the minister himself, Mr Curror, among those who were summoned by Douglas. His inclusion has the benefit that it adds a little to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of the parish, in that it implies that he was still alive in 1619, and that he

1 The *Old Statistical Account* entry for Lochrutton was written by the Revd George Duncan (III): The population figure for 1728 would have been based upon the catechismal visitation roll for that year prepared by his grandfather, the Revd George Duncan (I). 1728 was George Duncan (I)'s first year in the parish: He having been 'Ordaind by the laying on of the hand of the Presbytry Apr. 23d 1728' and he had 'Begun Visitation of the Parish, Munday Ap<sup>r</sup>. 27th 1728'. All three George Duncans were assiduous recorders of their catechismal visitations and it was invariably their practice to record all inhabitants regardless of age or religious persuasion. Ed.[J.W.]

2 The surname Bickarton, or Bicartoune has never been common in Lochrutton apart from these early years of the 17th century. Andro and Johnne Bicartoune were still in Barfil c.1630 when the problem of the overdue teinds "rolled on" (Ardwall Papers No 1325). When the first session records take up in the 1690s they appear to have gone. It is interesting that all the associated placenames in the teind lists, vizt. Deadsyd, Bar, Burnsye, Cormheid [later ?Head] and Barfill, lie in one specific quarter of the parish. It is possible that we may simply be seeing multiple tenancies on a single property taken up by a single extended family unit. Ed. [J.W.]

3 Based upon the 1728, and subsequent, George Duncan(I) catechismal rolls the village, though small, had clearly formed by that date. With all the additions and deletions accurate numbers are sometime difficult to obtain from the rolls - but the following data appear satisfactory and are, respectively, the years, houses and persons definable.- 1728, 8, 24; 1731, 10, 28; 1737, 10, 25 and 1742, 9, 32. Ed.[J.W.]

must have demitted his office not long before. In my copy of *Fasti* there is no reference to him after 1606.

(In List 2 the christian name Jon<sup>e</sup> is presumably a contraction for Johne.)

### **Moffat**

29.2.1620, folio 265, raised by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank. About 105 names. Common sense tells us that there were far more than 105 houses in the parish, and analysis quickly confirms our impression. No claims are made against the tenants of lower Moffatdale, so that Bodesbeck, Capelgill, Drumcrieff, Craigbreck and other places thereabouts are unrepresented. There are other omissions such as Archbank, Newton, and Greskin, but these may possibly be accounted for by a common tendency towards an economy with the use of place names. Thus, although Greskin is not named, the farms nearby are listed, and it may be that Greskin is subsumed in the wider area. In the Moffat list there is a higher proportion of heritors than we find elsewhere, although the great majority of them are omitted.

As one would expect, Moffat itself has the largest number of recorded householders in the parish, twenty four, six of them named Johnston. Next come Meikleholmside and Greenhill, both with six.

The Moffat list:-

Robert Achisone in Polmwhitie; Johne Achisone in Corryffin; Rowland Jonstoun in Neyr landwodend; Bessie Jonstoun there; Arthor Corrie in Croftheid; James Jonstoun of Lochhous; Rot Mairtein there; Wm Reid in Brumhoome; Symone Jonstoun in Wodheid; Jon Jonstoun there; Symone Jonstoun there; Thomas Corrie in Newbiging; Wm Patersone; Quentein Allane in Stokfuird; Wm Frensch of Frenschland; James Moffet of Neyrmylne; Thomas Bartane there; Rot [?]Murman in Tounheid of Frenschland; James Murman there; Johne Moffet there; Johne Mcclellan there; Thomas Jonstoun in Ersbank; Johne Grhame at the Over mylne; Adame Moffet in Heddrieauch; Adame Ewart in [?]Emsbank; Mathow Moffet of Grantoun; Rot Moffet there; Thomas Porteous of Fruid; Hew Jonstoun in Corheid; Adame Glendoning there; Agnes Jonstoun in Roundstounfit; Rot & James Ewarts in Corheid; Johne Bell there; Leonard Wilsone in Erectstane; Thomas Mairtein there; Johne Frensch there; Andrew Reidfuird in Hewcleuch; Adame Murray there; Thomas Frensch of Auldhousthill; Rot Jonstoun in Mekleholmsyd; Robert Moffet there; Thomas Davidsone there; Issobell Wauch there; Gilbert Mcnaucht there; Johne Scott there; Adame Jonstoun in Riddings; Johne Bischoep there; [?]Ninian [or ?Marion] Glendoning in Moffet; Johne [?]Bell there; Thomas Achisone there; Johne Davidsoune in Moffet; Wm Bell there; James [?]Maine there; Andrew Davidsone there and Margaret Jonstoun his mother; Johne Mairtein there; Thomas Blaikwod there; Johne Achisone there; Mungo Moffet there; George Bell there; Johne Jonstoun there; Edwart Frensch there; David Frensch there; Jonet Jonstoun called of Viccarland there; George Bell there; Bessie Frensch there; James Reid there; Rot Jonstoun there; William Jonstoun there; Edwart Jonstoun; David Beatie there; Thomas Jonstoun in Revox; Robert Jonstoun there; Gilbert Jonstoun in Hendilheid; James Jonstoun there; Martein Blaiklok in Nether Mossop; Johne Blaiklok there; Thomas Blaiklok there; Adame Bell there; Adame Farris in Over Mossop; James Hendrie there; James Jonstoun of Lochhous; Thomas Jonstoun in Woddilgill [sic; ?Middilgill]; Johne [?]Mwdie there; Gilbert Mwdie there; Agnes Jonstoun his mother there; Wm Jonstoun in Routonsyd; James Jonstoun there; Thomas Halyday there; Johne

Blaiklok in Hairhop; Thomas Jonstoun there; Johne Jonstoun there; Robet [?]Camrell [or Calwell] there; Wm Halyday in Raecleuch; Adame Gibsone there; Walter Jonstoun in Grenehill; Mungo Jonstoun there; Jok Wilsone there; Petere Blaiklok; James Patersone there; Johne [?] Camrell there; Adame Frensch in Logan; Thomas Reid there and Robert Frensch of Mot.

### **Dryfesdale**

16.3.1620, folio 294, raised by Mr Robert Hereis, minister. 160/165 people, over 40 places

This is the longest of the lists, and probably contains the great majority of householders. As usual, heritors do not seem to be included. Lockerbie has 17 entries, but not so many as Bengall, which has 20. Other large units are Turnmuir (14) and Auchenslork (12). Since Lockerbie included farming land, part of Lockerbie estate, it cannot be assumed that the seventeen entries represented a coherent village settlement. On the other hand, any landless tradesmen would not be liable to pay teinds, and there may well have been a tendency for the poor to live in the village. In short, we cannot use the figures here as a reliable guide to the extent of the hamlet / village of Lockerbie at the time. Bengall also raises problems. From sasines we know that there was an ambiguity about its boundaries, the land being divided between two or three lairds. Generally 'Bengall' seems to have referred only to that part which was owned by Viscount Stormont, but sometimes it included a larger area. We cannot tell what view was taken by the compiler of the list. For example, the neighbouring farm of Bengallhill has been omitted; perhaps it is included with Bengall; perhaps its teinds had been paid. It happens that we do have some knowledge of Bengall from a mid-seventeenth century Stormont rental which details the amount of land held by each tenant, usually tiny 'smallholdings' as we might call them, of under five acres. If most of the tenants lived on their own ground, then Bengall would be a scattered community, a sort of half-village such as one associates with the Highlands.

Although the handwriting is usually clear, there are more place names than usual which have defied transcription.

#### The Dryfesdale List:-

James Grhame in Corilaw; Archie Grahame there; Wm Henderson in Potiscleuche; Nicoll Johnstoun [?]Wellbwod; Jon Jonstoun of the [?] Hill; James Jonstoun there; Wm Haichil in Ragaquhat; Henrie Reid there; Cristiane Achesone; George Jonstoun called of Quaas; Jon Porteous in Windays; James Jonstoun in Luss; Andro [?]Cuming [? Tining, or ?Tinding] in Fuldoris; Thomas Pott there; Cristiane Jonstoun there; Rott Jonstoun there; Wm Jonstoun there; Archie Jonstoun in [?]Oywsbyris [probably intended as Overbyris]; Jon Creichtoun there; Wm Jonstoun in Haldykis; Edward Hoip in Huttonhill; Adame Jonstoun there; James [?]Steill there; Williame Pott there; Adame Porteous there; Mathow Broun there; Wm Jonstoun in Cowanehous; Andro Jonstoun in Catlins; Jon Jonstoun there; Cuthbert Jonstoun in the Hallis; Thomas Harknes in Lokarbie; Harcules Jonstoun there; Wm Irwing there; Marteine Diksone there; Andro Irwing there; Bessie Jonstoun there; Andro Chalmeris there; Johne Chalmeris there; Wm Smythe there; James Bell there; Jon Jonstoun; Jon Bell, there; Williame Beatie there; Jon Carrutheris there; Alexr Harknes; Andro Grahame there; Williame Jonstoun; James Carrutheris in Datonhook; Archie Grahame in Coopwoode; George Beatie there; George Grahame there; [?]Dickine Beatie there; Jon Irwing in Bengall; Marioun

Keltoun there; Ninaine Creichtoun there; Marioun Carrutheris there; James Horne there; Archie Horne there; David Horne there; Andro Chalmeris there; Andro Hennell there; Martein Bell there; James Wricht there; Thomas Creichtoun there; Jon Creichtoun elder there; Jon Creichtoun younger there; David Creichtoun there; Thomas Beatie there; Androw Erle there; Jon Haliday there; Jonet Criehtoun there; Androw Carrutheris there; Wm Grahame in Roberthill; Andro Jonstoun there; Jon Jonstoun in Mantuarig; Thomas Dobbie there; Pet Bell there; Jon Locarbie there; Laurie Hendersone there; Jon Tailzeor elder there; Williame Locarbie there; Jon Tailzeor younger there; William Locarbie there; Jon Hoop there; Niniane Chalmeris there; Wm Kennedye in Tourmwre; Archie Ca[ru]theris; Williame Hendersone; David Harknes there; Wm Dicksone there; Andro Hendersone; Andro Chalmeris there; Jon Hendersone there; Mathow Chalmeris; Wm Hunter there; Andro Chalmeris younger there; Thomas Diksone there; Archie Haliday there; David Haliday there; Jon Haliday there; Gilbert Jonstoun in [?]Strone; Thomas Carutheris in Bektoun; James Kennedye there; Williame Achisone in Torwode; Andro Broun there; Jon Bell there; Edward Craik there; Jon Jonstoun there; Wm Steill there; Mathow Chalmeris in [?]Behalheid; Bessie Chalmeris there; James Chalmeris there; Jon Chalmeris there; Harbert Bell in Drysdaillgait; James Chalmeris; Thomas Chalmeris there; Wm Jonstoun in Boigheid; David Jonstoun there; Thomas Kae in Chlistbray; Hew Chalmeris in Dun; Williame Chalmeris there; Wm Jardane in Langholme; Alexr Steill there; Homer Millikin in Dryifholme; Jon Porteous there; Harbert Jonstoun there; Andro Boyis there; Hew Kennedye there; Wm Dobbie there; Hew Chalmeris there; James Jonstoun in Kirkton; Wm Irwing in Skar; Richie Steill there; Issobell Glendoninge in Greneknow; Wm Porteous there; Archie Steill there younger; Jon Achisone, there; Archie Broun in Auldwallis; Wm Moffet there; Andro Jonstoun there; Jon Jonstoun there; Bessie Braidin there; Richie Bell there; George Jonstoun in [?]Nulbank [at the end of a line, partially lost in the binding]; Jon Jonstoun there; Jon Jonstoun in Cleucheids; Michell Bettie in the Hilheid; Nicoll Smyt there; George Bell in Croftheid; James Achesone in Bischopecleuche; Jon Steill elder in Peilhouss; Allane Steill there; Wm Steill there; Wm Smyt there; Jeillis Jonstoun in Auchinslark; Jon Steill there; Jon Porteous there; Thomas Irwing there; Adame Achesone there; David Irwing there; Jon Irwing elder there; Jon Irwing younger there; Mathow Lokarbie there; Jon Moreis there; George Hoop there; Mungo Kennedye; Thomas Jonstoun in Bromehouss; Jon Craik there; Margaret Schaw there; Wm Jonstoun there; Mathow Craik there.

The recognised authority on teinds is, according to the Scottish Record Office Neneon Elliot's *Teinds or Tithes and procedures in the Court of Teinds of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892. Elliot says very few court cases from the early seventeenth century have survived, so that it is impossible to say with confidence what was the actual teind collecting practice as distinct from the theory. Laws passed by parliament in the period are certainly based upon the assumption that teinds were gathered physically from the ground as a proportion of the crop. It is possible that in individual cases there had been a commutation for a fixed monetary payment, but if so we have usually no way of knowing. Nor can we say that certain persons were 'teindable' and others were not. That is why I have suggested above that cotters 'probably' did not pay teinds. They certainly did not pay them in the eighteenth century. However, the law stated that the teinds were paid from the crops on the land, and so they had no specific immunity. Presumably if the laird stipulated that they had to pay teinds, then teinds they had to pay. The only evidence to the contrary, as is pointed out above is the general absence of women in our lists. The argument is that cotters were often widows,

women were rarely list, therefore cotters did not pay teinds. On the other hand it may simply have been thought that there was no point taking them to court.

What about multiple tenancies? If a farmer had land in half a dozen farms would his name appear six times? The answer is that this would depend entirely how the list was made up. In the Kirkmahoe list, mentioned earlier, it seems clear that such duplication has occurred. In such cases the repetition of names usually makes it fairly obvious. My impression is that in the lists above the intention has been to list each defendant only once.



## LITHIC MATERIALS FROM BAR HILL, ST MUNGO'S PARISH, ANNANDALE

by James Williams

As part of a long term policy of field collecting for prehistoric artefacts across Dumfries and Galloway W.F.Cormack collected material from the ploughsoil at Bar Hill in the parish of St. Mungo, Nat. Grid. Ref. NY1575. Over and above the interest in worked objects themselves there was also a desire to understand the potential sources of the raw materials employed. This note describes some of the typical Bar Hill lithic raw materials - examples of which have been presented to Dumfries Museum .

The dominant feature of the solid geology at Bar Hill and Nutholm Hill (NY1276) in St Mungo parish are the Birrenswark volcanic groups of 'Lower Carboniferous age'. These were earlier described as the 'Newest Floetz Trap Formation' by Robert Jameson (1774-1854) in his *Mineralogical Description of Dumfriesshire* published in 1805<sup>2</sup>. Jameson was regius professor of natural history, keeper of the museum at Edinburgh University and a founder of the Wernerian Society. His brother Andrew (1779-1861) shared similar natural history interests and became Minister of St Mungo's parish in 1803<sup>3</sup>. In the latter's contribution to the *New Statistical Account*, written February 1834<sup>4</sup>, the section on the *Geology and Mineralogy* of the parish extends to approximately four pages and describes on pages 206 to 207 under what he called the *secondary trap formation* '... Nutholm hill is composed of porphyritic amygdaloid [i.e. a lava with almond-shaped vesicles]. This rock can be traced on both sides of the river Annan, to the little hill of Whinnyrigg, where it terminates, and is succeeded by the coal formation. To the west and south of Nutholm hill, the amygdaloid is traced to the bed of the Annan, at the head of the glebe, where it can be distinctly seen ... from this point it can be traced to the manse of Dalton, ... On descending Nutholm hill to the bed of the Milk, ... The amygdaloid here disappears, and is not met with again, till we reach Barhill, on the opposite bank of the Milk .. From Barhill, the amygdaloid continues to stretch along the high ground to Burnswark. ... The amygdaloid of Nutholm hill has its cavities filled with green earth [chlorite], whereas much of the same rock forming Barhill has its cavities filled with calcedony.' Again, on page 208, he comments that 'The only simple minerals found ... are common jasper. Of this, some fine compact specimens, fit for the lapidary, are found in the bed of the Milk; calcedony imbedded occurs in the amygdaloid of Barhill. Flint is found in the glebe, evidently brought there and manufactured into arrowheads, or, as the country people call them, elf-shots. Hundreds of such flints were found on ploughing up the holm of the glebe.'

In more recent times jaspers and agates in the Birrenswark Lavas have been reported at Cowdens Quarry (NY16587708)<sup>5</sup>; Vein jaspers from a roadside exposure at Denbie Mains, near Carrutherstown, parish of Dalton (NY104724); in the Kirkbean Burn, associated with carnelian, in eastern Kirkcudbrightshire (NX975592) and vein agates from Sowie's Pot and Skipper's Bridge, near Langholm (NY371834).<sup>6</sup>

1 *British Regional Geology of The South of Scotland*, H.M.S.O., second ed., pp., 51, 55 and 65.

2 *A Mineralogical Description of the County of Dumfries*, Edinburgh University Press, 1805, pp. 110-114.

3 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, by Hew Scott, 1917 ed., Vol. II.

4 Parish of Saint Mungo, Revd. Andrew Jameson, M.W.S., *The Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1841, pp. 203-217.

5 "Cowdens Quarry - A temporary Exposure in the Birrenswark Lavas", M.McMullen & J.G.Todd, *Transactions*, III/LXXI, p.160.

6 "Further Notes on Mineralogy in Dumfries and Galloway", J.Williams, *Transactions*, III/XLII, p.15.

### **Catalogue of potential lithic raw materials**

#### **Chalcedonies**

Poor quality agates and jaspers from small specimens to cobbles up to 10 centimetres in diameter: the majority of these materials represent chalcedonic infilling of gas vesicles within the Birrenswark lavas. Negative casts show these vesicles to range in size from a few millimetres to tens of centimetres. Some examples, particularly those of the jaspers, suggest that we are also seeing examples of vein depositions. The bulk of the material represents dull/dirty undifferentiated chalcedonic silica but sporadically there are examples of the development of agate bandings, jaspers and something approaching a poor quality red iron oxide moss agate. The agates are typically grey-white to ivory in colour and up to about 10 millimetres in thickness - although some exceptional examples reach 25 millimetres - occasional geodes are to be seen with infillings of quartz (sometimes terminated). The jaspers are most commonly iron-red in colour but some yellow/brown material is also to be seen. The weathered outer surfaces of all these materials have the frequent white patination typical of most chalcedonies.

#### **Milky quartzes**

Fragments of milky-white quartz representing material from veins up to six centimetres in thickness. The specimens are frequently heavily stained with red iron oxides and there are sporadic examples of terminated crystals of quartz within cavities. This material is more typical of veining from Silurian and Ordovician sediments - rather than Burnswark lavas.

#### **Cherts**

Grey to black to red-brown fine grained cherts - frequently crossed by micro-veinings of white quartz. Generally of poor quality and of dull lustre due to high levels of incorporated iron oxides. Occasionally the iron oxides separate as haematite-like coatings.

#### **Rock crystal**

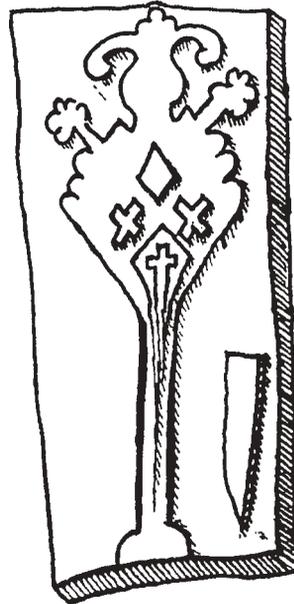
Rock crystal is represented by a single cleavage fragment of almost water clear quartz measuring 10 x 18 x 20mm.

## THE DRAGON OF CORRIEHILLS

by Iain Fraser  
RCAHMS, Edinburgh

Tales of the dragons and monstrous worms that infested the countryside of the legendary past are a recurrent feature of the folklore of the Borders and northern England. Many of them share common elements of plot and detail which shed light upon the mechanisms of their compilation and dissemination, and have been the subject of a detailed study by Jacqueline Simpson in the journal of the Folklore Society (Simpson 1978). As a contribution to the folklore of southern Scotland, two references to a dragon legend that has escaped wide notice, are reproduced here in full. The legend is associated with the old parish church of Corrie, at Corriehills, 6km to the north-east of Lockerbie in Dumfriesshire.

The first reference is an extract from the Riddell Manuscripts, now part of the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the Royal Museum of Scotland. Robert Riddell of Friars Carse, the erstwhile friend and patron of Robert Burns, compiled a series of eight volumes of notes on antiquarian and genealogical subjects, illustrated by frequent sketches and watercolours (Reid 1896, 222-24). Some of this material was derived from the earlier notes of the Lochmaben surgeon and antiquary, Dr Robert Clapperton. The second volume of the series, compiled in 1786, includes the following reference to a grave-slab in the churchyard of Corrie:



*This drawing and Account of the Dragon Stone;  
I gott from the Collections of Dr Clapperton.*

*This ancient stone Monument, is to be seen in the old church yard of Currie, in Annandale - It is called the Dragon stone, and the Legend concerning it is as follows Viz: A Dragon infested the country, which was slain by the person buried under this stone, tradition says his name was Johnston. It may perhaps be over one of the Barons de Currie - which family ended in an heiress - who married a son of the Laird of Johnston. (Riddell Ms, vol.ii, 84)*

Figure 1

Robert Riddell's sketch of the Dragon Stone, copied from the earlier notes of Dr Robert Clapperton.  
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

This is complemented by the fuller account preserved in the Name Books compiled in the 1850s by the Ordnance Survey in the preparation of the first edition of the six-inch scale map of Dumfriesshire. These were intended as a record of all place-names reproduced on the published map, and cited the local authorities consulted. The Name Books contain basic descriptions of the named locations and features, and are of particular value for the archaeological information they preserve and, in a few cases, for associated traditions. It is particularly fortunate that one surveyor, James Cowan, was moved to record the following tale, associated with a well close by the old kirkyard.

*Dragon's Well*

*A name given to a Well on the Farm of Corriehill. By tradition of the district it is stated that a dragon inhabited the Churchyard of Corrie, and committed great havoc among the flocks, and several people had made hair breadth escapes; several attempts were of course made to kill it but without effect, because whenever it was attacked it ran to this Well and drank some water after which it had the power of vomiting fire; A man of the name of Johnstone at last volunteered to kill it and having tied his horse to the gate he went and put his coat over the well; and when he came back he found the Dragon had devoured half of the horse, it then ran to the Well to get its usual drink, but the Well being covered, it was not able to vomit any fire so it vomited flesh and that not being so dangerous was at last killed, quartered and buried at Cockplay, Warlock Knowe, Mile Knowe, and Jane's Knowe. (Name Book, Dumfriesshire, No.27, p.219)*

The four spots at which the quartered remains of the dragon were buried, can still be identified on the ridge of high ground to the north and north-east of the farm. Mile Knowe appears on the modern map as Maol Knowe. The Dragon's Well, which lies about 400m downhill from the churchyard, is a natural spring in a boggy hollow approximately 10m in diameter and 0.5m in depth, from which a small burn runs down the adjoining field boundary.

The association of the dragon with a well or other body of water is a common feature of this class of legend. It occurs elsewhere in Scotland with the dragon of Strathmartine in Angus, on what is today the northern outskirts of Dundee. In this case the dragon slew nine sisters who had successively attempted to draw water from a spring. As a source of the dragon's potency, however, a closer parallel occurs at Longwitton, in Northumberland, where the monster retained invulnerability so long as its tail remained in the well (Whitlock 1983, 148-9). A unique feature of the Corrie story is the role of the coat in the defeat of the monster. The bald statement that this foiled the dragon's attempt to drink is, however, unusual in the repertoire of dragon legends, and is strongly suggestive of a lost, or garbled, element further explaining the garment's crucial role.

The legend of the dragon is still remembered locally. In this version the hero was promised the land of Corrie in return for slaying the monster. Having performed this feat, however, his employers reneged upon their undertaking.

Although Corrie was suppressed as a parish on its union with Hutton in 1609, the kirkyard continued in use as a place of burial into this century. This lies on an eastward facing slope below the farmstead of Corriehills, and is now in a condition of picturesque neglect. The church, which was probably abandoned to decay and quarrying after the union, is now reduced to little more than a grass-grown platform, and gives no indication of having been more than a simple rectangular structure. Nevertheless, several architectural fragments do give a hint of a medieval building of some refinement, in particular a substantial fragment of tracery, rebated for glazing, which is incorporated in the coping of the kirkyard wall. In addition to the numerous eighteenth and nineteenth century monuments there are others of earlier date, including a coped grave-cover, probably of thirteenth century date, and a fragment of a slab bearing a sword in low relief, probably of the fourteenth or fifteenth century (RCAHMS 1997, 261-3).



Figure 2:  
A drawing of the stone by the 1912  
RCAHMS field investigator  
(Crown Copyright: RCAHMS.  
NMRS DFD/53/1).



Figure 3:  
The Dragon Stone, Corriehills, today,  
photographed by RCAHMS during the  
recent survey of Eastern Dumfriesshire.  
(Crown Copyright:  
RCAHMS NMRS C66735)

The Dragon Stone noted by Dr Clapperton survives in the churchyard to this day, and indeed in its present position marks the site of the church (Fig. 3). It is a medieval graveslab, 1.97m in length, 0.23m in thickness, and tapering in breadth from 0.58m at the head to 0.46m at the foot. On its upper surface it bears a calvary cross, with a long shaft rising from a semi-circular base. The head of the shaft terminates short of the cross-head in a fleur-de-lys, and is joined to the head by two angled brackets. The head itself is simply a variation on the bracelet design common to many calvary slabs, but this fact has been obscured by weathering. The bold circular terminals and linking bands of the four bracelets have given rise to the conspicuous saltire-shaped hollows of the cross-head. A foliated terminal fills the interstice between the bracelets. To the right of the shaft is a broad-bladed sword, tapering from hilt to point, with an oval pommel and depressed quillons. It can probably be attributed to a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The most remarkable feature of the slab is its chamfered edge, which is enriched with a series of dog-tooth bosses alternating with a foliated lozenge pattern in low relief. This does not continue along the foot of the stone, although whether by design or later reshaping is not clear.

Other than the sword, the main elements of the slab are carved in a bold relief, yet as the stone is heavily weathered and lichen-grown, it is difficult to decipher in normal conditions of light. The sketch reproduced by Riddell from Clapperton's notes is a poor representation of the original, but it indicates that even in the later eighteenth century the details of the stone were far from clear. The sketch does, however, identify several characteristic features still notable today, in particular the central lozenge and two deeply incised cruciform voids of the head. Interestingly, then as now, the blade of the sword was more conspicuous than the hilt, which is omitted from the eighteenth century sketch.

An unpublished drawing by the RCAHMS field investigator who visited the site in 1912 underlines the difficulty of interpreting the design under normal lighting (Fig. 3). The artist has again been unable to correctly interpret the design of the cross-head or the marginal pelleted decoration. The hilt once more proved invisible, and only the blade of the sword has been depicted (RCAHMS 1920, 114, no 310; NMRS DFD/53/1).

The closest parallel for the Corriehills slab can be seen, 28km to the east, in one of the remarkable group of medieval stones preserved at the site of Etleton parish church, in Roxburghshire (Fig. 4). There a broken graveslab bears a cross-head of similar form, only in this case encompassed by a circle. As on the Corriehills stone the cross-shaft is flanked by brackets, but here enriched with foliation. Once more the cross is accompanied by a sword with depressed quillons (Armstrong, plate opposite p.92, no.I).

As at Strathmartine, and at Linton in Roxburghshire, the legend of Corriehills is wound about conspicuous elements of the landscape, and draws particular inspiration and confirmation from the the remarkable stone sculpture of the vicinity. The Dragon Stone is a fine example of a class of sculpture which, in comparison with that of the early medieval and post-Reformation periods has attracted relatively little attention in Scotland, yet one which is deserving of research.



Figure 4:  
The Etleton graveslab (from R B Armstrong, *History of Liddesdale and the Debateable Land*, 1883).

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Strat Halliday, Veronica Steele and my father for their comments on this paper. I am also grateful to Mr Paterson for his help on visits to Corriehills. The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland kindly gave permission to reproduce the extract from Robert Riddell's notebook. Thanks are also due to the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for permission to reproduce figures 2 and 3.

*The Society is grateful to the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for covering the publication costs of this paper.*

### Bibliography

- Armstrong, R B 1883, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land, Part 1, From the Twelfth Century to 1530*, (Edinburgh).
- Robert Riddell of Glenriddell Collections, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland MS 581, volume ii, National Museums of Scotland Library.
- Name Book, Dumfriesshire, Book 27, p.219 (microfilm copy in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)
- Reid, A G 1896, 'Note as to the recovery of three volumes of the MS. collections of Scottish antiquities of the late Robert Riddell, esq. of Friars Carse and Glenriddell', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 30 (1895-96), 222-224.
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1920, *Seventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries* (Edinburgh).
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1997, *Eastern Dumfriesshire: an archaeological landscape* (Edinburgh).
- Ryder, P. F. 1985, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report No. 1 (Durham)
- Simpson, J. 1978, 'Fifty British dragon tales', *Folklore* 89 (1978), 79-83.
- Whitlock, R. 1983, *Here be Dragons* (London).

### WELLS OF THE REES AND STONES OF LAGGANGARN: SOME UNPUBLISHED REFERENCES

by W F Cormack and Julia Muir Watt

16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie, and 3 George Street, Whithorn, Newton Stewart DG8 8NS

Examination of letters from William Galloway to the Marquess of Bute<sup>1</sup> and a manuscript note by the late Sir Herbert Maxwell have yielded some interesting additional information on the history of the triad of holy or curative Wells of the Rees in the moors of Galloway<sup>2</sup> and of one of the former standing stones of Laggangarn nearby.<sup>3</sup>

A handwritten note, believed to be in Sir Herbert Maxwell's writing, at the end of an article on 'Holy Wells' in Volume III of the Archaeological Collections of Ayrshire and Wigtownshire (later Ayrshire and Galloway) series, in Monreith House, reads as follows :-

'Kilgallioch', Kirkcowan : the north end of this parish is a wild moorland district. On the southwest face of Craigarie ( 1000 ft ) are most interesting remains. The foundation of a chapel and remains of a graveyard may be traced. The Wells of the Rees are close by. Three wells equidistant 12 paces from each other, are built into a deep trough

- 1 See 'William Galloway's Excavations at Whithorn, 1886-1897' by Muir Watt, J. in *Trans. Dumf & Gall. Nat. Hist. and Ant. Soc.*, Vol 75 ( forthcoming )
- 2 Nat Grid Ref. NX 222 718. See the *Southern Upland Way* by Andrew, K., 1984, HMSO, pp 54-6
- 3 NX 230 724 . A footbridge over the Tarff links the Wells with the Standing Stones

roofed with flat stones. Above each opening there is a square niche about 8 inches deep, 18 inches high by 12 broad as if to receive the pitcher. The building of each is covered by a cairn of dry stone. 500 yards down the slope of the hill is a place called Kill Fairy. A dry knoll in the middle of a marsh shows traces of several dwellings, and, as is usual, at the southwest extremity of the village, a corn kiln. 500 yards further west, across the Tarff and close to the old pack-horse track, which crosses by a ford hard by, are the Standing Stones of Lagangarn (sic) . These, originally 3, are now 2. The larger 6ft, the less 5ft high. They are each carved with a large cross between 4 crosses. The third stone of the Calvary was taken by a man (so W Morrison tells me) to form a lintel in his new house. Subsequently, his sheep dog went mad and bit him, his family 'smooed' him between twa cauff beds, and buried him on an adjacent hill, putting the broken cross over him to mark the place. (18th Aug. 1884)

Of particular interest in this account of the Wells is Sir Herbert's description of them and their dimensions in 1884, prior to 'repairs' being carried out in 1889 by the Marquess of Bute, following on the suggestion of Maxwell.<sup>4</sup> Details of what this work was is not recorded but since the work cost £3,



Fig. 5; One of the Laggangarn stones lying in the steading; photograph taken by Maud Fleming-Hamilton of Craighlaw in August 1904. A print is included in an album in possession of Mr Andrew Gladstone, Craighlaw and another example, with other photographs taken on the same occasion, is in possession of Mr James Williams (ex Werner Kissling).

4 Muir Watt, *op. cit.* Letter 15, ( 20th April 1889 )

it is likely to have been minor.<sup>5</sup> When the Royal Commission visited this site in 1911 they described them as follows :-

'No. 114 Wells of the Rees, Kilgallioch - 3 wells, some 3 feet in height, built of large stones without mortar - opening 1 foot 6 inches in breadth and height - recess above about 1 foot 6 inches square and 1 foot 3 inches in depth - one slightly larger than the others'.<sup>6</sup>

Their present state seems to agree with this description, hence, although there are minor differences between Maxwell's description and that of the Royal Commission, the visitor today can be reasonably certain that their present appearance must closely resemble not only that in the 19th century, but also probably that in pre-Reformation times.

With regard to the Laggangarn Stones, Sir Herbert apparently did not see the third cross-marked stone, which presumably is that described by the Royal Commission as follows :-

'No. 283. Lying against the wall on the outside of the old garden is a slab ( fig. 68 ) 34 inches long and 8 inches broad with a simple latin cross incised on the upper end and measuring 12 1/2 inches in length across the arms - visited 18th May 1911'.<sup>7</sup>

This third stone is not mentioned in Historic Scotland's official guide to Whithorn and district<sup>8</sup>. However Sir Herbert's comment that there were originally three stones at Laggangarn is misleading since originally there may have been 13 standing stones altogether of which three were cross-inscribed or possibly four, if one perhaps removed to Pultadie is included. Of the uninscribed stones one or two may have been removed to Kilgallioch and three used as lintels at Laggangarn. A photograph of one, (unmarked ?), lying in the steading at the latter spot, is reproduced as figure 5.<sup>9</sup>

The tradition related so graphically by Sir Herbert<sup>10</sup>, of the fate which befell the disturber of an ancient monument, falls into the well-known category of folktale motifs of 'punishment for desecrating church sites'.<sup>11</sup> In her *Folklore of the Isle of Man*,<sup>12</sup> Margaret Killip reminds us that the desecration of sacred sites, old churches and burial places, and its consequences was one of the most fruitful themes of Manx folklore:-

'There were despoilers... who dared to set a plough among the gravestones, and take the stones of the church to build with. Retribution for such an act was swift and certain, and a man who was found guilty of it found himself seized with terrible pain or went suddenly blind or became sick and died'.

She goes on to narrate that whole families sometimes were afflicted and if stones were built into a byre the cattle would suffer similarly.

Another tale in the same tradition exists closer to home in Galloway and relates to 'Rutherford's Witnesses', now a pair of stones standing on Moss Robin, between Anwoth Kirk and Skyreburn

5 Muir Watt, *op. cit.* Letter 21 ( 24th June 1889 )

6 *Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol I, County of Wigtown*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Whithorn and the Ecclesiastical Monuments of Wigtown District* by Radford, CAR and Donaldson, G, 1984 p 23

9 For the original number of stones and their whereabouts see MS Notes by the Rev. George Wilson in Royal Museum of Scotland p.317. For the photograph see 'The Standing Stones of Laggangairn' by Miss [Maud] Fleming -Hamilton in *Transactions of the Dumf. and Gall. Nat. Hist. and Ant. Society* series II, Vol 19 (1906-7) pp 32-33 and 'Exhibits', p 204 of that volume. We are indebted to James Williams for these references and to him and Andrew Gladstone for the illustration.

10 See his *History of Dumfries and Galloway*, 1896 p 345

11 *Motif Index of Folk Literature* by Thompson, S, 1966, Q222

12 1975, Batsford, pp 105-6

village. The story is related in full in John Barbour's *'Unique Traditions Chiefly Connected with the West and South of Scotland'*, 1833, in which he describes how the famous Covenanting minister of Anwoth, Samuel Rutherford, called on three large stones to witness how he had protested against the Sabbath-breaking practice of the playing of football on this site. Later, a workman building a fence had need of a suitable stone, but was warned by his fellows not to touch the sacred 'Witnesses'; the other scoffed at the story and even went as far as calling Rutherford a fanatic. He removed one stone and boasted that he would remove all three before he broke his fast. According to different versions of the tale, the despoiler was either struck dead while trying to remove a second stone, or else was choked on a bite of bread while moving it. As in the case of the story at Laggangarn, the tale relating to 'Rutherford's Witnesses' involves a site where, out of a supposed triad, only two stones remain visible and the story accounts for the loss of the third stone. Sir Herbert's noting of this folktale is valuable in that it preserves another example to add to the repertoire of Galloway stories of this form.

The writers wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Bute Estates, per Andrew McLean, for permission to examine and publish the correspondence by William Galloway relating to the Wells, to Sir Michael Maxwell of Monreith for permitting the publication of Sir Herbert's note of 18th August 1884, and to Mr. Andrew Gladstone for permission to reproduce figure 1 from a photograph album at Craichlaw House, Kirkcowan.

#### LOCHMABEN TOWN COUNCIL MINUTES 1612-1721 The Economy of Lochmaben

by John B. Wilson

Now that the task of transcribing these minutes has been completed<sup>1</sup> the economy of the town during this period can be studied in more detail. Inevitably some duplication of points already made in the articles on the administration of the Royal Burgh and Life in Lochmaben 1612-1721<sup>2,3</sup> occur as a different aspect of the same event or statistic is reviewed. During this period Lochmaben was a small royal burgh practically self supporting, the only commodities coming into the town being brandy and tobacco. The only taxes paid by the town were a small yearly fee to the Convention of Royal Burghs, a fee for many years rescinded by the Convention and sums, later in the 17th century, to the Commissioners of Supply in Dumfries.

In his charter of 1612 James the Sixth granted Lochmaben a large area of common land (2000 acres) and though during the 17th century a few small farms occupied this area, most of it remained as common ground. The infield areas of cultivation are mentioned several times in the minutes but the common seems to have taken the place of the outfield for the outfield is only mentioned once, in January 1614. No mention is made of the head dyke which would normally separate the two. A surprising finding is that throughout the minutes no reference is made to roads or wheeled transport.

The population of the burgh was small, only 33 indwellers in 1642; a finding supported in a report, many years later, by the Convention in 1692 which found that 'the greater part of the houses in Lochmaben were uninhabited', that no markets were held in the town and no foreign trade was carried on<sup>4</sup>. The common good amounted only to forty pounds. The devastating famines which swept Scotland in 1623 and 1690 are not mentioned or even hinted at in the minutes.

1 Wilson, John B.- *Scot. Record Soc.* forthcoming.

2 Wilson, John B.- *Transactions*, Vol LXV (1990) pp. 84-92.

3 Wilson, John B.- *Ibid*, Vol LXVII (1993) pp. 123-130.

4 *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, Vol. IV, p. 657.

## Animals

Reference is found throughout the minutes, to naigs, nolt, sheep, oxen, hogs, goats and hens, usually because of damage they had caused to crops by their escape from their enclosures, often at night. The breaking of a mare's leg and the drowning of a yow are referred to in 1624, while in 1655 a dog is reported to have worried sheep. Fish were taken by nets from the lochs.

Some idea of the relative value of these animals can be deduced from the fees set by the council in April 1620, probably for pasturage on the common, 'every naig shall pay 12 pennies and 8 pennies the 'beist' and 2 pennies the sheip'. Beists refer to cattle.

The first time larger numbers of animals are noted in the minutes is in May 1641 when Symon Russell was allowed to keep 40 nolt on the ground of Lochsyd and Smallrig. At the same meeting Johne Byres was allowed to keep 20 'beistis'. Should they keep more they were required to pay the town 6 ss for each animal. In December 1642 delivery of 12 yows and a tip is recorded.

In an endeavour to limit these trespasses, in July 1641, all persons were required to herd their grazing out of the town, being fined if they failed, 8d for every head of nolt, 2d for every sheep and 8d the horse. In a further attempt to stop illegal grazing, in June 1649, any person who lets his horse out at night was to pay 5 groats before Midsummer and 30 after.

In July 1674 all inhabitants who possessed a horse were 'to go with the smith each one of them to bring home a load of coals for which he is to shoe them a naig the whole year be his workmanship, they furnishing the materials to him viz shoes nails and iron.' Neither the use to which these loads of coal was to be put or where they were obtained is recorded, possibly it was intended for the smith's forge?

The next year 'the council and inhabitants found that the great and only occasion of their impoverishment is their neglect of tymous yoking of their ploughs and their absenting and hiring of their horse out of the town and not yoking with their neighbours which causes much of the town to lie waste'. To remedy this the council suggested that 'they find as many horse in the town as will make up five ploughs and have joined them in marrowship in groups of four. Whoever refuses was discharged from keeping any horse within the burgh in all time coming'. A laudible attempt at cooperative farming! A further point of interest is the use of horses rather than oxen for draught purposes.

'Hoggis' are mentioned only twice. Obviously the intensive rearing of pigs which spawned the fortnightly Lochmaben pork markets in 1866 was far in the future. Perhaps the introduction of the potato in the intervening century had something to do with this!

In May 1683 the problem caused by persons putting their horses out at night 'without watching' had again to be addressed. The barleymen and the burgh officer were instructed to sight the dykes and to poind the breakers of the act five marks. A few years later, the town council ordained that each person within the town should put out a sufficient herd to follow their beasts. In spite of all these precautions, the next year, horses and goats must have obtained access to the churchyard for their owners were fined 6 shillings for each trespass.

A large number of financial transactions must have been paid in kind for in January 1698 the rent due to the Laird of Halleaths by John Harkness drummer was 'ten marks, a kain foule and a day's work', while James Ferguson paid the Laird seven pound and a hen.

The problem of night layiers and eaten corn is one which continues throughout the minutes till in January 1715 the magistrates and town council 'considering the great loss and inconvenience the burgh and community sustains through the want of a common herd they for remeid thereof statute and ordain that in all time coming there be a common town herd agreed with to live and have his house at the Ford Green near the Elf Knowe and that the said herd be oblidged to keep two herd one for herding

the yell geir sheep and horse on the out by common lying outwith the the runner of the Spittal Moss and the other for herding the kine in by'. A large area of common land to the west of Woody Castle was allocated as 'a cow gang in all time coming'.

An enigmatic entry in March 1704 records 'that no cotter that manures no land within the burgh to keep above one hen till after the Rudessmas next and no person in the said town keep above two without doors'.

### **Boundaries**

In one of the earliest minutes, the inhabitants of the Royal Burgh are commanded 'to sett 100 turves about every yard to completely sett and furnish them'. Most years they were required to big their dykes, and later their fences, or face a fine by the barleymen.

The first mention of a long running dispute with the Earl of Queensberry and Sir John Dalziel appears in August 1655 when their 'tennants' were alleged to have taken from Lochmaben territory certain mosses and common grass. The petition was taken to General Monck and placed before Captain John Grundsorch governor of Dumfries. The Earl was ordained 'to forbear casting peats from Lochmaben ground and Dalziel was to cause his tennants to cast down ditches they had built on Lochmaben common land'. In July 1671 this dispute was still simmering and was referred to the Privy Council. It was still not settled in December 1680 for at that juncture the town was forced to take out an interdict against Dalziel for the violent taking of the common from them.

The first reference to riding the marches appears in February 1664 when 'all inhabitants of the burgh were to be in readiness and ride the towns marches the last Tuesday of October yearly in all time coming, the magistrates under the pain of 40 pounds and the rest of the inhabitants in 20 merk if they be absent'. The riding of the marches probably continued over the years for in November 1702 the roups appointed to be held were postponed till the next day 'in respect the day was far spent in riding the marches'. In September 1715, after further trouble with neighbouring proprietors, the magistrates and council 'ordained the marches of the town to be ridden this year and remits the time to the convenience of the two youngest baillies, and after the riding to make a scheme of what encroachments have been made upon the towns priveleges by their neighbourhood.'

In May 1673 a dispute over a march was settled by four arbiters and a bailie who were empowered 'to examine any other contraverted marches and to sett march stones. and who takes up the march stanes to pay 40 pounds to the town'; a large fine for what was deemed a serious offence. A further dispute about marches between John Henderson of Broadchappel and John Graham in Priesthead in November 1701 was decided by a panel of three with two baillies who visited the controverted ground 'with power to them to set down marches and march stones'.

The draining of the Grummel Loch (the site of the present playing field) involved new boundaries being set between the reclaimed land and the surrounding land holders. This was carried out by the appointment of five men in April 1714 'to perambulate the marches between the Grummel Loch and the lands next adjacent thereto and sett marches so that they may be known and perfectly distinguished in all time coming'. The arbiters 'cutt out holes and thereafter fixed stones therein before the magistrates and they approved of the same'.

### **Planning**

Town planning is considered a modern concept set up to regulate the growth of a town and the standard of its buildings. In Lochmaben, the town council during the 17th century carefully monitored the building of new houses and strictly controlled their development.

In October 1629 the town council 'statut and ordained that no man construct any hous upon the Hie Street without authority granted be the consent of the provest baillies and council'.

The first application to build a house was made in July 1657 when William Kerr 'gave in a petition for liberty to build a workhouse of twa kippill (a V shaped roof support) timber upon the Hie Street and desired the council to give liberty to him'. In February 1664 William Smail was appointed to give bounds for a house of 3 kippel timber to be set down by Thomas Dickson and Thomas Byres. The building of a house of six kippel of timber was approved in 1658.

The first objection to the building of a house is recorded in July 1670 when the council convened to 'discuss a house set up upon the street of Lochmaben without their consent or liberty be William Johnstone called of Priestdykes'. However Johnstone produced his sasine showing his right to build but the council forbade any further building of the said house under the pain of a thousand pound penalty! The only other occasion such a large penalty was imposed was when a bond for this amount was demanded from John Kennedy for the safe delivery of the town charter to the Convention in 1655.

In respect that his salary was small John Henderson the Town Clerk was in November 1702 gifted and granted 'the vacant piece of ground on the west side of the High Street betwixt John Blacklock's house and Christopher Robson's with liberty to him to construct and build a house thereon after what manner and form he shall please providing he leave a sufficient pass or cargate at Christopher Robson's house and that the said house be no further back than the dyke on the side of the street together with the priviledge of the common'.

In October 1721 William Dickson petitioned the council 'annent the bringing out or enlarging of his house towards the street upon how much ground as was found to be necessar and it being notourly known to the magistrates and council now present that the desire of that petition and by looking and searching of this book they can not find any further act annent it therefore they having measured the house swa built by virtue of the said position it was found to be thirty nine feet in length (or thereby) and that the building thereof no way had prejudged the burgh in general nor no person in particular swa they have ratified and approved the building of the said house'.

### **Finance**

The yearly income of the burgh was derived mainly from the rouping of the customs and various small properties, Blaemeadow Croftfoots, Priesthead as well as the common good. The paid servants of the burgh, the clerk, officer and barleymen were allowed, in addition to their salary, to retain a small proportion of the fees and fines they collected. These fines helped to fill the coffers of the council. On three occasions the finances of the burgh had to be augmented by additional stents. In 1657 five pounds were paid on every hundreth marks of the stent and in 1671 50 marks scots on each hundreth mark valuation of the house holder's property. In 1671 the valuation amounted to 1466 merks 8s 10d and in 1712 to 707 and a half merks scots. These valuations provide some indication as to the distribution of wealth in the community. The collection of these taxes must have been difficult for money in the shape of cash was scarce.

In 1675 the town council made a determined effort to balance its books. In a three page minute the creditors were listed and a note made of those to whom the council owed money. Those who were due money by the council 'must first of all pay the council any money they owed it'!

Most of the disturbances in the burgh were dealt with by means of a fine. In 1642 the rate for a blood was 4 pounds and 40 shillings for a riot, modified later the same day to four marks for a blood and two marks for a riot. Perhaps the council realised such penalties were beyond the means of the offenders. At that time the price of ale in 1618 was 2 shillings a pint and bread cost 12 pence a loaf.

A great deal of power rested in the hands of the bailies. This gave rise to considerable antagonism from the populace who often vented, both physically and verbally, their feelings toward these dignitaries. Not surprisingly, these attacks were dealt with severely, the fine for scandalising a baillie in

1619 being five merks and to be laid in the stocks, while for striking a bailie and the officer in April 1679 the fine was 100 pound for the bailie and 20 pounds for the officer.

With money in such short supply offenders must have found payment of their fines difficult. To obviate this problem their punishment was often the public humiliation of a spell in the stocks or in the joughs. John Carruthers, a regular offender from 1642 to 1670 was sentenced to be banished from the burgh, a much less expensive form of punishment than keeping the offender in prison for six months!

The bloods, riots and batteries which came before the council usually involved the use of fists and feet, though occasionally a cudgell or a 'great battone' were to hand. On four occasions a sword inflicted the blood and once a 'quingher', or short sword. A pistol is mentioned in 1673 when John Johnstone threatened to shoot Andro Broun. The troublesome John Carruthers threatened Elshieshiels in 1680 with a knife. All such incidents became less frequent after 1686.

The expenses of the commissioner chosen by the town to attend the 'Convention of the Royal Burrows' were reimbursed, John Henderson in 1645 being granted forty pounds for this charge.

In 1702 the need to raise new revenue became acute. A piece of land and a house at Todholes were brought into use and roused. A few years later the Grummel Loch was drained to provide, along with the Crooked Acre and the Marsh, further much needed land and income.

'Fyre houses' are mentioned three times in the text. In 1673, when each fyre house was to pay for reparation of the Kirk of Lochmaben 'ane groat yearlie' and two years earlier when ventnors of wine were to pay 48 shillings scots for each fyre house. In October 1665 each fyre house had to pay the town 8 pennies upon St Steven's Day. Presumably fire houses were larger houses, with a larger fire, to generate the extra heat required for brewing, baking or for a forge. The hearth tax records show that, in 1691, 33 houses in Lochmaben had 38 hearths though this figure refers to only about half the buildings in the town<sup>5</sup>. Most houses in the town would be of wooden construction with thatched roofs and turf or peat walls. The only buildings in the town with stone walls, apart from the church and tollbooth, were the prison (1612) and the warehouse (1660). The prison was constructed using 'stainis, freestainis and lymestainis' collected by the inhabitants and the warehouse, which though it had a thatched roof, must also have had walls of stone to contain the prisoners.

In 1709 the treasurer had an unexpected windfall when 41 people, including the parish minister, were each fined 10 pounds for the 'steeping' of lint and hemp in the Mill Loch. Robert Robson who set the fine and the clerk may have been the only inhabitants to escape this payment.

In view of the important part played by the Marquis of Annandale in the Union with England in 1707 it is interesting to note that the noble lord, though elected provost of Lochmaben in 1692, was only once present at the council's deliberations. This was in October 1705, when he had to deal with the sham, riotous, pretended council set up by George Kennedy of Halleaths and Robert Maxwell of Castlehill with ten others. Perhaps the reasons for this rift in the council were the raised passions and differences of opinion brought about by the proposed Union with England.

### **The Professions**

The minutes throughout are written by a notary. What training he had we do not know, probably only an apprenticeship, for in December 1677 John Murray succeeded his father James as town clerk. Certainly the clerk was well versed in the legal jargon of the time. The most efficient clerk and certainly the owner of the neatest script was John Henderson who was appointed clerk in 1702. His family had a long association with the Annandales and he probably acted as local manager for the Marquis. Henderson took advantage of his dismissal by the sham council in 1704 and his subsequent reinstallation to update his salary, to 5 merks a year with 20 shillings scots for each commission and

5 Adamson, Duncan - *Transactions*, 'Hearth Tax Records', (1972), p. 73.

other set amounts for each burghess ticket and other certificates he issued. Captain John Forrester late of the Cameronians was elected in 1716 a town councillor and, as a writer, appointed clerk in 1726. What experience he had as a writer is unknown.

The list of parish ministers over the period is complete<sup>6</sup> but only Mr Robert Henderson, minister from 1608 to 1663, appears to have taken much part in the affairs of the burgh. The Rev George Graham who was admitted burghess in 1687 and the Rev William Steel also make an appearance in the minutes.

The first mention of a medical man does not occur until 1691 when an entry notes that payment was made by the council for 'the Surgeon's curing'. Then in 1715 William Carruthers dressed the wounds of a fellow citizen whose injuries, as recorded in a subsequent minute, fortunately did not prove 'mortal'! No mention is made throughout the minutes of illness or disease

As in most burghs the minister's stipend was paid by the heritors. However, when Priesthead was roused in 1655 ten pounds of the proceeds were allowed to the schoolmaster. Lochmaben probably had a schoolmaster throughout the period covered by these minutes but the first mention of one is in March 1637. Just how effective the schoolmaster's teaching was we know not but the writing and grammar of the deputy clerks leave a great deal to be desired. Even in the latter part of the century when all councillors signed the minutes the majority of the council could not write and could only affix their initials.

No mention is made in the minutes of any local industry. Not until the next century did the growth of flax and the craft of handloom weaving become established in the area. However the emergence of the trades and their representation on the council early in the 18th century does suggest that the economy was reaching beyond the burgh's boundaries. More money must have been in circulation to allow the inhabitants of the burgh to employ tradesmen and move away from their subsistence economy. In November 1681 John Irvine and William Smith were fined, according to the Act of Parliament, for felling green timber or as the minutes read 'cutting the wood at Elshieshiels'. Such a valuable asset as timber had to be carefully guarded. Unfortunately no information is available as to how much of the area was wooded during the 17th century, the only mention of woods being those of Elshieshiels.

The post of treasurer to the royal burgh must have been no sinecure for money was tight, most of the inhabitants lived a hand to mouth existence and a subsistence economy was still in place. The problem of appointing a treasurer is highlighted on three occasions when the nominee refused the post. However each time his fellow councillors would not be denied and the unfortunate man had to accept the appointment. In November 1681 Robert Byres was voted treasurer and 'if he refuse, to pay 100 merks'!

The council, in 1672, stepped up its effort to reduce the number of unfreemen in the burgh. All who were not burghesses were ordained to make themselves freemen 'under the pain of ten pounds'. Later another effort was made to increase the number of freemen by fining each of the unfreemen four pounds scots, perhaps some of the inhabitants had found a way round the strict trading monopolies imposed by the royal burghs. By 1672 their monopoly of foreign trade had been abolished and the powers of the royal burghs were being slowly eroded.

### Conclusions

During the 16th century Lochmaben must have been a fairly prosperous royal burgh but on the advent of the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the demise of Lochmaben Castle, with its garrison of 200 troops, its economy crumbled. Money was in short supply and the economy almost entirely agrarian. Only gradually did it recover and not until the advent of the 18th century did the economy show signs of recovery.

6 Wilson, John B. - *Lochmaben*, (1987), p. 206.

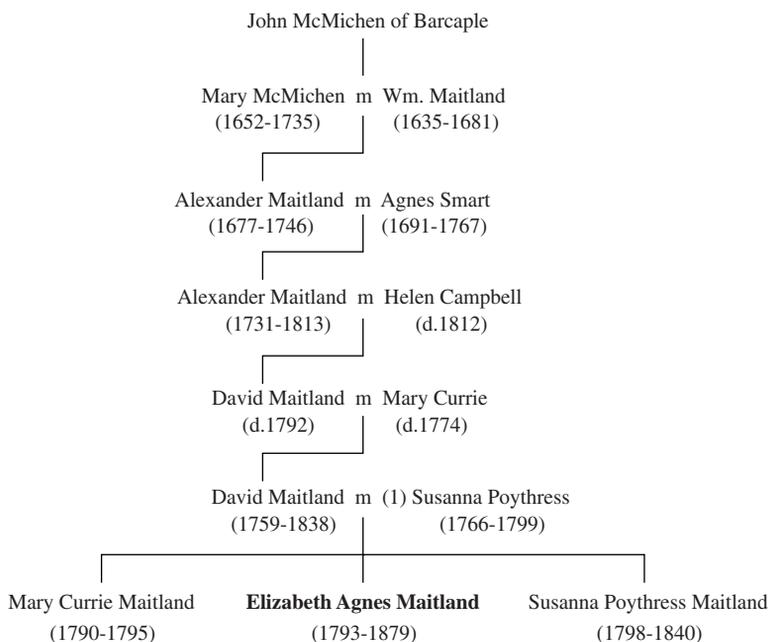
A TALE OF TWO HOUSES  
in Virginia and Kirkcudbright

by Margaret Torrance, MA  
5 West Crosscauseway, Edinburgh EH8 9JW

*This short paper is dedicated to the memory of the late Howard Sproat, not only for his great contribution towards family history research generally, but in particular for the valued assistance he gave to this author in assembling the material for the following article.*

In 1830 Catherine McMiken, wife of James Mitchell of Barstobrick in Tongland Parish in Galloway, called her *tenth* child Elizabeth Agnes Maitland - quite a mouthful and whereas one Christian name was general in early 19th century Scotland, two Christian names were fairly unusual and I had not come across three before. Susan McMeiken, married to Robert Millar, tailor in Ringford, also called her first daughter, born in 1838, Elizabeth Agnes Maitland. Who was this eponymous benefactress or local landowner, and why was she so popular? Both mothers had the same maiden surname, if spelled differently. Was this a clue?

I found the original Elizabeth Agnes Maitland in the 1841 census, unmarried, living at *Fludha*, Tongland Road, Kirkcudbright and for simplicity I shall refer to her as 'Miss Betsy' or 'Betsy' from now on. I had passed the house often, with its Gaelic-looking name carved in Gaelic-looking script. Nothing strange about that - lots of places and houses in Galloway have names relating to its Gaelic-speaking past. However, the Maitland graves in Tongland kirkyard indicate a different story. Miss Betsy is described as *of Fludha* but her sister, Susanna Poythress Maitland, who died *at Fludha* on 20th May 1840, is stated to be the daughter of David Maitland of Barcaple and Susanna Poythress of *Fludha hundred, James River, Virginia*.



**Family tree of Elizabeth Agnes Maitland**

Miss Betsy was born in Virginia in 1793, the daughter of David Maitland of Barcaple (1759-1838) and Susannah Poythress of Flowerdew Hundred, James River, Virginia. David Maitland was one of many of the Maitland family and other Galloway merchants who traded with the eastern states of America, probably mainly in tobacco. As can be seen on the accompanying family tree he was descended from John McMichen of Barcaple, one of whose daughters, Mary, married William Maitland who thus acquired the Barcaple estate.

David Maitland's wife, Susanna, was the daughter of Joshua Poythress who owned the tobacco plantation on the crook of the river, halfway between Richmond and Williamsburg. The plantation was originally owned by Sir George Yardley (died 1627), first Governor of Virginia, who named it after his wife, Temperance Flowerdew, who came from Hethersett, Norfolk, England. The first house was built in 1620. The plantation changed hands, and names, over the next two centuries. Susannah's grandfather, Joshua Poythress acquired the land in 1725. We can only speculate on the influences over the years, and the colonial accent, which produced Fleur Dieu, Flourdieu, Flor de, Fleur de and finally, in Scotland, Fludha Hundred. Did anyone remember how it got had got its name? Did Miss Betsy ever see it written down? The house in Virginia no longer exists but the name survives and the site has been excavated several times. It is currently called Flowerdew Hundred.

David Maitland and Susanna Poythress were married in Prince George, Virginia, in 1788. When Betsy was only five or six years old, Susanna died, probably after giving birth to her third daughter, Susanna, in Petersburg. Her tombstone in the private family burial plot at Blandford reads:-

*In remembrance (sic) of Susanna Maitland, the affectionate wife of  
David Maitland, Merchant in Blandford, who departed this life  
February 1799, aged 33 years. She was the daughter of Joshua  
and Mary Poythress of Flower de Hundred.*

Another daughter, Mary Currie, had died in 1795. One can only speculate on when and why David Maitland brought his two surviving daughters back to Barcaple. His father had died in April 1792 and he inherited the estate. Perhaps he had been back to Barcaple before his father died because a daugh-



Figure 6. Fludha in the 1870s, with Miss Betsy Maitland in the foreground.

Photo courtesy of The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright (Dumfries & Galloway Museum Service).

ter, Penelope Maitland, was born to Margaret Manson, domestic servant at Barcaple, circa 1790. There is no record of the baptism but on her death certificate her father is 'reputed' to be David Maitland of Barcaple, although it is not clear whether it was father or son. Did David the younger get Margaret Manson pregnant and leave for Virginia? Penelope's husband, William Maxwell, grieve at Barcaple, is buried beside the other Maitlands at Tongland, and we can only assume that Penelope is also buried in or near that area and was accepted by the family during her lifetime. She died in the nearby village of Tarff Bridge in 1871. There is some confusion about her exact age.

On 16th May 1804 David married Grace Gordon of Campbelton, Twynholm, and in 1807 his only son, and heir, Alexander was born. None of his children married. David died in 1838 and Miss Betsy and her stepmother, Grace Gordon, were listed as living at Fludha in the 1841 census. Susanna died in 1840. Their half-brother, Alexander, a merchant in the City of London, died in Ceylon in 1846 and Grace Gordon died in Surrey in 1847. Miss Betsy sold Barcaple to one of her Maitland cousins in 1848 and continued to live in her house on the bend of the river which, no doubt remembering her American roots, she had named *Fludha*, after the original home of her American grandparents - a house also situated on the bend of a river. A photograph, taken in the 1870s of 'Miss Betsy Maitland' standing in crinoline and shawl, outside her house, is reproduced as figure 6.

Catherine McMiken called another of her daughters Jane Carson, after her aunt who had married well and become the mistress of Auchengassel. No doubt she hoped that both women would look after the interests of their namesakes. Were Catherine and Susan aware of the McMichan connection? Perhaps. The Maitlands were traditionally connected with Cumstoun; Adam Maitland too acquired his designation 'of Dundrennan' by marriage. Young Elizabeth Agnes Maitland Mitchell's family, the Mitchells, were tenants on the Queenshill estate, owned by Patrick Campbell, who in turn was married to David Maitland's sister. There is evidence that both Campbells and Maitlands helped the Mitchells, first locally with jobs and then ultimately with emigration to Australia. Miss Elizabeth Agnes Maitland Mitchell went out to New South Wales to join the rest of her siblings sometime around 1855. She lived to be 70, outlived two husbands and had two children. Mitchell descendants continue to arrive in Kirkcudbrightshire, curious to see where their great-great grandparents lived.

And so a name that left England in 1620, which graced a plantation in Virginia for several hundred years and came to Scotland in the nineteenth century, can once again be restored to a house that had forgotten how it got its name. I wonder if the present owners will prefer to call it Flowerdew or Fludha.

**Fisherman's Haul**, by Henry Truckell; 132 + iii pp., b. & w. laminated soft cover; private publication (1999) by the author's son, A E Truckell. Copies in Ewart Library, Dumfries.

Since this historical novel is a useful contribution to the social history of our region, it deserves to be brought to the notice of our members and the wider public. The script was completed in 1937 but was then set aside, having been considered unsuitable for publication at that time.

The author, who himself was born in 1890 and who died in 1967, commences with the usual fiction of 'old papers and letters having come to light' thus introducing a hero whose short life opens a window, shared by the reader, on the author's views on certain social aspects of life in Dumfries and Galloway at the end of the 18th century. This approach thus has slight overtones of *The Raiders* and *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and like them contains much talk in 'Broad Scotch'.

The hero of the tale, one Davy Cree of mixed Galloway and Manx origins, has, in a story which flows easily and retains interest, various adventures whereby the reader is introduced in succession to the excitement and dangers of smuggling on the Solway Coast, the views of Robert Burns on matrimony, the Buchanites, the Galloway landscape and the difficulties arising from a close relationship between a man and a woman of very differing social backgrounds.

Of particular value as social history however is the author's detailed account of the Buchanites as seen from within that community - an account, which, while obviously deeply researched and thus authoritative, is critical but yet is not unkind. For this alone, the late Henry Truckell's novel ought to be read and enjoyed.

W F Cormack

**The Evacuee - Sixty Years On (1939 - 1999)** by Robert Kerr Moodie. 11pp A-4 typescript. Copy in Ewart Library, Dumfries - an edited version appeared in the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* on 22nd Sept. 1999.

These are the personal memories, after sixty years, of a small boy evacuated from Glasgow on the outbreak of the second World War. They form a tapestry of recollections from the six years spent at Lochmaben during a sensitive and highly formative time of his life. He tells us that his outlook in later life was to be dictated always by reference back to Lochmaben and the individuals there who had influenced his judgement and direction. The memories are deeply moving at times and equally reflect much credit on his youthful perception and adaptability and the kindness of his surrogate mother in the little Annandale town.

W F Cormack

**A Galloway Venture by Carol Hill.** 45 pp. Dumfries and Galloway Museum Services, 1999, price £3.95

The first thing that strikes one about this book is the impressive reproduction of William Daniell's aquatint of Kirkcudbright which adorns both front and rear covers. The quality of the book and clarity of the text are immediately evident.

Whilst the lifetime of the Kirkcudbright Shipping spans a mere six years in the last millennium of Galloway's history, the story is intriguing and is of importance for anyone interested in the socio-economic state of the early 19th century or the state of shipping at that time, both on a local and a national scale. It is a tale which has never appeared in print before.

Carol Hill's painstaking original research, based on largely archive material, her obvious love of the subject and her teaching expertise all become evident as one turns the pages. The adventures, or misadventures, of the company's sole ship, the 'Britannia', and the characters associated with her, many of whom are well known in local lore, are related in a pleasant easy-to-read style. The author packs in an amazing amount of valuable data for the serious student without obscuring the narrative for the interested layman. It may come as a surprise to discover that the majority of shareholders were ordinary merchants, tradesmen, publicans and women, with only 10.8% being drawn from the landed classes, and consequently it is very much a story of Kirkcudbright and her people. The author clearly sets out both local and national factors which affected the fortunes of the company and, to a large extent, Galloway as a whole.

This book is a model of the type of publication one would like to see being readily available for both amateur and professional alike. Stewartry Museum Services are heartily commended for their insight in producing an informative quality book at an affordable price. It is essential reading for anyone interested in this period and this reviewer hopes that there will be further publications of this nature.

Mark White

**The Border Towers of Scotland: Their History and Architecture - The West March**, by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving, 313 + xii pp, 360 b.& w. illustrations - with coloured dust-wrapper showing Bonshaw and Hills Towers , hard cover; private publication by the Author (2000). Available from Dumfriesshire & Galloway Libraries, The Dumfries & Galloway Family History Society and the Author, price £50.00 + £5.00 p. & p.

In this volume Alastair Maxwell-Irving has brought to fruition the results of a forty-year plus personal study into all aspects of tower-houses: their architecture, archaeology and the history of the families associated with them. The geographical scope of The West March comprises the whole of Dumfriesshire and Eastern Galloway as far west as the Ken-Dee valley. Although known from all over Scotland and the north of England the Tower-house is a particularly important architectural style especially associated with the south of Scotland. The West March, because of the importance of the structures in relation to cross-border/inter-family feuds and the particular needs for 'passive' defence, provides a particularly diverse sample of the class.

Although the main core of the book is a detailed gazetteer of some 90 properties (68 major sites and a further 22 subsidiaries - including potential peles and bastle-houses) there is a major introduction to the whole topic in the provision of chapters on.- Families of the West march and their Lands; The Development of Tower-houses in the West March and Features of the Towers. This latter chapter is more than a simple glossary (also provided) and gives detailed comments on Masonry; Courtyards; Plinths; Quoins and Corners; Entrance Doorways; Yetts; Mouldings; Entrance vestibules; Basements; Gun-loops and Shotholes; Prisons; Windows; Stairs; The Great Hall; Fire-places; Kitchens; Buffets, Aumbries and Wall-safes; Slop-sinks; Garderobes; Private Apartments; Upper Vaults; Parapets; Rounds and Turrets; Gargoyles; Cap-Houses; Roofs; Crow-steps and Skewputs; Watch-turrets, Bells and Beacons; Masons' Marks; Furnishing and Deer Parks. There is an appendix containing full and detailed transcriptions of the Inventory of Goods in Torthorwald Castle (1544) and the 1624 inventory of the Furnishings of Comlongon Castle. A comprehensive bibliography extends to 5 pp. and the whole is supported by a detailed Index.

The gazetteer of individual properties takes each in turn and provides the back-ground to the site, its families and their history (as that relates to the building) and then a full architectural and archaeological description of the known buildings. Throughout these descriptions are supported by copies of early engravings (mainly from Francis Grose and Adam de Cardonnel), photographs and detailed measured-drawings - the latter two categories being mainly supplied by the author himself. A most useful 'reader-friendly' feature is the provision on all the associated notes for each property at the end of each gazetteer entry.

The Printers, our *own* Solway Offset, are also to be congratulated on an exemplary performance.

The Foreward by Geoffrey Stell, Head of Architecture at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, sets out the merits of this work in the wider field. It is a volume to be commended to all those who have an interest in the varied aspects of the history and study of the Tower-house - and because of the pre-eminence of these buildings within in our own local area of the West March, and the variety that that concentration provides, the volume should also be of interest to others studying within a wider geographical context.

James Williams

**JACK GILLESPIE SCOTT**

By his sudden death in June 1999, aged 86, this Society lost in Jack Scott, a much-liked and distinguished archaeologist, historian and ex-museum curator. Born in Jarrow, in Tyneside, he graduated in classics and for a few years taught in a boys' school. However, at weekends and during holidays he took part in excavations on Roman sites under such mentors as R G Collingwood. This gave him a taste for, and experience in, dirt archaeology. During the war he served in the Middle East and North Africa, being commissioned into the Royal Army Service Corps. He was thus one of that untiring and indispensable band who sustained the 8th Army's victorious advance of 2000 miles over desert and rough tracks from Alamein to Tunis. It was probably during this phase of his life that he decided to move out of teaching into archaeology.

Thus, after the war, he entered Leicester Museum, where he met his wife Margaret, and obtained his museum qualification. They then came to Glasgow where he joined the staff of the Kelvingrove Museum, later becoming Keeper of Archaeology, Ethnography and History there. He was a member of a number of learned and scientific societies becoming an office-bearer in several, being president of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and for a while editor of their new-format *Journal*.

By chance, shortly before his arrival there, the Kelvingrove Museum had been donated the R L Scott collection of arms and armour which Jack set himself to study in detail to such good effect that he eventually became one of the top experts in Britain on arms and armour of all periods.

Meantime, he and Margaret spent their holidays and most weekends in Argyll where he excavated widely, mainly on Neolithic sites. His acumen in this field made him an authority on Clyde group of Chambered Cairns and their associated pottery and artifacts. He also carried out pioneer conservation work on difficult objects, varying from wooden artifacts from water-logged contexts to a Red-Indian ritual shirt. Some members may remember him, during a lecture to this Society, actually passing round the surprised audience wooden objects from Loch Glashan crannog dating back a millennium or more. He also published widely both on excavations and museum exhibits, lectured to learned societies and evening classes and, with the help of Margaret, reorganised the displays of several local museums including Campbeltown, Rothesay and Kirkcudbright.

On retirement he and Margaret moved to Creebridge where, sadly, she died shortly after. He had become a member of our Society in 1977 and was elected a fellow in 1980.

His studies of arms and armour led him in later life to look closely at fortifications of the Anglo-Norman period. There was not a motte or early castle in Scotland and the north of England that he did not visit, study and annotate carefully. Churches, too, did not escape this appraisal. His spread of interests resulted in his reassessing the history of that period with the eye of an archaeologist. Thus the existence of the two crosier 'drops' from Hoddum led, in his 'Bishop John of Glasgow and the Status of Hoddum' in volume 66 of our *Transactions*, to the deduction that Hoddum in Annandale had been the episcopal centre of a see coterminous with the Kingdom of Strathclyde until the absorption of the southern part by England (and the erection of a bishopric of Carlisle) rendered its position marginal and the consequential removal of the episcopal seat to Glasgow. He further postulated in that paper, from the similarity of cross heads there and at Jedburgh, that the redundant community at Hoddum had probably moved to Jedburgh. His most recent article 'The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092 - 1173' in our volume 72 also reflected this new, refreshing, even if contentious at times, approach to history.

He always afforded ungrudging help and advice to students or others working in the fields mentioned. Indeed, a few weeks prior to his death a member of our Society sent him a photograph of a sword found in the thatch of a cottage in Annandale. Within a few days he received from Jack nearly two pages of information about the sword - its date, its probable origin, the nature of the missing hilt and how it would be used in conflict. This was probably the last report to come from his pen and is typical of his generous response for information.

He was a fund of stories about archaeology, archaeologists and life in general. Both entertaining and scholarly, he will be much missed not only by his personal friends but by all whom he met, helped or corresponded with over many years.

W F Cormack

## Proceedings 1998-1999

**16th October 1998**

Annual General Meeting  
President's Address - 'Scottish Silver, AB-CD'.

**30th October**

Speaker: Father John McLean - 'Early Christian Sites in the Rhinns of Galloway'.

**13th November**

Speaker: Peter Corser, RCAHMS - 'The Medieval Archaeology of Eastern Dumfriesshire'.

**27th November**

Speaker: Allen Paterson, former Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, Ontario - 'Canada's Royal Botanic Gardens'.

**11th December**

Speaker: Duncan Close, Sanquhar - 'Sanquhar: Unique Royal Burgh. A Look Back in Time'.

**15th January 1999**

Speaker: Carol Hill, University of Strathclyde - 'Trade and Shipping in Dumfries and Galloway, Precincts 8 and 16: The Port of Dumfries and its Outport of Kirkcudbright 1707-1845'.

**29th January**

Speaker: Dr Richard A Gregory, University of Manchester - 'Later Prehistory of the Northern Solway Plain'.

**12th February**

Members' Night

Speakers: Dr John Paterson - 'The Medicinal Properties of Willow Bark, in the Form of Salicylates'.  
Marion Stewart - 'Recently Discovered Letters by William Nichol Burns to James Aitken'.

**26th February**

Speaker: Phil Woods, Kirkcudbright Wildlife Park - 'The Scottish Wildcat - Life and Conservation'.

**12th March**

Special General Meeting

Speaker: Dr Richard Fawcett, Historic Scotland - 'The Architecture of the Religious Houses of Dumfries and Galloway'.

**27th March**

Speaker: Dr David Devereux, The Stewartry Museum - 'Jessie M King and the Kirkcudbright 'Art Colony''.  
This meeting was held in Kirkcudbright.

## **Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest**

### **The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish**

- No. 1 Ann Hill and her Family. A Memorial, by D.Adamson. (1986)
- No. 2\* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson. (1986)
- No. 3\* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany (1987)
- Mossknow Game Register 1875.
- Diary of J.Gordon Graham 1854.
- edited by D.Adamson and I.S.MacDonald.
- No. 4\* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D.Adamson. (1988)
- No. 5\* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany (1989)
- How Sir Patrick Maxwell worsted the Devil.
- Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick.
- both by W.F.Cormack.
- No. 6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Dumfriesshire – An Anatomy of a Parish in South-West Scotland  
by Roger Mercer and others (1997)
- No. 7\* The Tower-Houses of Kirtleside, by A.M.T. Maxwell-Irving (1997)

Nos. 1 to 5 and No. 7 are crown quarto in size with a 2 colour titled card cover.

No. 6 is A4 hardback with reprint in laminated soft cover.

Publications marked \* are reprinted from the *Transactions*.

### **The Records of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish**

- No. 1 Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854. Indexed and in 5 parts
- No. 2 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1851
- No. 3 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1861
- No. 4 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1871
- No. 5 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1841
- No. 6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1881
- No. 7 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1891
- No. 8 Kirkpatrick Fleming Gravestone Inscriptions

The Record series is duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover.

For prices and availability of both series apply to  
Mr R.H.McEwan, 5 Arthur's Place, Lockerbie DG11 2EB.

## Publications of the Society

---

**Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series** - (a) 1862-3\*, (b) 1863-4\*, (c) 1864-5\*, (d) 1865-6\*, (e) 1866-7\*, (f) 1867-8\*. **New or 2nd Series** - (1) 1876-8\*, (2) 1878-80\*, (3) 1880-3\*, (4) 1883-6\*, (5) 1886-7\*, (6) 1887-90\*, (7) 1890-1\*, (8) 1891-92\*, (9) 1892-3\*, (10) 1893-4\*, (11) 1894-5\*, (12) 1895-6\*, (13) 1896-7\*, (14) 1897-8\*, (15) 1898-9\*, (16) 1899-1900\*, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)\*, (18) 1905-6\*, (19) 1906-7\*, (20) 1907-8\*, (21) 1908-9\*, (22) 1909-10\*, (23) 1910-1\*, (24) 1911-2\*. **3rd Series** - (i) 1912-3\*, (ii) 1913-4\*, (iii) 1914-5\*, (iv) 1915-16\*, (v) 1916-8\*, (vi) 1918-9\*, (vii) 1919-20\*, (viii) 1920-1\*, (ix) 1921-2\*, (x) 1922-3\*, (xi) 1923-4\*, (xii) 1924-5\*, (xiii) 1925-6\*, (xiv) 1926-28\*, (xv) 1928-9\*, (xvi) 1929-30\*, (xvii) 1930-1\*, (xviii) 1931-3\*, (xix) 1933-5\*, (xx) 1935-6\*, (xxi) 1936-8\*, (xxii) 1938-40\*, (xxiii) 1940-4\*, (xxiv) 1945-6\*, (xxv) 1946-7\*, (xxvi) 1947-8\*, (xxvii) 1948-9\* (Whithorn Vol. I), (xxviii) 1949-50\*, (xxix) 1950-1\* (with Index of Vols. i to xxvii), (xxx) 1951-2\*, (xxxi) 1952-3\* (Hoddum Vol. I), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6 (Whithorn Vol. II)\*, (xxxv) 1956-7\*, (xxxvi) 1957-8\*, (xxxvii) 1958-9\*, (xxxviii) 1959-60\*, (xxxix) 1960-1 (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii)\*, (xl) 1961-2 (Centenary Vol.)\*, (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966\*, (xliv) 1967\*, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970\*, (xlviii) 1971\*, (xlix) 1972 (with Index of Vols. xxxix to xlviii)\*, (l) 1973, (li) 1975\*, (lii) 1976-7, (liii) 1977-8\*, (liv) 1979 (Wanlockhead Vol.), (lv) 1980, (lvi) 1981, (lvii) 1982, (lviii) 1983, (lix) 1984 (with Index of Vols. xlix to lviii), (lx) 1985, (lxi) 1986, (lxii) 1987, (lxiii) 1988, (lxiv) 1989, (lxv) 1990 (Flora of Kirkcudbright Vol.), (lxvi) 1991 (Hoddum Vol. II), (lxvii) 1992, (lxviii) 1993, (lxvix) 1994 (Birrens Centenary Vol. with Index of Vols. lix to lxviii), (lxx) 1995 (Barhobble Vol.), (lxxi) 1996, (lxxii) 1997, (lxxiii) 1998, (lxxiv) 2000.

**Prices: Single Volumes** (to Members) - Current Vol. £6, previous Vols. £4. All plus post. & packing.

**Single Volumes** (to non-Members) - £6 for one; £5 for 2nd; £4 for 3rd. All plus post. & packing.

**Runs of Volumes** - on application to the Hon. Librarian.

**A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire**, by James McAndrew, 1882.\*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Records of the Western Marches, Vol III**, 'The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925', by J.C.McConnel, 1962\*.

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

**A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan**, by Frank Millar, F.S.A.Scot, 1925\*

**Thomas Watling, Limner of Dumfries**, by H.S.Gladstone, 1938\*

**Index to Transactions, Series 1 and 2**, £2.00 plus postage and packing.

**The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area**, by Dr E.J.Perkins, 1972, Corrigenda to same\*.

**Birrens (Blatobulgium)**, by Prof. A.S.Robertson, 1975\*

**Cruggleton Castle**. Report of Excavations 1978-1981 by Gordon Ewart, 1985, 72pp 33 figs. £3.50 plus £2 post and packing to Members. £4.50 to non-Members plus post and packing.

**Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - an Anatomy of a Parish in south-west Scotland**, by Roger Mercer and others, Hardback 1997\*. Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997, £20 plus post and pkg (£3.40 U.K. only).

\* Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

Reprints

**The Early Crosses of Galloway** by W.G.Collingwood from Vol. x (1922-3), 37pp text, 49 crosses illustrated and discussed, £1.00 plus post to Members.

**Flowering Plants etc. of Kirkcudbrightshire** by Olga Stewart, from vol. lxxv (1990), 68pp, Price on application to Hon. Librarian.

**Publications in print may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Mr R.Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP**